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STEPHANUS BRODERICUS

EPISTULAE

EDIDIT, INTRODUXIT ET COMMENTARIIS INSTRUXIT

PETRUS KASZA

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STEPHANUS BRODERICUS

EPISTULAE

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István Brodarics (around 1480–1539) is one of the most prominent Humanists of the 16th century. His fame is based on his brief report on the Battle of Mohács, a uniquely valuable source. Apart from this masterpiece of Humanistic historical literature he produced no other work. Nonetheless, as a travelling diplomat he maintained extensive correspondence with many prominent European figures of the time: monarchs, statesmen, fellow Humanists.

Brodarics lived at a time when the mediæval Hungarian Kingdom was falling apart. His letters are important sources on this momentous period of crisis.

The current volume is the first attempt to produce a critical edition of his remained correspondence in its entirety with extensive footnotes. The work summarises over ten years of scholarly research and is worthy of the attention of historians and literary and cultural historians who study this period.

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MAGYAR ORSZÁGOS LEVÉLTÁR
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IOSEPHUS JANKOVICS, PETRUS KULCSÁR,
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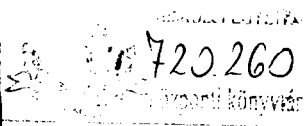
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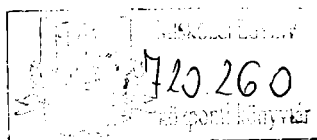
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PREFACE

A bigger selection of the letters of István Brodarics was published first in 1908, when Gábor Kujáni published 43 letters of Brodarics kept in the Nádasdy Collection of the MOL, complemented by 7 items known from other sources.¹ His publication served as the basis for the translations that are included in the volume *Magyar humanisták levelei* edited by Sándor V. Kovács, in the chapter devoted to Brodarics.² After Kujáni's edition, Brodarics' correspondence was outside of the focus of scholarly interest, so his letters appeared only occasionally in scholarly journals, ones that were deemed interesting from the perspective of literary history. Some of his letters were published sporadically in *Acta Tomiciana* published in Poland. The situation changed somewhat after the millennium, as letters connected to specific locations of sources were included in various compilations of sources. József Bessenyei published several letters from the Vatican Archives in the volume titled *Lettere di Principi*.³ Péter Tóth published the ones in the *Libri legationum* in Warsaw.⁴ Even these works, valuable as they are, cannot substitute for a systematic critical edition of extant correspondence of Brodarics.

But this correspondence is important not only because, as Gábor Kujáni put it, "*Brodarics' biography is virtually told by his letters*"⁵, which means that from them we can get to know one of the prominent Hungarian Humanists of the first half of the 16th century, but mainly because they enable us to study more deeply the two decades of agony of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. So I hope that this volume will be useful not only for literary historians but historians and cultural and church historians too.

The present volume is the result of one decade of research. With regard to the correspondence, it aims for completeness. This means that it includes all presently known letters written by or to Brodarics regardless of their earlier publication. It includes, however, neither his most famous work, his report on the Battle of Mohács (*Historia*

¹ KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 258–293, 321–346.

² V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 553–596.

³ BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Rome–Budapest, 2002.

⁴ TÓTH Péter (ed.), *A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai II. 1526–1541*, Miskolc, 2003

⁵ [KUJÁNI Gábor], *Jerosini Brodarics István. Írta: Sörös Pongrácz*, Századok, 1908, 348.

verissima), nor his speech given in front of Pope Hadrian VI in 1522 (*Oratio ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum*). These two important pieces of text were published in one volume in the BSMRAE series in 1985, edited by Péter Kulcsár and Csaba Csapodi, respectively.⁶ Since both are trustworthy and readily accessible works done by outstanding philologists, their republication did not seem necessary. At the same time, in addition to the letters, a formerly unpublished speech, given in front of Ferdinand I in Vienna in March 1535, is included in the volume. For the sake of proper context, it is inserted in the series of letters in chronological order. On the other hand, poems related to Brodarics are placed in a separate appendix, mainly because their date of creation can be asserted only approximately.

Finally, I must say that completeness of the volume, even with respect to the correspondence, is certainly something this work only strives to achieve. Even though in recent years, searching for manuscripts of hitherto unpublished letters or for the best possible manuscripts of published ones, I have been trying to go through material in major Hungarian and foreign libraries and archives that come into consideration, due to the extremely scattered nature of Brodarics' correspondence, we cannot exclude the possibility the further unknown letters may surface. Using the words of Brodarics, I would not regret that at all, on the contrary – I hope that the present volume will stimulate further research.

THE LIFE OF ISTVÁN BRODARICS

Humanist, diplomat, and high priest István Brodarics (around 1480–1539) studied at the universities of Bologna and Padua in Italy in his youth. He earned Doctorate of Canon Law in Padua in 1506. Having returned to his homeland, first he served Tamás Bakócz then Bishop of Pécs György Szatmári, and was raised to Provost of Pécs before King Louis II sent him to Rome in 1522. There he acted as Hungarian Legate until 1525. Supported by the papal court, he became Bishop of Szerém and Chancellor in the spring of 1526. As Chancellor he proceeded with Louis II to the Mohács plain. In response to a pamphlet by Viennese Humanist Johannes Cuspinianus, who accused the Hungarians with treachery for the defeat and mainly for the King's death, he wrote the story of the Battle of Mohács in his *Historia verissima* in the spring of 1527. This work is one of the most important sources about the battle up to this day.

Brodarics supported Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg in the struggle for the throne after the death of King Louis. Seeing, however, that King Ferdinand I was ready to start a war against János Szapolyai I in Hungary to enforce his claim for the throne, he broke ties with the Habsburg camp in March 1527 and joined King John, whom he served with unwavering loyalty in the remaining 12 years of his life. As a diplomat of Szapolyai, his main goal was creating peace that would put an end to the devastating civil

⁶ Stephanus BRODERICUS, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, Ed. Petrus KULCSÁR, Budapest, 1985, 7–60. *Oratio ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum* Ed. Csaba CSAPODI, Budapest, 1985, 61–74.

war that afflicted the country. To this end, he negotiated with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Naples, and played an active role in preparing the Peace of Várad in 1538. He was a member of the delegation that asked for the hand of Polish Princess Isabella Jagiello for Szapolyai in 1539. King John rewarded him for his diplomatic services with the bishopric of Vác in 1537.

Brodarics, besides his diplomatic activities, maintained excellent relationships with several eminent scholars and Humanists of the time. He exchanged letters with Erasmus, corresponded with historian Paolo Giovio in Italian, and was a close friend of Miklós Oláh, Piotr Tomicki, and Andrzej Krzycki. Numerous illustrious poets such as Caspar Ursinus Velius and Georgius Logus offered their poems to him.

ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISTVÁN BRODARICS

Even though the literary fame of Brodarics is based mainly on his work on the Battle of Mohács, an unequalled source, and he wrote no other historical work besides *Historia verissima*, he left a large number of letters behind, and these justify placing him among our great Humanist letter writers. The only question is whether or not we should treat the letters as part of his literary activities. Or, to put it differently, are these Humanistic letters, or “only” letters of a Humanist?

The question seems all the more justified by the fact that editor Sándor V. Kovács devotes an entire chapter to Brodarics in his work *Magyar humanisták levelei* which gives an overview of two centuries of the practice of Humanistic correspondence in Hungary, yet in the foreword he maintains that Brodarics’ style does not really follow the traditional Humanistic practice of letter writing. Consequently, he speaks about some kind of break or turn with regard to letters by Brodarics.

V. Kovács interprets Brodarics’ different style, his essential leanness, at a European level, as a consequence of the spreading of Lutheran Reformation. Namely, Luther, in his Table Talk, had condemned the magniloquent rhetorical chatter of Humanistic letters and contrasted them with his ideal of puritanical letters that focus on facts and information to be conveyed. V. Kovács says that it is this Lutheran principle of practicality that permeates letters by Brodarics. To the inevitable question, how does a Hungarian Catholic high priest get under the influence of Luther, his answers lies in Brodarics’ connections that are strongly coloured by Protestantism. He means, on the one hand, Tamás Nádasdy, whom he sees as one of the main correspondents of Brodarics, and who is well-known as one of the first supporters of Protestantism in Hungary. On the other hand, he means the influence of the Humanistic circle of Cracow, which was also an Erasmian centre, and which was, in his view, some kind of forerunner of Protestantism due to the Rationalism and religious tolerance of Erasmus.

Even though we can agree with some of the observations of V. Kovács about the style of letters by Brodarics to a certain extent, still, if we accept and try to explain the factuality of Brodarics’ letters, perhaps we find the reasons elsewhere. In my opinion, the special characteristics of the letters can be traced back to three factors: the life

circumstances of Brodarics, the positions he held during his life, and, finally, the lack of a letter book, and the way his letters were left to us as a consequence.

We only need to have a glance at his biography to see clearly that we are dealing with a Humanist, the last Chancellor of the Jagiello family, who had a rather turbulent life. He was born around 1480 and spent the first 40 years of his life in the tranquillity of the “golden era” of Jagiello rule – tranquil relative to the period after Mohács. The problem is that only a few letters from Brodarics are extant from these years. By the time he steps out from relative obscurity in 1522 and the number of his letters begins to increase, the author’s is beyond the peaceful period of his life. In the period 1522–1539 the longest time Brodarics spends at one place is some months. His diplomatic missions call him from one place to another, or he has to move because of the military situation, or he has to follow the court of his master Szapolyai, a court that moved frequently. This career is extraordinary even under the conditions of the era. Erasmus, who also travelled much and could not settle, spends seven years in Basle between 1522 and 29, during which time he corrects and rewrites several of his earlier works and has those printed at the local print-shop of Frobenius. Miklós Oláh practically goes to exile when he accompanies the widow Queen Maria to the Netherlands, but this means that, between 1531 and 1542, he lives in the Brussels court famous for its rich intellectual life. He has the opportunity to meet almost all the prominent scholars and artists of his time. It is characteristic that Oláh’s letter book (the first that is extant since the letter book of János Vitéz!) contains exactly letters of the decade 1527–1538, the period he *did not* spend in the turbulent theatre of war that Hungary had become. There is no such calm period in the case of Brodarics. This was certainly a serious obstacle that denied him the opportunity to maintain literary relationships and write letters on literary topics.

However, even more important than his tumultuous life are the positions Brodarics held during his life. In this regard the period before 1522 can be ignored because we have all in all seven letters from that time. On the other hand, after 1522, first he is Legate in Rome until the autumn of 1525 with short interruptions, then he becomes Chancellor in 1526. After he switches sides in 1527, he becomes a prominent diplomat of Szapolyai. He is virtually permanently on the road, negotiates in Italy, Paris, Cracow, Vienna, and at various locations in Hungary. Even though he had had first rate Humanistic education during his studies in Padua and Bologna, he was active most of his life as a diplomat and a court person rather than a Humanist devoted to literature and the arts. Erasmus’ words written when Jacobus Piso died apply to him as well: “*primum aula, deinde calamitas, nuper etiam mors hominem nobis abripuit*”.⁷ It is not surprising then that the extant letters of the Royal Secretary, Legate, Chancellor, and diplomat do not discuss literary topics because the majority of those letters are not written by the Humanist scholar concerned with *bonae litterae* but by the diplomat and statesman busy in the thick of action.

His letters are, on the one hand, necessarily factual, since as a legate or diplomat his

⁷ See: RITÓÓKNÉ Szalay Ágnes, Erasmus és a XVI. századi magyar értelmiség = Idem., *Nympha super ripam Danubii. Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből*, Budapest, 2002, 163.

main task was providing information. On the other hand, they are obscure understandably. Diplomatic letter is a sensitive genre, especially when it is sent through the enemy's territory. It can easily fall into the wrong hands, so it is not always wise to commit everything to paper. The letters often only authenticate the persons carrying them who would provide the real information, which, of course, is lost for us. The factor which influences Humanistic letter writing, i.e. that it is not only the actual addressee who can read it but it can spread through copies or be printed for a wider audience creates a reverse situation for Brodarics. What is a desirable goal for Erasmus is a risk for Brodarics which should be avoided. His letters, in many cases, are not obscure because it does not occur to him that beyond the addressee, who understands the meanings of allusions and hints, others may also read them, but on the contrary: he is wary of this! Nothing shows the importance of secrecy more than the fact that there are some letters in which some lines are coded.

The third reason is the lack of a letter book. Actually, we do not know whether or not he had the intention of collecting and publishing his correspondence. In any case, there is no trace of this. If he had such an idea, the circumstances outlined above were more than enough to thwart it. And, at the same time, we cannot exclude the possibility that Brodarics had absolutely no intention to compile a letter book. Since his correspondence touched upon specific issues and topics related to then current politics, which means that it was not literary ambition that made him write the letters, why would he have wanted to get them published?

The lack of a letter book does not only have an impact on the number of extant letters: according to our present knowledge, we have 254 letters from Brodarics. The prominent high priest must have written a multiple of that number during his lifetime. Because he himself did not pay attention to collecting his letters (or at least we do not know about that), those survived mostly in private archives (like the Nádasdy archives) or in foreign archives (Cracow, Vienna, Rome) at places to where he wrote for diplomatic reasons mostly. These princely or official archives collect specifically the kinds of letters that Brodarics wrote as part of his work; private letters are, naturally, rare among them. This should caution us when we formulate propositions on the nature of his letters. Due to the lack of a letter book there is no way of getting a realistic, undistorted image of Brodarics' qualities as a letter writer. Since it was not him who selected the letters to be preserved, letters of higher literary quality might be exactly the ones that are lost.

So, due to the three above reasons, the correspondence basically consists of letters of diplomatic nature. However, even though their subjects are not literary or artistic issues, and citations from classical authors are scarce in them, the letters are not without certain essential Humanistic virtues: first of all they are written in an extraordinarily polished fluent Latin. Their rhetorical elaboration is beyond dispute. Brodarics is a master of words. If needed, he compliments, even flatters in an artfully elegant way as demonstrated by his letter to Angelo Cospi or by some others to Miklós Oláh. If it happens to be necessary he applies classical authors with effortless ease and confidence for supporting his argument. Based on his letters, he is undoubtedly worthy of being ranked among the greatest figures of Humanism in Hungary.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLICATION

Letters are all published in the original language using standardised orthography following recent practices of text edition and principles of the BSMRAE series. In the case of letters in Latin, which provide the major part of the book, I ignored characteristics of Humanistic orthography, which are used inconsistently anyway. Letters *u* and *v* are considered different, *j* is not used, only *i* is (*iam*, not *jam*); Humanistic *e* (*e*) is replaced with the diphthong (*ae*) (*haec* for *hec*), irregular use of the combination *ci* is replaced with *ti* (*etiam* for *eciam*), *th* is replaced with *t* (*Turci* for *Thurci*). Modernised orthography is used in letters in Italian, following Italian publishing practice. All proper names, except for Christian names, are reproduced *literatim* just as the only Hungarian-language letter.

Names of honours and salutations are left with a capital initial only when the actual addressee is addressed, i.e. if, in a letter to Nádasdy, the salutation is *Vestra Dominatio*, it is left that way when it refers to him, but if King John is mentioned in the same letter, his honours are in the form *regia maiestas* because he is not the addressee.

Passages of the text that form a meaningful unit are numbered. Punctuation is standardised. Abbreviations are resolved without indication.

Differences between variants of the manuscript are indicated only where there is no autographic manuscript or one that is unambiguously written (signed) by the author. In other cases I indicate the existence of subsequent copies, but those are considered irrelevant to and not used in the philological apparatus. Where there is no authentic manuscript by the author, I always give the reasons for selecting the specific text as the basic one.

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ABBREVIATIONS

add.	addit, addunt, additum
del.	delevit, deletum
fasc.	fasciculus
fol.	folium, folia
in marg.	in margine
konv.	konvolutum
ms.	manuscriptum
om.	omittit, omittunt, omissum
r	recto
suprascr.	suprascriptit, suprascriptum
T. tomus	
v	verso
vol.	volumen, volume
[...]	litterae emissae
[litterae]	litterae a me additae
<i>litterae cursivae</i>	verba mea in annotationibus criticis

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

ASF	Archivio di Stato (Firenze)
ASG	Archivo General de Simancas
ASM	Archivio di Stato (Modena)
ASP	Archivio di Stato (Parma)
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milano)
BCzart TN	Biblioteka Czartoryska, Teka Naruszewicza (Kraków)
BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellńska (Kraków)
BK	Biblioteka Kórnicka (Kórnik)
BL	British Library (London)
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa (Warszawa)
BOss	Biblioteka Ossolinska (Ossolineum) (Wrocław)

EFKK	Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Kézirattára (Esztergom)
ELTE EK	Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár (Budapest)
GStA PK, HBA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Herzögliches Briefarchiv (Berlin)
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjenosti (Zagreb)
HHStA	Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv (Wien)
MOL	Magyar Országos Levéltár (Budapest)
MTAKK	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kézirattára (Budapest)
NAZ	Nadbiskupski Arhiv u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
NStA	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg
RHK	Reichshofkanzlei (Wien)
RVSb	Biblioteca Corsiniana, Fondo Borghese, I 175, (Roma)
SNA	Slovenský Národný Archív (Bratislava)

LITERATURE

AT	Acta Tomiciana
ETE	Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából
MOE	Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek

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TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

István Brodarics to Albert Kasu¹
 Kristallóc,² [summer of 1505?]³

Manuscript used: Georg MARCELOVIĆ, *Regesta diplomatum aliorumque documentorum*, 230. NAZ

Published: Ivan TKALČIĆ, *Monumenta Historiae Zagrabiae*, Zagrabiae, 1896, 48.

István Brodarics appeals to Grand Provost Albert Kasu for help against Bishop Lukács who accuses him with embezzlement.

In hoc meo acerbissimo negotio et causa, postquam nuper nil apud episcopum Zagrabensem⁴ poteram obtinuisse, profectus fuam Zagrabiam, ibi sollicitavi omnes dominos meos de capitulo, ubi vidi rem desperatam, nemo erat, quem adirem, qui pro me domino supplicaret, praeter magnificum dominum Balthasarem de Batthyán;⁵ veni igitur ad eum, et Vestram Dominationem etiam deprecor, patronus sit mihi apud epi-

¹ Grand Provost Albert Kasu was one of the trusted people of Bishop Lukács; data on his functioning are from 1504–1511, compare: MOL DL 34573.; 101.424. His brief biography: Ljudevit IVANČAN, *Podaci o zagrebačkin kanonicima*, 266, HAZU, sig. II./d/243.

² Today: Kreštelovac, Croatia. The castle belongs to Boldizsár Batthyány in 1505. The letter shows that he backed the accused Brodarics.

³ The original of the letter did not survive, only a transcript by Marcelović. That has no date; year 1505 appears only on the margin. Since Brodarics, as Jean de Pin confirms, left Bologna before the death of Filippo Beroaldo (7 July 1505) (compare: RÉVÉSZ Mária, *Néhány adat Philippus Beroaldus maior magyar összeköttetéseihez*, Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny, 1941, 164–166.), but data show that he is in Padua again in the end of December 1505 (compare: Padova, Archivio Notarile, 1811. fol. 253.; VARGA Imre, *Magyarországi tanulók a padovai egyetemen a XV–XVI. századfordulón*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1975, 218.; and KASZA Péter, *Néhány kiegészítés Brodarics István tanulmányainak kérdésköréhez*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 2011, 197–201.) the embarrassing affair in Zagreb probably happened in the summer.

⁴ Lukács Szegedi (Baratin Kothrá, Kothrosi) (Szeged, around 1470 – Csázma, 1510). Comes from a middle class family in Szeged. Conservator of the Royal Chancellery in 1480, from 1481 he works at the treasury. Treasurer between 1492–94, Bishop of Csanád, then of Bosnia, Bishop of Zagreb from 1500 until his death. His activities as patron of arts are also significant. In Szeged, he gives money for building the “Gyümölcsoltó Boldogasszony” Chapel in the Demeter Church, in the Zagreb Cathedral he has an organ and stalls built and altarpieces painted. In 1509–1511 he prints the Zagreb missal in Venice. Compare: Balthasari Adami KERCESELICH DE CORBAVIA, *Historiarum Cathedralis Ecclesiae Zagrabienensis*, Zagrabiae, [1770]; *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* vol. I, and KUBINYI András, *A kincstári személyzet a XV. század 2. felében*. Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából, 1957, 25–49.; Andrija LUKINOVIC, *Biskup Luka Baratin = Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, Zagreb, 1995, 223–227.

⁵ Boldizsár Batthyány (around 1452–1520), Slavonian Vice-Ban, *Vice-Comes* in Körös and Zagreb. He had significant estates in Körös, Varasd, and Verőce counties. Brodarics probably approached him for patronage, because Batthyány had a good relationship with Bishop Lukács: his son, also by the name of Boldizsár, married the Bishop’s cousin Katalin Erhard in 1509. Boldizsár also appears among executors of the Bishop’s will (compare MOL DL 101 424). More on this: VARGA Szabolcs, *Szlavónia berendezkedése a késő középkor és kora újkor határán (1490–1540)*, Pécs, 2008, (PHD thesis). – I am grateful to Szabolcs Varga for giving me access to his valuable manuscript.

scopum Zagrabiensem. Iuro nunquam me negaturum hanc pecuniam, si apud me fuisset, quin potius adhuc in Italia cum ea studerem, siquidem voluntas episcopi Zagrabiensis ea fuit. Si quid Dominatio Vestra in me concepit odii ex litteris illius boni viri, illud deponat, nil in Vestram Dominationem commisi. Prodibit semel veritas, cognoscetur adhuc etiam per episcopum Zagrabiensem, quis habeat et apud quem sint illi 300 aurei.⁶ Vestra Dominatio non me deserat in hac necessitate.

2

István Brodarics¹ to Albert Kasu
Buda, 1507, [?, ?]²

Manuscript used: MOL, DF 232236

Brodarics thanks Albert Kasu for the latter's patronage and requests further support for himself and his kin in front of the Bishop of Zagreb.

Venerabilis Domine, Patrone Unice atque Observande. Post servitutis meae commendationem.

Quod semper feci in litteris ad Vestram Dominationem missis hoc idem nunc quoque faciam. Gratias videlicet agam Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi de eius erga me humanitate ac beneficiis. Rogo autem eandem, ut semper hactenus, ita etiam posterum commendatum me dignetur apud reverendissimum dominum³ reddere meosque omnes protegere. Quod ego Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae, dum vivam, reservare studebo. [...] et bene valere opto. Ex Buda dominica proxima ante festum [...] Millesimo quingentesimo septimo

Stephanus Brodarich
decretorum doctor,
servitor Vestrae Dominationis

On the outer side: Venerabili Domino Alberto praeposito maiori Zagrabiensi, Domino mihi observando

⁶ On the case of embezzlement see more: GERÉZDI Rabán, *Aldus Manutius magyar barátai*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 1945, 64., and KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala. Adalékok Brodarics István tanulmányainak és családi viszonyainak kérdéséhez*, Századok, 2008, 1187–1209.

¹ On Albert Kasu see notes for the previous letter.

² The lower left side of the document is torn off, so one or two words, including the date, are missing from the beginning of the last two lines. Therefore it is impossible to give a more precise date.

³ Bishop of Zagreb Lukács. While Brodarics lived in Buda in this period already, data shows that he kept his benefices as Canon of Zagreb until 1510. Compare: *Zagrabiensis capituli statuta et ordinationes, rubrum capitulare, dicta (saec. XV–XVI)*, ms. II. c. 49, 42v–48r., HAZU.

István Brodarics to Taddeo dei Lardi¹
Székesfehérvár, 5 June 1508

Manuscript used: ASM, Ambasciatori, Ungheria, Busta 3.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 259–260.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 555–556.

Brodarics gives a detailed account to Lardi of events and participants at the coronation of Louis II.

Reverendissime Domine, Patrone Colendissime.

Pro illa, qua semper Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem unice colui, observantia nihil magis opto, nihil ferventius desiderio cupio, quam Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem intelligere aut iam convaluisse, aut certe in dies melius se habere.²

5 Quod, ut ita contingat, Deum Optimum Maximum precor, ut Tuam Dominationem Reverendissimam nobis cito incolumem cernere concedat.

Nova nulla habemus alia, nisi illa, quae iam puto per totum terrarum orbem divulgata: illustrissimum, immo serenissimum dominum Lodovicum (quod faustum felix totique reipublicae Christianae salutiferum sit) Dominica proxima post Ascensionem
10 Domini,³ bonis avibus et melioribus auspiciis coronavimus. Ea ipsa coronatio, ut paucis multa perstringam, sic acta fuit: dominus Patriarcha⁴ divina celebravit officia. Dominus Quinqueecclesiensis⁵ et Varadiensis⁶ astiterunt pontificalibus induti, et alii episcopi minores. Inter initia missae, infans regius flens et vagiens et ob multitudinem
15 terribus primo inungitur, post ense strictum ac deinde pomum aureum et sceptrum regale accipit. Post evangelium vero, antequam corona ei imponeretur, dominus pa-

13 *post regius: vagi del.*

14 *post primo: ense stri del.*

¹ Lodovico Taddeo dei Lardi (de Ferraria) (?–1512) Doctor of canon law, Archdean in Ung, then in Pankota. Vicar of Bishop of Eger Ippolito d'Este (1498–1520) in 1498–1508, *Vice-Comes* of Heves County. Compare: SUGÁR István, *Az egri püspökök története*, Budapest, 1984, 206–208.

² Another letter by Giovanni Muzzarelli dated 28 May 1508, also kept in Modena says that Taddeo dei Lardi travelled to Italy to cure himself in baths. (Compare: ASM, Ambasciatori, Ungheria, Lettere di Muzzarelli)

³ 4 June 1508.

⁴ Tamás Bakócz (1442?–1521) High Chancellor, Archbishop of Esztergom, Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁵ György Szatmári (1457–1524): Bishop of Pécs (1505–1522), studied in Cracow; Humanist prelate, patron of arts, one of the most important patrons of Brodarics. More on Szatmári: TÓTH-SZABÓ Pál, *Szatmári György prímás (1457–1524)*, Budapest, 1906; more recently: FARBAKY Péter, *Szatmári György, a mecénás*, Budapest, 2002., and FEDELES Tamás – SARBÁK Gábor – SÖMEGI József, *Pécsi Egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543)*, Pécs, 2009, 136–140.

⁶ Zsigmond Thurzó (around 1466–1512) Humanist prelate, studied in Padua. Secretary of György Szatmári until 1504, Bishop of Szerém from 1501, of Nyitra from 1504, of Várad from 1506. It was he who rebuilt the bishop's palace in Nagyvárad in Renaissance style. Compare: BUNYITAY Vince, *A várad püspökség története alapítása a jelenkorig. I.*, Nagyvárad, 1883, 354–366.

latinus⁷ ex more ter quaesivit a dominis et regnicolis alta, ut ab omnibus, qui in templo aderant, exaudiri posset, voce, si vellent Lodovicum regem coronari. Qui quidem omnes unanimi consensu, uno ore acclamarunt se velle. Inter quos populi et nobilitatis clamores regia maiestas⁸ pro gaudio et laetitia adeo ubertim et large flevit, ut omnes ad
 20 lacrimas commoverit. Post huiusmodi responsum a populo datum, corona Lodovico flenti et ob clamores turbae eo magis terrore imponitur, qui tandem coronatus in solium auratum, quod ad latus patris dextrum erat, locatur. *Te Deum laudamus* organo, tubis et campanis, voce populi concinitur. Tandem peraguntur divina, quibus finitis infans coronatus, palatino et comite Scepusiensi⁹ coronam super caput eius gestantibus tota
 25 nobilitate, tota curia praeunte, universo populo hinc inde ad spectandum circumfuso, via panno rubro strata de consuetudine ad templum Divi Petri,¹⁰ quod non longe distat, ducitur, patre et sorore¹¹ subsequente. Ubi in quadam sede vetusta, quam Sancti Stephani fuisse referunt, collocatur. Inde in reditu cum universis proceribus tam secularibus, quam ecclesiasticis, paucis, qui cum patre remanserant, exceptis, in curru
 30 aurato, qui, ut Vestra Dominatio optime novit, ei iampridem a domino Patriarcha datus fuerat, ad quoddam templum¹² extra urbem ad unum milliare Italicum vectus est. Ubi ex consuetudine illo ense, qui ei inter sacra et ceremonias, ut dixi, fuerat datus, in quatuor partes secuit, et equo impositus est. Inde reversi, universi proceres lautissimo ac splendidissimo convivio sunt in aula regia excepti. Post prandium diversi ludi et militaria ludicra spectata.¹³

Haec volui Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi perscribere, ut, quando praesens haec spectare non potuit, habeat, unde singula cognoscat, in quo si vel prolixior vel incultior, quam decuisset, fui, det mihi veniam et prolixitatem quidem loquacitati, inelegantiam vero et characterum sordes partim inscitiae, partim occupationibus ascribat. Institueram ego tum ob celebritatem tantae rei, tum etiam ex commissione domini
 40 mei Quinqueecclesiensis¹⁴ orationem facere, sed ob infirmitatem regis et etiam quandam aliam ob causam, quae litteris non est committenda, oratio locum non habuit.

29 post exceptis: extra del.

30 post aurato: quod del.

31 post ad: te del.

36 Haec volui ... redire cupio in editione Kujáni om.

39 post sordes: occup del.

⁷ Imre Perényi was Palatine from May 1504 to 5 February 1519, his death.

⁸ Vladislaus II (1490–1516), King of Hungary (1471–1516) and Bohemia, father of the infant King Louis.

⁹ János Szapolyai (1487/90?–1540) Baron from Szepes (1509–1526), Voivod of Transylvania (1510–1526), Hungarian King from 1526 by the name John I. Palatine Perényi and Szapolyai, the two keepers of the crown held it over the head of the child King.

¹⁰ A parish church named after apostles St. Peter and Paul. The coronation mass was held in the Boldogasszony-basilica; from here they went to the St. Peter church, the traditional place for the rest of the ceremonies.

¹¹ Anna Jagiello (1503–1547), older sister of Louis II, later wife of Ferdinand Habsburg.

¹² I.e. to the St. Martin's church.

¹³ More extensively on the history of coronation ceremonies compare: BARTONIEK Emma, *A magyar királykoronázások története*, Budapest, 1987., and PÁLFFY Géza, *Koronázási lakomák a 15–17. századi Magyarországon*, Századok, 2004, 1005–1101.

¹⁴ This means that Brodaries was in the service of György Szatmári already in the summer of 1508.

Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem bene valere et cito ad nos incolumem redire cupio.

45 Ex Albaregali, postridie coronationis serenissimi domini Lodovici regis, anno Domini 1508.

Eiusdem Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae

humillimus servitor
Stephanus Brodarych,
decretorum doctor
in cancellaria regiae maiestatis.

4

István Brodarics to Taddeo dei Lardi¹
Buda, 9 June 1508

Manuscript used: ASM, Ambasciatori, Ungheria, Busta 3.²

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Tá.* 1908, 260–261.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 557–558.

Brodarics gives a detailed account of the child King's marching in to Buda and participants of the procession to Taddeo dei Lardi three days after the coronation of Louis II.

Reverendissime Domine, Patrone Colendissime.

Cum illas primas litteras³ iam conscripsissem, neque nuntius adesset, per quem mitti possent, libuit illa quoque, quae post subsecuta sunt, in his perstringere, ut Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, quam scio alioquin haec omnia compertissima habere, ex literis meis universam rei gestae seriem cognosceret.⁴

5 Triduo post illam auspicatissimam coronationem interiecto regia maiestas Budam rediit,⁵ prius per dominum palatinum⁶ et comitem Scepusiensem⁷ coronā in arcem Visegradi relata.⁸ Novus regulus ingrediens hac pompa et hoc honore exceptus, nam praelati et alii, qui prius Budam venerant, omnes obviam regulo processerunt. Ordo
10 introitus fuit: primo equites levis armaturae vestri Agriensis et domini cardinalis Strigoniensis,⁹ post deinde armigeri. Subsecuti praeterea varii diversorum principum

¹ On Lardi see notes for the previous letter.

² A copy of the original manuscript from the 19th century is in the Library of the HAS, Manuscripts Department (Ms 4999, bundle 11., 101–103)

³ See the previous letter.

⁴ Brodarics did not send his previous letter indeed, since there is no seal and address on that one (unlike the second one sent to Lardi).

⁵ I.e. on 8 June 1508.

⁶ Imre Perényi (?–1519), Comes of Abaúj, Palatine from 1504 until his death.

⁷ János Szapolyai, Count of Szepes, Transylvanian Voivod.

⁸ After the coronation the two keepers of the crown took it back to the place where it was kept, Visegrád.

⁹ Cardinal Bakócz Tamás, Archbishop of Esztergom.

exercituli equis, armis, vestibus, auro, argento, phaleris preciosissimis ornati. Secuta post hos est omnis generis fratrum et scholarium ac presbiterorum processio. Campanis interea undique per omnes turres sonantibus, bombardis in theatro arcis et pixidibus
 15 innumeris emissis, tubis, tibiis et ceteris huiusmodi musicorum generibus circumstre-
 pentibus et universa civitate ad spectandum effusa. Post illam, quam dixi, proces-
 sionem ibant barones et iuniores et seniores. Deinde praelati omnes pedites. Post hos portabatur velum auratum, sub quo puer regius, immo rex novus, laetus, hilaris atque
 20 omnibus arridens in ulnis domini marchionis¹⁰ ferebatur. Domino patriarcha¹¹ sollem-
 niter habitu cardineo accincto sub eodem velo novum regem comitante, quasi loco patris ibi constituto. Nam rex senior¹² per aliam portam paucis admodum comitantibus, sine ulla pompa fuerat urbem ingressus, ac recta in arcem profectus. Hic fuit introduc-
 tionis ordo. Tandem infans fuit in aedem Divae Virginis¹³ portatus et ibi Virgini et Filio eius devote ac sollemniter oblatus, postremo in arcem ductus.
 25 Vestram Dominationem rogo, ne sit ei molestum meas hasce ineptias legere. Si haberem maius quidpiam ac dignius, illud Vestrae Dominationi offerrem. Quam bene valere et cito ad nos incolumem reverti etiam atque etiam cupio.

Ex Buda feria sexta proxima post coronationem serenissimi regis Lodovici 1508.

Stephanus Brodary[ch]¹⁴

30 servitor

On the outer side: Reverendo domino, domino Thadeo de Lardis gubernatori episcopatus Agriensis etc., domino honorando.

5

István Brodarics to citizens of Kassa
 Buda, 29 August 1512

Manuscript used: MOL, DF 270926

1. Brodarics reminds citizens of Kassa that he was of help to them in the past whenever he could be. – 2. He asks for a four-in-hand carriage from the town in recognition of his services and that it is to be sent to Buda by merchants going to the fair held at St. Nicholas Day.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici mihi Honorandi.

[1.] Satis constat Vestris Dominationibus et maxime illis, qui ad dominum nostrum

¹⁰ Marquis Georg von Brandenburg (1484–1543) cousin of Vladislaus II, one of the tutors of the child King Louis

¹¹ This also refers to Tamás Bakócz, who held the title of Patriarch of Constantinople, too.

¹² Vladislaus II (1490–1516), King of Hungary (1471–1516) and Bohemia, father of the infant King Louis.

¹³ This is the “Nagyboldogasszony” church in the Buda castle, today commonly known as Matthias church.

¹⁴ The corner of the letter got torn off, so the last two letters of the signature cannot be read.

reverendissimum¹ per Vestras Dominationes mitti solent, me in omnibus, in quibus possum, et quae sunt officii mei, libentissime servire eisdem. Id quod ego non propterea facio, quod propter hoc aliquam remunerationem a Vestris Dominationibus expectem, sed certe magis ex cordis affectione, qua Vestris Dominationibus afficior.

[2.] Nihilominus tamen rogo Vestras Dominationes, ut non loco remunerationis sed loco mutuae benivolentiae velint mihi ordinari facere unum curram pro quattuor equis, et per mercatores huc Budam ad nundinas Sancti Nicolai² venturos mittere. Id quod scio me apud Vestras Dominationes servitiis meis posse praeter dominum nostrum gratiosissimum centies promereri. Easdem Vestras Dominationes optime cupio valere.

Ex Buda in festo decollationis Beati Iohannis Baptistae Anno 1512.

Vestrarum Dominationum in omnibus

Stephanus Brodarych

decretorum doctor,

secretarius reverendissimi domini Quinqueecclesiensis etc.

On the outer side: Prudentibus et circumspcctis dominis, iudici, iuratisque civibus ac aliis dominis, civibus civitatis Cassoviensis, dominis et amicis honorandis.

¹ György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs. Data show that Brodaries was in the service of Szatmári from 1508.

² To the St. Nicholas' Day fair on 6 December.

István Brodarics to Aldus Manutius¹
Buda, 15 September 1512²

Manuscript used: BA. E. 36 inf., fol. 16.

Published: ÁBEL Jenő, *Adalékok a humanizmus történetéhez Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1880, 30.;

and Pierre de Ambroise NOLHAC, *Les correspondents d'Aldus Manuce*.

Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire 1485–1514. Rome, 1888, 242.;

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 558.

Six years ago he left a manuscript of Janus Pannonius with a book merchant by the name of Jordan so that the latter would forward it to Aldus Manutius in order to print it. He requests Aldus to give the volume to the Hungarian King's envoy, who is to arrive at Venice, if it has been printed.

Excellentissime Vir, Amice Observandissime. Salutem ac prosperitatem.

Iusseram cuidam librario Alemanno Iordano nomine³ Venetiis agenti sexto iam circiter abhinc anno tum videlicet, cum ego ex gymnasio Patavino⁴ in patriam redirem, ut quaedam opuscula Ioannis illius Pannonii,⁵ pro quorum impressione et ego tunc et

¹ Aldus Manutius (Bassano, 1449–Venice, 1515), Humanist, an emblematic printer of the Renaissance. On his Hungarian connections see: GERÉZDI Rabán, *Aldus Manutius és magyar barátai*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 1945, 38–98. More on his life: Julius SCHÜCK, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1862.

² On the back side of the letter we find 17 October. Rabán Gerézdi does accept this date (compare: *Aldus Manutius magyar barátai*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 1945, 67), and this date appears on the version that appeared in Hungarian in the volume of V. Kovács. However, this is obviously false, since we know that Fülöp Csulai Mór took the letter, and about him we know that he was received in Venice in great pomp on 7 October. (Compare: FEDELES Tamás, *Egy Jagelló-kori humanista pályaképe. Csulai Mór Fülöp (1476/1477–1526)*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2007, 60–61.) The misunderstanding stems from an incorrect resolution of the Roman-type date at the end of the letter. According to Roman calculation we do not add 17 days to the *Kalendae*, 1 October, but distract 17 days, and this is how we get the real date of the letter, 15 September. This way of dating can be reconciled with Csulai's trip, who was already in Zengg at the end of September, where he embarked on a ship to Venice.

³ Jordan von Dinslaken, printer from Cologne. He was banned from Venice in 1520 for distributing Luther's works. Compare: BODA Miklós, *Pécs–Medvevár–Pécs. Janus Pannonius a pécsi utóélet tükrében* = BARTÓK István, JANKOVITS László, KECSKEMÉTI Gábor (ed.), *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában*, Pécs, 2000, 83.

⁴ Brodarics obtained doctorate in canon law in Padua sometime around 1505–1506.

⁵ On Brodarics' role in the publication of Janus' works and on the manuscript he had, see more: BODA Miklós, *A „sevillai kódexek” és a Janus Pannonius-szöveghagyomány kérdőjelei*, Baranyai Helytörténetírás 17–18. (1985–1986), 475–493. – More recently, Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay found a manuscript with Janus' works. He established a connection between the compilation and Brodarics convincingly. Compare: RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY Ágnes, *Janus Pannonius leveleinek kézírata a Pray-gyűjteményben*, Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei, 14–15 (2011), 283–292.

5 herus meus⁶ praeterea apud te egerat, in manus Tuae Dominationis daret. Quod si factum ab illo est, rogo Tuam Dominationem, velit libellos ipsos ad manus magnifici ac reverendi domini oratoris⁷ regis nostri, qui tibi praesentes reddet, dare. Ne enim vir tantus perpetuo carie obsitus lateat, decrevi opuscula eius omnino in lucem emitti curare. Idque auxilio ac voluntate domini mei. In quo et ipsi d[omino] meo et mihi rem
10 gratissimam Tua Dominatio faciet. Quae optime valeat.

Ex Buda XVII. Kalendas Octobris MDXII.
bonus frater ac deditissimus

Stephanus Brodarych
decretorum doctor
secretarius reverendissimi
domini Quinqueecclesiensis
cancellarii regni Hungariae.

15

On the outer side: 17. Octobris 1512. Brodarych decretorum doctor, secretarius ex Buda. Clarissimo viro domino Aldo Manucio Romano, impressorum summo, fratri et amico optimo.

7

István Brodarics to citizens of Kassa
Pécs, 20 August 1515

Manuscript used: MOL, DF 269209

Published: TÓTH-SZABÓ Pál, *Oklevelek a kegyúri jog történetéhez*, Történelmi Tár, 1903, 105–106.

1. Having heard that the position of the Provost of Jászó is vacant, he asks those in Kassa to give it to scribe Péter. Kristóf Darholczi also wrote about this to them. – 2. He and Darholczi could have achieved with the Bishop that the Provostship goes to scribe Péter; but as advowson belongs to Kassa, they prefer to recom-

⁶ Brodarics' formulation is ambiguous here. Already secretary of György Szatmári at the time. In 1505–1506, probably the patronage of Tamás Bakócz was behind the plans for publication, but the manuscript in question got into the hands of the young Humanist from his original patron Osvát Tuz. (On this compare: KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala. Adalékok Brodarics István tanulmányainak és családi viszonyainak történetéhez*, Századok, 2008, 1193.) Szatmári, on the other hand, undoubtedly supported the publication of Janus' works, as shown by the offering to the Bishop of Pécs in the Guarino-panegyric of Sebestyén Magyi published in 1513. (Compare: KLANICZAY Tibor (ed.), *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták*. Budapest, 1982, 662–664. In Latin: HEGEDÜS István, *Analecta nova*, Budapest, 1903, 214.) On Brodarics' connections to Sebestyén Magyi and the Bologna circle see: RÉVÉSZ Mária, *Néhány adat Philip-pus Beroaldus maior magyar összeköttetéseihez*. Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny, 1941, 165–166.

⁷ Fülöp Csulai Mór (1476/77–1526), Humanist, Royal Secretary, later Bishop of Pécs. Csulai studied with Beroaldo in Bologna and had a friendly relationship with Aldus Manutius too. Like Brodarics, Csulai was also a protégé of Szatmári. In the first two decades of the 1500s, he visited Venice many times as Hungarian royal envoy. More on his life: FEDELES Tamás, *Egy Jagelló-kori humanista pályaképe. Csulai Mór Fülöp (1476/1477–1526)*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2007, 35–84.

mend their protégé to the town. – 4. People in Kassa should write a letter on behalf of scribe Péter; whose knowledge, morals and outstanding qualities make him worthy of recommendation.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini mihi Honorandi.

[1.] Praeposituram ecclesiae de lazo vacare¹ intelligo, iusque patronatus eius praepositurae Vestras Dominationes habere.² Si igitur istic in medio sui Dominationes Vestrae nondum aliquam personam ad eam praeposituram elegerunt, supplico Dominationibus Vestris, easque vehementissime rogo, velint mei etiam ob respectum et meorum servitiorum praeposituram ipsam Petro litterato,³ nunc domini mei⁴ servitori, qui et vicinus Vestris Dominationibus est et moribus, scientia, aliisque virtutibus satis decoratus, conferre. Sicut egregius etiam dominus Christophorus Darhocz,⁵ cubicularius domini reverendissimi Dominationibus Vestris super hac re latius scripsit.⁶

[2.] Nos cum ipso domino Christoforo Darhocz, si pro ea praepositura ipsi domino Petro litterato obtinenda laborare et intercedere apud dominum nostrum reverendissimum voluissemus, credimus nos habere tantum favoris apud suam dominationem reverendissimam, ut praeposituram ipsam obtinere ipsi domino Petro potuissemus, sed cum, ut dixi, eius praepositurae ius patronatus Vestrae Dominationes habeant, potius volumus ad Vestras Dominationes in favorem illius boni viri scribere. Quas unacum
15 ipso domino Christoforo rogo, velint utriusque nostrum servitiorum intuitu praeposituram ipsam ipsi domino Petro litterato conferre.

[3.] Velintque ipsae etiam Dominationes Vestrae in favorem et commendationem illius boni viri scribere, quem de peritia litterarum, de bonis moribus et de omni probitatis genere merito Dominationes Vestrae commendare possunt. Valere cupio Vestras Dominationes, quibus me et servitia mea commendo.

Ex Quinqueecclesiis in festo beati Stephani regis anno 1515.

Stephanus Brodaryth decretorum doctor et
secretarius reverendissimi domini Quinqueecclesiensis

On the outer side: Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis, iudici iuratisque civibus civitatis Cassoviensis, dominis honorandis.

¹ Provost Pál Jászai, who was appointed to the position in 1508 by Szatmári himself, died in 1515.

² Bishop of Pécs György Szatmári and his home town Kassa won advowson of Provostship of Jászó and the right to elect the Provost on 9 June 1508. The convent, however, also clinged to the right of free election of the Provost based on their privileges upheld by Vladislaus. After the death of Pál Jászai, the convent elected Gergely Karácsondi Provost. Karácsondi was later confirmed by Szatmári himself as Provost. The document about this is dated 23 September 1515. (Compare: MOL DF 269210) Regarding the Jászó convent see: TÓTH-SZABÓ Pál, *Szatmári György primás (1457–1524)*, Budapest, 1906; and TÓTH-SZABÓ Pál, *Jászó a főkegyúri jog történetében II., Századok*, 1905, 223–247.

³ An unknown employee of György Szatmári who did not attain Provostship.

⁴ Brodaries was already the secretary of Szatmári.

⁵ It is about nobleman Kristóf Darholczi from Sáros County, about whom we have several pieces of data together with his father (Pál Darholczi) and brothers (Pál and Vilmos). (Compare: MOL, DL 97820, DL 64524, DL 75106). Kristóf, Vice-Comes of Sáros County from 1514, Chamberlain of György Szatmári in 1515.

⁶ For Darholczi's letter to the town of Kassa dated 18 August 1515, see: MOL, DF 270974

István Brodarics to Angelo Cospi¹
[Sine loco], [1515–1516]²

Manuscript used: EFKK, Categoria V. Titulus IV. cc. 142v–143r.

Published: V. KOVÁCS Sándor, *Egy humanista a mohácsi vész korában (Kálnai Imre).*

Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1970, 372.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor, *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század.* Budapest, 1971, 596.

Brodarics calls Cospi's attention to a youngster who prepares for studies in Italy, even though he is not an old acquaintance of Cospi.

Eximie ac Doctissime Vir, salutem et commendationem.

Etsi nulla mihi vel parva admodum cum Tua Dominatione intercessit familiaris necessitudo, qua fretus liberius illi oneris quippiam audere[m] imponere, exoratus tamen precibus huius boni viri,³ quem vel ex eo bonum dixerim, quod litterarum sit cupidus, scribendum duxi ad Tuam Dominationem hominemque illi non parvis mihi officiis devinctum singulariter commendandum, existimans Tuam Dominationem non minorem huius petitionis meae habituram rationem, quam si quis ex veteribus illius amicis ad se scriberet.

Est enim non minor quandoque in conciliandis, quam in retinendis ac sanctissime colendis amicitiiis voluptas. Si locum et exactius rem consideramus, verissimum est illud
10 Martialis nostri *omnes hi veteres novi fuerunt*.⁴ Quis enim nostrum iure dicere potest sibi ullum veteri (!) amore vinctum, qui non idem ei olim novus fuerit. Quare non diffido Tuam quoque Dominationem, quam ut omni in virtute, ita in amicitia quoque colenda plurimum voluptatis ponere, nullum est dubium amico novo et visu forte tantum cognito aliquid tribuituram(!), quae si dignabitur mihi quoque vicissim quippiam iniungere,
15 faciam, ut quicquid viribus et ope mea confici poterit, id se amico diligentissimo mandasse intelligat, cui me unice commendo. Quae et semper optime valeat. Datum etc.

¹ Angelo Bartolomeo Cospi (1430–1516) Humanist, philologist, teacher of rhetoric at the Vienna University.

² Giving an exact date for the letter is problematic. Sándor V. Kovács, who first published the text, dated the letter to the second half of the 1530s, because he thought that Brodarics might have got acquainted with Angelo Cospi on his trip to Italy in 1536. Regarding the fact that Cospi died in 1516, the date given by V. Kovács is obviously impossible. Cospi taught rhetoric at the University of Vienna, and it is clear that Brodarics knew him only slightly. However, we know about Cospi that he spent some time in Pozsony in 1515, where in the house of Girolamo Balbi he translated the Didorodus Codex (*Libri duo, primus de Philippi Regis Macedoniae, aliorum re quorundam illustrium ducum, alter de Alexandri filii rebus gestis.*) The translation was published after Cospi's death, in 1516 in Vienna in the print-shop of Vietor. (Compare: HERMANN Zsuzsa, *Egy humanista karrierje (Balbi Jeromos)*, Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei, Budapest, 1964, 233.) Since Balbi, just like Brodarics, belonged to the circle of György Szatmári, Brodarics might have met Cospi through him in 1515–16 when Cospi stayed in Hungary.

³ We do not know whom Brodarics recommended to Cospi.

⁴ Compare: Martialis I, 54, 5. (*Ad Fuscum*). Brodarics connects Martialis' line skilfully to his own text. In the original: *Nec me, quod tibi sim novus, recuses; / Omnes hoc veteres tui fuerunt.*

Charter about the augmentation of coat of arms for István Brodarics
Buda, 25 March 1517

Manuscript used: MOL R 64 – item II. – Nr. 48.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 342–344.

For the part of the charter describing the coat of arms, see:

ÁLDÁSY Antal, *A MNM könyvtárának címerjegyzéke II. Címereslevelek*, Budapest, 1904, 28–29.

István Brodarics and his family received coat of arms augmentation from King Louis II. The document discusses the earlier image of the coat of arms received for military merit in detail. Then it proceeds to describe the nature of augmentation and gives explanation.

Commissio propria domini regis.

Ludovicus Dei gratia rex Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. Tibi fideli nostro venerabili et egregio Stephano Brodarich de Ierosyn² decretorum doctori, comiti capellae sancti Andreae apostoli³ et canonico Quinqueecclesiensi salutem et gratiae nostrae regiae
5 assiduum incrementum.

Quemadmodum variae sunt et multiplices mortalium voluntates atque appetitus, ita videmus varia ac multum inter se diversa esse studia, et diversas ad varias artes ab ipsis paene incunabulis animorum applicationes, prout cuique vel natura, vel conditio, vel animi libido suadet. Quo sit, ut alii protinus, ut in lucem sunt editi, agricolationi ani-
10 mum intendant, alios mercium ex diverso orbe terra marique convehendarum studium teneat, aliis in opificio quopiam et vel pingendi vel fingendi aut sculpendi arte excellere pulchrum ac decorum videbatur, alii postremo alias vitae humanae necessarias artes et studia sequantur. Qui vero nobiliorem a natura vim sortiti sunt, et reliquum

³ Brodarich: Brodarych *MOL R 64*

¹ The original of the document severely damaged already was in the possession of the Tallián family. The copy that is presently in the MOL was made after this in 1897. The Tallián archive was incorporated into the National Museum in 1899, but by this time the original of Brodarics' coat of arms had disappeared. Compare: LACZLAVIK György, *Brodarics István címereslevele*, Turul, 2011/1, 28.

² Jerosin or Jarosin, Kőrös county (today: Herešin, Croatia). Relevant literature disputes that Brodarics really used the name of *Jerosin*, because, apart from the charter, it is never seen in his letters that survived. In a letter dated 1 October 1532., he names Polyana in Kőrös County as his ancestral estate. On the issue of title of nobility see: KUJÁNI Gábor, *A Brodaricsok*, Századok, 1913, 755–756; on Jerosin–Herešin the authority is Ranko Pavleš, who uses recent Croatian literature too. Compare: Ranko PAVLEŠ, *Koprivničko i đurđevačko vlastelinstvo. Povijest, topografija, organizacija*. Koprivnica, 2001, 110–111.

³ This, in fact, is a title of chapel rector. The St. Andrew's chapel might have been built next to the south-western part of cathedral. Sources mention one of its altars already in the early 14th century. Tamás Bakócz was one of the chapel rectors before 1487; all his known successors were clerics with a university degree. Compare TIMÁR György, *A szentisztelet Pécsen a középkorban (patrocinium, titulus, ecclesiae)* = FONT Márta (ed.), *Pécs szerepe a Mohács előtti Magyarországon. Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 9., Pécs, 2001, 69–103.

humani generis vulgum gloria et nominis amplitudine antecellere conantur, eorum duo
 15 genera esse videmus, aut enim rem militarem sequuntur, aut ab ipso aetatis principio
 bonarum artium studiis animum dedunt. Quae quidem duae res solae propemodum
 sunt, quae mirabile dictu est, quantum et ornamentum et emolumentum humano generi
 asserant, alterum enim, si bello quatur, ex bello nobis victoriam, ac demum pacem
 parat, alterum in pace quietos nos ac legibus et iure aequabili viventes continet. Itaque
 20 haud temere ullum tam ferum, tam barbarum, tamque ab omni humano cultu alienum
 atque aborientem populum reperias, ubi non his geminis artibus summus sit semper
 honor habitus. Verum quod ad litteras attinet, quantum [...] splendoris et claritudinis,
 tantum etiam commodi et emolumenti facile inesse apparet. Nam si quis [...] perpen-
 diculum revocare voluerit et aequa lance metiri, procul dubio reperiet nobis parum
 25 profuisse ratione et intellectu a ceteris animantibus distinctos fuisse [...] divinationem
 vocamus, exulta atque elimata fuisse. Quid enim inter nos et cetera animalia [...] adminiculo
 et nobis et tam multiplices rerum cognitiones et Dei ipsius Optimi Maximi
 ac naturae omnium parentis abstrusissima arcana [...] monumentiore eo iam [...] pen-
 etratum, quo vim naturare, humanare, penetrare posse nemo unquam credidisset. Lit-
 30 terae igitur sunt et [...] omnium nationum absolutissimam [...] cognitionem tribuunt,
 litterae denique, quae [...] sempiternam, immensam, ineffabilem, incomprehensibilem
 [...] Quid igitur [...] elegantius? Quid laudabilius, quam in ea re vel mediocriter excel-
 lere, quae tantum rebus humanae omnibus antistiti et tantum divina humanaque omnia
 [...] Nosque, qui de benignitate ad hoc tam amplum atque excelsum regni fastigium
 35 sumus evecti, semper ab initio maximae curae habuimus, ut tam armorum quam lit-
 terarum studiosi praecipuis [...] et pari quodammodo atque aequali existimatione ac
 dignitate haberentur.

Hac igitur de causa neque te praeterire libuit, quippe qui ab ipsis paene incunabilis
 omnem aetatem in hoc honestissimum [...] prima adhuc pueritia ad omnium artium
 40 altricem Italiam missisti [...], eam ibi per multos annos variis disciplinis operam impen-
 disti, ut adhuc adolescens et vir, dum pubertatem egressus⁴ non solum Graecis ac
 Latinis litteris non mediocriter eruditus habereris, sed etiam iuris pontificii eam peri-
 tiam consequeris, ut te nobilissima orbis terrarum gymnasia ea adhuc aetate eius disci-
 plinae insignibus et ornamentis dignum iudicarunt.⁵ Porro inde egressus non socordiae
 45 neque ignaviae animum dedisti, sed ne bonum otium inerti desidia [...] primum reve-
 rendissimi domini Thomae cardinalis Strigoniensis ac patriarchae Constantinopolitani⁶
 etc. aulam es secutus, succedente deinde tempore in obsequia reverendissimi in Christo

22 claritudinis *correx*i ex: claritudine

⁴ The multitude of expressions denoting age, which show that Brodarics got to Italy at a very early age, provide the strongest proofs that his date of birth should be put around 1480 instead of 1470–71. More on this: KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala...* 1198–1202.

⁵ Brodarics first studied in Padua from around 1498–99, then, after his master Giovanni Calphurnio died, he continued in Bologna with Filippo Beroaldo from 1503. Still, he obtained doctorate of canon law in Padua in 1505–1506. More on the chronology of Brodarics' studies in Italy: KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala...* 1194–1198.

⁶ Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom, Patriarch of Constantinople.

patris domini Georgii episcopi Quinqueecclesiensis,⁷ summi et secretarii cancellarii nostri, fidelis nostri, nobis sincere dilecti asciri voluisti, apud quos et maxime apud
50 ipsum dominum episcopum Quinqueecclesiensem, qua fide, integritate, constantia, qua praeterea industria ac sollicitudine sis versatus, quantum deinde nobisque et huic inclyto regno nostro per plures annos serviveris, adeo in propatulo est, ut litterarum nostrarum praedicatione et testimonio non indigeat. His igitur virtutibus et obsequiis tuis inducti imperpetuum nostrae erga te benevolentiae incrementum ex speciali gratia
55 nostra et de regiae nostrae potestatis plenitudine tibi ac per te Mathiae, fratri tuo carnali, necnon Francisco et Alexio filiis eiusdem Mathiae, et eorum haeredibus et posteritatibus universis ad arma familiae vestrae avita, quae in scuto coelestini coloris hominem armatum ab hostibus insecutum in cymbam transfretatoriam compulsus et in navicula ipsa concitatissimo cursu in aliam fluminis ripam tendentem gestare conspiciebantur, hoc fecimus additamentum: corvum videlicet de sublimi advolantem,
60 coronam lauri semper virentis quasi capiti illius bellatoris imponendam, rostro afferentem ad denotanda te familiae tuae, quae non temere, sed ex eventu bellico et ex illo transfretandi casu priora illa insignia sortita fuerat, hoc novum decus addidisse, ut illius sive navigationem, seu potius bellicam virtutem eruditione tua et doctrina ornaveris.
65 Quo enim alio insignii id significari atque exprimi aptius potuit, quam corvo laureum sertum gestante, cum et corvus avis sit Phoebō dicata, et lauri ramis doctorum hominum ipsa cingi soleant. Quae quidem arma sive nobilitatis insignia in capite seu principio praesentium litterarum nostrarum suis appropriatis coloribus artificiosa manu depicta tibi ac praefatis fratri nepotibusque tuis ipsorumque haeredibus et posteritati-
70 bus universis, animo deliberato et ex certa nostrae maiestatis scientia dedimus, donavimus et contulimus, immo damus ac concedimus et praesentibus elargimur, ut tu iidemque frater et nepotes tui praenominati, ac haeredes et posteritates eorum universae praetacta arma seu nobilitatis indicia, de more aliorum nobilium armis utentium, a modo imposterum, ubique in proeliis, hastitudinis, *tor[nament]*is, duellis, bellis, omni-
75 busque exercitiis nobilitaribus et militaribus, necnon sigillis, velis, cortinis, anulis, et generaliter in quarumlibet rerum et expeditionum generibus, sub merae et sincerae nobilitatis titulo ferre, gestare omnibusque et singulis privilegiis, praerogativis, immunitatibus, gratiis, honoribus et libertatibus, quibus ceteri nobiles armis utentes, quomodolibet de iure vel consuetudine utuntur et gaudent, uti, frui et gaudere possitis et
80 valeatis, de talismodique singularis et specialis gratiae nostrae antidoto merito excultetis, et tanto ampliore studio ad honorem nostrae regiae maiestatis tuae et eorundem de cetero solidetur intentio, quanto vos largiore favore et gratiarum munere dotatos, condecoratosque esse conspicias.

In cuius rei memoriam, firmitatemque perpetuam praesentes litteras nostras secreto
85 sigillo nostro, quo ut rex Hungariae utimur, impendenti communitas nobis duximus concedendas.

Datum Budae, feria quarta proxima post Dominicam laetare, anno Domini millesimo

66 avis *correx* ex: alis

⁷ György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs, major patron of Brodaries.

quingentesimo decimoseptimo, regnorum nostrorum Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. anno primo. Iacobus Piso⁸ secretarius.

10

István Brodarics to Louis II¹
Rome, 1 September 1522

Manuscript used: MOL, DL 25663

Published: IVÁNYI Béla, *Adalékok a nemzetközi érintkezések történetéhez a Jagelló-korban*,
Történelmi Társulat, 1906, 343–344.

1. *The Pope has arrived in Rome but has not received Brodarics in a public audience yet. However, he and Cardinal Medici have put forward Louis II's request to him in a private interview that a legate or nuncio be sent to the Nuremberg Imperial Diet.* – 2. *Brodarics assures King Louis that that he could find no Pope more suitable for his purposes than Adrian. Marsupino has returned from Florence to Rome too. Now they work together on behalf of the King.* – 3. *He complains that he has no money and he doesn't get any from the Fuggers in spite of the King having instructed them to lend him some. If he does not receive money soon, he will be compelled to sell everything he has and crawl back to Hungary in shame with barely one servant.* – 4. *He, too, deems the diplomatic mission to France mentioned by King Louis quite useful, but he cannot travel there without money.*

Sacra Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post humillimam servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] XXVIII huius mensis Augusti venit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster² ad sanctum Paulum monasterium non longe a moenibus Urbis distans. Sequenti die ingressus
5 Urbem, postea die Dominica³ fuit coronatus. Adhuc nihil potuit agi de negotiis Maiestatis Vestrae apud Suam Sanctitatem. Credo nos cras aut perendie habituros audientiam publicam, id est consistorialem a Sua Sanctitate. Quamvis iam in audientia pri-

⁸ Jacobus Piso (1480–1527), offspring of a Saxon middle class family from Medgyes, noted Humanist, poet and diplomat, friend and pen friend of Erasmus, member of the circle of László Szalkai who would become Archbishop of Esztergom. One of the tutors of the child King Louis from 1516, Royal Secretary from 1520. We have no other data about a permanent contact with Brodarics, who was roughly of the same age, but perhaps it is not just by accident that he wrote the letter on the coat of arms, which praises literature and science, in such elegant Latin.

¹ Fraknói refers to this letter when he states that one of Brodarics' tasks was to persuade the Pope to intervene so that Pál Tomori accepts archbishopric of Kalocsa. (Compare: FRAKNÓI Vilmos, *Tomori Pál élete*, Századok, 1881, 310.) Brodarics might have had such an assignment but it cannot be justified with the text of this letter.

² Hadrian VI (1522–1523) was elected Pope on 9 January 1522.

³ On 31 August.

vata unacum reverendissimo domino cardinale Medices,⁴ deditissimo Vestrae Maiestati, satis multa cum Sua Sanctitate egerimus de mittendo illo nuntio sive legato, quem
 10 Vestra Maiestas cupit mitti ad dietam Norembergensem,⁵ de quo etiam prius apud sacrum collegium egeramus.⁶ Sed cum statim subsecutus fuisset adventus pontificis, omnia ad pontificem reiecta fuerunt. Pontifex dixit se quamprimum expediturum unum virum idoneum, de aliis agetur, ut praemisi, in audientia consistoriali.⁷ Et in diligentia nostra nihil penitus deerit.

15 [2.] Habet ex munere divino Vestra Maiestas pontificem talem, quo melior et ad negotia Vestrae Maiestatis propensior ne optari quidem posset a domino Deo. Credo et certissime credo non Maiestatem Vestram solum, sed totam Christianitatem in huius re et nomine sanctissimi viri bonitate, prudentia et sollertia conquieturam. Plura et de hoc et de aliis in proximis litteris.⁸ Haec enim scripsi subitissime nuntio properante. Brevi
 20 faciam de rebus omnibus Vestram Maiestatem certiozem. Dominus Marsupinus⁹ et ipse

⁴ Cardinal Giulio de Medici was the cousin of the previous Medici pope, Leo X. After the early death of Hadrian VI he is elected Pope in the autumn of 1523 by the name of Clement VII (1523–1534).

⁵ There were two imperial assemblies in Nuremberg in 1522, one in the spring, and one in the autumn. The Hungarian King sent his envoys to both in order to obtain aid for the struggle against the Turks and for capturing Nándorfehérvár back. The papal envoy should have supported these Hungarian claims.

⁶ We do not know exactly when Brodarics arrived in Rome. He probably left Buda in the end of February, because Iván Borsa mentions in a Hungarica report that he saw in the Siena State Archives a letter of recommendation by Louis II to Cardinal Raffaello Petrucci on behalf of Brodarics, and this was dated 18 February 1522 (compare: Archivio di Stato di Siena, Particolari, Famiglie Senesi nr. 146). It is known from Mario Sanuto's diary that he was in Venice on 26 April because that's when he spoke in front of the council of the Signoria about the aid to Hungary. He got an answer on 2 May, and Sanuto says he continued his trip to Rome on 3 May. (Compare: WENZEL Gusztáv, *Marino Sanuto világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai III.*, Magyar Történelmi Társaság XXV. 268–269.) Marsupino writes on 8 August 1522 that he was waiting for Brodarics to arrive in Rome but 3 months have passed since his arrival. Thus Brodarics might have reached Rome in the second half of May.

⁷ Brodarics and Marsupino were heard at a consistory session on 4 September. See *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. Budapest, 2001.

⁸ Unfortunately, we have no more letters addressed to King Louis from Rome.

⁹ Francesco Marsupino, a cleric of Humanist knowledge, a doctor of both laws, one time secretary of Archbishop Bakócz, stayed in Rome from 1518 as a permanent Hungarian envoy. After 1526 he represented Szapolyai in the papal court. István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán both considered him a close friend. In 1542 he still served Ferenc Frangepán. Paul III wanted to send him on a mission to Ireland in 1541 but it did not happen (see Thomas MACCOGG, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 1996, 15.). His brother Joannes (Giovanni) Marsupino was Abbot of Kapornak in 1532 and entered the service of Pál Várdai in 1548. Regarding the Marsupino brothers see: ETE I. 232., 309., 310.; ETE II. 186–188.; ETE III. 269., 284., 291., 350., 380., 416., 474.; ETE IV. 131.

ex Florentia, quo eum concessisse Vestra Maiestas non ignorat,¹⁰ rediit. Communi igitur opera et consilio omnia aguntur et agentur.

[3.] Expensas ego nullas penitus habeo. Deus immortalis scit, quod non solum vehementissime angor, sed et supra modum admiror, quod Vestra Maiestas ita me sine
25 expensa reliquerit. Maiestas Vestra scribit¹¹ et item reverendissimus dominus cancellarius¹² ex voluntate Maiestatis Vestrae Fukaros¹³ mihi satis expensarum daturus, ab eis ne obolum quidem habere possum. Immo derideor ab eis, qui orator Maiestatis Vestrae existens ab eis sumptus mendicem. Iam si Vestra Maiestas ad tot meas supplicationes nihil mihi suppeditat, Deus scit, nescio quid faciam, nisi forte, ut vendam
30 omnia, quae mecum habeo, habitu mutato redeam cum uno famulo ad Vestram Maiestatem incognitus cum extrema ignominia mea et damno non parvo Vestrae Maiestatis. Videt enim Vestra Maiestas totam rerum suarum summam hinc pendere.

[4.] Nam quod Maiestas Vestra scribit mihi de legatione Gallica obeunda, ea, ut video, esset valde necessaria. Immo credo nihil magis necessarium ad res Maiestatis
35 Vestrae et totius Christianitatis. Sed quomodo ego illuc irem, qui iam a tot mensibus ne hic quidem unicum obolum a Vestra Maiestate habere possum.¹⁴

Me et mea servitia in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis recommendo, quam altissimus conservare dignetur diutissime felicem et incolumem. Ex Urbe 1. Septembris 1522.¹⁵

Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis

40

servitor et capellanus
Stephanus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis

On the outer side: Sacrae Regiae Maiestati Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. domino meo gratiosissimo

¹⁰ Marsupino arrived in Florence around 8 August. He practically fled there from his creditors because he had not received money from Hungary for months. See IVÁNYI Béla, *Adalékok a nemzetközi érintkezések történetéhez a Jagelló-korban*, Történelmi Társulat, 1906, 341–342; and MOL DL 25313.

¹¹ We do not know the referred letter by King Louis.

¹² This may be a reference to Archbishop of Esztergom and High Chancellor György Szatmári, a long-time patron of Brodarics. Because of the title Chancellor it is possible that László Szalkai wrote the letter mentioned.

¹³ It is a reference to the Fugger banking house, which was one of the most important financial institutions of the era that gave credits. They had several branches in Hungary too. More on their activities: Richard EHRENBERG, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger. Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert*, Jena, 1963.

¹⁴ Brodarics' planned legation in France did not happen.

¹⁵ In the first part of the letter Brodarics says August is the current month, yet the date at the end of the letter is 1 September. This highlights the nature of diplomatic letters: they are summaries, and writing them often took several days as suspected here.

Sigismund I¹ to István Brodarics
[Vilnius], [22 October 1522]²

Manuscript used: BK 228 fol. 197–198³

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 144–145.

He has been informed about the sudden death of his envoy to Rome. Since he has nobody to conduct his business, he asks Brodarics to promote his interests in the papal court just as his envoys often represent the Hungarian King. Brodarics should achieve with the Pope that the Pope appoints the candidate of King Sigismund Bishop of Przemiśl Rafał for the vacant position of Bishop of Płock. Appointing anybody else would violate the rights of the country and create confusion.

Non pridem antequam litterae tuae nobis sunt redditae,⁴ accepimus oratorem nostrum episcopum Plocensem istic vita functum⁵ et affecti sumus magna molestia, quod hac eius inopina morte complures res et negotia nostra sunt intricata. Quia vero et ipse defunctus et alii istic oratores nostri non minus curare solebant negotia nepotis⁶ nostri, 5 regis Hungariae, postulamus a te, ut cum inpraesens istic sit et nos oratorem nostrum non habemus, non desit una cum collega suo⁷ apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum⁸ rebus et negotiis nostris, agatque apud illius Sanctitatem, ne quem alium ad episcopatum Plocensem provehere velit praeter reverendissimum dominum Raphaelem, episcopum Premisliensem, virum ecclesiae et reipublicae perquam idoneum et nobis

¹ (Old) Sigismund I (1506–1548), King of Poland, the youngest brother of Vladislaus II, uncle of Louis II. He had no child from her first wife Borbála Szapolyai. Izabella, wife of János Szapolyai was born from his second marriage to Bona Sforza. More on his life: Zygmunt WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*. Warszawa, 1979. [Bibliography in the notes.]

² Brodarics indicates in his letter dated 1 January 1523 that he has received Sigismund's letter together with two others addressed to the Pope dated in Vilnius on 22 October. The accompanying letter to Brodarics was probably written around 22 October too.

³ Another manuscript: BCzart TN 35. 378–379. According to the version kept in the Naruszewicz Collection, this letter was intended to Francesco Marsupino, which cannot be excluded, since the earliest known manuscript of it is known only from a 16th-century copy kept in Kórmik. This is what I used. Its address says the letter is to the Hungarian King's envoy at the Holy Seat (*oratori regis Hungariae apud Sedem Apostolicam*). Since we do not know of any letter from Sigismund to Marsupino during Brodarics' envoyship in Rome, and Brodarics indicates in his response on 1 January 1523 that he did get a letter from the Polish King, I deem it more probable that the addressee of the above letter is Brodarics.

⁴ This letter is unknown. The above letter is the earliest that left to us from the correspondence of Brodarics and the Polish King.

⁵ Erazm Ciolek (1474–1522), Bishop of Płock, died as an envoy of Sigismund in Rome on 9 September 1522. More on his life: Henryk FOLWARSKI, *Erazm Ciolek biskup i dyplomata*, Warszawa, 1935.

⁶ Hungarian King Louis II was the cousin of Sigismund.

⁷ Without doubt this is a reference to Francesco Marsupino.

⁸ Pope Hadrian VI.

10 meritissimum, quem nos Suae Sanctitati praesentamus.⁹ Nam nos alium nequamquam admittere volumus neque possemus contra iura nostra et statuta regni nostri, quae infringi regnicolae nostri nullo modo paterentur, orireturque inde aliqua turba perniciosissima, quae nescimus quo pacto sedari posset. Referemus hanc operam tibi et eius collegae uberrima gratia et favore nostro. Datum.

12

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 1 January 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 4. fol. 122 r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 219–220.

1. Brodarics fulfilled Sigismund's request and approached the Pope regarding the Plock bishopric and the matter of indulgences. Sigismund will learn the Pope's answer from a letter to be sent through Anton Fugger. – 2. He informs Sigismund that the Pope holds him in the highest esteem among all Christian rulers, and he alone is considered the refuge of Christianity and also the only support of Hungarian King Louis. – 3. He says he is happy to be available for Sigismund because he knows that by serving Sigismund he is of service to his own master Louis.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae in gratiam Vestrae Serenissimae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Dignata est Vestra Maiestas his diebus superiore dare ad me litteras,² ut in facto ecclesiae Plocensis pro voto ac desiderio Maiestatis Vestrae apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum elaborarem, miserat etiam Maiestas Vestra binas alias litteras ad Sanctitatem Domini Nostri, alteras gratulatorias,³ alteras de indulgentiis et officio collecto-

⁹ After the death of Bishop of Plock Erazm Ciolek the King of Poland wanted to install Rafał Leszczyński, Bishop of Przemiśl into the vacant position. However, Hadrian VI did not wait for Sigismund's recommendation but appointed Johann Albrecht, brother of Albrecht von Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order which had a hostile relationship with Poland. (Compare: AT VI. 154–155.) The Polish ruler protested angrily. Since neither party would budge, a one-year-long diplomatic struggle began. Brodarics played an important part of its settlement. More on this: KASZA Péter, *Egy magyar diplomata lengyel szolgálatban. Újabb források Brodarics István római követi működéséhez.*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 2009, 593–605. The same in English: *A Hungarian diplomat in Polish service New sources for the functioning of István Brodarics as ambassador in Rome*, Camoenae Hungaricae, 2010, 61–73.

¹ Another manuscript: BK 223 fol. 83–84.

² No doubt, it is the letter by Sigismund in October 1522.

³ Sigismund greeted Hadrian VI for his election in a letter dated in Vilnius 22 October 1522. Compare: AT VI. 130.

rio.⁴ Ego non solum omnes has litteras Maiestatis Vestrae Sanctissimo Domino Nostro exhibui, sed in his negotiis ex sententia Maiestatis Vestrae obtinendis, quantum in me fuit, sedulam operam dedi. Quid facturus sit pontifex, et quale responsum ad petita
10 Maiestatis Vestrae dederit, superfluum est me pluribus verbis Maiestati Vestrae explicare, cum ex eius litteris,⁵ quas cum domino Anthonio Fukaro,⁶ diligentissimo servitore Maiestatis Vestrae ad eandem mittimus, sit omnia plene cognitura.

[2.] Ego hoc unum etiam litteris meis Vestrae Maiestati notum esse volui, incredibilem esse et admirandum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri in Vestram Maiestatem amorem
15 et de illius clarissimis virtutibus opinionem. Nullus est princeps in tota Christianitate, cui non Vestram Maiestatem rebus omnibus, quae ad excellentissimum regem pertineant, quaeve domi forisque sint magno principi necessariae, non quam longissime anteponat. Deum testor, eo tempore, quo ei litteras Vestrae Maiestatis redderem et cum hae per secretarium eius me audiente legerentur, eum in eam Vestrae Maiestatis laudum
20 praedicationem prorupisse, ut clara voce et quae ab omnibus, qui ibi tum aderant (aderant autem et ex cardinalibus nonnulli et multi archiepiscopi, episcopi et diversorum principum oratores) exaudiretur, diceret, solam Maiestatem Vestram esse, in cuius virtute post Deum sita esset labentis rei Christianae fortuna, solam esse, in qua serenissimus Ludovicus, rex nepos,⁷ regni sui tuendi et Belgradi recuperandi⁸ spem ponere
25 deberet, multaque in hanc sententiam magna cum laude Vestrae Maiestatis dixit, praeter alias virtutes domesticas, summam eius in re militari peritiam, incredibilem felicitatem miris laudibus extollens. Sed haec et eiusmodi non sunt iam in auribus meis nova, qui nunquam possum ad eius Sanctitatem accedere, quin semper de Maiestate Vestra honorificentissimam faciat mentionem.

30 [3.] Si quid id est, in quo Maiestati Vestrae inservire possum, id tam libenter ac prompto animo faciam, ut certe nihil libentius, scio me eodem tempore, quo Maiestati Vestrae servio, servire etiam gratiosissimo et serenissimo principi meo. Quod si non esset, singularis tamen Vestrae Maiestatis virtus, magnanimitas, prudentia et generosi

⁴ He wrote another letter the same day, in which he asks for confirmation of the kermess that Leo X permitted. The permission became invalid as Leo died. He also asks the after the death of Bishop of Plock Ciolek, who was charged with collecting Peter's pence, the commission be transferred to Bishop of Poznań Piotr Tomicki. Compare: AT VI. 135.

⁵ The breves of Hadrian VI did not survive.

⁶ Anton Fugger (1493–1560): cousin of Jakob Fugger, who laid down the foundations for the power of banker family. After his childless uncle dies (1525), he and his brothers take over control of the Fugger banking house. (More on Anton Fugger: Götz Freiherr von PÖLNITZ, *Anton Fugger*, Bd 1–3., Tübingen, 1958–1986. On the Fuggers' activities in Rome: Aloys SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom 1495–1523*, 2 Bde, Leipzig, 1904.) Sigismund counted on the help of the Fuggers – who were influential in Rome – in settling the dispute with the Pope. His letters to Jakob Fugger and Jan Boner from the end of October demonstrate this (see: AT VI. 145–147.) Anton Fugger must have written to the Polish ruler on this matter.

⁷ Hungarian King Louis II was the cousin of Sigismund.

⁸ Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade, today: Beograd, Serbia) was occupied by the Turks on 29 August 1521. This was a serious blow to Hungary, since this fortress was central in their Southern defence line. One of the main purpose of sending Brodarics to Rome as an envoy was to obtain support of the papal court to the campaign to reconquer Nándorfehérvár.

atque excelsi animi omnibus numeris absoluta ac perfecta excellentia traheret me ad
35 omnem servitutem, quae a me praestari posset, illi libentissime impendendam. Me et
obsequia mea perpetua in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis rursus commendo. Quam Deus
servet semper incolumem ac victoriosam. Ex Urbe Calendis Ianuarii Anno 1523. Quem
etiam annum cum plurimis sequentibus cupio Vestrae Maiestati decurrere felicissimum
et multis victoriis insignem.

40 Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

On the outer side: Serenissimo principi et domino, domino Sigismundo Dei gratia regi
Poloniae ac magno duci Lithuaniae etc., domino semper mihi clementissimo

13

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 15 January 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 4. fol. 130r.

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 225–226.

1. He put forth Sigismund's request to the Pope again regarding the Plock bishopric, but this time Cardinal de Grassis, who had been away before, also spoke up to the Pope in this matter. – 2. He will learn the Pope's answer from de Grassis' letter. The Pope cannot be dissuaded from his earlier intention, so pushing the issue further is senseless. That is, benefices of those who died in the Town are handled differently in Rome. They try to get hold of such benefices themselves.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Acceperam rursus litteras a Vestra Maiestate super negotio ecclesiae Plocensis, in quo rursus apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum omni studio, fide et diligentia
5 elaboravi. Contigit autem reverendissimum etiam dominum cardinalem de Grassis,¹
qui per hos superiores dies abfuerat, neque prioribus illis apud pontificem actionibus
atque intercessionibus interesse potuerat, praesenti negotio affuisse. Itaque cum ipse
prior (ut par erat) apud pontificem diligentissime pro hoc negotio egisset, respon-
sumque non valde a desiderio Vestrae Maiestatis alienum reportasset, ego suam praeterea
10 reverendissimam dominationem subsecutus et re omni rursus ex integro Sanctissimo
Domino Nostro declarata commemoratisque incommodis et incendiis, quae ex hoc

¹ Achilles de Grassis (or Achille Grassi) (1456–1523), Cardinal. A high priest of Polish origin. He went on diplomatic missions to several European courts from 1508. Sigismund wrote several letters to him concerning the Plock bishopric in the autumn of 1522, and asked for his intervention. (Compare: AT VI. 145–146, 153–154, 207.)

oriri possent, non potui tamen aliud et magis praesentaneum responsum a Sua Sanctitate impetrare.

[2.] Responsum ipsum, quod uterque nostrum habuit, ex litteris reverendissimi domini cardinalis Maestas Vestra intelliget,² contra quod ego non existimarem, Clementissime Domine, Maestati Vestrae (quod cum illius gratia dictum sit) iam amplius repugnandum. Nam aut difficillimum certe erit, quantumcunque nitamur, aut prorsus impossibile pontificem ex hac sententia deduci.³ Et isti latius aliquanto interpretantur et extendunt Sedis Apostolicae iura, eorumque sacerdotia, qui, quacunque de causa in Urbe manserint et vitam finierint, ad suas provisiones spectare contendunt. Quod quidem iurene an iniuria faciant, viderint alii.⁴

Ego si quid vel in hoc adhuc, vel in quibuscunque aliis negotiis Vestrae Maestati servire possum, supplico humillime, dignetur mihi praecipere et iubere, cui nihil gratius, nihil optatius erit, quam Vestrae Maestatis iussa et imperia impigre capessere et diligentissime obire. Me et meam servitutem perpetuam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Maestatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus conservet felicem et victoriosam. Ex Urbe XV. Ianuarii 1523.

Eiusdem Maestatis Vestrae

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

On the outer side: Serenissimo principi et domino, domino Sigismundo Dei gratia Poloniae regi ac magno duci Lithvaniae etc. domino semper mihi clementissimo

26 victoriosam *correx*i ex: victoriosum

² From Sigismund's answer below it seems he had not received de Grassis' letter.

³ Essentially the Pope refused all of Sigismund's requests. His candidate for the bishopric of Plock remained Marquis Johann Albrecht, he reduced the period of the kerness to half a year, and wanted to charge his own people with the collection of the Peter's pence. Naturally, Sigismund protested indignantly. See his letter to Cardinal de Grassis: AT VI. 207.

⁴ Against this argumentation, the Polish court referred to international law which says that envoys are entitled to immunity and extraterritoriality, so it does not matter that Ciolek died in Rome. Since he was an envoy of the Polish King, it should be regarded as if he had died in Poland. Compare: Sigismund's letter to Archbishop of Gniezno Jan Łaski: AT VI. 159–160.

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 26 January 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 4. fol. 131r.

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 226.

Brodarics, as instructed, held negotiations with the Pope again regarding the Plock bishopric. The King will learn the Pope's intentions from the latter's breve. The Pope shows goodwill towards him and is ready to please him in any way since he knows that the fate of Christianity is in a large part in Sigismund's hands.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae in gratiam Vestrae Serenissimae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

Rursus non destiti urgere et sollicitare Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum iuxta commissionem Vestrae Maiestatis in negotio ecclesiae Plocensis. Cuius animi sit Sua
5 Sanctitas Vestra Maiestas intelliget ex litteris sive brevi Suae Sanctitatis.

Scripsi alias de affectione Suae Sanctitatis erga Vestram Maiestatem et scripsi meram veritatem, et scio, quod non solum in hoc sed in omnibus, quibus unquam poterit gratificari Vestrae Maiestati, erit ad gratificandum paratissimus. Intelligit id, quod revera ita est, magnam partem salutis Christianae reipublicae post Deum esse in
10 manu Vestrae Maiestatis. Ego et me et meam servitutem humillimam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis commendo. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et victoriosissimam. Ex Urbe XXVI. Ianuarii 1523.

Eiusdem Vestrae Serenissimae Maiestatis

humillimus servitor et capellanus
15 Stephanus Brodericus orator serenissimi
domini regis Hungariae

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [February 1523]

Manuscript used: BJ 6556 fol. 70r-v.¹

1. Letters of Brodarics leave him in uncertainty regarding bishoprics of Plock and Przemiśl. – 2. He asks for clarification of the situation. Should the Pope decide otherwise than he wishes, he will in no way be diverted from his purpose.

Reverendissime Devote nobis Dilecte.

[1.] In negotio episcopatum Plocensis et Premisliensis, quod ut istic curares, a te

¹ Another manuscript: BCzart TN 35. fol. 397–398.

postulavimus, binas tuas litteras accepimus,² quarum alteris refers te ad litteras pontificis, ex quibus nihil pro voto nostro cognovimus, alteris item litteras reverendissimi domini
 5 cardinalis protectoris nostri, quas non habuimus, allegas, unde in dies magis in ipso negotio incerti reddimur. Quae res molestior est nobis, quam dici possit, nihilque nobis magis praeter spem accidere potuit, quam cum nos et serenissimus dominus nepos noster unum
 10 simus, et illius maiestatis negotia non secus istic Romae, quam nostra propria per oratores nostros curabantur. Nunc istud negotium nostrum talibus involucris et ambagibus tractari.
 [2.] Et proinde postulamus a te, ut nobis tandem aperte scribas, quid agatur in ipso negotio, nam non dubium est, quin summus pontifex, cum ita res succedit, parvi faciat postulata nostra iustissima, aliudque facere in hoc ipso negotio, quam quod nos volumus aut ferre possumus,
 15 contendat, de quo, quidquid id sit, vellemus quam primum certiores fieri, ut rebus nostris opportuno modo prospiciamus. Nam qui[d]quid illius Sanctitas tam de episcopatibus, quam etiam sacerdotiis aliter disponere voluerit, quam nos constituerimus, et illius Sanctitati declaravimus, nos id nullo pacto admitteremus, et licet Sanctitas Sua, ut scribis, de sua sententia, quam semel concepit, non facile decedat, tamen et nos de iustitia et dignitate nostra nulli hactenus gratia Dei cessimus, neque cessuros nos ipso Deo iuvante confidimus. Datum.

16

Andrzej Krzycki¹ to István Brodarics
 Cracow, 18 February 1523

Manuscript used: BK 243 fol. 222v–223r.²

1. Krzycki expresses his joy over Brodarics' letter to him. Neither long years nor distance made him forget their old friendship. – 2. He thanks for Brodarics' congratulation to him for his appointment as Bishop of Przemyśl. He did not strive for it, did not even think of it. He is afraid, however, that a bishopric so near the Turks will hinder him in achieving his literary goals. – 3. He has been informed about the election of the Pope, and is worried that the situation of the church would not improve in Poland, especially due to schemes of the Czech. – 4. He has been informed that there are plots in Rome regarding the rest of his benefices, although he cannot accept the bishopric without those.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Amice Honorandissime.

[1.] Rediens huc ex Lithuania litteras Dominationis Vestrae a quodam, qui dudum istinc

4 nostro *om.* BCzart TN 35
 4 alteris: ulterius BCzart TN 35

15 voluerit: velit BCzart TN 35

1 domine *om.* BK 245

2 *post* Vestrae *ms.* BK 245: Reverendissimae *add.*

² Presumably Brodarics' letters written on 1 and 15 January 1523.

¹ Andrzej Krzycki (1482–1537) Humanist, poet, high priest, diplomat. Cousin of Bishop of Cracow and Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki. On his life more recently: Leszek BARSZCZ, *Andrzej Krzycki, poeta, dyplomata, prymas*, Gniezno, 2005. [Bibliography 196–203.]

² Another manuscript: BK 245 fol. 29 r–v

ex Urbe venerat, accepi, ex quibus quam non oblita nostrae veteris consuetudinis,³ et qua me benevolentia complectatur, abunde cognovi. Quae quidem litterae loco magni cuiuspiam
 5 muneris mihi exstiterunt. Fuit enim spectata semper virtus Vestrae Dominationis et consuetudo iucundissima, quam cum per tot annos tantamque locorum intercapedinem video non extinctam, plurimum mihi gratulor, et Vestrae Dominationi, quas maiores possum, gratias ago. Equidem nihil magis cupio, quam hunc illius erga me animum aliquibus meis officiis demereri, meumque vicissim erga illam studium et observan-
 10 tiam testari. Quod ut aliquando praestare possim, nihil operae meae, nihil occasionis praetermittam.

[2] Quod vero Vestra Dominatio eam mihi gratiam, qua me valere apud serenissimum dominum meum intellexit, gratulatur, ago quidem illi immensas gratias, verum
 15 publicarum turbis ac discriminibus gratulari possit. Nescio autem, quo meo fato sit, ut quo magis me in portum refero, hoc magis aestus me in altum repellit. Nam ipse clementissimus dominus meus me non vulgaribus sacerdotiis auxisset, et ego iam mihi et litterulis meis vivere destinassem, ecce me adeo non ambientem, ut ne cogitantem quidem haec unquam ad Premisliensem pontificatum⁴ evexit, tanquam e sinu
 20 quodam, ubi lenior fluctuatio, ad pelagus fluctuosissimum. Primum enim episcopatus ipse situs est in faucibus infidelium, ubi continuo casus et ruina est metuenda. Deinde in quantis turbis versetur res ecclesiastica in his regionibus, credo Vestram Dominationem non ignorare, in quibus nihil consultius videatur, quam latere.

[3.] Porro intelligimus summum pontificem, quem sperabamus redempturum
 25 Israel, huic incendio faces etiam addere,⁵ quo haud dubium est aliquod grave discrimen secuturum, et si Vestra Dominatio hic adesset, et animum principis ac regnicolarum omnium exacerbatum videret, iudicaret prorsus de ipsa re ecclesiastica hic actum.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3 post vestris ms. BK 245: sit add. | 18 ut: et BK 245 |
| 7 post Vestrae ms. BK 245: Reverendissimae add. | 19 post unquam ms. BK 245: clementia domini |
| 8 illius erga me: erga me illius BK 245 | mei add. |
| 9 et om. BK 245 | 21 est om. BK 245 |
| 12 Vestra Dominatio: Reverendissima Dominatio | 22 post Dominationem ms. BK 245: Reverendissimam |
| Vestra BK 245 | add. |
| 13 post dominum ms. BK 245: regem add. | 23 ignorare: ignorasse BK 245; in...latere om. BK 245 |
| 15 ac: et BK 245 | 24 Porro intelligimus om. BK 245 |
| 15 post discriminibus ms. BK 245: Reverendissima | 25 redempturum Israel: Israel redempturum BK 245: |
| Dominatio Vestra mihi add. | 25 quo haud: ex quibus non BK 245 |
| 15 autem: enim BK 245 | 26 secuturum: sequi BK 245 |
| 16 sit: fit BK 245 | 26 post Dominatio ms. BK 245: Reverendissima add. |
| 16 post nam ms. BK 245: cum add. | 27 hic: sit BK 245 |

³ This is the earliest letter in the Krzycki–Brodarics correspondence. We do not know exactly how long they had known each other, but it must have been a long time (*per totos annos*). Since Krzycki, like Brodarics, studied in Bologna in the first years of the century, conceivably they might have met there.

⁴ After the death of Bishop of Płock Erazm Ciołek (1522) Sigismund appointed Rafał Leszczyński, Bishop of Przemyśl as his successor. Thus the latter bishopric became vacant. Krzycki, who had been Provost of Poznań got this.

⁵ A clear allusion to the discord between the Pope and the Polish court regarding the appointment of bishops

Non desunt Bohemi et alii vicini, qui ignem succendant, nisi quod aegre adhuc per pontifices nostros arcetur incendium. Ego me huic aleae admixtum vehementer doleo, meque, si iuris mei essem, ex hac turba libentissime subducerem. Episcopatus Plocensis iussus est in manus secularium tradi, electo regio locus in senatu episcopi Plocensis, et mihi Premisliensis est assignatus imperio principis ac procerum omnium. Quid reliquum futurum sit, ubi pontifex et vos istic ita rem, ut coepistis, tractaveritis, non libet augurari.

[4.] Scribitur etiam nobis, quod de meis istic sacerdotiis nescio quid cudatur, sine quibus ego nunquam episcopatum hunc recipiam,⁶ et proinde rogo et obsecro Vestram Dominationem, ut me quamprimum certiore reddere dignetur, quid monstri istic alatur, et in hoc saltem mihi opituletur, si in alio non libet, ut in hac re, quomodocunque successerit, diutius non pendeam. De reliquis viderint alii. Commendo me Dominationi.

Cracoviae die 18. Februarii 1523.

17

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [around 15 May 1523]

Manuscript used: BJ 6556 fol. 71r–v.¹

1. Sigismund cannot understand why matters of the bishoprics of Plock and Przemyśl take so long to settle, when the Pope does not benefit from this, but his candidates suffer considerable harm. – 2. He asks Brodarics to help his envoy to the Pope in every way since he will not allow settling the matter differently than what he had decided.

Reverendissime sincere nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Nescimus, quid sibi velit, quod negotium episcopatus Plocensis et Premisliensis tam diu istic haereat, idque absque ulla necessitate et commodo summi pontificis

28 Bohemi et alii *om.* BK 245

28 succedant: succedunt BK 245

28 post aegre *ms.* BK 245: adhuc *om.*

29 pontifices nostros: episcopus BK 245

31 locus in senatu: in senatu locus BK 245

33 reliquum: denique BK 245

36 post rogo *ms.* BK 245: et obsecro *om.*

37 post Dominationem *ms.* BK 245: Reverendissimam *add.*, ut *om.*

38 et in hoc saltem mihi opituletur, si in alio non libet: et in hoc saltem mihi, si in alio non libet, opituletur BK 245

39 viderint: videant BK 245

39 post me *ms.* BK 245: ex corde Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae *add.*

3 ulla: nulla BCzart TN 35

⁶ The Polish King, too, requested that Krzycki be allowed to keep his other benefices besides the bishopric *sine quibus in episcopatu Premisliensi exili et lacero, ut in finibus infidelium statum suum cum debita dignitate sustinere non posset* (compare: AT VI. 135.)

¹ Another manuscript: BCzart TN 35. fol. 731.

cum maxima tamen perturbatione regni nostri et servorum ac consiliariorum nostro-
rum, quos ad eos episcopatus designavimus impendio et iactura.²

[2.] Itaque postulamus a te ut huic nuntio nostro³ auxilium et consilium omne praebeas, quo negotium ipsum ex tricis istis evolvatur. Nam ut prius tibi scripsimus, non patiemur ullo pacto, ut aliter id ipsum negotium, quam designavimus, transigatur. Quando quidem intelligimus, quorsum haec involucria et ambages tendere, ut nobis contumelia et difficul-
tates in rebus nostris inferantur, quibus si, ut debes, cum nos et serenissimus nepos noster
unum sumus, afficeris, consulas et adsis, ut tandem haec tragoedia finem capiat, ne quid deterius hinc emanet. Quam operam tibi uberrima gratia nostra referemus.

18

Louis II to István Brodarics
Buda, 1 June 1523

Manuscript used: MOL DF 276078¹

Partially published: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 125.²

1. He has learnt that a papal envoy arrives in Hungary with an aid of fifty thousand gold coins. This is needed badly for hiring mercenaries as soon as possible. – 2. The Turks occupied Wallachia again, and, together with the two Romanian voivodships and the Tatars they represent a serious threat to Transylvania and Szörény, and even the whole country. A significant Turkish force assembled already near Szörény which, although would not start an overall attack on the country, can cause considerable harm through minor attacks and occupying border fortresses. – 3. The Turks threaten Croatia. Lightning has hit the powder-magazine in Temesvár. It exploded and there is significant damage. He asks Brodarics to urge the Pope to give financial aid in any case. – 4. Louis does everything in his power to contain the Turks, but this is not a struggle between equals since it should not be the task of one sole king to defeat the lord of a whole empire. – 5. Brodarics should see to it that the papal court does not spend money allotted from tenths to anything but defence against the Turks.

Venerabilis Fidelis nobis Dilecte.

¹ *Apud hunc versum eadem manu in marg. add. Copia litterarum regis Hungariae ad oratorem suum Romae.*
Datum Budae prima Iunii 1523.

² Another reason to date the letter for May is that the same arguments appear in a letter to Cardinal Bernardo Carvajal sent on 15 May 1523. (Compare: AT VI. 275.)

³ Sigismund sent Hieronym Łaski to Rome to protest raising Marquis of Brandenburg Johann Albrecht Bishop of Plock. (Compare: AT VI. 214–216.)

¹ The same manuscript can be found in the HHStA in Vienna (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 1. Konv. D, fol. 96–97.)

² Only the first third of the letter (*Redditum nobis ... societatem allicere.*) is included in Veress' documentary compilation.

[1.] Reddium nobis paulo post tuas litteras³ est breve Apostolicum⁴ de summa quinquaginta milium ducatorum, quae nondum accepimus in huius afflictis regni nostri defensionem a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro et ista Sede Apostolica decretorum, designatum quoque legatum amplissimum patrem, Sancti Sixti cardinalem⁵ maiore ad nos propediem venturum praesidio intelleximus. Explicas autem non obscure, quantum id praesidii futurum sit, videlicet unde conducere, atque aliquamdiu sit opus, peditum decem milia possint, fatemur has copias viribus nostris nec levem, nec mediocrem futuram accessionem. Si tamen hoc tempore pedites istos conductos et in locis opportunis cum nostro peditatu atque equitatu dispositos haberemus, maiori essent nobis adiumento, quam si paucis post mensibus viginti milia conducerentur.

[2.] Nam, ut rerum nostrarum statum cognoscas, vayvoda Radwl, quem nos anno superiore Valachiae Transalpiniae praefeceramus⁶ Turcis provinciam summa vi nuper occupantibus et novum vayvodam⁷ cum vexillo imperatoris inducentibus rursum cedere et in Transsilvaniam cum optimis quibusque et nostrarum partium viris confugere est coactus. Cum igitur haec provincia in hostium sit potestate, cogita, quantum Transsilvaniae ac Severino aut ne quid de partibus loquamur, quantum universo regno nostro impendeat periculi. Adiungere enim hostes sibi poterunt Valachiae utriusque populos et, si libitum fuerit, ipsos etiam Tartaros in belli ac praedae societatem allicere. Quibus etiam si resistere possimus, quomodo resistamus eodem tempore Turcarum caesari, quem constans fama est intra hos dies paucos regnum nostrum a partibus illis inferioribus cum omnibus suis et terrestribus et navalibus copiis invasurum. Habet iam ad vada Danubii non procul a Zenderonia⁸ validissimum et paratissimum cum ducibus peritissimis exercitum, navium ac tormentorum bellicorum maximum numerum. Et, ut opinio est, quamprimum caesar, qui in dies exspectatur, ad exercitum venerit, rem summis viribus per terras et flumina aggredietur. Quod si forte contra nostram et omnium opinionem, caesar ipse mutato consilio hac aestate regnum nostrum nollet invadere, illud tamen certum et indubitatum habere poteris tantos paratos exercitus diu nequaquam fore otiosos, sed sub bonis et peritis ducibus, quales illi dicuntur esse, facinus, quod maximum poterunt, tum in oppugnandis arcibus finitinis tum in vastandis et diripiendis regnis nostris experientur.

28 Exercitus *correx*i ex: exercitos.

³ We do not know Brodarics' letter.

⁴ Few of the breves of Hadrian VI survived, there is none among these that was sent to Louis II. (For this piece of data I am indebted to Gábor Nemes.)

⁵ Tommaso Cajetan De Vio (1468–1534) Dominican monk, eminent theologian and philosopher, protector of papal primacy. Legate of Hadrian VI in Hungary in 1523.

⁶ V. Radu (Radu de la Afumați) Voivod of Wallachia, illegitimate son of Radu cel Mare. Usually his policies were anti-Turkish, and he had to leave his country several times between 1522–1529. He fled to Transylvania from the Turks invading his country in April 1523, but with the support of János Szapolyai, Transylvanian Voivod, he recaptured his throne already in January 1524. When he turned against the Sultan once again in 1529 his subjects killed him.

⁷ Vladislav III, supported by the Turks, was Voivod of Wallachia temporarily three times between 1523–1525.

⁸ Szendrő (today: Smederevo, Serbia).

[3.] Non putes Croatiam periculis vacuum fore. Designati sunt et expediti praefecti duo, qui cum aliquot hominum milibus excidio illius quoque regni nostri deserti extremam manum adiciant. Neque id patiemur te ignorare, quod his diebus ad multa finium nostrorum incommoda et varias calamitates accessit: turris arcis nostrae
35 Themesiensis editissima omnium et firmissima icta fulmine accensa est. In qua cum essent cadi aliquot pulveris tormentarii et sulfuris repositi, tanta vis exstitit incendii, ut non solum turris illa ab unis fundamentis sit convulsa, verum etiam murorum magna pars repente corruerit. Haec idcirco scribenda ad te curavimus, ut possis Sanctissimo
40 Domino Nostro sacrorumque patrum collegio latius explicare, quibus undique periculis simus circu[m]septi, et quantum istius Sedis Apostolicae atque adeo omnium principum Christianorum ope et auxilio egeamus. Age gratias eius Sanctitati, verbis, quibus poteris maxime appositis et accommodatis, quod tam pie ac liberaliter iuvare nos constituerit. Sed illud Suam Sanctitatem etiam atque etiam admonere et obsecrare non desinas, ne aliquam in mittendo illo subsidio pecuniario iam promisso et in legato
45 expediendo moram velit interponere. Sera enim praesidia parum aut nihil omnino afferre adiumenti poterunt. Hostes autem, ut intelligis, imminet omnibus rebus parati et accincti.

[4.] Instabis praeterea diligentissime pro pace, concordia aut indutiis inter principes Sanctitatis Suae auctoritate conciliandis. Nos enim, ut saepe sumus testati, his dissidentibus exiguum admodum aut potius nullam publicae salutis et conservandae reipublicae
50 Christianae spem habemus. Noli existimare nos ita ab extrema spe et praesidiis pendere, ut domi, quae praestare ipsi atque efficere possumus, negligamus. Verum scis, quid inter caesaris potentiam tot annis tam feliciter auctam et nostras vires adeo debilitatas et fractas intersit. Non unius regis aut populi videtur esse, ut tantum tyrannum, tot
55 populorum ac nationum dominum, non dicamus superare, sed si totus incumbat, finibus suis arcere saltem et repellere possit.

[5.] Taxam decimarum scribis a reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus et officialibus exigi, recte id et coeptum et institutum et ordinatum iudicamus, immo totis viribus contendas, ne Sanctissimus Dominus Noster hanc taxam in alios usus, quam in huius
60 regni et Christianorum adversus Turcarum defensionem abire patiatur.

19

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 10 June 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 4r–5r.

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 286–288.

1. Finally, success has been achieved in the matters of the bishoprics of Plock and Przemiśl. Cardinal Pucci fulfilled all the wishes of Sigismund; nevertheless, Brodarics himself did his utmost for success. – 2. New envoy of the King of England, Bishop of Bath has arrived. It is not known yet what suggestions he has regard-

ing peace. Supposedly, the French King's envoy is also on his way. – 3. He works day and night to obtain aid to King Louis; he hopes to squeeze out something after the lengthy procrastination. – 4. Cardinal Soderini is suspected of wanting to induce a riot in Sicily. He has been locked up in the Saint Angel Castle. Three cardinals investigate the case; no decision has been made yet. – 5. He says sorry to Sigismund for daring to interfere in matters that are perhaps beyond his scope, however; he does this for Sigismund and Hungary. – 6. It is said in Rome that Sigismund advised his cousin to consider signing peace or at least armistice with the Turks, since he is left on his own by Christian rulers. Brodarics feels Sigismund could not have given better or more beneficial advice, since he has been working on obtaining aid to Hungary side-by-side with Francesco Marsupino, and with the envoy of Archduke Ferdinand, for a whole year now; and received nothing but empty promises. Neither the Holy Seat nor other rulers can be counted upon, so Hungary and Poland themselves have to reach agreement with the Turks.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Iam tandem tot difficultatibus superatis in proximo consistorio expedita est libere ecclesia Plocensis et simul etiam Premisliensis. Qua in re iuxta desiderium Vestrae Maiestatis conficienda enituit profecto illa diligens et accurata opera reverendissimi domini cardinalis protectoris,¹ ut addi nihil potuerit. Ego etiam pro virili mea non defui, idem in posterum quoque facturus in omnibus rebus, in quibus Vestrae Maiestati servire potero et illa servitiis meis uti dignabitur. Quod ut facere velit, meque inter suos postremos servulos numerare, eidem humillime supplico.

[2.] Nova hinc nescio, quae Vestrae Maiestati scribam. De pace sive induciis inter principes Christianos adhuc superest aliqua particula spei. His diebus venit novus orator a serenissimo rege Angliae, episcopus Bathonensis,² vir insignis et non parvae auctoritatis. Quid de pace attulerit – eius enim rei gratia venisse dicitur – nondum satis intelligere potui. Dicuntur et oratores Christianissimi regis adventare. Utinam pro salute totius Christianitatis boni aliquid concludi posset!

[3.] De subsidio serenissimo nepoti Maiestatis Vestrae, domino meo gratiosissimo, hic a Sede Apostolica subministrando, quae altera fuit pars meae legationis, multa quidem saepius deliberata et decreta, sed nondum aliquid ad effectum deductum. Dies et noctes laboro in pecuniis extricandis et legato, quoniam ita regiae etiam maiestati placuit, expediendo, fortasse iam tandem post tot et tam varias dilationes brevi extrudetur.

[4.] Cardinalem Volterranum ob suspicionem Siciliae ad defectionem sollicitatae et rerum novarum motus in custodiam atque adeo in arcem Sancti Angeli coniectum puto Maiestatem Vestram iam pridem intellexisse. De eo adhuc nihil est aliud decretum.

¹ Lorenzo Pucci (1458–1531), Bishop of Melf, Cardinal from 1513. Offspring of an influential prelatial family, protonotary apostolic.

² John Clerk (?–1541), Bishop of Bath. Carried out diplomatic missions in the service of Cardinal Wolsey several times.

25 Cardinales tres, quibus cognitio huius causae demandata fuerat, fere quotidie per multas horas hanc rem in arce ventilant. Quid futurum sit, ignoro.³

[5.] Ceterum, Clementissime Princeps, oro supplex humillime Vestram Maiestatem, dignabitur mihi ignoscere, si de rebus forte supra conditionem meam existentibus pauca ad Vestram Maiestatem scribam. Non proficiscuntur haec, nisi ex sincero et tam
30 gloriae Maiestatis Vestrae, quam salutis regni Hungariae cupido et studioso animo, neque accipiat haec Maiestas Vestra perinde, quasi ego consulere aliquid audeam Vestrae Maiestati, alioquin sapientissimo et omnia per se prudentissimo consideranti, sed volui proponere tantum rem in conspectu Vestrae Maiestatis illius sapientissimo consilio et prudentia trutinandum.

35 [6.] Venerant his diebus certa nova ex aula serenissimi nepotis Maiestatis Vestrae, domini mei gratiosissimi ad pontificem scripta Maiestatem Vestram suadere nepoti suo serenissimo, ut cum videat se ab omnibus fere Christianis principibus destitutum, cogitaret de aliquibus induciis cum hoste faciendis. Quae quidem res licet et pontificem et reverendissimos dominos cardinales multum turbaverit, tamen in rei veritate, Sere-
40 nissime Princeps, ego nihil potuissem audire, quod me inter tot metus magis recreare potuisset et quod existimassem ad praesentem rerum nostrarum statum esse magis accommodatum. Video principes Christianos partim inter se digladiari, partim otio domestico torpere et nihil penitus de re Christiana pensi habere. In Sede autem Apostolica, vel quod sit mala Leonis pontificis⁴ administratione, quod multi queruntur,
45 penitus exhausta, vel quod in excusationem suam hoc utatur praetextu, parvam admodum spem nobis esse ponendam. Fui ego hic per annum integrum et amplius dies et noctes sollicitando aliquod subsidium pro nepote Maiestatis Vestrae, promissa sunt mihi maria et montes,⁵ declarati cardinales in Hungariam mittendi, multi menses in his consultationibus et legatorum expeditionibus frustra consumpti, actum non solum per
50 me et collegam meum Franciscum Marsupinum,⁶ sed etiam per oratorem serenissimi principis Ferdinandi⁷ diligentissime atque acerrime toto isto tempore maximo labore et

³ Cardinal Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, was arrested on 27 April 1523 for encouraging the French King to occupy Sicily. Soderini was locked up in the Saint Angel Castle and a legal procedure started. Only the death of Hadrian VI brought it to an end. He was released after 14 September 1523, what's more, he was allowed to participate in the conclave. More on his life: K. J. P. LOWE, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453–1524)*, Cambridge, 1993. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture)

⁴ Pope Leo X (1513–1521)

⁵ *glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit*: Sallustius: Cat. 23,3,4. Only Sallustius uses this combination of words in classical literature.

⁶ Francesco Marsupino, one-time Secretary of Archbishop Bakócz, stayed in Rome from 1518 as a permanent Hungarian envoy.

⁷ Starting with 7 February 1523, Ferdinand had two envoys in Rome, Pedro de Cordoba (Pedro Salamanca) and Girolamo Balbi. Pedro de Cordoba left Rome at the end of April, while Balbi stayed until about mid-June. Since Brodarics speaks about an envoy, it is unclear whom he refers to, but the date of the letter (10 June) makes Balbi more probable. Brodarics had known him longer anyway. Compare: Gerhard RILL, *Fürst und Hof in Österreich. Von den habsburgischen Teilungsverträgen bis zur Schlacht Mohács (1521/22 bis 1526)*. Bd. 1. Außenpolitik und Diplomatie, Wien–Köln–Weimar, 1993, 241.

diuturna ac nocturna sollicitudine ac discursatione non video, quid adhuc sim consecutus, nisi nuda spes et promissiones, factum autem penitus nullum. In tanta igitur rerum omnium desperatione ac principum Christianorum vel discordia vel negligentia, Sedis
55 etiam Apostolicae vel paupertate vel tarditate, quid posset per immortalem Deum Vestra Maiestas melius suo serenissimo nepoti consulere, quam ut iam tandem tentatis omnibus, quae tentari potuerunt, de salute regnorum suorum aliter cogitaret? Si tamen haec consilia non essent iam nimium sera.

Vestra Maiestas non me temeritatis accuset. Existimavi officium meum esse ex his,
60 quae hic et in tota Christianitate agi video, Vestram Maiestatem, quae magis pater quam patruus est serenissimi domini mei, quid sentirem, facere certiorum. Quod si hac aestate salvi permanere possemus, existimarem. Clementissime Princeps, nihil esse salutaris, quam ut Vestra Maiestas mitteret quamprimum oratores suos expeditos oratoribus domini mei et serenissimi principis Ferdinandi iunctos, qui agerent apud omnes
65 principes primum de pace aut treuga, si ea aliquo modo impetrari posset, si vero id nullo pacto effici posset, saltem pro subsidio competenti ab omnibus regibus et a Sede Apostolica pro proximo vere Vestris Maiestatibus suppeditando. Dandi autem subsidii et a Sede Apostolica et a ceteris principibus, maxime a rege Angliae⁸ et Portugaliae,⁹ duobus opulentissimis et pecuniosissimis principibus, multi essent modi, de quibus
70 nunc plura non scribam.

Quod si neque de pace sive induciis, neque de sufficienti subsidio spem aliquam superesse Maiestates Vestrae viderent, veniendum esset omnino ad illum extremum, de quo superius scripsi. Quod ubi per Maiestates Vestras tractari intelligeretur, fortasse isti, quibus nunc tam submisce supplicamus, ultro nobis supplicatum venirent. Parcat
75 mihi, rursus oro supplex, Maiestas Vestra, quod de his rebus ad eam scribere audeo, et nepoti suo carissimo, domino meo gratiosissimo ita consulat, ne inter tot spes pacis et expectationis subsidiorum regnum, quod Deus avertat, amittat.

Me et meam servitutum humillimam Vestrae Maiestati devotissime commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et victoriosissimam conservet. Ex Urbe X. Iunii. 1523.

80 Eiusdem Maiestatis Vestrae

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

⁸ English King Henry VIII (1509–1547).

⁹ King of Portugal John III (1521–1557).

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [July 1523]

Manuscript used: BJ 6556 fol. 74v–75r.¹

1. Brodarics is thanked for his help so far regarding the matters of the bishoprics of Plock and Przemiśl. Following Brodarics' advice, he uses a softer tone in writing to the Pope, even though he already displayed more self-control than what was suggested by his subjects in a matter in which his country and his adherents are wronged. – 2. Brodarics is asked to settle matters of the two bishoprics without further delay or difficulties; benefices of the Canon of Cracow should be sent to Opaliński.

Reverende sincere nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Agimus et habemus gratias, quod negotium episcopatus Plocensis eo curaveris deducendum, ut iam res citra ulteriorem difficultatem confici possit.² Rescribimusque Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, uti suades, lenius, quamvis nescimus, quid in tanta nostra
5 molestia subditorumque nostrorum perturbatione scripserimus aequo asperius,³ quandoquidem nimio plus patienter et mansuete, quam ab ipsis subditis nostris ac aliis nobis consulebatur, negotium hoc tractavimus, utcunque est, quoniam iam illius Sanctitas voluntati et iuribus suis satisfecit.

[2.] Postulamus a te, ut tandem finis fiat huic tragoediae, fiatque provisio tam de
10 episcopatu Plocensi, quam etiam Premisliensi, ita ut prius scripsimus, sine ulla pensione ac onere et sine aliqua mora et difficultate. Similiter ut de canonicatu Cracoviensi reverendi Raphaelis electi Plocensis servo nostro Opalenicio⁴ provideatur. Quod tibi uberiori [!] gratia et favore regio curabimus inferre. Datum.

⁹ Postulamus: Postulavimus BCzart TN 35

¹ Another manuscript: BCzart TN 35. fol. 747.

² See the previous letter of Brodarics. A letter by Andrzej Krzycki indicates that the letters from Rome arrived in Cracow on 7 July 1523. (Compare: AT. VI. 294.)

³ In his letter to Papal Nuncio Thomas Crnić (Negri), Hadrian VI remarked that Sigismund uses quite rough language in his letters. (Compare: AT VI. 223.)

⁴ Sebastian (Opalencki) Opaliński (around 1485–1538), Canon of Cracow, later *Custos* of Poznań, Royal Secretary. Sigismund informed Bishop of Przemiśl Rafał Leszczyński already in October 1522 that he is supposed to give up his prebend as Canon of Cracow simultaneously with his appointment to the Plock bishopric, so that the King can decide about it freely. (Compare: AT VI. 132–133.)

István Brodarics to Ferenc Várdai¹
Rome, 18 August 1523

Manuscript used: MOL DF 82611

Published: LUKCSICS Pál, *XVI. századi magyar irodalomtörténeti vonatkozású újabb levelek a zseléi levéltárból*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1930, 222–223.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor, *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 559.

1. Várdai is informed that Archdean and Hungarian confessor in Rome János Lászlai has been buried. Brodarics wants to recommend Imre Kálnai for the position to the Pope. He requests Várdai's support so that the position does not fall into the hands of foreigners. – 2. He assumes, Várdai has learnt about the pact among Christian rulers reached on 5 August, which is favourable to Hungary.

Reverendissime et Colendissime Domine. Post humilem commendationem.

[1.] Hodie sepelivimus dominum Ioannem archidiaconum Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae penitentiarium.² Eius archidiaconatus ne ad manus alienas perveniret, et ne inde successu temporis maiora aliqua incommoda et molestias Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio habere possit, ago nunc apud pontificem, ut Emericus de Kalna,³ bonus servitor unacum fratribus Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae

¹ Ferenc Várdai (around 1460–1524), Bishop of Transylvania. His acquaintance with Brodarics undoubtedly began in Padua where they studied at the same time enjoying the benefices of prebend. Vladislaus II ordered in 1500 (see MOL DL 82165, 82166, 82167, 82200) that Vítus Roznár, as a foreigner, be deprived of his benefices as *Custos* of Gyulafehérvár, and those were given to Várdai. (Compare: HERMANN Zsuzsanna, *Egy humanista karrierje (Balbi Jeromos)*, Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei, Budapest, 1964, 228.) Several of Várdai's letters written in Italy between March 1500 and April 1504 survived. (His letter on 10 April 1501 was published by Pál LUKCSICS: *XVI. századi magyar irodalomtörténeti vonatkozású újabb levelek a zseléi levéltárból*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1930, 222. His other letters are kept in the MOL: Padua, 20 March 1500. DL 82163; 19 January 1503. DL 82195; and 21 January DL 82196; Bologna, 23 July 1503. DL 82199; Venice, 3 September 1503 DL 82201; Bologna, 20 April 1504. DL 82207.) After his return home, he is Royal Secretary first, then Treasurer, later Bishop of Vác, then of Transylvania. Compare: BORSA Gedeon, *Bornemisza Pál megemlékezése Várdai Ferencről és a többi Mohács előtti bolognai magyar vonatkozású nyomtatvány*. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1983, 48–58.

² János Lászlai (Lazo, 1448?–Rome, 17 August 1523), Humanist, poet, member of the Gyulafehérvár chapter, Archdean of Telegd. He had a chapel built in the Gyulafehérvár cathedral in Renaissance style in 1512. Hungarian confessor of the St. Peter's Basilica in Rome from 1517 until his death. More on Lászlai: V. KOVÁCS Sándor, *Egy epigrammaköltő a Jagelló-korban = Eszmetörténet és régi magyar irodalom. Tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1987, 396–427.

³ Imre Kálnai (1493?–1544), Humanist. He finished his lower school between 1505–1510 in Várad, together with Miklós Oláh. He earned Magister degree in Bologna. Royal secretary in 1525–26, member of Jakab Píso's circle. Withdraws from politics after Mohács, but remains adherent of King John. More on his life: V. KOVÁCS Sándor, *Egy humanista a mohácsi vész korában (Kálnai Imre)*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1970, 661–667.

adipiscatur.⁴ Nam nisi hanc viam tenerem, nescio, cui conferretur, penitus extraneo et alieno, ut fieri consuevit. Qua tamen in re nescio, quid adhuc sequetur. Supplico Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae, dignetur ipsam personam eius habere commendatam. Scio fratres eius ad unum omnes et ipsum quoque esse optimum servitorem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis. Sit contenta Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima, ut suis potius benefiat, quam alienis. Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima scit bene, quid de talibus beneficiis fieri sol[et] et quibus involucris talia soleant implicari.⁵

[2.] Nova nunc alia non sunt. Nam de confoederatione inter omnes pene totius Christianitatis principes V. huius mensis sollemniter publicata, credo iam Vestram Dominationem audiisse. Eam credo ego rebus nostris, si tandem expergisci voluerimus, fore procul dubio salutarem. Haec raptissime.

Me rursus in gratiam Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae et hoc negotium humiliter commendo. Ex Urbe XVIII. Augusti 1523.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodarych
orator

On the outer side: Reverendissimo Domino Meo, Domino Fratri episcopo Transilvanensi etc., Domino observandissimo

22

Sigismund I to István Brodaries
[Cracow], [September 1523]¹

Manuscript used: BJ 6556 fol. 76r.²

1. Doctor Lucas has returned from Rome and reported about Brodaries' diligence in the case of the Plock bishopric. Brodaries can therefore count on the King's gratitude. – 2. He holds grudges for the matter has not been settled yet because of the increased sum of annata, even though this sum was designated for fight against the infidels. Thus, leaving it with the country would be more appropriate than increasing it and

⁴ Kálnai, with Brodaries' assistance, filed an application to Hadrian VI to earn archdeanship of Telegd right after the death of Lászlai. He got it. More recently on Brodaries' role in the appointment of Kálnai using numerous sources in archives in Rome: LAKATOS Bálint, *Kálnai Imre királyi titkári és főesperesi kinevezése (1523–1525). Adalékok a pápaság magyar személyi politikájához Mohács előtt*, Századok, 2010, 411–431.

⁵ Várdai had to be familiar with the way such benefices were awarded because 10 years earlier he got bishopric of Transylvania essentially after a foreign beneficiary, elected Bishop of Bordeaux Johannes de Fuxo. See LUKCSICS Pál, *A gróf Zichy-család okmánytára XII.*, Budapest, 1931, 368.

¹ The letter mentions neither the death of Hadrian VI (14 September) nor the following conclave (1 October–19 November), so presumably it was written before the Pope's death.

² Another manuscript: BCzart TN 35. fol. 749–750.

thereby ransack the country. – 3. Brodarics should intervene for a discussion of the letter by Bishop of Plock and for renunciation of an increase of annata.

Reverende nobis sincere Dilecte.

[1.] Rediens istic ex Urbe doctor Lucas, quem in negotio episcopatus Plocensis miseramus, narravit nobis, quantam curam et diligentiam adhibueris in ipso negotio ex ipsis labyrinthis extricando. Qua re persuadeas tibi te nobis acceptissimum factum ac
5 in eorum esse numero, quibus libenter commodare vellemus, prout hoc per omnem occasionem non praetermittimus.

[2.] Ceterum quod haereat adhuc istic ipsum negotium propter auctam annatam est nobis molestissimum, praesertim cum non ignoremus eas annatas fuisse primitus ad defensionem contra infideles concessas, quam nos cum serenissimo domino nepote
10 nostro soli assidue sustinemus. Et proinde magis congrueret illas nobis contribui, quam eiusmodi auctionibus nos et regna nostra expilari.

[3.] Postulamus a te, operam facere velis, quo litterae ipsius episcopatus Plocensis expedire permittatur iuxta praedecessorum ipsius solutionem, nam nullo modo id ferre possumus, ut maioribus oneribus graventur ecclesiae nostrae satis alioquin superque
15 gravatae. Faciet nobis rem gratissimam, quam tibi favore nostro regio curabimus referre. Datum.

23

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 22 October 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 24r.

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 326–327.

1. A new Pope has not been elected yet, even though the Cardinals have been in conclave since 1 October. Some suspect that they are waiting for the outcome of the case of the French at Milan, so the election process may last for several further months. – 2. Sigismund's letter on the Plock annata has been received. However, as long as there is no new Pope nothing can be done. He hopes Sigismund can reach an agreement at least with his cousin King Louis so that money allotted for the defence of Christianity gets to the proper place. – 3. The French are near Milan but suffer more damage than they cause. According to the Milan envoy they will soon withdraw since the French King is in the grip of a Spanish-English-German alliance.

Serenissime Princeps, et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

4 post te BCzart TN 35; a add.

5 hoc: haec BCzart TN 35

5 per correxi ex: pro, pro: per BCzart TN 35

[1.] Nihil adhuc de pontifice est factum.¹ A prima huius mensis sunt in conclavi reverendissimi domini cardinales. Fama est eos exspectare exitum rerum Gallicarum in ducatu Mediolani.² Sunt nonnulli, qui credunt [!] creationem hanc per multos adhuc dies vel forte menses differendam. Quidquid erit, Vestram Maiestatem curabo quamprimum facere certiore.

[2.] Accepi his diebus litteras Vestrae Maiestatis de annata Plocensi.³ Ante creationem pontificis fieri nihil posse Vestra Maiestas videt, postea dabo omnem operam. Utinam Vestra Maiestas cum ceteris principibus Christianis vel saltem cum serenissimo nepote suo, domino meo gratiosissimo⁴ iniret aliquam rationem, ut ista, quae pro Christi religione defendenda instituta fuere, illuc potius converterentur. Sed de his satis, scio enim veritatem scribere quam sit periculosum. Sed nunc sede vacante plura quam alias licent.

[3.] Galli adhuc circa Mediolanum haerent, plura damna patientes quam inferentes. Nuntiavit mihi nunc dominus orator Mediolani,⁵ accepisse se litteras ex Mediolano die 18. huius mensis, in quibus scribebatur eos revocari, regem Galliae undique ab Hispanis, Anglis, Germanis coniuratione illa Barboniana⁶ vehementissime premi.

Me et meam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis rursus humillime commendo.

Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet. Ex Urbe XXII. Octobris 1523.

Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

³ *apud factum in marg.:* post mortem Adriani *eadem manu add.*

¹ Hadrian VI died on 14 September 1523.

² French troops started the siege of Milan on 24 September 1523, and although they maintained a blockade the whole winter, they did not succeed in capturing it. On hearing about the approaching rescue army they had to retreat.

³ See the previous letter.

⁴ Louis II, Hungarian King (1516–1526).

⁵ I have found no data about the identity of the Milan envoy.

⁶ Duke Charles de Bourbon, an eminent commander in chief of Francis I fell out with the French ruler in 1522 as a result of inheritance issue, deserted him and sided with Charles V. France was attacked from three directions under his leadership at the end of 1522: The English landed in Picardia, a Spanish army besieged Bayonne, a German mercenary army intruded into Champagne under the leadership of Wilhelm von Fürstenberg. See RÁZSÓ Gyula, *A lovagkor csatái*, Budapest, 1987, 277.

István Brodarics to Ferenc Várdai¹
Rome, 16 November 1523

Manuscript used: MOL DF 82621²

Published: LUKCSICS Pál, *XVI. századi magyar irodalomtörténeti vonatkozású újabb levelek a zseléi levéltárból*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1930, 223–225.

1. Várdai is informed in detail on the outcome of the trial about the will of János Lászlai and on Várdai's duties regarding this. He suggests accepting the agreement offered, since he cannot expect a better deal: the Pauline Fathers should get their 60 forints that is due, and the 200 forints that Lászlai owed them according to his will. – 2. He asks Várdai to send also the 16 forints that Kálnai borrowed for the journey home and for which Brodarics vouched. – 3. There is still no Pope; the French are stationed at Milan; the Emperor is about to intrude in France from Navarra. – 4. Kálnai is brought into his attention again. Kálnai's loyalty and knowledge make him worthy of becoming Archdean of Telegd.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Colendissime.

[1.] Iam binas dedi litteras³ ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam de ea re, de qua dominum Emericum litteratum,⁴ servitorem suum ad me miserat, quibus, ut se res habuisset, abunde perscripsi. Nunc autem et auctoritate reverendissimi domini cardinalis de Medices,⁵ protectoris regni Hungariae, qui se, antequam conclave⁶ ingrederetur, huic negotio [...]luerat, et mea maxima diligentia ac labore, ad hunc finem tandem [...] ad quam me nunquam sperassem, deducturum. Conventio igitur inter me [et] [ple]bani pridem mortui executores ita facta est, ut ipsi litem Dominationi Vestrae [Reverendissimae] amplius ne faciant sub poena dupli eius summae, quam Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam solvere constitutum est, cuius rei obligationem manu sua scriptam is, cuius maxime interest, executor mihi dedit. Rursum, ut Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima per totum hoc tempus, usque ad finem Martii sexaginta florenos in auro huc mittat, non executoribus, ipsi enim neque unum obulum sibi dari ex iis petunt, sed coenobio fratrum Hungarorum de Caelio Monte, in quo ille sepultus est, ut sit elemosina pro anima eius.⁷ Quod si per illud tempus Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima pecuniam illam non miserit, ut liceat illis rursus de integro contra Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam procedere et litigare. Quapropter Dominatio

¹ On Várdai see the note for Brodarics' letter on 18 August.

² The text in the document is severely damaged at several places.

³ Concerning János Lászlai, we only know a letter from Brodarics to Várdai on 18 August. The conflict concerning the will is not mentioned in that one, so here Brodarics is referring to two lost letters.

⁴ Imre Kálnai. About him also see the notes for the letter on 18 August 1523.

⁵ Cardinal Giulio de Medici, cousin of the previous Medici Pope, Leo X.

⁶ After the death of Hadrian VI the conclave gathered on 1 October. Exactly the above mentioned Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope on 19 November, three days after this letter was written.

⁷ János Lászlai was buried in Santo Stefano Rotondo located on Monte Celio in Rome. Pope Nicholas V had donated it with the monastery next to it to the Pauline Fathers in 1454. Lászlai's tomb still can be seen in Santo Stefano Rotondo.

Vestra Reverendissima consideret, rogo, diligenter, quid agendum sit. Mihi profecto
 hoc negotium eo modo confectum videtur, ut id neque commodius, neque melius con-
 20 fici posse, aut potuisse unquam existimem. Reputet Dominatio Tua Reverendissima, si
 litem de integro moverint (quemadmodum eos omnino moturos existimo, nisi pactum
 servetur), quantae impensae sint faciendae, profecto vel ad unam missionem huc illos
 LX florenos expendet Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, ut omittam, si illi causam
 25 obtinuerint (ut confidunt), quantum persolvere Dominationem Vestram Reverendissi-
 mam necesse futurum est. Ego certe (loquor enim ut deditus servitor Dominationis
 Vestrae Reverendissimae) aequum esse et neque inutile existimarem, si Dominatio
 Vestra Reverendissima non solum istam paucam pecuniam illis pauperibus fratribus
 mitteret, verum etiam si quid aliud est rerum vel illius plebani, [...]us cuius ipse
 30 executor fuisse dicitur apud Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam, quod integra
 conscientia teneri non possit, eam quoque ad usus pios, et bona opera impenderet.
 Exspectassem pontificis electionem,⁸ ut cum eo quoque agerem. Ceterum quoniam res
 ita nobis successit, ut neque pontifex eam commodius expedire potuisset, non putabam
 mihi diutius exspectandum, ne impensis inanibus per servitorem suum Dominatio Ves-
 35 tra Reverendissima gravaretur, praesertim quod iam is sibi impensas deficere quere-
 batur. Nam quod [Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima] litem extinguere pontificis auctori-
 tate sperabat contra voluntatem ex[ecutorum], mihi non modo difficile, verum etiam
 impossibile videtur, alioqui inius[tum] [...] De ducentis quoque florenis et nuper
 scripsi et nunc idem scribo. De illis [...] dominus Ioannes archidiaconus piaae memoriae
 40 testamento Dominationem Tuam Reverendissimam [...] debere scripsit. Etiam si ego
 (qui minimus sum inter ceteros huius testamenti executores) subticere vellem, tamen
 alii nullo modo tacebunt, neque cessabunt, quousque illa summa reddatur. Proinde de
 illis quoque curam habeat Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, ut quamprimum mittan-
 tur, ne aliquod negotium gravius inde (quod nollem) Dominationi Vestrae Reverendis-
 simae oriatur.

45 [2.] Emericus litteratus servitor Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, cum diutius
 hic mansisset, quam eum Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima mansurum existimabat,
 adeo omnia expenderat, ut ei ad iter nihil reliquum esset, quare, cum discedere vellet,
 rogavit me, ut florenos sedecim mutuo darem, quos Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima
 quamprimum remissura esset. Ego quidem ei dare non potui, quoniam ipse quoque non
 50 parva angustia rei pecuniariae laboro, ceterum volens declarare me in omnibus, quibus
 possum, servitorem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae esse curavi, ut ab alio illos
 sedecim florenos mutuo habere posset, atque ipse pro iis fideiussor factus sum ea con-
 ditione, ut nisi Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima ad praestitutum terminum mitteret,
 ipse mea pecunia solvere deberem. Idcirco rogo Dominationem Vestram Reverendis-
 55 simam, ut hanc quoque pecuniam quamprimum remittat, ne ego, dum morem gerere
 Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae curo, ipse in aliquod damnum rerum mearum
 incurram.

28 post est: pecunia del. suprascri. rerum

⁸ The new Pope Clement VII was elected 3 days later, on 19 November.

Sed et de hoc et de aliis omnibus latius Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae Emericus servitor eiusdem narrabit, cui fidem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima
60 habere dignetur. Opto eandem felicissime valere. Romae XVI. Novembris Anno MDXXIII.

[3.] Reverendissime et colendissime Domine. Haec propter occupationes manu aliena mihi scribendae fuerunt, ignoscat igitur, quaeso, Vestra Reverendissima Domi-
natio. De his autem curam geram, ne rursus novas habeat curas. Res uti Vestrae
65 Dominationi videt [...] deducta est ad bonum portum.

Illum Ioannem [...]rum commendo rursus Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae dignetur me face[re certiore]m, quidnam sit ei sperandum. De quo et per hunc ip[...]
[...].

Nova alia [non sunt]. Pontificem nondum habemus. Neque scio, quando habituri
70 [simus].⁹ Galli adhuc sunt sub Mediolano. Rex Galliae Lugdini. Caesar in regno Navarrae in Galliam veniens cum ingenti exercitu. Ego tot contentionum nullum spero finem.

[4.] Dominum Emericum Kalnay in facto archidiaconatus Thilegdiensis Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae commendo.¹⁰ Ego quod feci magis feci, ut Vestra
75 Dominatio Reverendissima liberaretur ab omni molestia, quam ob dominum Kalnay, qui tamen et ipse meretur certe omne bonum, tum ob mores probatissimos ac doctrinam non vulgarem, tum ob singularem fidem ac servitutem, qua est Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae addictissimus. Eum igitur totum in suam gratiam Vestra Domi-
natio Reverendissima recipere, obsecro, dignetur et me in eo, in quo alias habuit
80 numero, semper habere.

Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima bene ac prudenter fecit, quod miserit hunc ipsum servitorem suum. Nam si non venisset et praesertim si istae vacationes iudiciorum non obstitissent, tales procul dubio processus in hac causa facti fuissent, ut non actioni ulli, sed soli solutioni nobis locus fuisset relictus. Nihil aliud restabat, quam ut sententia
85 ferretur, sicut latius poterit haec idem E[mericus] referre.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

perpetuus servitor et capellanus
Stephanus Brodarych
orator

On the outer side: Reverendissimo Domino Meo, Domino Francisco de Varda, episcopo Transsylvano, Domino observandissimo.

⁹ This means that the afterword, too, was written before 19 November.

¹⁰ Várdai did not support appointment of Kálnai in spite of the recommendation of Brodarics and the Pope's decree, so the young Humanist could receive the income coming from the archdeanship only two years later, when the bishop was János Gosztönyi. Compare: V. Kovács Sándor, *Egy humanista a mohácsi vész korában (Kálnai Imre)*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1970, 663.

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 11 December 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 40r.

Published: Acta Tomiciiana VI. 345–346.

1. He believes, he can report good news soon, since the new Pope Clement VII is ready to fulfil all of Sigismund's wishes. – 2. There are no new pieces of news; the French are still in Italy; the Pope, partly due to Brodarics' prompting, instructed three Cardinals to work on creating peace among Christian rulers, hopefully with good results.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] In negotiis Vestrae Maiestatis credo nos cum domino Stanislao nuntio¹ eiusdem optatam relationem in omnibus habituros: Clemens VII's pontifex² enim propensissimus est in gratificando Vestrae Maiestatis rebus in omnibus. Qua tamen de re brevi et diffusius et apertius scribam.

[2.] Nova alia non sunt. Galli nondum ex Italia excesserunt. Pontifex cum sua sponte, tum mea etiam exhortatione et precibus permotus dat omnem operam pro pace vel saltem treugis inter principes Christianos faciendis. Ad hanc rem in proximo consistorio III ex reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus deputavit,³ qui hanc solam curam habeant. Quid sequatur, nescio. Ego, quod in me erit, nihil praetermittam. Utinam iam tandem aliquid consequi possemus.

Me et meam servitutem perpetuam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet. Ex Urbe XI. Decembris
1523.

Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

¹ His identity is uncertain. He may be Stanisław Sprowa or perhaps Royal Secretary Stanisław Tarło. Both executed diplomatic tasks several times.

² Cardinal Giulio de Medici, cousin of Pope Leo X, was elected Pope after the death of Hadrian VI on 19 November 1523.

³ I have found no further data about the selection of the 3 Cardinals mentioned. Even though Clement VII sent an envoy to Charles V on 8 December 1523 in connection with peace, he was not a Cardinal but one of the Pope's Chamberlains, Bernardino della Barba. The next peace envoy Cardinal Nikolaus von Schönberg set off for his round trip through Spain, France, and England only in March 1524. Compare: Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste IV/2*... 179.

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 15 December 1523

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 41r–v.

Published: Acta Tomiciana VI. 348.

1. Nothing has been achieved concerning the Plock annata. The annata for Plock have always been 2000 ducats, and if Alexander VI or any other Pope asked for less on one or two occasions, this does not change what is due officially. On the other hand there is good news: Tomicki has been appointed Bishop of Cracow. – 2. The Pope and the Cardinals are equally inclined towards peace. However, chances are small for this to happen because the French King and his opponents stubbornly cling to their demands. Sigismund and Louis have to find other ways of protecting their countries.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Scripsi his diebus¹ ad Vestram Maiestatem, neque nunc aliud scribere possum, quam quod tunc scripsi, praeter quam quod in annata Plocensi tantam video difficultatem, ut parum aut nihil spei apud me sit reliquum. Aiunt, et in hoc se fundant, ecclesiam illam ab initio semper in duobus milibus ducatorum fuisse expeditam, et ita in libro etiam annatarum (quem vocant) contineri: si Alexander papa² vel alius pro bina vel trina expeditione propter aliquam causam minus accepit, id annatae priori duorum milium non debere praeiudicare. Ab hac sententia, credo, deduci vix poterunt. Feci ego de hoc et privatim et publice et apud pontificem et apud cardinales omnem diligentiam, haec tamen magis tangunt collegium quam pontificem. Non defuit et dominus Stanislaus,³ diligentissimus certe servitor Vestrae Maiestatis. Neque tamen adhuc desistemus, sed parum, ut dixi, spero. Ecclesia Cracoviensis pro reverendissimo domino meo, domino Posnaniensi⁴ in hesterno consistorio fuit expedita.

[2.] De pace inter principes Christianos facienda scripsi pontificem ad hanc rem adieciisse animum, delegisse ad hoc certos ex reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus, cum quibus ego fui iam saepe; video et pontificem et reverendissimos dominos ad id propensissimos. Sed et illud video, Princeps Sapientissime, parum in hoc spei esse ponendum. Quid ita? Quia Christianissimum regem ita durum atque obstinatum video in recuperando ac nostros in retinendo vel non cedendo ducatu Mediolani, ut facilius utraque pars quidvis subiret, quam in hoc alteri parti cederet. Quid igitur spei de pace in tanta animorum obfirmatione? Aliae igitur, Clementissime Princeps, salutis viae Vestris Maiestatibus quaerendae sunt. Sed parcat Vestra Maiestas, humillime supplico, minimo servorum suorum ad se de huiusmodi rebus scribenti.

¹ Brodarics must refer to the previous letter dated 11 December.

² Alexander VI (1492–1503), the infamous Borgia Pope.

³ See in the previous letter.

⁴ A reference to the appointment of Bishop of Poznań Piotr Tomicki as Bishop of Cracow. His inauguration, however, took place only in 1524. Biographies count his bishopric from this date.

25 De rebus nostris Hungaricis, quae a rebus Vestrae Maiestatis disiunctae esse non possunt, ac de subsidio istuc mittendo, si quod impetrari poterit, nihil adhuc actum.

Dominus Scardonensis⁵ his diebus in Urbem venit pericula utriusque regni et omnium regnorum Vestrarum Maiestatum coram pontifice et patribus cumulatissime exposuit, Maiestatem Vestram non cessat pro merito ubique laudare et extollere. Galli
30 ex ducatu Mediolani nondum excesserunt.

Me et meam servitutem perpetuam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et victoriosissimam conservet. Ex Urbe XV. mensis Decembris 1523.

Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis

35 servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus iuris doctor
praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis, orator

27

Louis II to István Brodarics
Pozsony, 12 January 1524

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. I. Konv. D, fol. 57.¹

1. The Sultan spreads false rumours about his preparations for a war against Persia in order to lull Hungary and Europe to sleep, while spy reports and information from Voivods of Moldova and Wallachia suggest that he wants to attack Hungary in March in alliance with the Tatars. – 2. Knowing this, Ferdinand also sent an envoy to Rome to press for the aid. Brodarics should cooperate with the Austrian envoy fully. – 3. The Pope should order Legate Cajetan de Vio to pay the money he has for repairs of Hungarian border fortresses or the soldiers' pay before more substantial aid arrives. – 4. Brodarics receives a copy of the letter by the Vice-Voivod of Transylvania as well as pieces of news from the Voivods. He can learn all about the Sultan's plans from these.

Ludovicus Dei gratia Rex Hungariae etc.

Venerabilis Fidelis nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Semper nobis fuerunt suspecta callidissimorum hostium nostrorum consilia, qui
dum anno superiore universam Europam falsis complent rumoribus eorum impera-
5 torem bellis orientalibus distineri, parare in Persas expeditionem, de nostris atque aliis

⁵ Thomas Crnić (Negri). Humanist of Dalmatian origin, Canon of Spalato from 1499, later Archdean, Secretary of Croatian Ban Péter Beriszló from 1514. Protonotary Apostolic from 1519. Bishop of Scardona from 1520. The Pope sent him to Poland in January 1523 as his envoy. (Compare: AT VI. 220–222, 222–224, 224–225., and Henricus Damianus WOJTYSKA CP, *Acta nunciaturae Poloniae Tom. II.*, Romae, 1992, 137–147., also by him, *Toma Crnić jedini sloven nuncije u Polskoj*, Radovi 21 Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog Fakulteta, Zagreb, 1988, 35–44.)

¹ Photocopy in the MOL DF 276058.

Christianorum regnis non amplius hoc tempore cogitare, quam ut relictis praesidiis necessariis ea tantum, quae ab illo sunt parta, in reditum suum defendi ac retineri possent, et haec tanto ingenio et artificio fingeantur, ut eos quoque fallerent, qui secretorum tyranni se non esse ignaros arbitrarentur, qua fraude et simulatione nihil aliud

10 agebatur, quam ut nos securos et imparatos possunt opprimere.

Habemus² enim recens ex waywodis Moldavo³ et Transalpino,⁴ aliisque exploratoribus nuntium destinasse Turcas omni genere apparatus instructissimos proximo mense Martio regnum hoc nostrum Tartaris etiam in societatem belli adiunctis invadere.

15 [2.] Quod ubi ex auctoribus certis serenissimus quoque frater noster, archidux Austriae⁵ cognovisset, misit et ipse ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum⁶ oratorem,⁷ quod pro avertendis periculis aperte imminentibus opportunum Sedis Apostolicae praesidium imploraret. Tecum is ex mandato sui principis consilia communicabit, tecum una ad Sanctitatem Domini Nostri et ad reverendissimos dominos cardinales accedet. Vide,

20 ne illi usquam desis, agitur commune utriusque nostrum negotium. Hostis instat, tempus breve est. Vos ita provinciam vestram administretis, ut, quod ab ista Sede Apostolica flagitamus, auxilium adsit in tempore.

[3.] Nam in his quinquaginta milibus ducatorum, quod reverendissimus dominus legatus⁸ habet in potestate, adversus hostem potentissimum leve admodum et perexiguum habebimus praesidium. Mandet nihilominus Sanctitas Domini Nostri eidem

25 domino legato, ut hanc pecuniam, quoad maius auxilium miserit, aut in arcium nostrarum instaurationem, sicuti antea petebamus, aut, si id secum fuerit, ad comparandas saltem copias iam tandem erogare non dubitet.⁹

9 ignaros *correx*i ex: ignoras

11 Moldavo *correx*i ex: Moldano

² The part between *Habemus...invadere* published: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarországnak Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 128.

³ Stephen IV (1517–1527), Voivod of Moldova.

⁴ Probably refers to V. Radu (Radu de la Afumați), who fled to Hungary in April 1523, away from Turks who invaded Wallachia (see the letter by Louis II to Brodarics on 1 June 1523). He fought the throne back in January 1524 from his own brother Radu VI (Radu Baduca) who got the position from the Turks.

⁵ Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg (1522–1564), brother-in-law of Louis II, Hungarian and Czech King (1526–1564), Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564).

⁶ Pope Clement VII.

⁷ Andreas da Burgo (dal Borgo) (1467–1533). Comes from a merchant family in Cremona. He was raised in the court of Ludovico Sforza in Milan and entered the service of Maximilian Habsburg in 1502. Fulfilled diplomatic tasks until his death. More on his life: Rosemarie AULINGER, *Andrea da Borgo = Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Toronto, 1985, 172–173; RILL, *Fürst und Hof*... 141–150.

⁸ Cardinal Tommaso Cajetan De Vio, Bishop of Gaeta, was sent to Hungary as a legate with Baron Burgo in 1523 by Hadrian VI.

⁹ Pope Hadrian promised aid of 100,000 gold pieces for the fight against the Turks. He really sent 50,000 by Cardinal Vio.

[4.] Misimus ad te litterarum vice wayvodae¹⁰ ad fidelem nostrum spectabilem et
30 magnificum Ioannem comitem Scepusiensem wayvodam nostrum Transsylvaniensem¹¹
exempla, accipies insuper, quae ex legatione ad nos utriusque wayvodae sunt exceptae,
ex quibus fusius omnia, quae ad conatum caesaris cognoscendum pertinent, intel-
liges.¹²

Datum Posonii, feria tertia intra octavas Epiphaniarum Domini. Anno eiusdem
35 millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quarto.

Ad oratorem regis Hungariae in Urbe Romana

28

István Brodarics to Theodor Vafer¹
Rome, 11 February 1524

Manuscript used: MOL, DL 47545

The inheritance of Hungarian confessor in Rome János Lászlai, 147 ducats, should be deposited in the Altoviti bank according to the wishes of Philippus de Senis and Vincenzo Baldi.

Domine Theoderice.

Ego sum contentus, quod illa pecunia domini Ioannis penitenciarum² Hungari, ducati
videlicet centum quadraginta septem deponantur in Banco Altoviti³ iuxta voluntatem

¹⁰ Identification is not so simple because Lénárt Barlabási filled the position of Vice-Voivod in Transylvania from as early as 1501 until his death in 1525. However, Szapolyai had two Vice-Voivods after his appointment in 1510. In 1524, the other Vice-Voivod was István Tomori. Compare: KUBINYI András, *A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik (szervitoraik)*, Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis, Sectio Philosophica, Tom. XIII., Fasciculus 3., Miskolc, 2008, 244–246.

¹¹ János Szapolyai, Count of Szepes, Transylvanian Voivod, Hungarian King after the death of Louis.

¹² The enclosures mentioned by Louis are unknown.

¹ There is no further data on Theodor Vafer, Notary of the Apostolic Chamber.

² Hungarian confessor in Rome János Lászlai died on 17 August 1523. Regarding his death see two letters by Brodarics to Transylvanian Bishop Ferenc Várdai.

³ The banking house operated by Bindo Altoviti of Florence was a leading bank in contemporary Rome. More on the banking house and Altoviti: Coriolano BELLONI, *Un banchiere del rinascimento*, Roma, 1935.

domini Philippi de Senis⁴ et domini Vincencii Baldi⁵ decretorum doctoris, ad instantiam tamen omnium nostrorum.

Romae, XI. Februarii 1524.

Stephanus Brodericus
orator Hungariae manu propria

On the outer side: Theoderico Vafro notario domino Auditoris Camerae, reverendissimo domino et amico honorandissimo

29

István Brodarics to Archduke Ferdinand¹
Rome, 29 February 1524

Manuscript used: MOL, DF 276068

1. He informs Ferdinand that the Count of Cordoba will give a detailed report of the news; even though the tenths will be collected, there is still little hope [for saving Hungary] if there will be no peace among Christian rulers. – 2. News came from Spalato, Croatia, to Venice that the Sanjak-Bey of Bosnia sent major infantry force to besiege Klissa and he will soon follow with a major force of cavalry. According to news from Constantinople, the Turks are busy with preparations both on land and water. Pope Clement is trying to bring food and ammunition to the besieged Klissa, but it is feared that it will arrive late.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Serenitatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Ad humanissimas litteras² Vestrae Serenitatis, quas modo accepi, non habeo quid aliud respondeam, nisi me esse et fore perpetuo, dum vivam, addictissimum ser-

⁴ Philippus de Senis (Philip of Siena), a cleric in the papal chamber, Canon of Esztergom. Pope Leo X made Philippus de Senis director of chapel consecrated to the Virgin Mary Taken to the Sky in 1513. The chapel belonged to the Esztergom chapter and de Senis entered a long legal battle against the chapter. Compare: SOLYMOSI László (ed.), *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan jegyzőkönyve (1500–1502, 1507–1527)*, Budapest, 2002., 22. Regarding the trial, see the following documents: ASV, Archivum Arcis (AA) Arm. XI, caps I. Nr 156., 2527., and ASV, Archivum Arcis XI, caps I. Nr 168. 2533., and THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 601–602.

⁵ Vincenzo Baldi de Pistoria. Arrived in Hungary as a member of the retinue of papal legate Cardinal Pietro Isvalies. He soon became Canon of Veszprém, altar director of the St. John altar, at the same time Vicar of Isvalies who became Bishop of Veszprém in 1508. Compare: LAKATOS Bálint, *Kálnai Imre királyi titkári és főesperesi kinevezése (1523–1525). Adalékok a pápaság magyar személyi politikájához Mohács előtt*, Századok, 2010, 423.

¹ The text of the letter is on the Internet, in a somewhat different variant, transcribed by Péter Tóth. <http://ephemeris.alcuinus.net/exempla.php>

² We do not know Ferdinand's letter.

- 5 vulum Vestrae Serenitatis. Illustris dominus meus, dominus comes de Corduba³ omnia alia ex ordine referre poterit. Exiguntur quidem istae decimae, sicut Vestra Serenitas ab ipso intelliget, sed in his quoque parva est spes ponenda, si Deus pacem aut indutias inter principes non posuerit, tota salutis communis ratio in hac una re posita esse videtur.
- 10 [2.] Ex Croatia habemus ex litteris comitis Spalatiensis ad illustrissimum dominum Venetorum⁴ V. Februarii datis Bassam sive Zanzacum Boznae iam p[r]aemisisse non parum peditum numerum ad obsidendum Clyzium⁵ subsecuturum ipsum quoque brevi cum valido equitatu. Habuerunt Veneti et ex Constantinopoli litteras VIII. Ianuarii
- 15 datas Turcum facere ingentes apparatus et terra et mari, aggressurum omnino Hungariam primo quoque tempore. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster⁶ mittit ad succursum Clyzii commeatum, si intromitti poterit, et alia ad defensionem necessaria. Sed vereor, ne tarde veniant.⁷ Cetera idem dominus comes. Me et meam servitutem rursus in gratiam Vestrae Serenitatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet.
- 20 Ex Urbe XXIX. Februarii 1524.
Eiusdem Vestrae Serenitatis

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus
praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis
orator

25

³ Pedro de Cordova visited Rome already in 1522–23 as an envoy of Ferdinand. Compare: Adolf WREDE (hsagg.), *Deutsche Reichstagakten unter Kaiser Karl V.* 3. Bd., Gotha, 1901, 862.

⁴ Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice (1523–1538).

⁵ Klissa (today: Klis, Croatia), important border fortress in Dalmatia. The fortress was besieged from 5 February by troops of the Bosnian Bey. Compare: Marko PEROJEVIĆ, *Petar Kružić kapetan i knez grada Klisa*. Zagreb, 1931, 67.

⁶ Pope Clement VII.

⁷ The army of Constable of Zengg Péter Krusics, carried there on the sea, smashed the Turkish army and liberated the castle on 10 April. Marko PEROJEVIĆ, *Petar Kružić kapetan i knez grada Klisa*. Zagreb, 1931, 67–70.

Louis II to István Brodarics
Buda, 8 March 1524

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]¹

Published: Georgius PRAY, Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae I., Posonii, 1806, 177–182.

1. The fall of Ostrovica raised concerns in Rome. It is serious loss indeed, but more will follow, because the country's resources are not sufficient to contain the ever strengthening Turks. – 2. 32,000 forints per year are spent on the borderland in Croatia only, even in peace time, and upholding Temesvár, Pétervárad, Szörény, and Titel, not to mention Jajca, costs enormous sums. So losing Ostrovica is not due to negligence but to poverty. – 3. He is happy to hear that the Pope launched an investigation into the abuses around grain sent to Croatia, something that King Louis also called for. – 4. More favourable news about the situation in Hungary would probably boost the Pope's good will, but this is possible only if His Holiness and Christian rulers help the country with deeds instead of lip service. – 5. He is pleased to hear that Legate Campeggio has arrived. He will hopefully be successful in combating Lutheran heresy and in stimulating German reigning princes to fight the Turks. He instructed his envoys to negotiate with Campeggio as well as Ferdinand. – 6. He is sorry to hear that the Emperor and the French King are still at war with each other. Archduke Ferdinand is trying to mediate through Andreas da Burgo; Louis supports him in this. – 7. Louis has been informed about the peace agreement between Turkey and Persia and about the Sultan's plans for attack. Brodarics should therefore do all he can for the papal aid together with Marsupino and da Burgo. – 8. Even though the Sultan and the Shah signed peace, if the Pope agrees, it might still be useful to send Hannibal of Cyprus on a mission to Shah Sophi. – 9. He thanks the Pope for the money, weapons, and food sent to the Klissa castle with the help of Bishop of Scardona. – 10. Brodarics is forbidden to return home because of his tight financial situation since the Fuggers have been instructed to provide him with the needed money.

Reverende Fidelis nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Scribis gratulationem nostram Sanctissimo Domino Nostro fuisse iucundam, quae accidisset multo iucundior, nisi eodem tempore pervenisset O[s]throwyczae a Turcis captae fama in Urbem,² quae tam ipsius Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, quam
5 patrum animos magnopere commoverit, cum intellexerit eam arcem omni iudicio secundas partes a Clissio³ obtinuisse. Iactura est, fatemur, gravis ac ceteris calamitatibus nostris merito adnumeranda, quam tamen veremur, ne longe maiores, sicuti Vene-

3 O[s]throwyczae correxi ex: Othrowyczso

4 capite del. BAV. Ottob., in marg. captae alia manu

5 cum: quam BAV Ottob.

¹ The only known manuscript of the text survives in a codex in the Ottoboniana collection of the Vatican Library (BAV, Ottob. Lat. N. 2746. 44–46.), so it is, too, a replica, and is certainly not identical with the one György Pray, who was first to publish the letter, used. The manuscript in the Vatican is severely damaged, and the defects often make it senseless, so the basis for the present publication is the text published by Pray. In spite of this, I indicate all the differences from the manuscript in the Ottoboniana collection.

² The castle of Ostrovica (Croatia) was overtaken by the Turks in September 1523.

³ The Turkish army kept Klissa, the important fortress in Dalmatia under siege from early February 1524. Finally they did not succeed in capturing it, because the rescue army of Constable of Zengg Péter Krusics defeated them in April.

tum oratorem Sanctitatis eius narras praedixisse, propediem subsequantur. Id tamen nulla profecto nostra vel incuria vel negligentia accedere poterit, sed quoniam haec
 10 exigua unius Hungariae vectigalia tuendis amplissimis finibus sufficere nullatenus poterunt. Non parvi redditus ex Bosnia proveniebant, magnum ex Croatia et Dalmatia tributum quotannis in fiscum regium paulo ante hanc aetatem vel ipsius Matthiae regis temporibus deferebatur. Integrae erant, et fructuosae Themesiensis, Sirmiensis, Posega, Walko, et inferiores civitatum partes, hostium vero opes, numerus, potentia dimidio,
 15 quam sint hodie, minores erant. At nunc ea, quae commemoravimus, loca assiduis Turcarum incursionibus pene in solitudinem sunt redacta, adeo, ut tenues reliquias et paucas, quae adhuc in illis regnis supersunt, arces, maxima parte reddituum nostrorum tueri nequeamus.

[2.] Nam, ne quid amplius de illis regnorum nostrorum finibus dicamus, ad Croatiam
 20 pacatis etiam temporibus in banorum stipendium et tenenda locis necessariis praesidia triginta duo milia florenorum singulis annis facile absumuntur. Jaycza, quae in mediis hostibus sita est, et quo non, nisi iusto et firmo exercitu importari commeatus solent, non multo minorem exaurit pecuniam. Arx item Themesiensis et Severinum et hoc triennio Varadinum Petri ac Titulium⁴ maximo et incredibili sumptu retinentur. Quae
 25 omnia, si quis rerum nostrarum non iniquus aestimator diligentius velit considerare, agnoscat, non minima quidem nostra negligentia Ozthrowyczam, et alias arces antea fuisse amissas, sed inopiam et vectigalium nostrorum tenuitatem (de qua tam diu apud Sedem Apostolicam querimus) et superioribus et impendentibus etiam malis causam attulisse.

[3.] Gratum est nobis mandasse Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum legato suo, qui apud Venetos agit, ut de frumento in Croatiam misso, in quos abierit usus,⁵ percontetur. Nam nos quoque homini nostro fido ac diligenti dedimus provinciam loca illa perlustrandi ac ad nos fideliter referendi, quomodo sit illud frumentum distributum. Dabimusque operam, ne in hac quoque parte aliquid nostrae negligentiae possit imputari.

35 [4.] Quod autem iudicas propensam erga nos voluntatem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri multo propensorem futuram, si quae meliora hinc de statu regnorum nostrorum

9 nulla profecto: profecto nulla BAV Ottob.

9 incuria: iniuria BAV Ottob.

10 nullatenus: nullo modo BAV Ottob.

11 redditus: reddita BAV Ottob.

11 Bosnia: Bozna BAV Ottob.

11 proveniebat: praeveniebat BAV Ottob.

12 regnum: regium BAV Ottob. in marg. alia manu: regium

13 deferebatur *correx* ex: deferebantur. BAV Ottob.: deferebatur

14 civitatum: civitates BAV Ottob.

16 solitudinem: solitudines BAV Ottob.

19 amplius: impius BAV Ottob.

22 *post* et *ms.* BAV Ottob. *ex add.*

22 importari *om.* BAV Ottob.

22 commeatus: conatus BAV Ottob.

25 velit: volet BAV Ottob.

30 est nobis: nobis est BAV Ottob.

31 percontetur: percontatur BAV Ottob.

36 *post* hinc *ms.* BAV Ottob. *ad cum add.*

36 regnorum nostrorum: rerum nostrarum BAV Ottob.

⁴ After the loss of Nándorfehérvár in 1521, Temesvár, Szörény, Pétervárad and Titel became the key elements in the system of border fortresses on the South.

⁵ Finally Burgio returned to Hungary and took measures regarding embezzlement of the corn shipments. He ordered an inquiry in Zengg in April 1524. Compare: *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. Budapest, 2001, XCVIII.

afferentur, utinam nullum nisi felicem ac faustum ex his regnis nostris nuntium deinceps Sua Sanctitas accipiat. Nos tamen rerum nostrarum conscii vehementer timemus, ne tristiores et minus iucundum in dies sit acceptura, nisi re ipsa, et non verborum
40 tantum liberalitate, cum eius Sanctitas, tum principes Christiani opem nobis ferre maturaverint.

[5.] Reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Campegium⁶ in Germania legatum tanta virtute atque auctoritate praeditum venire, qui de rebus quoque nostris agendi mandatum habeat, gaudemus non mediocriter, optamusque eiusdem adventum utilem
45 rei publicae Christianae ac salutarem fore, ut pariter illam tabem et morbum pestilentissimum Lutheranae haeresis, qua laborat Germania, tollere ac sanare, et illos principes ad arma in Turcos sumenda acrius et vehementius posset inflammare. Dedimus, ut mones, nostris oratoribus⁷ mandatum, cum ipso domino legato et archiduce Ferdinando ceterisque principibus nostro nomine de rebus necessariis consultandi atque
50 etiam decernendi.

[6.] Vix aliquid molestius hoc tempore audire possemus, quam pertinax et acerrimum adhuc bellum inter caesaream maiestatem et Christianissimum Gallorum regem durare et ad Mediolanum geri. Missus est per serenissimum fratrem nostrum archiducem dominus Andreas Burgo,⁸ vir prudens et ingeniosus multarumque rerum peritissimus,
55 ut caesari suadeat concordiam, per quem nos quoque agemus diligentissime, si quo modo ad pacem amplectendam posset adduci.

[7.] Quod baro Siculus⁹ ad nos revertitur, libenter audimus, delectant enim nos eius viri humanitas, virtus et eruditio non vulgaris. De Turcorum conatibus deque pactis cum Sophi indutiis nos eadem intelleximus, quae tu ex Constantinopoli et Dalmatia in
60 Urbem allata scribis esse,¹⁰ id quod ex binis litteris nostris Posonii datis iam pridem [te] agnovisse arbitramur. Vide igitur, quid tu cum tuo collega¹¹ et oratore principis Ferdinandi possitis impetrare subsidii, pro quo studiose et enixe contendatis.

[8.] Quamvis autem opinione omnium inter Turcos et Sophi confectae existimentur indutiae, si tamen Sanctissimo Domino Nostro videatur, nobis profecto non displicet,

39 iucundum: iucundam BAV Ottob.

40 tum: cum BAV Ottob.

44 eiusdem: eius BAV Ottob.

47 Turcos: Turcas BAV Ottob.

47 inflammare: inflammati BAV Ottob.

51 acerrimum: acerrime BAV Ottob.

52 Christianissimum: Christianorum BAV Ottob.

56 amplectendam: amplectere BAV Ottob.

57 revertitur: convertitur BAV Ottob.

63 Turcos: Turcas BAV Ottob.

63 existimentur: existimantur BAV Ottob.

64 displicet: displicat BAV Ottob.

⁶ Clement VII sent Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio (1474–1539) to the Nuremberg imperial assembly as his legate. His mandate included Hungarian matters.

⁷ Leaders of the Hungarian delegation to the imperial assembly in Nuremberg were János Gosztonyi and Ambrus Sárkány.

⁸ Andreas da Burgo

⁹ Pope Clement VII. appointed Baron Burgio Nuncio in Hungary on 22 January 1524. The Baron returned to Hungary from Rome. Compare: *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. Budapest, 2001, XCV.

¹⁰ See the previous letter to Ferdinand.

¹¹ Francesco Marsupino

65 ut Hannibal Cyprius¹² legationem suam exsequatur. Proderit enim fortasse nunc vel in posterum, si ille princeps de nostra voluntate fuerit factus certior. Poterit insuper omnia ad nos ex illis partibus explorata reportare, quod magno usui nobis ac toti Christianitati est futurum.

[9.] Agas Sanctissimo Domino Nostro gratias, quod dominum Scardonensem¹³ cum pecuniis, pulvere et commeatu ad succurrendum arcis Clissiensi miserit,¹⁴ supplicibusque eius Sanctitati, ne gravetur deinceps quoque illi praesertim loco providere, nam quod nos potuimus praestare, praestitimus et praestabimus omnia vel supra vires et facultates nostras.

[10.] Significas te propediem venturum ac coram tuas expositurum necessitates, quod hoc tempore citra magnum rerumstrarum incommodum fieri non poterit. Nolumus itaque, ut ex Urbe antequam ab illa legatione absolutus et per nos revocatus fueris, revertaris. Nam quod ad tuos, et tui collegae sumptus attinet, thesaurario nostro mandavimus, ut mora omni posthabita per Fuccaros, quemadmodum Posonii nuper constitueramus, provideat.

80 Ludovicum Horreram,¹⁵ uti reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum¹⁶ optare significas, nos libenter et aequo animo dimisimus. Litteras vero in commendationem penitentiarii et alias, quas optasti, una cum praesentibus accipies.¹⁷

Datum Budae 8. die Martii 1524.

69 quod: qui BAV Ottob.

70 post arcis ms. BAV Ottob. nostrae add.

72 quod: quae BAV Ottob.

80 Ludovicum ...accipies in editione Gerorgii Pray om.

¹² Hannibal of Cyprus. Ambassador of King Louis II in the Turkish court in 1523, commander of the papal mercenaries in the Battle of Mohács, captain of the Italian guards of Szapolyai in the early 1530s. See BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I.*, Budapest, 2000, 23.

¹³ Thomas Crnić (Negri), Bishop of Scardona. Concerning him, see the relevant note for the letter dated 15 December 1523.

¹⁴ Concerning Klissa, see the previous letter.

¹⁵ Ludovicus Horrera (?). No data has been found about him. Perhaps the form of the name is incorrect.

¹⁶ Lorenzo Pucci.

¹⁷ The enclosures mentioned did not survive.

István Brodarics to Archduke Ferdinand¹
Rome, 3 May 1524

Manuscript used: MOL, DF 276077

He has learnt about the death of Archbishop of Esztergom György Szatmári; since benefices get rearranged in such cases, he asks Ferdinand to intercede on his behalf for remembering the absent envoy in Buda so that the latter's services are rewarded with a smaller benefice at least; he asks for this only to be able to represent the Hungarian King in Rome better.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Serenitatis humillimam commendationem.

Licet satis absurdum esse videatur ab eo Principe, cui quis nihil serviverit, quippiam postulare. Summa tamen Vestrae Serenitatis clementia et singularis in omnes liberalitas
5 ac munificentia spem mihi dat Vestram Serenitatem preces etiam nihil a se merentis servitoris non aspernaturam.

Intellexi reverendissimum dominum meum archiepiscopum Strigoniensem his diebus vita functum esse.² Non dubito (ut in tali casu plerumque fieri consuevit) nonnullas beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum mutationes in Hungaria fore. Ego cum a serenissimo
10 et clementissimo domino meo, fratre³ Vestrae Serenitatis longe nunc absim,⁴ et absentes, quocunque obsequii genere fungantur, vulgato proverbio pro mortuis haberi soleant, mihi ad Vestrae Serenitatis praesidium duxi refugiendum. Cui supplico humillime, dignetur tam ad maiestatem regiam ac reginalem, dominos meos clementissimos, quam etiam ad magnificum dominum oratorem suum et⁵ reverendissimum dominum

⁹ *in marg. alia manu* fiat, ut petitur. Scibatur vicidum [?] ei

¹ The letter, apart from some minor changes, is identical to the one sent to Polish King Sigismund the same day (except that the letter to Ferdinand does not have a postscript.) Not only the texts are identical but the ductus as well, so Brodarics' scriptor wrote the same letter twice and sent both, one to Vienna, the other to Cracow. The only change he made is in the salutation: to the letters in Cracow it is *Maiestas*, since Sigismund was a King, while in the Vienna version it is *Serenitas*, because Ferdinand was only an Archduke in 1524.

² Archbishop of Esztergom György Szatmári died on 7 April 1524.

³ In the letter to Cracow the word here is *nepote* because Sigismund was the uncle of King Louis II while Ferdinand was his brother-in-law.

⁴ Brodarics had stayed in Rome since the spring of 1522 as an envoy of Louis II.

⁵ Johann Schnaidpeck von Schönkirchen, an envoy of the Emperor, stayed in the Buda castle since the autumn of 1523. He had huge influence and was the permanent target of attacks from the opposition of lesser nobility. The part *magnificum dominum oratorem suum et* is missing from the Cracow letter, obviously because, unlike Ferdinand, Sigismund did not have an envoy in Buda. COMPARE: KUBINYI András, *A magyar állam belpolitikai helyzete Mohács előtt* = RÜZSÁS Lajos – SZAKÁLY Ferenc (eds.), *Mohács. Tanulmányok a mohácsi csata 450. évfordulója alkalmából*. Budapest, 1986, 87–91.

15 cancellarium⁶ Hungariae in mei commendationem suas litteras dare et efficere, ut mei
quamvis absentis, diligenter tamen eorum maiestatibus servientis ratio habeatur saltem
in minoribus beneficiis.⁷ Nam maiora, sicuti non mereor, ita neque petere ausim.
Neque sum, Clementissime Princeps, natura adeo ambitiosus, ut patrocinio Vestrae
Serenitatis, quam scio omnia etiam summa apud dominum meum clementissimum
20 posse, aliud consequi optem, quam unde possim commodius et honorificentius vestris
maiestatibus servire. Scit enim maiestas vestra inopiam ac sordes cum magnorum
principum legatione non bene convenire. Itaque rursus supplico Vestrae Serenitati,
dignetur in hoc preces meas exaudire. Quicquid in me benignitate Serenitatis Vestrae
collatum fuerit, dabo operam, ut id in diligentissimum et gratissimum servitorem Ves-
25 tra Serenitas contulisse videatur.

Me et meam servitutem perpetuam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Serenitatis humillime
commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet. Ex Urbe III. Mai 1524.
Eiusdem Vestrae Serenitatis

30

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
serenissimi regis Hungariae orator

32

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 3 May 1524

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 100r-v.¹

*1. He has learnt about the death of Archbishop of Esztergom György Szatmári; since benefices get reur-
ranged in such cases, he asks Ferdinand' to intercede on his behalf for remembering the absent envoy in
Buda so that the latter's services are rewarded with a smaller benefice at least; he asks for this only to be
able to represent the Hungarian King in Rome better. – 2. There is no news. The Emperor's army is still
besieging the French at Novara. – 3. He is sending a copy of the letter by Persian Shah Sophi addressed to
the Emperor and Louis II to Sigismund.*

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae
perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Licet satis absurdum esse videatur ab eo principe, cui quis nihil serviverit, quip-
piam postulare, summa tamen Vestrae Maiestatis clementia et singularis in omnes

⁶ László Szalkai (1475–1526), Bishop of Eger, Chancellor. He got archbishopric of Esztergom and the
attached position of High Chancellor after Szatmári's death.

⁷ It seems that Ferdinand fulfilled Brodarics' request. On the margin of the letter it is written: *fiat, ut
petitur.*

¹ Another manuscript: BK 213 fol. 53–54; BJ 6549 III fol. 129–130; Libri Legationum vol. XXIII,
fol. 45–46; BCzart TN 36. fol. 569–570.

5 liberalitas ac munificentia spem mihi dat Vestram Maiestatem preces etiam nihil a se merentis servitoris non aspernaturam.

Intellexi reverendissimum dominum meum archiepiscopum Strigoniensem his diebus vita functum esse.² Non dubito, ut in tali casu plerumque fieri consuevit, nonnullas beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum mutationes in Hungaria fore. Ego cum a serenissimo et
10 clementissimo domino meo, nepote³ Vestrae Maiestatis longe nunc absim⁴ et absentes quocunque obsequii genere fungantur, vulgato proverbio pro mortuis haberi soleant, mihi ad Vestrae Maiestatis praesidium duxi refugiendum, cui supplico humillime, dignetur tam ad maiestatem regiam ac reginalem, dominos meos clementissimos, quam
15 etiam ad reverendissimum dominum cancellarium⁵ Hungariae in mei commendationem suas litteras dare et efficere, ut mei quamvis absentis diligenter tamen eorum maiestatibus servientis ratio habeatur saltem in minoribus beneficiis. Nam maiora, sicuti non mereor, ita neque petere ausim. Neque sum, Clementissime Princeps, natura adeo ambitiosus, ut patrocínio Vestrae Maiestatis, quam scio omnia etiam summa apud dominum meum clementissimum posse, aliud consequi optem, quam unde possim
20 commodius et honorificentius Vestris Maiestatibus servire. Scit enim Maiestas Vestra inopiam ac sordes cum magnorum principum legatione non bene convenire. Itaque rursus supplico Vestrae Maiestati, dignetur in hoc preces meas exaudire. Quicquid in me benignitate Maiestatis Vestrae fuerit collatum, dabo operam, ut id in diligentissimum et gratissimum servitorem Vestra Maiestas contulisse videatur.

25 Me et meam servitutem perpetuam rursus in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet. Ex Urbe 3. Maii 1524.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

30 servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus serenissimi
regis Hungariae orator

[2.] Nova non sunt alia. Gallos affirmant Novariae⁶ a Caesarianis obsideri, et ad exeundum ex Italia vehementer urgeri.

[3.] Novum Soltanum dicunt se contra Turcas diligenter munire. Credo Maiestatem

² Archbishop of Esztergom György Szatmári died on 7 April 1524.

³ Louis II was a younger cousin of King Sigismund.

⁴ Brodarics had stayed in Rome since the spring of 1522 as an envoy of Louis II.

⁵ László Szalkai, Bishop of Eger, Chancellor. He got archbishopric of Esztergom and the attached position of High Chancellor after Szatmári's death.

⁶ Novara, town in Northern Italy west of Milan. The French army, having given up on the siege of Milan, retreated this way towards France chased by the Spanish led by Marquis Pescara.

- 35 Vestram intellexisse de litteris Sophii,⁷ ad caesarem et serenissimum dominum⁸ meum, in quibus hortatur eos, ut principes Christianos in Turcam concitent, quarum exemplum ad Vestram Maiestatem mittam.

33

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 7 May 1524

Manuscript used: BN T. 5. fol. 85r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VII. 20.

1. News came from Constantinople that the Pasha of Cairo had been executed for revolting against the Sultan; the Pope, who is concerned that the Turks turn all their forces against Hungary, also confirmed this.; the Pope therefore does all he can and calls for peace among European rulers and also for sending aid to Hungary: – 2. The French suffered substantial defeat in Lombardy; nearly 1000 died, several officers were lost or injured. – 3. He asks Sigismund again to intervene for him with King Louis so that he can obtain some substantial benefice.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

- [1.] Supervenerunt repente nova satis adversa: Bassam illum praefectum Cayri, qui a Turca defecerat, a suis esse obtruncatum.² Quae nova venerunt ex Constantinopoli et
5 habentur pro certissimis. Fui hodie, quae est V. Maii, pro hoc cum Sanctissimo Domi-

35 Principem Ferdinandum *del. suprascr.* dominum
meum

⁷ Persian Shah Ismail Sophi I (1500–1524) was certainly in contact with Louis II in 1523. His envoy, a Maronite monk by the name of Peter of Lebanon, brought a letter to Louis from the Shah in 1523, in which there is allusion to the Shah's previous letters to the Hungarian King. The monk who represented the Shah later spoke at the imperial assembly in Nuremberg in 1524, and tried to talk the Christian rulers into cooperation against the Turks. Because of the conflicts between the European powers nothing would be realised from the Persian alliance that engaged the political public. By the time Charles V made up his mind in August 1525 and responded to the offer of Shah Sophi, the latter was dead. More on the issue: TÁRDY Lajos, *Perzsia és a Nyugat Mohács előtt*, Budapest, 1977, 728–735; IDEM., *Régi magyar követjárások Keleten*, Budapest, 1983, 81–93.

⁸ Louis II.

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 213 fol. 52–53; BOss 177 fol. 40 r–v; Libri Legationum vol. XXIII, fol. 38–39.

² Suleyman pensioned off his chief officer Piri Mehmed in 1523 and gave the position to his friend of his youth Ibrahim. He also transferred Pasha Ahmed one-time second officer to Egypt. Ahmed, feeling put aside, revolted against Suleyman as soon as he arrived in Cairo and declared himself Sultan. However, the riot was suppressed and Ahmed was beheaded. Compare: KÁLDY-NAGY Gyula, *Szulejmán*, Budapest, 1974, 58–59., and MATUZ József, *Az Oszmán Birodalom története*, Budapest, 1990, 95.

no Nostro, qui nova haec pro certissimis affirmat et veretur, ne totas suas vires contra Hungariam Turca convertat. Adhibet Sua Sanctitas cum sua sponte, tum meo etiam hortatu ea remedia, quae potest: sollicitat pacem inter principes. Misit super his novis recentibus litteras ad omnes principes exhortans eos, ut velint in commune consulere et regno Hungariae vel ei parti Christianitatis, si qua laborare coeperit, opem ferre. Credo eum de hoc et ad Vestram Maiestatem scripturum.

[2.] Ex Lombardia habemus nova, quae et pontifex et omnes alii pro certissimis affirmant: Gallos ex Italia iam discedere et in discessu huiusmodi per nostros unam partem eorum male mulcatam;³ interfectos esse usque ad mille Gallos, interfectum quendam capitaneum, unum ex principalioribus,⁴ vulneratum etiam supremum capitaneum,⁵ quem Almiraum vocant. Est aliqua spes pacis, fortasse enim iam Gallus facilius flectetur. Sed credo ego, quod semper credidi, maiestatem domini mei serenissimi et gratiosissimi multum in hoc posse, modo Sua Maiestas ad eum mitteret, quod nunc potissimum rebus eius ad hunc statum deductis quamprimum faciendum videre-
tur.

[3.] Supplicavi in aliis meis⁶ Vestrae Maiestati, ut in favorem mei serenissimo et gratiosissimo domino meo scribere dignaretur, ne in servitiis suae maiestatis existens inter mortuos in istis sacerdotiorum mutationibus computarer. Idem nunc supplico humillime. Scio unicam Vestrae Maiestatis voluntatis significationem incredibiliter rebus meis profuturam. Ego pro huiusmodi Vestrae Maiestatis in me gratia non habeo, quid aliud Vestrae Maiestati offeram, nisi perpetuam meam et in dominum meum clementissimum et in Vestram Maiestatem Sacratissimam fidelitatem et servitium. Quam Deus felicissimam et incolumem conservet. Rome VII. Maii. 1524.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

servitor et capellanus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis orator

³ Marquis Pescara set a trap for the retreating French troops in the Aosta valley on 30 April 1524. Only brave resistance of the French rearguard saved the whole French army from annihilation. Compare: RÁZSÓ, *A lovagkor csatái...* 278.

⁴ Presumably, Brodarics alludes to the famous French nobleman Pierre de Terrail, commonly known as Bayard, the "fearless and blameless" knight who lead the rear-guard. Bayard, who was a renowned figure of the wars in Italy, received a fatal wound at Aosta. More on Bayard's life: RÁZSÓ, *A lovagkor csatái...* passim

⁵ The Chief Commander of the French Army was Count of Bonnavet Guillaume de Goffier who was indeed seriously wounded in the battle, so the rest of the army crossed the Alps under the leadership of a much more experienced commander, Count St. Pol.

⁶ See the letter by Brodarics on 3 May 1524.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Vienna, 21 August 1524

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 2. fol. 233r–v, 237v.

Published: Theiner AUGUSTIN, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia II.*, Romae, 1860, 639.

1. King Louis sent him to Vienna to meet papal legate Campeggio and inform the latter about matters in Hungary and Bohemia. – 2. He assures the Pope that he and Chancellor Szalkai are both loyal to him. – 3. The Hungarians like Baron Burgio as if he was not from Sicily but Transylvania. – 4. Archduke Ferdinand is ready to protect Christianity at the cost of his life.

Beatissime Pater ac Domine, Domine mihi semper Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae beatorum et meae perpetuae servitutis in gratiam eiusdem humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Miserat me his diebus¹ serenissimus dominus meus, rex Hungariae huc ad
5 reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Campeium² Vestrae Sanctitatis legatum, tum officii ac visitationis gratia, tum ut eum de rebus omnibus, quae tam in Hungaria quam in Bohemia agerentur, faceret certiore. Cum igitur nihil penitus sit, quod cum eius reverendissima dominatione non liberrime ac sinceriter communicaverim, Vestra Sanctitas omnia, quae a me scribi deberent, ex litteris eiusdem intelliget. De quo ipso
10 id vere scribere possum, Pater Beatissime ac Domine Clementissime, eum cum tanta omnium istorum principum ac nationum satisfactione ac tanto amore versari, ut nihil addi possit. De quo et hodie serenissimus princeps multa mecum est locutus, ut revera credam et aperte videam eius hic praesentiam his regnis esse admodum salutarem. Undique enim, Beatissime Pater, mirum in modum obruimur, et nisi praesentia reve-
15 rendissimi domini legati, et istorum trium principum³ summa in Sedis Apostolicae ac religionis Christianae auctoritate tuenda constantia adesset, longe in maiora mala decidissemus.

¹ Brodarics returned from Rome in July 1524. (Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia II.*, Romae, 1860, 638.) Louis II. informed Ferdinand Habsburg on 14 August 1524 that he had sent Brodarics to Vienna to run some errands. ("Misimus ad Serenitatem Vestram fidelem nostrum, reverendum Stephanum doctorem praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem, secretarium nostrum Serenitati Vestrae nomine nostro nonnulla dicturum. Quam rogamus, velit praefato secretario nostro in dicendis de nobis plenam fidem adhibere.") One day later, on 15 August, Queen Mary also wrote to her brother about Brodarics' mission in Vienna (Rex dominus et maritus noster carissimus misit ad Serenitatem Vestram hunc fidelem suum et nostrum, venerabilem Stephanum Brodaricum [...] cui nos quoque commisi-
simus nonnulla Vestrae Serenitati nostro nomine referenda.") See MTAKK, Ms 4939, Simancas, bundle 1, and KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 345–346.

² Papal Legate Cardinal Campeggio stayed in Hungary and then in Vienna from 18 July 1524.

³ Brodarics probably alludes to three rulers most affected by the Turks: King of Hungary and Bohemia Louis II, Polish King Sigismund I, and Austrian Archduke Ferdinand.

[2.] Reverendissimum etiam dominum cancellarium⁴ Hungariae (sine omni assentatione loquor) habet Vestra Sanctitas, ultra quam dici ac credi potest, in his rebus sedulum ac diligentem. Me minimum Vestrae Sanctitatis servulum tanto habet Vestra Sanctitas minus utilem, minorisque momenti, quanto me minorem istic mea Romana absentia esse voluit. Sum tamen is, qui cum vidua illa et ipse in gazophylacium minuta quamquam aera proicio,⁵ et cum omni mentis sinceritate Vestrae Sanctitati ac Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae pro mea exilitate servio.

[3.] Dominus baro⁶ ita a nostris omnibus amatur, ut eum non in illa Sicilia, quae pars Italiae esse censetur, sed in hac, quae pars Hungariae est, quam et ipsam eodem nomine appellamus, natum esse reputemus et pro vero ac puro Hungaro habeamus. Qui ita, ut mei mihi retulerunt, causam meam iussu Vestrae Sanctitatis egit me absente, ut vel hoc ipso, si nihil unquam benignitatis Vestra Sanctitas antea in me contulisset, fatear me ei perpetuo obligatissimum non aliter, quam si omnia, quae petebantur, fuissent impetrata.⁷ Me ac meam servitutem ad pedum pulveres Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime commendo, quam Deus felicissimam esse velit. Viennae XXI. Augusti 1524.

[4.] Serenissimus princeps Ferdinandus mirabilem devotionem et affectum ostendit in Vestram Sanctitatem et in Sanctam Sedem. Qua de re multa mecum est hodie locutus asserens se eam religionem, in qua natus ipse sit, in qua maiores sui mortui sint, non solum constantissime servare, verum et cum omni etiam vitae discrimine tueri perpetuo velle.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis

On the outer side: Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Papae, Domino mihi semper Clementissimo

²⁵ *post ut is del.*

⁴ Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai.

⁵ Compare: Lk, 21.2.

⁶ Papal Nuncio Baron Antonio Burgio. On his activities in Hungary see: BARTONIEK Emma (ed.), *Mohács Magyarország. Báró Burgio pápai követ jelentései*, Budapest, 1926., and *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. Budapest, 2001.

⁷ The Papal Court intervened on behalf of Brodarics already in 1524 to assist in his appointment to the bishopric. But it did not happen yet, and Brodarics was compensated by a prebend as Canon of Esztergom.

István Brodarics to Giovanni Salviati
Buda, 4 November 1524

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I., Filza 152., fol. 9r., 12v.

1. He has received Salviati's letter dated 7 October: There is hope for putting an end to the schism in Bohemia; at least Baron Burgio and Chancellor Szalkai are working on it zealously as can be seen in de Burgio's letters. – 2. If peace cannot be created among contentious Christian rulers, only God knows what awaits Hungary next spring. – 3. He does not yet know when he returns to Italy but a message was sent via Marsupino the other day. – 4. Another letter has been sent regarding the matter of the bishopric of Pécs, since the previous one got lost. Arriving at a decision would be important.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

[1.] Accepi litteras Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis VII. Octobris datas.¹ Negotium unionis Bohemicae,² qua diligentia actum sit et agatur, Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio ex litteris domini baronis³ assidue cognoscit. Quo etiam sit nunc in statu? Spem habemus non parvam. Diligentia reverendissimi domini mei cancellarii⁴ tanta est, ut maior esse non possit. Ego quoque annitor, quantum possum. De domino barone nihil dico. Nullis enim verbis consequi possem hominis in rebus omnibus et in hac maxime curanda extremam atque incredibilem diligentiam.

10 [2.] Negotia etiam nostra, quem in modum se habeant, Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima non ignorat. Ego nescio quid scribere, praesertim cum scribere veritatem aut etiam dicere sit periculosum. Isti etiam principes vestri immortalibus odiis inter se et armis nunquam intermorituris concertantes adjuvant multum hostem ad nos opprimendos. Quid rebus sic stantibus in ver futurum sit, futurum de nobis, Deus novit. Ego
15 magnitudinem periculorum considerans nihil boni possum sperare. Nisi Deus et Beata Virgo Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum⁵ adjuverit ad pacem faciendam.

¹ Salviati's letter mentioned is unknown.

² Renewed negotiations began in 1524 between Utraquistas – who felt threatened by the Picards (Bohemian Brothers) and the Lutherans – and Catholics. László Szalkai, Bishop of Eger, later Archbishop of Esztergom took up the lion's share of the talks hoping that the Holy Seat would reward his efforts with appointing him Cardinal. More on this: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarország a mohácsi vész előtt*, Budapest, 1884, 82–96.

³ Compare: Papal Nuncio Baron Burgio's report on 31 October 1524. FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 56–60.

⁴ Archbishop of Esztergom and High Chancellor László Szalkai.

⁵ Pope Clement VII.

[3.] Ego videor iam esse in procinctu. Non satis tamen certus adhuc, quando sim iter ingressurus.⁶ Nuntiavi aliqua per Ioannem Marsupini⁷ fratris mei, quem his diebus dimisi. Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, supplico, dignabitur in illis me habere com-
20 mendatum. Quam cupio felicissimam esse atque incolumem.

Buda, IIII. Novembris 1524.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

humilis servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
decretorum doctor

25

[4.] Negotium domini Quinqueecclesiensis,⁸ supplico humillime, iam tandem expediatur. Misimus his diebus novas litteras praesentationis. Illae aliae miror certe, quo devenerint. Si bene memini, dederam eas Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, vel si apud me remanserant, sunt vel apud Egidium Zephirum⁹ sollicitatorem meum vel inter
30 reculas meas istic relictas. Quibus tamen ubicunque sint, iam non est opus istis aliis nuper missis.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Ioanni cardinali de Salviatis Regni Hungariae protectori etc., domino mihi semper observandissimo.

⁶ In fact, Broderics could leave for Rome in February 1525 only.

⁷ Giovanni Marsupino, brother of Francesco Marsupino who worked as an administrator in Rome from 1518. He worked as an emissary of Szapolyai in Rome in the 1530s. See also the notes for the letter by Broderics on 1 September 1522.

⁸ In theory, the bishopric of Pécs became vacant in 1522 when György Szatmári became Archbishop of Esztergom, and Louis II could appoint his successor. It was the King's former envoy to Venice Fülöp Csulai Mór who had the prebend of Provost of Eger. In fact, Szatmári kept benefices of the bishopric until his death on 7 April 1524, so Csulai remained elected (*electus*) bishop. Papal confirmation became possible only after the death of Szatmári, and from Broderics' letter it seems it did not go smoothly either. That is why Broderics asked for Salviati's intervention. Some data suggest that it was unnecessary because Clement VII produced the bull that confirmed Csulai's appointment on 26 October 1524. More on Csulai's appointment as Bishop of Pécs: FEDELES Tamás, *Egy Jagelló-kori humanista pályaképe. Csulai Mór Fülöp (1476/1477–1526)*, *Levéltári Közlemények*, 2007, 66–67.

⁹ Egidius Zephrus may be identical to the *solicitor* mentioned by the name of Egyed Római in a document in the Pannonhalma Abbey dated 10 September 1525. See: ERDÉLYI László (ed.), *A Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története* III., Nr. 272.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 22 November 1524

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 2. fol. 345r–v.

1. He can present the reasons for his delay to the Pope soon in person: he was about to leave when Cardinal Campeggio was called to Buda unexpectedly after Ferdinand's sudden departure. Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai, who is ready to act according to the wishes of the papal court, was of great service in this.
– 2. He will report on the situation here after arriving in Rome; he does not want to burden the Pope with a lengthy letter now; the Pope can learn the essentials from Archdean Imre. He expresses his gratitude to the papal court and Baron Burgio for intervening on his behalf; now he is put under even stronger obligation if that is possible at all.

Beatissime Pater, ac Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae perpetuae ad pulveres pedum Vestrae Sanctitatis beatorum humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Causas tam diuturnae meae morae Vestra Sanctitas a me ipso brevi accipiet. Non enim credo me iam diutius moraturum. Nunc etiam iam eram in procinctu ad Vestram Sanctitatem eundi,¹ cum rursus alia morae causa incidit: vocatio videlicet reverendissimi domini cardinalis Campeii² ad hanc maiestatem domini mei serenissimi. Hoc enim visum est convenientius et honori Sanctae Sedis ac Vestrae Sanctitatis accommodatius, quam eum post repentinum praesertim serenissimi principis Ferdinandi illinc abitum Viennae desiderare. Qua in re perficienda adiuti sumus egregie opera reverendissimi domini Strigoniensis³ ad omnia mandata Vestrae Sanctitatis implenda et ad omnia, quae ad splendorem ac decus Vestrae Sanctitatis pertinere videntur, facienda proclivissimi.

[2.] Ubi cum reverendissimo domino legato praesente etiam domino Strigoniense fuero, statim ad Vestram Sanctitatem advolabo et plura ac certiora de rebus omnibus referam.⁴ Ne vero nunc longioribus litteris sim Vestrae Sanctitati taedio, referet nonnulla Vestrae Sanctitati nomine meo dominus Emericus archidiaconus,⁵ frater meus. Illud tamen unum neque ego possum tacere. Me licet ab initio fuerim Vestrae Sanctitati ita addictus, ut addi nihil posse videretur, nunc tamen ob diligentissimas intercessionem immo contentiones quoque acerrimas domini baronis pro mea promotione nomine Vestrae Sanctitatis factas, factum esse longe addictiorem et obstrictum vinc-

¹ Louis II informed the Pope already on 20 October 1524 that Brodarics would be sent back to Rome. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 584.

² Papal legate Cardinal Campeggio stayed in Hungary and then in Vienna from 18 July 1524.

³ László Szalkai had held the title Archbishop of Esztergom since May 1524.

⁴ In fact, Brodarics could leave in February 1525 only. Louis II dated his letter of commission on 13 February 1525 in Buda. Compare: ASV, Principi, vol. 3., fol. 36r–v. We have data that show that the treasury paid out 200 forints to Brodarics on 22 February 1525 for travel expenses (compare: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *II. Lajos számadási könyve*, Magyar Történelmi Társaság (XXII.), 1877, 85.)

⁵ This may refer to Brodarics' long-time protégé Archdean of Gyulafehérvár Imre Kálnai.

tumque esse perpetuis vinculis in perpetuam Sanctitatis Vestrae et inclytae eius domus servitutem.⁶ Non minus certe, quam si omnia amplissima eius intercessione fuisset consecutus.

25 Cetera, ut praemisi, dicet Vestrae Sanctitati dominus archidiaconus. Quem supplex oro dignetur benigne audire.

Me ac meam perpetuam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sanctitatis rursus supplex commendo. Quam Deus felicissimam et sospitem conservet.

Budae, 22. Novembris 1524.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

30 humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis.

On the outer side: Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Clementi papae VIImo, Domino mihi semper clementissimo

37

István Brodarics to Giovanni Salviati
Buda, 4 December 1524

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Strozziene, Serie I., Filza 152., fol. 68r–v.¹

1. Salviati should get 110 Hungarian gold coins of Brodarics' money given to the man of Burgio. – 2. Legate Campeggio is expected for Christmas. After Campeggio's arrival he himself can set out for Rome. He would regret if he didn't find Salviati in Rome.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] De pecuniis meis, supplico, Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio iubeat dari ei, cui dominus Ioannes Antonius baro nuntius Apostolicus commisit, vel qui eas nomine
5 ipsius petierit, ducatos in auro Hungaricales centum et decem.

[2.] Alia nunc non sunt. Exspectamus reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Campeium² ad diem Nativitatis huc venturum. Ego post festa credo me iter ingressurum.

⁶ The Papal Court attempted to achieve via Baron Burgio the appointment of Brodarics already in 1524, but they failed due to the resistance of Archbishop Szalkai. Brodarics was compensated by a prebend as Canon of Esztergom. Louis II., however, made a promise to the Pope that he would raise Brodarics to Bishop status as soon as possible. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863. 585.

¹ The manuscript is damaged at some places.

² King Louis invited Papal Legate Cardinal Campeggio to Buda in November, and Brodarics' travel was postponed until his arrival. See the previous letter on this.

Dolebo maiorem in modum, si Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam ab Urbe contingat abesse. Minuet tamen meum dolorem Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae necessitas et obsequium, quod Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem abesse cogit. Utinam
10 post tot et tanta dissidia principum pacem videamus.³ Qua nem[o] [m]agis indiget, quam nos. Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem cupio optime valere.

Ex Buda IIII. Decembris 1524.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

15 humilis servitor
Stephanus Brodericus
praepositus Quinqueecclesiensis

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo colendissimo, domino cardinali Salviati, legato Galliae Cisalpiniae etc.

38

István Brodarics to Louis II
[Buda], [9 December 1524]¹

Manuscript used: MOL DL 105435

Brodarics puts forward a request from István and Ferenc Révay that the King affirm their land purchase agreement with Ambrus Rwchy, and should the King have any claims regarding the estate in question, transfer those to the Révay brothers.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine Gratosissime.

Supplicatur Maiestati Vestrae in personis fidelium eiusdem egregiorum Stephani et Francisti [!] de Rewa² in eo humillime, quatenus dignetur Maiestas Vestra illi fassioni et perpetuae venditioni, quam nobilis Ambrosius Rwchy de Bodogazzonzakaya super
5 totali portione sua possessionaria in eadem possessione Bodogazzonzakaya habita

³ Clement VII wanted to commission Cardinal Salviati (1490–1553) to create peace between Charles V and Francis I as a legate in Lombardy. The Pope finally appointed the Cardinal as Legate after the French defeat (24 February 1525), in a very different situation, only on 5 May 1525. On Salviati's activities as legate see Brodarics' letters to Sigismund I on 17 May 1525 and to Salviati on 20 May 1525.

¹ There is no date on the document, and we only know from a remark of the *relator* Brodarics that King Louis sanctioned the request on 9 December 1524.

² István Révay (?–after 1545), first Captain in Újlak, then, after Mohács, Captain in Siklós in the service of Péter Perényi. He enters the service of Ferdinand I in 1528, captain of the royal gun-boats from November 1527. – Ferenc Révay, (1498–1553), Secretary of Palatine István Báthory, later *Protonotarius* (1519–1526). His career rises after Mohács. King Ferdinand appoints him *Personalis* first (1527–1542), then Palatine's governor (1542–1553). Comes of Turóc county from 1532 until his death. On the Révay family more recently: PÁLFFY Géza, *Különleges úton a Magyar Királyság arisztokráciájába: a Révay-család a 16. században*, Történelmi Szemle, 2009, 1–20.

coram personali praesentia Maiestatis Vestrae fecisset gratum praebere consensum et nihilominus totum et omne ius regium, si quid Maiestas Vestra in eadem portione haberet, pro fidelibus serviitiis ipsorum supplicantium eisdem conferre gratiose.

Concessit Regia Maiestas feria sexta proxima post festum Conceptionis 1524.

10

Stephanus Brodaryth doctor
secretarius

39

István Brodarics to Louis II
[Buda], [21 February 1525]¹

Manuscript used: MOL DL 260226; MOL 285402²

Brodarics presents to the King a request from István Terjék and Palatine's Secretary Ferenc Révay regarding their trial against Ferenc Szántói Botka.

Sacra Regia Maiestas, Domine Gratosissime.

Supplicatur Maiestati Vestrae in personis fidelium eiusdem egregiorum Stephani Theyek de Zenthersebeth³ et Francisci de Rewa⁴ secretarii palatinalis in eo, uti dignetur Maiestas Vestra ex innata sua clementia illas duas partes iudiciarias oneris et
5 gravaminis sententiae, in quo nobilis Franciscus Bothka de Zantho per omissionem iuramenti sui in praesenti termino celebrationis idiciorum contra nobilem dominam Margaretham, relictam quondam Francisci similiter Bothka de dicta Zantho coram personali praesentia Maiestatis Vestrae convictus exstitit et aggravatus, dictis suppli-
cantibus pro fidelibus serviitiis eorundem conferre gratiose.

10 Concessit Maiestas Regia in profesto cathedrae Sancti Petri Apostoli 1525.

Stephanus Brodericus
secretarius

⁹ Concessit ... Brodaryth doctor secretarius *manu Broderici*

¹⁰ Concessit ... Brodericus secretarius *manu Broderici*

¹ There is no date on the document, and we only know from a remark of the *relator* Brodarics that King Louis sanctioned the request on 21 February 1525.

² Both reference the same manuscript.

³ István Szenterzsébeti Terjék, nobleman from Zala county. His sister Orsolya is the mother of Tamás Nádasdy, so he is the uncle of the future Palatine. Student at the Vienna university in 1494. Tenant of the Zalavár abbey with his father from 1518. Compare: FÜSSY Tamás, *A zalavári apátság története* (A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története. VII.), Budapest, 1902, 110–114.

⁴ Ferenc Révay was Secretary of Palatine István Báthory, later Protonotary (1519–1526). See more on him in the notes for the previous letter.

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [April 1525]¹

Manuscript used: BJ 6536 fol. 8v.

1. He has heard from Statileo that Brodarics is in Rome again as an envoy, something which he heard with satisfaction knowing Brodarics' loyalty. – 2. He asks Brodarics to keep representing him and his subjects in their affairs and to keep informing him about developments.

Reverende sincere nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Retulit nobis reverendus Ioannes Statilius, praepositus Eursiensis² et serenissimi domini Ludovici Hungariae et Bohemiae regis nepotis nostri carissimi apud nos orator te iterum Romae oratorem agere, quae res sint nobis acceptissima, experti enim sumus
5 tuam erga nos fidem et propensionem, experti diligentiam et curam in obeundis negotiis nostris, quae istic Romae eveniebant. Proindeque et commendavimus iam saepe ipsi serenissimo domino nepoti nostro virtutem et merita tua et commendare in dies magis non desistemus.

[2.] Postulamus vero a te impense, ut tibi curae istic sint, ut solebant, nostra subditorumque et procerum nostrorum negotia, quae incident, nobisque ea, quae nova emergent, scribere per omnem occasionem non gravare, ut et tua erga nos merita et nostrum
10 vicissim in te favorem reddas in dies cumulatiorem. Datum.

¹ The letter can be dated based on Statileo's legation and the return of Brodarics to Rome. Statileo went to Cracow as an envoy in the spring of 1525 and got an answer from the Polish King on 12 April (see AT VII. 241). Brodarics left for Rome in late February 1525. On 5 March he was still in Pécs (he got a letter of commission from Bishop Fülöp Csulai Mór then), so the earliest he could reach the Eternal City was in April.

² János Statileo (Statilius in Latin form, Statilić in Croatian) (1472–1542), Provost of Óbuda, later Transylvanian Bishop of János Szapolyai (1528–1542). More on his life: SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Statileo János életéhez*, A pannonthalmi szt. benedekrendi főiskola évkönyve, Pannonthalma, 1916, 3–56., and Domagoj MADUNIĆ, *Vinko Pribojević and the Glory of Slavs*, Budapest, 2003, 19.

János Statileo to István Brodarics
Cracow, 12 April 1525

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I., Filza 157., fol. 184r.¹

Albrecht von Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, made an oath of allegiance to Polish King Sigismund, and got the land he already had as feud.

Excerpta ex litteris oratoris

Ut Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima sit particeps novitatum, quae hic contingunt, volui ei significare serenissimum Poloniae regem inivisse perpetuam pacem et concordiam cum illustrissimo principe Alberto alias magistro Prussiae, nunc vero duce Prussiae ea lege, ut ipse princeps Albertus habeat terram Prussiae illam, quam habuit hucusque, in feudum a regibus Poloniae ipse et heredes masculi eius et quattuor fratrum suorum, quibus deficientibus ipsum feudum recidat in regem Poloniae restitutis hinc inde occupatis tempore belli praeteriti.² Et sic feria secunda praeterita³ ipse princeps Albertus praestitit iuramentum uti domino suo naturali serenissimo regi Poloniae sedenti in diademate in throno ad id constructo in foro Cracoviensi. Cui in signum subiectionis rex dedit nova insignia, vexillum scilicet ex serico album cum aquila nigra habente torquem auream in collo, ex qua pendet littera S, et sic nos fuimus in triumpho.

Datum Cracoviae feria quarta post Palmas.

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [April 1525]¹

Manuscript used: BJ 6556 fol. 16r–v.

1. He has learnt that the Observant Franciscans in Rome are trying to procure monasteries of the Conventuals in Bohemia and Poland, and it seems as if this was the intention of Sigismund too. – 2. He requests Brodarics to take steps against this, because this is exactly the opposite of what Sigismund wants who

¹ An abstract of Statileo's letter forwarded by Brodarics enclosed to his letter to Cardinal Salviati on 20 May.

² It is the war between the Teutonic Order and Poland (1519–21) which ended with the Knights' defeat.

³ 10 April 1525.

¹ Date uncertain. Brodarics says in his letter on 17 May that he received several letters but we cannot be sure that he refers to these two.

regards Conventuals highly because they are of great help in the fight against spreading heresy. Their Provincial, Marcus de Torre has a high reputation all over the country, so his withdrawal would be a serious loss for the Church here.

[1.] Intelleximus fratres Sancti Francisci de observantia id agere, ut loca conventu-
alium in regno nostro et Bohemiae sibi a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro impetrarent,
quasi haec sit voluntas nostra, ut ea illi potius haberent.

[2.] Postulamus a te, obstes, quominus id perficere valeant. Tantum enim abest, ut
5 haec voluntas nostra sit, ut etiam nobis non posset esse non molestum quidquam prae-
ter veterem eorum ordinem in regno nostro constitutionem renovari, et praesertim
nunc invalescente in dies magis circumquaque perniciosissima haeresi, ad quam
retundendam magno nobis ex usu sunt ipsi fratres conventuales, praesertim venerabilis
10 Marcus a Turri² commissarius et provincialis regni nostri, qui et monasteria hic sua in
debitum redegit ordinem et religioni sua doctrina suaque sanctimonia plurimum con-
ducit. Proindeque nobis et regnicolis nostris est multo gratissimus, qui si amoveri hinc
deberet, magno omnino praesidio res haec ecclesiastica privaretur. Quare illum ac eius
ordinem tam in regno nostro, quam etiam Bohemia consistentem patrocinio tuo etiam
atque etiam commendamus.

43

István Brodarics to Sigismund I¹
Rome, 17 May 1525

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 33r-v.²

1. He received several letters from Sigismund in recent days in which he is requested to intervene in certain affairs; he is happy to do this. – 2. He thanks for Sigismund's intervention on his behalf with Louis II; he strives to repay Sigismund's goodwill. – 3. According to Johannes Rudniczki's report, the King's request has been in part fulfilled, in part it will be put forward to the Pope tomorrow by Brodarics and Cardinal Pucci; Sigismund will be informed about the Pope's answer promptly. – 4. The Pope is relentless in his attempts to create peace between the Emperor and the French King; Cardinal Giovanni Salviati has been ordered to stay with the Emperor as a legate; Brodarics has been sent with him. – 5. He trusts that peace can be attained; he wrote a ciphered letter about this to Bishop of Przemyśl Andrzej Krzycki; he trusts this most of all because of the noble heart of the French King with whom he negotiated not long ago and has written about it to Sigismund. If it fails there is no other way of saving Hungary than what he had already written to Sigismund

² Marcus a Turri or Marcus de Torre, Franciscan monk born in Venice, Polish provincial. Taught theology at the Cracow University in 1519. He was confessor of Bona Sforza, so he had excellent relationship with the Polish court. See also AT V. 242., 253.; AT VI. 268., 306.; AT VII. 63., 83., and FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarország pápai követek jelentései...* 324.

¹ The text of the letter is on the Internet, in a somewhat different variant, transcribed by Péter Tóth. <http://ephemeris.alcuinus.net/exempla.php>.

² Further manuscripts: BK 213 fol. 525–527; BJ 6549 fol. 546–548; BCzart TN 37. fol. 259–262.

[peace agreement with the Turks]; he wishes this had been done before losing Belgrade and Szörényvár, since nobody cares about the Hungarians, they all care only about themselves. – 7. All kinds of unbelievable things are being written about the German peasants' war; but he believes that Sigismund has more information on this than he has; it is also said that the Turks will not attack Hungary this year but this is consolation only inasmuch as it gives some respite. – 8. If there is a need for intervention regarding the Duchy of Bari, he asks Sigismund to let him know; if he happens to be away from Rome, his fellow envoy Francesco Marsupino or Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci will forward letters addressed to him.

Sacratissima Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitiorum meorum in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Accepi aliquot litteras Vestrae Maiestatis his diebus, in quibus Vestra Maiestas scribit mihi de nonnullis suis negotiis, quae mihi perinde curae erunt, ut negotia serenissimi et gratiosissimi domini mei, carissimi nepotis Vestrae Maiestatis. Neque ulla ratione magis poterit Vestra Maiestas suam in me gratiam ostendere, quam si servitute mea quantulacunque uti fuerit dignata. Quod ut facere velit, eidem supplico humillime.

[2.] Nescio autem quibus verbis Vestrae Maiestati gratias agam, vel quibus obsequiis promereri apud eam possim eam gratiam, quam superioribus mensibus in commendando me, suo minimo servulo sacratissimae maiestati nepotis sui carissimi declaravit. Hoc unum semper et palam profitebor, et re ipsa ac servitute mea sincerissima ostendere conabor Vestram Maiestatem, quod in me conferet, in gratum ac fidelissimum servitorem collaturam, et quicquid mihi accessionis contigerit, id soli Vestrae Maiestati libens debebo.³

[3.] Verum ut ad ea redeam, de quibus Vestra Maiestas scribit, ea partim sunt expedita, sicut mihi dominus Joannes Rudniczki rettulit, partim cras, unacum reverendissimo domino cardinale Sanctorum Quattuor,⁴ sicut Vestra Maiestas iubet (de praelatorum huc missione loquor) Sanctissimo Domino Nostro referentur. De cuius voluntate faciam Vestram Maiestatem ilico certiore.

[4.] Pontifex in facto pacis inter caesarem et Christianissimum regem faciendae vehementissime laborat, delegit eius rei gratia reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Salviati, nepotem suum ad caesarem mittendum.⁵ Cum quo consultissimum iudicaret me quoque, qui huius potissimum rei gratia a maiestate domini mei gratiosissimi missus sum, illuc proficisci. De qua pontificis voluntate scripsi ad Maiestatem Regiam.

17 Rwdynezky del., *suprascr. alia manu Rudniczki*

³ Brodarics asked Sigismund several times in May 1524, after György Szatmári's death, to intervene for him so that he can obtain some substantial benefice, presumably some bishopric. This means that the Polish court also spoke up for him. Brodarics did not earn a bishopric at that time but he got the benefice of the Esztergom Canon added to that of Provost of Pécs, and Louis II. made a promise that he would raise Brodarics to Bishop status as soon as possible.

⁴ The church named after the Four Crowned Saints (Quattuor Sanctorum Coronatorum) was the titular church of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci (Laurentius Pucius) (1458–1531), Bishop of Melf, later of Alba.

⁵ Clement VII appointed Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, Legate with Charles V, on 5 May 1525. His task was, as Brodarics says, first of all, creating peace between the French and the Spanish Kings and preparation for the war against the Turks.

[5.] Si posset confici ista pax, sicut sumus in non parva spe, propter illas causas, quas ad reverendissimum dominum Premisliensem,⁶ cum quo mihi notae occultiores⁷ sunt, perscripsi, si, inquam, confici posset, essemus securi de salute Christianae Reipublicae, praesertim ob eum animum, quem certe magnum et excellentem in rege Christianissimo
 30 Maiestatem proximè scripsi.⁹ Sin minus, ego, quantumcunque cogitem, Sapientissime Rex, non video ullam aliam salutis nostrae rationem,¹⁰ quam illam, de qua scio me aliquando ad Vestram Maiestatem scripsisse, et quam utinam ante perditum Belgradum ac dirutum Severinum¹¹ secuti fuisset. Sed vetera sero querimus. Clementissime
 35 Princeps, unusquisque curat sua propria negotia, et nemo nostra, et alii Christiani sanguine Christiano inexplēbiles sub tegmine alarum Vestrarum Maiestatum Sacratissimarum requiescunt. Sed de his satis, praesertim cum non sit sine periculo scribere veritatem.

[7.] De tumultu Germanico¹² mira scribuntur, sed illa scio Vestrae Maiestati quam nobis esse notiora. Affirmatur ex omnibus partibus Turcam pro hoc anno nos magna vi
 40 non aggressurum. Sed hoc etiam, si verum esset, parum consolationis nobis praebere deberet, nisi quod per has moras exitium nostrum longius proferri ac prorogari videtur.

[8.] De rebus Barenis¹³ scio Vestram Maiestatem a suis fieri certiore. Si mihi ad caesarem eundum fuerit, et si quid me ibi Vestra Maiestas sibi in hoc servire voluerit,

⁶ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Przemiśl.

⁷ Brodaries uses cipher in several letters, which is only partially deciphered so far.

⁸ Brodaries visited the French King imprisoned by Charles V after the battle of Pavia (24 February 1525) in the town of Pizzighettone. Unfortunately, he misjudged Francis' "noble heart": he would recall this encounter in his report on the Battle of Mohács written 2 years later, and reproach the French ruler for promising help to Hungary against the Turks, something he did not keep. ("[...] regi Gallorum et illud in memoriam reducit [sc. Louis II], quid sibi in oppido Piczigetone captivus per oratorem suum [sc. Brodaries] de defendenda Hungaria et de ferendis, si Deus eum pristinae libertati restituisset, suppetiis promiserit [...]". See Stephanus BRODERICUS, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, Ed. Petrus KULCSÁR, Budapest, 1985, 27–28.)

⁹ We do not have this letter.

¹⁰ Brodaries obviously alludes to peace to be signed with the Turks: the idea to bring the official state of war with the Turks, that began in 1521, to an end by peace agreement or armistice was considered several times in the Hungarian court but was rejected every time – partly under pressure from the Pope. The same considerations were spelled out in a letter to Sigismund on 10 June 1523, which shows that Brodaries had seen the situation clearly already then, and, as this letter demonstrates, it did not change much in 2 years. Brodaries' warnings were heard in the Polish court at least. Sigismund, seeing the failure in Christian cooperation, signed peace with the Turks on 15 November 1525. Brodaries, in his first letter addressed to Piotr Tomicki and Andrzej Krzycki (6 September 1526), still expresses regret over the fact that Hungarians did not follow the Polish example ("O nos nunquam minus prudentes, quam tunc, cum consilia pacis cum Turco Vestris Dominationibus non suadentibus solum, sed hortantibus ac rogantibus etiam, non suscepimus." See the letter by Brodaries on 6 September 1526.)

¹¹ Nándorfehérvár (today: Beograd, Serbia) was occupied by the Turks on 29 August 1521; Bey of Nándorfehérvár Bali occupied Szörényvár (today: Turnu-Severin, Romania) in September 1524.

¹² Reference to the German peasants' war.

¹³ Brodaries had done services to Sigismund in connection to the Duchy of Bari before. (More on the case of the Duchy of Bari: AT, VIII. 295–379.)

faciat me certiozem. Litterae Vestrae Maiestatis etiam si interim discederem per collegam
45 meum, dominum Franciscum Marsupinum, qui hic erit, vel etiam per reverendissimum
dominum cardinalem Sanctorum Quattuor fideliter ad me mittentur.

Me et servitia mea in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis rursus humillime commendo.
Romae 17. Maii 1525.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

50 minimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
orator

*On the outer side: Sacratissimae regiae maiestati Poloniae, magno duci Lithvaniae,
Rwssiae, Prussiae etc. domino ac heredi, domino meo clementissimo.*

44

István Brodarics to Giovanni Salviati
Rome, 20 May 1525

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I., Filza 157., fol. 183r–v, 185v.

1. He had no time to write a letter since he has arrived to Rome; on the other hand, he hasn't received any news from Hungary. – 2. King of Poland made peace with the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order; more detail in the attached document. – 3. He hopes that Salviati's mission for peace is on the right track. The Pope ordered Brodarics to join him for the time of the talks. – 3. Pietro Antoni Berri of Parma, envoy of Louis II to Salviati, has arrived in Rome. He asks Salviati to arrange a smaller benefice for Berri in his birthplace.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] In isto primo meo in Urbem adventu¹ fui adeo occupatus, ut nihil potuerim in hanc horam ad Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem scribere. Etsi alioquin non erat magnopere, quod scriberem. Nihil enim ex Hungaria a toto illo tempore habemus.
5

[2.] Ex Polonia autem illud tantum, quod puto Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem intellexisse serenissimum Poloniae regem² cum magistro Prussiae³ perpetuam inivisse pacem illis conditionibus,⁴ quas ex scheda⁵ praesentibus inclusa intelliget,

¹ Brodarics left for Rome in late February 1525. The earliest he could reach Rome was in early April.

² Sigismund I.

³ Albrecht von Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Duke of the secularised Prussian state after conversion to the Evangelical faith.

⁴ Albrecht von Brandenburg framed the state of the Teutonic Knights into a Lutheran secular Grand Duchy. He gave fealty to Polish King Sigismund on 10 April 1525.

⁵ See Statileo's letter on 12 April 1525.

quae scheda descripta est ex litteris oratoris⁶ serenissimi regis mei, qui pro hac re ad
10 Poloniam missus fuerat.

[3.] Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi cupio legationem, quae ei est demandata,
esse faustam felicemque et pacis publicae, pro qua vadit, impetratricem, cum ingenti
Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae gloria. Puto Vestram Reverendissimam Domi-
nationem intellexisse mentem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri⁷ de persona mea cum Vestra
15 Reverendissima Dominatione mittenda.⁸ Quamvis iter sit et longum et laboriosum
praesertim hoc anni tempore, tamen non poterit esse nisi iucundum cum Vestra Domi-
natione Reverendissima. Exspecto litteras a serenissimo rege.⁹

[3.] Est hic in Urbe dominus Petrus Antonius Berrus Parmensis¹⁰ secretarius serenissimi
regis Hungariae, domini mei gratiosissimi Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae per
20 maiestatem eius commendatus. Maiestas sua mihi commisit discedenti, ut ei uti servitori
ac secretario suo ubique, ubi esset opus, adessem maxime apud Vestram Reverendissimam
Dominationem. Idem et regina¹¹ serenissima iussit. Nunc intelligo oblatam esse occa-
sionem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi ei in ista ecclesia Parmensi, quae est ei
patria, de aliquo beneficiolo subveniendi. Supplico Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae
25 primum ob respectum maiestatis regiae ac reginalis, deinde meorum etiam servitorum,
quae iampridem penitus Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi dicavi, dignetur ei pro-
videre. Quod ego non aliter conabor apud Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem
promereri, quam si in me ipsum esset collatum. Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi
servitutem meam humillimam supplex commendo. Quae optime ac felicissime valeat.

30 Romae, XX. Maii 1525.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servulus humilis
Stephanus Brodericus
orator

*Address: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino cardinali de Salviatis Lombardiae
legato, semper observandissimo.*

*[Outside, in a different handwriting:] 1525 orator Hungariae, Datae Romae XX Mai.
Redditae Parmae 25 eiusdem.*

28 fuisset *del. suprascr.* esset

⁶ János Statileo.

⁷ Pope Clement VII.

⁸ Brodericus mentions in a letter to King Sigismund on 17 May that the Pope ordered him to partici-
pate in the peace talks between Salviati and Charles V.

⁹ Hungarian and Czech King Louis II.

¹⁰ Pietro Antonio Berri of Parma arrived in Germany with Legate Tomasso Vio, and they went to the
court of Louis II from there. He was appointed Royal Secretary for his services. As such, he visited Rome
as an envoy already before 1525. The two credentials that King Louis and Queen Mary issued to Berri as
their envoy are dated 31 May 1524. See THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium
historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 580–581.

¹¹ Maria Habsburg (1505–1558), wife of Louis II from 1522.

István Brodarics to Giovanni Salviati
Rome, 10 June 1525

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I., Filza 158., fol. 166r-v; 165r-v.

1. *He wants to return Salviati's good will with deeds rather than words.* – 2. *Only Salviati's company makes the expected hardships of the trip to Spain endurable.* – 3. *He has not yet received a letter from Hungary. Salviati can find his news on the attached page.*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Pro singulari Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis in me benignitate, quam et hae litterae, quas nunc ab illa accepi,¹ praesetulerunt, malo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi reipsa et facto, quantum a me fieri poterit, referre, quam verbis gratias
5 agere.

[2.] Nihil magis, quod et antea scripsi,² difficultatem, laborem ac molestias itineris Hispanici aestimantem consolatur, quam quod mihi cum Vestra Dominatione Reverendissima eundum esse video. Quam dispeream, si non ex toto corde et amo et observo et veneror. Cupioque illi ex animo servire.

10 [3.] Litteras adhuc ex Hungaria, quas expectamus, non habuimus. Iam diutius differri non possunt. Ea, quae habuimus, perscripsi in hac scheda praesentibus inclusa. Alia nunc non sunt. Servitutem meam rursus humiliter commendo. Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem felicissime cupio valere.

Roma X. Iunii 1525.

15 Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
orator

[Addressed:] Reverendissimo domino meo colendissimo, domino cardinali de Salviatis Lombardiae legato etc. Parmae

[On the outer side in a different handwriting:] Datae Romae X Iunii. Redditae Parmae 16.

[Attachment to Brodarics' letter]

20 Ex Hungaria ex litteris XXV. praeteriti³ habemus conventum⁴ regni, qui celebrabatur, fuisse turbulentissimum ac nobilitatem rebus infectis abiisse male contentam et

⁴ *post poterit: quam del.*

¹ We do not have Salviati's letter.

² See the previous letter.

³ I.e. a letter dated 25 May 1525.

⁴ The national assembly held between 7–22 May 1525 partly in Buda, partly in Rákosmező. This, indeed, turned out to be turbulent due to the stepping up of the discontent lesser nobility.

omnia extrema minitantes, sese conventum pro libito suo armatos facturos rebusque regni aliter consulturos. Scribunt decimas, quae praelatis ecclesiarum debebantur, eos suspendisse (hoc enim vocabulo scribitur), atque ad fines a Turca tutandos expensuros.⁵ Velle omnino, ut orator caesaris⁶ et Venetorum⁷ abeat cum omnibus Alemannis, qui in aula regia vel reginali versantur. Factam esse praedam de Iudaica tota et de domo etiam cuiusdam servitoris reginae praedivitis superioribus annis facti ex Iudeo Christiani.⁸

Venerant iam oratores Bohemorum pro conclusionem unionis, tractabatur hoc negotium.⁹

Apud regem Poloniae intelligimus esse oratores Turcae duos pacem ab eo et medio eius a rege Hungariae petentes; de rege Poloniae nullum dubium est eum pacem cum Turca initurum, de rege nostro nihil adhuc habemus certi. Quamvis vix possim mihi persuadere eum idem, quod patruus fecerit, non facturum. Quid enim aliud agat destitutus ab omnibus, et nunc rege etiam patruo et vicino, in quo solo post Deum et Sacrosanctam Sedem spem ponebat, in hanc pacem concedente.¹⁰

46

Sigismund I to István Brodarics [Cracow], [12 June 1525]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 28. fol. 143r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana VII. 290.

1. He was pleased to hear that Brodarics is also sent to the Emperor with Salviati. He asks Brodarics to present the case of the Duchy of Bari to Charles. He was deprived of it without explanation, even though it

23 utuntur del. suprascr. scribitur

⁵ Demands of noblemen included allotment of tenths to the maintenance of border fortresses, but no decision was made due to the protests. It is true that high priests could not get the tenths due before. Compare: KUBINYI, *A magyar állam belpolitikai...* 90.

⁶ Imperial envoy Hans Schneidpöck.

⁷ Envoy of Venice Vincenzo Guidoto left Hungary on 25 July 1525 in accordance to the decree of the national assembly. Compare: BALOGH István, *Velencei diplomaták Magyarországról (1500–1526)*, Szeged, 1929, LXIX.

⁸ The house of Royal Vice-Treasurer Imre Szerencsés was burned down by the incited crowd.

⁹ Reference to the legation sent to Buda in May 1525 in connection to the negotiations between the Utraquistas and the Catholics. Its leaders were Duke Karel Münsterberský, Lew Zdenko, and Jan Pasek. Louis II. received the legation on 21 May in the presence of Legate Campeggio and Nuncio Burgio. Compare: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarország a mohácsi vész előtt*, Budapest, 1884, 92.

¹⁰ Hungary, the target of campaign of the Sultan in the following year, was not included in the peace pact between Poland and Turkey signed in November 1525 in spite of Sigismund's request. Brodarics regretted this in his letter to Cracow written on 6 September 1526, after the Mohács defeat.

¹ Brodarics, in his letter on 4 July, mentions a letter received from Sigismund dated 12 June.

² Further manuscripts: BK 213 fol. 531–532; BOss 177 fol. 313v–314r; Libri Legationum vol. XXIII. fol. 372; BJ 6557 fol. 105v–106r; BCzart TN 37. fol. 799–800.

was the Emperor himself who put him into its possession. He wrote about it to Cardinal Salviati as well as to his envoy to the Emperor Johannes Dantiscus. – 2. He also informed the envoy about how he had reached an agreement with the Grand Master of the Order and about his peace agreement with the Turks. He asks Brodarics to represent the Polish point of view in this case too.

Reverendissime Devote nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Intelleximus te cum reverendissimo domino cardinali de Salviatis, legato Apostolico ad caesaream maiestatem designato proficisci, quod nobis summopere placuit, ut cognitam habentes fidem et propensionem, quam erga nos geris, te illic rerum nostrarum habeamus curatorem. Rogamus autem te, ut, cum in aula eius caesareae maiestatis fueris, habeas commendatam causam nostram ducatus Barensis,³ cuius possessione licet indicta causa spoliati fuerimus, ad quam legitime successeramus. Licet etiam deinde investituram caesaream et commissionem illius maiestatis de restituenda nobis ipsa possessione obtinuerimus et homagium debitum illius maiestati fecerimus, tamen hactenus possessionem ipsam assequi non possumus, ingerentibus nobis moras et difficultates officialibus illius Maiestatis indignas et indecentes, quibus nos iustitia nostra et bonis illis exuere contendunt. Proinde operam tuam adhibeas, ut nobis tandem possessio ipsa restituitur, et si quid aliud orator vel procuratores nostri agendum putabunt, agere non graveris prout ipsi te instruent, quo tua erga nos merita et nostrum vicissim erga te favorem uberrime cumulabis. Scripsimus etiam Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, ut et reverendissimo domino cardinali de Salviatis legato, et tibi committere dignaretur, patrocinari suo nomine apud caesaream maiestatem ipsi causae nostrae Barensi, quod eius Sanctitatem facturam non dubitamus. Scribimus pariter oratori nostro,⁴ quem apud ipsam caesaream maiestatem habemus, ut consilio et patrocinio tuo uteretur istic in omnibus.

[2.] Scribimus item illi, quibus rationibus transegerimus differentiam nostram cum magistro Prussiae⁵ et indutias cum Turco inivimus.⁶ Postulamus a te, ut una cum illo, cum illic eris et ubi de his aliquid ageretur, excuses et tuearis partes nostras, nam tu ipse scis, quo nos et serenissimum nepotem nostrum, dominum regem Ludovicum, ista spes generalis expeditionis adduxerit et quantas nos hic citra ullius auxilium cala-

25 adduxerit *correcti ex*: adduxerunt.

³ See the notes for Brodarics' letter on 17 May 1525.

⁴ Johannes Dantiscus (German form: Johann von Höfen or Johann Flachsbinden, Polish form: Jan Dantyszek), (1485–1548) humanist, diplomat, Bishop of Kulm, then of Warmia, legate of Sigismund I in the court of Charles V for long years. Parts of his very precious diplomatic correspondence have been published in *Acta Tomiciana*. Preparations for the publication of the whole correspondence are under way. A sample volume has been published so far which includes correspondence from the year 1537 (Jerzy AXER–Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, *Corpus epistolarum Ioannis Dantisci, Part I. Ioannis Dantisci epistulae latinae*, Warsaw–Cracow, 2004).

⁵ Centuries-old Polish-Prussian rivalry came to an end when Albrecht von Brandenburg turned Teutonic Knights into a secular Lutheran state in 1525 and gave fealty to the Polish ruler on 10 April. See Statileo's letter on 12 April 1525.

⁶ Sigismund signed peace with the Sultan in November 1525. He refused to send military aid to his cousin the following year on this pretext.

mitates sustineamus. Cetera committimus virtuti et industriae tuae, quam iampridem exploratam habemus. Datum.⁷

47

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 4 July 1525

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 43r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VII. 304–305.

1. He has received Sigismund's letter dated 12 June. The matter of the Duchy of Bari is going well, he was informed that it was passed to the representative of Sigismund. Regardless of this, he will do everything that Sigismund and Bona Sforza commit him to do. Cardinal Salviati will represent Sigismund in front of the Emperor in the case of the Duchy of Bari following instructions from Dantiscus. – 2. He does not travel to the Emperor in Spain. He himself does not know the reason; the Pope says that the relevant letter from King Louis arrived late. He would have been happy to serve the cause of peace among Christian rulers there too, and would have worked hard on setting King Francis free as instructed by King Louis. Such a mission would have been useful for the Polish and the Hungarian causes alike, because the prestige of the two Kings who carry the burden of war against Turkey by themselves could have helped reconciliation more than anybody else's. – 3. The Pope received Sigismund's excuses for starting peace negotiations with the Turks and the Teutonic Order with understanding. He would not be surprised if Louis II acted likewise. He knows that it is not their fault, since they have been containing enemies of Christianity for years by themselves, but it is the fault of other rulers who were impossible to persuade about the necessity of peace among them. – 4. The Pope's position on the Knighthood has not changed and whatever he may write after the College of Cardinals, his intention is the same. Brodarics wishes King Louis followed Sigismund's example in the matter of armistice with the Turks because if he does not do this in the hope of some support, the country's fall is to be feared. – 5. He has no news on King Francis being taken to Spain. Hope for peace has not evaporated completely, but has diminished considerably. Janissaries in Constantinople rose demanding higher pay. Several houses were ransacked, that of Pasha Ibrahim among them. The Sultan suppressed the revolt with great difficulties and had to fulfil the demands of the soldiers. King Francis is said to have arrived in Barcelona on 17 June.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post mei et servitorum meorum in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Accepi nudius tertius litteras Vestrae Maiestatis XII. Iunii ad me datas et cum his simul litteras ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum,² ad reverendissimum dominum 5 Sanctorum IIII³ et quosdam alios, in quibus scribit mihi Vestra Maiestas de negotio ducatus Barensis et de mea in Hispanias profectioe.

26 sustineamus *correx*i ex: sustinemus

⁷ Presumably Sigismund's response to Brodarics' letter on 17 May 1525.

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 213 fol. 535–539; BOss 177 fol. 297r–299r; BJ 6549 fol. 569–572; Libri Legationum vol. XXIII, fol. 502–505; BCzart TN 37. fol. 343–348.

² Pope Clement VII.

³ Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci.

Negotium ducatus accepi iam esse in eo statu, ut non sit pro hac magnopere laborandum, admissum esse in possessionem ducatus servitorem Vestrae Maiestatis. Quae si vera sunt, prout mihi pro verissimis sunt relata, non dubito Vestram Maiestatem iam de
10 hoc factam certiorum. Ego tamen sub hoc dubio non omisi tam apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum, quam alibi facere omnia ea, quae hic fieri per me poterant, quaeve mihi a Maiestate Vestra et ab Serenissima et Gratosissima Domina Mea, Sacratissima Reginali Maiestate fuerunt commissa, et quoniam ipse non sum ad caesarem iturus, egi apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum, ut causam hanc reverendissimo domino, cardinali Salviato legato, diligentissime committeret, qui iuxta instructionem oratoris
15 Vestrae Maiestatis apud caesarem existentis⁴ agere deberet.

[2.] Consilium enim meae ad caesarem profectionis fuit mutatum, cuius mutationis vix scirem ego ipse dicere certam causam. Hoc scio, pontificem, ut ad Vestram Maiestatem scripseram, fuisse in ipso mei huc adventus principio huius meae profectionis
20 cupidissimum. Nunc vero non ita, neque aliam causam affert, nisi litteras et mandata serenissimi et gratiosissimi domini mei regis serius quam oportebat venisse. Si me illuc ire contigisset, nihil mihi optatius certe fuisset, quam Vestrae Maiestati tam in hoc negotio Barensi, si nondum confectum fuisset, quam in aliis, quae mihi commissa fuissent, servire. Pro pace autem et concordia illorum principum, pro liberatione Christianissimi regis (nam et hoc mihi per clementissimum regem meum fuerat commissum)
25 totis viribus elaborassem. Et ego ita certe existimo, Sapientissime et Clementissime Rex, non futuram fuisse hanc vel meam vel alterius et prudentioris et maioris me Vestrarum Maiestatum servitoris illuc profectionem a statu praesentium rerum atque ab illorum principum nunc inter se tractatibus alienam. Non enim dubito Vestrarum
30 Maiestatum auctoritatem, qui soli cum vestris subditis sustinetis pondus diei et aestus, multum potuisse illos monere, et plus quam omnium reliquorum principum auctoritatem. Sed ego haec me prudentioribus relinquo iudicanda. Ego is sum, cui quicquid per Vestras Maiestates oneris, quod humeri mei ferre possint, iniungetur, libens feram etiam si longe ultra Hispanias mihi esset in servitiis Vestrarum Maiestatum eundum. Et
35 quidem de his ac de negotio Barensi hactenus. Venio ad alia.

[3.] Cum pontifex litteras de foedere per Vestram Maiestatem cum Turca inito et de pace cum illustrissimo magistro Prussiae facta perlegisset, et cum ego paucis verbis utriusque rei causas, quas et antea a me audiverat, ei exposuissem, multa mecum et reverendissimo domino cardinali Caesio,⁵ qui pro reverendissimo domino cardinali
40 Sanctorum IIII⁶ nunc absente aderat, est locutus. Quorum omnium illa est summa: sese Vestram Maiestatem de foedere cum Turca inito habere excusatam, neque miraturum, si rex etiam Hungariae Vestrae Maiestatis exemplum secutus idem faciet. Nam et de hoc dominum etiam meum clementissimum idem tractare pontifex non est nescius. Totam hanc rem, quomodocunque cadat, non Vestris Maiestatibus, quae a tot annis
45 hostes Christianae reipublicae solae sustineretis, sed principibus Christianis, qui nullo modo ad pacem induci possent, esse inputandam.

⁴ Johannes Dantiscus. On him see notes for the previous letter.

⁵ Paulo Emilio Cesi (1481–1537), Cardinal of Umbrian origin.

⁶ Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci.

[4.] De negotio vero Prutenico repetivit illa eadem, quae superioribus diebus dixerat et quae ego ad Vestram Maiestatem perscripseram⁷ *multa tamen questus de magistro*,⁸ qui Sede Apostolica inconsulta religionem a sola Sede Apostolica dependentem hoc
 50 *pacto profanavisset: il*lum il*lum*⁹ in Sedem Apostolicam gravissime deliquisse. Quibus de rebus pontifex et ipse scribit ad Vestram Maiestatem, quae litterae adhuc expediri non potuerunt, mittentur per primam mittendi occasionem. Sed quicquid pontifex ex sacri fortasse collegii inductione, nam cum eis est rem communicaturus, scripserit, illam esse sciat Vestra Maiestas pontificis mentem, quam perscripsi et nullam
 55 aliam. Utinam clementissimus dominus meus factum Vestrae Maiestatis in foedere cum Turca ineundo sequeretur. Quod si non fiat, timeo, ne omnino actum sit de nobis. Qua de re neque praesens destiti assidue apud eos, ubi id faciendum videbatur, loqui et clamare, neque hinc scribere. Deus det suae maiestati et dominis meis suae maiestatis consiliariis talem mentem, ne illud nobilissimum ac potentissimum regnum sub spe
 60 nescio quarum expeditionum amittant.

[5.] Novi nihil est, nisi quod de regis Franciae in Hispaniam adventu nihil adhuc habemus, neque scimus, quid speremus aut quid desperemus. Nuper, quod Vestrae Maiestati scripseram, in maximam spem pacis erecti eramus, quae non est illa quidem adhuc penitus sublata sed certe non parum diminuta.

65 Venerunt nova de Constantinopoli, quae Vestra Maiestas intellexisse potuit. Milites praetorianos, quos lanyczeros vocant, seditione facta, quod augeri sibi stipem annuam postulabant, plures domos et inter ceteras Imbraym bassae et nonnullorum aliorum diripuisse atque in praedam vertisse, adortos deinde locum, in quo thesaurus imperatoris servatur, eum locum expugnare non potuisse, imperatorem aegre tandem seditione oppressa
 70 coactum id facere, quod milites postulaverant. Haec pro re vera et certa huc scripta fuerunt.¹⁰

50 Reverendissimus dominus Premisliensis habet has
 notas in marg. eadem manu add.

⁷ *multa tamen ... gravissime deliquisse* – this is written in cipher in the original. (I am indebted for decoding the cipher to Hanna Vámos and István Vadai.)

⁸ Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490–1568), Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, brother of Georg von Brandenburg who played an important role in Hungary. Maximilian I appointed him Grand Master of the Knights in 1510. As such, he broke the peace pact signed in Toruń in 1466 and provoked a war with Poland that lasted between 1519–21. This ended in a heavy defeat for the Knighthood. Later he became Evangelical Lutheran, secularised estates of the Knighthood, and created a secular state in its place by the name of Prussian Duchy. In April 1525 he gave fealty to the Polish King. More about this: Marian BISKUP, *Das Ende des Deutschordensstaates Preussen im Jahre 1525* = Josef FLECKENSTEIN–Manfred HELLMAN (hrsg.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen, 1980, 403–416.

⁹ In the decoded text there is a graphic sign in the middle of the group of characters decoded as *illum illum* that is not a letter. We might conclude that that *illum illum* stands for the name of Albrecht von Brandenburg.

¹⁰ The riot of the janissaries, who had been discontent because there had been no campaigns since the occupation of Rhodos back in 1522, erupted in March 1525 in Istanbul. Rioters demanded resignation of the Grand Vizier and his house was looted. Suleyman's personal bravery played an important part in suppressing the rebellion. COMPARE: KÁLDY-NAGY Gyula, *Szulejmán...* 62–63.

Me et servitia mea in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis rursus supplex commendo. Romae
4. Iulii 1525.

Supervenerunt litterae ex Hispania, regem Christianissimum XVII. mensis Iunii
75 proxime praeteriti ad portum Barcinonae appulisse.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

humillimus minimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus praepositus
Quinqueecclesiensis

On the outer side: Sacratissimae regiae maiestati Poloniae, magno duci Lithvaniae etc.
domino mihi clementissimo.

80 Interpretatio schedae oratoris domini regis Hungariae per cifram scriptae¹

Si Maiestas Vestra habet aliquam bonam occasionem faciendae pacis cum Turca,
fortasse non erit malum, non pendere a spe istius pacis inter Christianos, quae parva
est, immo nulla, neque credo aliquid secuturum. In causa est, quod rex Angliae
85 magnam partem Galliae petit, a quo non poterit separari. Caesar, licet his diebus exorti
fuerint quidam contrarii rumores, qui iam rursus non creduntur esse veri, de quibusdam
alienationibus mentium inter caesarem et Anglum et meliori [!] spe pacis, quae omnia
credo esse vana.

Si Maiestas Vestra faciet pacem, et si non vult extremum excidium nepotis sui et
regnum eius, includendus videtur ipse quoque et regna illius in hanc pacem.

¹ It is not placed with the text of the letter but in a separate volume (BN. T. 28. fol. 164r). We do not have the slip of paper with the cipher, only the deciphered text can be read. At the same time, the legate mentioned is definitely Brodarics, since the reference is to the younger cousin of Sigismund, Louis II, and his envoy was Brodarics. The fact that this slip of paper belongs to this particular letter follows from subsequent manuscripts (BK 213 fol. 539; BJ 6549 fol. 572). Another manuscript: BCzart TN 37. fol. 869.

Bona Sforza¹ to István Brodarics
Cracow, 5 July 1525

Manuscript used: BCzart TN 37. fol. 355.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana VII. 299.

Brodarics has been very industrious in the matter of the Duchy of Bari. Bona Sforza is asking him to help their envoy Johannes Dantiscus in every possible way.

Bona, Dei gratia regina Poloniae, magna dux Lithvaniae, Russiae, Prussiaeque etc. domina.

Reverende Pater, Domine sincere nobis Dilecte.

Scimus nos Paternitatem Tuam negotiis nostris Barenibus, utpote et iustissimis et
5 aequissimis esse ex corde affectum, eo maxime, quod id ab utraque maiestate sua in
commissis habeat, ut nomine illarum maiestatum hoc idem apud caesaream et catholi-
cam maiestatem efficaciter promovere[t].

Nunc cupimus, et si par sit, rogamus, assistet ibi oratori nostro, magnifico Ioanni
Dantisco,³ et in quibus auxilium suum postulaverit, ita illud impendere velit, quemad-
10 modum rebus nostris prodesse noverit. Nos enim praefato oratori nostro ad Tuam
Paternitatem singulare iussimus habere refugium, nam illam scimus ibidem non parvi
valere et reputari. Nos, quando poterimus Paternitati Tuae omni nostra gratitudine id
rependere curabimus, quam optime valere cupimus.

Datum Cracoviae die quinta Iulii millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quinto.

15 Ea commissione sacrae reginalis maiestatis propria

7 promoveret *correx* ex: promovere. AT: promoveret.

8 assistet ibi: assistat AT

9 auxilium suum: suum auxilium AT

14 die quinta Iulii: V. Iulii AT

15 Ea ... propria om. AT

¹ Bona Sforza (1494–1557), daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon. Wife of Polish King Sigismund from 1517. More on her life: Władisław POŁCIECHA, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557) I–IV*, Poznań, 1949–1958.

² The manuscript in the Naruszewicz Collection served as the basis of publication. Since this is a replica from the 18th century, I gave variants of the text published in volume VII of Acta Tomiciana in the critical apparatus, because that one is based on a codex from Kórnik from the 16th or 17th century. According to Władisław Połciecha (Władisław POŁCIECHA, *Królowa Bona* ... 545.), this letter has a replica in the Czartoryski Library, on page 62 of manuscript 3645. However, in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Czartoryski Library the item with this number contains accounts of a Conventual Franciscan monastery from the 18th century.

³ Bona Sforza also asked Dantiscus in his letter dated 5 July to make moves with the Emperor in connection to the issue of the Duchy of Bari, and to utilise Brodarics' help. Compare: AT VII. 297–298.

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Rome, 4 August 1525

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 58r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VII. 318.

He has no new information since his last letter. He has heard that the riot is calming down slowly; Archduke Ferdinand's troops set out to rescue Archbishop of Salzburg, who is being besieged by peasants.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime. Post mei et servitorum meorum in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

Nunc nihil est quod scribam, nisi velim eadem repetere, quae proxime scripsi per alium servitorem Vestrae Maiestatis. Nondum aliquid certi ex Hispania venit. Res Germanicae quietiores sunt;² principem Ferdinandum intelligimus ire cum copiis suis ad liberandum ab obsidione dominum cardinalem Salczpurgensem obsessum a subditis suis.³

Ego meam fidelem servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis supplex commendo. Quam Deus conservare dignetur diu et incolumem et victoriosam. Romae 4. Augusti 1525.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

minimus servulus

Stephanus Brodericus orator

10

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 13 September 1525

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 3. fol. 279r-v.

Published: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia II.*, Romae, 1860, 653–654.; BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 79–81.

1. He arrived at Buda 21 days after leaving Rome. He found the King and the Queen on Csepel Island. He passed on the Pope's message to them there. – 2. He has not yet received an answer regarding the matter of envoys to be sent to the Emperor. – 3. He told what the Pope commissioned him to tell to Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai who has preserved his old influence. – 4. He will learn about other matters from a letter from Baron Burgio.

Beatissime Pater ac Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post pedum Vestrae Sanctitatis oscula beatorum et meae servitutis humillimam commendationem.

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 213 fol. 539–540; BJ 6549 fol. 585; BCzart TN 37. fol. 413.

² No doubt, Brodarics refers to the peasants' war that hit South-Germany.

³ Rising peasants blockaded Archbishop of Salzburg Matthäus Lang (1468–1540) and he had to flee into the citadel. In fact, troops of the Bavarian princes, not of Ferdinand drove out the peasant army from Salzburg.

[1.] Ego postquam a Vestra Sanctitate discessi XXI^{mo} die Budam perveni. Ubi cum maiestatem regiam non reperiissem, quae ad insulam Chepel animi causa secesserat, 5 illic maiestatem suam et serenissimam dominam meam reginam conveni. Benigne ab eis exceptus. Quibus cum mandata Vestrae Sanctitatis exposuissem, gratissimo animo omnia audivere, praesertim Vestrae erga se Sanctitatis tantum ac tam paternum amorem et de rebus huius regni curam.

[2.] De oratoribus ad caesarem maiestatem mittendis, et de quibusdam aliis rebus 10 nondum responsum habui.¹ Postquam habuero, Vestram Sanctitatem faciam de rebus omnibus certiozem.

[3.] Fui postea cum reverendissimo domino Strigoniensi,² qui certe singulari observantia, quod et coram semper testatus sum, Vestram prosequitur Sanctitatem. Contuli cum eo Vestrae Sanctitatis nomine de rebus illis, de quibus conferendum erat.³ Videtur 15 optima praeditus mente. Est in eadem, in qua antea fuit, auctoritate. Cum palatino novo domino Stephano,⁴ et cum domino vayvoda⁵ et aliis omnibus primariis viris coniunctus,⁶ Vestrae, ut dixi, Sanctitatis atque istius Sanctae Sedis observandissimus.

[4.] Illud negotium⁷ quo in statu sit, Vestra Sanctitas ex litteris domini baronis⁸ intelliget. Ego, quicquid sequatur, video, quantum Vestrae Sanctitati ob eius tantam in me 20 benignitatem, et in re mea curam ac studium favoremque debeam. Cuius quidem mei debiti nunquam ero immemor.

De comite Christophoro,⁹ de regiae maiestatis peregrinatione,¹⁰ de principum nos-

⁹ *post maiestatem: nondum del.*

¹ Regarding this see the letter by Louis II to the Pope on 30 September 1525. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam...* 655.

² Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai.

³ Brodarics had a letter of recommendation from the Pope addressed to Szalkai. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam...* 651–652.

⁴ István Werbőczy (around 1458–1541), scholar of law, leading figure of the party of lesser noblemen. He was elected Palatine on 6 July 1525 replaced István Báthori. He was in office until April 1526. More on his life: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Werbőczy István életrajza*, Budapest, 1899.

⁵ János Szapolyai, Transylvanian Voivod.

⁶ On this see Burgio's letter on 11 July 1525 among others. BARTONIEK, *Mohács Magyarországa...* 19–24.

⁷ Quite probably, this refers to the appointment of Brodarics as Chancellor. The major obstacle was Szalkai himself who did not want to resign and wanted Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy to replace him. Clement VII, in his letter on 8 August 1525, recommended Brodarics to the position. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam...* 651.

⁸ See Burgio's report on 13 September 1525. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. Budapest, 2001, 263–266.

⁹ Since Kristóf Frangepán entered into an argument with Archbishop Szalkai that ended in violence, King Louis threw him into dungeon. See Burgio's report on 13 September 1525. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 264.

¹⁰ We know from Burgio's report on 13 September that they planned to go to Slavonia first and then to Moravia. See *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 264.

trorum conventu¹¹ nihil scribo. Non ignarus Vestram Sanctitatem et de his et de aliis omnibus litteris domini baronis factam esse certiore. Meam humillimam servitutem
25 ad pedum pulveres Vestrae Sanctitatis supplex humillime commendo. Quam Deus semper felicem atque incolumem conservet.

Ex Buda XIII. Septembris 1525.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

Creatura et humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus

30

51

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 30 September 1525

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 3. fol. 299r-v.

Published: BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 81–83.

1. King Louis has written about Hungarian affairs to the Pope; he will learn about Brodarics' personal situation from a letter from Baron Burgio; he requests the Pope's support in attaining the Chancellor position; he wrote about it more extensively to Hungarian envoy in Rome Francesco Marsupino too. – 2. He asked the Pope to appoint László Szalkai Cardinal on behalf of the King last summer already, and Clement agreed; the King still urges appointment of the worthy prelate and has been asking Brodarics, too, to intervene with the Pope through letters. – 3. Brodarics knows exactly what has been going on in Buda in recent days and did not forget his conversations with the Pope either, but the situation is as it has been described truthfully in his letter to Marsupino; the point is that His Majesty is urging the appointment of the Archbishop of Esztergom. – 4. János Bornemisza is a respectful and obedient servant of His Holiness; it seems that God gave him in order to support and safeguard Hungary. – 5. His Holiness can learn from Baron de Burgio's letter what Tomori does to defend the country; to them Tomori's plan to set up an army for the defence of the Southern part of the country caused great joy; the Pope will be undoubtedly pleased to hear that. – 6. The new Palatine Werbőczy shows great determination to act the right way; Voivod of Transylvania János Szapolyai is also a young man of unequalled wisdom. Thus Brodarics maintains hope that he will be able to arrange everything according to the wishes and instructions of His Holiness, but sees no other way than what he described to Marsupino. – 7. The King has good inclinations in all respects but is far too young to carry such a burden. Only God and his representative on Earth can help Hungary.

Beatissime Pater ac Domine, Domine mihi semper Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae beatorum et meae humillimae servitutis in gratiam eiusdem commendationem.

23 *post* de: aliis *del.*

¹¹ Refers to the meeting of Kings Louis and Sigismund planned in Moravia. See Burgio's report on 13 September 1525. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 265.

[1.] De publicis rebus nostris scribit regia maiestas,¹ dominus meus gratiosissimus,
5 privatum autem rerum mearum statum intelliget Vestra Sanctitas ex litteris domini
baronis, nuntii sui. Si res habebit bonum exitum, sicut credo omnino futurum, supplico
Vestrae Sanctitati humillime, dignetur me rebus omnibus, quibus poterit (poterit autem
pluribus), adiuvere, quo possim hunc magistratum² in patria nostra summum cum
honore et auctoritate gerere. Quod non dubito Vestram Sanctitatem pro sua in me
10 benignitate, pro sua singulari in res nostras cura ac studio libenter facturam. Scribo de
his plura ad dominum Franciscum Marsupinum, cum quo mihi sunt notae occultiores,
cum quo, scio, possunt omnia libere communicari.

[2.] Ceterum scio Vestram Sanctitatem recordari egisse me superiori [!] aestate (in
ipso primo meo ad Vestram Sanctitatem adventu) nomine regio pro pileo cardinalatus
15 reverendissimo domino Strigoniensi³ conferendo Vestramque Sanctitatem id benigne
annuisse. Id cum ego his diebus maiestati regiae referrem, egit eidem Vestrae Sancti-
tati gratias amplissimas commisitque mihi et tunc et hodie rursus, ut pro hac ipsa re
privatis meis litteris scriberem ad Vestram Sanctitatem, cui supplicat humillime sua
maiestas, dignetur se Sanctitas Vestra omnem huius sui desiderii facere compotem,
20 quanto celerius cum commoditate Vestrae Sanctitatis fieri poterit, et hoc regnum suum,
illam ecclesiam adeo insignem atque in toto septemtrione primariam, hanc personam
de se suisque regnis ac de Christianitate tota optime meritam hoc honore afficere. Hoc
a Vestra Sanctitate maiestas sua summis precibus petit. Me vero omnes rationes mundi
inducunt, Clementissime Pater, ut idem suadeam Vestrae Sanctitati faciendum atque
25 ipsum dominum Strigoniensem omni gratia prosequendum.

[3.] Non sum ego nescius earum rerum, quae hic his diebus praeteritis contingere, non
sermonum, quos multos cum Vestra Sanctitate et quidem liberrimos habui, sed res ita
se habet, ut a domino Francisco Marsupino Vestra Sanctitas intelliget. Ad quem plura
scribo, ut dixi, et certe omnia verissima. In summa: maiestas regia omnino optat
30 a Vestra Sanctitate ac ei enixe supplicat, ne dominus Strigoniensis in ea petitione praeter-
treatur. Neque dubito Vestram Sanctitatem preces eius exaudituram.

[4.] Ioannes Bornemyza,⁴ pater regis et omnium nostrum incredibile est, quanto
amore, observantia, servitute Vestram Sanctitatem prosequatur et colat. Credo Deum
ita voluisse consulere rebus nostris labentibus, ut haberemus in hoc sene aliquod
35 sustentaculum.

[5.] Reverendissimus dominus Colocensis,⁵ filius et ipse huius senis et quidem
omnium carissimus quid agat nunc, quo pacto nos ab hoste tueatur, intelliget Vestra
Sanctitas ex his, quae dominus baro scribit.⁶ Magnae voluptati fuerunt nobis illae lit-

¹ See King Louis' letter in THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam...* 655., and ARTNER Edgár– SZOVÁK Kornél–TÖRÖK József–TUSOR Péter (eds.), „Magyarország, mint a nyugati kereszténység védőbástyája”, *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae* vol. 1, Budapest–Rome, 2004, 174–176.

² I.e. the position of Chancellor.

³ László Szalkai.

⁴ János Bornemisza (?–1527), one of the King's tutors was Royal Treasurer between 1500–1504, then Constable of Buda until his death.

⁵ Pál Tomori (around 1475–1526), Archbishop of Kalocsa.

⁶ See Burgio's report on 2 October 1525. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései ...* 267–271.

terae ipsius de tribus regibus et eorum exercitu, quas, credo, Vestra etiam Sanctitas
40 libenter videbit.

[6.] Palatinus novus⁷ ostendit mirabilem animum ad bene agendum, est nobiscum
valde coniunctus. Vayvoda⁸ et ipse singulari certe prudentia iuvenis. Denique habeo
optimam spem res bene ac ex desiderio ac praescripto Vestrae Sanctitatis ituras, sed
45 fundamentum nullum firmitus neque aliud plane video, quam quod ad dominum Fran-
ciscum perscripsi.

[7.] Rege ipso nihil posset esse melius in veritate neque ad omne bonum inclinatus
flexibilisque, sed est aetate nimium adhuc immatura ad tantum onus. Deus nos iuva-
bit et post Deum eius vicarius sanctissimus.

50 Me et meam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime commendo, quam
Deus conservet semper felicissimam atque incolumem.

Budae, pridie Kalendarum Octobris 1525.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

creatura et minimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus

55

52

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 30 November 1525

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 3. fol. 355r-v.

Published: KUIÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 262–263.;

BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma-Budapest, 2002, 85–87.

1. Due to a serious illness of his eyes he is compelled to make somebody else write this letter. – 2. He requests the Pope – on behalf of Baron Burgio and himself – that when the Pope sends the velvet hat to Szulkai in Hungary, he sends it first to the Baron. – 3. He is grateful for the Pope's support and will remember his advice. Commitment of the Pope to the cause of King Louis moved János Bornemisza, who loves the King as his own son, to tears.

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis
Vestrae beatorum et mei humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Molestissimum mihi est, haec etiam pauca, quae nunc ad Vestram Sanctitatem
scribo, aliena manu mihi esse scribenda. In causa est oculorum lippitudo, qua tamen
5 levavi incipio, et brevi penitus liberari spero.¹

⁷ The national assembly in Hatvan elected István Werbőczy Palatine on 6 July 1525. He replaced István Báthori.

⁸ János Szapolyai, Transylvanian Voivod, was hardly a youngster in 1525. He was born around 1487, so he was almost 40 in 1525.

¹ However, Brodarics' eye disease seems to have protracted. Even in March 1526 he complains about his eyes refusing to heal. See the letter by Brodarics on 12 March 1526.

[2.] Alia Vestra Sanctitas partim ex litteris regiis et domino Francisco Marsupino, partim ex litteris domini baronis² intelliget. Hoc volui etiam litteris meis significare huius rei, pro qua maiestas regia ad Vestram Sanctitatem scribit, conficiendae maiestatem eius cupidissimam esse.³ Ego vero cum nihil dubitem Vestram Sanctitatem
10 desiderio maiestatis regiae sponte satisfacturam, vel iam potius satisfecisse, non est, quod de hoc plura scribam. Illud visum est Vestrae Sanctitati in memoriam reducere supplicasse me Vestrae Sanctitati baronis nomine, ut quando pileus in Hungariam mittendus esset, ad eius manus mitteretur. Cupit id baro honoris potius sui, et amicitiae illius de quo agitur, quam alicuius sui commodi causa. Supplico igitur Vestrae Beati-
15 tudini tam meo, quam baronis nomine, dignetur in hoc preces utriusque nostrum exaudire et pileum ipsum, si mitti contigerit, per hunc nuntium seu cursorem regium ad baronem mittere, poterit huic ipsi tuto consignari, et eum fideliter deferet.

[3.] Pro tanta gratia et benignitate Vestrae in me Sanctitatis quantam ex litteris domini Carpentratensis⁴ facile intellexi, ago Vestrae Sanctitati gratias immortales,
20 daturus operam totis viribus, dum vivam, ut referre etiam saltem in parte fidelibus obsequiis possim. Memor ero, Clementissime Pater, in perpetuum sanctissimorum praeceptorum Vestrae Sanctitatis, quae mihi a se discedenti dedit. Memor etiam sententiae vivae vocis oraculo Vestrae Sanctitatis in me in utramque partem latae, sive bene, seu (quod Deus avertat) perperam servirem ei ad cuius obsequia a Sanctissimo
25 Christi Vicario mittebar. Quae cum ego nostro Abstemio⁵ in primo meo ex Urbe reditu⁶ narrarem non potuit senex integerrimus et Tuae Sanctitatis observandissimus lacrimas praegaudio continere, considerans Sanctitatem Tuam tantam de filio communi (nam et ipse regem filium sibi iure educationis vendicat) curam et sollicitudinem habere. Vestrae Sanctitati, ut Domino Meo Clementissimo humillime supplico, dignetur me sua
30 solita gratia prosequi. Quam Deus Optimus Maximus quam diutissime felicem et incolumem conservet. In cuius gratiam me et mea servitia rursus humillime commendo.

Ex Buda ultima Novembris MDXXV.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus

² See Burgio's reports on 30 November 1525 and 1 December. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései ...* 286–293.

³ See the letters by Louis II to the Pope and Jacopo Sadoletto dated 30 November regarding the appointment of Szalkai. Compare: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium...* 589.

⁴ Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547), prominent Humanist, poet, theologian, papal secretary under Leo X (1513–1521). Bishop of Carpentras (France) between 1517–1544, Cardinal from 1536. Salviani's letter mentioned is unknown.

⁵ János Bornemisza.

⁶ In July 1524.

Paolo Giovio¹ to István Brodarics
Rome, 10 January 1526

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]

Published: Georgi LOGI SILESII, *Ad inclitum regem Ferdinandum hendecasyllabi, elegiae et epigrammata*, Viennae, mense Maio 1529. Excudebat Hieronymus Victor, Stephanus HEGEDŰS, *Analecta recentiora...*, Budapestini, 1906, 272.

Giovio lets Brodarics know that Georgius Logus is going to return home soon but hopefully only for a short time because he will long to be back in Rome among his friends and patrons.

Paulus Iovius Stephano Broderico salutem plurimam dicit.

Redit ad vos Logus² non iam vester, sed iure optimo noster. Quis enim eo doctior, suavior atque candidior, ut non altus in Herciniis saltibus, sed media in urbe videatur. Propterea redit igitur certa conditione, ut revertatur. Nam neque nos eius desiderium
5 diu feremus, nec ipse, nisi ferreus sit, diutius morabitur, quin revisat suos sodales, suos

¹ Paolo Giovio (Paulus Iovius) (1483–1552): physician, historian, Bishop of Nocera. His most famous works are *Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV* which discusses the history of his own era, and *Vitae virorum illustrium* which includes biographies of notable historical figures. Letters from Giovio and Sauromannus are important proofs of how lively connections Brodarics had with leading Humanists of his time. Unfortunately, documents are scanty.

² Georg von Logau (Georgius Logus Silesius) (around 1500–1553), poet and Humanist of Silesian origin, protégé of the Thurzó family. Student at the universities of Cracow from 1514 and Vienna from 1516. From 1519, he studied in Bologna for 3 years at the expense of Louis II. Entered the service of Ferdinand in 1527. First Canon, later Provost of Boroszló from 1530. As the above letter attests, he maintained excellent relationships with several Humanists in Central-Europe and Italy. Urged by Caspar Ursinus Velius, he published a collection of his epigrams in Vienna in 1529, and offered it to Ferdinand. No further details are known about his acquaintance with Brodarics. It may have started during Brodarics' first legation in Rome (1522–1524). The fact that he held Brodarics in high esteem is clear from his poem about Brodarics. It can be read in the last part of this volume. Logau had a pivotal role in the creation of the anthology *Pannoniae luctus* (1544), the result of a great international Humanistic endeavour. More on his life: Gustav BAUCH, *Der humanistische Dichter George [!] von Logau*, Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur (83), 1895, 5–33. On his role in *Pannoniae luctus* more recently: LAKATOS Bálint, *Pannoniae luctus – egy humanista antológia és a törökellenes Habsburg–lengyel összefogás kísérlete 1544*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 2008, 259–286.

patronos, Gibertum³ et Campanum,⁴ suum denique pontificem maximum,⁵ qui eum adeo humaniter suscepit. Viam certe vorabit, si sapiet, cum classicum defessi Martis conticescet. Speramus enim parta pace Clementem restitutum sibi, camoenas esse respecturum. Tu vero, Brodarice, eum nostra quoque de causa hominem tibi mihi que
 10 ob ingenii suavitatem coniunctissimum liberaliter complexu hilariore suscipies. Vale. Ex Urbe quarto Idus Ianuarii MDXXVI.

54

Georg Sauermann¹ to István Brodarics
 Rome, 11 January 1526

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]

Published: Georgi LOGI SILESII, *Ad inclytum regem Ferdinandum hendecasyllabi, elegiae et epigrammata*, Viennae, mense Maio 1529. Excudebat Hieronymus Victor, Stephanus HEGEDŰS, *Analecta recentiora...*, Budapestini, 1906, 272–273.

1. He sends this letter via Logus who is returning home in order to show Brodarics that he is not forgotten in Rome. Letters by Giovio and Marsupino bear witness to that. – 2. He thanks Brodarics' services and all he did for Logus and himself while in Rome, and asks him to say a few words to King Louis on his behalf.

Georgius Sauromannus Silesius Stephano Broderico salutem.

[1.] Nolui committere, Clarissime Broderice, ob institutam nuper illam, saneque
 arcissimam necessitudinem, quae nos perpetuo quodam nexu coniunxit, quin aliquid
 litterarum Georgio Logo² utriusque nostrum amantissimo ad vos redeunti darem, ut tibi
 5 vel inde, tametsi longo admodum terrarum intervallo disiuncti sumus, liqueret, quod
 penitus te ex animo complecti coeperim, quamque interim tui memores fuerimus, dum

³ Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), Humanist, Bishop of Verona, member of the Roman Academy. One of the first important proponents of renewal within the Catholic Church. After several years of service at the High Court, he withdrew to his diocese in 1527, where he introduced strict rules to reform the lives of priests, monks, and canons. Logau thanked the patronage of Giberti by writing several poems to him. More on Giberti's activities: Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 609–620.

⁴ Bishop of Capua Nicolaus von Schönberg also supported Logau, and the poet expressed his gratitude by writing a poem to him.

⁵ Pope Clement VII.

¹ Georg Sauermann (Georgius Sauromannus Silesius) (?–1527), Humanist of Silesian origin. Outstanding orator and witty speech-writer. One of the favourite Humanists at the Academy in Rome and of Popes Leo, Hadrian, and Clement. One of the executives of Charles V in Rome. He loses everything during Sacco di Roma, and the plague that follows the siege takes him. His letter to Brodarics shows how good relationships Brodarics had with Humanists of the Academy. More on Sauermann: Gustav BAUCH, *Ritter Georg Sauermann der erste adelige Vorfahr der Grafen Saurma-Jeltsch*, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte und Alterthums Schlesien*, 1885, 146–181., and 1904, 334–336.

² On Georgius Logus see the notes for the previous letter.

nullum hic apud optimos quosque tui orandi locum omittimus. Cuius rei facile vel Iovii³ vel Marsupini⁴ litterae testes fuerint. Quod et tu istic vicissim facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogamus.

- 10 [2.] Fecisse autem id te putabimus, cum Georgium Logum non solum iam amplissimi spei adulescentem, sed et virtutis et doctrinae spectatissimae, qua potes, auctoritate istic tua iuveris, ne coeptum studiorum suorum cursum supremo in stadio destituere cogatur, neve et ipse, qui etiamnum pristino hic in fortunae ergastulo desudo, mei aliquando dissimilis fiam, cum nunquam infelix hoc Sisyphi, quod tot annos in surda
15 animorum claustra et in adversos purpuratorum scopulos molimur, saxum constiterit. Facile vero rationibus meis consulueris, si regias in mei istinc commendationem ad pontificem maximum litteras impetraris, a quo hactenus laudamur quidem, sed et mirifice algemus, atque (si diis placet) esurimus. Poterit et plurimum dignitatis tuae existimatio apud parentem, qui si vestro beneficio secundiori [!] flatu utitur, fac,
20 quaeso, mihi aequior sit. Non erimus ingrati, neque regno indecores. Prosecutus est pontifex maximus.

Logum summis honoribus, atque insigni sapientissimi philosophi facie, quae gemma expressa. Rarum opus, praesertim hoc saeculo.

Vale. Raptim. Romae XI. Ianuarii Anno MDXXVI.

55

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki¹
Buda, 28 January 1526

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 152 r–v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 25.

1. Archbishop Szalkai was given back the seal of the Chancellery; Brodarics hopes he will return it voluntarily soon. Tomicki can get more complete information from Andrzej Trepka. – 2. Everything points to establishing general peace among Christian rulers; at the same time the French King will be released from captivity. The King of Navarra, who has fallen into captivity at Pavia, bribed his guards and escaped after Marquis

³ See the previous letter by Paolo Giovio.

⁴ Canon of Esztergom Francesco Marsupino was a fellow envoy of Brodarics in Rome. Unfortunately, the Logus volume that preserved letters of Giovio and Sauermann did not bequeath Marsupino's letter to us, so it is lost.

¹ Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535), Bishop of Poznań, Bishop of Cracow from 1523 until his death, Vice-Chancellor from 1515. Noted Humanist, correspondent of Erasmus of Rotterdam. We do not know exactly where and when he met Brodarics but their relationship certainly dates back before 1526, even though the first pieces that survived from their voluminous correspondence are dated that year. More on his life and career: Anna ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA, *Biskup Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535). Kariera polityczna i kościelna*, Warszawa, 2004. [Bibliography 191–204.], and Anna ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA, *Podkanclerzy Piotr Tomicki (1515–1535). Polityk i humanista*, Warszawa, 2005. [Bibliography 281–295.]

² Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 7r–8r; BCzart 257 fol. 33–34; BCzart TN 38. fol. 35–37.

Pescara, who had found the 100,000 ducats offered for ransom insufficient, died. – 3. Marsupino says the Turks equipped 60 galleys; their purpose is not yet known, but some experts say they just want to divert attention from their planned land campaign against Hungary.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Colendissime. Servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] De sigillo³ ita fuit decretum sicut Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima a magnifico domino Trepka,⁴ oratore regio intellexerat. Nondum tamen aliud factum est, nisi quod hodie, quae est XXVIII. Ianuarii, sigillum ipsum magno honore reverendissimo domino meo Strigoniensi⁵ est restitutum. Qui, credo, illud diu non tenebit, sed facturum existimo id, quod Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima a domino Trepka intellexit. Ego, Deus est mihi testis, nullis verbis exprimere possum, quanta observantia et amore, quam sincero affectu prosequar Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem, cupio et votis omnibus exopto venire aliquando tempus, quo hunc animi mei ardorem re ipsa declarare possim.

[2.] Nova ex Urbe habemus; omnes tractatus principum, tam in Hispania, quam in Urbe et alibi ubique Christianitatis eo tendere, ut pax universalis sit omnino futura. In qua conficienda cum adhuc aliquae difficultates superesse viderentur, quo facilius illae amoveri possent, prorogatae sunt induitiae, quorum finis appetebat in bimestre tempus. Ex omnibus, quae diversorum litteris scribuntur, apparet pacem omnino futuram cum liberatione regis Christianissimi.⁶

Rex Navarrae,⁷ qui captivus marchioni Piscariae⁸ a caesare donatus fuerat et in arce Papiensi⁹ detinebatur, marchione Piscariae defuncto evasit custodibus corruptis. Oblata fuerant marchioni Piscariae pro eius redemptione centum milia ducatorum. Cum ille plus peteret et interim ei mors contigisset, iste in hunc modum est liberatus. Cardinali Columne¹⁰ cum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro male convenire scribitur. Haec sunt fere, quae ex Urbe significato digna habemus. Hic vero et in curia et in regno idem agitur, quod alias.

³ A reference to the secret seal of the Chancellery. The papal court recommended Brodarics to replace Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai as Chancellor once the latter was appointed High Chancellor. Szalkai, however, wanted his own protégé Bishop of Veszprém Szalaházy, or wanted squeeze out the cardinal's hat from the papal court in exchange of giving up the idea. Finally, threatened by papal legate Burgio, the Archbishop promised that if he is given the seal back and it wouldn't seem as if he renounced under pressure, he gives it back in a few days and agrees with the appointment of Brodarics. Brodarics refers to this agreement in his letter. Compare: Burgio's letter on 2 February 1526., (BARTONIEK Emma (ed.), *Mohács Magyarországa. Báró Burgio pápai követ jelentései*, Budapest, 1926, 39–41.)

⁴ Andrzej Trepka, Polish court marshal and diplomat of Louis II. He fell in the Battle of Mohács.

⁵ Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai.

⁶ French King Francis I (1515–1547) was taken prisoner on 24 February 1525.

⁷ Henry II (1517–1555).

⁸ Ferrante d' Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, one of the best generals of his time. He died of his wounds received in the battle of Pavia (24 February 1525). Regarding these events see the relevant part of the report of envoy Dantiscus (AT. VIII. 299).

⁹ Pavia.

¹⁰ Cardinal Colonna. His troops are the first to plunder Rome in early 1526.

[3.] Iste conventus¹¹ principum nostrorum tamdiu desideratus posset fortasse nobis
25 aliquam salutem afferre. Illud pene praeterieram oratorem nostrum Franciscum Mar-
supinum ex Urbe scribere Turcam parasse sexaginta triremes, nescitur adhuc, quo mit-
tendas, sed esse nonnullos magnae auctoritatis viros, qui existiment, haec propterea
agi, ut Hungari abducantur a suspicione belli terrestri contra se movendi.

Me et servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae humiliter commendo.
30 Quae mihi ignoscat, quod haec quoque aliena manu sunt scripta, nondum ex lippitu-
dine oculorum plane confirmato. Et optime valeat. Budae XXVIII. Ianuarii 1526.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo colendissimo, domino Petro episcopo
Cracoviensi, et vicecancellario regni Poloniae

56

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 22 February 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 32r.

Published: BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 87.

*He asked his friend by the name of Miklós to report on some things to the Pope; he deemed this better than
bothering His Holiness with lengthy letters.*

Beatissime Pater, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis humillime commendationem.

Rogavi hunc amicum meum, dominum Nicolaum,¹ ut referat nonnulla nomine meo
Vestrae Beatitudini ratus hoc esse magis ad occupationes Vestrae Sanctitatis accomo-
datum, quam litteris prolixioribus eandem molestare.

5 Me et meam servitatem sinceram in gratiam eiusdem et ad pedum eius pulveres
humillime commendo. Quam Deus Optimus Maximus conservet semper felicem ac
sospitem. Budae, 22. Februarii MDXXVI.

Vestrae eiusdem Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus

10

¹¹ The meeting of Kings Louis and Sigismund in Moravia was planned already for the autumn of 1525 but it did not happen. See the letter by Brodarics on 13 September 1525.

¹ No doubt, this is the same Miklós as the one mentioned in Baron Burgio's letter dated 5 March 1526. Compare: *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 325.

Charter of Appointment by Louis II to István Brodarics
Buda, [February–March] 1526¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. A, fol. 3.

Published: ETE I. 280.

Louis II appoints Brodarics Bishop of Veszprém. The bishopric became vacant after transfer of Tamás Szalaházy.

Nos Ludovicus Dei gratia Rex Hungariae et Bohemiae etc.

Memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes, quibus expedit, univ-
sis. Quod nos inducti meritis et virtutibus fidelis nostri reverendi Stephani Broderici
doctoris, praepositi Quinqueecclesiensis, quibus ipsum diuturna experientia praeditum
5 esse cognovimus, eundem tanquam personam idoneam et benemeritam ad episcopa-
tum ecclesiae Wesprimiensis, nunc per translationem reverendi domini Thomae de
Zalahaza, eiusdem ecclesiae ultimi et immediati possessoris, ad ecclesiam Albensis
Transsilvaniae² de iure et de facto vacantem auctoritate iurispatronatus nostri regii,
quod in conferendis aliis quoque episcopatibus regni nostri more praedecessorum nos-
10 trorum divorum regum Hungariae habere dinoscimur, duximus transferendum et eun-
dem episcopatum Wesprimiensem simulcum castris, castellis, oppidis et villis ceteris-
que bonis et omnibus fructibus et proventibus eidem Stephano Broderico praeposito
Quinqueecclesiensi pleno iure dandum et conferendum, immo transferimus damusque
et conferimus praesentium per vigorem. Quocirca vobis fidelibus nostris honorabili
15 capitulo praedictae ecclesiae Wesprimiensis harum serie firmissime praecipimus et
mandamus, ut deinceps praefatum Stephanum praepositum pro vestro vero et indubi-
tato praelato et episcopo agnoscere, ipsique debitam oboedientiam et reverentiam
exhibere debeatis et teneamini. Secus ne feceritis gratiae nostrae sub obtentu. Praesen-
tibus perlectis exhibenti restitutis.

20 Datum Budae

Ludovicus rex, manu propria

¹ Vince Bunyitay, who first published the charter in ETE vol. I, dated it September 1526 and deemed it forged. However, there is not date or seal on the document, and this makes it more likely that it is only a draft. Moreover, the text calls Brodarics Provost of Pécs which excludes September 1526, since at that time Brodarics had been Bishop of Szerém for a half years. (On 11 March 1526 he wrote to the pope as *electus Sirmiensis*.) It is more likely then that the charter was produced before mid-March and Brodarics' appointment as Bishop of Szerém. At that time there was a search going on for a bishopric to the Provost and prospective Chancellor.

² At last, none of the appointments discussed in the letter took place. Brodarics was appointed Bishop of Szerém in March 1526 and Szalaházy remained Bishop of Veszprém.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 11 March 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 42r.

Published: BESSÉNYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 87–89.

1. Fuss around the Chancellor's position came to an end today due to the Pope's authority and the intervention of Baron Burgio; Brodarics is trying to express his gratitude through deeds rather than words; he also wants to prove his commitment to his King, his homeland, and the Holy Seat. – 2. He requests the Pope to keep supporting him in his tasks as Chancellor too. – 3. Everything goes well with the King, the Queen and other notabilities including the Archbishop of Esztergom regarding Chancellorship; only his eye's illness, which does not cease, troubles him and he has other physical ailments.

Beatissime Pater, Domine Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae beatorum et servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Hodie factus est finis in negotio cancellariatus auctoritate et intercessione Vestrae Sanctitatis et opera domini baronis. Quibus igitur verbis Vestrae Sanctitati gratias
5 agam, non invenio. Illud fortasse satius erit non verbis eas agere, sed facto et re ipsa conari referre. Referri autem quonam alio modo melius possunt, quam si praeceptorum Vestrae Sanctitatis memor ita me geram in hoc magistratu, ut mea servitus sit et serenissimo regi meo ac huic regno utilis, et Vestrae Sanctitati istique Sanctissimae Sedi
perpetuo dicata ac rebus in omnibus addictissima. Quod quidem utrumque conabor,
10 dum vivam, totis viribus praestare. Nec ero in huiusmodi oblationibus faciendis apud Vestram Sanctitatem longior. Quam scio non verba, sed facta a me et ab optimo quoque suo servitore desiderare.

[2.] Supplicavi alias Vestrae Sanctitati, et nunc rursus humillime supplico, ut me rebus omnibus, quibus opus fuerit ad hunc ipsum magistratum rite gerendum, adiuvare
15 velit. Qua de re plura postea scribam. Nunc me et servitatem meam in gratiam eiusdem humillime supplex commendo, quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Budae, XI. Marcii 1526.

[3.] Cetera omnia quoad hanc rem prospere succedunt tam cum regia ac reginali maiestatis aliisque regni proceribus, quam cum reverendissimo domino Strigoniensi.¹
20 Valitudinis tantum imbecillitas est mihi admodum suspecta. Nam praeter oculos, qui nondum recte valent, non desunt alia quoque incommoda. Sed fiat in omnibus voluntas Domini.

18 Cetera omnia[...] voluntas Domini *alia manu*

¹ Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai did his utmost to prevent appointment of Brodarics. See the notes for the letter on 28 January 1526.

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István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 17 March 1526*Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 51r-v.**Published: THEINER Augustin, Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia II., Romae, 1860, 663–664.; BESSENYEI József, Lettere di principi (1518–1578), Roma–Budapest, 2002, 89–93.*

1. The most important position beside the Chancellor is that of the Treasurer. In order to fix the situation in Hungary a strong-minded and respected Treasurer is needed. – 2. Tomori would be the right person but he does not want to accept the position because of his monastic vow. He asks the Pope to influence Tomori so that he accepts the job. – 3. Baron Burgio should under no circumstances be allowed to return home. He is respected and loved by even those whom he scolds every day. – 4. The Pope can help Hungary two ways: by helping Tomori become Treasurer and by making Baron Burgio stay.

Beatissime Pater et Domine Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae beatorum, et servitutis meae in gratiam illius humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Vestra Beatitudo, scio, satis meminit, quid saepe tam de statu huius regni ac de aliquo meliori [!] ordine in eo ponendo, quam etiam de domino Colocensi¹ mecum
 5 contulerit. Duo sunt potissimum magistratus in Hungaria, quorum prudentia, auctoritate, industria hoc regnum regi consuevit: cancellariatus et thesaurariatus. Nam de palatinatu nunc nihil loquor.² Cancellarium habet Vestra Sanctitas illum, quem voluit, si nulla alia re, certe integritate et fide tam erga se, quam erga regem et regnum nemini
 10 cedentem; id quod ego de eo constantissime polliceor. Sed cancellarius, qualiscunque et quantuscunque sit, nihil est sine thesaurario, ut rerum quarumcunque maxime publicarum et regnorum administratio sine pecunia. Quomodo autem proventus regii et regni iam inde a mortuo rege Mathia sint dissipati, et in mille partes distracti, et quotidie distrahantur, Vestra Sanctitas non ignorat. Opus igitur est bono, fidele[!], prudente[!], practico thesaurario, homine bonae apud populum existimationis, et non parvi

² Brodarics was appointed Bishop of Szerém after Ladislaus of Macedonia resigned, because King Louis deemed a Provost chancellor inappropriate.

¹ Archbishop of Kalocsa Pál Tomori, commander in chief of the Southern border. He died in the battle of Mohács.

² István Werbőczy, the leader of the opposition of the lesser nobility filled the position of Palatine at the time. The papal court had backed his appointment through legate Campeggio in July 1525 when the court was having more and more hostile relationships with the Habsburgs. In April 1526, just one month after Brodarics' letter, Werbőczy was dismissed by the national assembly and István Báthori was re-elected.

15 apud principes favoris, nisi velimus frustra cadere omnia consilia et conatus, tam pro cancellario creando, quam pro aliis rebus in melius mutandis honestissime susceptos.

[2.] Iam autem ex toto numero hominum, quos hic habemus, nemo est, qui magis idoneus esse possit, quam dominus Colocensis. Cum quo licet de hoc saepe et a domino barone et a me, et credo ab Absternio³ nostro sit tractatum, non hoc quidem audire
20 vult, et professionem suam huiusmodi officio contrariam,⁴ et multa alia allegans, neque spes ulla est eum ad hoc induci ullo modo posse, nisi fortasse Vestrae Sanctitatis auctoritate et impulsu, atque adeo coactione moveatur. Dignetur igitur Sanctitas Vestra, per salutem huius regni et totius Christianitatis, eandem humillime obtestor, omnibus quibus fieri potest rationibus hominem non solum hortari, sed etiam cogere ad hoc sanctissimum
25 onus pro salute publica subeundum. Non omnino desperamus, si Vestra Sanctitas omnes et auctoritatis et sapientiae suae vires adhibuerit, eundem expugnari posse. Sed facienda sunt, Beatissime Pater, et praestanda omnia, quaecunque a Vestra Sanctitate praestari possunt. Hoc unum credo ego restare ad res huius regni labentes in eum, in quem nunc fieri potest, statum restituendas, frustra certe cancellarium fecerimus,
30 nisi thesaurarius accedat. Qua de re non dubito baronem etiam ad Vestram Sanctitatem in hanc sententiam scripsisse.⁵

[3.] Sed illud quoque, quoniam de barone mentio facta est, admonitam esse velim Sanctitatem Vestram, baronem, quantumcunque redditum quaerat, nullo pacto ei concedendum. Miraretur Sanctitas Vestra, si videret, quo pacto baro hic in omnium
35 amorem et benevolentiam penetraverit, qualem sibi apud omnes auctoritatem conciliaverit. Illi ipsi, in quorum facta aperte quotidie invehitur, hominem non solum reverentur, sed etiam (quod quasi impossibile est) diligunt.

[4.] Si Sanctitas Vestra hoc regnum conservare vult, prout certe vult, duo haec omnino praestet, quod utrumque in eius potestate esse videtur, thesaurarium Colocensem et baronem hic praesentem, alioquin neque cancellarius aliquid servire poterit, neque quicquam boni hinc Vestra Sanctitas exspectet. Scio ego me in his scribendis
40 duos mihi amicissimos plurimum offendere. Nam et ille, novi, quantopere thesaurarius esse recusat, et hic quanto desiderio domum, liberos, uxorem, amicos et propinquos, atque etiam Vestram Sanctitatem suspiret. Sed valeat potius amicitia illorum, quam ista
45 tanta huius regni et reipublicae Christianae recte constituendae occasio praetermittatur.

Ego, quantum maxime possum, supplico Vestrae Sanctitati, dignetur haec, quae nunc scribo, diligenter considerare. Quod ad me pertinet, licet satis tenui valetudine
50 sim ad onus tantum ferendum ac parum etiam idoneus, tamen neque valetudini, neque rei ulli in mundo, neque vitae sum parsurus, dummodo pro desiderio Vestrae Sanctitatis aliquid servire possim, ad quod certum est me his duobus adminiculis ita indigere, ut sine his nullo pacto esse possim. Me et servitutum meam in gratiam Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime commendo. Quae ignoscat, rogo, litterarum prolixitati. Vestram Sanctitatem Deus Optimus Maximus felicem atque incolumem conservet.

³ Constable of Buda János Bornemisza.

⁴ Pál Tomori was a Franciscan monk.

⁵ See Baron Burgio's report on 17 March 1526. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 338–343.

55 Datum Budae XVII. Martii Anno Domini MDXXVI.
Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
electus Sirmiensis, cancellarius

60

István Brodarics to Archduke Ferdinand
Buda, 22 March 1526

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2., Konv. A, fol. 6.¹

Published: ETE I. 244.

1. He thanks Ferdinand for supporting his appointment to Chancellorship. – 2. He has no news other than what Ferdinand could hear from his own followers.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Serenissimus et gratiosissimus dominus meus, frater² Vestrae Serenitatis ex gratia sua et commendatione eiusdem Vestrae Serenitatis fecit me his diebus³ cancellarium suum, pro qua promotione mea Vestrae Serenitati ingentes et quantas maximas possum, gratias ago, relaturus fidelibus servitiis meis, si Deus vitam mihi concesserit, longe uberiores.

[2.] Nova hic non sunt alia, nisi quae hi domini oratores⁴ Vestrae Maiestatis eidem referre poterunt. Me in gratiam eiusdem humillime commendo. Quae felicissime valeat. Datum Budae 22. Martii anno Domini MDXXVI.

10 Eiusdem Vestrae Serenitatis

humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Sirmiensis
Cancellarius

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et domino, domino Ferdinando, Infanti Hispaniarum, Archiduci Austriae et Sacri Imperii Romani Vicario Generali etc. Domino meo clementissimo.

¹ A replica: MOL, DL 276105.

² King of Hungary Louis II was the brother-in-law of Ferdinand.

³ Brodarics was appointed Chancellor on 11 March.

⁴ Christoph Rauber visited Hungary as a legate before 9 May 1526. A certain Ridulphi Hehenfeld came with him. See Gerhard RILL, *Fürst und Hof in Österreich, von den habsburgischen Teilungsverträgen bis zur Schlacht von Mohács (1521/22 bis 1526)*. Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1993. 255.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 26 March 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 59r–v.

Published: BESSÉNYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 93–95.

1. It is now that the country is in really great danger; after God, their only hope is the Pope, they request him to remember them. Brodarics promises to do everything he can although he knows how little that is; the illness of his eyes still torments him. – 2. Together with Chancellorship he was designated Bishop of Szerém, thus the previous Bishop [Ladislav of Macedonia] had to be reimbursed from the benefice of Brodarics' certain Italian friend [Bonzago]; thus he requests the Pope to compensate this man with a benefice worth at least 500 ducats, even though the person would be satisfied with 200 ducats or less. – 3. He knows well that some might consider his request outrageous but he accepted Bishopric of Szerém which has no great significance and is located in a dangerous place only for the sake of Chancellorship, and not for himself but for the country. – 4. His friend, for whom he asks for all this, is Giovanni Bonzago of Reggio, doctor of both laws.

Beatissime Pater et Domine Clementissime. Post oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae beatorum et servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Publica ex publicis cognoscet Vestra Beatitudo, hoc et ex publicis et ex his meis. Nos, si unquam alias, nunc maxime in extremo periculo versare et nullam habere spem
5 post Deum, nisi in Vestra Sanctitate. Vestra Sanctitas per amorem Iesu Christi, cuius vicarium agit, cogitet quamprimum de salute nostra, et eam modis omnibus procuret. Ego, quod ad me attinet, ad hunc magistratum Vestrae potissimum Sanctitatis favore et auctoritate evectus nihil praetermittam, quod meis servitiis praestari possit. Quod quidem non ignoro, quam sit exiguum. Sed qui fecit, quod potuit, legem implevit. Valetudo,
10 praesertim oculorum, non satis bene mihi obsequitur. Sed hanc quoque, spero, Deus adiuva-bit.

[2.] Ceterum iam Vestra Sanctitas intellexit me cum cancellariatu episcopatum etiam Sirmiensem suscepisse, immo propter cancellariatum solum, id quod Vestram Sanctitatem ex litteris domini baronis, non dubito, plenius intellexisse.¹ Is, qui Sirmi-
15 ensis erat,² contentandus mihi fuit cum beneficiis cuiusdam amici Itali, Regiensis, viri docti, et qui alias a domino cardinale Estensi episcopatum Agriensem diu rexit.³ Is ipse optavit a me, et ego id ei fretus benignitate Sanctitatis Vestrae libere spopondi recom-pensationem aliquam a Vestra Sanctitate pro beneficiis ipsius impetraturum. Supplico Vestrae Sanctitati, Domino Meo Clementissimo, dignetur ei dare alioquid loco benefi-

¹ See Baron Burgio's report on 12 March 1526. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 335–337.

² Ladislav of Macedonia. More on his life: K. OBERMAYER *Erzsébet–HORVÁTI István Károly, Macedóniai László. Egy humanista élete és működése a Mohács körüli évtizedekben*, Századok, 1959, 773–801.

³ A reference to Giovanni Bonzago, who, commissioned by Hyppolit Estei, was Vicar of the Eger bishopric from 1516. As a friend of Brodarics he waived his *stallum* as *custos*, so that Macedonian can get that too. See SÖRÖS, *Jerosini Brodarics...* 34., 37.

20 ciorum ipsius, quae ascendunt usque ad quingentos ducatos et amplius. Ipse non optat, nisi ducentos, vel etiam tanto minus, quantum Sanctitati Vestrae videbitur, vel in officiis vel in beneficiis.⁴

[3.] Scio ego hanc petitionem meam paulo fortasse aliquibus inverecundiores visum iri, quasi, qui post tot et tantos Vestrae Sanctitatis in me favores, quos nunquam merui, 25 talia etiam expetam, quae Vestrae Sanctitatis servitoribus essent potius permittenda. Non nego equidem, id ita esse, sed Vestrae Sanctitatis benignitas patietur, si credit me, prout supplico humillime, credere dignetur, episcopatum illum non magni alioquin momenti et in loco periculoso situm non voluntate, sed ob hunc magistratum, quem gero, suscepisse, magistratum autem hunc non causa mea, sed spe boni publici difficil- 30 limis temporibus subiisse, me in his, quae suscepi, ab eo rebus omnibus adiuvari, qui causas publicas totius Christianae reipublicae et maxime horum finium, qui reliquam Christianitatem tuetur, tueri etiam ex professo debet. Vestra Sanctitas et hoc, quod nunc ab ea pro isto amico meo peto, et, si quid imposterum in me conferre voluerit, in quo ego tamen non ero importunus, nihil supplico, conferat in me, unquam causa mea pri- 35 vata, sed causa publica illo uno excepto, quod a Vestra Sanctitate, dum conclave, in quo nutu Dei et fortuna reipublicae Christianae in pontificem electa est, ingrederetur, et quod rursus a Sanctitate Vestra iam pontifice⁵ petivi, excepto, quod cuiusmodi sit, credo, bene recordatur. Sed ad rem. Supplico Vestrae Sanctitati, dignetur in hac non magna re preces parvuli servitoris benigne exaudire. In cuius gratiam servitutem meam 40 humiliter commendo.

Budae, XXVI. Martii anno Domini MDXXVI.

[4.] Iste amicus meus, pro quo supplico, appellatur Ioannes Bonzagnus Regiensis iuris utriusque doctor.

45

Vestrae Beatitudinis
humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius

43 Iste [...] doctor. manu Broderici.

⁴ See more on this in Baron Burgio's report on 27 March 1526. *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...* 351.

⁵ The conclave assembled on 1 October 1523. Clement VII was elected on 19 November. See letters by Brodarics on 11 September and 22 October 1523.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Érd, 27 July 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 122r–v.

Published: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia II.*, Romae, 1860, 674–675.; BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 97. In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 560–561.

1. *He has less time to write these days, but he knows that Baron Burgio informs the Pope on everything.* – 2. *He informs the Pope about problems he has to face as Chancellor.* – 3. *He became Provost of Pécs again from being Bishop of Szerém, since the whole bishopric fell into the hands of the enemy.*

Beatissime Pater ac Domine, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae humillime ad oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae commendationem.

[1.] Quod ad Vestram Sanctitatem rarius scribo, id duabus de causis accidere solet, et quod parcendum mihi existimo Vestrae Sanctitatis occupationibus, et quod ipse quoque soleo esse plus quam satis occupatus. Accedit et illud, quod non ignoro dominum baronem omnia perscribere, ita ut nihil supersit mihi scribendum.

[2.] Nos in quantis periculis impraesentiarum versemur, ex eiusdem domini baronis litteris Vestra Sanctitas assidue intelligit. Deus solus, vel casus aliquis Dei voluntate contingens potest hoc regnum liberare ab excidio. Nullam video salutis viam. Ego in ea, si quid possem, libentissime servirem, sed quid credit me Vestra Sanctitas facere posse in tanta regis inopia, rerum omnium confusione, hominum cum malignitate, tum dissensione, hostis potentia, mea ipsius et paupertate et novitate, et eorum, qui me dignitate et opibus longe antecedunt, ob hunc locum, in quem me Vestra Sanctitas evexit, invidia, mille denique aliis maximis atque incredibilibus difficultatibus? Nihil tamen praetermittam usque ad capitis discrimen, quod a me fieri possit. Adeptus sum, Clementissime Clemens, hunc magistratum¹ difficillimo tempore. Sed fortasse Deus ex sua misericordia rumpet has difficultates et aperiet mihi viam serviendi, quae spes nisi me foveret, iam diu ob causas supradictas et ob valitudinem etiam, qua non satis prospera fruor, cessissem huic gravissimo oneri. Sed durabo adhuc, quicquid sors ferat. Vestra Sanctitas, supplico humillime, dignetur me rebus omnibus, quibus potest, adiuvere. Qua de re rogavi dominum baronem, ut apertius ad Vestram Sanctitatem scribat. Servitutem meam humillimam in gratiam eiusdem supplex commendo. Quam Deus conservet felicissimam et incolumem.

Ex castris regiis prope Erd ad Danubium positis XXVII. Iulii 1526.

[3.] Illud praeterieram me ex episcopo Sirmiensi rursus praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem esse factum: omnia castella, villae episcopatus illius, tota diocesis est in hostium potestate. Non remansit ex VII centum vasallis unicus.

Vestrae Sanctitatis
devota creatura et humillimus servulus
Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius

¹ I. e. the position of Chancellor won with the support of the papal court.

István Brodarics to Queen Maria
Szentgyörgy, 6 August 1526

Manuscript used: MOL, DL 24319

Published: Georgius PRAY, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae I*, Posonii, 1806, 268–271.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 561–563.; B. SZABÓ János, *Mohács*, Budapest, 2006, 82–84.

1. He informs the Queen about events in the camp. He turns everybody against himself by cautioning the King and his environment, however, the majority of the council is wantonly arrogant. – 2. He informs the Queen about positions of the troops of Thurzó and Szalaházy. – 3. The Queen must not leave Buda yet because it could cause panic. When it will be necessary, she will be informed in time.

Sacratissima Maiestas, Domina mihi Gratosissima. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi litteras Vestrae Maiestatis. Deus scit in tanta rerum omnium confusione ac desperatione, nescio quid consilii regiae maiestati sit capiendum. Ita et ego arbitror, sicut Vestra Maiestas scribit, vix posse esse, ut intra XX vel etiam XXX dies tantum
5 exercitum habeamus, ut cum hoste sine aperta ruina nostra manum conserere possimus. Hostis autem instat, et iam vires eius navales sunt circa Erdewd¹ prope eum locum, ubi Dravus influit in Danubium, qui, si huc usque non occupavit, occupabit quamprimum Ezeek,² ab omnibus derelictum locum illum, ad quem palatinus fuerat missus.³ Res
10 nostrae, Sacratissima Regina, ita se habent. Ego tamen aliud consilium dare non potui neque possum, nisi ut regia maiestas iret ad Tholnam,⁴ ne ipsi posset imputari, sicut Vestra Maiestas scit, quod imputabatur. Ulterius meo etiam consilio non procedet, nisi fortasse eo versus, quo per dominum Macedonium significavi.⁵ Sed credat mihi Maies-
15 tas Vestra esse omnia sera, et sumus, quicquid dicamus, undique in extremo periculo. Ego, quicquid facere potero, nihil penitus praetermittam. Hoc unum mihi multum nocet, quod neminem habeo, qui me iuvet, et qui idem sentiat mecum. Miraretur Vestra Maiestas consilia nostrorum, si interesset, qui fere omnes volare se posse credunt sine alis, et me, quia cautius loquor, et tam maiestati regiae, quam ipsis consulo cavendum,

16 post omnes: volant del.

¹ Erdőd, Valkó county. (Today: Erdut, Croatia).

² Eszék, Baranya county. (Today: Osijek, Croatia). The Turks occupied Erdőd, Eszék, and other less important fortresses on the Danube bank on 8 August. Guards in the castles capitulated without fight.

³ István Báthori was sent ahead to prevent the Turks from crossing the Drava river. Since the noblemen did not join him saying they were not obliged if the leader was not the King, without a sizable army, he had to turn back. Compare: BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*... 33., 38.

⁴ Tolna was the designated assembly area of the Hungarian army. They were supposed to get together by 2 July. We know from Brodarics' account that when King Louis arrived at Tolna on 6 August, he had only 4000 cavalrymen with him. BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*... 37.

⁵ Ladislaus of Macedonia was sent back to Queen Maria from Dunaföldvár in the last days of July to hurry the arrival of the Habsburg auxiliary forces. Compare: BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*... 37.

desperatum timidumque appellant. Utinam mea desperatio esset sine causa. Non mihi certe timeo, sed regi et regno, et maxime regi, cui non video, quod adhuc aliqua imminant a suis pericula. Neque possum mihi persuadere nostros ea, quae faciunt regem his periculis obiectando, facere consulto in regis perniciem, sed quod ita eum progredi, et haec, quae agit, agere melius existimant. Ego, in quantam partem accipiantur mea consilia, non desinam ea loqui etiam cum capitis periculo, quae mihi ad securitatem regis pertinere videbuntur. Hodie etiam, et item heri habui mirabiles contentiones.

25 [2.] Maiestatem Vestram de omnibus faciam certiore, et scribam veritatem. Maiestas Vestra non turbetur, sit forti et constanti animo. Deus innocentiam et bonitatem regis non deseret. De Colocensi⁶ exspecto responsum, vix est aliud remedium. De hoc autem scripsi heri ad dominum Thurzonem.⁷ De gentibus domini Thurzoni Sybryk habuit responsum in consilio. Ego nuntiavi domino Thurzoni per eundem. Faciat me
30 Maiestas Vestra certiore, quid velit fieri de gentibus domini Vesprimiensis,⁸ quas tamen iam non videtur satis conveniens hinc remittere. Bonum erit loqui de hoc cum domino Vesprimiensi.

[3.] Maiestati Vestrae quidnam sit faciendum, de hoc quoque locuta est maiestas regia me praesente cum domino Strigoniensi.⁹ Non videtur ullo modo Vestrae Maiestati locus adhuc mutandus. Motus Vestrae Maiestatis timeamus, ne multos verteret in fugam. Maiestas regia statim, postquam aliquid tale contigerit, quod Deus avertat, dicit se Vestram Maiestatem facturam dies et noctes certiore de eo, quid Vestrae Maiestati sit faciendum. Me et servitutem meam humillimam in gratiam eiusdem supplex commendo. Quae felicissime valeat.

40 Ex Sancto Georgio prope Tholnam VI. Augusti 1526.

Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis
humillimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius.

On the outer side: Sacrae Reginali Maiestati, Dominae mihi semper gratiosissimae

36 *post contigerit: dicit del.*

⁶ Archbishop of Kalocsa Pál Tomori.

⁷ This letter to Elek Thurzó is unknown. Thurzó stayed in Buda with the Queen.

⁸ Tamás Szalaházy, Bishop of Veszprém, also stayed in Buda with the Queen.

⁹ Archbishop of Esztergom László Szalkai.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Andrzej Krzycki
Pozsony, 6 September 1526

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 60r–61r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 220–221.

In Hungarian: B. SZABÓ János, *Mohács*, Budapest, 2006, 97–98.

1. The Hungarian Army of merely 20,000 suffered catastrophic defeat from the Turkish Sultan who had 80,000 soldiers at his disposal; the fate of King Louis is uncertain; 3 bishops and several high noblemen are dead. The Hungarian army lost all their cannons and almost all of the infantry; some 10,000 soldiers; on the other hand, most of the cavalry escaped. – 2. The Turks are heading for Buda and there is nobody to resist them. Czech subsidiary troops also set out home. Brodarics is in Pozsony by the side of the Queen with Georg von Brandenburg, Ban of Croatia Ferenc Batthyány, Elek Thurzó, and Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy. – 3. He did everything for the King's safety; he does not believe the King is dead. – 4. He is in real need having lost his bishopric, his Provostship: even his position of Canon of Esztergom is in danger: He has to ask for help from his friends.

Reverendissimi Domini mei Colendissimi. Servitiis commendatis etc.

[1.] Credo fama etiam, quae velocissima praesertim in malis esse solet, praeveniet litteras has de nostro infelici cum caesare Turcarum conflictu. O nos nunquam minus prudentes, quam tunc, quando consilia pacis cum Turco Vestris Dominationibus non
5 suadentibus solum, sed hortantibus ac rogantibus etiam, non suscepimus.²

Interfui infelicissimo proelio. Nostrum vix fuerunt XX milia, hostis habuit ad ducenta milia, sed quae bello essent apta LXXX milia. Nos tormenta bellica et pauca et ea quoque male parata, ille CD vel circiter bombardis magis quam alio genere virium hostis praevaluit, fusi fugatique sumus amisso toto fere peditatu, qui fuerat ad X milia
10 hominum, exuti castris relictis tormentis omnibus. Regia Maiestas, quam nostri non sunt passi ullo modo a proelio abesse, quamvis dispositi fuerant,³ qui postquam acies coepisset inclinari, de salute eius gererent curam, nondum tamen pro certo sciri potuit, ubi sit. Ego adhuc non desino bene sperare. Multi ex dominis potioribus amissi: ex

¹ *post* qui: si acies *del.*

¹ Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 167r–168r; BCzart 257 fol. 412–414; BK 225 fol. 596–598; BJ 6550 fol. 292r–293r; BCzart TN 38. fol. 559–563.

² It was Brodarics himself who urged the Polish King to conclude peace with the Turks. He even added that if his cousin's and Hungary's fate was important to him, he should try to include them in the peace treaty. Compare: letter from Brodarics to Sigismund on 4 July 1525.

³ We know from *Historia verissima* that Gáspár Ráskay, Bálint Török, and János Kállay were assigned with the task of protecting the King. See BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*... 48. On Gáspár Ráskay see KEMÉNY Lajos, *Ráskay Gáspár*, Századok, 1915, 343–345.; KEMÉNY Lajos, *Ráskay Gáspár levele*, Századok, 1911, 50.

episcopis Quinqueecclesiensem,⁴ lauriensem,⁵ addunt tertium quoque, sed nescimus
 15 adhuc, quis sit ille, credo esse Vaciensem.⁶ Dominum Strigoniensem aiunt saluum esse,
 sed ego dubito,⁷ ita enim erat male affectus, ut vix equo insideret. Ex secularibus amissos
 aiunt esse, nam ego hos pereuntes non vidi, dominum Sarkany,⁸ Thomam Zechy,⁹
 Ioannem Paxy,¹⁰ de domino comite Scepusiensi adhuc dubitatur.¹¹ Robur militiae Hun-
 garicae saluum adhuc est, non multi equites meo iudicio amissi, non enim visum fuit
 20 contra bombardas, quae innumerabiles erant, pugnare, nihil hastis nostris, nihil frameis,
 nihil aliis telis contra illas valentibus.

[2.] Turcus habita hac insigni victoria Budam versus procedit et Budam et totum regnum
 occupaturus, nemine resistere valente, omnibus huc illuc dispersis et de proelio instaurando
 parvam certe spem habentibus. Bohemorum auxilia, quae cum domino cancellario Bohe-
 25 miae¹² venerant, incipiunt domum redire verentes, ne ibi motus aliqui oriantur. Nos sumus
 hic Posonii cum maiestate reginali sed paucissimi, dominus marchio,¹³ dominus banus
 Croatiae¹⁴ ex bello reversus, dominus Thurzo,¹⁵ dominus Vesprimiensis.¹⁶ Alii quoque
 domini hic convocantur, qui supersunt. Ego heri vesperi huc applicui, multa pericula
 in itinere passus et captus quoque a nostris, de Bohemis dico, et pretio redemptus.¹⁷

30 [3.] Quod ad salutem regis attinuit, nihil praetermisi, quod a me provideri potuit.
 Fuerunt deputati ex primoribus, qui nihil aliud curarent nisi servare regem. Non pos-

⁴ Fülöp Csulai Mór, Bishop of Pécs. More on his life: FEDELES Tamás, *Egy Jagelló-kori humanista pályaképe. Csulai Mór Fülöp (1476/1477–1526)*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2007, 35–84.

⁵ Balázs Paksy, Bishop of Győr.

⁶ In fact, Bishop of Vác János Országh survived the battle. However, beyond the two bishops mentioned, Ferenc Perényi, Ferenc Csaholy, and Ferenc Palinai, Bishops of Várad, Csanád, and Bosnia, respectively, are all dead. Brodarics mentions them in his letter on 2 October with the exception of Csaholy. See the list of those lost in: JÁSZAY Pál, *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után*. Pest, 1846, 7–8.

⁷ Archbishop László Szalkai died indeed.

⁸ Ambrus Sárkány, former *Iudex Curiae*, Comes of Zala. More on him: KUBINYI András, *Egy üzletelő diplomata várúr Mohács előtt: Ákosházi Sárkány Ambrus* = PÁMER Nóra (ed.), *Gerő László nyolcvanötödik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1994, 263–291.

⁹ Tamás Széchy, Comes of Vas.

¹⁰ János Paksy, Comes of Tolna.

¹¹ György Szapolyai, Comes of Szepes and Trencsén, brother of Voivod of Transylvania János Szapolyai, one of the chief commanders in the battle; fell in the battle.

¹² Adam v Hradce. Brodarics says in *Historia verissima* that the Czech auxiliary troops lead by the Chancellor got as far as Győr. Compare: BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*...58.

¹³ Georg von Brandenburg.

¹⁴ Ferenc Batthyány, Ban of Croatia and Slavonia

¹⁵ Elek Thurzó, *Magister Tavernicorum*.

¹⁶ Tamás Szalaházy, Bishop of Veszprém, Chancellor of the Queen.

¹⁷ During the chaotic weeks following the battle numerous similar incidents happened: the Szentgyörgyi counts robbed the fleeing Royal Secretary Jakab Piso (see NÉMETH Lajos, *Adalék Piso Jakab életiratához*, Történelmi Tár, 1885, 764–767.), not to mention the case that caused quite a stir: hussars of Constable of Esztergom András Orbáncz robbed the ships of Queen Maria. On this see: CUSPINIANUS, *Buzdító beszéd...* = *Mohács emlékezete*, Budapest, 1979, 257–258., and Brodarics' response to the same event: BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima*... 58.

sum ullo modo mihi persuadere eum periisse. Quid tamen sit in facto, crastinus et perendinus dies indicabit.

[4.] Haec propterea pluribus verbis, licet fessus, scripsi, ut Vestrae Dominationes
35 scirent veritatem huius proelii, quia revera res ita se habet, ut scribo, et ut maiestati
etiam regiae, domino nostro clementissimo referant hunc infelicem casum. Quae
dignetur, in quantum potest, curam gerere de hoc regno. Apud dominum meum, domi-
num Christopherum¹⁸ cupio excusari. Non potui ob celeritatem discessus nuntii, ut
volebam, ad suam illustrem dominationem scribere. Vix haec scribere potui. Ego redi-
40 gor ad incitas, amisso episcopatu, praepositura Quinqueecclesiensi, iam agitur de
cantoratu Strigoniensi, quem non credo XV dies duraturum, amissis praeterea rebus
omnibus, quae partim in castris, partim Budae, unde exportari non possunt, fuerunt.
Evasi in una diploide et caligis, confugiendum erit mihi ad dominorum et amicorum
praesidium, inter quos Vestras Dominationes habeo praecipuas. Sed de his alias. Me in
45 gratiam serenissimae maiestatis regiae, Dominationum Vestrarum, domini palatini
humillime commendo. Quae optime valeant.

Ex Posonio VI. Septembris 1526.

Vestrarum Dominationum
servitor infelix

50 Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimis dominis meis, domino Cracoviensi vicecancellario
et Premisliensi etc.

65

Archduke Ferdinand to István Brodarics
Innsbruck, 8 September 1526

Manuscript used: IIIIStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. B, fol. 32¹

Ferdinand is sending two of his councillors, Wilhelm von Zelking and Erasmus von Dornberg to Brodarics; they will inform him in more detail about Ferdinand's plans.

Reverende Devote, sincere nobis Dilecte.

Mittimus inpraesentiarum ad Devotionem Tuam fideles nobis dilectos Wilhelmum

² *post ad:* sinceritatem *del.*

¹⁸ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Polish Chancellor, *Palatinus* of Cracow.

¹ Draft. This piece of data is cited in Stanislaus SMOLKA, *Ferdinand des Ersten Bemühungen um die Krone von Ungarn*, Wien. 1878, 22.

de Zelking² et Erasmum de Dornberg³ consiliarios nostros, quibus commisimus non-
 nulla negotia ex singulari illa fiducia, quam in Te collocamus, nostro nomine Tibi
 5 referenda et exponenda, prout ab eis diffusius accipies coram. Hortamur igitur Te
 adoratissime, ut praefatis consiliariis nostris in ipsorum relationibus et actionibus hoc
 tempore, uti nobis ipsis, plenam ac integram fidem adhibeas, teque in huiusmodi
 negotiis benevolum praestas, simul et perpendas rei conditionem et statum, prout Te
 10 omnibus modis et sine repulsa facturum confidimus et prorsum speramus. Quod erga
 Te et Tuos omni studio benevolentiaque nostra reministramus et compensare cura-
 bimus. Datum in oppido nostro Insprugg die octava mensis Septembris millesimo
 quingentesimo vicesimo sexto.

*In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimo [...]devoto sincere nobis dilecto domino
 [Stephano] Broderico episcopo Serimiensi⁴*

66

István Brodarics to Clement VII
 Pozsony, 10 September 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 328r–v.

Published: Petrus KULCSÁR (ed.) Stephanus BRODERICUS, *De conflictu Hungarorum
 cum Solymano historia verissima*, Budapest, 1985, 77.;

BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 99.

1. The Pope must have heard about the ill-fated battle; he can learn from Baron Burgio, who was or were respon-
 sible for the thoughtless advice that made them enter into the battle. – 2. Brodarics would have decided differ-
 ently about his own fate if he saw any hope that he can be of service to the Holy Seat or his country; Baron Burgio
 will inform the Pope what he is going to do. – 3. He hopes the Pope will appreciate Baron Burgio's efforts, and,
 together with the College of Cardinals, will take pity on the fate that fell on him with the cessation of his mission.
 – 4. His Holiness will be visited soon by Provost of Óbuda János Statileo, cousin of former Ban of Croatia and
 Bishop of Veszprém Péter Beriszló. He asks the Pope to welcome him in view of his uncle's merit, if nothing else.

Sanctissime Pater, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae perpetuae humillimam
 commendationem.

8 post perpendas: praestantiam del.

12 in oppido... sexto a manu Weispergeri secretarii.

² Wilhelm von Zelking, councillor of Ferdinand. He represented his master as an envoy on the Pozsony
dieta in December 1526 where the Archduke was elected King.

³ Erasmus von Dornberg (?–1529), like Zelking, councillor and chamberlain of Ferdinand. He was
 present at the *dieta* in Pozsony in December 1526. There is a widespread belief in the literature that he was
 a member of the advisory body of Queen Maria, but he was *not*. Compare: KENYERES István, *Pacsá János
 plébános osztrák fogsága (Adalékok Mária királyné helytartóságához)*, Soproni Szemle, 2006, 147. More
 data on Dornberg's activities: RILL, *Fürst und Hof... passim*

⁴ The paper is damaged.

[1.] Sanctitas Vestra iam intellexit nostrum infelicem cum Turca conflictum.¹ Utinam non adeo audaces fuissetis ac non adeo in apertum periculum ruissetis temere!
5 Sed ista quomodo, cuius consilio vel quorum potius temeritate sint acta, Vestra Sanctitas ex domino barone clarius intelliget,² qui novit omnia, quae in hunc diem sciri potuerunt et quae a me scribi deberent.

[2.] Ego ex his, quae acta sunt et quae nunc aguntur, non possum aliud conicere nisi manifestum excidium huius patriae procul omni dubio. De me aliter constituerem,
10 quam constitui, si quae spes mihi superesset serviendi hic vel patriae vel Vestrae Sanctitati ac Sedi Apostolicae. Sed cum utrunque mihi sit ademptum, faciam id cum gratia ac favore Vestrae Sanctitatis, quod dominus baro referet Vestrae Sanctitati.³

[3.] De ipso domino barone, de obsequiis, quae Sedi Apostolicae, Vestrae Sanctitati, huic regno serviendo praestitit, non est opus, ut aliquid scribam. Non dubito Vestram
15 Sanctitatem et servitorum ipsius, quae praestitit, memorem futuram rationemque habituram, et sortis miserae, in quam legatio eius regno cadente incidit, miserturam unacum dominis meis observandissimis, sacro reverendissimorum patrum collegio. Me, dominum baronem, meam perpetuam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime commendo, quae felicissime valeat.

20 Ex Posonio, X. Septembris 1526.

Vestrae Sanctitatis
miserrimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus decretorum doctor,
cancellarius

25 [4.] Venit ad Vestram Sanctitatem vel cum domino barone vel non tarde post ipsum Statilius praepositus Budensis, secretarius regius, bonus et sufficiens vir, nepos episcopi olim Vesprimiensis, bani Croatiae a Turcis interempti.⁴ Supplico, sit Vestrae Sanctitati commendatus, meretur aliquid vel memoria avunculi, tam boni servitoris religionis Christianae et Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae.

¹ News of the lost battle reached Rome in early September through the report of the Doge of Venice. Pope Clement discussed the tasks ahead with the College of Cardinals at the Consistory on 18 September. See FRANKÓI Vilmos, *János király és a római Szent-Szék*, Századok, 1902, 697.

² Baron Burgio informed the Pope – who had had vague information – about the lost battle from Pozsony on 5 September 1526. (Compare: *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései ...450–452.*) Brodarics, on the other hand, certainly refers to a more recent letter of Burgio that is unknown to us. They just missed each other in Pozsony, since the Nuncio left for Vienna on 5 September, while Brodarics arrived that day in the evening. However, we know from Burgio's letter dated 30 September in Avinzone that Brodarics had informed him about details of the battle, so Burgio undoubtedly informed the Pope based upon Brodarics' report. (Compare: *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései...454–455.*)

³ Pongrác Sörös is possibly right in saying that Brodarics wanted to get a Roman, or at least an Italian benefice because of his hopelessness about the Hungarian situation. See SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Jerosini Brodarics István (1471-1539)*, Budapest, 1907, 65.

⁴ János Statileo, Provost of Óbuda, later Bishop of Transylvania, younger cousin of Bishop of Veszprém Péter Beriszló; Beriszló fell in a clash with the Turks on 20 May 1520.

Sigismund I to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [September 1526]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 29. fol. 40r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 222.; Tóth Péter (ed.),

A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai II. 1526–1541,
Miskolc, 2003, 34.

Sigismund asks Brodarics to inform him about the situation in Hungary, the fate of King Louis, and plans of the Turks.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater.

Audientes Vestram Paternitatem ex tam ingenti naufragio³ serenissimi nepotis nostri et istius regni Hungariae salvam utcunque evasisse, cepimus non mediocrem voluptatem,⁴ et in tanto dolore, quo tenemur, quod utique Paternitas Vestra incolumis sit, cuius in nos fidem et observantiam habemus compertissimam. Et proinde rogamus illam, describere nobis non gravetur, quid certi istic sit, cum de salute ipsius serenissimi nepotis nostri, tum etiam de rebus hostilibus et statu istius regni Hungariae, nam varii rumores huc quotidie ad nos deferri solent. Sitque eius erga nos propensionis et observantiae, qua consuevit. Et bene valeat.

¹ The letter could be written in mid-September the earliest – since Brodarics informed Tomicki about his own survival from Pozsony on 6 September 1526 –, and in the end of September the latest, because, as the letter says, Sigismund had no certain information about the fate of Louis. Another point of interest in the letter is that it is commonly accepted among Hungarian historians that Sigismund instructed Brodarics to write the history of the battle of Mohács in this letter, which is clearly false. On the significance of the letter see more: KASZA Péter, „Mert látom, hogy néhányan [...] az eseményeket másképp mesélik, mint megtörténtek...” Megjegyzések Brodarics István *Historia verissimájának* keletkezéstörténetéhez, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 2007/3-4, 323–342. The essay was published in English with slight changes: „Because I Can See that Some [...] Tell the Events Differently to How They Happened...” Comments to the Story of the Formation of István Brodarics' *Historia verissima*. Camoenae Hungaricae, 2007–2008, 47–63.

² Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 168r-168v; BCzart 257 fol. 415; BK 225 fol. 598–599; BJ 6550 fol. 293r; Libri Legationum vol. V, fol. 345b–346a.; BCzart TN 39. fol. 1.

³ I. e. from the battle of Mohács, that ended in a disastrous defeat for the Hungarian army, and where Sigismund's cousin Hungarian King Louis died.

⁴ Brodarics informed his Polish friends about the lost battle on 6 September, and also about his lucky escape.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Andrzej Krzycki
Pozsony, 2 October 1526

Manuscript used: BN T.6. fol. 200r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 226.

1. He reports on the Turks' operational moves and destruction. Buda and its vicinity have been completely burned down but the Western part of the country remains intact. Nothing is known about the Sultan's further plans. – 2. He lists the fallen Church and lay dignitaries.

Reverendissimi Domini Mei Colendissimi. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Scripsi his diebus ad Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes ex infelici bello reversus et descripsi infelicem nostrum casum.² Postea caesar Turcarum, cum Budam venisset, ponte super Danubio facto exercitum in ulteriorem ripam totum traduxit, Buda, Pestho et omnibus vicinis oppidis et villis combustis et spoliatis, sola arce³ et secessu Nyekensi⁴ salvo atque illaeso relicto discessit, ut intelligimus, Varadinum Petri versus, ibi vel in Belgrado hibernaturus.⁵ Wysegradi castrum, Strigoniense, Komarense, Thata salva permanserunt et alia superiora penes Danubium, praeterea omnia, quae sunt ultra lacum Balatonem, item patria mea Sclavonia tota, ultra Danubium inter Titiam et Danubium. Quo sit se moturus, quid acturus, quantum damni allaturus, incertum adhuc est.

[2.] Dominus meus Strigonensis,⁶ dominus Colocensis,⁷ Varadiniensis,⁸ Quinecclesiensis,⁹ Iauriensis,¹⁰ Bosnensis,¹¹ de secularibus vero dominus comes Scepusiensis,¹² Dragffy,¹³ Sarkan,¹⁴ Thomas Zeechi,¹⁵ Gabriel Periny,¹⁶ dominus

¹ Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 171r–v; BCzart 257 fol. 423–424; BK 225 fol. 599–600; BJ 6550 fol. 293v; BCzart TN 39. fol. 7–8.

² See the letter by Brodarics on 6 September 1526.

³ Without doubt, the Buda castle, looting of which Suleyman did not permit.

⁴ Perhaps the game park in Nyék. Suleyman visited it.

⁵ See the letter by Elek Thurzó to Polish King Sigismund on 29 September 1526. (AT VIII. 224–226.)

⁶ Archbishop of Esztergom and High Chancellor László Szalkai.

⁷ Archbishop of Kalocsa Pál Tomori, Commander in Chief.

⁸ Ferenc Perényi, Bishop of Várad.

⁹ Fülöp Csulai Mór, Bishop of Pécs.

¹⁰ Balázs Paksy, Bishop of Győr.

¹¹ Ferenc Palina, Bishop of Bosnia.

¹² György Szapolyai, Comes of Szepes, one of the chief commanders of the army.

¹³ Iudex Curiae János Drágffy.

¹⁴ See the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 6 September 1526.

¹⁵ See the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 6 September 1526.

¹⁶ Comes of Ugocsa and Máramaros Gábor Perényi.

15 Corlathky,¹⁷ dominus Trepka,¹⁸ dominus Hampo,¹⁹ dominus Orzagh²⁰ et multi alii desiderantur.

Quid cogitent Vestrae Dominationes de nobis, quid de se, incerti sumus. Ego vero rerum omniumstrarum incertissimus, ut qui a pluribus mensibus ne iota quidem. Me Vestris Dominationibus humiliter commendo. Quae optime valeant.

20 Ex Posonio II. Octobris 1526

Vestrarum Dominationum
servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius

25 Maiestati regiae, domino nostro gratiosissimo servitutem meam cupio et supplico commendari.

On the outer side: Reverendissimis dominis Petro Cracoviensi, vicecancellario regni Poloniae, et Andreae Premisliensi, dominis meis colendissimis.

69

István Brodarics to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Pozsony, 3 October 1526

Manuscript used: BL, Biblioteca Cottoniana, Vespasianus F. I. 39r–41r.¹

English language regesta published: J. S. BREWER, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII. IV/2–3*, London, 1872–1876, Nr. 2589.

1. Brodarics reports on movements of the Turkish army. The Sultan marched in to Buda and had a bridge built on the Danube. He led his army to the field of Rákös and dispatched marauding groups from there. He is believed to want to spend the winter in the Szerémség region. It is uncertain whether he will leave guards behind in Buda. Buda was set on fire despite of the Sultan's intention. The castle remained intact. – 2. Mátyás Nagy defended Esztergom from the Turks. Now he is asking for cannons and gunpowder from the Queen. Komárom, Tata, and Visegrád are being reinforced to hinder the Turks in their pushing forward along the Danube. – 3. The Palatine is in Pozsony. Batthyány is expected there. Not much is known about the Voivod of Transylvania; he is said to camp by the Tisza river. – 4. The Sultan sent word by Royal Secretary Miklós Herczeg since he believes King Louis to be alive. If the King wants make peace with him, he is ready for it. He is willing to return everything except for Szerémség and will protect Louis from all his internal and foreign enemies. – 5. Miklós Herczeg could escape partly because he was believed to be the Treasurer due to his name. – 6. The day after the battle, 1503 persons were beheaded in front of the Sultan. The Turks buried them later together with their own people. Mihály Fekete and Majtényi are among the more illustrious prisoners. Hampo is said to have died. The Sultan condemned those who led King Louis against him with such

¹⁷ Court Marshal Péter Korlátkövy.

¹⁸ Andrzej Trepka, Court Marshal.

¹⁹ Chamberlain Ferenc Hampo (Ernusz).

²⁰ Ferenc Ország, Chamberlain.

¹ Contemporary copy.

a small army. They all praise the King's bravery but curse his counsellors. – 7. Tomori's head was presented to the Sultan on a spearhead and was placed in front of the Sultan's tent. – 8. In accordance with the news from Herczeg, the Sultan led his army across the Danube, and sent his marauding troops towards Eger and Körmöcbánya in order to destroy everything between the Danube and the Tisza. The Sultan himself proceeds towards Pétervárad along the Danube to spend the winter there or in Nándorfehérvár. Brodarics thinks the Sultan will occupy Slavonia too this winter in order to invade the rest of Hungary next spring. This would be all the easier in a defenceless country with no King when Christian rulers wrangle among themselves. – 9. A list is given of the lay and church dignitaries who perished. – 10. King Louis entered the battle under pressure from his army that expected victory, even though several persons, first of all Brodarics himself, opposed the clash. – 11. He lost everything in the camp at Mohács, just as he lost all his possessions left in Buda.

Ex litteris domini cancellarii regni Hungariae, datis Posonii III. Octobris, ad illustrem et magnificum dominum palatinum et capitaneum Cracoviensem ac regni Poloniae summum cancellarium

- [1.] Nova de caesare Turcarum haec sunt: castris in eo loco inter Budam et Thetem,²
 5 ubi equorum cursus fieri solet, positus ipse Budam his diebus superioribus intraverat,³
 et arce peragrata ac diligenter inspecta, rursus in castra redierat, ubi paucis diebus commoratus ponte super Danubio facto⁴ exercitum traiecit, et castra, ut intelligimus, in Rakosch⁵ posuit, unde audimus eum excursiones tam ad ea loca, quae Nitriam⁶ et Cremniciam⁷ versus sunt, quam versus Casthoniā⁸ misisse. Existimatur populatis
 10 omnibus ac ferro ignique consumptis, quae sunt inter Danubium et Ticiam⁹ ad Varadinum Petri¹⁰ et in Sirmium rediturus, et vel ibi, vel in Nandoralba¹¹ hanc hiemem transacturus;¹² sitne autem Budae praesidium aliquod relicturus, nec ne, nihil adhuc certi habemus.¹³ Intelligimus Budam contra eius voluntatem combustam, atque auctorem facinoris capite etiam truncatum, arcem salvam esse et illaesam.
- 15 [2.] Arcem Strigoniensem a praefecto eiusdem derelictam quidam tenuioris conditionis homines ingressi duce Matheo quodam Nagh, qui aliter peditibus illius capituli praefuit, cum non parvam commeatorum, tormentorum et aliarum rerum ad defensionem arcis pertinentium copiam ibi comperissent, occuparunt, et usque in hunc diem nomine reginalis maiestatis tenent. Miserant ad maiestatem reginalem his diebus pro
 20 bombardario et pulveribus, quae maiestas sua est subministratura et hominem etiam suum, qui eis praesit, illuc ad eos missura. Non dubitamus arcem facile ab hoste

² Tétény

³ Süleyman marched in to Buda on 12 September 1526.

⁴ The floating bridge over the Danube was finished by 19 September.

⁵ Rákossmező, the traditional location of Hungarian national assemblies.

⁶ Nyitra (today: Nitra, Slovakia).

⁷ Körmöcbánya (today: Kremnica, Slovakia).

⁸ Kassa (today: Košice, Slovakia)

⁹ Tisza

¹⁰ Pétervárad. Today: part of Újvidék (Novi Sad, Serbia).

¹¹ Nándorfehérvár (today: Beograd, Serbia).

¹² In fact the Turkish army did not spend the winter in Hungary.

¹³ No Turkish guards were left in Buda.

defendi et conservari posse. Mittit etiam ad Komaron et Thata, non negligemus etiam arcem Wishegradiensem, quae et ipsa praesidio indiget. Quibus locis bene munitis ac firmatis speramus facile hostem arceri posse, ne navibus praesertim ulterius ascendat.

25 Nazadistas quoque conduximus cum Thoma Podwynay¹⁴ et Bakith.¹⁵

[3.] Habemus hic apud nos dominum palatinum et nonnullos alios ex dominis. Exspectamus banum Croaciae. De domino waywoda nihil certi habere possumus. Est autem, quantum et intelligere et conicere possumus circa Ticium.

[4.] Nicolaus Herczik, cubicularius regius cum duobus aliis cubiculariis, Peleccki et
30 Maczieiowsky libere a caesare Turcarum demissus ex captivitate, in quam post pugnam inciderat, ad nos reversus mira narrat de his, quae secum caesar sit locutus. Inter cetera illud potissimum sese a caesare ad maiestatem regiam, quam caesar superesse credebat, fuisse missum cum mandatis, quod si amicitiam et foedus maiestas regia secum habere vellet, mitteret ad se nuntium, per quem libenter de hoc acturum, et eius
35 amicitiam, si id vellet, perpetuo firmam conservaturum remissisque omnibus, quae circa Dravum occupasset, se Sirmium tantum pro se et ea, quae contra Dravum et Savum sunt, retenturum. Non debere maiestatem regiam sibi turpe ducere, quod a se sit victus, dubiam esse belli sortem et in manu Dei positam esse victoriam. Si secum pacem habere velit, se non solum eam libenter amplexurum, sed regem ab aliis quoque,
40 quicumque sint illi, sive externi sive etiam Hungari, si quos haberet non amicos, tutaturum. Dixit praeterea Imbraym bassa interrogatum esse pro fiducia, qua cum eo loquebatur, quidnam caesar facturus esset, et quo inde moturus, eum affirmasse, caesarem ex Buda recta Varadinum Petri petiturum, arcem autem Budensem servaturum pro rege impositis ibi aliquot janezaris pro praesidio.

[5.] Cum hac legatione et cum his mandatis Nicolaus Herczik rediit, apud caesarem existimatus pro thesaurario regni et in magno honore habitus et liberaliter descendens donatus. Thesaurarii opinionem credo cubicularii sive camerarii nomen generasse, auxisse et existimationem, quod Nicolaus Herczik appelletur, id est dux, et quod Turcae ipsius tantum et alterum fratris eius Georgii Herczik castrum in ripa Danubii intra
50 Dravum et Savum repererint. Ego existimaverim eum pro Thurzone, qui id temporis thesaurarius erat, reputatum.

[6.] Narrabat idem sequenti die post conflictum adductos fuisse captivos mille quingentos tres ad caesarem diversae sortis homines, omnes ante caesaris oculos obtruncatos, eorum cadavera simulcum aliorum caesorum cadaveribus in cumulum ingentem
55 congesta. Dicit fuisse absque illis MCCCCCIII usque ad XII cadaverum milia suos autem Thurcos humasse. Esse apud eum nonnullos ex potioribus captivos, quos ipse ignoraret, qui sint, quos cognoscit Turcus potiores, eos humaniter tractat. Nescit autem, nisi de Michaeli Fekethe et de Maytynny, quos affirmat esse inter captivos. Sunt, qui existiment et Hamponem filium vivum, periisse constat. Dicit caesarem a se quaesivisse numerum exercitus nostri. Improbasse multum consilia eorum, qui regem cum ita
60 parva manu contra se duxerint. Regem non fuisse venturum contra se, si scivisset, qui

42 *post caesar del. loquebatur*

¹⁴ Tamás Podvinay, Captain of the Danube fleet in 1527–1528.

¹⁵ Pál Bakics (Pavle Bakić).

eum contra se duceret. Quae verba nescimus, in quam partem interpretari. Regem et a caesare et ab omnibus miris laudibus extolli, sed eos, qui eum ad apertum periculum duxerint, maiorem in modum damnari.

65 [7.] Dicit caput Colocensis sequenti die magno honore praecedentibus tubicinis, fistulis, alio musicorum genere fuisse caesari praesentatum, longo tempore hastae longissimae suffixum prae tabernaculo caesaris stetisse. Existimant Dragffy quoque captum, sed id nondum constat, neque Nicolaus affirmare potuit.

[8.] Dicit Budae fuisse in domo Caroli, magistri curiae reginalis in arce imaginem
70 regis et reginae, se vocatum ad Imbraym et interrogatum, si illa esset regum vera effigies, quod cum affirmasset, dixisse bassam, sunt certe, inquit, elegantissimi iuvenes. Multa talia ab eo audivimus, quorum aliquae eventus ipse vera esse docuit. Nam paucissimis post diebus ita factum est, sicut bassa futurum Nicolao affirmaverat: caesar ponte, ut supra dixi, super Danubio facto, castris in Rakosch positus, lustrato ibi exercitu, sola arce Budensi et secessu Niekensi salvo relicto, et stabulo regis et horto,
75 exercitum vasa iussit colligere, praedatoribus ad omnia loca vicina et non vicina, tam Agriam, quam Cremniciam versus missis, ad omnes partes, totum eum tractum, qui est inter Ticiam et Danubium, ferro et igne vastaturus. Et inde prope ripam Varadinum Petri concessurus. Sunt, qui credant eum Transilvaniam versus iturum, sunt, qui
80 Severinum versus. Ego magis crediderim, et ita Bakisth quoque sentit, Varadino Petri et Nandor Albae hiematurum, ex eo loco Schlavoniam et omne quidquid intra Savum et Dravum est populaturum, et hac hieme ditioni suae subiecturum, sequenti postea vere rursus reliquias Hungariae repetiturum, quas in hunc modum sicut sunt viris, armis, equis, commeatu spoliatas, primatibus fere omnibus vel certe maiore ac potiore parte,
85 et rege quoque carentes principibus Christianis inter se dissidentibus facillimum ei erit in potestatem redigere, unacum Transilvania, omnium totius Europae provinciarum, si soli tantum foecunditas et opulentia inspicitur, opulentissima provincia. Is rerum nostrarum est nunc status. Deus meliora ferat, quod vix sperare possum, praesertim principibus dissidentibus, quae sint potissima causa ruinae nostrae.

90 [9.] Ex praelatis perierunt: dominus Strigoniensis,¹⁶ dominus Quinqueecclesiensis, Colocensis, Varadiensis, de hoc tamen videtur aliquid spei vel dubitationis superesse, dominus Iauriensis, dominus Bosnensis.

Ex saecularibus: dominus Scepusiensis, frater videlicet vaywodae, dominus Dragffy, dominus Corlaczký, dominus Trepka, dominus Gabriel Perynny, domini Hampo filius,
95 dominus Thomas Zeechy, dominus Franciscus Orzaagh, dominus Tarchay, Fekethe Mihál, Ioannes Paxy, Podmanyczky et infiniti mediae sortis homines; Bohemi etiam nonnulli, inter quos Stephanus Slyk et Rotennbergh, ex capitaneis peditum non rediit nisi Anibal filius, vel consanguineus verius regis Cipri, qui ducebat pontificis pedites.

[10.] Haec libuit ad Vestram Illustrem et Magnificam Dominationem particularius
100 scribere, ut sciat rem totam maiestati regiae domini nostri gratiosissimi et amicis suis, quibus placuerit, referre. Si quaerit Vestra Illustris et Magnifica Dominatio, quid regem cum parva manu contra hostem potentissimum duxerit, primum furor et clamor ac

67 *prac correxi ex:* pro

¹⁶ László Szalkai, Archbishop of Esztergom.

mirabilis instantia nobilitatis, praesertim militarium hominum pugnam, pugnam, pugnam poscentium multis bonis id dissuadentibus, Broderico Vestrae Magnificentiae
105 imprimis, omnium fere invidia, secundum fuit spes victoriae, quae a domino Colocensi et ab aliis, qui hostis vires noverant, proponebatur. Mirata fuit, Illustris et Magnifica Dominatio Vestra, quomodo ruebamus in apertam mortem. Fuerunt, qui dicerent nomine publico totius exercitus sese, nisi rex configeret, levaturum quempiam, quem sequerentur, qui hosti obviam secum iret. Missi sunt etiam ex castris Colocianis ad nos,
110 qui in regiis eramus, qui optimates omnes admonerent, ne proelium dissuaderent, et ut regem in pugnam omnino educerent, ni hoc factum fuisset sese hoste relicto contra nos venturos. Est tamen, quod parcat huiusmodi hominibus: sperabant certam victoriam. Nam ab omnibus transfugis exploratoribusque affirmatur exercitum caesaris, etsi magnus esset, esse imbellem, inermem, facile profligabilem, quod ego non omnino
115 credebam. Rex in proelio praestitit magnanimi certe principis officium. Erant ordinati primarii viri, sicut nuper scripsi ad Vestras Dominationes, qui curam regis haberent in omnem eventum, qui nunc vario modo se excusant. Deum credo ob peccata nostra ita voluisse, ut non regni solum maiore parte et meliore, sed et rege omnium optimo eodem tempore privaremur. Miraretur Vestra Illustris et Magnifica Dominatio, si vidisset,
120 quomodo in illo probissimo iuvene elucescere coeperat vera regia maiestas et virtus, sed Deus ita voluit.

[11.] Ego certe, cuius rei habeo testem non curiam solum regiam, sed universum exercitum neque die, neque nocte destiti ea agere, quae ab homine meae sortis et aliquanto etiam supra meam sortem poterant praestari. Vestram Illustrem et Magnificam
125 Dominationem cupio optime valere, et haec cupio referri maiestati regiae. Haec sunt omnia verissima, ita re vera res se habet. Dominatio Illustris et Magnifica quando ad me scribit, non utatur ad [...] ¹⁷ cifris, omnia in campo Mohacense perierunt. Nihil mihi relictum est praeter vitam, quam satis misere sustento. Quae Budae reliqueram, eaque sunt intercepta magna ex parte, beneficia, id est episcopatum, praeposituram insignem,
130 cantoriatum insigniorem, officium, ad quod vos me evexeratis, omnium maximum, servitorum magnam partem, et ex his quidem cariores, usque ad mulum nostrum, equos, arma, currus, vestes, pecunias, argentum, totum, quod habui, haec omnia eodem tempore Deo ita volente amisi. Sit tamen nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.

¹⁷ Placeholder for a word in the copy. Probably the copier did not understand the symbol that stood here and omitted it.

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Pozsony, 4 October 1526

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 4. fol. 142r.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 263.;

BESSENVEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Roma–Budapest, 2002, 101.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 563–564.

1. He can't write anything else but what he wrote to Baron Burgio and what he asked for through Burgio and earlier in person as well as in a letter. – 2. The Pope should create peace among Christians because if they do not stand up to fight against the Turks next spring, that is the end of Hungary and soon the end of Christianity.

Sanctissime Pater, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis commendationem post pedum Vestrae Sanctitatis oscula beatorum.

[1.] In litteris, quas mitto ad dominum baronem perscripsi omnia, quae hic aguntur.¹ Quas ita inscripsi, ut, si dominus baro non adesset, perlegantur nihilominus a Vestra
5 Sanctitate.

De me nescio quid dicam aliud, nisi quod per baronem supplicavi et prius saepe coram semel per litteras.² Nescio quo me vertare alio nisi ad Vestram Sanctitatem, cui servire cupio in perpetuum. Alia litterae ad baronem continebunt.

Me et meam servitatem in gratiam eiusdem humillime commendo. Quam Deus
10 conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Posonii 4. Octobris 1526.

[2.] Vestra Sanctitas videt aperte non iam pericula, neque damna nostra, sed ruinam, ex nostra autem ruina, ruinam totius Christianitatis. Oro et obsecro per amorem Dei Omnipotentis, faciat pacem in Christianitate. Sumantur arma contra hostem in futurum
15 ver. Omnino, omnino. Nisi hoc fiat, nos sine ullo dubio iam peribimus funditus. Sed certe neque alii Christiani permanebunt.

Vestrae Sanctitatis
humillimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus infelix
infelicis regis et regni cancellarius

¹ Unfortunately, letters by Brodarics to Burgio did not survive.

² See the letter by Brodarics on 10 September 1526.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [around 11 October 1526]

Manuscript used: BN T. 27. fol. 236r-v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 222–223.

1. They had learnt about the tragedy the struck Hungary but Brodarics' letter with certain and true information distressed them deeply. Tomicki promises to support Brodarics to the best of his ability. – 2. Rumours prevail in Poland that King Louis may still be alive. – 3. Sigismund sends envoy to Hungary, which he does not want to forsake in any way, but Tomicki, too, asks Brodarics to inform him about any upcoming news.

Scripserat haud ita pridem Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ad me et nepotem meum, dominum Premisliensem coniunctim litteras, quibus et publicam principis sui et regni Hungariae ac etiam suam privatam calamitatem et ruinam nobis declaravit. Nos tametsi alioqui aliunde iam de iisdem rebus nuntio accepto, casum tam infelicem
5 non modo regni tam praeclari verum etiam totius reipublicae Christianae deploravisset-
mus, tamen perlectis Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae litteris, quae certiora et
veriora significare videbantur, in gravem luctum et maerorem recidimus, ita ut lacrimas
non contineremus. Sed cum Dei immortalis benignitate Vestra Reverendissima Domi-
natio per tot casus et discrimina rerum salva ad tuta loca pervenit, sperandum est, quod
10 idem Deus, qui vitam servavit et evadere concessit, etiam quibus rebus pro virtute et
dignitate tuenda et servanda opus erit, benignissime providebit. Ego vero quidquid pro
augendis eius commodis efficere potero, modo scire possim, quam ratione id fieri
debeat, nihil laboris et sollicitudinis praetermittam.

[2.] De interitu serenissimi domini, domini Ludovici regis, tametsi iam propemodum
15 apud nos conclamatum sit, tamen quia nescio, qui iique non ingrati et propterea non
reieci rumores sparguntur, fore adhuc nonnullam spem de vita eius maiestatis.

[3.] Maiestas domini mei mittit istuc nuntium² cum litteris. Ego plurimum rogo
Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem, ut quicquid certi et explorati cum de his,
tum de ceteris habuerit, simul et reliquiae dominorum Hungarorum, quid praeseferant,
20 quidve praetendant, quorsum animos et cogitationes suas dirigant, quid consilii in tam
ancipiti fortuna capiant, quem sibi praeesse destinaverint,³ me litteris suis velit facere

¹ Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 168v–169r; BCzart 257 fol. 416–417; BK 214 fol. 98r–v; BK 225 fol. 600–601; BJ 6550 fol. 294r–v; BCzart TN 39. fol. 9–10.

² Mikołaj Nipszyc (around 1483–1541), Royal Secretary. He spent almost a year in Hungary in 1525 and represented the Fuggers too. Nipszyc left Cracow on 11 October 1526 as a Polish envoy, and returned to Sigismund sometime in early 1527. (Compare: AT VIII. 211–213.; AT IX. 21–22.) So Tomicki's letter was written around 11 October. On the life of Nipszyc see Janusz MAŁŁEK–Wiktor SZYMANIAK, *Mikołaj Nipszyc* = Polski Słownik Biograficzny, T. XXIII, Wrocław, 1978, 129–131. On the background of his legation in the autumn: PIETNEKI Noémi, *Brodarics István alakja lengyel forráskiadványokban*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 2006, 191–198.

³ This was the most important issue from a Polish point of view. Since Sigismund was the uncle of Louis, he was also a prospective candidate for the Hungarian and/or the Czech throne.

certiorem. Nam ego principis et regis mei eam mentem eunque animum esse animad-
verto, ut regno Hungariae quantumvis lacero et afflicto in nulla parte velit deesse,
modo qua via, quibusque consiliis id adoriri debeat, edoceretur. Commendo me ex
25 animo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, quae sit incolumis et felix.

72

István Brodarics to Archduke Ferdinand
Pozsony, 15 October 1526

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. C, fol. 10–11.

*1. He is deeply sorry for not being able to meet Ferdinand but assures him about his steadfast loyalty, some-
thing which Nádasdy can confirm. – 2. He can learn about other things from reports by Szalaházy and
Thurzó.*

Serenissime Princeps, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis perpetuae humillimam
commendationem.

[1.] Doleo certe ex toto corde mihi Vestram Serenitatem praesertim adeo propin-
quam adire non licuisse.¹ Sed cum id factum sit bono publico, tanto aequiore animo est
5 tolerandum. Thomas Nádasdinus² narravit, credo, Vestrae Serenitati meam in eandem
sinceram fidem et serviendi propensissimam constantissimamque voluntatem.³ Ea talis
est, qualem ille narravit, et qualem ego iam pridem coram sum pollicitus. In qua firmus
ac stabilis permanebo.⁴

[2.] Cetera ex his, quae domini mei, dominus Vesprimiensis⁵ et dominus Thurzó⁶
10 referent, Vestra Serenitas intelliget. In cuius gratiam me totum unice et humillime com-
mendo. Quae optime ac felicissime valeat.

Ex Posonio, 15. Octobris 1526.

[Eiusdem] Vestrae Serenitatis

humillimus servulus

Stephanus Brodericus cancellarius

15

¹ Ferdinand was staying in Hainburg in those days where he consulted Maria on Hungarian affairs and tasks. From among the Hungarian notabilities staying in Pozsony only Tamás Szalaházy and Elek Thurzó, who are mentioned in the letter, accompanied Maria for this meeting. Compare: JÁSZAY, *A magyar nemzet napjai...* 94–96.

² King Louis sent Royal Secretary Tamás Nádasdy (1498–1562) to the imperial diet in Nuremberg to urge aid against the Turks, so Nádasdy could not take part in the battle of Mohács. After the King's death he promptly joined Ferdinand and played an active role in organising the Habsburg party.

³ On this see Nádasdy's letter: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. C, fol. 14.

⁴ As we know, this did not happen that way. Brodarics changed sides in March 1527 and joined Szapolyai.

⁵ Tamás Szalaházy. Bishop of Veszprém.

⁶ Elek Thurzó. Treasurer.

Invitation to the National Assembly to István Brodarics (?) dated in Tokaj¹
Tokaj, 17 October 1526

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. C, fol. 12.

Published: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek I.*, Budapest, 1874, 9–10.

Since the country got into a serious situation after the Mohács defeat, and all discussion is senseless without a king, the ordines that gathered in Tokaj announce a national assembly to elect the King in Székesfehérvár for St. Emeric's Day.

Reverende Domine Frater et Amice nobis Honorande.

Quanto in periculo regnum istud miserabile per haec tempora versatum est, et inpraesentiarum quoque post flebilem casum et interitum serenissimi principis quondam domini Ludovici regis, domini nostri clementissimi piae memoriae, profligationemque et cladem gentis Hungaricae in proelio nuperrime cum hoste nostro publico
5 divino ita volente iudicio inhabiliter commisso susceptum [!] versatur atque fluctuat, Dominationi Vestrae Reverendae non solum constat, verum etiam plurimas ex eisdem manu palpasce credimus.

Ne deinceps residua etiam pars nobilitatis et regni per hostem ipsum nemine resistente corrueret, nos veluti vera membra Sacrae Coronae regni huius ad hoc oppidum
10 Thokay convenimus² de tutela et defensione huius regni, deque susceptae cladis et calamitatis reformatione consulturi, tractaturi et, quantum in nobis est, provisuri. Verum post plurimos tractatus nostros et post colloquia mutua visum nobis est frustra absque principe et rectore, et absque Vestra Reverenda Dominatione aliisque dominis
15 et fratribus nostris absentibus agere, stabile quid, vel firmum, regnoque huic proficuum et conducibile posse concludere. Unde dictum conventum generalem pro eligendo creandoque novo rege ad proximum festum Beati Emerici ducis³ Albae celebrandum duximus instituendum atque indicendum, ne mora gravius periculum ferre possit. Quapropter Dominationem Vestram praesentibus summe requirimus, monemus, horta-

11 susceptae *correx*i ex: suscepta

¹ Attribution of the letter is doubtful. Frankói, who published volume 1 of MOE did not take a stand regarding the identity of the addressee. Pongrácz Sörös, on the other hand, states in his Brodarics-monograph (SÖRÖS, *Jerosini Brodarics István...* 67.) citing Pál Jászay that the invitation is to Brodarics. However, it is quite possible that Sörös went too far. At the referenced location Jászay only states that the letter is written to an ecclesiastic person who was staying in Pozsony. Since only two high priests, Brodarics and Szalaházy are in Pozsony in October 1527, it *might have been* written to Brodarics. (Compare: JÁSZAY, *A magyar nemzet napjai...* 87.) Since the invitation has no unique feature and contains no element that would help identification, we cannot rule out that it is for Brodarics. But even if he was not the addressee, he certainly got an invitation. It can be taken for granted that the letter he received was not very different from the one here. This is why including it here seems justified.

² The assembly in Tokaj began on 14 October. See MOE I., 4.

³ 5 November 1526.

20 mur et rogamus, quatenus omnibus factis et rebus suis postpositis ad praescriptum
festum Beati Emerici ducis velit ad Albam regalem convenire, nobiscumque et ceteris
dominis ac regnicolis prima die ipsius conventus interesse, de creando novo rege deque
propellendis regni periculis et conservando eodem regno tractaturi simul et provisuri.
Secus, in quantum salus huius regni vitaeque et quies et libertas vestra vobis cara est, ne
25 feceritis, item rogamus.

Datum in oppido Thokay praedicto in profesto Beati Lucae evangelistae, anno
Domini 1526.

Ioannes comes Scepusiensis wayvoda Transsilvanus; Paulus de Warda episcopus
Agriensis; Petrus de Peren comes Themesiensis ac partium inferiorum capitaneus
30 generalis; Andreas de Bathor comes Zathmariensis; Franciscus de Homonna; Caspar
Dragffy de Belthek; Stephanus de Werbewcz regni Hungariae servus; Ioannes Doczy
thesaurarius regius; Emericus Czibak de Palotha; Ladislaus et Michael de Chaak; Iacobus
de Thomalya; Georgius de Mekcze; Michael Jaksyth de Kusal; Marcus Jaxit de Naghlak;
Nicolaus de Macedonya; Laurentius Wydfy de Mahola; Michael de Warda; Ioannes de
35 Matusna; Ioannes Witez de Kallo; Nicolaus de Palocz; Petrus, Nicolaus et Ioannes
Abranffy de Gerla; Michael de Katha; Ioannes Kenderessy de Malomuiz; Nicolaus de
Derenchen; Ioannes et Nicolaus Istwanfy; ceterique universi nobiles et potiores superiorum
et inferiorum partium regni. Item oratores nobilium Siculorum et Saxonum regni
Transsylvani, necnon Cassoviensis et aliarum liberarum civitatum partium superiorum.

On the outer side: Copia litterarum ad regnicolas pro novo rege eligendo missarum.

74

Archduke Ferdinand to István Brodarics¹
Hainburg, 18 October 1526

Manuscript used: HHStA, Türkei I., Kart. I., Konv I., fol. 33.²

Ferdinand lets Chancellor Brodarics know that Dean of Laibach Gregor Kreutzer and his councillor Erasmus Dornberg have been sent to him in an important mission. He asks Brodarics to believe their words fully.

Reverende, sincere Dilecte. Salutem.

Commisimus honorabili, devoto et fideli nobis dilectis Gregorio Kreutzer decano
ecclesiae Labacensis³ et Erasmo de Dornberg⁴ consiliario nostro nonnulla nostro

¹ The letter survived in a draft. There is no address on it, it only says *cancellario Hungariae*. Since Brodarics undoubtedly filled the position in mid-October, the letter was certainly written to him.

² Draft.

³ Gregor Kreutzer, Archdean of Laibach.

⁴ Ferdinand sent Erasmus Dornberg to Brodarics already in September 1526. See his letter dated 8 September 1526.

nomine Devotioni Vestrae exponenda, quaecum ex mente nostra veniant.⁵ Eandem
5 hortamur plurimum, ut eisdem Gregorio et Erasmo in his, quae exponent nostri intuitu,
fidem omnimodo praestare, et se super eisdem ita exhibere velit, sicut in eam plane
confidimus atque omni erga eam gratia nostra recognoscimus.⁶

Datum Hainburgi, die 18. Octobris 1526.

75

Ferenc Sárffy to István Brodarics
Győr, 19 October 1526

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 237r-v.¹

Published: Georgius PRAY, *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno Christi MDXVI ad annum MDLXIV.*
Pars V. 121–122., *Acta Tomiciana VIII.* 227–228. In *Hungarian: Mohács emlékezete*, Budapest, 1979, 158–164.

1. He had to give 12 horsemen by Queen Maria's command to accompany Ulrich Cettrich, who was sent to search for King Louis' body. Nevertheless, he accompanied Cettrich himself. – 2. Cettrich showed the place where the King was killed from afar, but they could not find his body among the many corpses. Finally they found him in a newly dug grave and identified King Louis by signs on his legs and teeth. – 3. The King's

⁵ The two envoys who were to meet – besides Brodarics – Palatine István Báthori, Bishop of Zagreb Simon Erdődy, and representatives of the Croatian and Slavonian *ordines*, were instructed to assure them of the unbroken trust of Ferdinand, to inform them about what happened at the Hainburg meeting, and to ask for their opinions on what they were told. See the full text of the instructions to the envoys: Joseph CHMEL, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte Croatiens et Slawoniens in den Jahren 1526–1527*, Wien, 1846, 22–23. A more recent edition: *Saborki Spisi I.* charter 13. On the success of the legation: VARGA, *Szlavónia berendezkedése...* 123.

⁶ The legation sent to Brodarics as well obviously also served to reassure the Chancellor who felt somewhat ignored because he could not participate in the Hainburg meeting, as his letter on 15 October 1526 testifies. We know from Nádasdy's letter also dated Pozsony, 18 October that Brodarics wanted to meet Ferdinand in any case and planned to take a cart after Queen Maria's return and travel to Ferdinand [*et dicit existimare non posse se perpeti et affirmari, quin et incognitus cum uno vel duobus kochy (ita incredibili studio videndi et colloquendi Vestram Serenitatem est incensus) ad Vestram Serenitatem proficiscatur quamprimum Serenissima Regina redierit.*] Compare: HHSStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. C, fol. 14.

¹ This is undoubtedly the copy that Brodarics sent to Szydłowiecki. This differs at some points from the text published by Pray, which is understandable because Pray did not use the manuscript used here but adopted the text published by Friedrich Wilhelm Sommersberg into his compilation and then into his *Annales* (*Silesiacarum rerum scriptores aliquot adhuc inediti, accedunt Codicis Silesiae Diplomatici Specimen, et Diplomatarium Bohemo-Silesiacum, quibus ut historia ab origine gentis usque ad imperium Augustissimi ac invictissimi Caroli VI [...] inseruntur dissertationes duae, quarum prior Historiae Silesiacae Diplomaticae Specimen, altera Historiam Genealogicam Ducum Silesiae sistit [...]*, vol. II., Lipsiae, 1730, 394–395.). Further manuscripts: ELTE EK, Collectio Prayana, Tom. XX. Fol. 21.; BCzart TN 39. fol. 117–120.

body was rolled in cambric and finally sent to Székesfehérvár, where the mayor also recognised the corpse; here it was entrusted to the care of Márton Horváth.

Servitorum meorum humillimam post commendationem. Reverendissime Domine, Domine Gratosissime!

[1.] His diebus serenissima reginalis maiestas Uldricum Czetrzicz cum quibusdam aliis fidelibus servitoribus suis ac litteris ad me miserat, mandaveratque, ut ipsi Czetrzicio pro requisitione corporis maiestatis regiae, domini gratiosissimi felicitis memoriae proficiscenti duodecim equites meos dare, ac cum ipso in eum locum mittere deberem. Quamvis hoc tam arduum negotium proceribus regni Hungariae attingeret, ego tamen iuxta meae fidelitatis exigentiam nolui maiestati suae medio tantum familiarium et servitorum meorum servitia exhibere, verum in persona mea propria cum eodem Czetrzicz ad hoc ipsum peragendum profectus sum.

[2.] Noverit autem Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, dicta et relata omnia memorati Czetrzicz fuisse verissima. Nam dum loco appropinquaremus, nec dum tamen attigissemus, Czetrzicz a longe locum mihi digito demonstravit. Festinanter illuc venimus, equum mortuum in luto et paludibus comperimus: Czetrzicz corpus regiae maiestatis illic esse arbitratum, spretis paludibus luto se iniecit, sub equo corpus regium cum reliquis comitibus quaesivit, nec reperit, arma tamen suae maiestatis ibidem invenit. Paululum inde progressi corpus unum exsanguem vidimus, quod versando cognovimus corpus esse Trepka, magistri curiae regiae maiestatis suae. Multa denique corpora diutius versantes regium corpus inter illa non reperimus.

Non longe sub quodam portu quandam sepulturam novam vidimus, et quasi divino instinctu humatum corpus maiestatis suae regiae cognovimus. Accurrimus omnes, ante omnes alios Czetrzycz unguibus suis terram coepit fodere, nos quoque similiter; primum a parte pedum aperta sepultura dextrum pedem hominis sepulti Czetrzicz arripuit, aqua duorum pileorum diligentissime lavit, signumque, quod maiestas regia in dextro pede habebat, deprehendit, exclamavitque voce magna: Hoc est regiae maiestatis, domini mei semper gratiosissimi certissimum corpus! – flexisque genibus cum lacrimis osculatus est. Re cognita corpus effodimus, caput primum et ora abluimus: pulcherrime per ea signa, quae regia maiestas in dentibus gerebat, se esse indicavit.²

[3.] Teges quidam erat nobiscum ductus, quem distendimus et in eum corpus maiestatis suae deposuimus, aqua pura abluimus. Absit adulatio, et Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra credere dignetur, nunquam vidi corpus exsanguem hominis tam incorruptum, tamque non fastidiosum et minus terribile. Nulla enim corporis maiestatis suae pars corruptionem aut foeditatem aliquam habuit, nec minimum vulneris etiam praeter

5 post ipsi: *del. Czetrzicz suprascr. Czetrzicio*

9 familiarium et servitorum *correx* ex: familiarium et

servitorum

22 vellicare *del. suprascr. fodere.*

30 post pura: *del. purissima*

² Probably Louis II had an unusual, underdeveloped upper jaw (retrognathia superior) that was more in the rear than usual. Because of this, he had smaller than normal teeth which distorted his face and made it easily recognisable. See: SALAMON Henrik, *Adalékok a magyar fogászat történetéhez*, Fogorvosok lapja, 1941, 147–158.

unum exiguum in quantitate unius aurei in quantitate aciei acris, praeterquam exiguum
35 in labiis.

Postea corpus regium in linteamen mundum, quod ego ex laurino propter hoc ipsum
sumpseram, involvimus, ac sepulcro, quod similiter ex laurino duxeram, imposuimus,
deoque optimo maximo opitulante ubique magna et optatissima pace venimus. Dum
autem Albam Regiam appulimus, praecurrit Czetricz et haec ipsa iudici civitatis aliisque
40 ordinibus declaravit, illi, ut decuit, cum omni clero ac populo magna cum processione
civitatem egressi regio funeri obviam venerunt.

Demum corpus maiestatis suae civitatem induximus, et in domo praepositurae
Albensis in quadam testudine magno honore deposuimus. Aperto tumultu regium corpus
iudici civitatis ostendimus: cognovit et ipse suum dominum. Mox oclusimus ac Mar-
45 tino Horváth custodiendum reliquimus. De quibus omnibus ipse Czetricz praesentium
exhibitor Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi latius explicabit.

*Optassem profecto, ut sacrae reginali maiestati, dominae nostrae gratiosissimae in
multo felicioribus rebus servitia impendere potuissem. Sed cum in prosperis non licuit,
in adversis etiam ad omnia mandata suae maiestatis et Vestrae Reverendissimae
50 Dominationis, ut debeo, sum paratus. Tandem Vestram Reverendissimam Domina-
tionem Altissimus Dominus conservet perpetuo felicissimam, cui servitia mea toto
corde commendo.*

Ex arce lauriensi feria sexta post festum Sancti Lucae evangelistae³ 1526.

34 *post quantitate del. auri aureis, praeter exiguum in
labiis his suprascr. unius aurei. postea del. His igitur
summa cum reverentia peractis, regium corpus in linthe- in
marg. Postea corpus regium in linte-*

37 *duxeram del. suprascr. sumpseram*

37 *sepulcro suprascr. scrinio*

43 *tumulo suprascr. scrinio*

47 *Optassem profecto...corde commendo BN T. 6. om.
solum editio Prayi add.*

³ 19 October 1526. Dating by Emma Bartoniek is incorrect. She gave the date 14 December for the letter. Richárd Botlik corrected the date presenting a convincing argument. (Compare: BOTLIK Richárd, 1526. október 19. Adalékok Sárffy Ferenc gvőri várparancsnok jelentéséhez, Századok, 2002, 669–679.) His argument is supported by the fact that Brodaries attached a replica of Sárffy's letter to his own (see below) on 14 November. Thus, it could not be written on 14 December.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [late October–early November 1526]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 175r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 60.

Tomicki requests Brodarics to intervene with Queen Maria regarding the case of Martin Lyesziczki who has been charged wrongfully. He represents the latter's interests until Lyesziczki will have the opportunity to face the Queen in person and exonerate himself.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Amice Carissime ac Honorandissime. Salutem.

Non dubito, quin Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi satis constet Martinum Lyessyeczki³ in aula Wladislai patris et Ludovici filii, bonae memoriae serenissimorum Hungariae et Bohemiae regum, a primis usque annis magnam partem aetatis suae consumpsisse, nec tamen, ut apparet, fructum meritis suis dignum illinc apportasse, nam praeterquam quod quicquid ex liberalitate eorundem regum consecutus erat, huc per Moraviam proficiscens a grassatoribus circumventus amisit. Etiam apud reginalem maiestatem Hungariae est delatus, quasi ipse ex suppellectili regia et vestibus aliquid, quod ei non attineret, abstulisset. Quod tamen, cum sibi primum per licentiam grassatorum, qui nunc omnia pene itinera obsident, licebit istuc ad suam reginalem maiestatem veniens falsum esse probare se intendit.

Interea vero temporis, ut Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio existimationem eius et famam commendatam habere velit, nec patiatur ei aliquorum malevolorum susurris et clandestinis sermonibus iniuriari, eam plurimum rogo; ita et veteribus eius meritis pro aliqua parte consulat Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio et mihi rem admodum gratam faciet.

Cui me commendo, quamque diu sospitem et felicem esse desidero. Datum Cracoviae, etc.

¹ Although this undated letter was published in ATX IX. which essentially includes documents from 1527, it can be taken for granted that it was written in the autumn of 1526. The fact that King Sigismund's letter to Maria Habsburg concerning the issue of Lyesziczki also survived helps in dating the letter. (Compare: AT IX. 61., and Tóth Péter, *A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai 1526-1541*, Miskolc, 2003. 41–42.) Unfortunately, we have Sigismund's letter also in a Chancellery draft, so it does not have a date either. However, identical phrases and arguments in the two letters make it certain that they were written at the same time. With respect to dating it is an important aspect that Sigismund asks for forbearance for Lyesziczki in his letter. Maria summoned Lyesziczki to appear in front of her on St. Martin's Day and answer the charges against him that appear in Tomicki's letter too. Certainly, the date meant by St Martin's day is 11 November 1526. From all this it follows that the letters by Sigismund and Tomicki both are probably dated before 11 November 1526 – sometime late October or early November.

² Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 179r; BK 225 fol. 971–972; BJ 6550 fol. 529v–530r.

³ On the Lyesziczki case see also the letter by Tomicki to Brodarics in February 1527.

István Brodarics to Andrzej Krzycki¹ and Jan Tarnowski²
 Pozsony, [before 11 November 1526]³

Manuscript used: BN T. 28. fol. 97r–98r.⁴

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 110–111.; *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, Tomus XXXIV.

Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Poloniam spectantia, pars IV.

Edidit: Carolina LANCKORŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 69–70.

1. News came in recent days that Jovan Cerni, the Black Men conquered the Cserög castle back from the Turks as well as the seat of Brodarics' bishopric Bánmonostor. He asks for cannons from the Serbian despot because he wants to break into Turkish territory. – 2. War ravages in Italy, the Spanards captured Ostia, and the Emperor is extremely lucky in warfare; it is not known how Szapolyai wants to compete with his luck and force. – 3. The King's seal was broken into three pieces on Brodarics' advice in the presence of the Queen and several council members. – 4. With the Voivod everything would be ready for him, position, career; but he cannot break his loyalty towards the Queen. He has not committed himself to any party; however, he cannot forget his duty. He stays away from civil war; as a good priest, he prays for peace instead.

[1.] Credo, Dominationes Vestras intellexisse de quodam homine, quem nostri

¹ The letter is undated; it was addressed afterwards and falsely dated 1527. Probably this is why the former editions label Krzycki Bishop of Płock, whom Brodarics, consistently and correctly, calls Bishop of Przemiśl in the letter. Krzycki was transferred from the bishopric of Przemiśl to Płock after the death of Raphael Leszczynski, former Bishop of Płock, in April 1527. The Pope sanctioned the appointment on 28 July 1528. Former Provost of Cracow Karnkowski replaced Krzycki. Compare: AT. IX. 102–103; 237.

² Jan Tarnowski (1488–1561), Constable of Wojnic, Captain of Sandomierz. From April 1527 Palatine of Russia (*palatinus Russiae*) and Commander in Chief of the Polish army. (See AT IX. 105–106.) In 1528, he gives refuge to King John who was forced into exile. More recently on his life: Łukasz WINCZURA, *Hetman hetmanów. Jan Amor Tarnowski (1488–1561)*, Kraków, 2005. [Bibliography 331–337 and in the notes]

³ Szydłowiecki forwarded Brodarics' letter to Albrecht von Brandenburg attached to his own letter dated 26 November 1526. Since Jovan Cerni is still in Tokaj in October, he probably occupied the castles mentioned in the letter in late October or early November. Regarding this, see SZAKÁLY Ferenc, *Honkeresők. (Megjegyzések Cserni Jován hadáról)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1979, 229. It gives further guidelines for dating the letter that Szydłowiecki attaches another letter by Brodarics to his own to Duke Albrecht on 26 November. This one is dated 14 November, after Szapolyai's coronation, and informs the Poles about this event. The above letter does not say a word about the coronation on 11 November, so it was probably written before that. Compare: Carolina LANCKORŃSKA (ed.), *Elementa ad fontium editiones, T. XXXIV: Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Poloniam spectantia, pars IV.*, Romae, 1975, 66–72.

⁴ Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 131r–v; BK 225 fol. 796–798; BK 223 fol. 327–328; BJ 6550 fol. 416r–v; BCzart TN 40. fol. 371–373.

„Nigrum” vocant. Est natione Rascianus,⁵ genere, ut pro certo asseritur, de familia imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum. Multi eum sequuntur. Recuperavit his diebus Turcis inde expulsis castrum Cherewgh⁶ non procul a Savo flumine. Hodie accepimus
5 litteras a despoto Rasciae,⁷ in quibus scribit eum civitatem quoque et sedem episcopatus mei,⁸ Banmonostrha⁹ vocata a Turcis liberasse et milites suos ibi imposuisse, scribit praeterea despotus eum a se petere bombardas, velle transire Savum, invadere terras hostiles.

[2.] Italiam totam intelligimus bellis fervere, Hispanorum aliquot milia ostia Tiberina occupasse. De pontifice¹⁰ etiam intelligimus rursus nescio quid adversi, miro modo prosperatur ubique caesaris fortuna. Nescio quomodo dominus waywoda¹¹ sit et viribus et fortunae caesareae par futurus; Deus det illud, quod est pro regno Hungariae, misera patria mea, et pro tota Christianitate melius.

[3.] Ego cum viderem nostrarum dissensionum istarum, quae exoriuntur, non fore ita
15 cito finem, in quo utinam sim falsus vates, sigillum regium, quod fuit apud me, quod iam nullo poterat esse usui, dominis apud maiestatem reginalem existentibus et maiestati reginali publice praesentavi consulens, quidnam de eo esset agendum. Illi habita superinde deliberatione responderunt ob easdem causas, quas ego proposueram, illud esse confrigendum, atque ita praesente maiestate reginali, dominis consiliariis, multis

⁵ Jovan Cerni, the “Black Man”, former soldier of Szapolyai. He organised a competent army from Serbian peasants who were fleeing from the Turks in the autumn of 1526. Its numbers reached 10–15 thousand by early 1527. Szapolyai first tried to integrate them into the defence of the southern border but landowners were suspicious towards them and attacked them several times. Because of this (and of the activities of János Haberdanecz, an agent of Ferdinand), Jovan Cerni sided with the Habsburgs in April 1527, and Szapolyai’s troops could defeat him only after several months of struggle. Jovan was killed, his army dispersed. More on Jovan Cerni: BÁNKÚTI Imre, *Az Alföld népeinek harca a török hódítók ellen a mohácsi csata után 1526–27*, Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Sectio Historica II, 1957, 15–27.; SZAKÁLY Ferenc, *Honkeresők. (Megjegyzések Cserni Jován hadjáról)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1979, 227–261.; SMOLKA Szaniszló, *Fekete Iván*, Századok, 1883, 1–31. On the circumstances of Jovan’s death see also Szapolyai’s letter to Piotr Tomicki around 6 July 1527 (AT IX, 234–235.).

⁶ Cserög (today: Čerević, Serbia). A settlement in Szerém county on the right side of the Danube. It is first mentioned in the 14th century. Before the battle of Mohács it belonged to the Török family of Enying.

⁷ István Beriszló, Serbian despot.

⁸ The bishopric of Szerém.

⁹ Bánmonostor (today: Banoštor, Serbia). Earlier sources refer to it as Keu, Kö, Kew, Bánostora. Seat of a chapter, then seat of the bishopric of Szerém after it was established in the 13th century.

¹⁰ Clement VII.

¹¹ János Szapolyai was elected King on 11 November 1526 in Székesfehérvár. The letter was undoubtedly written before the news reached Pozsony, that is why Brodarics calls Szapolyai “Voivod”. (Nevertheless, the coronation, which was essentially valid, was not recognised in the environment of Maria and Ferdinand Habsburg based on the Habsburg–Jagiello family pact in 1515, so they kept labelling Szapolyai “Voivod” even after the coronation.)

20 primoribus nobilibus est confractum atque in tres partes dissectum.¹² Quod propter multas causas visum est longe consultius, quam illud diutius, praesertim inter istas dissensiones, retinere, praesertim regno in duas partes diviso et me omnino neutrali esse non valente.

[4.] Nuntiant mihi fratres et amici apud dominum waywodam existentes, integra mihi esse et salva omnia, tam quoad alias promotiones, quam quoad officium. Ego tamen non
25 possum hinc discedere, magis officio boni et constantis viri ductus, quam ulla alia causa. Dominum waywodam colo et observo ut optimum patronum et dominum, sed officio deesse non possum, quicquid ulterius sors tulerit. Neque id propterea, quod huic parti me obligarim, nam id non feci, sed quod salvo honore vix aliud facere possum, quam remanere apud reginam, quae, ut alia omittam omnia, sua consilia mecum hactenus sine ulla excep-
30 tione communicavit. Expectabo exitum istarum rerum, neque me intromittam, praesertim in ea, quae ad dissensiones civiles et ad bella pertinent. Precabor, dum alii pugnabunt, Deum, auctorem et amatorem pacis, sicut bonus sacerdos, ut velit iam tandem tantae ruinae patriae misereri, ut parcat populo suo et ne det hereditatem nostram funditus in perditionem.

78

István Brodarics to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki¹
Pozsony, 14 November 1526

Manuscript used: GStA PK, HBA, Polen B2, K. 349, fol. 15.²

Published: *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XXXIV. Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Polonia spectantia, pars IV.* Edidit: Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 72.

1. Szapolyai has been elected King and crowned, something which Ferdinand will not tolerate; a new war is impending. Ferdinand's army is ready to attack Hungary but Szapolyai will not remain idle either. This can bring only deterioration to Hungary. – 2. He assures Polish King Sigismund that he is happy to be at his service in whatever way it is needed. – 3. He is sending a copy of Ferenc Sárffy's letter in the attachment, which is about the search for King Louis' body.

Illustrissime Domine Colendissime. Servitutis commendationem.

¹² This is almost certainly true. On the one hand, this was the way of the time, on the other hand the ruler's seal lost validity with the ruler's death. This means that his widow, Queen Maria, or elected King Ferdinand, could not have produced charters during this time anyway. Furthermore, the King wore a signet ring on his finger, and that was also suitable for authentication of charters. This has disappeared after the battle and was broken into pieces only in July 1527, in the presence of Palatine István Báthori. Compare: FARKAS Gábor Farkas, *II. Lajos rejtélyes halála I.*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 2001, 39–40.

¹ Brodarics dates the letter on 14 November in Pozsony. Szydłowiecki forwards it to Duke of Prussia Albrecht attached to his own letter on 26 November. Szydłowiecki's letter has 8 attachments, Brodarics' is the last. The first is Szapolyai's letter from 30 September, the second is Sárffy's from 19 October (this was included in the *Elementa* volume with the title *ad Reverendissimum*, which means they didn't know it was written to Brodarics), the third is Brodarics' letter above written about Crni Jovan *sine dato*.

² Contemporary replica.

[1.] Doleo me nihil ad Vestram Dominationem hinc scribere posse nisi omnia tristia. Vixdum quievere bella Turcica, iam renovantur alia. Dominum vayvodam electum in regem et coronatum³ Vestra Illustrissima Dominatio, credo, intelligit. Non solum hoc, 5 sed alia quaedam, de quibus ad dominum meum Premisliensem⁴ plura scribo, adeo moverunt serenissimum principem Ferdinandum, ut videatur haec perpetuis armis vindicaturus, ad quae paratum habet exercitum, et iam iam videtur fines Hungariae ingressurus.⁵ Parte ex altera non dubito dominum vayvodam rebus suis minime defuturum. Inter haec quomodo se habebunt reliquiae miserae Hungariae? Cum principe 10 Ferdinando sunt plures e dominis Hungariae,⁶ quos Vestra Dominatio intelligit.

[2.] Si quid est, in quo regiae maiestati domini nostri communis gratiosissimi servire vel possim vel sit opus, Vestra Dominatio Illustrissima aperte mihi scribat. Sed res Hungariae in hunc modum se habent, quicquid consilii maiestas regia inter haec est 15 captura. Alia cum ex scheda praesentibus inclusa, tum ex litteris ad dominum Premisliensem. Vestram Dominationem cupio optime valere. Cui servitia mea unice commendo.

Ex Posonio, XIII Novembris 1526.

Vestrae Illustrissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus

20 Stephanus Brodericus decretorum doctor
cancellarius.

Mitto ad Vestram Illustrissimam Dominationem paria litterarum eius, qui fuerat missus ad corpus regium perquirendum.⁷

On the outer side: Illustrissimo domino meo, domino Cristophero Sydlovicio palatino et supremo cancellario regni Poloniae etc., domino meo colendissimo.

14 praesentibus *correx*i ex: praesentibus praesentibus

³ János Szapolyai was elected Hungarian King on 10 November 1526 in Székesfehérvár. He was crowned there the following day.

⁴ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Przemyśl. We do not know Brodarics' letter to Krzycki.

⁵ In fact, Ferdinand had no considerable armed forces in November 1526 with which he could have attempted to secure the Hungarian throne to himself by force. In addition, he was busy with stabilising his position in Bohemia at that time. Actual armed intervention took place as late as in July 1527.

⁶ In fact, pro-Habsburg aristocrats were not yet many. It is true, they were from among the highest ranks. Besides Brodarics the following persons were in Pozsony: Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy, Palatine István Báthori, Ban of Croatia and Slavonia Ferenc Batthyány (who also attended Szapolyai's coronation on 11 November!), Treasurer Elek Thurzó, and Prior of Vrána János Tahy.

⁷ The letter by Constable of Győr Ferenc Sárfy, incorrectly dated by Emma Bartoniek for 14 December. Richárd Botlik correctly established that it was in fact dated on 19 October. This letter, too, supports the correctness of Botlik's dating.

Andrzej Krzycki to István Brodarics
Esztergom, 5 December 1526

Manuscript used: BN T. 6. fol. 256r–257r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana VIII. 274–276.

1. He resents that no reliable news came from Hungary. – 2. First, an envoy arrived from Ferdinand and asked for help in acquiring the country, after that envoys of the ordines, who had gathered in Tokaj, asked Sigismund to send a delegation to the national assembly in Fehérvár. – 3. Meanwhile Szapolyai was elected King unexpectedly; the envoys went on their way after some hesitation to greet the new King and to confer on the situation of Hungary. – 4. Hungarians hate Germans so much that they would rather regard the Turks friends, so Ferdinand has little chance to win the country. – 5. Some revile the Poles' incompetence. However, they have been fighting under pressure from the Russians, Moldovans, Turks, and Tatars on their own and have not lost one single castle. Hungary, on the other hand, collapsed under the first more serious attack.

Reverendissime Mi Domine.

[1.] Scire dignetur Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima me, nescio quibus malis avibus, huc appulisse. Erat serenissimus rex meus praeter summum dolorem de amisso nepote² etiam de statu huius regni, uti de vicino pariete, apprime sollicitus, urgebatur a nobis, ut non deesset communi saluti, si ab his regnicolis, ut rex esset, postularetur. Id modis omnibus reluctabatur, nec Dominationes Vestrae, in quibus potissimum confidebamus, ullam significationem dabant, quorsum res inclinarent, ut penitus omnia ignoraremus.

[2.] Supervenit interim orator³ serenissimi principis Ferdinandi auxilium ad regnum consequendum petens. Laetata erat maiestas sua, quod is princeps munus hoc sibi suscipiendum duxerit, qui potissimum illi satisfacere et rebus labantibus succurrere possit. Mox accurrit nuntius cum litteris ex Thokai ab optimatibus et regnicolis illic congregatis,⁴ quibus scribebant se conventum ad consulendum de bono statu regni sui in Alba Regali instituisse,⁵ enixe rogantes, ut maiestas sua oratores ad ipsum conventum mittere dignaretur.

¹¹ labantibus: laborantibus HHSStA

¹ Further manuscripts: BN 592 fol. 215r–216v; BCzart 257 fol. 528–531; BK 225 fol. 642–645; BJ 6550 fol. 315r–316v; BCzart TN 39. fol. 271–274. A copy of Krzycki's letter can be found also in the HHSStA (HHSStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 2. Konv. C, fol. 142–143.). Still, this publication is based on the copy kept in the Górski collection. That one is certainly the copy attached to Krzycki's letter to Sigismund on 4 December 1526.

² Louis II.

³ Detre Kammerer Arrived in Cracow on 31 October 1526 as a legate of Ferdinand. On Kammerer's legation see more: JÁSZAY, *Magyar nemzet napjai...* 210–222.

⁴ The partial national assembly in Tokaj decided for calling together the elector assembly on 17 October 1526.

⁵ The national assembly convened on 10 November 1526 in Székesfehérvár.

[3.] Expeditus sum ego e vestigio cum collega non vulgari,⁶ ut terminus erat brevis, pene tumultuarie, ut iuvaremus, si quid possemus, consilio, salutem huius regni et rem serenissimi principis Ferdinandi, quantum fieri posset, promoveremus. Interim quam venimus et conventus solutus est et rex praeter spem creatus.⁷ Diu, quid facturi essemus, dubitavimus, 20 visum tandem fuit turpe retrocedere, sed perreximus ad visendum ipsum regem et quae facies esset rerum explorandum. Cum quo, nescio quid suspicante et congressum nostrum vitante, non cito convenimus⁸ et inprimis, ut decebat, gratulati sumus illi hoc regium culmen assecutum, rogavimus demum, ut cum ad consulendum de bono statu huius regni huc vocati essemus et conventum neglexerimus, declarare nobis dignaretur, quibus rationibus 25 statum suum et huius regni decreverit adversus tot tempestates tueri et conservare, quandoquidem interesset plurimum maiestatis domini nostri scire, quo pacto hic regni sui paries consisteret, ne sua ruina regnum etiam suum in praeceps deduceret.

[4.] Quantum autem ex responso et his, quae video, colligere possum, omnia videntur noxia et desperata neque aliud praesagire possum, nisi ingentem aliquam horum 30 regnorum et totius rei Christianae ruinam. Maxime igitur perturbati revertimur ad serenissimum dominum nostrum, qui nunc de hac una re sollicitus est, ut communis salus aut saltem horum regnorum servetur; cum vero accipiet, quae perniciose molimina hic cognoverimus, quantum mali impendeat ex animis horum vicinorum in sese exulceratis, haud dubie incredibilem capiet dolorem. Si vobis placuisset tempori etiam 35 aliquid communicare serenissimo domino nostro et cum eius consilio agere de salute patriae suae et honore serenissimi principis Ferdinandi, aliter fortasse omnia successissent. Nunc quam vobis et patriae consulistis, videritis. Nos ex mandato domini nostri libentissime inservivissemus ipsi serenissimo principi, sed venimus post prandium et haec gens vestra adeo fremit in Germaniam, nescimus quo malo fato, ut nefas sit, nisi cum 40 contumelia nominare, et Turci iam pro fratribus et amicis habentur. Dominatio Vestra, si ita videtur, poterit rem maiestati reginali et ipsi principi declarare et nostra obsequia maiestatibus suis commendare non gravetur.

[5.] Revendissime mi Domine. Accepi esse istos nonnullos, qui existimationi serenissimi domini nostri et gentis nostrae modis omnibus detrahunt, qui impotentiam 45 nostram, qui tot centena milia hominum hoc anno per Tartaros abducta palam iactant, quod eo maiori [!] amaritudine animi audivi, quo sciam eos ipsos plurimum officii et beneficentiae principis nostri in se expertos esse.⁹ Fatemur quidem impotentiam

23 gratulati sumus illi hoc regium culmen assecutum:
illi hoc regium culmen assecutum gratulati sumus *HHStA*
30 Christianae: Christianitatis *HHStA*
36 aliter fortasse omnia successissent: salubrius fortasse omnibus rebus consultum esset *HHStA*

40 Dominatio Vestra: Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima *HHStA*
43 Accepi: accepimus *HHStA*
45 post hominum *HHStA* nostrorum *add.*

⁶ Stanisław Sprowa. For the letters of commission and instructions given to the legates, see: AT VIII. 258–259.

⁷ On this see Krzycki's letter to Tomicki: AT VIII. 262.

⁸ The two Polish legates succeeded in meeting Szapolyai in the first days of December. About what happened there, see the accounts of Krzycki and Sprowa to Sigismund, AT VIII. 265–272.

⁹ Palatine István Báthori, husband of Princess Sofia of Mazowia, had an outburst against Poles in Pozsony. Krzycki reported this to Sigismund mentioning that he had written about it to Brodaries. Compare: AT VIII. 273.

nostram, sed tamen tot et tantis hostibus cincti hactenus gratia Dei nulli succubimus. Incessebat nos magno saeculo Germania, huic non ignaviter restitimus, impetebat vi
 50 immensa Moscus, is quoque caesus et repressus est. Eandem mercedem retulit Moldavus. Adoriuntur plerumque Turci, et hi maiori [!] dispendio quam lucro discedunt, neque hactenus ullam arcem nostram occupant. Incursant Tartari, sed incursant illam oram ab initio. Id vel ex *Tristibus* Ovidii liquet.¹⁰ Neque illorum clandestinos insultus regio
 55 campis patentissima vitare potest, qui si tantum muscarum abducerent, quantum vos hominum istis computatis, ne musca quidem iam superesset in Polonia. Semel invaserant Hungariam et omnia deleverant, semel umbilicum vestrum attigit Turcus, et iam actum de omnibus videtur. Et nos, qui quotannis cum his et aliis hostibus soli absque ullius alterius auxilio conflictamur, et substitimus hactenus, vobis fungi videmur non homines. Utcunque est, contenti sumus principe nostro, cui utinam omnes essent
 60 similes. Contentus est et ipse ditione sua, nihil unquam ex his vestris felicitatibus et amplioribus imperiis ambiens. Neque est, ut apparet, quod ambiatur. Spectabimus istas vestras magnificas tragoedias equidem non libenter, quas ordimini, et videbimus, quorsum vel vos vel patriam vestram deducetis. Faciat dominus Deus, ut omnia in pacem et tranquillitatem convertantur, quod unum princeps noster optat et curat, ut non deesset
 65 etiam opera, si id alicui cordi esset. Felicissime valeat Vestra Dominatio et me diligat. Strigonii [die quinta Decembris 1526]

80

Ferdinand I to István Brodarics¹
 Vienna, 10 January 1527

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 3. Konv. A, fol. 30.²

Published: JÁSZAY Pál, *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után*, Pest, 1846, 415.

Ferdinand has received Brodarics' letter dated 6 January together with a forwarded letter from Bishop of Przemyśl Krzycki. He expresses his gratitude for the devoted loyalty of Brodarics.

1 Reverendissime et Devote, sincere Dilecte. Salutem.

65 ut non deesset etiam opera om. HHStA

66 Die ...1526 HHStA add.

¹⁰ Obviously, Ovid could not write about the Tatars. The topos is about the wild nations, the *Getae* who lived by the Black Sea in Ovid's time.

¹ Since the letter is a draft, it is not addressed. We only find *cancellario Hungariae* in the top-left corner. This does not mean it is Brodarics unequivocally, because we don't know how long Ferdinand left him in the capacity of Chancellor. It is true that letters in 1527 do not call Szalaházy Chancellor, "only" Bishop of Veszprém. At the same time it is known for sure that Brodarics received a letter from Krzycki in December 1526 and he could forward that. This supports that the addressee is Brodarics, which would mean that he was still Chancellor on 10 January 1527.

² Draft.

Redditae sunt nobis litterae Devotionis Vestrae datae in festo Epiphaniarum Domini,³
 unacum aliis⁴ episcopi Premisliensis,⁵ quas legimus avide quidem, illasque cum paucis
 consiliariis nostris communicavimus. Agimus itaque eidem gratias immensas de tam
 5 prompta sua in nos fide et affectione, quodque litteras illas tanto studio nobis misit,
 quas ad eam inpraesentiarum remittimus, aperto nobis igitur constat res nostras praeci-
 puae illi esse curae. Plane nihil addubitantes quod illam proinde etiam ubicunque
 locorum constituta sit in nos continuabit. Quod ut faciat et in hoc officio erga nos suo
 perseveret, iterum atque iterum hortamur.
 10 Datum Viennae die 10. Ianuarii 1527.

81

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
 [Cracow], [end of February 1527]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 206r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 61–62.

1. He lets Brodarics know that Martin Lyesziczki, who has been accused in front of Queen Mary unfoundedly is going to go to Pozsony to exonerate himself and regain his possessions levied in Moravia. He requests Brodarics to use his authority and help Lyesziczki achieve his goals. – 2. He informs Brodarics that Sigismund, in order to prevent the impending war between the two Kings Ferdinand and Szapolyai, sent Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki to negotiate with Ferdinand in Bohemia.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Amice Carissime ac Honorandissime.

[1.] Generosus dominus Martinus Lyessiczki, aulicus regiae maiestatis, domini
 nostri, simul et amicus meus de me bene meritus, cum apud ambas maiestates tam
 patris quam filii serenissimorum Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. regum in servitio hone-
 5 stissime prope consenuisset et novissime ex reliquiis Hungarici exercitus apud Mohacz
 deleti, tanquam ex naufragio, Deo iuvante evasisset, incertum quo suggerente, nullo
 tamen forsitan merito suo, in gravem indignationem reginalis maiestatis Hungariae
 incidit. Nam praeterquam quod satis severis litteris eiusdem maiestatis istuc accersitur,
 etiam res eius ex peculio iustissime acquisitae et in Moravia apud amicos eius deposi-

³ On 5 January 1527, at Epiphany. We do not yet have this letter.

⁴ Presumably alludes to Krzycki's letter dated Esztergom, 5 December 1526.

⁵ Andrzej Krzycki, who visited Hungary in the autumn of 1526 in legation.

¹ Tomicki mentions Chancellor Szydłowiecki's trip to Prague on 22 February, so it must have been written in the last days of February.

² Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 132r–v; BK 225 fol. 825–826; BJ 6550 fol. 436r–437r; BCzart TN 40. fol. 39–41.

10 tae eiusdem maiestatis iussu detinentur.³ Is Martinus vadit nunc istuc ad eandem reginalem maiestatem, nihil inexpertum, nihil intentatum relicturus, quo eiusdem maiestatis utpote dominae suae gratiam consequi et res suas libere istuc asportare valeret.

Cum autem nescius non sum Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem pro auctoritate sua illi in hac re plurimum prodesse posse, statui eum eidem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi commendandum, rogans illam velit pro humanitate et prudentia sua
15 apud eandem maiestatem reginalem pro eo agere, ut et suae maiestatis gratiam recuperare et res suas fidelissima sua servitute partas, istinc auferre et asportare posset. Id ego eidem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi paribus vel maioribus officiis rependere curabo.⁴

20 [2.] Scire velit Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio, quod maiestas regia domini nostri animadvertens, in quanto discrimine regnum Hungariae sit constitutum et timens, ne ad externum malum et bellum etiam horum duorum regum et regnorum, videlicet Hungariae et Bohemiae⁵ discordia accederet, misit his diebus magnificum dominum Palatinum Cracoviensem ad Bohemiam oratorem, quo videlicet regem illum⁶ a bello
25 regno Hungariae inferendo contineret.⁷ Idem etiam actura est maiestas sua et apud dominum Hungariae regem,⁸ perspicit namque sua maiestas, si hi duo reges mutuis odiis bello invicem contenderint, timendum erit proculdubio magnum periculum, ne dicam exitium non modo regni Hungariae, verum etiam vicinorum regnorum atque ita et universae reipublicae Christianae. Haec pro summa mea erga Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem benevolentia, proque eius perpetuo in patriam suam et in rem
30 communem Christianam studio et amore significanda illi duxi.

Quam bene feliciterque valere cupio. Cuique me et causam Martini Lyessieczki commendo. Datum etc.

³ The earlier letter regarding the case of Lyesziczki (see Tomicki's letter in early November 1526) stated that Lyesziczki had lost everything he had when robbers plundered him in Moravia. This might not have been entirely true if Maria could seize his belongings deposited with friends in Moravia.

⁴ This initiation also proves that Brodaries still stayed with Queen Maria at the end of February. Otherwise it would be pointless to ask for his intervention on behalf of Lyesziczki.

⁵ It is characteristic of Polish diplomatic letters that they adopt the terminology of the Szapolyai side. They refer to Ferdinand as King of Bohemia and Szapolyai as of Hungary, respectively.

⁶ That is, Ferdinand Habsburg.

⁷ Sigismund sent Chancellor and Palatine of Cracow Szydłowiecki to Ferdinand's coronation in Bohemia on 22 February 1527. (Compare: AT IX. 47.) At the same time, Szydłowiecki entered preparatory talks regarding peace talks between the two kings. As a result of these, delegates of the parties sat down to the negotiation table in June 1527 in Olomouc.

⁸ That is, János Szapolyai.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Dévény, 18 March 1527

Manuscript used: MOL, R 319. Nr 2443.

Published: KASZA Péter – PÁLFFY Géza, *Brodarics-émlékkönyv. Egy különleges pártváltás a mohácsi csata után*, Budapest, 2011, 70–75. In Hungarian: *ibid.* 76–80.

1. After the death of King Louis, nobleman around Queen Mary wanted Ferdinand to become their King, since they deemed him the right person for the task and because they hoped the whole country would accept him as ruler. – 2. Brodarics has been voicing his intention to stay out from any military action against his country. – 3. If his advice had been taken in time everything that they are trying to acquire through violence now would have fallen into their hands, but now the lost castles can be won back only by shedding Christian blood. – 4. He served Ferdinand and Maria loyally as long as it was possible and did not accept one penny for it, but he does not even want to know about or take part in actions against his country. – 5. Ferdinand knows that he was reluctant to participate in the election in Pozsony. – 6. He trusts that Ferdinand will forgive him if he returns to his country to which he owes much and he cannot take part in its repression. – 7. He has personal grievances: they are being secretive with him, he is considered suspect, and thus he cannot go on serving Ferdinand; he was offered 50 forints for his services for 6 months, while he knows well that others were offered fortunes; Ferdinand's mercenaries tried to kill him in Pozsony and this has not been redressed until this day. – 8. He is outraged by what Cuspinianus wrote, that Hungarians are traitors who have abandoned their King. – 9. He is afraid of the spread of Lutheranism, something that Ferdinand will be unable to stop. – 10. He will be charged with treason for having taken the Country Seal abroad and using it for the authentication of documents harmful to the country. This is not true and he himself wants to exonerate himself. – 11. He requests Ferdinand to display the same moderation and sobriety in taking possession of Hungary as he had shown when he had acquired his other provinces: Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. He should not use the title King while he was elected by four or five persons rather than the whole country. – 12. He should consider what he will be thought of in the Christian world if he attacks Hungary, the nation that already suffered more than any other from the pagan Turks. – 13. He is still willing to serve Ferdinand in any other matter; he will keep secrets entrusted to him, but he asks Ferdinand to forgive him for his loyalty towards his country taking precedence over his loyalty to any mortal.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Exstincto in proxima infelici ac luctuosissima clade serenissimo domino rege Ludovico divae memoriae, domino meo gratiosissimo, fratre et cognato¹ Vestrae
5 Maiestatis, cum regnum Hungariae in extremas angustias adductum rege careret, qui apud maiestatem reginalem,² sororem item Vestrae Maiestatis, dominam meam clementissimam eramus, neminem ex Christianis principibus praesertim vicinioribus³ existimantes patriae nostrae utiliore commodioreque, quam Vestram Maiestatem, animum adieceramus ad eam in regem Hungariae creandum. Sperantes id, quod nobis

¹ Louis II, brother-in-law of Ferdinand, fell in the battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526.

² Maria Habsburg (1505–1558), sister of Ferdinand, widow of Louis II.

³ From among neighbouring rulers, only King of Poland Sigismund, the uncle of Louis could have been reckoned with as pretender. See Krzycki's letter on 5 December 1526 on this.

10 certo persuadebatur, magnam regni partem et praecipuum quemque, quos non sine causa nominare supersedeo, in Vestrae Maiestatis partes declinaturum.

[2.] Ego vero et ista sum secutus et ius etiam successionis,⁴ quod Vestra Maiestas sibi ad regnum Hungariae competere dicebat, quod quamvis ita esset, et nihil dubitandum mihi de huiusmodi iure censerem, praesertim Vestra Maiestate id constantissime assecurante.
15 Abhorrens tamen a maioribus patriae ruinis, quam in quas paulo ante per Turcos fuerat redacta, semper ab initio tam coram Vestra Maiestate, quam coram maiestate reginali et dominis consiliariis utriusque ordinis et utriusque nationis palam sum protestatus me non solum nullis belli tractatibus interesse velle, sed nullarum etiam dissensionum, quae ad patriae meae ruinam tenderent, velle esse participem, nihil penitus facturum, quod quo-
20 cunque modo contra patriam vel in eius oppressionem redundare posset. Quae facerem, ea non ob Maiestatem Vestram, cui tamen libenter servirem, sed ob patriam tantum facerem.

[3.] Volui propterea in omnibus, quae mihi viderentur, vel facienda vel non facienda liberum mihi esse iudicium. Cuius rei tam Maiestates Vestrae, quam domini consilarii et chirographum etiam Vestrae Maiestatis est mihi locupletissimo testimonio.
25 Cupidissimus eram, ut Vestra Maiestas rex Hungariae fieret, sed ita, si id non vi et armis, sed populorum consensu ac voluntate fieret, non aliter. Neque unquam potui ullis amicorum hortatibus ab hac sententia deduci. Istae fuerunt meae semper ab initio protestationes, istae exceptiones, iste omnium mearum actionum et consiliorum scopus. Nihilque dubito, quin si consilia nostra et aliquorum ab initio valuissent, si in
30 tempore ea, quae nobis ultro offerebantur, fuissent occupata, quin Vestra Maiestas sine ulla gutta sanguinis, sine ulla libertatis Hungariae laesione, volentibus et consentientibus omnibus voti compos fuisset facta. Sed quae mea culpa, Serenissime Princeps, si omnia ea, quae et debebant et facile poterant fieri, omissa fuerunt.

Si arcem Budensem, Strigoniensem, Visegradensem cum regni corona, Albam, laurinum, postremo illa etiam, quae nobis in manibus erant, Tatam et Comaron tam facile amisimus, si quod tunc sine ullo sanguine adipisci poteramus, nunc per mille mortes, per tantam Christiani sanguinis, quod et litterae Vestrae Maiestatis ad regnicolas Hungariae proxime datae manifeste declarant,⁵ effusionem, per tantam huius miserae patriae destructionem et eius libertatis oppressionem quaerendum restat.

36 post mortes: per tantam re del.

37 post sanguinis: effusionem del.

⁴ The basis for Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg's claim for the throne was primarily the Habsburg-Jagiello wedding contract signed in Vienna in 1515. It says that if Louis II dies without a descendant his brother-in-law Ferdinand (husband of Louis' sister Anna Jagiello) inherits the Hungarian and Czech thrones. (See HERMANN Zsuzsanna, *Az 1515. évi Habsburg-Jagelló szerződés. Adalék a Habsburgok magyarországi uralmának előtörténetéhez.* (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből, Új sorozat 21.) Budapest, 1961.; and more recently SPEKNER Enikő, *Die Geschichte der habsburgisch-jagellonischen Heiratsverträge im Spiegel der Quellen* = FUCHS, Martina-RÉTHELYI, Orsolya-SIPPEL, Katrin (ed.), *Maria von Ungarn 1505–1558. Eine Renaissancefürstin.* Münster, 2007, (Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V., Bd. 8.) 25–46. This contract, however, contradicts the free right of Hungarian *ordines* to elect the king.

⁵ Currently it is not known exactly which letter (proclamation) of Ferdinand is referred to. From September 1526 he was in permanent contact – mainly through his sister Maria Habsburg – with the Hungarian *ordines* who supported him and invited him to become their ruler.

40 [4.] Equidem, dum tempus erat, fui diligentissimus in hoc genere Vestrae Maiestatis servitor. Ne minimo quidem obolo a Vestra Maiestate vel a sua inclita sorore usque ad hanc horam accepto. Sed ubi vidi rem ad caedem et sanguinem, ad patriae meae ruinam et oppressionem tendere, vela contraxi, et non solum ab omnibus consiliis immunis esse volui, sed etiam procul ab eo loco, ubi talia tractarentur, praesertim postquam
45 cognovi contractus illos, qui inter Hungariam et Austriam olim facti fuerunt, adhuc in divis Maximiliano imperatore⁶ et Philippo rege⁷ felicitis recordationis exspirasse.⁸

[5.] De electione vero Posonii⁹ facta quid senserim, dixi tam Vestrae Maiestati quam maiestati reginali et dominis consiliariis aperte. Ad quam quam invitus ac nolens ex Vienna venirem, Vestra Maiestas et Tho[mas] Nadasdinus¹⁰ est mihi testis. Nunc vero,
50 cum eo magis videam, eo rem esse deductam, ut non, nisi armis et multo Christiano sanguine possit inter Vestram Maiestatem et dominum vayvodam, electum et coronatum regem,¹¹ in quem Hungaria cum provinciis sibi subiectis unanimiter consensit, decerni.

[6.] Veniam mihi Vestra Maiestas, oro supplex, dabit, si id, quod semper ab initio
55 dixi, nullius patriae oppressionis, nullius Christiani sanguinis fundendi particeps esse voluero, et si in gremium matris, quae me genuit, quae aluit, quae fovit, quae non parvis commodis et honoribus affecit, non ingratus filius confugero, et eius quietem, tranquillitatem, ius et libertatem rebus omnibus anteposui. Quam quidem libertatem in eo potissimum consistere video, ut rege sine herede et eo masculo extincto, liberum
60 sit ei, quemcunque velit, principem eligere. Neque credo Vestra Maiestas ob hoc mihi succensebit, quando et meas exceptiones in animum revocaverit, et diligenter haec omnia secum consideraverit, quin potius spero, factum meum probaturam, cui supplico humillime, ne haec in aliam, quam in quam a me fiunt, partem accipiat. Non sequor in hoc, ita me Christus Dominus iuvet et salvum faciat, aliud, nisi patriae commodum ac
65 libertatem et id, quod video esse iustum et aequum, a quo recedere, praesertim in re adeo gravi et patriae libertatem concernente [!] nullo modo possum.

⁶ Maximilian I (1493–1519), Holy Roman Emperor.

⁷ Philip the Handsome (1478–1506), son of Maximilian I, father of Ferdinand and Charles V.

⁸ Brodarics undoubtedly refers to the Pozsony Treaty that ended the war between Maximilian and Vladislaus II on 7 November 1491. Hungary remained in Vladislaus' possession but the parties agreed that if Vladislaus dies without heir, the Hungarian and Czech thrones devolve to Maximilian or his legal heirs. (More on this: NEUMANN Tibor, *Békekötés Pozsonyban – országyűlés Budán. A Jagelló–Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete [1490–1492]*, Századok, 2010, 335–372.) The contract, in fact, expired when Louis II was born, but Ferdinand based his claim on the more recent Habsburg-Jagiello treaty in 1515 primarily.

⁹ Recent research shows that a very influential group of the Hungarian elite elected Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Hungarian King on 16 December 1526 in the Franciscan monastery in Pozsony. Regarding the participants, see: C. TÓTH Norbert, *Ecseki Bátori István nádor pozsonyi tartózkodásának számadáskönyve. Adalékok Magyarország 1526 végi politikatörténetéhez*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2009, 173–174., and PÁLFFY Géza, *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században*, Budapest, 2010, 55–56.

¹⁰ Tamás Nádasdy, former secretary of Louis II, was one of the most agile representatives of the Habsburg party after September 1526.

¹¹ János Szapolyai was crowned on 11 November 1526 in Székesfehérvár.

[7.] Acciderunt quidam his superioribus diebus nonnulla, quae mihi difficillima certe
 fuere toleratu, et quae potuissent quemvis facile a servitiis Vestrae Maiestatis reddere
 alienum. Nam et tractatus secretiores quandoque me Posenii existente a me tanquam a
 70 persona suspecta vidi esse celatos. Quam sit autem difficile ei servire, cui te noveris
 esse suspectum, immo quam ab homine ingenuo alienum, nemo est, qui ignoret. Et
 praeterea pensio sive intertentio ita est mihi a dominis Vestrae Maiestatis oratoribus
 oblata, ut vel ex eo facile intellexerim Vestrae Maiestatis a me alienationem. Nam post
 menses sex,¹² quibus fui apud maiestatem reginalem in Vestrae potissimum Maiestatis
 75 obsequiis, offerebantur mihi (quod me pudet scribere), florenos quinquaginta ea lege,
 ut alios quinquaginta ad aliud temporis fortasse semestre spatium exspectarem. Cum
 tamen ego non ignorem, Serenissime Princeps, quid fuerit datum et quid assidue detur
 aliis, quibus nihilo est inferior mea conditio, quid fuerit a Vestra Maiestate suas partes
 sequentibus promissum.

80 Praecesserat illud quoque, quod pedites Vestrae Maiestatis, quos Posenii habet, ne
 verbo quidem a me vel aliquo meorum unquam lacessiti, nocte intempesta tam me
 quam meis fere omnibus inprimum somnum resolutis hospitium meum armis et pixi-
 dibus aggressi, si fores domus effringere potuissent, procul dubio me simul cum fra-
 tre¹³ ac meis omnibus crudelissime interemissent, uno tamen ex servitoribus per eum,
 85 qui nescio qua de causa clam fuerat domum paulo ante ingressus, haud levi vulnere
 affecto. Super quo toties conquestus, toties supplicans, toties iudicium implorans nun-
 quam merui exaudiri.

[8.] Accessit postea infamia libellis Iohannis Cuspiniani¹⁴ nationi nostrae inflicta,
 ubi desertores et proditores vocamur, soboles scelerata nec terra nec aere ferenda, et

¹² Brodarics arrived in Pozsony on 5 September 1526. From then on he belonged to the Habsburg party until mid-March 1527.

¹³ Mátyás Brodarics, then, seems to have visited Pozsony too in the winter of 1526–27.

¹⁴ Iohannis CUSPINIANI *Oratio protreptica ad Sacri Romani Imperii principes et proceres ut bellum suscipiant contra Turcum...* Viennae Austriae s. a. [1526]. Johannes Cuspinianus (Spieshaymer) (Schweinfurt, end of December 1473–Vienna, 19 April 1529). Humanist, physician, diplomat. Began his studies in Leipzig. Taught in Vienna from 1492. Received the title *poeta laureatus* from Emperor Maximilian. He was elected Rector at the University of Vienna, and held the title for several years. After the death of Konrad Celtis (1508), he taught poetics and rhetoric, and became a prominent figure in the Humanistic circle in Vienna. Completed diplomatic missions on numerous occasions from 1510. He took an active role in the preparations for the royal meeting in Vienna and claimed to have visited the Buda court 24 times during the process between 1510–15. He worked on intended major works of his life, the histories of consuls and emperors („Consules”, „Caesares”) until his death, and those were published only later (*Caesares*, Strasbourg, 1540; *Consules*, Basel, 1553). Cuspinianus frequented the famous library of Matthias and took several *Corvinas* to Vienna. That is how those were saved from Turkish destruction.

90 principes Christiani ad nos funditus e rerum natura tollendos atque exterminandos concitantur et advocantur.¹⁵

[9.] Accesserunt alia etiam pleraque, ut Luteranismi etiam labem foedissimam taceam, a quo Hungariae vehementissime timeo. Licet norim Vestram Maiestatem esse Christianissimam, non defuerunt, inquam, pleraque alia, quae negare non possum, quin
95 me vehementissime moverint et moveant. Sed tanta fuit in me cupiditas Vestrae Maiestati serviendi, quod haec omnia sustinuissem et sustinerem, meque, sicut hactenus feci, amicorum ope in obsequiis Vestrae Maiestatis sustentarem. Sed cum agatur de patria, cui omnia debemus, de eius libertate, quam tueri et usque ad unicam guttam sanguinis defendere tenemur, cogar id facere, cum bona venia Vestrae Maiestatis, quod patriae
100 potius quam quod Vestrae Maiestati video esse conducibile.

[10.] Et cum pro certo intelligam in ista proxima dieta¹⁶ me potissimum accusari, qui rege e medio sublato sigillum¹⁷ regni, quod apud me erat, ad Vestram Maiestatem extra regni limites detulerim, atque ibi plura in regni praeiudicium diplomata ac litteras confecerim, cogor quantum possum hanc notam diluere, et honorem meum defendere, ac
105 me super his coram tota Hungaria, cuius illud erat praecipuum pignus expurgare. Haec enim esse falsa et falso in me conficta. Vestra Maiestas est mihi testis, quae veluti iustissimus princeps a me talia nunquam expetivit, immo credo ne cogitavit quidem.

Neque item negligere possum eam notam, quam mihi cum aliis in hoc ipso conventu infligere nituntur, quod et coram maiestate reginali ac dominis consiliariis heri
110 aperte dixi. Hominis prorsus imprudentis et famae suae prodigi esse existimans, pro causa, quam non videat satis firmis fundatam radicibus iustam proscriptionis ac perduellionis notam a patria suscipere.

[11.] Supplicaturus semper, dum vivam, Vestrae Maiestati, uti pio, iusto et vero catholico principi, ut in Hungaria quoque adipiscenda non aliud faciat, quam quod in
115 minoribus regnis suae ditioni subiciendis fecit. Bohemia videlicet Slesia, Moravia, ad quae licet ei per regum nostrorum serenissimorum alterius filiam, alterius sororem, inclitam dominam reginam Annam¹⁸ ius competeret apertissimum, ea tamen modestia usa est Vestra Maiestas, ut non prius illarum provinciarum vel titulum sibi usurpaverit,

¹⁵ In part, Brodarics wanted to answer charges in the work of Cuspinianus when he wrote the history of the battle of Mohács. See: Stephanus BRODERICUS, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, published by KULCSÁR Péter. Budapest, Akadémiai, 1985. More on the circumstances of how Brodarics' work was born and on the role of Cuspinianus: KASZA Péter, „Mert látom, hogy néhányan [...] az eseményeket másképp mesélik, mint megtörténtek...” Megjegyzések Brodarics István *Historia verissimájának* keletkezéstörténetéhez, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 2007, 323–342., the same in English see: „Because I Can See that Some [...] Tell the Events Differently to How They Happened...” Comments to the Story of the Formation of István Brodarics's *Historia verissima*. *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 2007–2008, 47–63., and GÖZSY Zoltán, *Brodarics István történeti munkája*, Pécsi Szemle, 2010/1, 30–35.

¹⁶ A reference to the national assembly summoned by Szapolyai for 17 March 1527, Buda.

¹⁷ Regarding the seal compare Brodarics' letter to Krzycki and Jan Tamowski in November 1526, where he states that the royal seal was smashed in order to avoid its misuse.

¹⁸ Anna Jagiello, wife of Ferdinand, daughter of King Vladislaus II, sister of Louis II.

quam non quattuor aut quinque personarum¹⁹ sed communibus omnium populorum
120 votis ac suffragiis in principem eligeretur.²⁰ Non patiat se illorum seduci consiliis,
qui ei vel pactis illis et conventionibus antiquis, vel iure geniturae, vel hoc novo elec-
tionis genere ius aliquod competere ad Hungariam fortasse affirmant. Veritatem potius
amplectatur, quam istorum vanas opiniones.

[12.] Cogitet, si reliquias potius miserae nationis, quam nationem de Christiana
125 Republica, de regnis et serenissimis maioribus suis, de se certe optime meritam armis
aggressa fuerit, quod erit totius Christianitatis de se iudicium? Quid dicunt illi, qui istas
etiam alias infinitas sanguinis Christiani effusiones merito exsecrantur? Satis iam
Christiani sanguinis a Christianis inter Christianos, Christianissime Rex, per tot annos
in Italia est fusum et assidue funditur.

130 Hungaria vero et prioribus annis et maxime anno superiore a Turcis satis calamitatis
accepit. Si afflictas per Turcos addetur afflictio etiam per amicos, o illam vere omnibus
regnis et provinciis, quae unquam a condito orbe infelices fuerunt, longe infeliciorem.
Mihi profecto certum est, quaecunque sors patriam manet, eam cum patria sustinere,
quemcunque ei vel hostem vel amicum fortuna dederit.

135 [13.] Maiestati Vestrae hac una re excepta semper rebus in omnibus, ut domino et
principi omnium benignissimo libentissimo animo serviturus, memorque perpetuo
futurus illius in me gratiae, et si quae mecum de rebus Vestrae Maiestatis sunt com-
municata, in arcano pectoris semper fidelissime conservaturus.

Quae et ipsa, supplico, recordari velit me ut Vestrae Maiestati ac per eam patriae
140 prodesse et servire possem, multa commoda, quae mihi in patria, si Vestram Maiestatem
secutus non fuisset, obvenire poterant, et inter alia amplissimum magistratum negle-
xisse, atque illud etiam esse passum, ut is magistratus,²¹ qui nunquam ex ordine ecclesi-
astico exierat, per meam, ut intelligo, absentiam ad manus secularium deveniret.

Supplico Vestrae Maiestati humillime, dignetur me ob causas supradictas non solum
145 excusatum, sed etiam in gratia sua habere, cui nihil in vita molestius accidisse certo
sibi persuadeat, quam quod non possim salva conscientia, salva libertate patriae, salva
vero honestate ea obsequia praestare Vestrae Maiestati, quae a me fortasse desideraret.
Sed Deo magis et patriae scio esse oboediendum, quam cuiquam mortalium.

Vestram Maiestatem Deus Optimus Maximus semper sanam ac felicissimam con-
150 servet. In cuius gratiam servitutem meam humillime commendo.

¹⁹ This is not true since many more ecclesiastic and secular dignitaries as well as Hungarian and Croatian notabilities and officials – including Brodarics himself – attended the national assembly in Pozsony where Ferdinand was elected. What's more, their nationwide influence was at least as great as that of the notabilities supporting Szapolyai. (Compare: C. Tóth Norbert, *Ecsedi Bátori István nádor pozsonyi tartózkodásának számadáskönyve... 173–174.*) At the same time, counties and the majority of their noblemen stood with Szapolyai.

²⁰ Czech *ordines*, unlike Moravian and Silesian *ordines*, did not acknowledge Ferdinand's succession rights (*Erbrecht*) and crowned the Habsburg Archduke on 23 October 1526. See: PÁLFFY Géza, *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században*, Budapest, 2010, 56–57.

²¹ Szapolyai appointed István Werbőczy to replace Brodarics as Chancellor. Werbőczy retained his office even after Brodarics changed sides. On the development of the Szapolyai administration, see: BARTA Gábor, *Konzolidációs kísérlet Magyarországon a mohácsi csatavesztés után. Szapolyai János király kormányzása 1526. november – 1527. augusztus*, Századok, 1977, 635–680.

Ex Deven, XVIII. Martii 1527.
Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis Sacratissimae

humillimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus episcopus
Syrmienensis

On the outer side: Ad manus Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis, domini mei gratiosissimi, Pragae (Written later in a near-contemporary handwriting: Excusatio Broderici, episcopi Sirmiensis alienationis suae a rege Ferdinando. In qua indicit etiam ius electionis regni in regem liberum esse)

83

István Brodarics to Antonio Burgio
Esztergom, 22 March 1527

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 3. Konv. C, fol. 146.

1. Has received Burgio's letter, so he knows that at least one of his letters has reached Burgio too. – 2. He has reported on events in Hungary in his letters. A servant of Balbi is about to leave, from whom he can learn more about things that are not advisable to write about in a letter.

Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem. Magnifice Domine.

[1.] Accepi litteras a Vestra Dominatione,¹ ex quibus cognosco paucas ei ex meis esse redditas vel potius unas [!] tantum. Miror, quo devenerint litterae per me missae nisi enim frequentes.² Sed nec multum miror itineribus omnibus clausis.

[2.] Perscripsi omnia, quae hic agebantur. Postremas misi per servitorem domini Gurcensis,³ quem credo iam pridem istuc pervenisse. Vadit nunc Squaquara,⁴ qui loquitur multa, quae scribere non fuit visum. Ab eo intelliget omnia, quem et ipsum uti fratrem mihi carissimum commendo Vestrae Dominationi. Quam rogo, ut me in gra-

¹ We do not have Burgio's letter.

² Unfortunately, none of the earlier letters by Brodarics to Burgio survived.

³ Girolamo Balbi bishop of Gurk.

⁴ Reference to Mátyás Báncsai Squaquara (Squaquara de Bancha), Canon of Esztergom. We know his name from the records of the Esztergom chapter. The ones until 1527 survived. This identification is all the more likely because Brodarics, who was Canon of Esztergom himself, recommends Squaquara to Burgio as his own brother. In his next letter he refers to Squaquara as their common brother. The addressee of the letter is Francesco Marsupino who also had *stallum* of Canon of Esztergom. The records have Squaquara's name in 1526, but not in 1527. That year's records survived only partially. Nevertheless, we have a letter from the Esztergom chapter to Francesco Marsupino from 21 March 1527, in which they inform him that Canon Mathias de Bancha will be sent to Rome in connection to some issues. See: ETE I. 308–309. On Squaquara, see: LUKCSICS Pál, *Az esztergomi főkapitán a mohácsi vész idején*, Esztergom, 1927, 27. Records of the chapter: SOLYMOSI László (ed.), *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan jegyzőkönyve (1500–1502, 1507–1527)*, Budapest, 2002.

tiam omnium commendare dignetur et optime valeat unacum domino Thoma⁵ et omnibus suis et nostris.

Ex Strigonio, 22. Martii 1527.

Vestrae Magnificentiae

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Sirmiensis

84

István Brodarics to Francesco Marsupino¹
Esztergom, 22 March 1527

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 3. Konv. C, fol. 147.

1. It has been a long time since he received a letter from Marsupino, he asks Marsupino to write to him when he can. – 2. Squaquara, who is delivering the letter, will inform him about the situation in Hungary. – 3. Marsupino is requested to recommend him to Cardinal Salviati, Bishop of Capua, Niccolò Ridolfi, Cardinal Campeggio, Jacopo Sadoletto, and datarius Firmano.

Reverende Domine et Frater Carissime. Salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Iam diu est, quod nullas habere possum a Vestra Dominatione litteras. Rogo, ut data occasione et facultate mittendi scribat.

Nostrae res, quomodo se habent, intelliget ab hoc domino Squaquara fratre nostro communi.²

[3.] Rogo, velit me omnibus commendare praesertim dominis Salviati,³ Rhodulphi,⁴ Capuano⁵ et Campeio⁶ ac Sadoletto⁷ et domino datario, domino Firmano.⁸ Et optime valeat.

Ex Strigonio, 22. Martii 1527.

Vestrae Reverende Dominationis

servitor et frater
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis

⁵ Perhaps a reference to Cardinal Tommaso Cajetan De Vio, former papal legate who arrived in Hungary with Baron Burgio in late 1523 commissioned by Hadrian VI.

¹ Canon of Esztergom Francesco Marsupino was a fellow envoy of Brodarics in Rome.

² On Squaquara see the notes for the previous letter.

³ Cardinal Giovanni Salviati.

⁴ Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550) Cardinal, Archbishop of Florence.

⁵ Nikolaus von Schönberg (1472–1537), Bishop of Capua.

⁶ Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, former papal legate in Hungary.

⁷ Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547), prominent Humanist, poet and theologian, papal secretary. Bishop of Carpentras (France) between 1517–1544, Cardinal from 1536.

⁸ I have found no further data on the mentioned *datarius*.

István Brodarics to Francesco Marsupino
[Esztergom], [around 22 March 1527]¹

Manuscript used: HHSStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 418, Konv A, fol. 35.²

Brodarics informs Marsupino about the situation of the archdeanship of Nógrád.

In archidiaconatu vestro Neogradiensi³ certum est multa esse combusta, prout ego intelligo. Habeo amicum, qui acciperet in pensionem archidiaconatum et canonicatum pro florenorum Hungaricalium, id est in bona moneta, octuaginta. Rogo Vestram Dominationem, ut de hoc tractet cum domino Squaquara, et faciat
s iuxta desiderium meum et illius amici mei. Cui non aliter cupio complacere quam mihi metipsi.

Stephanus Brodericus manu propria subscripsit

On the outer side: Domino meo et fratri et colendissimo domino Francisco Marsupino etc.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Buda, 3 April 1527

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 101r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 111–112.

1. *Informs Tomicki that having spent recent months partly in Pozsony with Queen Maria, partly in the castle of Dévény of János Bornemisza, he returned to Buda to the national assembly that Szapolyai announced. King John welcomed him knowing that he has always been working on peace. – 2. He learnt that both the Polish King and Tomicki intervened with John on his behalf, something for which he is tremendously grateful. – 3. Statileo will be in Poland in the near future; he can provide*

2 *post et: beneficium del.*

4 *post hoc: loq del.*

¹ The letter is undated, but since Brodarics writes about destruction on the territory of the Esztergom diocese, those are probably related to the Turkish campaign in 1526. Furthermore, the letter refers to Matthias Squaquara, whom the Esztergom chapter sent to Rome in March 1527. Brodarics had already sent word to Marsupino by Squaquara. Probably this letter was created at the same time as the other one to Marsupino.

² Autograph

³ The Nógrád archdeanship was part of the possessions of the Esztergom chapter.

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 132v–133v; BK 225 fol. 798–799; BJ 6550 fol. 417r–v; BCzart TN 40. fol. 145–146.

further information. He recommends Erasmus Gerlachowski and Antonio Salvia of Florence to Tomicki.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis commendationem et mille salutationes.

[1.] Ego ex Posonio, ubi per hos menses superiores apud maiestatem regialem, dominam meam gratiosissimam, partim vero in castro Deven, quod est domini Bornamyze,² fui, ad proximum regni conventum generalem redii a maiestate regia, domino meo gratiosissimo benigne exceptus, ut quem tunc quoque, cum Posonii essem, maiestas sua scit in nullam prorsus rem, quae aliquod regno incommodum afferre posset, intromisisse, qui pacis tantum ac mutuae amicitiae inter istas duas nationes, inter istos duos principes suasor fuerim. Qua de re et circa initia istarum divisionum scripseram, et nunc scribo prolixius ad reverendissimum dominum meum, dominum Premisliensem,³ ex quo supplico dignetur cetera cognoscere, quamvis non desint quaedam, quae litteris non videbantur committenda. Quibus cognitis nihil dubito, Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio consilium meum non improbabit.

[2.] Intellexi a maiestate regia istam sacram maiestatem domini nostri communis gratiosissimi, aliqua ei in meam commendationem nuntiasse.⁴ Scio haec cum a benignitate et clementia regia tum a Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis in me singulari amore et studio proficisci. Ago igitur eidem infinitas et quam maximas possum gratias, quae me inter etiam istas tot meas calamitates non desinit suo favore, sua gratia prosequi. Si Deus Optimus Maximus concesserit facultatem gratiam referendi et reservendi haec Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis in me merita, dabo operam, ut me experiatur non esse sibi ingratum servitorem. Quae, supplico humillime, non desinat etiam in posterum me gratia sua prosequi et tam ipsa per se quam commendatione regia me adiuvere et servitorem iacentem de tanto gradu, in quem ipsa me pro magna parte elevaverat, casu potius quodam quam culpa aliqua deiectum erigere. Alia ut praemisi ad dominum Premisliensem. Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem cupio optime valere.

Ex Buda 3. Aprilis 1527.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis humilis servitor
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis

² János Bornemisza (?–Pozsony, 7 October 1527) one of the most influential members of the Jagiello court, one of the tutors of Louis II. Treasurer between 1500–1504. Constable of Buda from 1506 till 1526. Comes of Pozsony from 1514 till his death. Bornemisza was a relentless opponent of János Szapolyai and supported Habsburg orientation.

³ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Przemyśl.

⁴ Even though we do not know the letter sent to John on behalf of Brodarics, there are examples for such letters of recommendation. Sigismund backs Miklós Gerendi who first joined Maria then tried to change sides. See: AT IX. 207–208.

- 30 [3.] Scriptis his nondum missis, missus est istuc dominus Statilius,⁵ a quo Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima uberius cognoscet rerum mearum et publicum etiam statum. Itidem etiam a domino Erasmo,⁶ quem uti fratrem optimum unice commendo. Negotium quoddam Antonii Salvia Florentini⁷ commendo supplex Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, quod ipse referet. Cogor esse importunus fortasse pro amicis.
35 Ignoscat mihi Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario Regni Poloniae etc. domino insuper colendissimo

87

István Brodarics to Andrzej Krzycki
Buda, 12 April 1527

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 104r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 125–126.

1. He has spent recent weeks in Dévény disgusted by the preparations he saw; and when he heard he was to be accused with treason at home he decided to return to Hungary. He told about his decision to Queen Maria and the councillors; he wanted to travel to Ferdinand but had no time left to do so. – 2. He asks Krzycki to relate his affairs to Tomicki and Szydłowiecki. He has been informed that Sigismund spoke up on his behalf to Szapolyai. He is grateful for the support and knows how much he owes to his Polish friends.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis commendationem et mille salutationes.

- [1.] Perscripseram circa initia istarum divisionum post cladem illam lamentabilem a nobis acceptam Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi omnem consiliorum meorum
5 rationem. Idem feci aliquot ante septimanis ex castro Deven,² quo me contuleram, pertaesus et abhorrens potius ab his rebus, quas impendere videbam. Perscripseram vero omnia vere, sincere et aperte. Et cum serenissimo etiam rege Ferdinando de rebus omnibus egeram valde ingenue et ita ut, quoties mihi liberet et id rebus patriae meae

⁵ Statileo was the legate sent to Olomouc. He was probably commissioned on the national assembly on 23–24 March, because at that time he was still in Buda. See: MOE I. 128.

⁶ Royal Secretary Erasmus Gerlachowski. He took the news of the lost battle to Cracow in early September 1526, together with Brodarics' letter dated 6 September. (See: AT VIII. 222.) In April 1527 he was staying in Buda again. On 5 April 1527 he handed the offer for Polish mediation at the prospective talks between Szapolyai and Ferdinand in Olomouc. (See AT IX. 128.)

⁷ No more data is available on Antonio Salvia of Florence. His name does not appear in other documents of Acta Tomiciana.

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 133v–134v; BK 225 fol. 799–801; BJ 6550 fol. 417v–418v; BCzart TN 40. fol. 153–156.

² We do not have this letter.

consultius esse existimarem, possem id facere, quod vellem, quippe qui rebus in omnibus nihil aliud fuerim secutus, nisi quod patriae ducerem esse conducibile, ne obolo quidem minimo vel a principe vel a reginali maiestate, domina mea gratiosissima unquam accepto. Qui cum postea et ius ac libertatem patriae nulli obnoxiae plenius cognovissem et sub perduellionis poena ad patriam revocarer,³ memor patriae, memor beneficiorum ab ea acceptorum, memor etiam maiestatem hanc regiam, dum in minore statu esset, rebus meis semper ex animo favisse,⁴ providens animo, quae ex his divisionibus et factionibus sequi possent, quae utinam non sequantur, memor etiam, quid ad me aliquando Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio multum certe vere et fraterne de rebus his scripserat, redii in eius gremium, quae me genuerat, quae aluerat, quae non parvis commodis et honoribus vestro potissimum patrocínio affecerat.

Expositis tamen prius coram maiestate reginali, domina mea clementissima, et coram dominis consiliariis suae maiestatis utriusque ordinis et nationis omnibus meis rationibus ac mea huiusmodi voluntate declarata parabam etiam, ut omnia mea negotia clariora essent, ad principem, tunc Pragae agentem, proficisci, sed brevitatis temporis non est passa.⁵

[2.] Res meae, Reverendissime et Carissime Domine, breviter in hunc modum se habent, quas cupio Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae et per eam dominis meis, domino palatino,⁶ et reverendissimo domino Cracoviensi,⁷ esse notas. De quibus dicit nonnulla dominus etiam Statilius,⁸ dominus et frater meus carissimus. Non dubito futuros, ut in talibus rebus quandoque evenire solet, qui aliter actiones meas interpretentur. Sed res ita se habet re vera, sicut praemisi.

Intellexi ab hac maiestate domini mei gratiosissimi maiestatem istam,⁹ similiter domini nostri communis gratiosissimi¹⁰ nonnulla in meam commendationem nuntiasset. Agnosco in hoc regiae maiestatis clementiam et benignitatem, agnosco Vestrarum etiam Dominationum in me singularem favorem. Si res nostrae, ut spero futurum, pacatiores fuerint, non dubito mihi commendationem huiusmodi plurimum profuturam. Deus optimus ita voluit, ut ego in omnibus et per omnia favore suae maiestatis et Vestrarum Dominationum adiuvaret ac sublevarer, nihilque mihi unquam obve-

27 post domino *suprascr. alia manu* Christophoro Schidlovicio

27 post domino *suprascr. alia manu* Tomicio episcopo

³ The invitation for the national assembly announced for March 1527 did not threaten those remaining absent with repercussions. However, the assembly declared those remaining loyal to Ferdinand unfaithful and their estates were to be confiscated. See: MOE I, 108.

⁴ We have no knowledge of previous support of Brodarics by Szapolyai.

⁵ Thus, he informed Ferdinand in writing. See the letter by Brodarics on 18 March 1527. More recently on Brodarics switching sides: KASZA Péter–PÁLFFY Géza, *Brodarics emlékkönyv. Egy különleges pártváltás a mohácsi csata után*, Budapest, 2011.

⁶ Krzysztof Szydlowiec

⁷ Piotr Tomicki

⁸ János Statileo (Statilius), Provost of Óbuda, travelled to Cracow in April 1527 for preparatory talks regarding the planned peace talks between representatives of Ferdinand and Szapolyai in Olomouc.

⁹ Hungarian King János Szapolyai.

¹⁰ Polish King Sigismund I.

nire prosperi posset, quod non semper recta a Vestris Dominationibus proficisceretur. Idem ergo Deus, qui hoc voluit, velit et efficiat, ut particulam saltem aliquam tot
40 meritorum, tantae in me gratiae reservare aliquando Vestris Dominationibus et inprimis
suae sacrae maiestati possim.

Supplico Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, dignetur per omnes occasiones
servitute meam humillimam in gratiam suae maiestatis commendare. Quousque
vivam, sum maiestatem suam et domum istam serenissimam non aliter culturus ac
45 serviturus, quam unus ex his, quos in suo regno procreatos fidelissimos habet. Nova,
quae hic habemus, ab eodem domino Statilio intelliget.

Me et mea servitia Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi humiliter commendo.
Quae optime valeat. Ex Buda XII Aprilis 1527.

50 Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis.

88

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [April 1527]

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 108r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 109–110.

He has learnt from Palatine Báthori's envoy and from letters and report of others how difficult the situation is in Hungary due to the strife that is the result of the double election of the King. This would be dangerous even in peace time let alone now when the Turkish Sultan threatens the country. Sigismund will do everything he can to settle the discord if a solution can be found that does not damage his dignity.

Reverendissime.

Cum magno animi mei dolore cum ex domino Alberto, spectabilis et magnifici
domini regni Hungariae palatini² nuntio, tum etiam ex multorum litteris et nuntiis
accepi, quo in cardine res regni Hungariae versentur, doleoque vehementer regnum hoc
5 tam clarum tamque inclitum in hanc calamitatem, quam omnes perspicimus, devenisse.
Quid enim ea scissione, quam ex duorum regum electione consequi necesse est, perniciosius
excogitari potest, aut quid periculosius? In summa omnium rerum tranquillitate ea
differentia ac dissensio intestina non periculosissima esse non posset, quid nunc
sperandum est tam potenti et tam immani hoste cervicibus imminente?

10 Deus Omnipotens summa sua misericordia fortassis talem pestem nobis avertet, sed
et regia maiestas domini nostri communis suo conatu et studio ad tantum dissidium
componendum non deerit, modo via et modus se offerrent, quibus id ex dignitate et

4 vehementer *correx* ex: vehementer vehementer

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 130v; BK 225 fol. 795–796; BJ 6550 fol. 415v; BCzart TN 40.
fol. 809–810.

² István Somlyói Báthori.

commodo fieri possit, tametsi sua maiestas nondum perspicere potest, quonam consilio id aggredi debeat.³

- 15 Sed utcumque res ceciderit, ego Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram veteri [!] benevolentia prosequi et rebus atque fortunis eius pro virili mea adesse non cessabo. Datum. (1527. Aprilis)

89

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, late April 1527¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 8. fol. 12r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 208–209.

1. He has learnt from Statileo that Brodarics has returned to Szapolyai in Hungary. He is certain that this will bring Brodarics honour and he will regain his position in the court. – 2. They are sorry to hear that nothing can stop Ferdinand from taking arms against Hungary; they, on their part, do their best to take care of Hungary and the fate of their friends there.

- [1.] Cum ex oratore serenissimi domini regis vestri, domino Statilio³ intellexissem Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram quasi ex tempestate et naufragio ad portum sic ad patriam suam Hungariam rediisse, pro summo et incredibili amore, quo eam iam pridem prosequer, dici vix potest, quanta laetitia fuerim perfusus, quantumque ei
5 sum gratulatus, ita enim animus praesagit hoc factum Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis magnae laudi et gloriae ei olim futurum, indeque illam (praesertim apud regem istum sapientissimum) facile locum et dignitatem suam brevi recuperaturam esse.⁴

- [2.] Quamquam hic non sine summo dolore nostro animadvertimus, praeclarissimo isti regno iterum bellum imminere, neque serenissimum dominum Ferdinandum regem
10 abduci posse,⁵ quin armis aliquid tentet, inde veremur, ne rursus aliquo incommodo afficiamini. Itaque vehementissime cupimus vicino nobis regno et amicis nostris, quos istic habemus, rebusque eorum quam diligentissime esse prospectum atque consultum, quod quidem prudentia providentiaque serenissimi domini vestri regis consiliario-

³ Perhaps Tomicki refers to the peace talks planned in Olomouc that had been agreed upon by the two kings by Polish mediation in April. The talks began in June.

¹ This is probably a direct answer to letters from Brodarics in early April.

² Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 98r–v; BK 225 fol. 801; BJ 6550 fol. 418v; BCzart TN 38. fol. 645–646; BCzart TN 40. fol. 1063–1064.

³ János Statileo (Statilius) went to Cracow in April 1527, in preparation for the Olomouc talks. Brodarics referred to this in his letter on 3 April.

⁴ Since Brodarics spent half a year in Pozsony after the defeat at Mohács, Szapolyai appointed Werbőczy, who belonged to the opposite camp, as Chancellor in his place.

⁵ Szapolyai and Ferdinand agreed just in April that, in order to avoid armed conflict they would enter talks in Olomouc in June under the patronage of Sigismund. But Ferdinand just wanted to gain time for recruiting an army. In July 1527 he attacked Szapolyai indeed.

rumque eius atque ita et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae, divina primum clem-
15 mentia favente obvenire non dubitamus.

Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram optime et felicissime valere cupimus, eiusque fraterno amori me commendo.

90

Ferenc Frangepán¹ and István Brodarics to Sigismund I²
Lemberg, 9 October 1527

Manuscript used: GStA PK, HBA, Polen B2, K. 350, fol. 27–28.³

Published: *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XXXIV*. Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Poloniam spectantia, pars IV. Edidit: Carolina LANCKORŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 100–101.

1. King John sent Brodarics and Frangepán to Lemberg, but they cannot yet go on, because they are waiting for further instruction from Szapolyai. – 2. When they left the camp of John near Muhi, Ferdinand's army stationed nearby. They would learn later that the Hussars cut down or captured many enemy soldiers in a night raid. – 3. John's troops almost won in a subsequent battle, when John decided to wait for the approaching auxiliary forces and went to a safer place. – 4. Since a German captive damaged the bridge of boats on the Tisza river, a part of John's army could not cross; however, the cavalry is intact.

Sacra Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine nobis Clementissime. Post servitutis nostrae humillimae debitam commendationem.

[1.] Venimus huc Leopolim⁴ ex voluntate regiae maiestatis domini nostri gratiosissimi. Unde recta ad Vestram Maiestatem profecti fuissetis, sed exspectamus adhuc
5 a maiestate regia certas instructiones.⁵ Quae ubi advenerint, statim iter nostrum versus Vestram Maiestatem prosequemur.

[2.] Quo in statu sint res regiae maiestatis, licet existimemus nihil Vestram Maiestatem latere, duximus tamen et ipsi, quae nobis constant Vestrae Maiestati facere nota. Eo tempore, quo nos a sua maiestate in castris prope oppidum Mohy existenti sumus

¹ Ferenc Frangepán of Cetin (around 1483–1543), Chamberlain of Vladislaus II. Took part in a pilgrimage to Rome in 1514, joined the Minorite Franciscans in 1515. Archbishop of Kalocsa (1526–1534). Comes of Bács county (1526–1534), Bishop of Eger (1535–1543). Diplomat of King John I, a frequent fellow-envoy of Brodarics. After Szapolyai's death he switched to the side of Ferdinand, where he could keep his titles as Bishop of Eger and Comes of Heves, and became one of the King's councillors. More on his life: SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Frangepán Ferencz, kalocsai érsek, egri püspök*, Századok, 1917, 429–576.

² Chancellor Szydłowiecki forwarded the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán to Prussian Prince Albrecht on 3 November 1527.

³ Contemporary replica.

⁴ Lemberg (Lwów, today: Lviv, Ukraine).

⁵ Brodarics and Frangepán were possibly waiting for instructions because just one day after their departure (around 26 September) Szapolyai lost a battle at Tokaj, and this could have modified the mission's chances and objectives.

10 digressi,⁶ exercitus regis Bohemiae⁷ a castris suae maiestatis non procul distabat. Certiores postea facti sumus primum de prima nostrorum militum levis armaturae in castra hostium irruptione noctu facta, ubi plurimi hostium caesi, multi etiam capti et ad maiestatem regiam perducti fuerunt. Commeatus, quem rex Bohemiae suis mittebat, interceptus fuit.

15 [3.] Non multis deinde interiectis diebus certiores sumus facti tunc, cum iam nos itineri versus Vestram Maiestatem accingeremus, nostros rursus in castra hostium, quae iam non nisi medio miliari a castris regiis ad Tokay in ripa Ticiae positae distabant, nocturna irruptione facta ingentem ibi stragem edidisse capitaneo regis Bohemiae, ut intelleximus, uno potiore in ipso tentorio oppresso atque interfecto, tormentis bellicis
20 per nostros, qui irruptionem fecerant, in terram proiectis, ut hosti tunc usui nequaquam esse possent, denique hoste illo impetu ita non solum consternato et afflicto, sed paene in totum oppresso, ut victoria in manu nostrorum fuerit, et hostis fugam iam sine dubio medicaretur, nisi nostri, nescimus adhuc quo consilio aut qua subita de causa, sese in castra hostium recipere coepissent. Quo viso hostes, resumpto paululum animo, cum
25 ad castra regia cum tormentis bellicis et universo apparatu contendere coepissent, maiestas regia non sibi cum hoste, praesertim tormentis bellicis adeo bene instructo manus temere conserendas rata, sed satius esse existimans auxilia Transilvaniensia, Transalpina aliorumque locorum in loco securiore expectare, cum per fluvium Ticiae, quem ob similem necessitatem, si qua forte ingrueret, ponte fecerat iungi, exercitum
30 traduceret. Pons fuit interceptus opera, ut intelleximus, ac fraude unius ex captivis Germanicis ad exhauriendam aquam e navibus, quae pontem sustinebant, adhibitis, qui unam ex navibus illis perforaverat.

[4.] Rupto igitur ponte aliqua pars exercitus regii, quae nondum fluvium transiverat, maxime rustici, qui circum ea loca habitantes arma et ipsi capere fuerant iussi, fluvium
35 traicere nequivere. Quos tamen et ipsos intelleximus manus hostiles magna ex parte evasisse copiasque regias, praesertim equestres, omnes esse salvas.⁸ Res, ut ab illis, qui rem oculis viderant, et a domino etiam Ioanne Statilio,⁹ qui ad nos diverterat, accepimus, in hunc modum se habent. Quae, quamvis non multum dubitarem, ad Vestram Maiestatem perlata, volumus tamen eidem his etiam nostris litteris signifi-
40 care, quae dignetur pro suo singulari in serenissimum regem Hungariae, filium suum, dominum nostrum gratiosissimum amore ac pietate ita rebus illius consulere, ut ille possit consilio, prudentia, auctoritate, ope Vestrae Maiestatis regnum sibi et Vestrae Maiestati incolume conservare et ab hostibus defendere.

Nos, ut praemisimus, nunc hic Leopoli, quo heri appulimus, exspectamus a maie-

16 *post rursus: noctu del.*

⁶ Brodarics and Frangepán, then, must have left King John's camp shortly before 26 September.

⁷ The usual terminology of the Szapolyai camp: Ferdinand Habsburg is referred to as Czech King.

⁸ For a description of the battle from a Habsburg perspective, see: Caspar Ursinus VELIUS, *De bello Pannonico*, Vindobonae, 1762, 22–24. See also Tomicki's letter to Luca de Górká on 21 October 1527 (AT IX. 320–321.). The description of the battle in the letter is doubtlessly based on the text by Brodarics. Whole sentences are included.

⁹ Provost of Óbuda János Statileo (Statilius).

45 state regia novas instructiones, quae ubi advenerint, iter nostrum versus Vestram
Maiestatem continuabimus. Interim nos ac servitia nostra in gratiam Vestrae Sacratissimae
Maiestatis humiliter commendamus. Quam Deus felicem, victorem incolumemque
conservet.

Ex Leopoli, 9. Octobris anno Domini millesimo DXXVII.

50 Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

servitores et humillimi capellani
frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis.

*On the outer side: Sacrae Regiae Maiestati Poloniae, magno duci Lithuaniae etc., domino
nostro clementissimo*

91

István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to Sigismund I
Gorliczina, 6 November 1527

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 161r-v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 324–325.

1. They wrote to Sigismund earlier that they have arrived in Lemberg but were waiting for certain information from King John. John ordered them to visit Jan Tarnowski and ask for 1000 cavalymen and 500 foot-soldiers as well as for Captain Zbigniew Słupecki with 500 archers. However, Tarnowski cannot do anything without the King's permission, so now they are asking Sigismund to allow his subjects, even captains, to enter service of Szapolyai freely, because there is a need for experienced officers. – 2. Szapolyai writes that Transylvanians received him cordially when he was in Várad and will do everything to support and help him. Radić and the Serbs also remained loyal to him. – 3. Szapolyai was doing well in Slavonia too, until his commander there, Kristóf Frangepán, died in an unfortunate manner in the siege of Varasd. – 4. It is said that the Voivod of Wallachia also supports the King with money and troops, so not all hope has been lost. – 5. King John sent Łaski to Venice, but he is travelling via Constantinople.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine nobis Clementissime. Servitutis nostrae perpetuae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Scripsimus ad Vestram Maiestatem his diebus² nos venisse Leopolim³ missos a regia maiestate, domino nostro gratiosissimo ad Vestram Maiestatem, sed expectare
5 novas suae maiestatis informationes. Post illud igitur tempus his demum diebus accepimus litteras a sua maiestate, in quibus scribit, se sine mora missurum ad nos ipsas informationes una cum collega⁴ nobis ad hanc legationem adiungendo, et simul

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 71–72; BK 220 fol. 48r–49r; BJ 6551 fol. 77–79; BCzart TN 40. fol. 619–621.

² See the previous letter.

³ Lemberg (Lwow, today: Lviv, Ukraine).

⁴ Mikołaj Wilczek. See: AT IX. 317.

etiam committit nobis sua maiesas in iisdem litteris, ut statim litteris illis suae maiestatis receptis adiremus magnificum dominum Ioannem comitem de Tharnovo, palatinum Russiae, Vestrae Maiestatis praefectum,⁵ hortaremurque ipsum nomine suae maiestatis, ut mitteret quamprimum ad suam maiestatem mille equites et pedites quingentos cum suis ductoribus,⁶ item dominum Sbigneum Slwpeczky, capitaneum Sokaliensem cum sagittariis quingentis.

Nos itaque acceptis his litteris cum ad ipsum dominum Ioannem venissemus et ei voluntatem regiae maiestatis exposuissemus. Dixit sibi id nullo modo licere facere sine expressa Vestrae Maiestatis permissione, et Vestrae Maiestatis annuentiam esse super hoc requirendam et impetrandam.⁷ Supplicamus igitur Vestrae Maiestati, eamque nomine maiestatis regiae, domini nostri gratiosissimi oramus, dignetur annuere, ut quicumque ex Vestrae Maiestatis subditis voluerint ad servitia praefati domini nostri gratiosissimi proficisci, liceat eis id cum gratia Vestrae Maiestatis facere, etiam si capitanei forent. Nam sua maiestas scribit ad nos se capitaneo quoque perito indigere. Dignetur autem Vestra Maiestas id tempestive annuere, quia maiestas domini nostri nos pro his gentibus et capitaneis multum sollicitat. Quicquid Vestra Maiestas in favorem domini nostri fecerit, sumus certissimi maiestatem suam id officiis omnibus, quibus poterit, Vestrae Maiestati cumulate repensuram. Venissemus nos ipsi pro hac re ad Vestram Maiestatem, sed non iudicavimus conveniens Vestram Maiestatem adire, nisi habitis ante illis informationibus et collega, de quo maiestas sua ad nos scribit.

[2.] De statu suo maiestas regia scribit nobis, se, cum Varadini esset, et precibus Transsilvanensium et aliis quibusdam de causis Transsilvaniam ingredi coactam,⁸ ibique ab omnibus ordinibus gratiosissimo animo exceptam, promissaque ei omnia ad praesentem suae maiestatis usum necessaria, neque praetermissuros quicquam Trans-

⁵ We know from Łaski's letter to Jan Tarnowski on 18 October 1527 (AT IX. 317.) that Frangepán and Brodaries were supposed to visit Tarnowski first in connection to the issue of auxiliary troops. They were to go on to the national assembly in Piotrków only after Wilczek joined them.

⁶ We know from Łaski's letter that John expected the following captains to arrive: leader of the group Przecław Lanckoroński with 300 cavalrymen, Stanisław Balicki with 200, Wawrzyniec Ciołek with 130, Marcin Chodowski with 130, Kasper Kaczowski with 130, and Andrzej Trojanowski with 110 cavalrymen, and Lambert Gnójeński with 200, Jan Chostkowiec with 150, and Jerzy Krzycki with 150 foot-soldiers. See: AT IX. 317. See also WINCZURA, *Hetman hetmanów...* 66.

⁷ Sigismund, in an attempt to stay out from the war between Ferdinand and John and to prove his neutrality, issued a decree on the summer of 1527 and forbade Polish soldiers to join armies abroad as mercenaries. (Compare: AT IX. 228.) The decree affected Szapolyai gravely, since he counted on military aid from Poland. In fact, Sigismund did not hinder recruitment informally. He informs Piotr Kmita in a letter in early September that he can take auxiliary troops to King John if he wants, his only condition is that *nobis irrequisitis et insciis id faciat*, i.e. that he, the King does not know about it officially. (Compare: AT IX. 283.)

⁸ Szapolyai had to pacify Saxons prompted to riot by Ferdinand's agents in Transylvania which was seen as a very important hinterland.

silvanenses, quod ab eis fieri possit pro statu suae maiestatis conservando et amissis recuperandis. Rhadyth etiam cum Rascianis manere in officio.⁹

[3.] In Slavonia praeterea negotia suae maiestatis optime processisse usque ad obitum domini comitis Christophori de Frangepanibus, illarum partium praefecti et suae maiestatis capitanei, quem scribit sua maiestas, dum arcem Varasdiensem in Slavonia sitam incautius contempletur, ictum esse pixide in die Sancti Cosmae et Damiani¹⁰ ac sequenti die exspirasse ingenti suae maiestatis et dolore et detrimento. Illi tamen provinciae, ne quid ibi damni sua maiestas accipiat, sese diligenter providere. Haec sunt, quae ex litteris regiis habemus.

[4.] Intelligimus etiam waywodam Transalpinensem¹¹ tam pecuniis quam gentibus maiestatem suam iuvare, nec adhuc desperandum est, Princeps Clementissime, Deo potissimum, qui iustissimus est, auctore atque adiutore, iustitiam suae maiestatis ex toturbationibus ac tenebris in claram lucem cum magna suae maiestatis gloria erupturam.

[5.] Illud pene omiseramus dominum Hieronymum de Lasko,¹² palatinum Siradiensem Venetias per suam maiestatem missum, facturum tamen iter per Constantinopolim.¹³ Nostram humillimam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis supplices commendamus. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem ac sospitem.

Ex Gorlychyna, VI Novembris MDXXVII.

⁹ Bosić Radić fled to Hungary in the years before Mohács and was a sloop captain in Pétervárad. He joined Szapolyai after Mohács and became one of his commanders. There were many Serbs in Bosić's army who had once fought with Crni Jovan. Ferdinand wanted to lure him over unsuccessfully in 1527. He was not inclined to change sides in the following year either. In that year he successfully defended the Temesköz region against Péter Perényi and Bálint Török. On his activities after Mohács, see: BARTA Gábor, *Egy elfelejtett hadszíntér 1526-1528*, Történelmi Szemle, 1995, 1-33.

¹⁰ Kristóf Frangepán, a famous mercenary commander and unconditional devotee of Szapolyai. He died on 27 September 1527 during the siege of Varasd. The death of the outstanding soldier was a grave loss for Szapolyai as his positions in Slavonia suffered.

¹¹ V. Radu (Radu de la Afumați) Voivod of Wallachia, was under Szapolyai's obligation who helped him to win back his throne from his younger brother Radu VI, who was backed by the Turks, in 1524. Accordingly, unlike Voivod of Moldova Petru Rareș, he supported Szapolyai and persevered with him in spite of the fact that Ferdinand tried to lure him over in November 1527. See the report of Ferdinand's envoy Stephan Clyntschyts: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 153-154.

¹² Hieronymus Łaski entered the service of King John in the first half of 1527. Sigismund reports in his letter to Joannes Dantiscus that Łaski asked for his permission to go to Loreto in order to repent some sins of his. Having got the permission he did not go on pilgrimage, however, but to Hungary and there he joined Szapolyai, allegedly without Sigismund's knowledge or approval. (Compare: AT IX. 250.)

¹³ In fact, Szapolyai sent Łaski exactly to negotiate with the Sultan, so Venice as destination is given to divert attention. Łaski wrote to Tarnowski already in October that John may turn to someone with turban on his head if he does not get help from crowned rulers. (Compare: AT IX. 317.) On Łaski's negotiations in Istanbul in detail, see: BARTA Gábor, *Két tárgyalás Sztambulban. Hieronymus Łaski tárgyalása a töröknél János király nevében. Habardanecz János jelentése 1528. nyári sztambuli tárgyalásairól*, Budapest, 1996.

On the back side: Sacratissimae regiae maiestati Poloniae, magno duci Lytvaniae, Prussiae, Russiae, Mazoviae, domino ac heredi etc., domino nostro clementissimo.

92

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Jan Tarnowski
Lemberg, 11 November 1527

Manuscript used: BN T. 7. fol. 165r.¹
Published: Acta Tomiciana IX. 329–330.

1. Wilczek also arrived in Lemberg on 10 November; he was immediately sent to Tarnowski, so he will be informed in detail from Wilczek. – 2. Statileo is waiting in Munkács with the soldiers' pay. John wants even more soldiers, 2000 cavalrymen, 500 foot soldiers, and 500 archers. – 3. John wrote to Przecław Lanckoroński, too, and urged him to join him with 1000 Lithuanians, and also to Ostafim Daszkiewicz to bring the Tatars. In their opinion these cannot arrive in time.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Observandissime. Salutem ac nostri commendationem.

[1.] Postquam Leopolim a Dominatione Vestra Magnifica digressi venimus, sequenti die, qui fuit decima praesentis, applicuit et is dominus Nicolaus Vylczek,² collega
5 noster missus a serenissimo domino nostro, et quia res maiestatis suae urgent, misimus eum ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, ex quo clarius omnia intelliget. Cuius
verbis fidem veli adhibere indubiam.

[2.] In Mukacz³ est iam dominus Statilius cum pecuniis militibus erogandis, et scripsit
ad nos de voluntate maiestatis suae, ut hinc expeditio citissime fieret. Rogamus nomine
10 maiestatis domini nostri Vestram Dominationem Magnificam, ut omnem operam suam
impendat, ut milites proficiscantur quamprimum bono modo, et si qui pecuniis egerent,
Dominatio Vestra provideat, quia nos nullas ad hoc pecunias a regia maiestate habemus,
et mittat hominem suum ad Mukach, qui repetat illa a domino Statilio, quae hic erunt

⁴ Vylczek corr. alia manu ex Wilczek
⁸ Mukacz corr. alia manu ex Mukach

¹¹ isti del. suprascr. milites

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 214 fol. 175r–v; BK 225 fol. 933–934; BJ 6550 fol. 503r–v; BCzart TN 40. fol. 627–628.

² Mikołaj Wilczek, Polish diplomat in the service of King John.

³ Munkács (today: Mukacheve, Ukraine). In fact, Statileo was waiting for Polish auxiliary forces in Homonna. (Compare: AT IX. 328–329.)

exposita ad negotia maiestatis suae.⁴ Summa militum ascendit altius: vult enim maiestas sua duo milia equitum, quingentos sagittarios et quingentos pedites. Dominatio Vestra Magnifica nunc, cum tempus est, operetur pro sua maiestate cumulatissimas gratias et praemia, Deo volente, a sua maiestate habitura.

[3.] Misit autem sua maiestas iterum litteras domino Preczslao,⁵ ut cum mille Lithwanis vadat ad servitia suae maiestatis, non tamen capitaneus generalis, similiter et domino Eustachio,⁶ ut cum duobus milibus Tartarorum veniat ad servitia suae maiestatis. Tamen isti non ita cito poterunt venire, iudicio nostro, ut primae irruptioni possent interesse. Dominatio Vestra Magnifica mittat huc hominem suum, qui istas gentes videat, secernat, ordinet et mittat, nam regia maiestas nobis praecepit, ne hinc discederemus, quousque hae gentes se moveant versus suam maiestatem. Dominationem Vestram bene valere optamus, cui nos commendamus.

Ex civitate Leopoliensi 11. Novembris 1527.

deditissimi
frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus
et Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis

On the back side: Spectabili et magnifico domino, Ioanni Amor, comiti de Tarnovo, palatino Russiae etc., regni Poloniae supremo capitaneo, domino et amico observandissimo.

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István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to János Szapolyai
Lemberg, 24 November 1527

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 7. Konv. A, fol. 33–34.

Published: Władisław POCIECHA, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557) vol. II*, Poznań, 1949, 447–449.

1. Mikołaj Wilczek held negotiations with Jan Tarnowski in recent days concerning the auxiliary troops to be sent to Szapolyai; however, since Sigismund forbade recruiting, now they are heading for the national assembly in Piotrków to get the Polish King's approval. – 2. Since John has the whole winter to recruit an army, they would prefer not to urge the arrival of the auxiliary troops so that all could arrive at the same time. – 3. John should send money for recruitment to Lemberg or elsewhere, because Tarnowski can pay only 2–3000 Forints, which is not enough for the soldiers' pay. – 3. Jakub Seczygniewski, recommended by Tarnowski, is willing to serve John if he gets permission from Sigismund and money from John. – 4. Piotr Kmita has learnt in Moldova that the Sultan's army was defeated in Persia twice. Still, the Sultan is planning a military campaign for next year: perhaps against Hungary. – 5. They hope that all this will be arranged by

18 Preslao del. suprascr. Przeczslao.

21 post ut: isti del.

⁴ Regarding this see Statileo's two letters to Jan Tarnowski on 8 and 9 November 1527 (AT IX. 328–329.). In these he, too, urges the auxiliary troops to arrive and assures Tarnowski that he has enough money for the soldiers' pay.

⁵ Przecław Lanckoroński, Constable of Chmielnik, commander of the Polish troops that supported John. See also the notes for the previous letter.

⁶ Ostafim Daszkiewicz. See also: WINCZURA, *Hetman hetmanów...* 66–67.

Christmas, because that would leave enough time for John to drive out the enemy from the country in the winter. – 6. Szapolyai should send couriers so that they can keep him informed. They are running out of money and cannot pay messengers. – 7. It is said that Ferdinand could not be crowned because Péter Perényi did not find the Crown in the chest where it is kept. They ask Szapolyai to inform them more often because without certain information they cannot be of use to him. – 8. It is also said that after his unpaid mercenaries returned to Germany, Ferdinand left Buda and returned to Pozsony. They certainly need to know about such pieces of news.

Sacra Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine nobis Gratosissime. Servitutis et fidelitatis nostrae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] His diebus fecimus Vestram Maiestatem certiore de omnibus, quae per nos acta fuerant, praesertim apud dominum Tharnoviensem. Inter cetera scripseramus profectum fuisse ad dominum Tharnoviensem¹ collegam nostrum, dominum Nicolaum Vylchek,² ut cum eo tractaret de gentibus, quas Vestra Maiestas habere cupit, celerius expediendis. Qui cum hodie ad nos rediisset, attulit nobis litteras serenissimi domini regis Poloniae, quas in specie ad Vestram Maiestatem mittimus, ex quibus intelliget Vestra Maiestas, quid obstat, quo minus gentes ipsae ante hanc dietam proximam mitti nullo modo possint.³ Nos tum pro hoc tum pro aliis, quae nobis per Vestram Maiestatem sunt commissa, vadimus ad maiestatem regiam, quam, ut dominus Tharnoviensis significavit, in Petrkow reperiemus et ad dietam, ubi dabimus omnem operam, ut Vestra Maiestas efficiatur voti compos, et iuxta illa, quae saepe intelleximus a domino Ioanne Statilio etiam coram Vestra Maiestate. Speramus maiestatem regiam desiderio Vestrae Maiestatis satisfacturam. Nisi quis malus daemon hoc quoque interturbaverit. Sed quicquid efficere poterimus, de eo statim Vestram Maiestatem faciemus certiore. Nos iuxta mandatum Vestrae Maiestatis libenter hic mansissemus tamdiu, quoad copias has ad Vestram Maiestatem misissemus, sed videt Vestra Maiestas, quid obstat.

[2.] Quaecumque causa movet Vestram Maiestatem in his gentibus adeo accelerandis, domino Tharnoviensi videretur longe convenientius, quod Vestra Maiestas in tantum non properaret. Si rex Ferdinandus, prout hic intelligimus, gentes suas dimisit, vel dimittere est coactus, iam hac hieme ipse eas levare non poterit. Vestra Maiestas habet adhuc integros III menses, Decembrem, Ianuarium, Februarium et fortasse etiam totum Martium, per quos vix esset possibile Ferdinandum levare gentes suas dimissas. Melius erit, ut istae gentes omnes simul et semel possint ad Vestram Maiestatem venire, si id a maiestate regia impetrari poterit.

Existimarem etiam Vestrae Maiestati expectandum esse congelationem Danubii. Nescimus, quo posset aliter eum traicere vel hosti nocere.

[3.] Illud etiam meminerit Vestra Maiestas, quod et proximis litteris ad eam perscripsimus pecuniis esse opus. Quantum a domino Vylchek intelligimus, dominus Tharnovi-

9 ad del. *suprascr.* ante

¹ Jan Tarnowski.

² According to the previous letter, Wilczek left Lemberg to have talks with Tarnowski on 11 November.

³ The enclosure mentioned did not survive, but it is presumably the decree of Sigismund that banned recruitment. See: AT IX. 228.

ensis potest quidem duo vel III milia florenorum exponere pro Vestra Maiestate, sed non amplius. Hoc autem ad tantum gentium numerum conducendum nihil est vel certe valde parum. Pecuniae possunt huc ad Leopolum vel ad alium locum, qui Vestrae
35 Maiestati videbitur, tutissime venire, et ita Vestra Maiestas erit magis certa de gentibus. Quia isti, cum quibus hic locuti sumus, volunt omnino pecunias paratas, et idem credimus de aliis.

[3.] Alter ex illis, quos dominus Tharnoviensis nobis laudaverat pro belli ductoribus, Iacobus videlicet Seczygniewzky⁴ miserat ad nos: paratus est ad servitia Vestrae
40 Maiestatis dummodo detur ei potestas a rege suo et pecuniae a Vestra Maiestate. Cum quo et cum omnibus aliis tractabimus in Petrkow. Sed Vestra Maiestas habeat curae pecunias.

[4.] Marsalcus⁵ regni Poloniae fuit his diebus apud nos. Rediit ex Moldavia, quo eum maiestas regia miserat. Is nobis narravit se, cum in Moldavia esset, pro certo
45 intellexisse copias caesaris Turcarum, quas contra Sophy et contra Georgianos miserat quingenta hominum milia bis esse profligatas duce Ibraym bassa,⁶ parare tamen caesarem in annum proximum maximam expeditionem. Nescitur contra quem, putatur ab aliquibus contra Hungariam. Quod non est vero absimile.

[5.] Existimamus omnia ista posse ordinari usque ad festum Nativitatis, et sic Vestra
50 Maiestas haberet satis, supra quam satis temporis ad hostem regno expellendum, donec ipse posset vires suas contrahere, quia non credat Vestra Maiestas in frigore hiberno ei Germanos auxilio venturos, neque suos lancznetos in campis tunc duraturos. Itaque Vestra Maiestas omnibus his et similibus diligenter consideratis etiam atque etiam videat, quid sit ei faciendum.

55 [6.] Vestra Maiestas mittat ad nos servitores suos, per quos possimus eam facere certiore de rebus occurrentibus, sicut fecit tempore legationis sive conventus Olomuncensis. Nobis desunt expensae pro nostra etiam ipsorum sustentatione, tantum abest, ut cursores et tabellarios possimus nostro aere alere. Alter nostrum iam penitus expilavit sororem viduam,⁷ alter tum clade Mohachensi tum aliis de causis et etiam ob non par-

36 *post isti: de del.*

⁴ Jakub Seczygniewski signed on with Szapolyai indeed. Tomicki has to find excuses for the Polish soldier's deeds in 2 letters in late March 1528. He says the decree that prohibited foreign service did not reach Seczygniewski before the latter joined Szapolyai. (Compare: AT X. 167–168.) Szapolyai sends Captain Seczygniewski to Sigismund in legation in December 1529. (Compare: AT XI. 319–322.)

⁵ Piotr Kmita.

⁶ Riots broke out in the spring of 1527 lead by Kalender Chelebi in the Kirshehir sandjak in Anatolia. A large crowd joined them including Turkmen tribes. The Sultans sent 3000 janissaries and 2000 spahis against the rebels under the command of Grand Vizier Ibrahim. But before Ibrahim reached the location, Kalender Chelebi's army completely destroyed the troops of Begler Bey of Anatolia Behram. Ibrahim, however, won Turkmen leaders over by donating estates to them, and then defeated Kalender Chelebi in June. Perhaps these events are reflected in the news of Kmita. See more on this: KÁLDY-NAGY Gyula, *Szulejmán...* 84–87.

⁷ Katalin Frangepán, the sister of Ferenc, was the widow of Comes of Ugocsa Gábor Perényi (1520–1526) who died at Mohács. She supported Benedek Komjáti in publishing Saint Paul's letters in Hungarian translation.

60 vas expensas ab eo tempore, quo ad Vestram Maiestatem ex Deven rediit factas,⁸ ne obolo quidem per hoc tempus a Vestra Maiestate habito, est in extremam paupertatem ac mendicitatem redactus. Cui ad alia mala illud quoque accessit, quod invalidus est, et tam stomachi quam laterum doloribus aeger admodum.

[7.] Hic dictum est his diebus pro re certa Ferdinandum coronari non potuisse, 65 quod corona per Petrum Periny⁹ non fuerit in cistella, qua servabatur, reperta.¹⁰ Dicta sunt et alia pleraque nunc prospera nunc adversa. Non deberemus nos ignorare, quae in regno Hungariae aguntur et maxime Budae. Si Vestra Maiestas vult nos sibi aliquid servire, milies diximus Vestrae Maiestati istud esse praecipuum, licet minimo constet in rebus magnis gerendis: propter amorem Dei habeamus nova frequentia de statu 70 rerum et certa pro certis, incerta pro incertis, alioquin errabimus semper in tenebris, et Vestrae Maiestati parum commodi haec nostra servitus afferre poterit.

[8.] Dictum est etiam Ferdinandum militibus eius fere omnibus ob non solutionem in Germaniam reversis, Buda relictam Posonium concessisse.¹¹ Videat Deus, si talia tali tempore dum ad tam insignem conventum et tantum Vestrae Maiestati importantem 75 vadimus, ignorare deberemus. Ignoscat nobis Vestra Maiestas.

Nos ac servitutem nostram humillimam in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis semper supplices commendamus. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et sanam.

Ex Leopoli 24. Novembris 1527.

Vestrae Maiestatis

80 humillimi servuli et capellani
frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis

On the back side: Sacrae Regiae Maiestati Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae etc., domino nobis gratiosissimo.

65 *post* potuisse: ob *del.*

⁸ Brodaries travelled from Dévény to Buda in March 1527 where he entered the service of Szapolyai.

⁹ Péter Perényi was Keeper of the Crown between 1519–1529.

¹⁰ This information is false. Ferdinand was crowned on 3 November 1527 in Székesfehérvár with the Saint Crown.

¹¹ In fact, Ferdinand stayed in Buda until March 1528.

Sigismund I to István Brodarics¹
[Piotrków], [second half of January 1528]²

Manuscript used: BK 220 fol. 51r.³

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 65–66.

The King is happy to see that Brodarics has recovered and appeared in front of him. For all he told as a message from King John he will get a response soon together with his colleagues.

Sacra maiestas regia, Reverendissime Domine, notam habens virtutem et merita Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quae non solum erga serenissimum olim nepotem suum, dominum Ludovicum, Hungariae et Bohemiae regem, sed etiam erga maiestatem regiam suam cum Romae,⁴ tum vero alibi exhibuit, et indoluit ex
5 animo eius adversae valetudini, quae illi in regno suo contigerat,⁵ et rursus videt libentissime Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam convaluisse et tandem huc ad se venisse. Quae autem nomine serenissimi domini regis Hungariae retulit, audi-
vit et intellexit abunde omnia sua maiestas et brevi, cum paululum adhuc super
his deliberaverit, Vestrae Dominationi et aliis dominis collegis⁶ eius respondere
10 dignabitur.

9 deliberaverit: deliberabit BJ 6551

¹ In the BJ manuscript we read the following note by Górski before the text: *Brodericus aegritudine in itinere in Polonia correptus Leopoli substiterat et non potuit simul cum Colocensi et Verbetio ad regem venire. Convalescens tandem venit ad collegas Petrcoviam, et regem salutavit, et hoc responsum accepit.*

² Mikołaj Nipszycz says in a letter to Prussian Prince Albrecht on 18 January 1528 that Brodarics has arrived at Piotrków. See Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA (ed.), *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XLVI. Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Polonia spectantia*, Romae, 1979, 32.

³ Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 83; BCzart TN 42. fol. 563, 565.

⁴ Brodarics stayed in Rome between 1522–25 as an envoy of King Louis II. In this period he made arrangements in numerous cases for the Polish ruler too.

⁵ Frangepán and Brodarics sent a letter to Szapolyai from Lemberg on 24 November 1527. According to Logschau's report, only Frangepán appeared in Piotrków in early December. (Compare: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 7., Konv. B, fol. 23–25.)

⁶ To Ferenc Frangepán and János Statileo.

Response of Sigismund I to István Brodarics and
 Ferenc Frangepán¹
 Piotrków, 20 February 1528

Manuscript used: BK 220 fol. 51v–52v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 97–98.

1. Sigismund does not forget that they are relatives with John, nor the common fate of the two countries. However, there is no way for him to give help to John, because on the one hand the Turks and the Tatars threaten his country too, on the other hand currently Hungary has two kings, and if Sigismund helped one of them it would seem like a hostile act towards the other. – 2. Thus, he decided to assist neither of them in their war but he is ready to support both for peace. – 3. He requests the envoys to excuse him with their King. He asks John to consider his own power against a Turkish attack. – 4. John should try to figure out the conditions for peace so that they can set out against the Turks together. Sigismund gives all support for this. – 5. Brodarics and his companions should try to convince John that he should strive for peace by all means and he should not resort to means unworthy of a Christian ruler.

[1.] Sacra maiestas regia, Reverendissimi Domini, meminit quidem necessitudinis et affinitatis, quae illi cum serenissimo domino Ioanni Hungariae rege intercedit, meminit item communium foederum horum regnorum, considerat plane quod fortuna et successus unius regni communis esse videtur utriusque, ac proinde cupit et optat ex
 5 animo maiestas sua regia, ut ipsi serenissimo domino regi et regno Hungariae omnia prospere et feliciter succedant non secus, quam sibi ipsi et regno suo proprio.

Verum quod ad suppetias illius maiestati ferendas attinet, cogitavit et consultavit hactenus secum, et cum subditis suis eius maiestas, quo pacto posset illius maiestati non deesse, eaque fuit causa, quod tantisper hic Vestras Reverendissimas Domina-
 10 tiones retinuit.³ Non potuit autem maiestas sua ullum modum vel rationem invenire dandi suppetias illius maiestati, inprimis propter ingens domesticum periculum, quod, ut maiestas sua ab exploratoribus suis didicit, imminet huic regno a Turcis et Tartaris, qui sese ad invadendum illud ipso primo vere modis omnibus accingunt. Deinde cum
 15 maiestas sua et regnum hoc suum foedus habeat cum regno Hungariae, et illud, quod dictu est dolendum, et duos reges habet, et bifariam scissum est. Si maiestas sua uni parti suppetias ferret cum altera adversus foedus agere videretur, cum utraque pars sibi ius, sibi regnum et dominium totum vendicat.

[2.] Porro non censuit ab initio, neque etiamnum censet maiestas sua esse Christiani

2 cum serenissimo domino Ioanni Hungariae rege:
 cum serenissimo domino rege Hungariae BJ 6551, BK 226

8 eius om. BJ 6551, BK 226

¹ In BK 220, we read the following note by Górski before the text: *Datum Petrcoviae in conventu generali XX Februarii, quae erat feria quinta ante Cathedram Sancti Petri 1528.*

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 84–86; BK 226 fol. 75–77; BCzart TN 41. fol. 173–176.

³ The Polish King saw Ferenc Frangepán already on 9 December 1527. Frangepán put forth Szapolyai's request for help already then. (Compare: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 7., Konv. B, fol. 23–25.)

principis nedum utrique parti necessitudine iuncti inmiscere se bello tam funesto et
20 exitiabili, proindeque ita secum statuit, neutri parti quoad bellum, utrique vero quoad
pacem et concordiam adesse, quod institutum suum cum iam alias utrique parti decla-
ravit et alteri etiam sese obstrinxit, non est illi iam nunc integrum contra fidem et
bonam existimationem suam quicquam aliter agere.

[3.] Postulat itaque maiestas sua a Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus, ut illius
25 maiestati has iustissimas rationes declarare et maiestatem suam excusare velint. Cum
autem maiestas sua certissimum habet documentum, quod imperator Turcorum con-
stituerit omnino primum Hungariae, deinde etiam hoc regnum occupare, rogat et obte-
statur maiestas sua serenissimum dominum regem Hungariae, rationem habere dignetur
illius maiestas tanti discriminis sui ipsius et patriae suae, perpendat vires suas ad tot
30 talesque hostium impetus reprimendos, non inurat hanc notam perpetuam nomini
suo, si per illam regnum tam nobile interire et in potestatem immanissimi hostis venire
deberet.

[4.] Disquirat adhuc secum illius maiestas modos et conditiones aliquas pacis et
concordiae cum serenissimo rege Ferdinando, ut unitis viribus tanto discrimini occurrere
35 possit, qua in re offert maiestas sua illi omnem operam, studium et facultatem suam,
alioquin videre videtur maiestas sua, si isti duo reges pergent diutius inter se digladiari
tertius superveniens utrumque explodat et regnum intreat. Itaque rogat etiam atque
etiam maiestas sua, ut si quid adhuc salutis reperiri potest, cogitare secum illius maiestas
et significare eius maiestati dignetur, non gravabitur enim id omne facere maiestas
40 sua, quodcumque opportunum videbitur ad statum illius maiestatis et regnum Hungari-
ae salvandum et dissidia intestina honestis mediis componenda.

[5.] Cum autem maiestas regia plane videat regnum Hungariae sub hac controversia
in praecipuum ire, et interest maiestatis suae ruenti vicino parieti providere, statuit
iterum apud utrumque regem concordiam per oratores suos tentare, rogatque
45 plurimum maiestas sua Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes, cum ad serenissimum
regem suum redibunt, persuadeant illi, ut potius quaslibet alias conditiones pacis
ineat, quam ut se et regnum suum vel ad interitum, vel ad aliquam indignam servitutem
redigat, permoverunt enim multum eius maiestatem verba novissima Vestrarum
Reverendissimarum Dominationum de instituto principis sui.⁴ Nam si illius maiestas
50 aliquid committeret, quod et minime congrueret regi Christiano, et in discrimen universam
republicam Christianam secum traheret, quod praemium a Deo, et quale nomen apud
posteris sibi compararet, Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes secum expendant. Et

26 sua om. BJ 6551, BK 226

30 talesque: tantosque BJ 6551

36 si: ut BJ 6551, BK 226

36 digladiari: digladiare BJ 6551, BK 226

37 explodat: excludat BJ 6551, BK 226

43 maiestatis: maiestati BJ 6551, BK 226

44 rogatque: rogat BJ 6551, BK 226

46 persuadeant: persuaderent BJ 6551, BK 226

⁴ Obvious allusion to the threat of an alliance with the Turks. Łaski wrote in a letter to Hetman Jan Tarnowski already in October 1527 that if all the crowned heads of Europe fail Szapolyai, he will have to ask for help from a ruler with a turban. *Quod si illius celsitudo [i. e.: Szapolyai] fuerit destituta a confederatis, vicinis et amicis suis, timendum est, ne cogetur quaerere exterarum nationum ac amicitias et ne, cum non possit habere regum coronatorum auxilia, habeat ab principe linteolum in capite ferente opem, quae non Ferdinando solum, si educetur, verum et multis Christianis principibus pernicioosa erit.* (Compare: AT IX. 317.)

proinde persuadeant eius maiestati modis omnibus, ut huiusmodi funestas rationes in animum suum non inducat, sed illa, quae pacis et salutis sunt, potius sectetur.

Instruction of István Brodarics for the Polish legation to be sent to Ferdinand I¹
[Piotrków], [late February–early March 1528]²

Manuscript used: Kodeks Sapieżyńskiego vol. VII. Nr. 55.³

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 129–133.

1. Sigismund, seeing the dangers Hungary faces, has been keen on assisting the two counter-kings in trying to find an agreement. – 2 Agreement is all the more urgent because he knows for sure that the Turks will attack Hungary next Spring, and currently no Christian ruler can match their force. – 3. And if Ferdinand has trust in help from other rulers he should remember the sad fate of King Louis and also how much Austria suffered from the Hungarians under Matthias whose commander was King John's father. – 4. Since Ferdinand now has a significant part of the country, he has better chances of achieving fair conditions for peace. – 5. John has always been ready to negotiate as he is now; if he is attacked he will resort to means that would harm the whole of Christianity. – 6. If Hungary is lost there will be some who will accuse Ferdinand with it, since he occupied a country he could not protect, while King John could have saved it for Christianity through some kind of contract. Hungary can be saved by a peace agreement with the Turks only, and they will not make peace with Ferdinand. – 7. Ferdinand should consider what rights he has against a legitimately elected and crowned ruler whose grievance is known to the whole world, and how he has always been inclined to accept arbitration. – 8. Sigismund has been urging trying to find agreement, but if neither party is inclined to do that he will abandon them and mind his own business. – 9. The envoy should then visit Queen Maria as well as main German and Hungarian advisers of Ferdinand, most of all Elek Thurzó, and discuss all this with them too. – 10. Even if the Turks did not attack Hungary now, which is certain anyway, Ferdinand still needs to look ahead. – 11. He is to convince Ferdinand that he agrees at least to settle the dispute through arbitration.

[1.] Orator, qui ad serenissimum dominum regem Ferdinandum mittitur, praemissis his, quae in primo congressu apud eiusmodi principes praemitti solent, dicat:

¹ Górski's note next to the address in BK 220: *Ante fugam Ioannis ex Hungaria ad Tomicium missa*.

² Dating uncertain. Since Sigismund sidestepped giving armed help in his answer on 20 February and offered only his diplomatic services to Szapolyai, Brodarics probably prepared the draft in response to this. Thus, it can be dated after 21 February the earliest. However, it seems from the text that it was written before Szapolyai's decisive defeat at Sina (8 March 1528), or before the news reached Poland. So the latest it could be written is early March.

³ The text in vol. 10 of Acta Tomiciana published in 1899 is based on the second manuscript version made by Górski to the Radziwiłł family. This was destroyed in World War II. Presently, the text is only available in two copies made after the death of Górski. The codex marked BK 220 is from the second half of the 16th century, while BK 223, an exact copy is from the 17th century. Stylistic markers seem to indicate that both variants of the Kórnik text include interpretations meant to help the reader inserted into the original. So I based publishing of the text on the printed text made after the best manuscript. In this case, however, I had no way of checking the manuscript that served as a basis for the original or the printed text. Therefore, I indicate all the differences in later copies. Another manuscript: BK 220 fol. 86r–90v; BK 223 fol. 373–379.

Serenissimum dominum regem Poloniae cupidum salutis publicae totius Christiani-
 tatis, studiosum item honoris et omnis commodi suae maiestatis, praeterea reputantem
 5 in animo, quid post tantam cladem regni Hungariae rege interfecto, exercitu deleto,
 regno fere toto per hostem ferro et igne crudelissime vastato sequi potuisset, si regnum
 ipsum in diversas partes fuisset scissum, semper ab eo tempore, quo haec contigerant,
 usque ad horam praesentem omnia ea egisse teste sua maiestate, quae ad res illius regni
 10 stabiliendas et pericula, quae regno illi imminere videbantur, avertenda pertinerent,
 atque hanc ob causam in conventu etiam Olomucensi⁴ interposuisse partes suas, si
 quomodo pax inter suam maiestatem et adversarium⁵ suae maiestatis confici potuisset,
 vidisse se postea (nam ea paene sub oculis fuisse) illa, quae subsecuta sunt et quae
 nunc quoque in illo misero regno agantur, oculis lacrimantibus et cum maxima et
 incredibili cordis amaritudine. Quae quidem tot curae ac labores maiestatis regiae etsi
 15 omnes frustra hactenus ceciderint, tam rege Ferdinando, quam adversario eius sua
 salubria pacis consilia aspernante, statuisset tamen, publico etiam regni sui conventu id
 a se expostulante, ultimum hunc in hac re conatum adhibere, si quomodo adhuc per-
 suaderi possit suae maiestati et eius maiestatis adversario, ut armis depositis ad ea
 curanda adicerent animum, per quae pericula procul dubio imminencia propulsari pos-
 20 sent. Misisset itaque huius rei gratia maiestatem regiam ad utrumque regem. Se esse
 missum ad maiestatem serenissimi regis Ferdinandi, alium eodem tempore pro hac
 eadem re cum diligentissimis mandatis ad adversarium suae maiestatis.

[2.] Motam autem esse regiam maiestatem ad hoc faciendum cum illis iisdem de
 causis, quibus antea, tum vero, quod certo intelligat Turcum aestate proxima regnum
 25 Hungariae omnino invasurum, qui sive veniat ad occupandum pro se regnum Hungari-
 ae, quod vero sit similis, sive in auxilium adversarii suae maiestatis, quod multi opi-
 nentur, utrumque esse valde periculosum toti reipublicae Christianae et maxime regnis
 ac dominiis tam suae quam regiae maiestatis. Vires autem Turci non esse adeo con-
 temnendas, ut eas nonnulli potentiae eius ignari elevare soleant. Solere eum sub signis
 30 habere trecenta et eo amplius hominum milia, et magnam eius exercitus partem constare
 ex milite omnium exercitissimo et pugnandi perito et aliter quam antea fuerit armato,
 totque etiam continuis victoriis non parum elato. Tormenta ei bellica omnis generis
 plurima et praestantissima esse cum magistris et omnibus ad id necessariis ex media
 Italia et Germania petitis. Ordinem vero tam in pugna, quam extra pugnam, immo rebus
 35 in omnibus ad belli gerendi rationem pertinentibus talem, ut omnia veterum de hoc
 praecepta et instituta ad unguem observare videatur; oboedientiam esse miram et
 incredibilem; nullum pecuniae aut stipendii, nullum commeatum defectum, nihil non

11 suam maiestatem et adversarium suae maiestatis:
 regem Ferdinandum et Ioannem adversarium eius BK 220,
 BK 223

23 Motam: Motum BK 220, BK 223

23 regiam maiestatem: serenissimum regem Poloniae
 BK 220, BK 223

28 suae quam regiae maiestatis: suis quam regis Fer-
 dinandi BK 220, BK 223

⁴ Legates of Ferdinand and Szapolyai had talks between 1–4 June 1527 in Olomouc in order to avoid civil war.

⁵ In this case Szapolyai, because this is written from a Polish perspective for Ferdinand.

esse diligentissime provisum, nullius esse nunc unius in toto terrarum orbe principis vires cum illius viribus conferendas, quidque de hoc suae maiestati fortasse dicatur.

40 [3.] Quantum autem sit suae maiestati vel in viribus suis privatis, vel in auxiliis aliorum principum contra tantum hostem fidendum, id regem Poloniae non ignorare, sese illud probe recordari et non sine lacrimis saepe memoria repetere nepotem suae maiestatis et eundem sororium suae maiestatis, serenissimum dominum regem Ludovicum omnium amicorum et fratrum auxilia suppliciter implorantem, prius et caput
45 amisisse et exercitum nobilissimum, quam fuerit ab illis adiutus, Hungaria per hoc in illam, quam maiestas sua oculis videret, calamitatem adducta. Quodsi Turcus in adversarii suae maiestatis auxilium veniat, illud etiam esse suae maiestati verendum, ne Turco non ut hoste, sed ut amico nationi Hungariae veniente et pacem eis afferente, malint illi bonam aliquam et tolerabilem ab illo amicitiam, quam arma illius et vires
50 experiri, praesertim nuper tanto suo sanguine et tanta regni iactura satis expertas. Quin et illud fortasse esse regi Ferdinando, uti principi prudentissimo considerandum, si adversarius suae maiestatis a Turco adiutus praevaleat, ne quid periculi sit ab adversario etiam suo cum Turca coniuncto regnis et dominiis suae maiestatis expectandum. Satis recentem esse memoriam earum calamitatum, quas Austria, Styria et Charintia sub
55 rege Mathia ab Hungaris sit perpressa tunc cum Turco etiam parte ex alia pugnantibus regis Ioannis patre belli istius ductore.⁶

[4.] Haec igitur omnia et iis plura esse suae maiestati considerata, et longe esse consultius suae maiestati venire ad aliquam tolerabilem cum adversario concordiam, quam et regna ista, tam sua, quam regiae maiestatis Poloniae, cum his et universam
60 rempublicam Christianam extremo periculo exponere. Quod maiestatem suam tanto maiore nunc sua gloria facere posse, quanto latiore habeat in Hungaria ditionem, tanto autem cum maiore damno, quanto sint vehementius suae maiestati ista, quae praemissa sunt, pericula extimescenda. Consultissimum saepe fuisse contemnere in summo felicitatis gradu fortunam. Itaque agat dominus orator quanto diligentius
65 poterit ad serenissimum regem Ferdinandum modis omnibus ad arma deponenda, ad pacis cum adversario suo tractatus ineundos inducendum.

[5.] Referat praeterea dominus orator oratores adversarii suae maiestatis in conventu Piotrkoviensi assidue protestatos regem ipsorum ad omnia iusta et aequa fuisse et
70 esse etiam antea semper, tunc quoque cum res ipsius securae ac florentissimae forent, paratissimum, nunc etiam paratum stare iudicio cuiuscunque modo non in totum sus-

38 quidque ... dicatur *om.* BK 220, BK 223

40 suae maiestati: regi Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223

47 adversarii suae maiestatis: Ioannis regis BK 220,

BK 223

47 suae maiestati: regi Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223

52 ab adversario: a rege Ioanne BK 220, BK 223

53 suae maiestatis: regis Ferdinandi BK 220, BK 223

54 Charintia: Carinthia BK 220, BK 223

56 regis Ioannis patre: patre regis Ioannis BK 220,

BK 223

57 suae maiestati: regi Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223

59 cum his et: et cum his BK 220, BK 223

60 maiestatem suam: regem Ferdinandum BK 220,

BK 223

61 maiore: minore BK 220, BK 223

67 adversarii suae maiestatis: regis Ioannis BK 220,

BK 223

69 fuisse et esse: esse et fuisse BK 220, BK 223

⁶ István Szapolyai (?–1499), a commander of Matthias. Palatine from 1492, father of János Szapolyai. Governor of the Austrian provinces occupied by Matthias in 1489–1490.

pecti iudicis, subitum aequo animo omnem, quamcunque iustitia tulerit, sive aequam, sive iniquam sortem; si vero vi et armis secum agatur, tentaturum eum prius omnia extrema, quaecunque pro regni et status sui conservatione facere possit, quam regno legitime, ut ipsi dixerunt, adepto vi eiciatur, ex quo si quid adversi reipublicae

75 Christianae eveniat, non regi ipsorum, sed ei, qui eum ex regno eicere conetur, fore imputandum. Quae verba, dicat, maiestatem probe intelligere, quam vim habeant et quorsum tendant.

[6.] Illud etiam cogitandum esse, dicat dominus orator regi Ferdinando, non defuturos, si Hungaria per ista dissidia pereat, qui magnam huius culpaem partem sint suae maiestati ascripturi, suam enim maiestatem tale regnum occupasse, quod non erat verisimile privatis suae maiestatis viribus a tanto hoste defendi posse. Ioannem vero regem fortasse potuisse illud aliquibus foederum conditionibus salvum reipublicae Christianae conservare, prout oratores eius sint de hoc coram maiestate regia et toto consilio ac regni conventu non semel protestati.

85 Illud etiam atque etiam inculcet orator serenissimo regi nullam omnino iam aliam vel certe difficillimam rationem retinendae a Turco Hungariae esse, vel etiam in posterum fore, rebus praesertim Christianis in hunc modum se habentibus, nisi per foedera, foederum autem rationem cum Turca ineundorum esse suae maiestati difficillimam et paene impossibilem, quia Turcus nunquam sit (quod et alias facere negavit) Siciliam,

90 Apuliam et Italiam in huiusmodi foedera Hungarica recepturus. Volet enim ita foedus inire cum Hungaria et cum his provinciis septentrionalibus, ut liberum sit ei Christianae reipublicae occupandae inhianti in illas regiones facere expeditionem. Regis vero Ioannis non esse eandem in hac parte rationem.

[7.] Pulchrum fuisse et nunc esse dicat, quomocunque sua maiestas ad regnum Hungariae occupandum et ad hoc tam grave onus Hungariae a Turco defendendae assumendum animum adiecerit, alieno periculo, aliena cura, alieno sumptu, tuto in pacatis regnis imperare et a tanto hoste, quantus Turcus, alienis alis protectum regnare.

Dicat orator non esse inter postrema regi Ferdinando, uti principi iusto et catholico illud etiam considerandum, quam iuste et legitime petat Hungariam, rege praesertim in

100 ea et electo et coronato et oboedientiam totius regni praeter paucissimos consecuto, non quod maiestas regia, rex Poloniae, nunc iudicem velit agere inter partes vel iura regis Ferdinandi facere deteriora, sed quod videt adversarium suae maiestatis, quidquid id sit, in quo is confidat, semper ab initio suscepti regiminis, tunc etiam cum res eius viderentur multum securae, fuisse paratum ad standum iuri et ad omnia, quae

105 iure decisa fuissent, libenti animo subeunda, et id ad universos etiam principes Christianos perscripsisse, per quod non parum causam suam iustificaverit coram Deo et hominibus. Nunc quoque in praeterito Piotrkoviensi conventu oratores eiusdem adversarii assidue hoc auribus regiae maiestatis et totius conventus inculcasse et regem suum iudicio cuiusvis iudicis, modo non in totum suspecti, submisisse. Meminerit serenissimus

76 maiestatem: regem Poloniae BK 220, BK 223

80 suae maiestati: regi Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223

85 post regi BK 220, BK 223 add. Ferdinando

89 quia: quod BK 220, BK 223

94 post maiestas BK 220, BK 223 add. rex Ferdinandus suspecti

103 quidquid: quicquid BK 220, BK 223

108 post maiestatis BK 220, BK 223 add. Poloniae

109 cuiusvis: cuiuscunque BK 220, BK 223

109 suspecti correxi ex: suscepti; BK 220, BK 223;

110 rex Deum iustum esse, immo ipsam iustitiam, solere saepe intrare in aures divinas
huiusmodi clamores, quales nunc adversarius suae maiestatis per universum Chris-
tianum orbem faciat, nihil aliud nisi iustitiam implorans. Bella et quaecunque dissidia
non semper esse in manu forti et brachio excelso, sed saepe etiam nutu et voluntate
Dei, qui iustitiae favere soleat, dirimi ac terminari, et haec maiestatem regiam
115 dicere, non uti iudicem, vel iurium suae maiestatis diminutorem, sed quia iudicat
maiestas regia Christiano et iusto principi haec vel imprimis esse considerata, ac
suae maiestati potissimum, quam scit omnium suarum actionum scopum in Deum
dirigere, et totum pro sua bonitate ac religione a nutu et voluntate divina pendere.

[8.] Dicit postremo dominus orator maiestatem regiam Poloniae per haec functam
120 esse officio suo apud utrumque regem, qui si consiliis suis salutaribus morem gesserint,
acturam se Deo imprimis, deinde utrique ipsorum gratias et maxime suae maiestati,
utpote in cuius manu magis nunc esse videat et pacem et bellum. Si vero consiliis suis
nullum esse locum apud eos viderit, deploraturam se, quod et hactenus fecerit, iugibus
lacrimis et suspiriis communes calamitates et infelicem reipublicae Christianae sortem,
125 cui in hunc etiam miserabilem modum afflictas nulla quies ab intestinis bellis conce-
datur, suis autem rebus licet per haec ipsa dissidia in extremum discrimen adductis,
quocunque tamen modo et quanto celerius possit, consulturam.

Haec vero, quae et nunc agat et antea egerit apud utrumque regem, omnibus prin-
cipibus Christianis perscripturam, ut totus Christianus orbis intelligat maiestatem
130 regiam nihil penitus omisisse ab initio istarum dissensionum, quod ad commodum
utriusque ipsorum et ad quietem ac salutem pertinuerit.

[9.] His coram serenissimo rege Ferdinando in publico eius consilio dictis, adeat
postea orator utramque reginam⁷ et maxime Mariam, si cum fratre erit, agat haec
eadem cum illis, hortetur eas nomine regiae maiestatis, ut se pro pace interponant,
135 pacem suadeant, respiciant haec pericula iam iam ventura et exterminium horum
regnorum. Deinde adeat privatim potiores consiliarios, imprimis Alexium Thurzonem
et palatinum,⁸ deinde Paulum archiepiscopum,⁹ Petrum Perenni, Thomam episcopum
Vesprimensem,¹⁰ Simonem episcopum Zagrabiensem,¹¹ si eum ibi reperiet, apud quos

110 *post rex BK 220, BK 223 add. Ferdinandus*

111 *suae maiestatis: regis Ferdinandi BK 220, BK 223*

113 *non semper esse in manu forti: non esse in manu
forti semper BK 220, BK 223*

114 *post regiam BK 220, BK 223 add. Poloniae*

115 *suae maiestatis: regis Ferdinandi BK 220, BK 223*

116 *maiestas regia: regia maiestas BK 220, BK 223*

117 *suae maiestati: regi ipso Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223*

117 *quam: quem BK 220, BK 223*

121 *suae maiestati: regi Ferdinando BK 220, BK 223*

130 *post regiam BK 220, BK 223 add. Poloniae*

131 *post salutem BK 220, BK 223 add. publicam*

⁷ Namely Anna Jagiello, wife of Ferdinand, older sister of Louis II, and Queen Maria, Ferdinand's sister, widow of Louis II.

⁸ Palatine István Báthori was a leading pro-Habsburg figure.

⁹ Pál Várdai (1483–1549), Archbishop of Esztergom. Originally he stood for Szapolyai who made him Archbishop of Esztergom, but seeing Ferdinand's successful military campaign he changed sides quickly. Ferdinand rewarded him with the position of Chancellor. Later, too, he was keen to "adjust" his loyalty to the momentary distribution of power. On his early career, see: LACZLAVIK György, *Várdai Pál esztergomi érsek, királyi helytartó Mohács előtti pályafutása*, *Levéltári Közlemények*, 2004/2, 3–43., on his career after Mohács: IDEM., *Várdai Pál. 1526. november 15–1549. október 12.* = BEKE Margit (ed.) *Esztergomi érsekek. 1001–2003*. Budapest, 2003, 240–247.

hoc idem agat. Si erunt apud regem Ferdinandum aliqui ex potioribus consiliariis Germanis, prout verisimile est futuros, hoc idem agat cum illis. Sed ante omnia cum Alexio Thurzone et Maria regina, quae si erit absens, adeat tamen eam omnino et cum ea diligentissime de his rebus agat.

[10.] Et si respondeatur ex adverso Turcum pro hac aestate vel quieturum, vel aliquo alio arma moturum, dicat: id no[n] esse verisimile propter illa, quae sint maiestati regiae nuntiata ex fidelissimo loco, Turcum alioquin esse astutissimum et saepe aliud fingere aliud agere, deinde dicat, quodsi etiam pro hac aestate Turcus Hungariam non esset invasurus, suae tamen maiestati regi Ferdinando, veluti prudentissimo principi esse in futurum quam longissime rebus suis prospiciendum, et virium illius magnitudinem esse pertimescendam, neque esse, quod speret in pace cum eo ineunda propter causas superius dictas.

[11.] Quodsi interim fieret in rebus vel Ferdinandi vel regis Ioannis, vel rebus Turcicis aliqua insignis mutatio, moderetur orator omnes suas actiones pro temporis qualitate, et sese ad statum rerum accommodet, nam in his consilium ei praescribi non potest, tendat tamen ad eum, qui superius est expressus et per quem Ferdinandum ad pacem inclinare possit, scopum et huc omnes ingenii sui vires intendat.

Illud meminerit regem Ferdinandum longe facilius trahi posse ad omnia, si intellexerit Ioannem a Turca habiturum auxilia. Postremo si videat orator Ferdinandum regem neque precibus ullis flecti, neque ullis consiliis acquiescere, veniat ad illud, ut dicat Ferdinando: si sua maiestas nihil aliud facere vult, faciat illud saltem, quod a Christiano principe recte negari nullo modo potest.

Sit contenta sua maiestas, quod haec causa iure discernatur, remittatur in arbitrium aliquorum, qui neutri parti sint futuri suspecti, et quidquid illi decreverint, id per utramque partem observetur. Christianos nos esse, dicat orator, eidem Christo Domino omnes, ita reges, ut pauperes subiectos, iure esse et aequitate, non armis invicem Christianis hominibus contendendum, reddituros districtam in districto Dei iudicio rationem omniumstrarum actionum, praesertim tanti sanguinis Christiani fusi. Deinde illud quoque adiciat nullum violentum ac minus iuste quaesitum solere esse perpetuum, immo nec diuturnum, exstare sexcenta huius rei exempla tam in veteribus diversarum nationum, quam in recentioribus Christianorum historiis. Maiestas sua, tanquam princeps iustus et catholicus, non recuset id, quod iustum est et aequum, ne Deum reddat

144 non *correx* ex: nos; BK 220, BK 223: non

147 veluti *om.* BK 220, BK 223

149 esse *om.* BK 220, BK 223

149 esse: esset BK 220, BK 223

151 Quodsi: Etsi BK 220, BK 223

153 consilium ei: ei consilium BK 220, BK 223

155 *post* Ferdinandum BK 220, BK 223 *add.* regem

155 scopum: scopon BK 220, BK 223

157 *post* si BK 220, BK 223 *add.* Ferdinandum

168 minus iuste: iniuste BK 220, BK 223

¹⁰ Tamás Szalaházy (around 1480–1535), Bishop of Veszprém, a prominent figure in the Habsburg administration in Hungary. On his life more recently: FAZEKAS István, *Szalaházy Tamás, egy Habsburg-hű főpap portréja*, Történelmi Szemle, 2007, 19–34.

¹¹ Simon Erdődy, Bishop of Zagreb (1518–1543). Croatian–Dalmatian–Slavonian Ban of Szapolyai (1529–1534). His biography: Andrija LUKINOVIĆ, *Šimun Erdődy. = Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, Zagreb, 1995, 233–237.

sibi per hoc infensio-rem. Fortasse, visis iuribus suae maiestatis, regnum ei adiudicabitur, atque ita cum magna sua gloria illud obtinebit, et obstruet ora multorum hanc violentam, ut illi dicunt, illius regni praesertim tali ac tam periculoso tempore occupationem non mediocriter improbantium, et sic adversarius etiam suae maiestatis cogetur suae maiestati colla submittere. Si vero maiestas sua adversario iustitiam tantum et iudicium implorante atque inclamante iustitiam recusare pergat, cavendum erit suae maiestati, ne vel adversarius aliquo occulto Dei iustitiam adjuvantis auxilio adiutus contra suam maiestatem praevalcat, vel uterque a tertio regno eiciatur, et universa
175
180 respublica Christiana suam maiestatem pro hoc perpetuo incuset.

De hoc loquatur orator diligentissime coram rege Ferdinando in consilio, sed tunc, ut dictum est, quando viderit eum ad propria regiae maiestatis petita nullum bonum responsum dare.

Denique, si regem omnia recusantem viderit, dicat postremo, ut maiestas sua remittat oratorem cum aliquo responso ad maiestatem regiam Poloniae, ex quo possit intelligere maiestas sua, si quid adhuc spei superest, et quid tandem ad petita regiae maiestatis pro bono totius Christianitatis sit sua maiestas rex Ferdinandus factura, ut collato simul responso, quod a rege Ioanne reportabitur, et responso suae maiestatis, sciat regia maiestas Poloniae, quid agere debeat.¹²
185

180 post maiestatem BK 220, BK 223 add. regem
Ferdinandum

187 post maiestatis BK 220, BK 223 add. Poloniae
188 suae maiestatis: regis Ferdinandi BK 220, BK 223

¹² In BK 220, one can read Górski's note at the end of the document: *Legationes vero, quas Cricius conscripsit ad Ioannem et Ferdinandum reges, vide infra folio, quae ob mutationem fortunae mutatae fuerunt, quemadmodum reliqua legendo videbis. Ioannes, rex Hungariae sexta Martii ab exercitu regis Ferdinandi proditione suorum in proelio victus et fuga in Poloniam delatus, vigesima secunda Martii ad Camieniecz castrum in terris Submontanis pervenit. Inde se ad Tarnow contulit et illic est commoratus.*

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Bodzentyn, 1528 [around 29 March]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 77.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 176–177.

1. He is tremendously sorry that Brodarics got into a difficult situation due to the unexpected blow King John suffered, but asks him to try to endure what has been inflicted upon him by the Lord and to encourage the King to do the same, so that the King will not trust the kind of help that made so many rulers, King Louis among them, perish. – 2. They can find refuge in Poland and both Sigismund and Tomicki will try to help them.

Reverendissime Domine, Frater et Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

[1.] Certo mihi persuadeo magno ac incredibili dolore affectam esse Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem ex tanto tamque insperato casu et ruina³ serenissimi domini regis sui, verum cum id Dei voluntate evenisse credamus, ferre velit id, quod
5 accidit, Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio pro sua prudentia aequo ac infracto animo, ne nimium dolendo adversari videatur divinae voluntati, cui humanos affectus aequum est acquiescere, serenissimoque domino regi suo consulere non cesset, ut non ponat se ulterius et suos in extremum discrimen, nec ali se permittat vanis spebus et auxiliis externis, quae et serenissimum dominum regem Ludovicum bonae memoriae
10 et alios praeclarissimos reges et principes deduxerunt ad summum casum et periculum.⁴

[2.] Conservabit autem illum maiestas domini nostri in regno suo non gravatim. Ita enim se iam facturam recepit et promisit, a qua sancta et pia sententia, ut non

³ tamque insperato in marg. manu Tomicii

¹² post nostri del. [unus versus illegibiliter]

⁴ post credamus del. [unus versus illegibiliter]

¹² post gravatim del. [unus versus illegibiliter] Ita

⁶ cui humanos affectus aequum est acquiescere in marg. manu Tomicii

enim ... per adversarios maiestas sua in marg. manu Tomicii

¹ The letter could be written in late March the earliest, because the disaster referred to can only be Szapolyai's defeat at Sina (8 March) which made him flee to Poland. In addition, we have another letter from Tomicki to Szapolyai with a similar subject. That one is dated in Bodzentyn on 29 March. Because of similarities in subject and formulation, the letter to Brodarics is likely to have been written in these days too.

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 III fol. 197–198; BK 226 fol. 161; BK 220 fol. 102r; BCzart TN 41. fol. 267–268; BCzart TN 41. fol. 313–314

³ Tomicki alludes to Szapolyai's defeat at Sina on 8 March 1528, which drove him out of the country and made him flee to Poland.

⁴ These words certainly do not refer to Turkish help yet, because if they did, bringing up the example of Louis II. would not be possible. Tomicki may refer to Szapolyai's Bavarian connections and the military and financial aid expected from there and from the French King. Rumours about Bavarian auxiliary forces must have been circulating because a few months later Tomicki reports in a letter to an unknown ecclesiastic person that gossip about German military help subsided: *Rumor etiam, qui erat de copiis ex Germania sibi [sc. Szapolyai] affuturis concitatus, subsedit et prope iam evanuit.* (Compare: AT X. 311.)

- divellatur per adversarios maiestas sua, modis omnibus illi consulam et suadebo.⁵
- 15 Vestram autem Reverendissimam Dominationem plurimum rogo, temperet dolori et angori animi sui. Curabimus enim omni studio et opera nostra, ut tam res serenissimi domini regis Vestri, quam Vestrae in toto non collabantur. Et commendo me ex animo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, quam dominus Deus in sua gratia diu sanam, felicem et laetam conservet. Datum.

98

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Dobra woda,¹ 23 April 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 8. fol. 134r–v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 207.

1. Tomicki's servants handled him with almost exaggerated politeness, for which he cannot be too grateful to his benefactor. He will try to return Tomicki's goodwill. – 2. Mysterious Italian poems have been found in Krzycki's library, he is sending copies to Tomicki although he could not figure out their meaning yet.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Colendissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

- [1.] Servitores Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis in nulla alia re apud Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem accusare possum, quam de nimia diligentia in me
5 supra modum omnibus officiis et honoribus prosequendo. Accedat et hoc ad ceteram Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae et eam maximam et multiplicem in me benignitatem beneficentiamque. Gratiam, cum ego nequeam, Deus referat Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, ego quoque, dum vivam, perpetuo habebo, et si qua in
10 parte unquam potero, referam servitoribus, amicis et consanguineis Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae.

[2.] De negotiis serenissimi et clementissimi domini mei nihil adhuc scribere possum, scribam ex Tharnovo. Oblitus fui ostendere Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, cum apud eam essem et de his rebus sermo incidisset quiddam, quod nuper dum in bibliotheca reverendissimi domini mei, domini Plocensis³ nescio quid revolvimus, in

⁵ Ferdinand constantly resented through his envoys that Sigismund offered refuge to Szapolyai, and tried to convince him to expel Szapolyai from his country. We know from one of his letter to Luca Gorka (see AT X. 145–146.) that Tomicki deemed this an unworthy idea for a Christian, but opposed it mainly to prevent John, rejected by everybody, from turning to the Turks for support.

¹ Church estate by the road from Busko (today: Busko Zdrój, Poland) to Korczyn.

² Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 157–159; BK 220 fol. 116v–117v; BJ 6551 fol. 193–195; BCzart TN 41. fol. 415–417

³ Brodarics spent March 1528 in the estate of Andrzej Krzycki in Poltowsko. He left from there for Tamów only in early April to rejoin Szapolyai. See: AT X. 84., 163., 176.

15 quodam libello Italice scripto casu reperimus.⁴ Quod quidem ita ut se habet de verbo ad verbum transscriptum ad Vestram Dominationem mitto.⁵ Id enim, ut Vestrae Dominationi ostenderem, summis precibus exegerat a me dominus meus Plocensis, sed ut dixi, fui oblitus.

Ego, ut verum fatear, ubi vidi hos versus Italicos, etsi non sim omnino de genere eorum, qui talia magni facere solent, non parum tamen sum miratus, cum subito in mentem venisset, me in omnibus notis secretioribus, quae de serenissimo rege meo Ioanne habueram et rex ipse de se habuerat, praesertim cum domino Colocensi,⁶ per litteram illam Q⁷ ipsum Ioannem regem designatum fuisse, sicut domino Plocensi tunc statim in cifris praesentibus ostendi non parum hanc rem admiranti. Nam versiculus primus, quemnam demonstret, non est difficilis coniectura. Cetera, quae sequuntur, non intelligo.

25 Davus enim sum, non Oedipus.⁸ Utinam vero vel ista, quae intelligere videmur, non sint aegroti insomnia vana, ut ille ait. Sed quicquid sint, nobis cum domino reverendissimo aliquid inter tot atrocia mala consolationis attulerunt. Ego quamvis nihil certae spei videam, videor tamen non ex istis vanitatibus, sed nescio ex qua causa non omnino desperare. Sed super huiusmodi incertis spebus non sum aedificaturus turrem Babel, sed,

30 quantum in me erit, solida et firma consilia et daturus et secuturus. Volui haec iussu potissimum domini mei reverendissimi Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi facere nota.

In cuius gratiam me ac servitia mea humiliter commendo. Quam optime valere ac felicissimam esse cupio.

Ex dobra voda, vellem potius ex dobro vino, sed illud amisso Sirmio⁹ perdidimus.

35 XXIII. Aprilis 1528.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor humillimus

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

16 *post ut del. facerem suprascr. Vestrae Dominationi ostenderem*

21 *post habucram del. praeser*

27 *post mala del. aliquid*

28 *post causa del. mirabilem*

⁴ Krzycki, on 20 March, also wrote about the following to Tomicki: *Traduco tempus partim in lectione cum Broderico, partim in muniis meis obeundis*. See: AT X. 152.

⁵ Unfortunately the attached poems did not survive.

⁶ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán, like Brodarics, did important diplomatic tasks.

⁷ There were several methods of cipher in the environment of King John. In these, important persons of the era were often represented by a letter or a graphical symbol. This is a code in which the letter Q stands for King John. It survived in the stock of HHStA (HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 425. fol. 63.) E.g. a code used by Bavarian princes denoted János Szapolyai by the letter X. See BHStA, KB Äußerer Archiv 4442/88

⁸ *Davus enim sum, non Oedipus*. TERENTIUS, *Andria*, 194.; It has become an adage. János Vitéz, in his second letter to Dean Pál, also uses this phrase. See: V. KOVÁCS, *Magyar humanisták...*, 65., and BORONKAI Iván (ed.), *Vitéz János levelei és politikai beszédei*, Budapest, 1987, 53. It would be included in Erasmus' *Adagia*. (ERASMUS, *Chiliades adagiorum*, Coloniae, 1540, 94–95.)

⁹ Brodarics was Bishop of Szerém from 1526, but the bigger part of his diocese was under Turkish authority since 1526. The Szerémség region was one of the most famous wine growing regions of the time in Hungary. Appears as an allegory of the land of milk and honey in the poem of András Farkas „Az zsidó és magyar nemzetről” (On the Jewish and Hungarian nations) (1539). See: CSOMA Zsigmond, *Reneszánsz bor – reneszánsz élet* = Korunk, September 2008, 5–13.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi vicecancellario regni Poloniae etc., domino mihi observandissimo.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Tarnów, 25 April 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 8. fol. 136r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 209.

1. He arrived at Tarnów on the day specified by Tomicki. While travelling, he was received with utmost kindness and generosity everywhere on Tomicki's estates. – 2. He found the King in good health. He is going to write about affairs here the next day. – 3. He is writing briefly on behalf of Stanisław de Sprowa who was very friendly towards him.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Eo ipso die, quem Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio praefixerat, perveni ad Tharnowo ad maiestatem regiam, dominum meum gratiosissimum, ubique in bonis ac per praedia ac possessiones Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis ita acceptus, ut quoad amorem et humanitatem viderer mihi esse domi meae, quoad lautitiam et magnificentiam in domo et bonis Reverendissimi Domini Mei, Domini Cracoviensis. Pro quo et pro cetera Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae maxima in me gratia ac beneficentia non cessabo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi perpetuo agere grates et precari Deum, ut ipse referat, cum ego non sim referendo.

[2.] Reperi maiestatem regiam sanam et laetam, quae me exceperit magna laetitia et favore. Commendationem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis accepit gratissimo animo, doluit de adversa valetudine. De aliis scribam cras, nam illas litteras spero celerius ad Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam perventuras, quam has.

[3.] Is dominus Stanislaus² exhibuit mihi ex praecepto Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae summam humanitatem. Credo ipsum alioquin etiam sine mea commendatione esse gratum et acceptum servitorem Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae ob servitia. Supplico humillime, dignetur meorum etiam servitorum contemplatione aliquid ad pristinam suam erga eum gratiam adiungere. Quod et ipse enitar omnibus modis reservare Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae. In cuius gratiam me ac servitia mea humillime commendo. Quae felicissime valeat.

Ex Tharnowo XXV. Aprilis 1528.

¹⁷ *post servitorum del. commenda*

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 159–160; BK 220 fol. 118v–119r; BJ 6551 fol. 195–196; BCzart TN 41. fol. 423–424.

² Stanisław Odrowąż (1509–1545), Constable of Biecz.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi vicecancellario regni Poloniae etc., domino mihi observandissimo.

100

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Tarnów, 28 April 1528

Manuscript used: MOL, I 45, I. bundle 10r–11v.

1. He gives an account to King John of all that Tomicki entrusted to him; the King received advice calmly as somebody who knows that they come from a good friend and a true Christian priest; he only resents the fact that he is supposed to give up the crown he got in a legitimate way for the sake of Christianity in favour of someone who has no right in the country whatsoever, and whose power is based solely on arms, violence, and the disloyalty of John's subjects. – 2. To Tomicki's warning, that he should avoid putting his country and the whole of Christianity into danger by seeking the Turks' friendship, his responses is: he did everything he could to keep the distance from this friendship, and was willing to suffer bitterly for this; he also knows where Turkish friendship led in the case of Constantinople, but there is no such danger here, and even if still something similar happened, the blame would be laid on his opponent in any case; there are Christian reigning princes who seek alliance with the Turks without any pressure on them, so he cannot be reproached for it when his country was taken away from him unjustly. – 3. His case is not hopeless among Hungarian noblemen either, since they, apart from a few, do not hate him so much and do not like Ferdinand and the Germans so much as some are inclined to believe. – 4. Szapolyai is positive that Christian rulers, especially the King of France do not abandon him. They can be most useful if they engage forces of the Emperor and Ferdinand in battles so that they cannot conquer Hungary. His situation is far from being so desperate that he should accept Ferdinand's shameful conditions, still, he is receiving Tomicki's advice with a grateful heart. Brodarics hopes he will be willing to accept just and fair conditions. – 5. Szapolyai finds it strange that he is advised to find another refuge if his firm intention is not to seek agreement with Ferdinand. He, who gives him refuge in his country only if he, Szapolyai, gives up his own kingdom for his opponent is a strange ally and relative. This advice should have been given to Ferdinand when the decision was still in Sigismund's hands. – 6. The Poles must not stay neutral since that would mean the betrayal of their alliance with Szapolyai which is still in effect; such a thought fits neither the King nor Tomicki. So the King asks Tomicki to convince Sigismund that the latter should keep his promise and fulfil his ally duties. – 7. Szapolyai feels that the Poles need not fear Ferdinand so much and should not give up so easily on what they deem lawful. – 8. Brodarics asks Tomicki to forgive him for not having written the letter himself, but his heavy stomach-ache made his hands and legs useless.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime, servitiorum commendationem.

[1.] Narravi regiae maiestati, domino meo gratiosissimo ea, quae Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio commiserat mihi suae maiestati referenda, de concordia cum adversario suo ineunda. Accepit omnia gratissimo animo, quippe quae sibi persuadet consilia

5 Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae procedere ex mera sinceritate et amore, veluti et a bono amico suo, et a Christiano antistite, Christianae reipublicae quieti, quantum in se est, studiosissime consulente. Durum tamen nimis ac difficile dicit esse sua maiestas, quod et Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra fatebatur, diadema legitime semet adeptum deponere, et illi cedere, qui nec iuris aliquid in regno habeat, et omne fundamentum suum in sola vi atque armis et in subditorum suae maiestatis perfidia et prodicione posuerit.

[2.] Ad particularia respondit, quo ad Turcum, ubi Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio Christiane et amice monet, ut caveat publicam per hoc et patriae suae et totius Christianae reipublicae iacturam ac turbationem. dicit sibi saepe, et omnibus fere momentis haec in mente versari et ab initio versata esse, ac propterea abstinuisse, quantum potuit, ab hoc genere defensionis, usque ad extremum passum esse omnia illa acerbissima, quae omnes viderunt; non ignorare praeterea, quid ex similibus dissidiis acciderit imperio Constantinopolitano, sed primum non esse adeo nunc extimescendum tale periculum, deinde si quid etiam tale contingeret, illi debere imputari, qui causam dedit, non sibi, qui Deo teste et serenissimo rege Poloniae ac Vestris Dominationibus paratus fuerit ad omnia, quaecunque principem Christianum facere decuisset, licere et divino et humano iure vim repellere vi; non defuisse, nec nunc deesse principes, qui nulla tanta necessitate coacti quaesierint et quaerant amicitiam Turci totis viribus,¹ sibi iniuste spoliato et pulso regno minus posse hoc, si faceret, verti vitio.²

25 [3.] Quod ad dominos Hungaros attinet, dicit non esse rem suae maiestatis adeo in animis Hungarorum desperatam, sicuti multi forte opinantur, neque paucis dumtaxat, qui sibi atrocioris delicti sunt conscii, exceptis alios Hungaros tam dominos quam nobiles ac plebeios adeo esse alienos a sua maiestate, et adeo amicos vel Ferdinando vel nationi illi, quam semper odio sint persecuti.

30 [4.] De principum Christianorum auxiliis dixit se certum esse, quod illi, et praesertim Christianissimus rex,³ eum non deserent,⁴ ut quibus omnibus sit potentia istorum duorum principum⁵ infensa et formidolosa, sed si nihil aliud prodessent principes Christiani, in hoc dicit eos non parum sibi prodesse, quod teneant istis bellis intestinis tam caesarem, quam Ferdinandum distentum, ut eis non vacet soli oppressioni Hungariae operam dare. In hanc sententiam plura locuta est sua maiestas, quae ego summatim refero. In summa, Reverendissime Domine, res suae maiestatis non videntur adeo desperatae, ut videatur festinandum ad has extremas regni legitime adepti turpiter

¹ Obvious allusion to French King Francis I. It was common knowledge that for the sake of an anti-Habsburg war he formed an alliance with the Turks.

² Almost identical arguments appear in Szapolyai's letter to Clement VII on 21 May 1528. See: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium Historiam Illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 599–600.

³ King of France Francis I.

⁴ In the summer of 1527, Szapolyai joined the anti-Habsburg League of Cognac formed by the King of France. His envoy, Dalmatian Tranquillus Andronicus travelled to Paris in the autumn of 1527 and returned in the spring with a detailed offer from the French King. More on this: BÁRDOSSY László, *A magyar politika a mohácsi vész után*, Budapest, 1943, 75–78.

⁵ This is a reference to the Habsburg dominance represented by Charles V and Ferdinand.

abiciendi conditiones. Acceperit tamen gratissimo animo, ut dixi, consilium Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis, et nescio adhuc ad quid possit vel induci, vel non
40 induci, sed non despero, qui ad aequas et bonas conditiones deduci possit.

[5.] Illud maiestas regia vehementissime fuit mirata de quaerendo sibi aliquo alio receptaculo, si illud ei fixum animo maneret, nullo modo velle concordare cum rege Ferdinando. Mirabilem esse dicit sua maiestas istam amicitiam, affinitatem⁶ et confederationem, ut sibi in regno principis tot vinculis coniuncti et nationis adeo sui et
45 familiae suae amicae ac studiosae non sit aliter receptaculum, nisi velit suum suo iniustissimo vexatori ac persecutori cedere; Dominationes Vestras et maiestatem regiam magis decuisse ad hoc cogere adversarium tunc, cum res in maiestatis suae arbitrio versabatur,⁷ vel postquam vidit eum tergiversari et ad nullas iustas conditiones descendere, sed arma tantum et haec quidem iniustissima contra Christianum et maiestatis
50 suae affinem et confoederatum principem moliri, dixisset sua maiestas⁸ nihil sibi velle esse commune cum eo principe, qui omnia iusta recusaret.

[6.] Istud dicit maiestas regia non esse servare neutralitatem, quam regia maiestas⁹ ipso invito et contradicente sit professa in publico regni sui conventu.¹⁰ Idque tamen ipsum contra foedera, quae suae maiestati cum maiestate regia exstare tunc allegabantur, et re vera exstant. Sed hoc esset declinare in totum ad alteram partem, a iusta videlicet ad iniustam, quare hortatur maiestas regia Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam uti amicum carissimum ac praecipuum, velit deponere ex animo huiusmodi indignas suo principe, indignas etiam tali ac tam Christiano antistite cogitationes. Sed
55 potius pro amore, quo non dubitat se a Vestra Dominatione sua maiestas prosequi, velit persuadere unacum amicis et fratribus suis maiestati regiae, ut sua maiestas satisfaciatur fidei et obligationi suae, qua se litteris suis mediantibus manu sua subscriptis obstrinxit maiestati regiae et domui Scepusiensi, quarum litterarum exemplum sua maiestas dicit se misisse ad regiam maiestatem per dominum Colocensem.¹¹

[7.] Dicit postremo maiestas regia, quod Vestrae Dominationes neque in tantum
65 timere deberent Ferdinandum, quantum timent, neque ita desperare de statu suo sicut desperant, neque ita facile recedere ob vanos quosdam metus ac respectus ab his, quae iusta et sibi debita esse cognoscunt.

[8.] Haec scribo de mente suae maiestatis, perlecta per suam maiestatem, et haec respondit ad nuntiata Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis. Ego quod ad me attinet,
70 non cessabo unquam agere gratias Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae pro tanta eius

⁶ Sigismund's first wife Borbála Szapolyai was the sister of John.

⁷ The talks in Olomouc in June 1527 took place under the patronage of Sigismund. It became clear only later that Ferdinand just used them to gain time. He started the war against Szapolyai in July.

⁸ King of Poland Sigismund.

⁹ King of Poland Sigismund.

¹⁰ Sigismund declared to Szapolyai's envoys in February 1528 that he is not willing to support either party against the other, he is only ready to mediate for peace. This decision obviously favoured Ferdinand who was superior regarding military power. See Sigismund's response to Brodarics and Frangepán on 20 February 1528.

¹¹ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán was the other prominent diplomat of Szapolyai besides Brodarics.

in me benevolentia et favore, licet sim certus me nunquam satis dignas neque agere, multo vero minus referre posse.

75 Scripsi his diebus per servitorem Vestrae Dominationis, quem miserat, quem non dubito iam pervenisse ad eam. Ignoscat Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima, quod haec manu aliena sint scripta. Laboravi non parvo stomachi dolore, totus invalidus ut neque pes, neque caput, neque manus satis suum officium faceret. Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem optime cupio valere, in cuius gratiam servitia mea semper commendo humillime.

Ex Tharnowia XXVIII. Aprilis anno 1528.

101

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Bodzentyn, 24 June 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 8. fol. 181r–182r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 278.

1. He has not written for a longer period and has not answered to Brodarics because of his illness. – 2. He is eager to hear good news about King John and his friends since Sigismund forbade them to help with advice or by any other means; Sigismund wants to support neither of the Kings in their war aspirations, only ambitions that aim at peace. – 3. Even though Ferdinand neglects mediation he has permanent complaints against Sigismund too. He sent an envoy recently who knows about every step Brodarics makes and also about the plans of the Poles. It would be good to be more secretive about these so that Sigismund cannot be accused.

Reverendissime Domine, Frater et Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

[1.] Quod tanto tempore nihil Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae scripserim, nec litteris eius responderim, ascribat id, rogo, adversae valetudini meae, haec enim erat in causa, quod neque scribere neque nuntiare quicquam, uti et illa exspectabat et
5 ego optabam, illi potuerim. Nunc tamen validior et confirmator factus redeundum mihi ad officium fui arbitratus, quod certe augescente in dies firmitudine mea cumulatius et plenius reddam, ut praeteritum silentium sedulitate sarciri et instaurari possit.

[2.] Exspecto magno cum desiderio, ut de serenissimi principis, domini Ioannis, regis Hungariae, et Dominationum Vestrarum, omnium amicorum meorum nova et
10 optima fortuna aliquid mihi nuntietur, non sine enim molestia gravi fero, quod res

¹ post domine del. et domine

² post tempore del. litteris Vrae Rmae nihil in marg. manu Tomicii nihil Dominationi... litteris eius

⁷ post silentium del. meum, suprascr. manu Tomicii sedulitate.

⁷ post possit del. sedulitate

⁸ post serenissimi del. regis Io. in marg. manu Tomicii principis, domini ... et Dominationum

¹⁰ post fero del. res serenissimi regis vestri suprascr. manu Tomicii quod res illius maiestatis

¹ Draft. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 304–305; BK 220 fol. 244r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 367–368; BCzart TN 41. fol. 781–783.

illius maiestatis et Dominationum Vestrarum tantisper silent, praesertim cum neque mihi palam consilio et auxilio ullo illius maiestati et Vestris Dominationibus adesse liceat, manente hoc serenissimi regis nostri instituto et voluntate, ne vel serenissimus rex vester vel rex Ferdinandus a quopiam hinc adiuvetur, cum et illius maiestas neminem illorum quo ad bellum, utrumque vero quo ad pacem et concordiam ineundam vellet consilio et opera sua adiuvere, quod iam ante cognitum esse potest Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae ex reverendissimo domino archiepiscopo Colocensi² et eius relatione.

[3.] Tametsi haec maiestatis regis nostri neutralitas et pacis suadendae studium minimi esse apud regem Ferdinandum noscatur, quod is per litteras et nuntios non cessat de eius maiestate queri illamque etiam liberius ob multa accusare. Sed et nunc quoque nuntium suum ad maiestatem suam misit de multis, quae attinent ad serenissimum regem vestrum, expostulaturum. Cognitae sunt enim ei omnes actiones Dominationum Vestrarum et novit omnium nostrorum in regno studia, quibus serenissimum dominum regem vestrum prosequuntur, quique istic vel ipsi fiunt, vel per nuntios aliqua agunt. Quod ipsum ego cuperem etiam fieri secretius, ne ulla possit subesse causa manifesta, quare de nobis queri vel serenissimum regem nostrum accusare debeat. Sed haec ad praesens satis sit attigisse, reliqua coram praesentes conferemus.

Interim cupio bene et feliciter Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam valere esseque diutissime incolumem. Cuius me etiam benevolentiae et fraterno amori plurimum commendo rogoque illam magnopere, ut me et obsequia mea serenissimo regi suo frequenter commendet et domino Colocensi, domino cancellario³ et aliis amicis dicat meo nomine plurimam salutem.

Datum in Bodzanczin, die Sancti Ioannis Baptistae. Anno Domini 1528.

In the bottom part of the draft: Reverendissimo domino, domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi, fratri et amico carissimo ac honorando.

11 *post neque del. nobis suprascr. mihi*
 13 *post hoc del. regis nostri*
 13 *post ne del. quisquam hinc bella tenus suprascr. vel serenissimus... rex Ferdinandus*
 15 *post vero del. in suprascr. manu Tomicii quo ad*
 20 *post non del. cessat de maiestate domini nostri suprascr. manu Tomicii cessat de eius maiestate*
 22 *post ad del. Reverendissimam*
 22 *post maiestatem del. nostri domini suprascr. manu Tomicii suam*

22 *post quae del. adtinent suprascr. manu Tomicii attinent*
 25 *post dominum del. regem Ioannem suprascr. manu Tomicii regem vestrum*
 32 *post commendo del. Dat. rogoque... Anno domini 1528 manu Tomicii*
 33 *post regi del. frequenter in marg. manu Tomicii suo frequenter commendet*

² Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

³ István Werbőczy.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
[Kielce], [first half of July 1528]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 24. fol. 166.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 323.

He has not received a letter from Brodarics for a long time; he is cut off from all information so he asks Brodarics to write to him about their situation and what hopes they have for returning home, something that he wishes them deeply.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Amice Carissime et Honorande.

Grave admodum et molestum mihi est, quod tam diu nihil de serenissimo domino rege Ioanne ac etiam de Dominationibus Vestris, eius consiliariis audiveram. Multum est enim, quod nullas a Dominatione Vestra accepi litteras, alius autem mihi nemo haec
5 perscribit, et ego in solitudine hic manens et a celebritate omni remotus raro aliquid de his, quae alicubi aguntur, intelligere soleo. Quare plurimum rogo Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam, perscribat mihi rerum omnium statum praesentem et conditionem et in quo sit maxima spes salutis et omnium Dominationum Vestrarum in patriam reditus, quem quidem ego toto pectore et animo serenissimo regi inprimis, cui
10 velim meam servitutem dicat et commendet, deinde etiam Dominationibus Vestris faveo et omnibus votis precor. Dominationem autem Vestram absentem memoria et cogitatione hic complector semper et rogo illam plurimum reverendissimo domino Colocensi³ et domino cancellario⁴ me commendare velit ipsaque valeat felicissime et me diligat.

In the bottom part of the draft: Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, domino Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi, amico carissimo ac honorando.

¹² *post et del.* cupio ut sit felicissima et optime inco-
lumis. Dat.

¹ There is no date on the draft. Since Tomicki says that he has not received a letter from Brodarics for a longer period, it was presumably written before reception of the letter of Brodarics written on 18 July.

² Draft. Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 484; BK 226 fol. 393–394; BK 220 fol. 260v; BCzart TN 42. fol. 661.

³ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁴ István Werbőczy.

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Cracow, 18 July 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 8. fol. 224r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 328.

1. King John sent Brodarics and Frangepán to Cracow to negotiate with Tomicki and Szydłowiecki; however, they did not find Tomicki in Cracow so they gave an account of their mission to Szydłowiecki. – 2. King John is inclined towards peace with Ferdinand under fair conditions. Ferdinand would have to accept these too if he preferred public good to his personal desires, but he cannot elaborate on this in a letter because that might cause harm to John. They ask for the support of Tomicki and Szydłowiecki in this matter.

Reverendissime Domine nobis Honorandissime. Salutem et nostri ac servitorum nostrorum commendationem.

[1.] Missus fuerat huc his diebus praeteritis a maiestate serenissimi et clementissimi domini nostri alter nostrum, Sirmiensis, sicut ex litteris eius Vestra Reverendissima
5 Dominatio intelligere potuit. Nunc sumus hic ambo pro illo eodem negotio, de quo tractandum erat cum Vestra pariter Reverendissima Dominatione et illustri et magnifico domino castellano Cracoviensi, cancellario etc.² nomine eiusdem serenissimi domini nostri. Non reperta autem hic Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima,³ retulimus omnia
10 maiestati domini regis Poloniae.

[2.] Summa eorum est: serenissimum regem nostrum primum voluntate Dei, in manu cuius corda omnium regum sunt, deinde nostro etiam amborum inductu flexisse
15 animum ad pacem cum adversario suo, serenissimo rege Ferdinando ineundam talibus conditionibus, quas, si et rex Ferdinandus pluris aliquanto facere dignabitur salutem publicam, quam vel suas privatas cupiditates vel suorum consilia, fortasse ei
non semper ea, quae Christianae reipublicae salutaria sunt, suadentium, non recusaturum speramus. De quibus per litteras apertius scribere non possumus, haec quoque,
20 quae scribimus, secreta esse cupimus apud Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem. Nam et domino castellano sub fide sunt commissa ob multas causas, propter quas serenissimo regi nostro, si ante tempus in lucem prodirent, possent esse manifesto periculo. Id quod rex noster facit, non desperatione rerum suarum ductus facit, sed revera boni publici consideratione, quod statuit praeferre omnibus suis privatis commodis, dummodo adversarius ad ea, quae honesta sunt, induci possit. In quo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis potissimum cum domino castellano opera,

12 *post flexisse del. ad*

18 *post Vestram del. Maiestatem*

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 337–338; BK 220 fol. 245r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 412–413; BCzart TN 42. fol. 129–130.

² High Chancellor, Constable of Cracow Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (around 1475–1532). A friend of Sigismund from their youth and one of his trusted people.

³ He was staying in Tomicki's estate in July.

25 auctoritate et prudentia erit opus, neque agetur quicquam sine Vestra Reverendissima Dominatione, in cuius virtute et singulari bonitate ac sincero erga se amore rex noster plurimum confidit.

Nova nulla habemus certa. Ea, quae circumferuntur, credimus Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi non esse ignota. Nos et servitia nostra in amorem et favorem Vestrae
30 Reverendissimae Dominationis unice commendamus. Quae optime valeat.

Ex Cracovia 18. Iulii 1528.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

deditissimi servitores
frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus Colocensis
35 Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi vice-cancellario regni Poloniae etc., domino et fratri observandissimo.

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Piotr Tomicki to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Kielce, [after 18 July 1528]

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 198r–199v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 332–333.

1. He learnt from the letter of Brodarics and Frangepán that they had negotiations with Lord High Chancellor Szydłowiecki on the issue of peace between Szapolyai and Ferdinand. – 2. He is sorry he could not be there; this is not due to his negligence or carelessness but to his illness. – 3. It relieves him greatly that King John is inclined towards peace with Ferdinand prompted by Brodarics and others. If only he held on to his decision. – 4. He does not resent that he was not informed about the details, it is better if those remain secrets; he will reach Cracow soon and will try to promote with all his might what serves public good and King John's prestige.

Reverendissimi in Christo Patres et Domini Fratres et Amici Honorandi.

[1.] Intellexi ex litteris² Dominationum Vestrarum utramque illarum Cracoviae nuper fuisse et nomine serenissimi domini Hungariae regis, domini sui quaedam ad pacem et concordiam cum adversario ineundam necessaria cum magnifico domino
5 castellano et capitaneo Cracoviensi³ communicasse et egisse, quae eadem et mihi, si istic adfuissem, erant communicaturae Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae.

² post Cracoviae del. esse in marg. manu Tomicii
nuper fuisse

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 357–358; BK 220 fol. 239v–240v; BJ 6551 fol. 438–439; BCzart TN 42. fol. 131–133.

² See the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán on 18 July 1528.

³ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

[2.] Et equidem ego cum propterea, tum etiam quod nullo officio studia voluntatis et acclinationis meae hactenus serenissimo domino regi Ioanni et Dominationibus Vestris declarare potuerim, mirifice doleo, me tanto tempore aegritudine impeditum et longiore locorum intervallo disiunctum a maiestate sua et Dominationibus Vestris abfuisse, tamen quia non mea culpa sit hoc admissum, puto ad voluntatem Dei potius et factorum ordinationem referendum esse, quam negligentiae vel rusticitati meae attribuendum. Absenti etenim mihi, quod affirmare audeo, deerat nunquam ea faciendi et praestandi animus, quae vel ad officium meum pertinerent vel ex voluntate et sententia serenissimi illius maiestatis et Dominationum Vestrarum essent.

[3.] Plane istis nunc litteris Dominationum Vestrarum ego sum maiorem in modum recreatus, quod ex illis perspexi ductu et consilio Dominationum Vestrarum serenissimum regem et dominum illarum ad pacem et concordiam inclinare animum incipere.⁴ Namque ea res ad ingens totius reipublicae Christianae commodum et utilitatem, tum etiam Dominationum Vestrarum et eiusdem serenissimi domini regis sui, simul et nostram omnium consolationem spectare videtur. Faxit Deus Omnipotens, ut quemadmodum coepit maiestas sua velle pacem, ita felicissime et cum bono publico eam perficiat et cum adversario suo redeat in gratiam.

[4.] Quod autem mihi conditiones ex voluntate illius maiestatis propositas Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae non perscripserunt, boni consulo, ut res secretior et magis celata esse possit, nec enim magni interest, me eas interim, quod venio Cracoviam, ignorare, cum praesertim serenissimae regiae maiestati domini mei eas perscripserit dominus castellanus Cracoviensis. Ego enim quanto celerius me hinc absolvere potuero, tametsi tumentibus et vacillantibus nonnihil adhuc pedibus, Cracoviam me conferam libenter et illic omni opera, cura, diligentia, studio denique ac officiis meis agam et praestabo sedulo, quae et ad publicam utilitatem et serenissimi regis Ioannis dignitatem et splendorem arbitror pertinere. Dominationum etiam Vestrarum consuetudine et familiaritate frequentata iacturam intermissi usus sarciam. Quarum me interea amoris et benevolentiae fraternae ex animo commendo simulque rogo, ut me, officia servitutemque meam per occasionem serenissimo domino regi suo commendent, ipsae vero sint felicissimae et optime incolumes et me diligant.

Datum in Kyelcze

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus et dominis, dominis Francisco archiepiscopo Colocensi et Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi fratribus et amicis honorandis

24 *post voluntate del. serenissimi domini sui suprascr.*
illius maiestatis

24 *post propositas del. Dominationes Vestrae suprascr.*
manu Tomicii Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae

32 dignitatem et in marg. manu Tomicii
34 ex animo in marg. manu Tomicii

⁴ It seems that the desire for peace was not that strong in King John: Tomicki and Szydlowiecki informed Ferdinand on 27 August 1528 that they had requested Brodarics to prepare a draft of an agreement which would be that basis for the talks with Ferdinand. However, even they deemed the version produced by Brodarics unacceptable themselves. Sec: HHStA, Polen I. Kart. 1. Konv. 1527-28, fol. 112-114.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 9 September 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 24. fol. 3r-v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 375.

1. The chaplain of Brodarics visited him and told everything he was supposed to tell. The chaplain will tell his answer too. – Constable of Poznań says in a letter that German troops have to leave their place, but Brodarics might know more about that. He requests further information on this.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Honorandissime.

[1.] Fuit apud me is capellanus² Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae et accurate mihi ea exposuit, quae ab illa in mandatis acceperat. Gratissima equidem omnia et auditu iucundissima. Cui quid ego super iis responderim, ipsemet vicissim exponet

5 Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae.

[2.] De copiis Germanicis scripsit ad me dominus castellanus et capitaneus Posnaniensis³ sexta die mensis praesentis, illos movere loco debuisse.⁴ Quod ita sit nec ne, Dominatio Vestra istic nosse melius et certius potest. Quare et ego magnopere opto aliquid certi ea de re ab illa cognoscere. Valeat optime Dominatio Vestra Reverendis-

10 sima et sit diu felix et incolumis meque habeat sibi carum et commendatum.

Datum Cracoviae, die nona Septembris 1528.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi, fratri et amico carissimo et honorandissimo

2 post me del. familiaris suprascr. is capellanus.

6 post copiis del. Germanis suprascr. Germanicis.

7 post mensis del. eius suprascr. praesentis.

10 meque habeat ... nona Septembris manu Tomicii

¹ Draft. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 397–398; BK 220 fol. 267r; BJ 6551 fol. 489; BCzart TN 42. fol. 231.

² Tamás Mindszenti, would-be (1537) *Custos* of Eger and Provost of Pécs. We have no further data on him being Provost, but Brodarics refers to him as such in several letters.

³ We do not know the letter by Constable of Poznań Luka de Gorka.

⁴ Probably the reference is to the German auxiliary troops of Mikołaj Minkwitz. Ferdinand wrote about them to Luka de Gorka (AT XI. 245.), and Jan Łaski to Antonio Rincon (AT X. 431–432).

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Brzesko, 15 September 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 8r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 377.

1. He is grateful for Tomicki's help and generosity, something he cannot return properly, but he will strive for it anyway. – 2. All the news he sent via his chaplain Tamás are true. A courier returned from Constantinople recently and confirmed all of it. – 3. He has no further news but they don't stay in Poland much longer.

Reverendissime Domine Mi Colendissime. Salutem ac obsequiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Pro his, quae Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima mihi per dominum Thomam,² canonicum, capellanum meum de sua erga me tanta gratia, tanta item ac tam ampla liberalitate ac pietate declaravit, Deus, omnium benefactorum retributor retribuatur ac reddat digna praemia Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi. Ego fateor me neque ad referendas, sed neque ad agendas ei gratias esse idoneum. Quibuscunque tamen modis potero unquam gratitudinem meam erga Vestram Dominationem ostendere, in eo totis viribus enitar.

[2.] Nova illa, quae Dominationi Vestrae per eundem Thomam canonicum nuntia-veram, fuerunt et sunt verissima. Rediit rursus nunc ex Constantinopoli tabellarius regius, per quem illa eadem non confirmantur modo, sed mirum in modum et confirmantur et augentur. Venit is tabellarius mirabili celeritate in 14 diebus ex Constantinopoli huc, de quo ego scripseram ad capellanum meum, sed iam ex Cracovia discesserat. Scripseram autem, ut ea nova cum Vestra Dominatione et cum domino meo magnifico, domino castellano³ communicasset.

[3.] Aliud novi non est. Nos hic diu non morabimur. Sed ego ubicunque ero, quoscunque successus Deus rebus meis dederit, ero semper deditissimus servitor Vestrae Dominationis et memor illius in me beneficentiae et amoris. Quae felicissime valeat.

Ex Bresech 15. Septembris 1528.

Reverendissimus dominus meus, dominus Colocensis se Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae plurimum commendat.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

⁶ *post fateor del. neque*

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 394–395; BK 220 fol. 267r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 485–486; BCzart TN 42. fol. 235–236.

² See the previous letter.

³ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro Thomicio episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario regni Poloniae etc., domino mihi observandissimo

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Tarnów, 23 September 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 7r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 383–384.

1. He asked through his chaplain Tamás a few days ago that Tomicki, as far as his usual generosity allows, help him out in his difficult situation. – 2. No he is sending Tamás again with the request to send 100 forints by him in a currency that can be spent in Hungary; God willing, if things go in a favourable direction he will pay the sum back with interest. – 3. Laski arrived at their place yesterday during dinner; his appearance was changed to make him look Turkish, and all his news were favourable for King John. Chaplain Tamás will give more details.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi semper Observandissime. Salute plurima et servitiorum meorum commendatione praemissa.

[1.] Supplicaveram his diebus medio huius domini Thomae,² canonici et capellani mei Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, dignaretur pro sua solita in me gratia et liberalitate hanc meam praesentem inopiam ope sua sustentare, ad quae illa mihi benignissime respondit.

[2.] Mitto nunc ipsum eundem ad Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam, per quem supplico, velit mihi mittere florenos centum in Cruciferis vel in alia tali moneta, quae possit in Hungaria etiam expendi. Si Deus gloriosus res nostras, prout undique bona spes sese ostendit, prosperaverit, et mihi facultas fuerit pecuniam huiusmodi restituendi, id me bona fide omnino facturum praesentibus promitto, non sine fenore, quamvis id Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam (de fenore loquor) sciam non desiderare. Si vero aliter caderet (quod dominus Deus avertat), Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima hanc etiam summam computabit inter alia sua pietatis opera.

[3.] Dominus Lasky heri vesperi cenantibus nobis supervenit repente, totus in Turcum mutatus, de habitu et capillicio loquor. Nam quoad alia, ea omnia, quae affert, quae plurima et regiae maiestati valde secunda sunt, vere Christianum hominem redolent.³ Plura dicet idem dominus Thomas, cui Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima plenam

12 post Reverendissimam del. scia
12 post loquor del. non e

15 post Dominus suprascrib. alia manu Hieronymus
15 post totus del. hab

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 395–396; BK 220 fol. 270r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 486–487; BCzart TN 42. fol. 237–238.

² Tamás Mindszenti.

³ Laski brought the news of an agreement with the Turkish Sultan that gave the possibility for Szapolyai to return to Hungary.

fidem habere velit. Me in gratiam Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae unice com-
20 mendo. Quae felix sit et sana.

Ex castro Tharnoviensi, 23. Septembris 1528.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus
electus Sirmiensis

25

On the back side: Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Petro Dei gratia episcopo
Cracoviensi, [vice]cancellario regni Poloniae, mihi observandissimo

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István Brodarics to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Tarnów, 25 September 1528

Manuscript used: GSiA PK, HBA, Polen B2, K. 351, fol. 5.¹

Published: *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XXXIV.* Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano
in Poloniam spectantia, pars IV. Edidit: Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 147.

1. *He received Szydłowiecki's letter; he sent Canon Tamás with more recent news; Łaski is with them.* – 2.
He would like to hear news about Ferdinand's situation and also about events in Italy.

Illustris et Magnifice Domine, Domine Colendissime. Salutem et servitiorum meo-
rum commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi, quae mihi Dominatio Vestra scribit. Ego hodie misi ad Vestram Illu-
strem Dominationem dominum Thomam, capellanum meum,² per quem plura nuntiavi.
5 Vellem, quod omnia prosperos haberent successus, sicut habitura spero. Hic habemus
nobiscum dominum Lasky,³ servitorem et filium Vestrae Dominationis Illustris.

[2.] Libenter voluissem scire aliquid apertius de rebus serenissimi regis Bohemiae,⁴
nulla mala de causa, nam Dominatio Vestra scit iam, si mihi credit, prout ita esse con-
fido, quo tendunt omnes cogitatus et desideria mea.

10 Item libenter intelligerem, si quid est ex Italia scitu dignum.

Reverendissimus dominus meus Colocensis,⁵ dominus item cancellarius⁶ se Vestrae

19 *post fidem del. ad*

7 *nunc del. suprascr. tunc*

¹ Contemporary replica.

² Tamás Mindszenti.

³ Hieronym Łaski, according to the previous letter, returned to Tarnów from his legation in Constanti-
nople on 22 September.

⁴ Ferdinand Habsburg.

⁵ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁶ Chancellor Werbőczy István.

Dominationi Illustri commendant. Alia, ut dixi, dominus Thomas referet. Vestram Dominationem cupio optime valere.

Ex castro Tharnoviensi, 25. Septembris 1528.

15 Vestrae Illustris Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

On the outer side: Illustri et magnifico domino meo, castellano et capitaneo Cracoviensi etc., Poloniae supremo cancellario etc., domino mihi colendissimo

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki¹
Tarnów, 28 September 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9, fol. 5r–v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 387–388.

1. He must have heard about Laski's return and the agreement with the Sultan as well as about András Báthori's defeat. The Serbs lead by Bosić Radić, who used to side with Crni Jovan but are now followers of Szapolyai defeated Péter Perényi too; István Maylád died in the battle. – 2. Szapolyai's troops defeated Ferdinand's army near Sárospatak; Ferdinand's army included troops of Archbishop of Esztergom Elek Thurzó, Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy, the Palatine and other noblemen of the opposing party as well as troops from Kassa and other towns and 400 German lancers. Their camp was captured and numerous cannons were seized. – 3. The envoy of Ferenc Homonnay also confirmed all this. Jakab Tornallyai received news that the 800 cavalrymen of Péter Perényi were defeated, Maylád and Ferenc Erdélyi were beheaded. Supposedly, Bishop of Zagreb and János Bánffy, together with county armies loyal to Szapolyai, also defeated Ferdinand's troops.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De reditu domini Lasky, de pace perpetua per eum apud imperatorem facta,³ de profligatione copiarum Andreae Bathory⁴ et ipso in castrum Echeth⁵ incluso non
5 dubito Vestram Dominationem aliunde etiam iam intellexisse. Ego etiam Dominationi Vestrae haec per dominum Thomam, capellanum meum nuntiaveram. Audieramus

¹ This letter has a somewhat different version that Brodarics sent to Szydłowiecki. See the following letter.

² Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 396–397; BK 220 fol. 268v–269v; BJ 6551 fol. 487–489; BCzart TN 42, fol. 243–245.

³ Namely, the alliance created by Laski between Szapolyai and Suleyman.

⁴ András Ecsedi Báthori (?–1534), Comes of Zala (1491–1506), Szatmár (1506–1528), and Szabolcs (1511–1519), Ban of Macsó (1519–1520), and finally, Treasurer of Ferdinand I between 1527–1534.

⁵ Ecsed (today: Nagyecsed) Szatmár county.

tunc et illud: partem copiarum Petri Pereny⁶ ex Transsilvania egredientis fuisse profli-
gatam, Maylad, dispensatorem olim divi regis mei Ludovici, in eo proelio interfectum,⁷
haec nunc quoque confirmantur pro re certa, ipsum autem Petrum Pereny, non asum
10 amplius tentare fortunam ex Transsilvania egrediendi, retrocessisse territum exercitu
regio, qui est in illis partibus prope ex XX milibus Rascianorum conflatus eorum, qui
aliquando cum homine Nigro⁸ fuerant, nunc sunt sub Radyth⁹ et eius sociis maiestati
regiae fidelibus.

[2.] Praeterea Dominatio Vestra potuit intellexisse fuisse congregatum non con-
15 temnendum exercitum Ferdinandi regis contra copias, quae erant sub ductu castellani
castris regii Wyhel Simonis litterati,¹⁰ inter quos debebat fieri conflictus.¹¹ Nunc hac
ipsa hora venit ad maiestatem regiam nuntius, non postremae conditionis homo, qui
proelio interfuit et omnia oculis vidit. Exercitum illum per nostros esse penitus dele-
tum, castra etiam, in quae post primam fugam confugerant, capta et direpta, omnes
20 fere, qui in castris fuerunt, occisos, bombardas omnes et quidem pulchras acceptas.
Exercitus iste erat conflatus ex copiis Pauli Strigoniensis,¹² Thomae Agriensis,¹³ Thur-
zonis¹⁴ et nandoryspanii¹⁵ et quorundam aliorum adversae partis, item Cassoviensium

⁶ Péter Perényi was the Transylvanian Voivod of Ferdinand at the time (1527–1529).

⁷ This information is false: István Maylád, future Voivod of Transylvania did not die in the battle. He was active in political battles until 1541. Then he was captured by the Turks and became a prisoner of the Yedikule together with Bálint Török. He died there.

⁸ Crni Jovan, the Black Man.

⁹ Radić Bosić or Deli Radić, one of the commanders of the Serbs that fled to Hungary pushed by the Turks not long before the battle of Mohács. First he was second-in-command with Crni Jovan and commander of the sloopers on the Danube. When Jovan joined Ferdinand, he didn't follow but stayed with Szapolyai. His troops held the castles of Lugos, Lippa, and Karánsebes and kept the Maros valley on Szapolyai's side throughout the year 1528. They defended Lippa against Ferdinand's troops lead by Bálint Török, Péter Perényi, and István Maylád in the autumn of 1528. See: BESSENYEI József (ed.), *1504–1566 Memoria rerum*, Budapest, 1981, 35., ill. BESSENYEI József, *A Hétorony foglya. Török Bálint*, Budapest, 1986, 36.

¹⁰ Simon Athinai Deák (?–1548), military nobleman of Slavonian origin was in the service of Szapolyai already before 1526. Later he entered the service of Péter Perényi and became Captain of the castles of Sárospatak and Sátoraljaújhely but handed over these castles to Szapolyai after Perényi changed sides. He defended Sátoraljaújhely resolutely against Ferdinand's troops in the winter of 1528. Ferenc Kőrösy, commander of the besiegers reported on this to Ferdinand on 12 February 1528. (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 8. Konv. A fol. 43.) After the defeat at Sina, Athinai followed Szapolyai to Poland. Szapolyai appointed him as one of the Commanders of his army that returned to the homeland in the autumn of 1528. More on Simon Athinai Deák see: SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Athinai Deák Simon*, Századok, 1905, 497–517. More recently: VARGA Szabolcs, *Athinai Simon* = Pécs Lexikon I., 58.

¹¹ The battle took place on 23 September near Sárospatak. The royal army was led by Gáspár Serédi who attributed victory to the flight of Ferenc Révay. See ETE I. 404–406. Ferdinand's clerks in Buda informed him about the defeat on 27 September 1527. See: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 9. Konv. A fol. 128.

¹² Pál Várday, Archbishop of Esztergom.

¹³ Tamás Szalaházy, Bishop of Veszprém and Eger.

¹⁴ Elek Thurzó.

¹⁵ Palatine István Báthori.

et aliarum civitatum,¹⁶ erant et CCCC lancigeri Germani. Ante proelium hortati sunt eos nostri, ut proelium omitteretur, ne fieret tanti Christiani ac fraterni sanguinis effusio, ad quae illos, dicit iste nuntius, superbissime atque insolentissime respondisse convitiis etiam et probis turpissimis additis. Haec volui Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae ita, ut accepi, esse nota, quae pro eo amore ac favore, quo serenissimum regem meum prosequitur, scio, quod super his ex corde laetabitur. Cui servitia mea unice commendo. Quae optime valeat.

30 Ex castro Tharnoviensi 28. Septembris 1528.
Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

[3.] Supervenit et alius nuntius domini Francisci Homonnay¹⁷ idem affirmans. Venerunt litterae domini Iacobi Thornaly,¹⁸ in quibus scribit, allatum esse ad se de Transsilvania octingentos equites Petri Perenii debellatos, capita Francisci Erdely et illius Maylad, de quo supra, esse ablata.

Propter occupationes coactus sum haec aliena manu scribere, quare veniam peto.

Allata sunt et alia nova, sed ista non audeo affirmare, versus partes Slavoniae per copias episcopi Zagrabiensis¹⁹ et fidelissimi omnium Hungarorum Ioannis Bánffy, item nonnullorum comitatum, qui simul pro rege nostro conspiraverant, copias regis Bohemiae esse profligatas.²⁰

Idem Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario regni Poloniae, domino observandissimo

34 Supervenit...profligatas manu Broderici

¹⁶ According to a plan dated January 1528, Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várday was supposed to give 100 cavalymen for the fight against Szapolyai. Bishop of Eger Tamás Szalaházy – referred to as Bishop of Veszprém by Brodarics – was supposed to give 100, Treasurer Elek Thurzó was supposed to give 75. The list does not include the Palatine. The draft prescribes 500, 400, and 300 cavalymen, respectively, for the same dignitaries for the fight against the Turks. (We cannot find Thurzó on this latter list.) See: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 8. Konv. A, fol. 15–16.

¹⁷ Ferenc Homonnay Drugeth, nephew of János Szapolyai (mother: Krisztina Szapolyai), one-time member of the so called “Kalandos Társaság” [Adventurous Alliance], Comes of Ung, Treasurer of King John in 1527–1533.

¹⁸ Jakab Tornallyai, Treasurer of King John from 1526, Vice-Comes of Gömör from 1528. More on his role in the Szapolyai administration developed after Mohács: BARTA Gábor, *Konszolidációs kísérlet Magyarországon a mohácsi csatavesztés után*, Századok, 1977, 635–677.

¹⁹ Simon Erdődy, Bishop of Zagreb.

²⁰ Hearing the news of Szapolyai’s return, his adherents in Slavonia Simon Erdődy, János Bánffy, and János Tahy recruited an army to recapture Zagreb that was packed with Spanish troops. However, they had to give up the siege upon hearing about the approaching auxiliary army. See: ZERMEGH János, *Emlékirat a Ferdinand és János, Magyarország királyai között történt dolgokról* = KULCSÁR Péter, *Krónikáink magyarl III/2*, Budapest, 2007, 148.

István Brodarics to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki¹
Tarnów, 28 September 1528

Manuscript used: GStA PK, HBA, Polen B2, K. 351, fol. 7–8.²

Published: *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XXXIV. Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Polonia spectantia, pars IV.* Edidit: Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 148.

1. He must have heard about Łaski's return and the agreement with the Sultan as well as about András Báthori's defeat. The Serbs lead by Bosić Radić, who used to side with Crni Jovan but now are followers of Szapolyai, defeated Péter Perényi too; István Maylád died in the battle. – 2. Szapolyai's troops defeated Ferdinand's army near Sárospatak; Ferdinand's army included troops of Archbishop of Eszergom Elek Thurzó, Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy, the Palatine and other noblemen of the opposing party as well as troops of Kassa and other towns and 400 German lancers. Their camp was captured and numerous cannons were seized. – 3. The envoy of Ferenc Homonnay also confirmed all this. Jakab Tornallyai received news that the 800 caval-rymen of Péter Perényi were defeated, Maylád and Ferenc Erdélyi were beheaded. Supposedly, Bishop of Zagreb and János Bánffy, together with county armies loyal to Szapolyai also defeated Ferdinand's troops.

Illustris et Magnifice Domine, Domine Observandissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De reditu domini Laski, de pace perpetua per eum apud imperatorem facta, de profligatione copiarum Andreae Bathorii et ipso in castrum Echeth incluso non dubito Vestram
5 Dominationem Illustrem aliunde etiam iam intellexisse. Ego etiam Dominationi Vestrae haec per dominum Thomam, capellanum meum nuntiaveram. Audiveramus tunc et illud: partem copiarum Petri Perenii ex Transilvania egredientis fuisse profligatam, Maylad, dispensatorem olim divi regis mei Ludovici, in eo proelio interfectum. Hoc nunc quoque confirmatur pro re certa, ipsum autem Petrum Perenii non ausurum amplius tentare
10 fortunam ex Transilvania egredientibus retrocessisse, territum exercitu regio, qui est in illis partibus prope ex XX milibus Rascianorum conflatus eorum, qui aliquando cum homine Nigro³ fuerunt. Nunc sunt sub Radyth⁴ et eius sociis maiestati regiae fidelibus.
[2.] Praeterea Dominatio Vestra potuit intellexisse, fuisse congregatum non con-temnendum exercitum Ferdinandi regis contra copias, quae erant sub ductu castellani
5 castris regii Wychel Simonis litterati,⁵ inter quos debebat fieri conflictus.⁶ Nunc hac ipsa

9 ausurum in ms. orig. ad Tomicium scripto ausum

10 egredientibus in ms. orig. ad Tomicium scripto egrediendi

¹ This letter is identical, almost verbatim, to the previous one written to Tomicki. That it is to be treated as a separate document is justified by the afterword which is identical in content but different in the choice of words.

² Contemporary replica.

³ Crni Jovan, the Black Man.

⁴ On Bosić Radić, see notes for the previous letter.

⁵ On Simon Athinai Deák, see notes for the previous letter.

⁶ Regarding the battle, see notes for the previous letter.

hora venit ad maiestatem regiam nuntius, non postremae conditionis homo, qui proelio interfuit et omnia oculis vidit: exercitum illum per nostros esse penitus deletum, castra etiam, in quae post primam fugam confugerant, capta et direpta, omnes fere, qui in castra fuerunt, occisos, bombardas omnes et quidem pulchras acceptas. Exercitus iste
20 erat conflatus ex copiis Pauli Strigoniensis, Thomae Agriensis, Thurzonis et Nandor-yspani et quorundam aliorum adversae partis, item Cassoviensium et aliarum civitatum: erant et CCCC lancigerii Germani. Ante proelium hortati sunt eos nostri, ut proelium omitteretur, ne fieret tanti Christiani ac fraterni sanguinis effusio, ad quae illis, dicit iste nuntius, superbissime atque insolentissime respondisse convitiis etiam et
25 probis turpissimis additis.

Haec volui Dominationi Vestrae Illustri ita, ut accepi, esse nota, quae pro eo amore ac favore, quo serenissimum regem nostrum prosequitur, scio, quod super his ex corde laetabitur. Cui servitia mea unice commendo. Quae optime valeat.

Ex castro Tharnowiensi 28. Septembris 1528.

30 Vestrae Dominationis Illustris

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

[3.] Supervenit de hoc, scriptis his, alius nuntius domini Francisci de Homonna. Audimus etiam in Sclavonia, vel ibi prope, nam de hoc adeo certi adhuc non sumus,
35 copias Ferdinandi regis per dominum Zagrabiensem, Ioannem Banffy, ac nonnullos comitatus regi fideles esse profligatas. Dominus Thornaly scribit ad se recens allatum de profligatione octingenti equitum Petri Perenii, de capite Maylad et Francisci Erdeulii, qui illis copiis praeerant, a nostris portatis.⁷

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Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 29 September 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 11r–12v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 388.

1. He is happy to hear through Chaplain Tamás that things are going well for King John and his followers. God grant that all their hopes get fulfilled in the future. – 2. He could collect the 100 forints requested in Polish money only, which he exchanged to 70 Hungarian gold coins, and this is what he is sending to Brodarics. He sent the requested horses to Radlow; Brodarics can fetch them there if they are needed. Let Brodarics accept all this in good faith.

24 illis in ms. orig. ad Tomicium scripto illos

⁷ Regarding the postscript, see notes for the previous letter.

¹ Draft. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 400–401; BK 220 fol. 268r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 493–494; BCzart TN 42. fol. 249–250.

Reverendissime Domine, Frater et Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

- [1.] Dominus Thomas,² Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae capellanus diligenter mihi omnia exposuit, quae a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima in mandatis acceperat, quae quidem mihi auditu fuerunt iucundissima, uti et cetera semper alia, quae in rem serenissimi domini regis Ioannis dicuntur, gratissima et iucunda esse consueverunt. Faxit Omnipotens Deus, ut ea omnia, in quibus spem et exspectationem suam fixit maiestas sua, felices sortiantur et habeant exitus. Hoc enim mihi et illius maiestatis et Dominationum Vestrarum, quae cum illa periclitantur, causa optatius et magis gratum vel iucundum nihil accidere posset.
- [2.] Quod autem scripsit³ Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, ut illi monetae Cruciferae, vel quae in Pannonia in usu haberetur, florenos centum mitterem, equidem habere hic aliam monetam praeter nostram non potui, ex qua centum florenos nostrates permutari feci in septuaginta aureos Pannonicos, quos Dominationi Vestrae gratissimo animo mitto, et praeterea pellem sobellinam, de qua mihi dominus Thomas dixerat et quam ego ad usum meum selectam habueram. Equos etiam, quos habere a me optabat, in Radlow misi, quos illic, cum fuerit opus, Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima accipi faciet. Quae omnia Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima eo animo, quo a me dantur, accipiat nempe liberali et grato. Etenim uti saepe pollicitus sum, ego etiam nunc id prae me fero, ut in ea fortuna et egestate Dominatio Vestra, quantum in me est, non deseratur. Cuius benevolentiae et amoris fraterno me plurimum commendo eamque felicem esse et incolumem vehementer desidero. Datum Cracoviae die Sancti Michaelis anno domini etc.

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico, episcopo Sirmiensi, fratri et amico carissimo ac honorando.

1 post Domine del. et domine et domine amice
suprscr. manu Tomicii Frater et Amice carissime ac

2 post capellanus del. exposuit

3 post mandatis del. ad nos

4 post quidem del. ego

4 post alia del. solent

8 post Vestrarum del. causa

10 post monetae del. pannonicae suprscr. manu
Tomicii Cruciferae

11 post vel del. istic esset suprscr. manu Tomicii
quae tunc in Pannonia

11 post haberetur del. aureos suprscr. manu Tomicii
florenos

12 post centum del. ducatos suprscr. manu Tomicii
florenos

14 post pellem del. de suprscr. manu Tomicii sobel-
linam

14 post quam del. etiam

15 Equos [...] faciet. in marg. manu Tomicii

19 post me del. esset suprscr. manu Tomicii est

² Tamás Mindszenti.

³ See the letter by Brodarics on 23 September 1528.

István Brodarics to Andrzej Tęczyński¹
Strzyżów, 22 October 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 19r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 411.

1. To his great chagrin, he could not become acquainted with Tęczyński during his stay in Poland even though he made several attempts. He hopes there will be another chance. – 2. Their troops defeated András Báthori and Chief Commander of Ferdinand István Révay, whereas the Serbs forced Péter Perényi and Bálint Török to withdraw. Perényi withdrew to Siklós, while Török withdrew to Buda. – 3. Ferdinand announces a national assembly for St Nicholas' Day, but unless God performs a miracle all his schemes will prove futile.

Magnifice Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Nihil mihi ab eo tempore, quo in Polonia sum, acerbius accidit, quam quod negata sit mihi, nescio quo meo malo fato, contrahendae cum Vestra Magnificentia maioris notitiae occasio. Cuius rei consequendae licet fuerim et Peterkoviae³ et postea cupidissimus, tamen compos esse non potui. Quod nunc est negatum, fortasse adhuc dabitur. Interim rogo Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, dignetur me in numerum aliorum suorum reponere et obsequiis meis, quae illi cupio esse dicata, pro omni animi sui libito uti.

[2.] Nova non sunt alia, nisi quae Dominationem Vestram iam intellexisse arbitror. Primum de Andrea Bathory apud Bathor, postea de Stephano Rheway, generali regis Bohemiae⁴ capitaneo apud Patak⁵ per nostros profligato.⁶ Novissime Petrus Periny cum Valentino Therek a Rascianis nostris foede discedere sunt coacti, ille in Soklyos,⁷ hic Budam. Nos recta in regnum Hungariae intramus.

[3.] Intelligimus regem Bohemiae indixisse dietam Posonium pro festo Sancti Martini,⁸ sed quomodo nunc habent se negotia, nisi Deus velit facere miraculum aliquod a multis saeculis inauditum, frustra omnia cadent, quaecunque ille molitur. Vestrae

¹ Andrzej Tęczyński (around 1480–1536), offspring of a noble family in Lesser Poland. Royal Secretary at the beginning of his career (1510), later Constable of Biecz (1511), then, after the death of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki in 1532, Constable of Cracow. Voivod of Sandomierz from 1519, Palatinus of Cracow 1527. A relative of the famous poet Mikołaj Rej.

² Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 409; BK 220 fol. 274r–v; BJ 6551 fol. 503–504; BCzart TN 42. fol. 327–328.

³ Piotrków is the traditional location of Polish national assemblies. Brodarics spent several months here in late 1527– early 28 with Ferenc Frangepán as an envoy of Szapolyai.

⁴ Typical terminology of the Szapolyai party. Ferdinand is addressed as King of Bohemia because at the moment this his highest honour. Obviously, he is not recognised as King of Hungary.

⁵ Sárospatak.

⁶ Regarding this, see the letter by Brodarics on 28 September 1528.

⁷ Siklós.

⁸ 11 November 1528. In fact, the national assembly was called together for 13 October 1528 in Pozsony already, not for November. See: MOE I., 213–214.

Magnificentiae servitia mea plurimum commendo et reverendissimus dominus meus Colocensis⁹ commendat. Et eam cupimus optime valere.

Ex Stryso, 22 Octobris Anno domini 1528.

20 Vestrae Magnificentiae

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Andreae Thenczenszky, palatino Cracoviensi, domino mihi observandissimo

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Homonna, 28 October 1528

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 28r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 419.

1. Chaplain Tamás returned with Tomicki's favourable response. He has no further news, he hopes everything goes according to their wishes. – 2. Chaplain Tamás reported to Szapolyai on Tomicki's message too. The King knows about Tomicki's good will towards him; it would be necessary to discuss their secret affairs more openly, therefore he is sending a cipher key to Tomicki. He is finding excuses for Szapolyai who is desperate and tries to get back his unjustly lost country in any way he can. Tomicki knows Brodarics' views on this. – 3. They arrived to Homonna today. The news are good. Ferdinand has hardly any army in the country, while King John has considerable forces at his disposal, and he can easily overcome his opponent.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime. Salutem et servitiorum commendationem.

- [1.] Rediit rursus dominus Thomas² cum optatissimo et humanissimo Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae ad optata mea responso. Deus faxit, ut possim hoc
5 quoque inter alia benefacta Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae eidem reservare, quod totis viribus, dum vivam, facere conabor. De publicis negotiis nescio quid aliud scribere, quam quod et scripsi iam saepe et nuntiavi satis aperte, videor mihi plane videre, quorsum ista tendant. Utinam autem optatum et reipublicae Christianae utilem finem sortiantur.
- 10 [2.] De maiestate regia intelligo, quae Vestra Dominatio nuntiat, quae me praesente ita, ut nuntiata sunt, retulit dominus Thomas suae maiestati. Grato animo accepit sua maiestas. Scit sua maiestas verum esse illud: *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor*.³ Videt ista procedere ex singulari amore Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae erga se.

⁹ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 409–411; BK 220 fol. 274v–275v; BJ 6551 fol. 504–505.

² Tamás Mindszenti.

³ Ovid, *Heroides* I, 12.

Sed mi, Reverendissime Domine, necesse esset, nos illa occulta apertius intel-
 15 legere. Itaque rogo Vestram Dominationem, velit nobis aliquid apertius significare,
 quod facere poterit secure per has notulas occultiores, quas ad Vestram Dominationem
 mitto hanc solam ob causam. Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dignabitur habere
 excusatam regiam maiestatem, si desperata iam penitus omni cum adversario tolerabi-
 20 poterit, recuperare, de quo quid ego sentiam, maiestas sua novit, et Vestra etiam
 Dominatio Reverendissima ex his, quae toties cum ea locutus sum, suspicari potest.
 Sed meum sentire vel etiam prohibere nescio, si tantum ponderabit, ut ille malit
 vitam miseram ac turpem perpetuo in exilio agere, quam in regno nobilissimo atque
 opulentissimo adiutus opera eorum, qui sunt ei ad nutum, regnare. Dominatio Vestra
 25 Reverendissima, scio, quod intelligit haec omnia, quae scribo, et ex illis, quae ex
 Stryso ad Vestram Dominationem 21 huius mensis sunt scripta,⁴ potuit funditus omnia
 intelligere.

[3.] Nos hodie, id est 28 huius mensis, venimus huc ad Homonna salvi et incolumes,
 quo nuntiantur nobis omnia prospera ex omni parte. Non possumus intelligere hostes
 30 habere aliquas copias in ulla regni parte, nisi non longe a Vienna duo milia equitum et
 peditum, ea etiam male soluta. Regiae autem maiestati, postquam ad hoc ventum est,
 non deerunt multa milia et equitum et peditum, quibus facile possit esse hoste superior.
 Sed utinam ne in nemore Pelio,⁵ quod veteri proverbio dicebatur. Haec, quae scribo ad
 Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem, scribo similiter ad praefectum illustrem
 35 dominum meum, dominum castellanum.⁶ Et cum his servitia mea Vestrae Reverendis-
 simae Dominationi et eidem domino meo, domino castellano unice commendo. Et
 reverendissimus dominus meus, dominus Colocensis commendat. Quae optime
 valeat.

Ex Homonna 28. Octobris 1528.

40 Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
 Stephanus Brodericus
 Sirmiensi subscripsit

*On the back side: Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Petro Thomicio episcopo
 Cracoviensi, vicedancellario regni Poloniae, domino mihi observandissimo, Cracoviae.
 [alia manu: redditae in Kyelcze 20 Novembris]*

14 *post necesse del. est supraser. esset.*

14 *post nos del. ista*

19 *post iniuste del. a se*

24 *post opulentissimo del. per eos supraser. adiutus.*

30 *post milia del. peditum*

37 *post commendat del. ex*

⁴ This letter did not survive.

⁵ Ennius Trag, 208. (*Utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus caesa accidisset abiegnata ad terram trabes.*)
 Several others cite the expression based on this. Cicero (*Cael* 18,12; *Inv* 119,7; *Top* 61,3; *ND* 3,75,8; *Fat*
 35,2; *RhetHer* 2,34,27); Terentius Varro (*L*, 7,33,3) and Quintilian (*Inst* 5,10,84).

⁶ Krzysztof Sztydlowiecki.

István Brodarics to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Debrecen, 13 November 1528

Manuscript used: GStA PK, HBA, Polen B2, K. 351, fol. 5.¹

Published: *Elementa ad fontium editiones, Tomus XXXIV. Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano in Poloniam spectantia, pars IV.* Edidit: Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA, Romae, 1975, 152–153.

1. They arrived at Debrecen; everywhere in the country King John is received with joy. – 2. They are going to go to Várad with Frangepán because they want to stay out from the warfare. Furthermore, Brodarics is ill. – 3. Unfortunately, Ferdinand is not inclined to negotiate, albeit Hungary's situation is quite unfavourable. – 4. News came that the Turks invaded Carinthia again and drove away 5000 captives, but when Ban of Slavonia János of Corbavia attacked the advance guard, the rest massacred the captives. – 5. Carinthia was attacked several times already this year and nearly 40,000 people have been put on fetters. This is where Christianity ended up as a result of the civil war between Szapolyai and Ferdinand.

Illustris Domine, Domine Observandissime. Salutem et servitorum commendationem.

[1.] Novi aliud nihil. Pervenimus ad oppidum Drebeczen [!],² ubique a subditis regiae maiestatis excepti magno favore et oboedientia. Omnia nobis hactenus fuere
5 prospera, et ad nutum. Deus secundet futura. Dominatio Vestra Illustris et simul dominus meus reverendissimus, dominus episcopus Cracoviensis³ intellexit ex his, quae ex Strisso⁴ oppido 21 vel 22 Octobris scripta fuerunt,⁵ omnia. Quod iam secundo Vestrae Illustri Dominationi repeto, non sine causa haec scribo, tantum ne data hac litteras mittendi occasione nihil scripsisse viderer. Me, servitum meum et illud negotium Vestrae
10 Illustri Dominationi plurimum commendo. Quae, quando dignabitur ad me scribere, velit ita litteras dirigere, ut non veniant ad manus alicuius alterius, sed ad meas proprias.

[2.] Ego ero Waradini⁶ simul cum domino meo reverendissimo Colocensi.⁷ Quid enim nobis cum Marte, mihi praesertim etiam nunc latus, ob brevem, sed nimium lucuosam militiam, graviter afflicto et assiduis doloribus vexato.
15

[3.] Libenter etiam inter istas tot et tantas nostras rei bene et ex animi sententia succedendae spes intelligerem, si quid ex illa animi durtia adversarii⁸ est immutatum aut diminutum. Cuius res, nisi Deus peculiari quadam sua benignitate aliter providerit, sunt in summo periculo procul omni dubio, et miror certo eum periculum suum vel non
20 intelligere vel non credere.

¹ Contemporary replica.

² Debrecen.

³ Bishop of Cracow Piotr Tomicki.

⁴ Strzyżów.

⁵ Compare: letter by Brodarics on 22 October 1528.

⁶ Várad (today: Oradea, Romania).

⁷ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁸ Ferdinand Habsburg.

[4.] Habuimus nuntium de Slavonia recentem, qui narrat Turcas nunc rursus fecisse incursionem in Carinthiam miseram. Qui cum ducerent circiter quinque milia animarum, et cum hi, qui eorum agmen praecedebant, ad centum equitum a comite Corbaviensi,⁹ bano Slavoniae fuissent prostrati, reliqui totam illam turbam captivorum ad
25 unum trucidarunt.¹⁰

[5.] Dicit idem nuntius hoc anno plures fuisse factas in Carinthiam excursions, abducta pluribus vicibus usque ad quadraginta milia animarum.¹¹ Huc miseram Christianitatem civilia ac fraterna bella ac tanta paucorum dominandi libido adduxerunt. Et iam iam longe graviora instant. In quo utinam falsus sim vates! Haec non sine ingenti
30 cordis dolore et amaritudine scribo. Vestram Dominationem Illustrem cupio optime valere.

Ex Debreczen, 13. Novembris 1528.

Vestrae Illustris Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensis subscripsit
35

On the outer side: Illustri domino Christophoro de Schidlovicz castellano et capitaneo Cracoviensi ac regni Poloniae supremo cancellario, domino meo observandissimo. [Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis scribit officiosas litteras quaedam de protectione sua
40 indicans. 13 Novembris Anno 28]

40 Stephanus...Anno 28 *alia manu*

⁹ János Karlovics (of Corbavia/Torquatus), Croatian-Slavonian Ban in 1521–24 by himself, then together with Ferenc Batthyány from 1528 till his death. Comes of Verőce county from 1527. On his political career, see VARGA Szabolcs, *Adalékok a Zrínyi család felemelkedéséhez. A Karlovics-örökség.* = VARGA Zoltán (ed.), *Zrínyi Miklós élete és öröksége.* Szigetvár, 2009, 5–20.

¹⁰ The clash with foraying Turks took place on 4 October 1528 near the Breznica river. The fact that royal historian Ursinus Velius wrote about the clash in his work *De bello Pannonico*, which discussed the war between Ferdinand and Szapolyai, shows its significance. About the battle's circumstances and other sources see: BARTA Gábor, *Az elfelejtett hadszíntér 1526–1528. Megjegyzések a török-magyar szövetség előtörténetéről*, Történelmi Szemle, 1995, 18–19.

¹¹ About Turkish forays against Croatia and Habsburg territories including Carinthia as well as about their function, see more: BARTA Gábor, *Az elfelejtett hadszíntér...* 1–33.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Kielce,¹ [after 20 November 1528]²

Manuscript used: BN T. 9. fol. 116r–117r.³

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 420–421.

1. He has received two letters from Brodarics; from these he learnt that there had been others but those had not reached him. – 2. Since Brodarics must have expressed his gratitude in those too for the money he had sent, he reassures Brodarics that he had done all this with pleasure as a true friend in order to express his devotion to King John this way too. He wishes luck for Brodarics' travel home.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime ac honorande.

[1.] Accepi binas eodem tempore Dominationis Vestrae litteras, unas quidem mihi inscriptas,⁴ alteras vero mihi cum domino castellano Cracoviensi.⁵ Et ex illis equidem
5 meis cognovi Dominationem Vestram iam ante post reditum sui ad se capellani⁶ litteras alias ad me dedisse, quas ego non accepi.

[2.] Quia tamen conicio in illis Dominationem Vestram, quod et in istis facit, egisse mihi gratias ob pecuniam et alia sibi a me missa,⁷ utrisque nunc simili respondeo, ita videlicet, quod ea, quae hactenus liberalitatis officia (utcunque exigua) Reverendis-
10 simae Dominationi Vestrae praestiterim, ab optimo meo in illam animo et ab humana atque fraterna caritate fuerunt profecta, quibus etiam deinceps, si opus fuerit, ita uti volo, ut nihil illi in meo officio et liberalitate desiderandum relinqui possit. Libenter enim ego me in his praesto officiosum et benevolum, quae vel observantiam in serenis-
15 simum regem Ioannem meam, vel amorem in vos ceteros singularem declarare et testari possent. Quibus ego invicem omnibus praesentem reditum in patriam faustum esse opto et felicem, simulque precor, ut ita prospere pugnetur a parte vestra, ubi fuerit opus, et maiestas sua ita regno potiat, ut et vos voti vestri et amissarum fortunarum compotes esse possitis.

1 post Domine del. domine in marg. manu Tomicii
frater et

1 carissime ac manu Tomicii

5 post se del. sacellani suprascr. manu Tomicii capellani

8 post ob del. [dua verba illegibilia] suprascr. manu
Tomicii pecuniam et alia

¹ Since the letter was probably written in late November, it was written in Kielce because Tomicki spent the whole month there.

² Some facts that may help in dating the letter are that it is clear from the text that Brodarics is on his way home accompanying Szapolyai, and he says thanks for what Tomicki sent him in letter dated Homonna, 28 October. Tomicki received this letter on 20 November according to the note on it (redditae 20 Novembris)

³ Further manuscripts: BK 226 fol. 398; BK 220 fol. 270v–271r; BJ 6551 fol. 490–491; BCzart TN 42. fol. 645–646.

⁴ That is, the letter by Brodarics on 28 October 1528.

⁵ Krzysztof Sztydlowiecki. We do not have this letter.

⁶ A reference to Chaplain Tamás who appears in earlier letters.

⁷ See Tomicki's letter written on 29 September 1528.

Valeat felix et optime incolumis Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, meque et servitutum meam, item fidem et observantiam serenissimo regi suo commendet. Ceteris autem comitibus et consiliariis suae maiestatis salutem dicat et benevolentiam atque amorem fraternum declaret. Dat.

116

István Brodarics to Hieronym Łaski
Nyaláb,¹ 10 February 1529

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 10. Konv. B, fol. 38a.²

1. He has learnt about the news via the envoy of Jakab Tornallyai. Regarding Szapolyai's case he will follow Łaski's advice in all respects. – 2. He must take care of his health in time because if he puts it off it might be too late. – 3. It is important to act carefully in the matter he does not specify. He writes more on this to the King.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Salutem et servitiorum commendationem.

[1.] Intelligo, quae mihi Vestra Dominatio per servitorem domini Iacobi Thornallyay, thesaurarii regii significavit.³ Domine Magnifice, ego considerando negotia suae maiestatis faciam, quod Vestra Magnificentia consulit, sed Dominatio Vestra videt, qualia sunt mihi toleranda. Fiat in nomine Domini. De aliis nuntiavi per hunc amicum meum Vestrae Dominationi. In quibus eidem commendatus esse cupio.

[2.] Extrema valitudinis iam semiprofligatae ratio me ad hoc compellit, sicut Dominationi Vestrae Varadini⁴ etiam dixi coram reverendissimo domino meo, domino Colocensi.⁵ Cui si in tempore non fuerit consultum, frustra postea erunt sera remedia. Me et servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi unice commendo. Quae felix valeat.

Ex castro Nyalab 10. Februarii 1529.

[3.] Amore Deivideatis bene, quid agitis. Ego censeo omnia potius esse facienda, quam etc. Dominatio Vestra me intelligit. De his plura ad maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum gratiosissimum. In cuius gratia, supplico Dominationi Vestrae, tanquam domino meo amantissimo et observandissimo me velit conservare. Iterum eandem Dominationem Vestram optime ac felicissime valere.

¹ Nyalábvár belonged to the sister of Ferenc Frangepán, Katalin Frangepán. See: KOMÁROMY András, *Nyalábvár és uradalma, Századok*, 1894, 515.

² Autograph.

³ Jakab Tornallyai was also staying in the castle of Nyaláb at this time. See his letter to Imre Czibak on 12 February 1529. (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 10. Konv. B, fol. 39–40.) Tornallyai married the lady of Nyalábvár, widow of Gábor Perényi, Katalin Frangepán in the summer of 1528. See: HHStA, Polen I. Kart. I. Konv. 1527–28, fol. 99.

⁴ Várad (today: Oradea, Romania).

⁵ Ferenc Frangepán.

*Vediti per amore de Iesu Christo che non siati agabati.*⁶

Servitor, quem Vestra Dominatio novit

On the back side: Spectabili et magnifico domino meo, domino Hieronymo De Lasko palatino Siradiensi, domino mihi observandissimo. (Sealed by Brodarics' own seal.)

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István Brodarics to Ferenc Bácsi¹

Nyaláb, 11 February 1529

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 10. Konv. B, fol. 41.²

Brodarics asks Provost of Szepes Ferenc Bácsi to believe fully what his envoy Canon of Pécs Mihály Tardi will say.

Reverende Domine et Amice Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

Dicet nonnulla hic magister Michael Tardi archidiaconus et canonicus Quinqueecclesiensis Dominationi Vestrae nomine meo. Dominationem Vestram rogo, quidquid dixerit nomine, ut dixi, meo, eidem credere velit, et cum his Dominationem Vestram
5 bene et feliciter valere opto. Ex castro Nyalab 11. Februarii Anno Domini 1529.

Nova hic nulla, nisi quae dominus Thardy dicet.³

servitor et frater

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

On the back side: Reverendo domino Francisco de Bachia praeposito Scepusiensi et domino et amico honorando. (Sealed by Brodarics' own seal.)

⁶ Probably a sentence in the dialect of Veneto, which says: For Christ's sake, be careful, don't let them deceive you.

¹ Ferenc Bácsi, Provost of Szepes, one of the secretaries of Szapolyai. He worked as a notary in the office of the iudex Curiae from 1518. (Compare: BARTA Gábor, *Konszolidációs kísérlet Magyarországon a mohácsi csatavesztés után*, Századok, 1977, 637.) Bácsi was among the first adherents of Lutheran reformation. Mátyás Dévai Bíró offers his work (*A keresztyén tudomány összességét magukban foglaló némely tételeknek védelme a tanulatlan Szegedi Gergely tudatlan bírálata ellen*) to him. See: HORVÁTH János, *A reformáció jegyében. A Mohács utáni félszázad magyar irodalomtörténete*, Budapest, 1957, 162–163.

² See an abstract of the letter in ETE I. 434–435.

³ The last sentence and the signature are Brodarics' own handwriting.

István Brodarics to Gergely Pesthény¹
Nyaláb, 11 February 1529

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 10. Konv. B, fol. 42.

Brodarics asks Gergely Pesthény to believe fully what his envoy, Canon of Pécs Mihály Tardi will say.

Magnifice Domine et Amice Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

Nuntiavi nonnulla Dominationi Vestrae per hunc dominum magistrum Michaellem Tardi archidiaconum et canonicum Quinqueecclesiensem. Rogo, ut quidquid eidem nomine meo retulerit, fidem creditivam verbis ipsius adhibere velit, et cum his Dominationem Vestram felicissime valere opto. Ex castro Nyalab 11. Februarii 1529.

Stephanus Brodarych
episcopus Sirmiensis

On the back side: Magnifico domino Gregorio Pesthyeny magistro aulico maiestatis regiae Hungariae, domino et amico honorandissimo. (Sealed by Brodarics' own seal.)

István Brodarics to Simon Athinai Deák¹
Nyaláb, 11 February 1529

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 10. Konv. B, fol. 43

1. He requests Athinai to send some money. He can learn more on this matter from Mihály Tardy. – 2. He and Frangepán are asking for responses to letters by Severin Bonur and King John.

Egregie Domine et Frater Honorande. Salutem et fraternam commendationem.

[1.] Dominatio Vestra intelliget ab hoc domino Thardy petitionem reverendissimi domini mei, domini Colocensis.² Ego etiam rogo Dominationem Vestram, ut me quoque nolit relinquere sine aliqua summa pecuniae. Sicut plura de hoc per hunc eundem dominum Michaellem Thardy. Et me Dominationi Vestrae plurimum commendo.

¹ Gergely Martonosi Pesthény (Pöstyéni), envoy of Csongrád county (1505), administrator of the bishopric of Várad (1514), Chamberlain of Szapolyai from 1526, *Iudex Curiae* in 1527–1539. He was counted among followers of Péter Perényi according to Szerémi.

¹ On Simon Athinai Deák see more in the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 28 September 1528.

² See the letter by Ferenc Frangepán to Athinai in HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 13. Konv. C, fol. 68v.

[2.] Ambo rogamus Vestram Dominationem, ut ad litteras domini Severini Bonar,³ praefecti salium regni Poloniae, et penes eum litteras regiae maiestatis, quas per servitorem Pauli Magii ad Vestram Dominationem miseramus, responsum nobis remittere
10 velit. Et optime valeat.

Ex castro Nyalab 11. Februarii 1529.

Servitor et frater
Stephanus Brodericus manu propria subscripsit

On the back side: Egregio domino Simoni de Athyna, capitaneo regiae maiestatis et domino et fratri honorando. (Sealed with the personal seal of Brodarics.)

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Instructions of István Brodarics to Mihály Tardy [Nyaláb], [around 10–11 February 1529]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 13. Konv. C, fol. 63r–66v.²

1. The envoy should complain about Czibak, who has slandered him, to King John. – 2. He is about to go to Italy for the sake of his health; he can take the longer route through Poland or travel through Ferdinand's territories, which is better, but he needs a safe conduct for it; he hopes to get one from his old schoolmate in Bologna Bernhard Cles by Polish intervention. – 3. He asks King John to permit his trip because he cannot be of use for the King in the current wartime. – 4. The King needs not worry that he will be persuaded to desert him in his absence. He would not have decided otherwise even if the King had given him the bishopric of Várad, or any other, because his health is the most important. – 6. Perhaps he could be of service to King John during his trip to Italy because he will visit the Pope too. – 7. If there is no way to get a safe conduct he will go to Cracow in any case, in order to get to Italy from there, perhaps as a Polish envoy. – 8. He is asking John to get letters of recommendations written for him addressed to Poland, because even if he does not get further, he will get himself cured in Cracow where they have better physicians than in Szőlős or Nyaláhvár. – 9. He hopes the King will agree, since treatment of his illness cannot be delayed further; it is better for him to travel with the King's permission than without it. – 10. The envoy should speak

7 Post Bonar del. et pe

³ Severin Boner (1486–1549) comes from a banker family of Alsace. Director of the salt mines in Wieliczka, lord of the castles of Biecz and Sącz, Marquis of Cracow, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, a banker of Sigismund, Humanist patron. He was in connection to Erasmus too. He created a wonderful garden in his castle in Biecz, He had plants brought there from abroad. At the end of his life he converted to Calvinism. In spite of this, he was buried in Mary's Church in Cracow, where his tomb can still be seen.

¹ There are no dates on the drafts, but it is clear from the texts that they were prepared for Canon of Pécs Mihály Tardy. We know about him from the previous 3 letters Brodarics entrusted letters dated Nyalábvár, 11 February 1529 to him. The drafts were doubtlessly written in these days on the same place.

² Draft. The drafts are in a folder labelled *Exceptus litterarum interceptarum*. The first 12 pages of the bundle (fol. 57r–62v) contain transcripts, extensive abstracts of the drafts written by Brodarics and Frangepán themselves. Naturally, these sometimes helped in deciphering the original texts that are often hard to read, but because these are not by Brodarics, I consider their publication unnecessary.

[1.] Post servitiorum oblationem et litterarum praesentationem loquatur dominus Thomas primum de negotio cum domino Czibak. Dicat me eum esse, qui nolui in ulla re cum sua maiestate simulate agere, et propterea me ingenue fateri, me non parum molestiae ex hoc concepisse. Idque magis propter famam huius rei, quam propter episcopatum. Quia ego spero, si Deus res suae maiestatis prosperaverit me in regno suae maiestatis non moriturum fame.

Potuit maiestas sua intellexisse, quae ego de hoc ad dominum cancellarium, ad dominum Lasky, ad ipsum quoque dominum Czibak scripsi. Non potui aliter facere, quia intellexi illum multa fuisse locutum, multa aperte contra honorem meum. Quid ego non potui tolerare. Et dicat quem in fama[m] tam me quam dominum reverendissimum Colocensem etc. et quod proditores [etc.]

Si tacuisset et cogitasset de me omnes iam maiestas sua committat ei, quod taceat.

Certe nunquam maiestas sua meo consilio dabit similes ecclesias et ulla beneficia pueris et inutilibus, et in hoc semper ero contrarius. Non timeat autem sua maiestas, quod ego sim futurus importunus apud suam maiestatem pro similibus rebus, sicut cum sua maiestate saepe de hoc sum locutus. Neque attinet illa eadem repetere. Illud scit sua maiestas, quod etiam per dominum Pesthiény nuntiavi suae maiestati me non decore, neque in consilio suae maiestatis, neque in aliis publicis locis, actionibus suae maiestatis esse post pueros Cibakianos et aliorum.

Et haec de ista re.

[2.] Dicat praeterea maiestatem suam non ignorare me esse hominem valetudinarium, et tali valitudine affectum, cui si tempestive non fuerit succursus, certum est, quod valitudo ipsa vel in phthisim vel in hydropisim evadet. Id, quod ego certissime

5 *post ego del. scio suprascr. spero*

5 *post maiestatis del. negotia*

5 *Post prosperaverit del. Mihi non deerit in regno suae maiestatis victus et amictus [...].* Si non ero de principalioribus episcopis vel etiam in numero episcoporum id pereat mihi. Sua maiestas magis fortasse oberit rebus suae maiestatis, quam mihi, qui sive natura, sive vitae instituto, utcumque hoc sit, non sum nec fui ab initio multum ambitiosus. Dicat maiestati audaciter maiestatem suam magis indigere bonis et fidelibus servitoribus quam episcopatu Varadiensis vel alio quocunque. Dicat illud nihil esse, quod audio dominum cancellarium etc. Ista non adeo facile, quando semel sunt dicta, quam ab initio negantur facillime autem si non negari, saltem differri poteram. Si fuisset dictum illi importuno, mihi esset datum, quia credo, quod neque ille existimat me esse fungum omnino inutilem, quod proverbio publico dicitur.

6 *Post fame septendecim versus del. Mihi non deerit in regno suae maiestatis victus et amictus temporane.* Si non ero de principalioribus episcopis vel etiam in numero episcoporum id pereat mihi sua maiestas magis fortasse oberit rebus suae maiestatis, quam mihi, qui sive natura,

sive vitae instituto, utcumque hoc sit, non sum nec fui ab initio multum ambitiosus. Dicat maiestati audaciter maiestatem suam magis indigere bonis et fidelibus servitoribus quam episcopatu Varadiensis vel alio quocunque. Dicat illud nihil esse, quod audio dominum cancellarium etc. Ista non adeo facile, quando semel sunt dicta, quam ab initio negantur facillime autem si non negari, saltem differri poteram. Si fuisset dictum illi qui importuno, mihi esse datum, quia credo, quod ille non neque ille existimat me esse fucegum omnino inutilem, quod proverbio palico dicitur.

8 *Post Lasky del. multum aperte ac indignabunde scripsi. Id propterea etiam feci, ut intelligant et intelligat ille errorem suum, et credo istae esse melius etiam pro sua maiestate*

9 *Post fuisse del. et haec de hac re*

10 *post ego del. non possum neque suprascr. non*

13 *Post taceat del. Sed volui quamvis ista, dicat dominus Thomas deinde Thomas del. suprascr. postea del. Thardy*

17 *post illud del. certe credat suprascr. scit*

19 *post publicis del. locis esse*

20 *post aliorum del. offendit quae scripsi ad eum.*

25 scio, dixi aliquoties suae maiestati. Nuntiavi etiam per dominum Pesthieny et dominum
 Lasky me decrevisse omnino quaerere aliquam viam, ut proxima aestate curandae
 valitudinis causa Venetiis esse possim, tum ob medicos, quos ibi scio esse praestan-
 tissimos, tum ob aquas calidas naturales in Italia omnium optimas, quae me alias
 30 nunc nunc instant, penetrare possim. Esse autem duplicem viam, unam per Gdanum³
 et consequenter per Germaniam inferiorem Carolo imperatori subiectam, alteram per
 terras regi Ferdinando subiectas. Illam per Gdanum esse multum longam, laboriosam
 et periculosam non solum ob terras imperatoris, sed etiam propter navigationem maris
 alioqui satis tempestuosi. Scit sua maiestas, quid contigit etiam oratori Franciae et
 35 Statilio. Istud autem iter per terras Ferdinandi esset longe magis breve et compendio-
 sum. Fortasse autem ad intercessionem vel serenissimi regis Poloniae vel Christophori
 castellani Cracoviensis, tanquam cancellarius regis Poloniae medio episcopi Tridentini,
 qui alioqui est mihi est antiquus amicus et olim in studio Bononiensi condiscipulus⁴
 posset id pro me impetrari, de quo, credat pro certo sua maiestas, nihil scio, quia nihil
 40 teste Deo tentavi, ne verbum quidem ullum cum ullo mortalium, nec fecissem id, nec
 imposterum faciam sine scitu et animadvertia suae maiestatis.

[3.] Supplico igitur suae maiestati, domino meo gratiosissimo, ut habita ratione
 valitudinis meae, habita ratione servitiorum, quae etiam imposterum si sanus ero, spero
 me suae maiestati posse praestare, dignetur mihi annuere, ut possim pro hoc agere, et
 45 ut possim habere rationem[?] valitudinis curandae. Nunc praesertim, ubi sua maiestas
 non adeo indiget servitiis meis, quia ego in rebus bellicis nihil scio servire suae maie-
 stati. In quibus scivi servire, in illis servivi diligenter et fideliter et cum sincero amore,
 certe non cum minore diligentia et affectu, quam si regnum Hungariae fuisset meum
 proprium, si hoc licet dicere.

50 [4.] Ego recordor alioqui, quid sua maiestas adhuc in Pylzno mecum est locutus sua
 sponte, cum quaerebar modum, quo pacto possumus nos cum reverendissimo domino
 Colocensi ab istis tumultibus bellicis per speciem alicuius vel legationis vel alterius rei
 abesse. Possit esse, quod cogerent me ad promittendum, ne me ingererem in aliquod
 negotium suae maiestatis. Quod si etiam ipsum esset promittendum, supplico, ut hoc
 55 quoque, si aliter fieri nullo modo possit, aequo animo admittat. Nam si quid ultra hoc
 exigent, illud nullo modo facerem.

Et supplicat nomine meo suae maiestati, ne hoc in aliam partem accipiat, nisi in
 quam a me fit. Quia nulla est alia causa, quae me ad hoc movet, nisi causa valetudinis
 curandae. Et si maiestas sua dedisset mihi vel illum vel maiorem episcopatum ad
 60 manus, in hoc tamen ego aliud facere non potuissem. Quia nemo melius cognoscit
 valetudinem meam, quam ego ipse, et nihil habeo in mundo carius valetudine. Neque

³ Gdansk, Poland.

⁴ Brodarics studied in Bologna in 1503–1505, and it seems he met Bishop of Trident Cardinal Bern-
 hard Cles there. Cles would become High Chancellor with Ferdinand. Cles (1485–1539), Archbishop of
 Trident (1515–1539), High Chancellor of King Ferdinand and Chairman of the Secret Council (1528–1539),
 studied in Verona (1497–1504), later in Bologna (1504–1511). *Procurator* of the German *natio* in Bologna.
 Earned doctorate of Canon Law in 1512. His most recent biography: Alfred A. STRNAD, *Bernhard von Cles,
 1485–1539. Herkunft, Umfeld und geistiges Profil eines Weltmannes der Renaissance*, Innsbruck, 2004.

existimet sua maiestas me pro hoc multum incommodaturum rebus maiestatis suae. Quia sciunt omnes tam illi, qui sunt apud adversarium,⁵ et adversarius ipse, quam alii, qui me norunt me esse valetudinarium, et agitasse ista tunc etiam, quando fui
65 Posenii et quando fui in Mazovia, sed quicquid illi cogitent, ego certo nollem pro hoc incommodare rebus suae maiestatis, sed necessitas non habet legem.

[6.] Dicat etiam, quod contingere possit, quod ego possem tam apud Venetos, quam apud pontificem, quem etiam credo me aditurum, servire aliquid suae maiestati, quia certo, etiam si cogerer promittere etc., tamen posse me salva huiusmodi promissione
70 tanquam privatam personam agere pro his, quae pertinent ad salutem regni et totius Christianitatis.

Et per haec omnia instet maiestati suae.

[7.] Quod quidem si nullo modo posset obtineri, dicat tamen me omnino decrevisse ire Cracoviam eo consilio, ut quaeram modum penetrandi per aliquam viam in Italiam
75 hanc ipsam ob causam valetudinis vel per Gdanum vel aliunde assumpto nomine consiliarii vel oratoris serenissimi domini regis Poloniae.

[8.] Et supplicat suae maiestati, ut in omnem eventum, sive concesserit illud primum, sive ad hoc ultimum fuerit mihi veniendum, petat litteras a maiestate regia, unas patentes ad omnes principes Christianos in forma consueta, alias commendaticias
80 ad regem Poloniae, tertias ad dominum Christophorum,⁶ quartas ad dominum episcopum Cracoviensem,⁷ quintas ad serenissimam dominam Hedvigem reginulam,⁸ sextas ad dominum Plocensem.⁹ Dicat me hoc Cracoviense iter eo etiam consilio aggredi, ut si nullo modo posset ulterius ire, dabo tamen operam valetudini curandae etiam Cracoviae in ipso mense Maio apto ad id, cum Cracoviae sint utique plures
85 medici periti, quam in Zelews¹⁰ et Nyalab et fortasse illorum consilio faciam mihi etiam afferri illuc aquas calidas ex Trenchinio vel ex Scepusio, quae ex illis fuerant magis ad propositum valetudinis meae. Et fortasse posset contingere, quod Cracoviae existens possem servire aliquid suae maiestati in facto concordiae, ad quod ego obtuli et offero rursus operam meam. Et consulo suae maiestati, ut in omnem eventum, quan-
90 tumcunque segura se habent negotia suae maiestatis, cum Turco, ut cum adversario potius concordat, quam [fidat Turcis].¹¹

62 *post maiestatis del regiae.*

78 litterae, quas dominus Thardy debet reportare in

63 *post suae del.:* Quia adversari crederent me vel ex *marg. alia manu*
desperatione [...] vel aliqua talem ob causam hoc facere

⁵ Ferdinand I.

⁶ Krzysztof Sztydlowiecki, Polish High Chancellor.

⁷ Piotr Tomicki.

⁸ Princess Hedvig (1513–1573) was the niece of János Szapolyai, because she was born to his sister Borbála Szapolyai and King of Poland Sigismund I.

⁹ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Płock.

¹⁰ Nagyszőlős, Ugocsa county. (Today: Vynohradiv, Ukraine.)

¹¹ The two words in brackets are painted over and are unreadable in the original draft. I took those from the transcript.

[9.] Quod si in hoc quoque faceret maiestas regia difficultatem, dicat ex se ipso, quod ego non potero facere aliud ullo modo, quin saltem Cracoviae tentem per haec veris tempora, si quid possem prodesse, quia ista esset extrema mea stultitia, si adeo
 95 negligerem valetudinem [...], de eius aliquali saltem relevamine mihi spes est. Quia timeo omnino, ne si ulterius differam, ne incidam, ut praemisum est, brevi vel in phthisim vel in hydropisim, morbos prorsus incurabiles. Propterea supplicat nomine meo, ut cum ego in hoc rem et iustissimam et mihi valde necessariam petam, ne sua maiestas faciat in hoc aliquam difficultatem. Dicat deinde ex se, quod cum ego omnino
 100 haec facere decreverim, quia aliter facere non possem; melius esse, quod id fiat cum voluntate suae maiestatis, quam si invita sua maiestate illuc me conferrem, quia illud est, quod posset fortasse obesse rebus suae maiestatis apud opinionem hominum. Sed haec non dicat, nisi tunc, quando videret maiestatem regiam in hoc etiam ultimo concedendo esse in totum pertinacem.

105 Dicat, quod essent etiam plures causae.

[10.] Loquatur cum maiestate regia de negotio domini Colocensis,¹² quod non potest retineri. Agam de honore ipsius. Maiestas sua ostendat, quod vadit etiam in negotiis suae maiestatis et quod sua discessio est multum apta ad res suae maiestatis.

[11.] Habeat litteras ad Simonem Litteratum¹³ pro pecuniis mihi [?] dandis, in quibus
 110 [...] mea Cracoviana profectio, et si videtur suae maiestati tam in litteris istis, quam in infrascriptis, scribat sua maiestas esse unam aliam causam, quare ego versus illa loca, de voluntate suae maiestatis proficiscor.

Litterae ad Paulum Artandy.¹⁴

Litterae ad dominum Homonnay.¹⁵

115 Si dominus Lasky erit ibi, dicat ei omnia, quae ego maiestati regiae nuntiavi tam de episcopatu, tam de aliis, et si opus erit, rogat dominationem suam, ut sit ibi in hoc adiumento. Melius esse dicat, quod haec videar facere cum gratia et voluntate suae maiestatis quam aliter, cum nullo modo aliter facere possim. Quia, ut vulgo dici solet: ut corpus redimas, ferrum patiaris et ignes. Tam autem domino Lasky quam aliis
 120 dominis omnibus dicat servitia nostra.

Domino cancellario et domino Pesthieny poterit postea, non statim a principio referre litteras meas supponens. Si vero esset opus, ad ultimum poterit hos etiam duos adhibere, ut supplicant etc. Sed cum his non est adeo diffuse tractandum.

Cum domino cancellario de novis omnis generis, de Varaschino et de hoc portet lit-
 125 teras donationales.

106 *post Colocensis unus versus del.*

109 Istas litteras ternas dominus Thardy portare debet. *in marg. manu Broderici*

125 *post donationales unus versus del.*

¹² Ferenc Frangepán.

¹³ Simon Athinai Deák.

¹⁴ Pál Kereki Ártándy, adherent of King John, together with his brother Balázs. Member of the „Kalandos Társaság” [Adventurous Alliance] earlier. As Comes of Máramaros in 1526–1530, he also supervised the salt chambers. Gritti has him and his brother executed in 1531.

¹⁵ Ferenc Homonnay Drugeth.

Cum domino Pesthieny de novis, de cusione quid sit factum, sciscitabitur, de Tranquillo cum solo Stephano, de Fekethew Janos, de oppugnatione Themeswar, de adventu Zanzaci in auxilium etc, et quando, de expeditione generali Imperatoris, de Transsilvania, de Transalpino, de Gywla, de Ferdinando, de adversa parte.

130 Cum Stephano litterato, quod scribat in [...]

Cum domino fratre Bachi de litteris ad Tharnoviam perscribendis, de gibellinis apud ipsos.

Praepositus de Lelecz

Molendinam pro nobili Bartholomeo litterato de oppido Zygeth

135 De cambiando auro vel veteri moneta

De aliqua summa a domino Simone

Litterae ad dominum Philippum, dominum Mathiam decretorum doctorem, Andream Italum.

140 Dicat maiestati regiae, quod non est tutum et securum me hic esse etiam propter Alemannos.

Litterae pro Paulo Magy et Georgio Magy salvi conductus, ut liceat eis venire ad maiestatem regiam ad iustificandum se.

De praeposito Varadiensi, ut maiestas sua curam gerat.

De Varasdino etiam cum maiestate regia si necesse fuerit.

145 Cum domino cancellario et cum domino Pesthieny de negotio cum item de meo discessu.

Ne pereant istae, quia adhuc indigebit maiestas eas

126 *post Pesthieny del.* de episcopatu

132 *post ipsos del.* Varadinensi, domino Philippo et domino Albano [?] de negotio cum domino Czibak et cum domino Philippo de litteris cusionis et sic etiam cum maiestate novetur [?] et hoc adhuc in descensu [?] Varadini. De argento emendo et cusione proseguendo, de cambiando auro cui [...] vel Varadini vel [...] cum domino [?] More.[...]

136 *post Simone duos versus del.*

138 *post Italum unus versus del.*

145 *post cum unum verbum illegibiliter del.*

Erasmus of Rotterdam to István Brodarics
Freiburg, 9 June 1529

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]¹

Published: P. S. ALLEN (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxonii, 1934, 195–196.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 564–565.

1. He responds to Brodarics' letter since he can assess Brodarics' merit by the fact that he has Piotr Tomicki among his friends. Thus, from now on, he will see Brodarics not only as a friend but also as a patron. –
2. On the importance of the cult of Mary in the Christian Church.

Stephano Broderico, episcopo Pannonio electo et quondam regni Hungariae cancellario Erasmus Roterodamus salutem.

[1.] Ad tam eruditae, tam amicae Honorandi Praesulis litteras² dubitavi, utrum satius esset nihil omnino respondere, an paucis rescribere, cum et grammatorum esset incertus et essem occupatissimus. Attamen inhumanum est visum non saltem referre salutem. Ut magnificas laudes, quas mihi tribuisti, non agnosco, ita candorem tui pectoris lubens amplector. Te virum esse singulari pietate doctrinaque praeditum vel hinc conicio, quod te reverendissimus praesul Cracoviensis³ inter melioris notae amicos complectitur. Quare te non solum in amicorum catalogum, quod tuae modestiae satis esse video, sed in patronorum album cupidissime transcribam. Huius famae iam pridem me poenitet, quid de me sit iudicatura posteritas, viderint superi.

[2.] Theologorum vulgus Scripturam universam ad scholastica quaedam dogmata, velut ad gnomones exanimat, minimum tribuit praeis ecclesiae doctoribus. Nunc discimus Christum in negotio a Patre delegato debuisse matri oboedientiam, eique nunc in coelis cum Patre regnanti Matrem pro sua auctoritate posse imperare, iuxta illud *Monstra te esse matrem*.⁴ Discimus regnum coelorum debere nostris operibus etiam de condigno. Discimus continentiam esse rem facillimam, modo velit homo. Discimus ingens esse periculum ecclesiae, si in concionibus sacris pro Virgine Matre imploretur

¹ Handwritten versions of letters by Erasmus survived in extremely rare cases. Thus, the text of letter published here follows the authoritative edition by P. S. Allen. Allen, preparing his version, used the following printed editions: *Opus epistolarum*, Basel, H. Frobenius – J. Herwagen – N. Episcopus, 1529, 859.; *Operum tertius tomus*, Basel, H. Frobenius – N. Episcopus, 1538, 820.; *Epistolarum libri XXXI.*, London, M. Flesher – R. Young, 1642, vol. XXII, 9.; *Opera omnia. Tomus tertius*, Leiden, 1703, 1058.

² Unfortunately, Brodarics' letter to Erasmus to which this reply came did not survive.

³ Bishop of Cracow Piotr Tomicki. It appears that the exchange of letters between Erasmus and Brodarics involved Tomicki and was carried out probably via Cracow. Erasmus says in his letter to Johannes Antoninus written also on 9 June that he does not know how to respond to Brodarics because the courier does not go to Cracow. See P. S. ALLEN (ed.), *Opus epistolarum*... 192.

⁴ The quotation comes from the hymn to Mary that starts with „Ave, maris stella”. It was very popular throughout the Middle Ages. Some attribute it to 8th-century Benedictine monk Paulus Diaconus, others to Venantius Fortunatus.

Christus aut Spiritus Sanctus. Discimus Christi mortem deplorandam, ut deploramus
20 mortem cuiusvis hominis. Aliaque permulta. Utinam Dominus mittat nobis alterum
Esdras, qui Templum et Hierosolymam restituat.

Hoc tantum in praesentia licuit. Bene vale.

Datum in Friburgi Brisgoae. Anno millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, quinto
Idus Iunias

122

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Bolechowice, [21 June 1529].¹

*Manuscript used: BJ 6555 fol. 278.*²

1. Says his thanks to Brodarics for sending copies of letters received from Hungary to him. – 2. He will write the requested letter concerning the Jews today and will send them to Brodarics tomorrow; he has already written on this matter to Bishops of Trident and Boroszló, however, he is ready to write to anybody else, if Brodarics wishes so.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime ac Hono-
rande.

[1.] Magnas ago et habeo gratias Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, quod heri
ad vesperum litterarum, quas ex Hungaria accepit, copiam mihi fecerit, quas ego hodie
5 istinc discedens ad illam remisi.

[2.] Quod ad litteras in commendationem Iudeorum attinet, hodie hic illas scribam,
et scriptas ac obsignatas cras ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam mittam.
Nam unum tantum scribam hic mecum habeo, ego vero die Mercurii Deo bene iuvante
istuc revertar. Nam huc solius animi colligendi causa secessi, scripseram autem ego
10 iam alias istac de causa ad dominum episcopum Tridentinum³ et dominum epi-

2 Honorande: Honorandisse BCzart TN 43

10 istac: ista BCzart TN 43

¹ There is no year on the original draft. The volume from which it was uncovered contains undated letters and gives no further point of reference. The replica in the Naruszewicz Collections dates it 21 June 1529. This is supported by Tomicki's reference to letters that Brodarics got from Hungary the day before and forwarded to him. Tomicki sent these back. This means that the distance between them could not be big, so Brodarics must have been staying in Poland when the letter was written. This is valid only for June 1528 or 1529. Since it is clear from Tomicki's correspondence that he spent June 1528 in Bodzentyn near Kielce, June 1529 is the only possibility. He says in the letter that he has travelled to Bolechowice, near Cracow, for a short rest and intends to return on Wednesday, i.e. on 23 June. According to the documents in the volume XI of AT Tomicki dates several other letters from Cracow on 20 June 1529, Sunday, and he writes from there again on 24 June, Thursday. This seems to support the idea that he could write to Brodarics, who was in Cracow, from Bolechowice on 21 June and he returned two days later.

² Draft. Another manuscript: BCzart TN 43. fol. 283.

³ Bernard Cles, Archbishop-Cardinal of Trident, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

scopum Vratislaviensem,⁴ nunc etiam ad illos et alios, ad quos cupit Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima, scribam.⁵

Interea felicem et incolumem esse Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam vehementer opto, eidemque me ex animo commendo.

15 Datum ex Bolechovice die XXI. Iunii anno Domini [1529]

123

János Szapolyai to Antonio Rincon¹ and
István Brodarics
Csanád, 28 July 1529

Manuscript used: ELTE EK, Collectio Caprinaiana B, Tom. XXVII. 279.²

1. He received news today that János Szerecsen captured Péter Perényi with his wife, son and all his treasures on the estate of György Raydaczi, who was killed; Perényi, his wife and son are kept in the Castle of Döbrököz which belongs to Szerecsen. – 2. He is on his way to the Sultan's camp; he orders Brodarics and Rincon to stay in Várad until further instructions; they should forward his present letter to Łaski.

Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. Magnifice Amice, et Reverendissime Fidelis nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Hodie venit ad nos nuntius affinis nostri, Ioannis Zerechen,³ qui retulit Petrum Perenni proditorem nostri et Sacrae Coronae nostrae captum per ipsum Ioannem

4 proditorem *correxi ex:* prodotorem

⁴ Jacob von Salza (1481–1539) Bishop of Boroszló (1520–1539). More on his life: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Band 13 (1881), 538–540.

⁵ I have found no further data on the issue concerning Jews referred to here. It is true that a letter by Tomicki to High Chancellor Bernhard Cles (see AT X., 412.) survived from 3 October 1528 in which he asks for safe conduct to Germany from Ferdinand for a Jewish physician by the name of Mózes, but the distance in time is big, it is hardly the same case. No other letter by Tomicki survived from either 1528 or 1529 to Cles or Slaza on any matter regarding Jews.

¹ Antonio Rincon, legate of King of France Francis I, had talks with Szapolyai already in 1522. He visited the Voivod in Transylvania and offered some vague alliance which Szapolyai rejected. See BARTA Gábor, *Illúziók esztendeje*, Történelmi Szemle, 1977, 18–19. He showed up again in the court of Szapolyai – King then – in September 1527 in order to convince him to join the League of Cognac. This time he was successful. More on his life: Victor Louis BOURILLY, *Les diplomates de François I^{er}: Antonio Rincon et la politique orientale de François I^{er} (1522–1541)*, Revue Historique, 1913, 64–83, 268–308.

² According to Kaprinai's entry, letters by the Legate come from the Town Archives of Kassa. This letter was Nr 1373 in Kaprinai's time.

³ János Mesztergyői Szerecsen (?–1532), Royal Chamberlain, later Secretary, member of the „Kalandos Társaság” [Adventurous Alliance], Comes of Tolna county from 1525 till his death. Administrator at the bishopric of Pécs from 1526. It is unclear in what way he was a relative of Szapolyai. See BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I.*, Budapest, 2000, 114., and KUBINYI András, *A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik...* 229.

5 Zerechen et uxorem et cum filio uno in possessione et domo Georgii Raydaczi infidelis nostri, qui etiam ibidem fuit interemptus.⁴ Ipse autem Petrus cum uxore et filio et omni thesauro suo servatur ad mandatum nostrum in castro ipsius Ioannis Zerechen Dobragosth.⁵ Quod vobis significare volumus, ut sitis particeps [!] omnis consolationis nostrae. De hoc autem et omnibus aliis donis suis laudetur Dominus Deus Noster,
10 qui sit benedictus in saecula.

[2.] Nos sumus in itinere versus invictissimum et potentissimum Turcarum imperatorem,⁶ nec est possibile, ut nos assequi possitis.⁷ Quare videtur nobis, ut maneatis Varadini in castro, nec interim istinc discedatis, donec aliquid aliud a nobis habueritis in mandatis. Has autem litteras ad Lasky dies et noctes faciatis perferri, et bene
15 valete.

Datum Chanadini die 28. Iulii 1529.

Ioannes rex manu propria

On the back side: Copiae litterarum Ioannis Zapoliensis ad Rinconem et Brodericum

⁴ Péter Perényi, receiving word about the approaching Sultan, tried to flee with his family and the crown jewels from Siklós to Sárospatak, but soldiers of János Szerecsen raided them on the way in a village called Kajdacs in the Sárvíz region. See on this ZERMEGH János, *Emlékirat a Ferdinánd és János, Magyarország királyai között történt dolgokról* = KULCSÁR Péter, *Krónikáink magyarul III/2*, Budapest, 2007, 151. Szapolyai told about Perényi's capture to people in Buda who were already pro-Ferdinand and tried to use the example of the disloyal nobleman and convince them to keep their oath of loyalty to him. See HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 12. Konv A, fol. 88. On the relationship of Perényi and Szapolyai more recently, see: PUSKÁR Anett, *Szapolyai János és Perényi Péter* = HORVÁTH Zita (ed.), *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről*, Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis, Sectio Philosophica, Tom. XIII., Fasciculus 3., Miskolc, 2008, 295–315.

⁵ Döbrököz, Tolna county. On the circumstances of the capturing of Perényi more recently, see VARGA Szabolcs, *Volt-e a Szent Korona Pécsen 1529-ben*, Pécsi Szemle, 2009/1, 18–25.

⁶ Suleyman, who was heading for Vienna, received Szapolyai on 29 August 1529 on the plain of Mohács.

⁷ Brodarics and Rincon travelled to Hungary from Poland and set out 3 days earlier, on 25 July. See the letter by Piotr Tomicki to Polish King Sigismund: *Dominus Rincon et dominus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiensis in Hungariam sunt profecti accersiti per serenissimi Ioannis litteras et muntium*. AT XI. 226.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics and Antonio Rincon
[Cracow], [after 9 August 1529]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 24. fol. 4r–v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 390–391.

1. He is pleased to learn from the letter of Brodarics and Rincon that things are going well for King John; he hopes that the trend will remain for the good of the King and all of Christianity. – 2. Those on Ferdinand's side do not believe the Turks will come; according to a letter from Buda from merchant Karol, they have absolutely no information on it there. Congratulates Szapolyai for succeeding in capturing his old enemy Péter Perényi.

Spectabilis ac Magnifice Reverendissimeque in Christo Pater, Domini et Amici Honorandissimi.

[1.] Magnam mihi attulerunt voluptatem et gaudium litterae Dominationum Vestrarum, quas ad me cum exemplo litterarum serenissimi regis sui miserunt.³ Cognovi enim ex illis maiestatem suam secunda fortuna in omnibus rebus uti, quam ego, ut
5 antea semper maiestati suae ex animo cupiebam, ita nunc propitiam et prosperam factam, sincerius, quam possum, faveo dominumque Deum oro, ut maiestas sua in dies magis ac magis spe bona et victoriis illustribus cumuletur, quae et maiestatem suam auctoritate et splendore et rem communem Christianam commodo et dignitate vel
10 augere vel sublevare possint.

[2.] Verum illud, quod de Turcorum adventu erat illic adscriptum, Ferdinandici non credunt. Hodie enim Buda a Carolo, mercatore Cracoviensi ad dominum castellanum Cracoviensem⁴ sunt allatae litterae,⁵ quibus scribit illic de Turcis, quod veniant, nihil afferri. Quod utcumque sit, ego certe multum gratulor maiestati suae, quod
15 Petrum Perenni, perennem inimicum suum ceperit,⁶ quodque reliquis belli successibus

13 *post scribit del. istic*

¹ The letter has been mistakenly included in the volume of Acta Tomiciana X which contains letters from 1528. Whereas events referred to in the letter show unquestionably that it should be dated after 9 August 1529. Tomicki already knows about the capturing of Péter Perényi and refers to a letter sent by Karol Koczer from Buda that Chancellor Szydłowiecki received on 9 August 1529.

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 500–501; BK 220 fol. 269v–270r; BK 226 fol. 406–407; BCzart TN 42. fol. 651–652.

³ These letters we do not have. Perhaps they are the replicas of the one by Szapolyai on 28 July and the one by Brodarics and Rincon the replica of which Szydłowiecki forwards to Prussian Duke Albrecht on 9 August 1529. Compare: AT XI. 237. Unfortunately, these attachments did not survive.

⁴ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

⁵ Karol Koczer of Cracow, a customs officer of Ferdinand in Buda. Szydłowiecki sent a copy of his letter to Duke of Prussia Albrecht on 9 August 1529. Compare: AT XI. 237.

⁶ It was János Szerecsen who captured Péter Perényi in July 1529. On this, see Szapolyai's letter addressed to Brodarics and Rincon on 28 July.

optimis fruatur. Dominationibus autem Vestris magnas habeo et ago gratias, quod me tanti gaudii sui fecerint participem, maiores autem agam, si deinceps id, quod prosperum de rebus serenissimi regis sui audierint, mecum communicare non praetermittent.

Interea me illarum benevolentiae et amoris fraterno commendo easque felicissimas
20 esse et optime incolumes vehementer desidero. Datum.

125

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Buda, 29 September 1529

Manuscript used: BN T. 10. fol. 193r-v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XI. 274.

1. King John got the crown back in Visegrád. He announces a national assembly for Luke's Day. He handed the castles occupied in Hungary over to the Turks. The Sultan is still besieging Vienna, his armies are ravaging Austria, but he is heading home soon regardless of whether he will have a clash with Ferdinand's troops or not. Péter Perényi is a prisoner of the Sultan. Archbishop Várday has asked for the Sultan's intervention for Szapolyai to forgive him. – 2. Tamás Nádasdy, Ferdinand's Constable in Buda escaped execution and ran to the tent of Szapolyai; he earned the King's grace just because he was ready to defend the Buda castle loyally till the bitter end. – 3. Gritti is in Buda. His father the Doge says in his letter that Emperor Charles arrived in Genoa with 7000 soldiers only, but he expects 12.000 more from Germany. The allies, however, have an enormous army. Sons of King Francis are staying in Flanders with High Princess Margaret until a ransom of 2 million gold pieces is paid for them. – 4. He is frequently ill so he does not feel he is able to take upon himself the burden of envoyship that Szapolyai wants to commit him to do.

Reverendissime et Illustris ac Magnifice Domini mihi Colendissimi. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Nos cum domino oratore² regis Christianissimi venimus huc paucis ante diebus regia maiestate existente tunc Wissegradi, quo pro corona recuperanda fuerat profecta,
5 qua recuperata et castro Wissegrado diligenter munito maiestas sua rediit.³ Sunt apud eam non pauci ex dominis, inter ceteros autem magnificus dominus Ioannes Banffy,⁴ servatae fidei singulare exemplum. Indicit maiestas sua omnibus dominis et regnicolis

¹ Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 857–858; BK 226 fol. 657–658; BCzart TN 43. fol. 421–423.

² Antonio Rincon, French legate.

³ Szapolyai reported on regaining possession of the capital Visegrád and the crown to Tomicki on 28 September 1529. Compare: AT XI. 273. On the fate of the crown in 1529 see VARGA Szabolcs, *Volt-e a Szent Korona Pécssett 1529-ben?*, Pécsi Szemle, 2009 Spring, 18–24.

⁴ János Alsóindvai Bánffy (?–1534), Cup-Bearer (1508–1526), Royal Chamberlain, Comes of Verőce, the leading figure of the Szapolyai party in Slavonia. Palatine of Szapolyai from 1530 until his death in 1534. On his legendary loyalty see ZERMÉGI János, *Emlékirat a Ferdinánd és János, Magyarország királyai között történt dolgokról* = KULCSAR Péter, *Krónikáink magyarul III/2*, Budapest, 2007, 144–145.

dietam generalem pro festo beati Lucae evangelistae.⁵ Caesar his diebus fuit circa Posonium. Castra, quae vel capta vel deserta per Germanos fuerunt, inter alia Owar,
 10 sunt tradita ad manus regias. Nunc credimus caesarem esse circa Wiennam, si non ulterius. Venerunt hodie nova septem milia Germanorum citra Wiennam esse per Turcos oppressa, et ex his sex milia caesa. Paulus archiepiscopus supplicavit imperatori pro salvo conductu, quo habito vel iam ivit vel iturus omnino est ad imperatorem. Supplicavit instantissime maiestati regiae pro gratia, quam adhuc obtinere non potuit, nisi
 15 forte iam medio imperatoris obtineat, quod ego vix credo.⁶ Imperatorem credo vastata et combusta Austria, vel habito vel non habito conflictu cum rege Ferdinando, retro abiturum idque brevi.⁷ Petrus Pereny est apud imperatorem.⁸

[2.] De castellano Budensi Thoma Nadasdino, alumno olim meo, quid factum sit, Vestrae Dominationes intelligere potuerunt. Is enim cum captivus mortem evadere nullo
 20 modo posset et se ad regis tentorium confugiens ad pedes regis proiecisset, gratiam eius meruit et vere gratiam, prosequitur enim eum regia maiestas singulari gratia hoc potissimum nomine, quod regi Ferdinando usque ad mortem fuerit fidissimus et castrum Budense mira diligentia curaverit ac muniverit, ut post obitum divi Mathiae regis confessione omnium arx Budensis neminem habuerit meliorem curatorem.⁹

25 [3.] Magnificus dominus Ludovicus Gritti,¹⁰ vir certe summa prudentia praeditus et regi carissimus, est hic; heri habuit litteras a patre, serenissimo duce Venetiarum, in quibus scribitur Carolum caesarem esse in Italia Placentiae, sed cum parvo exercitu,

20 *past* confugiens *del.* pedibus eius provolutus
supraser. alia manu ad proiecisset

⁵ 18 October 1529. The national assembly did not take place at the planned time. Szapolyai gave the new date as 14 February 1530. See MOE I. 249.

⁶ Compare to Pál Várday's report on this to the Pope on 8 October 1531. THEINER, *Monumenta Slavorum...*, 614–616.

⁷ On the events of the campaign see BUDENZ József, *Szülejmán naplója 1529-ki bécsi hadjárataról*, Magyar Történelmi Társ., 1867, 181–212.

⁸ Péter Perényi, who was captured by János Szerecsen, was handed over to Suleyman who had just arrived to the country. On capturing Perényi see Szapolyai's letter on 28 July 1529.

⁹ Tamás Nádasdy defended the castle of Buda with 2000 soldiers in September 1529. However, the army that comprised mostly foreign mercenaries gave up the castle after a few days on 8 September. Nádasdy resisted and was captured and handed over to the Turks who wanted to execute him. But he managed to escape to Szapolyai on the Pest side and the latter pardoned him. On Nádasdy's case see more: ZERMEGHI János, *Enlékirat a Ferdinánd és János, Magyarország királyai között történt dolgokról* = KULCSÁR Péter, *Kronikáink magyarul III/2*, Budapest, 2007, 149–150.; and BETILLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I*, Budapest 2000, 108.

¹⁰ Lodovico (Alvise) Gritti (1480–29 September 1534). An illegitimate son of the future Doge of Venice Andrea Gritti. Jewellery merchant from Istanbul, a confidant of Grand Vizier Ibrahim. Arrives in Hungary at the time of the Sultan's campaign in 1529. He plays an important albeit controversial role in Hungarian internal politics in the first half of the 1530s. Szapolyai – under Turkish pressure – appoints him Treasurer first, then, in 1530, Governor. Transylvanians who rise against Gritti capture and execute him for murdering Bishop of Várad Imre Czibak in September 1534 in Medgyes. More on his life with a detailed bibliography, see: SZAKÁLY Ferenc, *Veszőhely az út porában. Gritti Magyarországon 1529–1534*. Budapest 1986.

venisse eum Genuam non nisi cum septem milibus armatorum, exspectari ex Germania 12 milia hominum, confoederatos autem habere ingentem exercitum terra et mari.¹¹

30 Scribitur etiam regem Christianissimum iniisse concordiam cum caesare,¹² filios eius esse apud dominam Margaretam¹³ in Flandria, quousque duo miliones auri pro eis solvantur.

Servitia mea Vestris Dominationibus humiliter commendo, et domino etiam thesaurio¹⁴ ac domino suppario¹⁵ commendari cupio, quae felicissime valeant.

35 Datum Budae 29. Septembris 1529.

Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimae et Illustris

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensi subscrispsit

40 [4.] Me solita valetudinis imbecillitas persequitur. Nunc quoque, cum haec scriberem, vehementi tam laterum, quam stomachi dolore premebar, nec puto me ullo modo posse subire illa onera, quae mihi maiestas domini mei clementissimi imponere vellet,¹⁶ qua de re his diebus maiestas sua multa mecum egit et ipsa per se et per amicos. Ego sive sanus, sive infirmus, quocumque in statu Deus me esse voluerit et valetudo
45 mea passa fuerit, conservabo semper constantissime meam erga Vestras Dominationes observantiam. Ista litterae, quas cum praesentibus mitto, supplico, ut mittantur ad dominum marsalcum¹⁷ regni vel saltem ad Visniche.¹⁸

On the back side: Reverendissimo et illustri ac magnifico dominis meis, domino Petro Thomycki, episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario, et domino Christophoro de S[chidlovicio], castellano et capitaneo Cracoviensi, supremo cancellario regni Poloniae etc., dominis meis observandissimis.

¹¹ Charles V sailed to Italy to his coronation. He reached Genoa on 12 August and proceeded towards Bologna via Piacenza. See Alfred KOHLER, *Karl V.*, München, 2001, 201.

¹² The Peace of Cambrai (the Ladies' Peace) that concluded the French–Habsburg war was signed on 5 August 1529. As a consequence, Francis I gave up his territorial claims towards Italy and paid 2 million gold coins as ransom for his captured sons.

¹³ Margaret Habsburg (1480–1530), Regent in the Netherlands (1507–1530). Daughter of Maximilian (I) Habsburg and Duchess of Burgundy Maria. She was the wife of King of France Charles VIII (1483–1491), then of King of Asturia John of Aragon (1497), and finally of Duke of Savoy Philibert II (1501–1504). Maximilian appointed her Governor of the Netherlands in 1507. She played an important role in the preparations for the Peace of Cambrai. More on her life: Ursula TAMUSSINO, *Margarete von Österreich. Diplomatin der Renaissance*, Styria, Graz, 1995.

¹⁴ Mikołaj Szydłowiecki (1480–1532).

¹⁵ Severin Boner.

¹⁶ Reference to the planned legation of Brodarics in France. King John informs Pope Clement VII on 1 November 1529 that he has sent Brodarics to King of France Francis as an envoy. See: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum...* 608.

¹⁷ Piotr Kmita.

¹⁸ Wisnicze, Poland.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Buda, 12 October 1529

Manuscript used: BN T. 11. fol. 5r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XI. 283–284.

1. The Sultan is still besieging Vienna fiercely; Niklas Graf zu Salm and Hans Katzianer defend the town with a few thousand soldiers. He is sending a copy of Ferdinand's letter to Pasha Ibrahim. – 2. The Sultan ordered Sanjak-Bey Kosrev to inspect ships on the Danube, and if Hungarian prisoners are found release them. 360 men, women and children were released today but no threat stops the taking of prisoners.

Reverendissime et Illustris ac Magnifice Domini, Domini mihi Observandissimi. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Novi aliud neque nunc habemus, nisi quod proximis litteris perscripsi. Caesar adhuc oppugnat acerrime Viennam.² Intelligimus esse in ea multa bellatorum milia
5 duce comite de Zolyom³ et Ioanne Cocianer⁴ ac quibusdam aliis. Sed hoc de his, qui Viennae sunt obsessi, puto Vestris Dominationibus, quam nobis, esse notiora. Mitto ad Vestras Dominationes exemplum litterarum regis Ferdinandi ad imperatorem et Imbraim bassa, ex vero exemplari transcriptum.⁵

[2.] Commisit caesar firmissime Sanzaco,⁶ quem hic cum rebus et pecunia sua reliquit, ut omnes naves, quae ex partibus superioribus per Danubium veniunt, conquirantur et sicubi in eis reperiantur Hungari captivi vel ad coronam Hungariae pertinentes,

¹ Another manuscript: BK 226 fol. 674–675; BJ 6551 fol. 878–879; BCzart TN 43. fol. 443–444.

² The siege was still going on 12 October indeed, but only for a few more days. The Sultan's army began retreating from under Vienna on 16 October. See BUDENZ József, *Szűlejmán naplója...* 205.

³ Niklas Graf zu Salm (1459–1530), general in the service of Maximilian I, later of Ferdinand I, Royal Councillor. Commander in Chief of Ferdinand's army in Hungary in September and October 1527. In this capacity he wins a battle against Szapolyai at Tokaj on 27 September. Captain of the Lower Austrian provinces in 1528–30, chairman of the war council that lead the defence of Vienna in 1529. His name is used in its Hungarian form as Miklós Zólyomi, and the letter by Brodarics uses this. See more biographical data on him in BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I...* 209.

⁴ Hans Katzianer (1490–1538), diplomat, mercenary commander. Entered the service of the Habsburgs already at the time of Maximilian I. He was the commander of the Austrian troops that fought in the Croatian border region from 1522. Commander in Chief of Ferdinand in Hungary in 1527–29, then in 1532–37. The Turks defeated him at Eszék in 1537, and this made Ferdinand put him in prison. He escaped from the prison but the Zrinyi brothers killed him on Ferdinand's command on 25 October 1538 in his own castle in Kostajnica (Croatia). More on his life: Richard APFELAUER, *Hans Katzianer, ein Feldherr Ferdinands I.*, Wien, Univ. Diss., 1939.

⁵ This attachment we do not have.

⁶ Perhaps Sanjak Bey of Bosnia Hüseyin. Suleyman left him behind after capturing Buda as a reinforcement for Szapolyai. See SUGÁR István, *A budai vár és ostromai*, Budapest, 1979, 57. It could also be Voivod Kasim, whom Istvánffy calls a sailor duke. See ISTVÁNFFY Miklós, *Magyarok dolgairól írt históriája / Tállyai Pál XVII. századi fordításában, I/1*, Budapest, 2001, 284.

dimittantur. Praepositi sunt huic rei investigandae et captivis eliberandis homines regii et Sanzaci; hodie reperti et liberati sunt viri, feminae, pueri et puellae 360. Nullis enim minis atque interdictis effici potest, ne in his, qui loca Danubio propinquiora accolunt,
15 nautae faciant aliquam rapinam.

Pro litteris et pro novis Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimae et Illustris ago eisdem gratias immortales, offerens servitia mea et personam meam Vestris Dominationibus humiliter commendans. Quando dominus Deus reducerit maiestatem regiam Poloniae, dominum nostrum gratiosissimum, cupio in suae maiestatis gratiam servitutem meam humillimam commendari, immo et nunc et semper, et Vestras Dominationes cupio felicissime valere.
20

Ex Buda, 12. Octobris 1529.

Servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensi subscripsit

25

Domino thesaurario,⁷ domino Bonar,⁸ domino meo reverendissimo Plocensi⁹ servitia mea supplico commendari et domino marsalco.¹⁰ Dominus meus reverendissimus Colocensis,¹¹ dominus cancellarius,¹² dominus Rincon¹³ orator, servitia sua commendant Vestris Dominationibus.

On the back side Reverendissimo et illustrissimo dominis meis, domino episcopo Cracoviensi et domino castellano Cracoviensi, vicecancellario et supremo cancellario regni Poloniae, dominis mihi observandissimis.

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Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow 31 October 1529

Manuscript used: BN T. 11. fol. 14r–v.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XI. 298–299.

1. He has got 2 letters from Brodarics dated in Buda and is pleased to learn from them that things for King John are going well. He is sad to hear about Brodarics' illness, and since he has been ill himself for two months now, he cannot offer consolation to his friend. – 2. He has no other news than that the Sultan is still

⁷ Mikołaj Szydłowiecki (1480–1532).

⁸ Severin Boner, zupparius.

⁹ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Płock.

¹⁰ Piotr Kmita.

¹¹ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

¹² István Werbőczy.

¹³ Antonio Rincon, legate of French King Francis.

¹ Further manuscripts: BJ 6551 fol. 879–880; BK 226 fol. 675–676; BCzart TN 43. fol. 629–630.

fiercely besieging Vienna which worries many, but he prays every day with his priests for God to create peace among Christian rulers at last. – 3. When he will have substantial information he will definitely let Brodarics know, and asks for the same from Brodarics.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

[1.] Binas iam a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima Buda accepi litteras, simul ad me et ad dominum castellanum Cracoviensem scriptas,² ex quibus quod intellexi serenissimum dominum regem Ioannem recte valere secundaque fortuna ad omnia uti, vehementer gaudebam, sumque maiestati suae gratulatus, cui non eam solum fortunam faveo, quae calamitatem sublevat et amovet, verum etiam et illam, quae ex perpetua pace et iucundo otio hominem facit beatum. Ceterum quod Dominationem Vestram valitudinariam esse intellexi, maiorem in modum illius vicem dolui tantoque id magis, quod et ipse prope a duobus mensibus mala quadam affectione impeditus in domo me

10 continueam et solari amicos aegros non possim.

[2.] Hic nihil novi est praeter illud, quod Viennam gravissime a Turcorum imperatore et oppugnari et obsideri dicunt.³ Qua re bonorum omnium animi magnopere afficiuntur et sunt consternati, mihi etiam ad aegritudinem meam plurimum haec res molestiae adicit. Tamen quia rursus haec considero sine divina providentia fieri non

15 posse, sublevo me ipse cogitatione mea itaque me in spem erigo, ut confidam, post hanc procellam Deum Optimum atque Maximum cito submissurum esse tranquillitatem et Christianos principes iam aliquando tandem ad pacem et concordiam redacturum, cuius nomine quotidie ego cum toto ordine sacerdotum meae dioecesis domino Deo supplico.

[3.] Alia hic non sunt in praesens, quae putem digna fore cognitione Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae. Sed si quae eiusmodi contingent, non patiar illa Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam ignorare. Quam plurimum rogo, ut me serenissimo regi et domino suo et item reverendissimo domino Colocensi,⁴ domino palatino Sira-

20 diensi⁵ et eius fratri, domino praeposito Gnesnensi,⁶ et domino cancellario⁷ saepius commendet ipsaque me certiore crebro de omnibus rebus, quae istic erunt, faciat pro suo in me amore et benevolentia fraterna. Cui ego me ex animo commendo et Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam felicem esse semper et bene sanam vehementer opto.

Datum [Cracoviae, ultima Octobris 1529.]⁸

¹ *post amice del. honorandissime suprascr. manu Tomicii carissime ac honorande*
⁵ *post solum del. solum*

¹⁶ *post tranquillitatem del. et hanc cuius nomine cott*
²³ *et item...domino cancellario in marg. manu Tomicii*

² See the previous two letters.

³ In fact, the Sultan gave up on besieging Vienna on 14 October already.

⁴ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁵ Hieronym Łaski.

⁶ Jan Łaski.

⁷ István Werbőczy.

⁸ There is no date in the letter. In Tomicki's handwriting there is a note in the header: *Cracoviae, ultima Octobris; domino Stephano Broderico Dei gratia episcopo Sirmiensi*. The date I give is based on this.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
[Buda], [late October 1529]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Polen I., Kart. 1., Konv. 1527–28, fol. 146r–v.²

1. He is about to go to France as an envoy; this is a long trip but he is happy to embark, since he can stop in Venice to cure himself on the way or the way back. – 2. The envoy of King of France Francis is with Szapolyai; Ferdinand should make peace with the Voivod, otherwise he will ruin the country. He is asking for the support of Tomicki and Szydłowiecki in this matter. – 3. Ferdinand's recent preparations for war can only bring destruction of both countries; both the Voivod and Brodarics are sorry about it but what can they do if Ferdinand rejects all suggestions for agreement.

[1.] *Scribit se proficisci ad regem Christianissimum³ in re regni Hungariae et universae Christianitati salutari, quod iter licet sit longum, eo tamen libentius suscepit, ut vel eundo vel redeundo Venetiis possit sanitati suae consulere.*⁴

[2.] *Dicit etiam regis Franciae oratorem⁵ venisse ad waywodam, et scribit Brodericus, quod consuleret, quod Maiestas Vestra⁶ cum waywoda⁷ quamprimum concordaret, aliter timendum esse, ne ruat primum ipsa, postea de ipsis Hungaris et Polonis, nescit, quid erit, et rogat eos, ut ad hoc velint omnes ingenii sui nervos intendere. Scit, quod Maiestas Vestra nunc etiam exacerbata ipsis malis conabitur se ulcisci in Hungaris.*

[3.] *Item intelligit Maiestatem Vestram novos facere apparatus, quod si verum sit, nihil aliud esse, nisi brevi perdere et hanc et illam. Concordia esse opus, quod nisi fiat,*

1 regni correxi ex: regno

¹ There is no date in the abstract. Its content suggests that even though it is kept in a volume for letters from 1527–28 it was certainly written in 1529 and probably before the next letter dated 9 November. Since Brodarics does not yet mention the meeting between Szapolyai and the Sultan, it seems that it was produced before Suleyman camped in Pest, e.g. before early November. We exclude the possibility that Brodarics mentioned the Sultan in the letter and the copier who made the abstract omitted that, because that would have been quite important piece of information. Brodarics' letter dated 9 November survived in full and in an abstracted version too. The person who made the abstracts essentially considered only Suleyman's visit and his promises to John important enough to copy.

² The original text did not survive, only abstracts prepared for Ferdinand. Still, I believe it is important to publish it because it is doubtlessly based on a letter by Brodarics, and it reports important information on Brodarics' views and plans in late 1529.

³ King of France Francis I. Brodarics does not seem to mention that he intends to visit the Pope too, even though he made attempts during his journey in 1530. So originally he was probably poised to visit France as a legate. Visiting the Pope became important only when it turned out that Pope Clement VII excommunicated Szapolyai under Habsburg pressure.

⁴ Regarding this, see the letter by Brodarics to Tomicki and Szydłowiecki on 31 January 1530.

⁵ Antonio Rincon, French legate.

⁶ Ferdinand I, the addressee of the abstracts.

⁷ Brodarics obviously did not call Szapolyai "Voivod" in the original letter but Ferdinand's clerk naturally used Habsburg terminology that refuses to accept Szapolyai as King.

Maiestatem Vestram longe peiora brevi expectare, quam praecesserint. Et de hoc Maiestas Vestra sit certa, de quo ipsi et waywoda vehementissime dolent, sed quid faciat, si concordia et conditiones honestissimae toties oblatae adeo pertinaciter respuuntur.

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Buda, 9 November 1529

Manuscript used: HHStA, Polen I., Kart. 1., Konv. 1529, fol. 48–49.¹

1. Suleyman gave up on the siege of Vienna; on the way home he received Szapolyai in Pest and vowed to him that he will protect him against any enemy whenever it is needed. – 2. Ferdinand should see that he has no chance of defeating the well-equipped, well-paid, excellently trained Turkish army. He can cause a lot of trouble for Hungary, however; he only provokes the Sultan's intervention again. Negotiation is the only solution.

[1.] Quemadmodum hucusque feci, ut Vestris Dominationibus libere et aperte declararem animi mei sententiam, super his, quae hactenus evenerint, et nunc faciam, ut Vestrae Dominationes, quas cognovi esse cupidissimas boni publici, ut Christianae quietis consulant in medium, idque quamprimum, quia maximum est periculum in
5 mora. Imperator Turcarum, sicut ex iis aliis meis uberius Vestrae Dominationes intelligent, soluta obsidione Viennae rediit ad propria,² descedens autem hic circiter kalendas Novembris, cum rex³ ad eum in campo Pestiensis tendentem honoris causa venisset, longo habito colloquio iuravit regi rursus per Deum unum, per fidem suam, per aviam patris sui ac per frameam suam eum nullo modo deserturum et contra quoscunque
10 inimicos, maxime contra regem Bohemiae⁴ defensurum, et quotiens opus fuerit ad id personaliter venturum. Credant igitur Vestrae Dominationes citissime eum hanc Austriacam expeditionem, quousque Austria et aliis regnis et provinciis regis Ferdinandi potitus non fuerit, nullo modo relicturum.

[2.] Erant autem et erant quidem toto coelo, si qui vires eius contemnendas esse
15 putent, is enim praeter innumerabilem et incredibilem copiarum multitudinem et apparatus omni ex parte instructissimum habet militem pro magna parte (nam sunt multi etiam inutiles) vigore et robore corporum, incommodorum omnium patientia, exercitatione equorum praestantia talem, ut cum quovis militum genere conferri possit. Taceo de tanta obedientia et tam severa disciplina, ubi minimum quodque delictum saepe
20 multorum capitibus vindicatur, nihil dico de stipendio semper exuberante et ante diem

¹ Transcript.

² Suleyman gave up on the siege of Vienna on 14 October.

³ János Szapolyai.

⁴ In the usage of the Szapolyai party Ferdinand was addressed King of Bohemia since they did not acknowledge him as Hungarian King.

soluti,⁵ quos si rex Bohemiae serenissimus superare confidit, vel eis posse resistere, in veritate maiestas eius probe fallitur. Potest quidem fortasse, si nondum his malis edoctus et satius est, inferre damnum aliquid huic miserae patriae, sed hoc nil aliud erit, nisi provocare rursus contra se hunc potentissimum principem. O, quantum hoc quoque
25 spe sua frustrabitur, quasi nos animos Christianorum principum non habeamus exploratos! Nullum igitur remedium, si tamen est aliquod, nisi quod iam saepe frustra per Vestras Dominationes fuit tentatum, ad quod si rex Bohemiae non accesserit, nullum dubium est ruitura brevi eius omnia regna et dominia.⁶

Haec est mea de tota ista re firmissima sententia, quam volui Dominationibus Vestris
30 explicare, quae re ipsa experientur ista fore verissima. Si quid ergo cum serenissimo rege suo,⁷ immo nostro volunt pro quiete et salute publica facere, tempus est, mea in hoc et domini mei, reverendissimi Colocensis⁸ opera Christianitati non deerit, qui nunc quoque hac potissimum de causa sum hic inter mille incommoda. Et super iis a Vestris Dominationibus exposco responsum, quod me absente⁹ mittatur ad dominum Colocensem.

35 Reverendissime et Illustrissime Domini, Dominationes Vestrae boni consulant, quod haec sunt aliena manu scriptae, occupationes fuerunt in causa.

Datum Budae, 9. Novembris

Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae

servitor deditissimus

40

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

130

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki
Venice, 31 January 1530

Manuscript used: BN T. 11. fol. 89r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XII. 35–36.

1. He arrived in Venice on 6 January, quite ill, 55 days after leaving Buda. – 2. Venice made deals with the Pope, the Emperor, Ferdinand, and Prince of Milan, still they can be on friendly terms with the opponents of these. The Prince of Milan gets 300.000 ducats, the Pope and the Emperor get 100.000 each, and Venice gives back the occupied towns. Issues of the Duke of Ferrara regarding Modena, Reggio, and Florence are

⁵ Essentially Brodarics gives a very accurate list of the factors that made the Turkish army surpass European armies of the early 16th century in strategy, tactics, and organisation. More on this: ÁGOSTON Gábor, *Az európai hadügyi forradalom és az oszmánok*, Történelmi Szemle, 1994, 465–485.

⁶ The Polish court tried to mediate between Ferdinand and Szapolyai already during the talks in Olomouc in early June, 1527. They tried to find a compromise in the conflict of the two counter-kings. However, since neither party wanted to give up the Hungarian throne under any conditions, the talks proved fruitless.

⁷ King of Poland Sigismund I.

⁸ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁹ Brodarics left for France via Italy three days later, on 12 November.

¹ Another manuscript: BJ 6552 fol. 99–100; BCzart TN 44. fol. 59–60.

still pending. Florence still fights. The Emperor is about to go to Bologna with the Pope, then to Siena and to Rome where the Emperor will be crowned on Palm Sunday. The French King is in Lyon. His sons will be released on 4 March. – 3. Brodarics plans to go to France from Venice, then back to Italy, where he wants to cure himself in Venice or Padua. – 4. Received news afterwards that the stance regarding the Emperors crowning had changed because the Emperor learnt that if he is crowned, German princes will elect a king of Rome that he likes.

Reverendissime et Illustris ac Magnifice Domini, Domini mihi Colendissimi. Servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Pveni huc Venetias per mille discrimina viarum sexta huius mensis Ianuarii, quinto et quinquagesimo die,² quam ex Buda discesseram, corpore satis invalido. Nam
5 per viam dolor me pedis sinistri vehementissimus invaserat, postea supervenit et brachii dextri dolor.

[2.] Hic reperi confoederationem Venetorum cum pontifice,³ caesare,⁴ serenissimo rege Bohemiae,⁵ duce Mediolani⁶ esse publicatam⁷ ita tamen, ut Venetis liceat etiam inimicis istorum amicos esse, prout serenissimo regi meo veram amicitiam ostenderunt
10 et ostendunt.⁸ In isto foedere dux Mediolani restituitur in statum cum trecentorum milium ducatorum solutione.⁹ Pontifici et caesari restituuntur et restitutae sunt iam urbes per Venetos alias occupatae¹⁰ cum centum milibus ducatorum in diversis terminis. Res ducis Ferrariensis¹¹ super Mutina et Regio et Florentinorum adhuc pendet. Florentini adhuc viriliter se defendunt.¹² Speratur inter hos quoque concordia. Pontifex

5 post pedis del. dextri

8 post etiam del. cum

² This means that Brodarics left on 12 November 1529. Szapolyai informed Clement VII on 1 November 1529 that he had sent Brodarics to the King of France as a legate. See: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum...* 608.

³ Clement VII.

⁴ Charles V, King of Spain (1516–1556), Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1556).

⁵ Ferdinand Habsburg.

⁶ Francesco Maria Sforza (1495–1535)

⁷ The treaty that was signed by the parties listed by Brodarics on 23 December 1529 in Bologna was announced ceremonially on 1 January in Bologna. For the text see: Gaetano GIORDANI, *Della venuta e dimora in Bologna del sommo pontifice Clemente VII.*, Bologna, 1842, Nr. XXX., 50–57.

⁸ Clement VII permitted for Venice not to announce the bull about the excommunication of Szapolyai on their territory. See FRANKÓI Vilmos, *János király és a római Szent-Szék*, Századok, 1902, 713.

⁹ Charles V was willing to support Francesco Sforza's rule in Milan only in exchange for payment of a substantial pledge.

¹⁰ Venice gave up possession of Cervia and Ravenna, and offered to leave towns in Apulia that they had occupied. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 361–362., 381–382.

¹¹ Duke of Ferrara Alfonso occupied Reggio and Modena during earlier battles and was not ready to return these to the Pope. He was quietly supported in this by Charles V, who wanted to weaken the papal state in Italy this way too. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 382–383.

¹² Charles V committed himself in the peace treaty of Barcelona (29 June 1529) to help Clement VII in regaining power of the Medici in Florence. However, Florentines, influenced by Savonarola, defended their town heroically and surrendered to the besieging forces only in August. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 361–362., 370–372, 392.

15 et caesar Bononiae adhuc sunt, brevi inde Senas ituri, ex Senis Romam ad caesaris coronationem, qui in dominica Laetare,¹³ si Deus voluerit, coronabitur. Nunc caesar laborat febricula ex catarrho contracta. Veneti ad pontificem et caesarem miserunt insignem legationem. Christianissimus rex Franciae veniebat Lugdunum, dies reddendis eius filiis¹⁴ statuta est 4 Martii.

20 [3.] Ego hinc expeditis negotiis Venetiis vado in Franciam, rediturus inde omnino ad medium Aprilis et per eum mensem ac sequentem auxilio dei daturus hic vel Patavii operam valetudini. Neque autem nunc scio Vestris Dominationibus aliud scribere et ad aliud eas hortari, quam ad quod sum eas Buda discedens hortatus. Illud solum est et unicum, quod videtur esse faciendum omnino.¹⁵ Me et servitia mea in gratiam

25 Vestrarum Dominationum humiliter commendo. Quae felicissime valeant.

Venetiis, ultima Ianuarii 1530.

Cupio et supplico commendari servitia mea isti maiestati regiae et item reginali, dominis nostris clementissimis.

[4.] Scriptis his intellexi mutatam esse rationem consilii caesaris coronandi idque ob
30 eam causam, quod caesar acceperit, si coronaretur, mox principes Germaniae creaturos alium regem Romanorum pro suo arbitrio.¹⁶

Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimae, Illustris ac Magnificae

servitor deditissimus

Stephanus Brodericus

35 Sirmiensiis

On the back side: Reverendissimo et Illustri ac Magnificis Dominis, Dominis meis Domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario, Domino Christophoro de Sidlovicz castellano Cracoviensi, regni Poloniae supremo cancellario etc., dominis mihi observandissimis. In Polonia

21 *post mensem del. aut suprascr. ac*

27 Cupio...Brodericus manu Broderici

¹³ 27 March 1530. Finally, the Emperor was crowned in Bologna rather than in Rome on Charles' birthday as well as the fifth anniversary of the battle of Pavia, 24 February.

¹⁴ According to the Peace of Cambrai, (a.k.a. the "Ladies' Peace"), signed on 5 August 1529, Francis I paid 2 million gold coins as ransom to Charles V for the release of his sons, whom the latter had had to hand over as hostages as the Peace of Madrid had prescribed in 1526.

¹⁵ Compare Brodericus' letter to Tomicki and Szydłowiecki on 9 November 1529. It says that the only way of saving Hungary is that Ferdinand renounces his demand for the throne and does not provoke the Sultan with his efforts in Hungary.

¹⁶ German princes finally agreed to elect younger brother of Charles Ferdinand Habsburg King of Rome. The ceremony took place on 5 January 1531. On struggles preceding the election of Ferdinand see: Alfred KOHLER, *Antihabsburgische Politik in der Epoche Karls V. Die Reichsständische Opposition gegen die Wahl Ferdinands I. zum römischen König und gegen die Anerkennung seines Königstums (1524–1534)*, Göttingen, 1982.

Miklós Oláh¹ to István Brodarics
Linz, 18 February 1530

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 38.

Published: ETE II., 13.; IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 43.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 616–617.

Miklós Oláh reproaches Bishop of Szerém István Brodarics for joining King John.

Multi sunt, qui tibi succenseant, quod a tua constantia, probitate et integritate si non omnino deflexeris, at aberrasse videaris et illum, quem prius habueris, animum, nescio quo pacto quibusve tuis cogitationibus, immutaris. Constantem te omnes antea virum iudicarunt et nec minis, nec pretio a virtute integritateque morum deflectentem, sed
5 nunc in tantam omnium venisti criminationem, ita ab omnibus tua improbantur facta, ut reperiri posse arbitrer neminem, qui de te cum magno meo dolore non mala dicat et sentiat.² Satius tibi erat nomen integritatis retinere, quam nescio qua spe commodi consequendi a recta via deduci. Ubi nunc sis terrarum, quid agas, quidve moliaris, vel quid cogites, nemo non modo scire, sed ne audire quidem potest. Cuperem te pro nostra
10 vetere amicitia sanum esse ubicunque ageres, sed ita, ut aliquando resipisceres.
Vale. Ex Lincio 18. Februarii 1530.

¹ Miklós Oláh (1493–1568). Humanist, historian, high priest. He studied in Hungary and did not visit any university abroad. He belonged to the circles of Zsigmond Thurzó and later of György Szatmári in his youth. His acquaintance with Brodarics probably dates back to this time. Later he became Royal Secretary. After Mohács, he accompanied Queen Maria to the Netherlands, from where he returned in 1542. His career rose quickly afterwards: Chancellor, Bishop of Zagreb, then of Eger from 1543, Archbishop of Esztergom from 1553 till his death, Governor from 1562. Initiator of the Counter-Reformation in Hungary, author of the books *Hungaria* and *Athila*. He founded the Jesuit College in Nagyszombat. Maintained correspondence with eminent Humanists of the time including Erasmus.

² Oláh exaggerates strongly in this case. It is enough to point to Georg von Logau, who is maintaining a friendship with Brodarics, still, he has been serving Ferdinand since 1527 and publishes his collection of epigrams in 1529 in Vienna, and offers it to Ferdinand. There are several satirical poems aimed at Szapolyai in the book, but he includes his poem to Brodarics, which praises the latter's excellence. (See the text in the appendix.) Although the poem could have been written much earlier, the fact that he included it shows that his high regard for Brodarics has not changed.

István Brodarics to Wilhelm Freiherr zu Roggendorf¹
Buda, 19 January 1531

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 17. Konv. A, fol. 43.

Published: Franz Ferdinand von BUCHOLTZ, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, Bd. IX., Graz, 1968, 45.

1. He writes to Roggendorf without knowing him, but has heard from Laski that Roggendorf is a peace-loving person too, so he asks him to use his influence in favour of peace in the coming talks. – 2. Ferdinand should not have so much trust in the help of Christian princes, because waiting for it caused the fall of Hungary.

Illustris et Magnifice Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Ego, licet non novi Vestram Magnificentiam ad faciem, tamen intellexi bonum et magnum nomen Vestrae Magnificentiae a multis, et maxime ab hoc amandissimo et observandissimo domino meo, domino Hieronimo de Lashco,² et quia fui ab initio, quo isti duo principes ingressi sunt istud immensum pelagus discordiarum, ex quibus tot mala evenerunt, suasor pacis inter eos, sicut ambo mihi sunt locupletissimi testes. Intellexi autem ab hoc eodem domino Lasky bonum et propensum ad hoc Vestrae Dominationis animum. Ideo licet ignotus Vestrae Magnificentiae servitor eam tamen enixissime rogo, dignetur in hoc negotio³ ita partes suas interponere, ut prudentia et auctoritate eiusdem pro voto bonorum omnium rite conficiatur.

[2.] Qua in re maiestas serenissimi regis Ferdinandi, principis sapientissimi amore Dei Omnipotentis non sit in tantum dura, nec tantum confidat in incertissimis auxiliis vel generalibus expeditionibus principum Christianorum. Scit bene sua sacratissima maiestas, quod spes ista nos perdidit et ad hunc imploratum rerum nostrarum statum deduxit. Non scribo ista imprudens ac sine fundamento. Ego magnam aetatis meae partem consumpsi

13 incertissimis *correcti* ex: incertissimas

¹ Wilhelm Freiherr zu Roggendorf (1481–1541), diplomat, general. Commander in Chief of Ferdinand I in Hungary in 1530–31. After besieging Buda unsuccessfully from early November, 1530 until 23 December, he led the armistice talks in Visegrád on Ferdinand's side. Brodarics wrote to him on this occasion without knowing him, as it is seen from the letter.

² Hieronym Laski (1496–1541), a prominent diplomat of Szapolyai from 1527, then of Ferdinand from 1536. He led the talks with the Sultan in early 1528 which led to an alliance between János Szapolyai and Süleyman I. Became *Comes* of Szepes county (1528–1531) in return for his services; Voivod of Transylvania from December 1530. See his biography: BARTA, *Két tárgyalás Szatmbulban...* 41–45.

³ During the year 1530 representatives of Ferdinand I and Szapolyai held unsuccessful negotiations under Saxon mediation about the conditions for a deal between the two rulers. Laski had to travel to Visegrád originally to sign an 8-day armistice with Roggendorf before determining the time and location for further talks (see Szapolyai's letter of credence dated 17 January 1531, HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 17. Konv. A, fol. 41.). However, the parties finally signed a 3-month armistice on 21 January 1531 and this was renewed several times. For the text of the agreement see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 17. Konv. A, fol. 46–49. On the background of the Visegrád agreement see BÁRDOSSY László, *Magyar politika a mohácsi vész után*, Budapest, 1943, 91–96.

in Christianis principibus ad aliquid bonum deducendis,⁴ sed frustra fuerunt non solum mei, qui nihil potius sum, quam aliquis, sed bonorum omnium labores. Quid aliquid etiam est imposterum expectandum in tanta principum Christianorum diversitate? Ne quid
20 aliud dicam, Dominatio Vestra Magnifica pro sua prudentia haec omnia melius intelligit, quam a me scribi possint. Amplectamur pacem, dum offertur, ne longa ad deteriora veniat, quam quae processerunt. Servitia mea Vestrae Magnificentiae commendo.

Ex Buda 19. Ianuarii 1531.

Cetera ex hoc domino meo domino Lasky.⁵

25

Servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis
alias regni Hungariae cancellarius

On the back side: Exemplum Broderici Sirmiensis litterarum

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István Brodarics to Camillo Orsini¹
Buda, 24 January 1531

Manuscript used: ASG, ESTK, fol. 70.²

1. He spoke to King John and Gritti immediately after his return home. They were pleased to hear that Orsini enters the service of King John. His conditions, as he will see from the King's letter, have been accepted. Brodarics also sends King John's letter to the French King to Orsini. – 2. Matthia Marigliano will inform Orsini about the siege of Buda that King John endured. – 3. Gritti, who travelled to Constantinople on the 12th or 13th of this month, is the second person after the King now. He will send money; he would like Orsini to come here in accordance with the information sent from Constantinople.

Illustris et Magnifice Domine, Domine mihi Honorandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Io parlato subito como veni qua cum la Maestà del Re³ mio Serenissimo et

3 post parlato del. como

⁴ Brodarics, as an envoy to Rome in 1522–25, attempted to secure financial and military support for Hungary's fight against the Turks. His efforts were essentially futile.

⁵ We know from Łaski's letter to Roggendorf on 8 January that they were to meet in Visegrád on 20 January in order to begin the peace talks. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc.17. Konv. A, fol. 42.

¹ Camillo Orsini (1492–1559), mercenary commander from Venice. In fact, Orsini served King John. Brodarics mentions it in his letter to Nádasdy on 21 December 1532. A *credentialis* for Szapolyai from January 1532, addressed to Łaski and Orsini, also survived. See HEGEDŰS István, *Irodalomtörténeti tárlózáások az olasz könyvtárakban*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1898, 478.

² Autograph.

³ János Szapolyai.

col signior Alovise Gritti⁴ el gran thezaurero et governatore del regno dele cose dela
5 Signoria Vostra Illustrissima et la Maestà Soa et ancora el signor thezorero ha abra-
ciato molto volentiera la Signoria Vostra Illustrissima, et sono molto contenti, che Voi
veniate ali servicii dela Soa Maestate, con quella condicione che la Signoria Vostra
Illustrissima ha domandato, como la Signoria Vostra intenderà per le lettere dela Maestà
10 Soa, le quale Ve mando. Et cum quele Ve mando anca lettere dela Maestà Soa, li[!] quale
ha scritto per la grata licencia Vostra dal Re Christianissimo,⁵ como la Signoria
Vostra ha voluto.

[2.] Dele cose nostre e dela gloriosa et certe molto laudabile liberatione dela Maestà
del Re dala obsidione deli inimici,⁶ messer Mathio⁷ scriverà alla Signoria Vostra Illus-
trissima, et così ancora dele altre cose nostre. Et cum questo li servicii mei ala Signoria
15 Vostra ricommando et ali amici fra li altri al nostro abbate charissimo.⁸

[3.] Il signor Aloise Gritti mandarà denari ala Signoria Vostra. Se partì per Con-
stantinopoli ali XII o XIII de questo. Lui è grande et primo a presso la Maestà del Re,
et è molto desideroso che veniate. Venirite secondo la informatione, che lui Ve darà da
Constantinopoli. Ve mando lettere che vano al Christianissimo Re per la licentia Vostra
20 et per la recommendatione Vostra. Et bene vate.

Ex Buda, 24 Ianuarii 1531.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit
Sirmiensis, orator

On the outer side: Illustri domino meo, domino Camillo Ursino comiti Manupelli,
domino et amico honorandissimo

⁷ post Maestate del. como

¹⁰ post quale del. vano al

¹⁶ ante li del. lii

²³ Brodericus suprascr. alia manu Broderich

⁴ Lodovico (Alvise) Gritti, Treasurer and Governor.

⁵ King of France Francis I.

⁶ Roggendorf, Ferdinand's general, besieged the castle of Buda and King John unsuccessfully from early November 1530 to 23 December.

⁷ Matthia Marigliano, famous lute player, court musician of Szapolyai, the master of Bálint Bakfark. This is the earliest piece of data about the presence of Marigliano in the court in Buda.

⁸ We do not know whom Brodarics refers to.

Ferenc Frangepán and Hieronym Łaski to István Brodarics and
Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 18 April 1531

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Missiles bundle 18, Łaski-levelek, fol. 5.¹

Published: MOE I., 323.²

The time of the assembly in Veszprém that both King's oppose is approaching. The danger is that the ordines elect a captain for themselves and make a deal with the Sultan behind the two King's back. King John does not underestimate the danger this time, so it has been decided that they send the army that is near Késmárk to Veszprém under command of the Palatine and Łaski. They request Brodarics and Nádasdy to influence the King in this direction.

Reverendissime Domine et Magnifice Domine, Amici et Fratres Honorandissimi. Salutem et commendationem.

Instat periculosa dieta Vesprimii indicta,³ insciis, et ut ita dicam, invititis ambobus regibus, ad quam maiestas regia iudicio nostro debet mittere omnes illos, de quibus et scripsimus et nuntiavimus maiestati regiae et Dominationibus Vestris, alioquin in illa dieta facient capitaneum contra ambos reges, qui erit causa, quod Turci inter tot dissidia occupent regnum; et iam miserunt ad bassam offerendo tributum a regno, dummodo capitaneus conservetur in regimine, immo et obsides forte dabuntur. Ideo maiestas sua non vilipendat ista, ut solet. Videretur nobis, quod cum domino palatino⁴ et aliis fidelibus maiestatis regiae venirent ad comitia illa ascensiana⁵ ii armigeri, qui sunt in Kesmark. Tamen solutio deberet eis fieri ad unum vel duos menses. Ideo Dominationes Vestrae, in quantum cupiunt id, de quo saepius collocuti sumus, inducant ad hoc regem, ut isti armigeri veniant omnino ad dominum Palatinum et vayvodam Lazki, qui etiam vult interesse congregationi ascensianae. Et istud ita negligatis, quod error iste novissimus erit peior omnibus prioribus. Et bene valete.

Budae, 18. Aprilis anno MDXXXI.

11 Tamen solutio... et vayvodam om. MOE

14 ascensianae... solutionem MOE om.

¹ A transcript of the letter is in György Pray's compilation of manuscripts with minor omissions: ELTE EK, Collectio Prayana, Vol. XXIV.

² Fraknói's publication is based on Pray's transcript.

³ The *ordines*, tired by the civil war between the two kings, announced an assembly for 6 March 1531 in Bélavár first. It was decided at this meeting that a general national assembly is called together in Veszprém for 18 May 1531 for further negotiations. Since Ferdinand and John were both worried that the noblemen might elect a king from among themselves, they did their utmost to prevent it from taking place. They were successful in this, no prominent aristocrat showed up in Veszprém. Nevertheless, the *ordines* held two more "kingless" national assemblies in 1532, in Kenese and in Berenhida. More on the "kingless" national assemblies: MOE I. 311–363.

⁴ János Alsólvndvai Bánffy filled the position of Palatine with King John in 1530–34.

⁵ The assembly announced for 18 May 1531, which was the Ascension Day in that year.

Coactus sum dare pecunias ad manus domini provisoris⁶ non obstante illo, quod nunc [?] nuntiaverat Dominationibus Vestris dominus Nadasdi per dominum Lazki.

20

servitores
Franciscus de Frangepanibus et
Hieronymus Lasky subscripsit

Nam Mynkwycz⁷ est hic apud nos, gentes autem suae sunt in Kezmark, quae exhibunt, si non habebunt solutionem.

On the back side: Magnificis dominis, episcopo Sirmiensi, [Th]omae de Nadasd etc, fratribus carissimis

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Gyulafehérvár, 25 April 1531

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 1–2.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 264–265.

1. Spoke to the King about Maylád. Regarding this issue either it should be the way it has been agreed with Szapolyai in Kolozsvár or, if Maylád is impossible to convince, the King will persuade Werbőczy to relinquish the castle of Vécs in Transylvania to Maylád. Nádasdy, on the other hand, should make Maylád understand that he should be satisfied with what he can get because it is far more than what Szapolyai's old followers can hope for, and more than what he could have ever got from Ferdinand. – 2. Doctor Donát has arrived, but he would prefer Nádasdy to come to Gyulafehérvár to enduring hardships of camp life.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitia.

[1.] De negotio domini Maylath,¹ fratris nostri locutus sum rursus diligenter cum maiestate regia, domino nostro clementissimo, cuius responsum est hoc: ut vel fiat

⁶ Probably a reference to the Court Administrator in Buda, who was Simon Athinai Deák at the time. See KUBINYI András, *Rabok feliratai a budai Csonkatoronyban*, Budapest Régiségei, 1958, 520.

⁷ Mikołaj Minkwitz, Polish knight, formerly in Saxon service. Data exists from 1528 (see Tomicki's letter on 9 September 1528) that he was the commander of the German auxiliary troops sent to Szapolyai. This reference seems to indicate that he stayed in Hungary for a longer period. Łaski refers to him in a letter from 1535 as an enemy whom he managed to capture.

¹ István Maylád (1502–1550), Captain of the castle of Fogaras, Voivod of Transylvania and *Székely Comes* in 1534–1541 as an adherent of Szapolyai. He stirs up a riot against Szapolyai in 1540, for which Suleyman has him captured in 1541. He dies in prison in Istanbul. See more on Maylád: MAJLÁTHI Béla, *Oklevelek Maylád István történetéhez 1530–1551*, Történelmi Társulat, 1891, 621–638; 1892, 75–95.; and more recently: VARGA Szabolcs, *A Maylád-féle lázadás történetének kritikai vizsgálata* = Grastyán Endre Szakkollégium tanulmánykötete 2., 2001, 277–293.

illud, quod vobis regia maiestas dixerat in Coloswar² coram me in illa camera interiore,
 5 ut vos habeatis etc., vel si ad hoc induci non potest, agit sua maiestas cum domino
 cancellario,³ ut domino Maylath cedat castrum suum Wech⁴ hic in Transsilvania
 existens cum omnibus castri illius pertinentibus, quod affirmat dominus cancellarius
 esse admodum utile, et inter alia facere vasa vinorum centum, et credo sine dubio,
 quod hoc effici poterit. Dominatio Vestra faciat dominum Maylath, si videtur, hoc
 10 intelligere, et consulatis ei nomine etiam meo, quod non stultizet [!], accipiat id, quod
 habere potest. Nos, qui ab initio servivimus regiae maiestati inter suis et nostris calam-
 itatibus, non possumus habere a sua maiestate unicam villulam consequi, et ipse, qui
 fuit hostis, post tot damna suae maiestati et subditis eius illata habebit ita pulchra et
 utilia bona, qualia, credo, quod vix habuisset a rege Ferdinando pro omnibus servitiis,⁵
 15 quae ei exhibuit cum utroque vestrum, qui fuistis socii ipsius in mille annis.

Rex istas condiciones domino Maylath oblatas vult esse secretas omnino propter
 alios, et confidit Vestrae Dominationi sua maiestas, quod et apud dominum Maylath
 erunt secretae.

[2.] Frater Donatus⁶ venit, sed totus madidus et libentius vellet, quod Dominatio
 20 Vestra sanaretur vel quod huc veniret, quam suscipere istas incommoditates castrenses
 homini seni graves. Si tamen dominus Kayary, qui nondum rediit, dicet eam esse voluntatem
 vestram, ut vadat, cogemus eum ire. Consulit tamen Donatus, consulimus omnes, ut
 veniatis, habebitis hic omnes commoditates, ibi nullam.

Vestram Dominationem cupio convalescere.

25 Hodie fui longe levior, quam et certe frater etiam noster Maior, de primo loquor,
 quam heri. Adeo turbaverat nos hesternus vespertinus nuntius vestrae valetudinis. Tu

8 post credo del. quod hoc

13 post hostis del. et tot da

18 post secretae del. Ego

20 post sanaretur del. quam suscipere

25 post etiam del. vester

² According to Gábor Barta, the secret talks with Nádasdy could take place in March 1531 because it was at that time that Szapolyai was staying in Kolozsvár. The purpose might have been separating Nádasdy from Gritti who was accumulating more and more power (see BARTA Gábor, *Ludovicus Gritti magyar kormányzósága (1531–1534)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1971, 302.). However, preparations for Maylád changing sides also began at this time. Nádasdy received instruction from Szapolyai the same day that he should negotiate with Maylád and try to lure him into Szapolyai's camp. See BESSENVEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint*, Budapest, 1994, 47.

³ István Werbőczy.

⁴ Vécs or Marosvécs, Torda county. (Today: Brincovenesti, Romania). Marosvécs had been an estate of Werbőczy for a long time. He put it at Szapolyai's disposal in 1529 so that the latter can reward the Ártándy brothers. After Gritti had the Ártándy brothers executed in early 1531, the estate was given back to Werbőczy. Yet Szapolyai – as the letter indicates – still counted on it that he could use it for recruiting followers. See FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Werbőczy István életrajza*, Budapest, 1899, 290.

⁵ Brodarics hit the nail on the head. Maylád, who was flirting with the idea of changing sides, wrote himself to Nádasdy that he had had enough of Ferdinand who had been treating him with promises for three years („lghen megh wnám ew felségét, quia nisi cum litteris invenit nos a tertio anno”) instead of a real benefice. See MAJLÁTHI Béla, *Oklevelek Maylád István történetéhez 1530–1551*, Történelmi Tár, 1891, 636.

⁶ Regarding doctor Donatus see also the next letter.

etiam ea de causa diligentior sis in valetudine recuperanda. Ne nos contristes amplius. Iterum bene vale. Dominis commendari cupio.

Ex Alba Iulia Transsilvana 25. Aprilis 1531.

30 Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino thesaurario regio, domino etc.

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Torda, 11 May 1531

Manuscript used: MOL. E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 3–4.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 265.

1. News of Nádasdy's illness frightened him, but since he left Nádasdy in good condition and there are others to take care of him, like doctor Donatus, Archbishop Frangepán, and even King John himself, he is not worried. Asks Nádasdy to hurry after them as soon as he recovers. – 2. Asks Nádasdy to help tenant of salt chambers Andrea Pizzacomino every possible way.

Magnifice Domine, Domine uti Fili Mi Carissime et Observandissime. Salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Multum me conturbavit ex Enyedio discedentem adversae tuae valetudinis nuntius, tamen, cum te discedens satis validum reliquerim, non potui mihi persuadere tantum mali, quantum dicebatur. Quicquid est, habes ibi medicum, fratrem Donatum,¹ quem scio tui esse amantissimum. Habes dominum nostrum reverendissimum,² qui, scio, omnia pro te faciet, si qua opus erunt [!]. Ne quid dicam de maiestate regia, domino nostro clementissimo, et ipso tui amantissimo.³ Ego te rogo, quod et nuper rogavi, primum, ut habeas diligentissimam valetudinis tuae curam, deinde, ut si per valetudinem et per alia, quae ad hoc sunt necessaria, est possibile, ut sine mora nos consequaris. Tua iuxta praesentia et pecunia est opus nobis omnibus maxime his, qui magis indigent. Propera igitur, si possibile est, post nos.

[2.] Illud etiam te hodie rogatum volui, sed nescio quomodo mihi excidit. Rogo, habeas commendatum Andream salinarium,⁴ et eum rebus omnibus, quibus potes, iuva. Ita facilius evitabimus, ne quod damnum regia maiestas per eum patiat. Saepe

¹ Regarding Doctor Donatus, see also the previous letter.

² Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

³ János Szapolyai.

⁴ Entrepreneur of Padua Andrea Pizzacomino rented the salt mines in Transylvania and Máramaros between 1531–1532. Employing him, Gritti tried to push Nádasdy into the background without much success. See more on this: DRASKÓCZY István, *Az erdélyi sókamarak ispánjai 1529–1535*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2004/1, 27–47.

a me audisti, quid ego de tota ista re sentiam. Sed iam melius est istum adiuuare, quam cum tanto regis damno perdere. Eum igitur in totum Vestrae Dominationi commendo.

Et optime vale. Servitutum meam humillimam in gratiam maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi cupio per te commendari et domino nostro reverendissimo et domino Vayvodae⁵ et post hos domino patri nostro Donato et reverendo fratri Georgio⁶ et Thurkovichio.⁷

Ex Thorda, 11. Maii 1531.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodarych subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino thesaurario regio, domino uti filio carissimo

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Gyulafehérvár, 25 July 1531

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 5–7.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 266–267.

1. Turkovics has not spoken to Nádasdy about the issue of Brodarics' expenses in France. He has written about it to the Bishop of Transylvania too, from whom he may get 400 forints back, but the remaining 600 he hopes to get through the help of Nádasdy. – 2. Laski wrote from Cracow on 8 July: he would soon leave to visit Ferdinand. From there he goes to Emperor Charles, then back to Szapolyai on the Danube; even though Szapolyai did not treat him the way he had hoped, he still does not want to desert him now, although his brother does not get any benefice in Poland because he serves King John. – 3. Brodarics' legation is very likely to fall through because King John is waiting to see the results Laski would bring home. They, with Frangepán, still want to send Canon Tamás to Rome in order to revert the excommunication. If peace cannot be achieved, Frangepán probably returns to Rome to become a monk. – 4. According to Bishop Statileo,

⁵ Hieronym Łaski.

⁶ György Fráter (Martinuzzi, Utiešenović) (1482–84?–1551), *familiaris* of János Korvin first, then of Duchess of Teschen Hedvig (mother of Szapolyai), Pauline monk from 1512. Friar György appeared first in 1528 as a confidant of King John but filled no important position yet. His career rose steeply after Gritti's death. Treasurer, Bishop of Várad, *Comes* of Bihar from 1534, Governor from 1541, Cardinal and Archbishop of Esztergom from October 1551. More on his life: HORVÁTI Mihály, *Utyeszenich Frater György (Martinuzzi bíbornok) élete*, Budapest, 1882. Gábor Barta investigated the circumstances of his death using a wide range of sources. See BARTA Gábor, *Vajon kié az ország?*, Budapest, 1988.

⁷ Miklós Turkovics, former *Tricesimator* of Fehérvár, then Constable of Nádasdy in Buda, Chief Justice of Buda from 1534. See BARACZKA István, *A budai Nádasdy-ház számadása 1530. IX. 30.–1531. I. 13-ig* = Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából, 1966, 262. Tried to play the castle to Roggendorf's hands during the siege of Buda in 1541, together with several prominent citizens of the council. (Compare: BORNEMISZA Tamás, *Emléközet = Magyar emlékiratok 16–18. század*, Budapest, 1982, 70–76.) Sometimes we find in the literature that György Fráter allegedly had him executed for treason, but this is certainly false. Firstly, Bornemisza, who reports on the events, only speaks about the execution of Ferenc Bácsy, secondly, the Nádasdy collection of the MOL has letters from him even from the 1560s.

Gritti got an army from the Sultan with which he already left Istanbul and is near Drinápoly. What Gritti's purpose is, he does not know. – 5. Frangepán is about to leave for Nyulábhvár; he would be happy to go too, if he had money. Requests Nádasdy to send the money to the Palatine or to Philip in Várad, when the desired amount is obtained, so that he can pay back his debts.

Domine Magnifice uti Fili Carissime et Observandissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Post discessum vestrum, cum rem meam ex parte illius debiti mei Gallici¹ sollicitare coepissem, intellexi a domino Thurkowychio² nostro Vestram Dominationem nihil de hoc cum ipso esse locutam, de quo certe multum fui turbatus. Misi postea Thomam nostrum custodem³ ad dominum Transsilvanensem,⁴ qui hoc idem retulit. Adeo quod ex omni parte destitutus coepi tamen quandam viam medio domini Transsylvanensis, ubi habeo spem aliquam, non tamen magnam, consequendi illos quadringentos florenos, de residuis sescentis nescio quid faciam, nisi quod rogo Vestram Dominationem, quanto magis possum, velit efficere omnino, quod eos consequi possim auxilio Vestrae Dominationis vel apud Andream,⁵ vel alio modo, et ut me de hoc certiore faciat quamprimum.

[2.] Novi post vestrum discessum nihil aliud, nisi quod habuimus litteras a domino Lasky, qui ex Cracovia scribit binas litteras, unas ad maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum, alias ad nos tres communes, ad dominum reverendissimum Colocensem,⁶ ad vos et ad me, quas non sine causa non mitto in specie.⁷ Sed summa litterarum est, quod ipse circa 9. vel 10. huius mensis Iulii (octava enim sunt litterae scriptae) scribit se profecturum ad regem Romanorum⁸ et inde ad Carolum imperatorem, inde rediturum Danubio ad maiestatem regiam. Praeterea quod quamvis maiestas sua non ita, ut ipse exspectabat, se gesserit cum eo, tamen ipsum pro nunc nolle deserere suam maiestatem. Imputat servitiis suis maiestati regiae exhibitis, quod frater eius, dominus Ioannes⁹ nihil sit consecutus, neque archiepiscopatum patri,¹⁰ neque quicquam aliud.

[3.] Legatio mea per haec posset abire in fenum. Atque ita credo futurum. Credo,

¹ Brodaries visited France as an envoy in the spring of 1530.

² On Miklós Turkovics see the notes for the previous letter.

³ *Custos* of Eger Tamás Mindszenti. Mindszenti is referred to in several letters from 1528 already as a messenger for Brodaries.

⁴ Bishop of Transylvania János Statileo (Statilius).

⁵ Probably a reference to a tax collector in Szatmár and Bereg counties, András Posway. In his letter dated 26 August 1531 (see MARÓTHI Rezső, *A két Frangepán Ferencz levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz*, Történelmi Társ., 1907, 491.) Frangepán also complains to Nádasdy about Posway, who does not pay his or Brodaries' entitlement.

⁶ Ferenc Frangepán

⁷ The letters referred to by Brodaries are unknown.

⁸ Ferdinand I was crowned as King of Rome on 5 January 1531, that is why the new title King of Rome appears which means a higher rank than King of Bohemia.

⁹ Jan Łaski (1499–1560), Provost of Gniezno, brother of Hieronym Łaski.

¹⁰ Uncle of the Łaski brothers, Jan Łaski Sr. (1456–1531), Archbishop of Gniezno, Primate of Poland. He died on 19 May 1531. Maciej Drzewicki followed him as Archbishop.

25 quod maiestas regia exspectabit, quidnam dominus Lasky afferet, et postea sic de aliis cogitabit. Idem credo futurum de legatione Thomae nostri Romam. Quem tamen nos illuc mittere decrevimus cum domino reverendissimo ob negotia nostra et maxime, ne tamdiu iaceamus in excommunicatione.¹¹ Si possibile erit, nos aliquid impetrare super hoc, dominus reverendissimus deposuit omnes illos cogitatus adipiscendi etc. Statuit
30 omnino redire ad suum priorem statum Deo in sua vocatione perpetuo serviendi. Si tamen pax confici poterit, et si spes erit aliqua regni conservandi, credo, quod induci poterit ad serviendum patriae nobiscum. Sed de his alias.

[4.] Dominus Transsilvanensis habuit litteras ex Brassovia: domino Gritti datum esse vexillum per invictissimum Turcarum imperatorem, et eum iam ex Constanti-
35 nopoli exivisse cum vexillo, et fortasse pervenisse Adrianopolim. Ego nescio, si ista sint vera, et si vera essent, nescio, quid sibi velint. Nisi quod rogo, oro, obsecro et obtestor, ut tua opera, tuo beneficio consequar illam summam, cuius maiorem partem ego debeo. Immo longe plura his.

Nihil nunc in me maius conferre potes, et de hoc me facere velis certiore, quid in
40 hoc effeceris.

Et optime valere cupio Vestram Dominationem. Cui me unice commendo. Ex Alba Iulia Transsilvana XXV. Iulii 1531.

[5.] Dominus reverendissimus cras hinc discedit ad Nyalab.¹² Nisi esset ista pecunia, ego idem facerem. Sed teneor vinctus istis compedibus.

45 Dominus reverendissimus se Vestrae Dominationi commendat. Dominatio Vestra pecuniam istam, si habere poterit, sicut in Vestrae Dominationis erga me fraterno amore non possum nisi bene sperare et certo in hoc confidere, velit eam dare ad manus domini palatini,¹³ vel mittere ad dominum Philippum Varadiensem.¹⁴ Inveni enim modum eius in aurum commutandae, ut possim eam mittere his, quibus debeo et fidem
50 meam liberare.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodaryth
Sirmiensis subscripsit

¹¹ Clement VII excommunicated Szapolyai under Habsburg pressure in 1529, because the latter formed an alliance with the Turks. Brodarics attempted to achieve absolution from the excommunication already in the spring of 1530, on his way to France. However, Habsburg diplomacy could prevent him from getting an audience even.

¹² Nyalábvár belonged to the sister of Ferenc Frangepán, Katalin Frangepán, the widow of Comes of Máramaros Gábor Perényi, who had died at Mohács. See KOMÁROMY András, *Nyalábvár és uradalma*, Századok, 1894, 515.

¹³ János Alsóindvai Bánffy.

¹⁴ He may be identical to Philippus Albaregalis (Fülöp Fehérvári), who is mentioned in the letter of recommendation addressed to György Szatmári and inserted in front of the Janus-edition by Sebestyén Magyi in 1513. Fülöp, mentioned in the Magyi-letter, was already Archdean of Várad at that time, and was among the protégés of Szatmári who had studied in Bologna, together with Brodarics. His name appears again in connection to finances in a letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 2 July 1532, where Brodarics refers to him as a doctor.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Radlow, [3] August 1531¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 13. fol. 41r–v²

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIII. 252–253.

King Sigismund had talks with Łaski and Ferdinand's envoy Siegmund Herberstein about issues concerning keeping the one-year armistice. He tried to quieten the row over castles occupied in Transylvania during the armistice without arbitrating, but he was unsuccessful in this. And had he favoured any side, he would have offended one of the Princes and that would have made it impossible for him to encourage them to seek agreement which is his firm intention. Brodarics, too, should persuade King John that Sigismund's every decision is made in order to create peace. Jan Clayski, Sigismund's envoy will report on the rest.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Honorandissime.

Cum nuper esset Cracoviae magnificus dominus Hieronimus de Lasko, vayewoda Transsilvanus, affuissetque etiam orator serenissimi domini Romanorum regis, dominus Sigismundus de Herbestain,³ maiestas domini mei plurima cum ipsis egit, quae ad
5 rationes annalium indutiarum conservandarum opportuna ac necessaria videbantur. Tentavit etiam a longe, an controversiam de munitionibus in Transsilvania sub interstitio trimestrium et annalium indutiarum interceptis transigere extra iudicium arbitrale inter se potuisset. Quod tamen cum frustra tentasset, tulit ipsa sententiam, quam et
10 aequitati proximior et praesentium temporum calamitati magis utilem fore agnoscebat, uti ex scripto istuc ad serenissimum dominum Hungariae regem misso

5 *post videbantur del.* Egit

10 *post agnoscebat del.* Nam v

¹ The day does not appear in the original draft, only its placeholder is left blank. Sometimes, in later manuscripts, "in Augusto" appears. Presumably publishers of Acta Tomiciana misread *in* for *III*. Tomicki, however, wrote three other letters with similar subjects from Radlow: one to Ferenc Frangepán, one to István Werbőczy, and one to János Statileo. There is no date on the one to Statileo, while on manuscripts for the other two there is 3 August (see BN T. 13. 32r, 33r), so it is quite probable that the letters with the same subject were written on the same day, the 3rd.

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6552 fol. 654–655; BK 216 fol. 115r–v; BK 227 fol. 105v–106r; BCzart 266 fol. 235–237; BN 1414 fol. 117 v–118r; BCzart TN 46. fol. 685–686.

³ Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein (1486–1566), Austrian diplomat and historian, originally from Krajina. Studied at the university of Vienna and entered the service of the Habsburgs afterwards. As a diplomat, he travelled all around Europe, visited Turkey and the Grand Duchy of Moscow several times. His most famous work is about his experiences as a legate in Moscow printed in 1549: *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*. It was the first comprehensive report on the conditions and history of the country that the West had had little knowledge about. More on his life and activities: Gerhard PERSCHY (hg.): *Siegmund von Herberstein. Kaiserlicher Gesandter und Begründer der Russlandkunde und die europäische Diplomatie*, Graz, 1989.

Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima perspiciet.⁴ Nam si in alterutram partem diffinire
 severius aliquid voluisset, verebatur maiestas sua, ne ad concordiam suadendam
 alicuius principis offensione contracta viam sibi praecluderet. Quare non alienum fue-
 15 rit ab officio Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, ut, quod per maiestatem domini
 mei decretum est, serenissimo regi suo probet esse consulte factum, et persuadeat illius
 maiestati, non alio animo id maiestatem domini mei decrevisse, quam ut rationibus
 concordiae, ad quam conciliandam est propensissima, prospiceret. Ego autem haec
 scripsi ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam, ut illius prudentiam ad ea, quae
 20 sunt publice utilia, provocarem et meum simul illi in scribendo officium probarem.
 Alia, quae hic domestica habentur, verbis exponet Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissi-
 mae is generosus dominus Clayski,⁵ maiestatis domini mei aulicus. Quem ego Domi-
 nationi Vestrae Reverendissimae singulariter commendo et una rogo, velit illi consilio
 et auxilio, ubi opus fuerit, non deesse. Me etiam amoris et benevolentiae fraternae
 Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae ex animo commendo, et ut illam Deus Omni-
 25 potens diu sanam et felicem pacata patria quam diutissime servare dignetur.
 Datum ex Radlow die [...] Augusti anno domini MDXXXI.

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István Brodarics and Hieronym Łaski to Tamás Nádasdy Gyulafehérvár, 19 August 1531

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 8–9.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 267–268.

King John sends Brodarics and Łaski to the assembly in Debrecen. They request Nádasdy to appear by all means, so that they can discuss matters in person.

Magnifice Domine et Frater nobis Honorandissime et Observandissime. Salutem et
 servitiorum nostrorum commendationem.

Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus decrevit nos mittere ad eam lega-

12 *post* suadendam *del.* contracta aliqua
 16 *post* id *del.* se decrevisse

17 *post* prospiceret *del.* Scriberem
 19 *post* scribendo *del.* aliquid

⁴ A draft dated 15 July states that Sigismund decided that John should return the matter of the dispute, the castle of Szászsebes (Mühlbach, today: Sebeş, Romania) to Ferdinand as well as other fortresses that he occupied during the armistice. Another document dated two days later, which was actually sent, ordered that John should return the castle in question to his, Sigismund's representatives within 20 days of receiving the notification so that it is in neutral hands until the final decision is made. (See AT XIII. 222–223.) It is evident from Tomicki's letter that the Polish King tried to avoid arbitration that could easily become embarrassing. Since he had no way of doing that he made a decision that would not satisfy either party but would not turn them against him either, so he gained time for the moment.

⁵ On the legation of Jan Clayski see also AT XIII. 251–252.

tionem, quam Vestra Dominatio novit. Profesto nativitat¹ Beatae Virginis¹ constituemur cum dei auxilio in Debreczen,² quo omnes domini, praeter hos, qui sunt cum maiestate regia, et praeter dominum palatinum,³ debebunt ad eum diem venire. Rogamus Vestram Dominationem, uti dominum et fratrem nostrum carissimum, velit ad eum diem omnino in Debreczen constitui et tunc tractabimus de aliis. Sed Vestram Dominationem omnino expectamus. Et eandem optime cupimus valere.

10 Ex Alba Iulia 19. Augusti 1531.

Eiusdem Vestrae Magnificentiae

frater Hieronymus de Lasko etc. manu propria
Stephanus Brodaryth subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdy thesaurario regio, domino et fratri honorandissimo

140

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Gyulafehérvár, 23 August 1531

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 10–11.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 268.

1. Asks Nádasdy to hurry and visit the King or Debrecen. He should also bring silverware. – 2. Nádasdy should bring the younger cousin of Brodarics, György, or send him to Debrecen, because Brodarics wants to take him with himself so that he can see more of the world.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Colendissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Scripsi vobis iam bis de mea legatione cum domino Lasky.¹ Rogo Vestram Dominationem, inmo ambo rogamus, velit festinare iuxta etiam desiderium regiae
5 maiestatis vel ad maiestatem suam, vel ad Debreczen. Sed maiestas sua cupit vos venire ad se, idque ocissime, pro negotiis multum importantibus, sed constituamini omnino nobiscum; et per iter veniendo ad regem, cavete, ne nos fallatis id est *hogh mynketh el ne wech* (nunc enim aliud vocabulum aptius non succurrit). Curet autem, rogo, Vestra Dominatio, ut scutellas illas argenteas, ex quibus comedere solet cum
10 discis in Debreczen reperire possim profesto nativitat² Beatae Virginis,² ut eas possim

5 *post quo del. et alios*

¹ 7 September 1531.

² We have no further data on this assembly planned in Debrecen. See GAZDAG István, *Debrecen város történeti kronológiája II.* Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve, 1985, 203–212.

³ János Alsólvai Bánffy filled the position of Palatine with King John in 1530–34.

¹ One of these survived. See the previous letter.

² 7 September 1531.

mecum ferre. Quas vobis rursus restituum. Non enim credo argentum comitum Petenedorum³ mihi debere esse hereditarium.

[2.] Praeterea mittat ad Debreczen, vel ducat nepotem meum Georgium Brodaryth,⁴ quem volo mecum ducere, ut videat mundum et rursus vobis dabo. Malo enim eum
15 apud patrum educari, id est apud te, quam apud patrem, Stephanum Brodericum. Et cum his me Vestrae Dominationi commendo.

Ex Alba Iulia 23. Augusti 1531.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodaryth subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino thesaurario regio, domino uti fratri honorandissimo

141

István Brodarics to Paulo Casali¹
Körösbánya,² 27 September 1531

Manuscript used: BL, Bibliotheca Cottoniana Vitell. B. XIII. fol. 140r–141v³

1. Assures Casali about King John's good will towards him and all his brothers. – 2. Since King John is inclined towards peace with Ferdinand, he is asking Casali to intervene with the Pope so that the Pope instructs his legates in the courts of Charles V and Ferdinand to foster talks with envoys of Szapolyai. – 3. Łuski travels to Speyer to negotiate; Brodarics is going to follow him soon in the company of a distinguished Baron, who is a relative of the King. No envoys are sent because they would be captured; this way they are trying to avoid repeating the failure of Brodarics who chased the courts of the Pope and the Emperor in Bologna. – 4. Archbishop Várday, who has betrayed both Kings, would readily return if he found a way to be pardoned. – 5. Differences between the Voivod of Moldova and the King of Poland lead to armed

³ The Nadasdy family traced its descent back to comes Petendi.

⁴ György Brodarics might be the son of one of the sons of Mátyás Brodarics from his first marriage. Nadasdy's correspondence provides data that show that György was in his service: he mentions in 2 letters to Prior of Vrána János Tahy in early November 1531 that he is sending his *familiaris* György Brodarics to Tahy with a message. (Compare: MOL, E 185, Letters of Tamás Nadasdy to János Tahy. On the family situation of Brodarics see: KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala. Adalékok Brodarics István tanulmányainak és családi viszonyainak kérdéséhez*, Századok, 2008, 1203–1208.)

¹ Paolo Casali was the Legate of King of England Henry VIII in Rome. He and his brothers also represented the excommunicated János Szapolyai, whose possibilities in diplomacy were limited. On the diplomatic activities of the Casali family see Catherine FLETCHER, *War, Diplomacy and Social Mobility: the Casali Family in the Service of Henry VIII.*, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 2010, 559–78.

² Today: Baia-de-cris, Romania

³ The letter is in Italian originally, and has two versions of Latin translation kept in Vienna (see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 18. Konv. D, fol. 68r–v, and fol. 70r–v.) Since the original, kept in London, is seriously damaged, only parts of it can be read and interpreted. Because of this, it seems justified to publish a Latin translation that makes interpretation easier.

conflict, even though Szapolyai tried to mediate. Since the legates have not yet returned from the Sultan, he has no recent news.

Reverendissime et Magnifice Domine. Poi le debite a[recomandazione].

[1.] Poi le debite a[recomandazione] penso sia nota al Signor Cavallieri et tra[?] Vostra Signoria [e tutti i] fratelli l'afecione et il bono amore ne[l quale la] Maestà di questo Re⁴ vi prosegue: et per[ché queste] sono cose che nele esperiencie più [che] ricordarle spesso si cogniosse, per h[...] silentio, sperando qualche tempo nele [occorrenze] de Vostre Signorie in adoperare sua prefata m[aestà che?] justificarà la presente, una con le passa[...]

[2.] Et perché Sua Maestà scrive a la [Sua Santità]⁵ Nostro Signore de sua propria mano, inclinato m[olto? a conde]sendere ala pace con lo adversario suo [che?] sa Sua Santità ala presente salute dela rep[ubblica cristiana ...], come obediente figliolo de Sua Santità Apostolica, le pare recuperare el mezzo[...], sì per la devocione che li porta, quan[to perché] aricorda che sempre nele cose di ques[to regno] l'a trovato clementissimo protectore, et [per] seguire l'antiche vestigie deli predecessor[i], li quali in ogni loro occurence son[o] ricorsi a quella santa sedia et sono s[tati] ben satisfatti, per la medema speranza [et] fede che ha in Sua Santità, desidera usare e[...], et in questo vi piacerà in serviti de s[u]perarvi, in fare che Sua Beatitudine vogli[a] strettamente a legati et nuncii a M[aestà ...] et el re de romani che vogli [.....] aiuto et favore in conseguire [... .. de]la Maestà di questo Re, la quale unione seguendo speramo mediante le bone opere de Sua Santità nostra quiete et commune salute, cogniosa[mo] causata de quella, et poi dala bona diligen[za] in averla sollicitata con fede. Unde che Sua M[aestà ...]orà questa sua gli altri oblii che vi ten[...].

[3.] Jheronimo Laschi nostro vaivoda di Transilvania [credo] che Vostra Signoria l'abbi cognosiuto in Costantinop[oli. Va a] questa convention de Spira⁶ in sule poste per ques[ta concor]dia, el quale io in breve seguirò⁷ a giorn[i segu]enti con uno de principali baroni di quest[o regn]io et parente⁸ dela Maestà del Re, la quale [cosa] Vostra Signoria meglio intenderà per uno deli secreta[ri de de]tta Maestà, et forsi per

⁴ János Szapolyai.

⁵ Pope Clement VII.

⁶ Łaski got a safe conduct from Ferdinand on 27 August 1531. See HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 18. Konv. C., fol. 43.

⁷ Brodarics brings up his possible envoyship to Nádasdy in a letter on 25 July: it depends on the outcome of Łaski's journey; we know from Łaski's letter to Siegmund von Herberstein after the assembly in Speyer that fell through (see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 18. Konv. E., fol. 76–77), that Brodarics and another envoy were supposed to follow him in case Charles and Ferdinand could be convinced to sign peace. Since the assembly was transferred to Regensburg for January 1532 due to the Emperor's other engagements, Łaski's legation was unsuccessful.

⁸ Perhaps a reference to János Szerecsen, about whom we know that he was some kind of relative of John. There are data about his planned envoyship from 1531. Łaski says in a letter to Siegmund von Herberstein in late October that King John wants to send Szerecsen to the Sultan (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 18. Konv. E., fol. 76–77.).

messer Tomoso⁹ ben noto [a Vostra] Signoria, che fra gli al[tri...tto a ...]ccare colui[?] essere [...]ito per di là. Et perché Vostra Signoria mi potria di[re che] se converrebbe inbassaria maggiore per un[... e]ffetto: Quando che di qua si pensasse che a [...] loco
 30 et fussen accettati come si soglion fare [le in]bassarie di questo regnio, ben si sarebbe pens[... ..]o. Ma per non incorrere in quel inconveni[ente ...]rsi trovandosi anbe le corte in Bologn[a ...]so ha la Maestà del Re per mancho detremen[to del ho]nor suo [...]rel[?] presente partito sia meglio, [...] che] el tempo restaurarà el tutto, purché la bona [gratia di que]lla sedia non ci venga meno.

35 [...] Vostra Signoria intenderà come le cose sono [..... ar]chiepiscopo de Strigonio più vo[...] de ambi li Re proditore volentiera ven[...] quando che'l vi trovasse forma ala [indulgenza] Vaga per alcuni lochi del archiepiscopato, ab[iettando] el mundo, et vive miseramente.¹⁰

[4.] A questi di passati fra el vaivoda de Mol[davia...] ¹¹ signiore et arecomandato ala
 40 corona de Ung[heria ...] el Serenissimo Re di Pollonia, ¹² arbitro dele [...] per alcune loro discordie, avean et un[a parte e] l'altra preso l'arme et mentre che'l s[tava?...] per mezo dela Maestà del nostro Re acordo [...] occasione non so come vennero a consili[o...] d'una parte et l'altra qualche megliara [...] tandem la Maestà del Re de Pollonia [...] dela iornata con quadagnio de 50. [...]me]gliaria et gran strage del'altra
 45 parte [...] de principal co[.....] segniore [...] quale cosa sarà forsi causa de agir[...] loro se niente ci manchava de conc[...] queste parte.

Dal Signor Turcho per non esser ancora ri[tornati i] nostri nuncii de Costantinopoli, non v[...] nova alcuna.

Né altro mi occorre, io prego Vostra Signoria c[...] per infinite volte, insieme con el reverendo [monsignore] di Collocia arecomandarci ali piedi [di] Nostro Signore et oferire a
 50 Sua Beatitudine la de[votione] nostra con la quale saremo senpre para[...] augumento et honore de quella sa[...] Et simile al particular Vostro e[...]jura, tanto crederò [esse.....] nostro comodo et honore mi sentirò adopera[... ..] Vostra Signoria una con el Signor Cavallieri et monsignor reverendo [...]re in Venetia per senpre me arecomando.

55 In opido Cheresbagnia die 27 settembre 1531.

servitore et frater
 Stephanus Brodericus episcopus
 Sirmiensis

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Reverendissime et Magnifice Domine. Post debitam commendationem.

[1.] Credo esse notum domino militi et Dominationi Vestrae et omnibus suis fratribus affectionem et bonum amorem, quibus maiestas regia vos prosequitur, et quia res

⁹ Brodarics and Frangepán intended to send Canon of Eger Tamás Mindszenti to Rome already in July. See the letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 25 July.

¹⁰ More about Várdy's case see: ETE II. 158–159, 165–168, 183–184.

¹¹ Petru Rareș

¹² Sigismund I

istae sunt tales, quae magis per experientiam, quam per recordationem cognoscuntur,
5 eas ideo nunc silentio praeteribo sperans, quandoque per occurrentias rerum eventurum, ut Dominatio Vestra usura sit opera praefatae maiestatis

[2.] Quae, quia nunc scribit manu sua propria ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum totaliter inclinata condescendere ad pacem cum adversario suo, quam Sanctitas Sua scit, quantum importet praesenti saluti reipublicae Christianae, tanquam oboediens
10 filius Suae Sanctitatis, et tam ex devotione, quam geret in eam, quam etiam memor, quod illam in negotiis regni istius semper invenit clementissimum protectorem, et ut sequatur antiqua vestigia praedecessorum maiestatis suae, qui semper in omnibus suis occurrentiis recurrerunt ad istam Sanctam Sedem, et ab ea fuerint bene satisfacti, et ex eadem spe eademque fide, quam habet erga Sanctitatem Suam, desiderat uti medio
15 Suae Sanctitatis. Propterea vobis placeat ad servitium maiestatis suae tantum operari, quod Sanctitas Sua strictissime committere velit legatis et nuntiis suis apud caesaream et regiam Romanorum maiestates agentibus, quod omni auxilio et favore instent pro consequenda sancta pace cum agentibus maiestatis regiae, domini mei. Quae quidem unio, si, ut speramus, mediante bona opera Suae Sanctitatis secuta fuerit, cognoscemus
20 totam illam communem salutem non aliunde profecta, quam a Suae Sanctitate. Et hanc vestram diligentiam et bonam sollicitudinem maiestas sua cum aliis vestris sibi praestitis officiis benigne compensabit.

[3.] Dominus Hieronymus Lascus noster vayvoda Transsylvaniensis credo, quod fuerit Dominationi Vestrae cognitus in Constantinopoli. Hic vadit ad conventum Spirensem per Postam pro ista concordia, quem brevi sequar competentibus diebus cum
25 uno ex principalioribus baronibus huius regni et affine maiestatis regiae. Quod Dominatio Vestra melius intelliget ex uno secretariorum maiestatis regiae et forsitan a magistro Thoma noto Dominationi Vestrae. Diceret fortasse Dominatio Vestra, quod expediret oratores magis insignes mitti ad talem effectum. Dico, quod si sciretur illos habituros locum et acceptatum iri, sicut solet fieri erga ambassatores huius regni. Et haec quoque fuisse cogitata, sed ad cavendum inconveniens, quod ego incurri reperiendo ambas curias in Bononia. Visum est maiestati regiae pro minori honoris sui detrimento modum hunc esse meliorem, et quod tempus restaurabit omnia, dummodo gratia Sedis Apostolicae in nihilo sibi deficiat.

35 Nova harum partium intelliget Dominatio Vestra et res satis esse tranquillas. Paulus archiepiscopus Strigoniensis ambarum regum proditor libens rediret ad gratiam, si modum indulgentiae adinvenire posset. Vagatur per aliquot archiepiscopatus loca abiectus misere universis.

*Ultimus articulus nihil aliud continet, quam conflictum iamdiu habitum inter regem
40 Poloniae et vayvodam Moldaviensem earum certarum differentiarum, quae inter eos vigeant.*

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Szentmihálykö, ¹ 8 October 1531

Manuscript used: BN T.13. fol. 62r.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIII. 324.

1. Brodarics congratulates the Polish King for his victory and says thanks to Tomicki for informing him about it. – 2. Tranquillus returned from Constantinople where he arranged everything according to Szapolyai's wishes; it seems that King John is going to send him to Poland; he will provide more detailed news then.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De felici victoria,³ quam dominus Deus dignatus est concedere sacrae regiae maiestati, domino nostro communi clementissimo, quam Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dignata est mihi litteris suis perscribere,⁴ primum ago gratias Deo Omnipotenti, deinde gratulor ex toto corde suae sacrae maiestati et Vestris Dominationibus ac toti isti nobilissimae nationi deprecans divinam Maiestatem, ut saepe dignetur et talibus et longe maioribus victoriis et triumphis Vestras Dominationes et nos quoque vobiscum exhilarare.

10 [2.] Nova apud nos non sunt alia, nisi quae Tranquillus,⁵ secretarius regius ex Constantinopoli hodie reversus attulit, quae partim referet Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi dominus Melchior,⁶ secretarius regius et nuntius ad istam sacram maiestatem, partim ego, qui credo me brevi iuxta id, quod video esse voluntatem regiae maiestatis, domini mei clementissimi, apud Vestras Dominationes futurum. Hoc unum et nunc

¹ Brodarics does not name a locality, he only say that he is writing from a Pauline monastery. Since he is in Körösbánya on 27 September, the closest Pauline monastery can be considered, which is in Szentmihálykö (today: Tauți, Romania).

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6552 fol. 727; BK 216 fol. 119r; BK 227 fol. 109v–110r; BCzart TN 46. fol. 769–770.

³ Polish troops, under the command of Jan Tarnowski, defeated the Moldavian army on 22 August 1531 near Obertyn and won back Pokutia province. For a report on the battle see VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 228–232.

⁴ We do not have this letter.

⁵ Tranquillus Andronicus (around 1490–1571), Humanist of Dalmatian origin. He enters the service of János Szapolyai in the autumn of 1527, probably on the recommendation of Hieronym Łaski. Later he was Gritti's secretary until the latter's death in 1534. As such he often travelled between Buda and Istanbul because Gritti did not stay in Hungary most of the time. More on his life: BARTA Gábor, *Egy sikertelen humanista a 16. században (Tranquillo Andreis és Magyarország) = ZOMBORI István (ed.), Az értelmiség Magyarországon a 16–17. században*, Szeged, 1988, 61–77.

⁶ Brodarics also speaks about a Royal Secretary by the name of Melchior, also in connection to a legation in Poland in a letter on 9 June 1532. He may be the same person as the court astrologer by the name of Melchior, who appears in a letter on 19 June 1534.

15 scribere possum Tranquillum omnia pro voto maiestatis regiae expedivisse in negotiis non parvi momenti. Negotium pacis et omnia ad hoc pertinentia Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi unice commendo et cum hoc me ipsum et servitia mea. Quae felix valeat. Ex coenobio Heremitarum, 8. Octobris 1531.
Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

20
servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodaricus
Sirmiensi subscrispsit

On the back side: Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Petro episcopo Cracoviensi, vicecancellario regni Poloniae etc. domino mihi observandissimo.

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
[Szentmihálykö], [around 8 October 1531]¹

Manuscript used: BJ 6552 fol. 728.²
Published: Acta Tomiciana XIII. 324–325.

He has remarked already on other occasions that it would be beneficial with respect to peace if King Ferdinand used less harsh words in his letters. And it is absolutely unacceptable that his subjects, disregarding armistice, recruit troops and loot on territories that never belonged to them.

Reverendissime Domine.

Scripsi alias ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam longe fore melius et ad componendam concordiam accommodatus, si adversarius rex Ferdinandus in litteris suis minus acerbis vocabulis uteretur. Nunc etiam hoc idem sentio, et manifeste video,
5 neque scio, quid prosint ei talia. Nunc etiam istae litterae, quarum exemplum huc est missum, plenae sunt fellis. Illud vero quanto magis intolerabile, quod subditi eius Hungari spreta omni indutiarum observatione faciunt, qui etiam nunc contra foedera collectis exercitibus praedantur, quae in potestate eorum nunquam fuerunt, nisi forte aliqua ex eis tunc, quando nos in Tarnow eramus. Nos tamen omnibus istis non curatis
10 causa boni publici tenemus principem nostrum, ne quod aliud remedium rebus suis quaerat, quod omnis temporis momento in manu habet.³ *Tranquillus orator omnia pro voto regiae maiestatis expedivit in negotiis non parvi momenti apud imperatorem Tur-*

¹ Date uncertain. A repeated reference to the legation of Tranquillus Andronicus at the end of the letter suggests that it was written near the previous letter in time. It is also possible that it was originally a postscript or attachment of the previous letter and its original got lost, and it was included in the first compilation of the Acta Tomiciana as a separate letter (mistakenly?).

² Further manuscripts: Kodeks Sapieżyńskiego vol. VII. Nr. 256; BCzart TN 46. fol. 1029.

³ A reference to the involvement of Turkish auxiliary troops. Szapolyai already called in Bey of Szendrő Mehmet once, and they preyed on territories loyal to John. So Szapolyai has access to powers that he cannot always control.

corum. Negotium pacis commendo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi et cum hoc me ipsum et servitia mea.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, October–November 1531(?)¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 15. fol. 2r–v.²

1. Łaski, during his last visit, presented to Sigismund the ways and conditions for peace between Ferdinand and John; the King trusts that he can help and this dangerous discord can come to an end; the King will do everything he can for this, but it is also needed that the two kings send their properly authorized envoys to the meetings. – 2. Łaski wrote to him about the situation in Germany; he is sending a copy of that letter to Brodarics. – 3. It is said in Poland that Bishop of Transylvania János Statileo has made derogatory remarks about Poles which caused strong indignation there; Tomicki is asking Brodarics to warn Statileo in a friendly way not let himself carried away like that because it creates many enemies for him; if, on the other hand, Statileo is accused falsely, than Brodarics should tell him about it in a letter so that he can defend himself against his slanderers.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

[1.] Cum hic postremo magnificus dominus Ieronimus de Lasko, vaiwoda Transsilvaniae et palatinus Syradiensis fuisset,³ declaravit maiestati regiae certos modos et condiciones, quibus tractationem futurae concordiae et pacis adornare cogitat. De quibus, cum maiestati suae unus modus satisfaciat et probetur, vult in illo omnem curam et diligentiam suam impendere, confiditque effici facile posse, ut aliquando tandem isti perniciosae dissensionis optatus finis imponatur, modo principes utriusque partis se praebere faciles, et mandata sua cum plena facultate et non limitata potestate consi-

14 Tranquillus orator... servitia mea *Kod. Sapieżyńskiego add. Secundum codicem Sapieżyńskiego usque nostram aetatem non asservatum haec epistula erat solum fragmentum epistulae.*

2 postremo *correx* ex: postreme

¹ Dating problematic. On the other manuscripts, if they have dates, it is 1532. The header of this one also has October 1532 written afterwards. At the end of the letter we find 1531, and this also seems to be written later. Furthermore, it survived in a volume that contains letters from 1532. The previous letter in this volume of manuscripts is written to Ferenc Frangepán on 31 October. It also has 1531 written on it at the end, and it was later corrected to 1532. However, references to Łaski's legation and letters still seem to support the idea that this letter is to be dated November 1531.

² Another manuscript: BJ 6552 fol. 1106–1107; BCzart TN 48. fol. 227–228; BCzart TN 48. fol. 235–237.

³ Tomicki probably refers to Łaski's negotiations in Cracow in July 1531. If this is true, then it is another argument for dating the letter for 1531. See also Tomicki's letter to Brodarics on 2 August 1531, written after the visit of Łaski (and Siegmund von Herberstein) in Cracow.

liariis et oratoribus dare velint. Ego autem, quantum in me erit, totis etiam viribus apud
10 serenissimam eius maiestatem enitar et elaborabo, ne ulli occasione in re bene transi-
genda deesse dignetur.

[2.] Scripsit huc ad me ex itinere magnificus dominus Ieronimus Laski, quae in
Germania recens acciderint,⁴ quae ego in exemplum redacta Dominationi Vestrae
Reverendissimae cum praesentibus mitto.⁵

15 [3.] Ceterum a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima plurimum rogo, velit nomine
meo declarare reverendissimo domino Ioanni Statilio, episcopo Transilvanensi excita-
tos esse hic quosdam sermones, quod sua reverendissima dominatio deberet alicubi
palam vel secreto nomen et existimationem nationis Polono[rum] indignioribus, quam
aequum esset et honestas pateretur, verbis elevasse. Quae res plurimum hic male audit,
20 et nomen dominationis suae in odium et invidiam multorum adducit, unde etiam non
mediocrem capio causa dominationis suae reverendissimae molestiam, cum illius per-
sonam apud omnes homines caram et acceptam esse optarem. Quare id putaverim esse
officii Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, ut illum amanter de his admoneret, et
simul illi persuaderet et suo et meo nomine, ne quidpiam eiusmodi in animum sibi
25 inducat, quo statum hominum tam ampli regni laedere et adversum se illorum odium
provocare posset. Si vero innocens eius delationis esset, ad me vel aliquem pro defen-
sione sua aliquas rationes perscriberet, quibus ego purgare innocentiam eius domina-
tionis reverendissimae possim. Facturus enim sum pro honore dominationis suae
reverendissimae, quae vel a fratre illius fieri iure deberent.⁶

30 Commendo me amoris et benevolentiae fraternae Dominationis Vestrae Reverendis-
simae, quam cupio esse semper felicem et diu recte salvam ac incolumem. Datum
Cracoviae Octobris 1531.

31 *post esse del. salvam*

⁴ We know about a letter by Łaski sent from Krems on 31 October 1531 to Tomicki (AT, XIII. 354–355) which discusses events in Germany mostly: Zwingli's death, Swiss events, the assembly in Speyer that fell through, etc. What's more, Tomicki says that Łaski wrote to him while travelling and Łaski's letter mentioned shows that he is indeed travelling: from Krems to Linz first, then to Ferdinand in Innsbruck, and from there to Charles V. If Tomicki forwarded this letter of Łaski to Brodarics, then his could not be written before mid-November.

⁵ The attachment did not survive.

⁶ Several sources suggest that Statileo was a temperamental person who got carried away easily. (Compare: SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Statileo János életéhez*, A pannonhalmi szent benedekrendi főiskola évkönyve, Pannonhalmi, 1916, 27; 29–30.) However, there is no further data on his insulting remarks about the Poles to which Tomicki refers.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
[Cracow], [late 1531–early 1532]¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 24. fol. 176r–177v.²

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIV. 490–491.

1. Brodarics sent two letters to him after returning from France, one of those to him and Chancellor Szydłowiecki together, in which he gives the reasons for his return home; in the other one he writes about tasks given to him and Tomicki in the papal breve. – 2. Because it is Brodarics who has to name 8 persons for the task, and Tomicki is the one to give the waivers to them, he is sending a copy of the breve to Brodarics so that he sees the possibilities and the limits of the instructions the Pope gave to Tomicki and selects the 8 persons accordingly. – 3. Regarding the insult directed at King John, he says that even though he has little influence in the opposing camp, he does his utmost to warn them not to misuse King John's patience.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Amice Honorande.

[1.] Binas iam post reditum ex Gallia³ Dominationis Vestrae reverendissimae accepi litteras, quarum alteris, et quas simul mihi et domino castellano Cracoviensi⁴ rescripserat, reversionis suae rationem explicavit, qua re ego mirifice eram consolatus
5 pro eo enim amore et benevolentia, qua sum devinctus Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae, secundas quasque res et bonam illius valetudinem summa caritate et favore prosequor, non vulgaremque ex eius fortunis capio voluptatem; alteris vero et posterioribus litteris causam brevis Apostolici in negotio suo ad me missi mihi declaravit, quam ego ita curandam suscepi, ut nihil magis hoc tempore optaverim, quam ut ea in
10 re desiderio Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae satisfacere possim. [2.] At quoniam res haec, quae ad Dominationem Vestram inprimis, deinde alias octo personas per illam nominandas spectat, mandatis eget procuratoriis, Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae erit cura octo personas nominare,⁵ quae absolvi per me deberent iuxta tenorem

⁶ post bonam del. valetudo illius suprascr. illius valetudinem

⁸ post litteris del. una brevi apostolico missis ea scripsit Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima

¹ There is no date in the surviving draft of the letter. Editors of the Acta Tomiciana put the letter into volume XIV and dated it June 1532. This assessment can be refuted by internal arguments. Tomicki says he received two letters from Brodarics after the latter's return from France. Brodarics returned in the second half of 1530. We do not know the letter Brodarics sent to Tomicki and Szydłowiecki regarding the Pope's breve, but the other one, which objects to Ferdinand's style, is probably identical to the second (?) letter written in Szentmihálykö. Since that letter is dated the beginning of October, we have to date Tomicki's response 4–6 weeks later.

² Draft. Further manuscripts: BCzart TN 48. fol. 663–664; BCzart 271 fol. 124r–125r.

³ We do not know exactly when Brodarics arrived home from France but it was certainly in the second half of 1530: Ferenc Frangepán says in a letter in late June 1530 that Brodarics is expected in Buda soon. (Compare: AT XII. 171.) Tomicki gets a letter from Brodarics from France around 16 July 1530 (see AT XII. 180–181.), which, unfortunately, did not survive.

⁴ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. We do not have this letter.

⁵ Regarding the ones selected for absolution see Brodarics' letter on 7 June 1532.

brevis Apostolici, procuratoresque instituere, et mei officii tum demum optatis Domi-
 15 nationis Vestrae Reverendissimae satisfacere, quando et personae per Dominationem
 Vestram nominandae et mandata procuratoria mihi erunt, prout expedit, cognita. Ut
 autem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima et facultatem mihi in brevi concessam et
 potestatem exceptionibus circumscriptam cognoscere possit, mitto illi cum praesentibus
 20 exemplum brevis ipsius Apostolici, cuius argumento perspecto Dominatio Vestra
 Reverendissima facultatem nominationum suarum ita accommodabit, ut cum facultate
 mea concordare possit.⁶

[3.] Ceterum quod attinet ad prohibenda maledicta, quae in serenissimum regem
 Hungariae inimici ferunt, ego, quantum in me est, scriptis, quos potero, hortabor et
 monebo, ne plus nimio modestia sua in talibus abutantur. Sed equidem, ut Domina-
 25 tionis Vestrae Reverendissimae est cognitum, paucorum ego aut ferme nullorum ex
 adversa illa parte ita utor familiaritate, ut sine suspitione vel invidia de huiusmodi
 rebus cum illis mihi agere liceret. Si quid tamen ea in re per me sine offensa praestari
 poterit, non patiar in hoc officium meum ulla ex parte a Dominatione Vestra Reverendis-
 sima desiderari.

30 Cuius me amoris et benevolentiae fraternae plurimum commendo et ut me serenis-
 simo domino suo, et reverendissimis dominis archiepiscopo Colocensi,⁷ episcopo
 Transsilvanensi,⁸ domino cancellario⁹ et aliis dominis et amicis commendet vicissim,
 ab illa rogo. Quam et felicem et bene salvam semper esse vehementer opto. Datum

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Gregorio Casali¹ to István Brodaries
 Rome, 6 January 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. A, fol. 26–27.

1. He received letters from King John in September and October and got one from Brodaries too, which were addressed to his brother who died the other day. One of their brothers is dead but those alive are ready to serve King John loyally. Few letters reach him, he has seen one of Łaski's letters at the Pope. – 2. Casali

13 octo...apostolici in marg. manu Tomicii
 14 post et del. ego quod, suprascr. mei officii
 23 post est del. dabo operam
 25 aut ferme nullorum manu Tomicii

27 post agere del. non licet suprascr. manu Tomicii
 liceret
 28 post parte del. desiderari

⁶ Brodaries as a loyal person to Szapolyai has also been expelled from Church as well as his King. But since he was a diplomat, to make him able to negotiate, he got the permission from Pope to have himself absolved. See: TUSOR Péter–NEMES Gábor, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae 1426–1605*. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/7, Budapest–Roma, 2011, 78–81.

⁷ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁸ János Statileo.

⁹ István Werbőczy.

¹ Gregorio Casali (1496–1536), Knight, the English King's legate in Rome.

talked to the Pope several times and reported to him on the letters by King John and Brodarics, and also about news of Turkish preparations. Neither the French nor the English King gives help against the Turks if the Habsburgs do not reconcile with John. – 3. The Pope sends envoys to John and Ferdinand to help their agreement. Casali is constantly working with the Cardinals and the Pope to be of use for King John. – 4. Several persons, including the Pope, are worried that if the matter with John is settled in Hungary the Sultan might turn against Italy. – 5. He is sorry about the fact that John's letters reach Rome so slowly and sometimes get lost, because he is pleased to serve John whose case he deems just and he knows that it is important to the French and English Kings as well. – 6. He recommends his brother Francesco to Brodarics, who would serve King John's case just as loyally as the deceased Paolo did.

Reverendissime Domine, Mi Observandissime. Salutem etc.

[1.] Nudius tertius redditae sunt mihi binae litterae serenissimi regis Ioannis ex tabellariis Germaniae, quarum altera erat sub data Septembris, altera vero die nona Octobris, et unas Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae datas eadem die, nona Octobris destinatas² domino Paulo Casalio,³ germano meo, qui diebus elapsis ex hac vita migravit, et licet regia illa maiestas Vestraque Dominatio fidelissimum deditissimumque servum amiserint, quilibet tamen nostrum germanorum superstitum facultates vitamque ipsam pro regia maiestate exponere quotidie sunt parati, et si huiusmodi daretur occasio, maxima quidem praemia adipisci videremur. Litteras manu regia scriptas, quas Dominatio Vestra pontifici directas asserit, nequaquam habui,⁴ nec aliae ad me pervenere litterae, et quo pontifex⁵ Bononiae morabatur, cum dictis vero litteris unas magnifici domini Hieronymi Laschi sub data die decima Decembris Sanctissimo Domino Nostro directas habui, quas mihi Sanctitas Sua ostendit.⁶

[2.] Pontificem conveni et supradictas litteras Sanctitati Suae reddidi, et quod maiestas regia et Dominatio Vestra scribunt, patefeci, et super his, quae ad rem faciunt et expediunt, coram uberrime explicavi. Praeterea Dominationi Vestrae significo, quod diebus elapsis saepenumero Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum separatim et in congregatione cardinalium et concionibus habitis super novis relationibus de apparatu Turcarum ex Constantinopoli ad Urbem delatis allocutus sum, et super huiusmodi rebus retuli, quae Dominatio Vestra potuit intelligere ex litteris a me ad dominum protonota-

² From the letters referred to by Casali we only know the one by Szapolyai on 9 October. In this Paolo Casali is informed that the independence of Transylvania and Romanian Voivodeships has been secured with the Turks successfully, and that he keeps doing his utmost to benefit Christianity, no matter what his enemies say about him or whatever the Pope thinks. For the full text of the letter see Nicolai CAMUSAT, *Melanges historiques*, Troyes, 1619, 48r–v.

³ On Paolo Casali see the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 27 September 1531.

⁴ Szapolyai's letter from Brassó on 16 October, which he wrote directly to Pope Clement VII. He asked for his mediation for peace between himself and Ferdinand again. For the text of the letter see Nicolai CAMUSAT, *Melanges historiques*, Troyes, 1619, 48v–49r.

⁵ Clement VII.

⁶ Laski was in legation to Ferdinand at this time. His said letter, which described Szapolyai's honest desire for peace and his willingness to negotiate on fair conditions, was read out at the Consistory meeting a few days later as a result of Casali's intervention. See Laski's letter: Nicolai CAMUSAT, *Melanges historiques*, Troyes, 1619, 49r–51r.

rium Casalium,⁷ fratrem meum apud senatum Venetum serenissimi regis Angliae⁸ oratorem datis. Insuper multoties etiam post dictum tempus, quotiens data est occasio tum cum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, tum cum tota propemodum curia invigilantissimum officium meum exhibui, palamque persuasi, quod si res serenissimi regis Ioannis componeretur, procul dubio pax totius orbis exinde procederet. Et quod ita rex Christianissimus⁹ et rex Angliae sentiebant, qui si concordia et compositio huiusmodi non praecederet, suppetias pro defensione fidei contra Turcarum impetum allaturi non erant, et quod sibi ipsis valde impium videbatur, quod si caesariani regnum Hungariae consequi non possent malle permittere a Turcarum rege illud cum evidenti periculo excidii totius residui [!] Christianitatis opprimi, quam a serenissimo rege Ioanne assequi.

[3.] In praesentia, prout supra scripsi, postquam supradictae litterae mihi fuerunt [*sc. redditae*], Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum conveni, et Sanctitatem Suam plus, quam antehac fecerim, admodum inflexi, adeo ut mecum decreverit nuntios serenissimo regi Ioanni ac etiam Romanorum regi destinare, qui nomine Sanctitatis Suae cum caesare et Ferdinando curet pro viribus, ut differentias regni Hungariae in Sanctitatem Suam compromittant. Sed hactenus desuper nihil deliberari potuit, vix enim Sanctitas Sua litteras perspicere potuit. Ego nonnullos ex cardinalibus adivi,¹⁰ nec desistam ad Sanctitatem Suam iterum atque iterum reverti, ac omni conatu et diligentia enitar, ut aliquid boni in huiusmodi re proficiam, et aliquid boni a pontifice decernatur.¹¹

[4.] Sanctitas Sua et plerique alii in medium adducunt, quid certi habebimus, quod compositis rebus serenissimi regis Ioannis rex Turcarum Italiam bello infestaturus non sit.¹² Ad responsum dedi, et multis quidem argumentis et rationibus, quae super his adduci possunt, quae a viris sapientia praeditis approbantur.

[5.] Mihi profecto admodum displicet, quod huiusmodi litterae tam sero pervenerint, quia antehac aliquid boni successisset. Et quod litterae illae serenissimi regis Ioannis deperditae fuerint. Ego quidem libentissime ac omni studio huiusmodi fungar officio pro serenissimo rege, tum quia videor me illi perpetuo devinctum, quia maiestas sua valde nobis confidit, tum quia provincia haec iustissima est, et quod regi Christianissimo et regi Angliae rem gratissimam efficere mihi persuadeo.

⁷ Giambattista Casali (around 1495–1536).

⁸ English King Henry VIII.

⁹ King of France Francis I.

¹⁰ See the letter by Gregorio Casali to Szapolyai on 13 January 1532. In this he lists the Cardinals he approached to help Szapolyai by name (Grimani, Salviati, Pisani, Monte, Farnese). See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. A, fol. 70.

¹¹ On Casali's advice, the Pope decided to send Francesco Marsupino to Szapolyai in legation a few days later. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. A fol. 70v. In the end of January Casali had to inform Brodarics that the Pope still decided to postpone Marsupino's legation. On this see the following letter.

¹² The Patriarch of Aquileia, having arrived in Rome from Istanbul in the end of 1531, reported that the Turks are poised to attack Italy in 1532 with a huge fleet. These news created immense anxiety in the papal court and contributed to the fact that French and English legates who intervened for Szapolyai had the Pope intervene at the talks between Ferdinand and Szapolyai. See FRANKÓI Vilmos, *János király és a római Szentszék*, Századok, 1902, 804–805.

[6.] Et si dominus Paulus sorte iniquissima nobis ereptus sit, Vestra tamen Dominatio non dubitet nostra uti opera et saepe ad nos scribere. Praeterea alium germanum, Franciscum nomine habemus non minus dicto quondam domino Paulo maiestati illi et Dominationi Vestrae inservire cupidum. Cui non prolixius scribo, quia tabellarius Venetus itineri
55 accinctus est, animo tamen diffusius scribendi, cum pontifex aliquid boni decreverit.

Dominationem Vestram optime valere cupio, eique me plurimum commendo.

Romae, die VI. Ianuarii, MDXXXII.

Eiusdem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae

60

deditus frater
Gregorius Casalius

*On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico electo Sirmiensi, domino meo observandissimo*¹³

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Gregorio Casali to István Brodarics
Rome, 22 January 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. A, fol. 79–81.

1. Casali assures Brodarics that he did everything in his power with the Pope for King John. The Pope will encourage Charles V and Ferdinand I to reach an agreement with John and leave Hungary to him so that it will not fall into worse hands later. – 2. The Pope, on Casali's advice, wanted to send Francesco Marsupino to John as a legate, but changed his mind later. He rather waits for the opinions of the Emperor and Ferdinand on sending a legate. His Holiness would want to meet Brodarics in Venice and asks for Chaplain Tamás or some other authorised secretary to be sent to Rome. – 3. Cardinals Farnese and Grinani show good will towards the case of King John. Grimani achieved that the Pope sent his younger brother to John as nuncio. – 4. Brodarics should let him know about safe ways to send letters. – 5. He has heard from the French Legate that King John's envoy is to arrive in Rome in a few days; hopefully it will be Chaplain Tamás whom they have been waiting for for so long.

Reverendissimo Monsignore Mio.

[1.] Perché io ho sempre raguagliato messer Francisco et messer Giovanni Marsupini¹ di tutto quello si è fatto in servizio della Maestà del Re Vostro, et loro me hanno detto haver scritto a Vostra Signoria, io non sarò longo, ma quella sia certa che non si
5 è pretermessa cosa alcuna che io habbia conosciuta opportuna per servizio di Sua Maestà. Et, infatti, havemo messo Nostro Signore² in un gran desiderio et volontà di

¹³ In a different handwriting: *Litterae interceptae ex Roma in Hungariam scriptae*. So probably Brodarics never got this letter.

¹ Francesco and Giovanni Marsupino were agents in Rome already during the reign of Louis II already. Later they acted as representatives of Szapolyai.

² Pope Clement VII.

satisfare al Serenissimo Re Giovanni, et quanto da Sua Santità si potrà fare in consigliare, in pregare et exhortare l' Imperatore et il Re de' romani in voler fare accordo con Sua Maestà et lassargli il reame d' Hungaria, a fine non pervenga in peggior mani
10 con lor danno et di tutta christianità. Se sua santità non fa piu grandi officii et piu vehementi di quello ha fatto sino ad hora, ne e causa la sua natura, ma quanto alla buona volontà, io credo che la vi sia di fare ogni provisione.

[2.] Molte volte che io son stato alle strette con Sua Santità sopra ciò la se è resoluta meco voler mandare un nuntio alla Maestà del Re Giovanni, et mandare in Francia ad
15 operare che la Maestà Christianissima mandasse a' l Imperadore sopra questo affare. Et siamo venuti alli particolari delle persone, et ultimamente se resolse mandare messer Francesco Marsuppino, ma, infatti, quando si viene allo effetto et allo exequire, Sua Santità non si risolve. Et piu Sua Santità me ha risoluto non voler mandare nuntio sino che non intende l' Imperadore et il Re de romani se ne contentino, alli quali Sua Santità
20 ha mandato sopra ciò, et fattogli proporre di voler fare questo et exhortatoli grandemente a questa compositione. Et come di sopra ho detto, Nostro Signore è per fare tutti li buoni officii che' l può per questa via, ma che' l non faccia cosa che dispiaccia all' Imperatore. Sua Beatitudine non possendo havere Vostra Signoria alla corte, desideraria vederLa a Venetia o in qualche luogo propinquo et che qui venisse messer Thomaso³ o altro segretario, ma desideraria che qualunque persona venisse, havesse commissione di potere determinare.

Queste poche parole Vi si scrivono in prescia per la via de Venetia. Scriverò un'altra volta più allongo. In tanto baso le mani di Vostra Signoria.

In Roma alli XXII. di Gennaro 1532.

30 [3.] Oltra molti cardinali che si sono mostrati affettionati della Maestà del Re Farnese⁴ et Grimani⁵ si sono portati molto gagliardamente, et monsignor Grimani ha procurato che Nostro Signore mandasse suo fratello nuntio a Sua Maestà, in che io mi ci sono affaticato.

Eiusdem Reverendissimae Dominationis

35 Servitor Gregorius Casalis

[4.] Desiderarei che Vostra Signoria mi facesse sapere per che via si hanno da mandare le lettere che habbiano buon recapito.

[5.] Hac hora, quae est prima noctis dixit mihi orator Gallicus,⁶ quod quidam nuntius vel secretarius vestrae maiestatis veniet huc infra triduum omnino. Credo, erit dominus
40 Thomas a nobis diu expectatus.⁷

³ In all probability this refers to Chaplain Tamás Mindszenti. We have data about his legation in Rome in 1531. See the letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 25 July 1531.

⁴ Alessandro Farnese, later Pope Paul III.

⁵ Marino Grimani (1488/89–1546). Comes from a patrician family. Patriarch of Aquileia from 1517, Cardinal from 1527.

⁶ François de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre (1530–1554).

⁷ *Hac hora... expectatus*. Attached to the letter on a separate slip of paper.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico electo Sirmiensi, ac serenissimi domini Ioannis Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. regis consiliario, oratori apud serenissimum Romanorum regem. In curia serenissimi Romanorum regis.

Giambattista Casali to István Brodarics
Venice, 25 January 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. A, fol. 82–83.

1. He is sending to Brodarics letters received from Rome together with his own. – 2. Antal Verancsics arrived in Venice 8 days ago. He is to leave for Rome soon in order to negotiate the case of King John. Since Verancsics knows Italian customs well and is a well-prepared person anyway, King John can expect much from this envoyship. If Verancsics sends a courier to Hungary then Casali, too, will give the letters he has to the courier. – 3. His brother Gregorio Casali informed him from Rome that the Pope, having received news of Turkish preparations, urges Christian rulers to create peace and attempt to defend Christianity together. However, Kings of France and England believe that a Turkish attack could be easily avoided if his opponents reached an agreement with King John. – 4. He showed his brother's letters to Venetian senators too, and their scribes mislaid the letter. As soon as it surfaces he will send it to Brodarics.

Reverendissime Domine, Mi Observandissime.

[1.] Per litteras huc Roma allatas certior hesterno vesperi factus sum, quod Dominatione Vestra in aula regis Romanorum erat¹ atque hac de causa decrevi per hunc tabellarium ad Dominationem Vestram scribere. Mitto ad illam litteras equitis fratris mei,²
5 quas non potui adhuc inopia tabellariorum mittere.

[2.] Sunt fortasse octo dies, ex quo reverendus dominus Antonius Vrancius³ huc pervenit, mecumque et collocutus et epulatus est, ut eius est humanitas. Longumque una sermonem habuimus de serenissimi regis, communis domini nostri rebus. Ipse, ut mihi dixit, Romam proficiscetur, quam mature fieri poterit, ibique equitem conveniet,
10 qui secum pariter omni diligentia et cura utetur, ut serenissimi regis negotio inserviat. Dominus ipse Antonius spectatae quidem prudentiae et dexteritatis vir mihi visus est, quique in negotiis peragendis satis multa sollertia videatur praeditus, maximeque peritus morum Italicorum, propterea arbitror de eius officio sibi plurimum serenissimum regem posse sperare, qui, quoniam praeter alia omnia Vestrae Dominationis est familiarissimus, mihi multo carior acceptiorque fuit. Ipse igitur mihi dixit mittere se
15

¹ We do not know much about Brodarics' referred trip, and all we know come from indirect sources. Miklós Oláh says in his letter to Baron Burgio from Brussels that from what he has heard Szapolyai is sending Frangepán and Brodarics to the imperial diet due in January 1532 in Regensburg. According to Oláh, they are already on the road and are waiting in some German town for the opening of the diet. See IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése...* 164., 169–170., and SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Jerosini Brodarics István...* 101–102.

² Gregorio Casali, Knight, Legate of the King of England in Rome.

³ On the legation of Provost of Óbuda Antal Verancsics see more: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *János király és a római Szentszék*, Századok, 1902, 895–899.

hominem quendam ex suis ad serenissimum regem per Istricam regionem. Huic, cum proficiscetur, ego litteras equitis ad serenissimum regem atque alias ad Dominationem Vestram dabo, atque ambarum litterarum exemplum et capitulum litterarum, quas hesterno vesperi Roma accepi, pariter ad Dominationem Vestram mittam.

20 [3.] Multis ab hinc diebus litteras ab equite, fratre meo longiores quidem accepi, in quibus mihi significavit, quod cum Romam hi Turcarum apparatus nuntiarentur, pontifex omnibus ad se Christianorum principum oratoribus accitis eorum unumquemque rogaverat monueratque, ut ad suos principes scriberent eosque hortarentur ad pacem, et communi omnes consensu ad tutandum Christianum nomen vires suas intenderent. Quibus diversi
25 diversa responderunt. Eques respondit se opinari, quod reges Franciae et Angliae nihil adeo hac re moverentur laborarentve, cum scirent Christianos principes non magis hoc bellum habituros, quam ipsimet voluerint, cum in ipsorum manu sit praestare, ut a Turcarum rege nulla sibi molestia inferretur, si ipsi regis Iohannis Hungariae res aliquando componant. Multaque alia in hanc sententiam dixit, quae percensere ob prolixitatem omitto.

30 [4.] Has litteras equitis ego principibus his Venetis ostendi, quae nescio quo loco ob errorem ab eorum scribis relictas adhuc reperiri non potuere. Si in manus nobis redibunt, quam primum licebit, ad Dominationem Vestram mittetur.⁴ Gaudeo Dominationem Vestram ibi esse, mirum in modumque gratum ipsa mihi fecerit, si me certiore reddiderit, quamdiu istic permansura et quando inde recedet, nam saepius ad illam
35 scribam, ac quicquid hic novi erit, illi significabo. Valeat felix Dominatio Vestra.

Die XXV. Ianuarii MDXXXII.

Servitor Iohannes Casalius prothonotarius

On the back side: Meo domino Stephano Broderico electo Sirmiensi, oratori etc.

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Giambattista Casali to István Brodarics
Venice, 9 February 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 20. Konv. B, fol. 6.

1. He is sending so many letters by courier mail that he hardly dares to write an accompanying letter because he is afraid that one more letter will be a burden for Brodarics. He already had the current bundle of letters two weeks ago when the previous courier left, but that one did not leave at the usual time in the evening, and he could not send the letters in a safe way so, he did not send them at all. Attaches news about the Turkish Sultan together with a report from Syria that comes from a dubious source. The latter is about the relationship between the Sultan and the Shah of Persia. – 2. Verancsics was successful in Rome as it was expected. He is forwarding letters by his brother Gregorio Casali and Giovanni Marsupino to Brodarics.

Reverendo Monsignor Mio.

[1.] Io mando tante lettere a Vostra Signoria con questo spaccio, che appena mi

⁴ Regarding this see the following letter.

arisigo scriberLe altro davantaggio, dubitando che La sarà assai fastidita con quelle. El
plico desotto era in ordine fin all' altro spaccio che si feci 15 di fa, et havendosi
5 a partire il corriero la sera come el suol, el partì la matina per commissione de questi
signori, de muodo che non puote' mandare le lettere in quella forma sicura che havrei
voluto, io volsi più presto non mandarle che mandarle mal sicure. Hora le mando et
mando davantaggio a Vostra Signoria quella lettera che io hebbi dal cavaliere¹ che
m'havevano smarita questi signori,² quale ho trovata poi et mandoGli la copia di quella
10 che io scritto a Roma io circa li avisi delle cose del Turco, et mandoLe uno aviso
venuto de Siria incerti auctoris, qual però credo che sia vecchio, perch'io ho inteso da
qualchuno che le cose tra il Sophia et il Turco sono composte.³ Queste non ho man-
dato al Re, ma quelle dell' altro mazzo, come ho detto a Vostra Signoria, le mandai per
quel messo che spaccio.

15 [2.] Messer Antonio⁴ qual andò a Roma, et fue bene perché vi era spettato. Mando
anche con queste a Vostra Signoria un mazzo de lettere che vano al Re, qual mi ha
mandato messer Giovanni Marsupino⁵ con raccomandarmele assai et astringendomi la
voglia mandare per persona fidata, et così anche me le raccomanda el cavaliere. Io non
so nissuna via più sicura né più presta che per via di Vostra Signoria che lettere le
20 mandi per di là se quella non se fusse truovata lì. Io le haria indirizate per la medesima
via ad un qualche merchante mio amico che me le havesse mandate per de là, che per
la via di qua non so come me le potesse mandare.

Non so che dire altro a Vostra Signoria, accadendole a scrivere La mi potrà indiriz-
zare le lettere qui a mi, che io le farò havere recapito eccetto se di là non si spacciassi
25 diritto a Roma. Et baso le mani a Vostra Signoria.

Venetiis die nono Februarii 1532.

Servitor, Iohannes Casalius prothonotarius

*On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico electo Sirmiensi, ora-
tori etc.*

¹ E.g. from his brother Gregorio Casali.

² See the previous letter by Giambattista Casali about the lost letters.

³ No lasting armistice was signed between Suleyman and Persian Shah Tahmasp. More on this:
KÁLDY-NAGY Gyula, *Szulejmán*, Budapest, 1974, 98–99.

⁴ On the legation of Antal Verancsics see the previous letter.

⁵ See Giovanni Marsupino's letter in ETE II., 188.

István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to Tamás Nádasdy
Marosvécs, 19 March 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 12–13.¹

Published by: KUJÁNI Gábor, Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 269.

1. They disapprove of Nádasdy's behaviour because he does not come when called and withholds possessions and profits. He cannot do that without ruining his so far spotless reputation. He is requested to appear in front of Szapolyai after the national assembly on Gregory's day. – 2. He should appoint a Captain for the castle of Huszt whom the county accepts too. – 3. Brodarics requests Nádasdy to intervene for the sake of his brother's possessions.

Magnifice Domine, Frater Noster Carissime et Honorandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Amor fraternus, quo te prosequimur, coegit nos etiam post tuum hinc a nobis discessum, de te cogitare. Et dum diligentissime cogitamus, displicuit nobis totum, quicquid de rebus tuis deliberasti. Idque de non veniendo etc., de retinendis illis bonis et proven-
tibus etc. Quod utrumque nescimus, quomodo facere possis citra apertam nominis tui,
quod illibatum hucusque conservasti, notam. Cuius rei plurimas et maximas tibi dicere-
mus causas, si praesens esses. Nam talia litteris nec tuto tractari, nec plene explicari
possunt, itaque videretur nobis valde necessarium, ut peracta ista dieta Gregoriana,² huc
te ad regiam maiestatem conferres cursu illo tuo Pegaseo, vel potius Laskyano.³

[2.] Videretur etiam, ut in castrum Hwzth talem imponeres, qui illi comitatui non displiceret, praesertim si in priori voluntate persisteres.⁴

[3.] De bonis illis fratris mei⁵ habeas curam, rogo, ut sine tot *perpathwar* perveniamus ad illa tuo ductu.

Omnibus dominis et dominabus meis et nostrabus me commenda. Ex Veche, castro domini cancellarii 19. Martii 1532.

Servitores

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus
Sirmiensis subscripsit

¹ Autograph.

² A reference to the national assembly announced for 12 March 1532, Berenhida. This was the last so-called „kingless” national assembly. Szapolyai did not forbid his followers’ participation but expected them, including Nádasdy, not to break their oath of loyalty in any way by their statements there. See MOE I., 362.

³ Brodarics had compared Łaski to Pegasus on another occasion too. See his letter on 9 May 1532.

⁴ Huszt was a very important fortress with respect to salt mining in Máramaros. Nádasdy appointed Kristóf Kávássy as Constable of Huszt, and he filled the position in 1530–1546. (See.: GLÜCK László, *A máramarosi só kereskedelmének útvonalai a 16. század közepén*, Történelmi Szemle, 2008/1, 11–12.) Nádasdy committed Ferenc Nagyváthy to manage the salt business. See DRASKÓCZY István, *Az erdélyi sókamarák ispánjai 1529–1535*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2004/1, 32.

⁵ Mátyás Brodarics.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nadasdy
Gyulafehérvár, 3 April 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 14–15.¹

Published: KUIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 269–270.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 565–566.

1. Frangepán is taking Gritti's letter to Nadasdy. Gritti requested King John for Nadasdy or Brodarics to be sent to him. Since Nadasdy is not in Transylvania Brodarics receives Gritti. They ask Nadasdy not to despise Gritti's friendship but to adapt to the circumstances as it befits a wise person. – 2. Nadasdy should try to settle the issue of Mátyás Brodarics with the Pogány family. If Brodarics cannot consolidate his position with Szapolyai after his return, he will leave Hungary. – 3. The Sultan is already on his way. Laski is still in France.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Mittimus cum domino meo reverendissimo Colocensi² ad vos litteras illustris domini Gritti, quae nunc venerunt in aliis ad regem scriptis. Scriptum erat disiunctive,
5 ut vel me, vel Vestram Dominationem rex ad se mitteret.³ Itaque te absente, ego vado, et hodie discedo⁴ acturus ibi publica iuxta commissionem regiam privata vero, quantum videbitur, accommodando me ad temporis qualitates. Non videtur autem amicitia hominis spernenda in nos amorem solitum praeseferentis. Observandum est tempori,
10 cui servire habitum est semper viri sapientis. De te et de tuo erga illum animo omnia sum dicturus bona et placita. Et tibi quoque id ambo consulimus, ut te accommodes ad tempus; ita est et publicae rei melius et tibi honorificentius. Vellemus autem et consulimus, immo pro fraterna pietate imperamus tibi, ut venias omnino ad regem, ad quem credimus ipsum quoque dominum Gritti venturum.

[2.] Alia non sunt. Quae erunt, ad te prescribentur. Commenda me amicis communi-

¹ Autograph.

² Ferenc Frangepán.

³ Gritti left Istanbul in late February 1532 with an army of several hundred. He summoned Nadasdy in Tîrgoviște, Wallachia on 22 March. See BARTA Gábor, *Ludovicus Gritti kormányzósága (1531–1534)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1971, 305. For Gritti's referenced letter to Nadasdy see: Georgius PRAY, *Epistolae procerum II.* ... 12–13.

⁴ On 6 April he was already in Brassó where the local council provided him with escort of 25 to accompany him as far as Tîrgoviște. See *Quellen zur Geschichte Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen II.*, Kronstadt, 1889, 260.

15 bus. Negotium domini Mathiae fratris nostri cum Poganis⁵ omnino rogo, ut confectum reddas. Ego si statim post meum a domino Gritti reditum non potero res meas stabilire cum rege, sum dicturus vale patriae omnino omnino, de quo milies palam sum locutus regi.⁶ Propterea fratrem meum voca ad te, et medio tui et amicorum habeat aliquem finem cum illo bono viro. Et bene vale. Ex Alba Iulia 3. Aprilis 1532.

20 [3.] De caesaris egressu,⁷ idem, quod supra. Istas litteras, existimabis communiter ab ambobus scriptas. Lasky hactenus debet esse in Francia.

Servitor

Simmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino thesaurario et consiliario etc., domino et uti filio carissimo

⁵ The second wife of Mátyás Brodarics was Sára csebi Pogány. There is no comprehensive work on the csebi Pogány family. Péter csebi Pogány was a baron between 1499–1501, Chamberlain and *Comes* of Pozsony, but the family could not sustain its status. John possessed 10 tax-payer homes in Szlobotica, Körös county, in 1507 and the family had 55 plots in Herbortya settlement. (See Josip ADAMČEK–Ivan KAMPUŠ, *Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj u XV i XVI. stoljeću*, Zagreb, 1976, 27.) Sigismund, in the time of Louis II, is *Comes* of Máramaros, and count of the Salt Chamber. He married the daughter of Aladár Péter Kisvárdai, Eufrozina, in 1516. He and his sons, Péter and György, gifted their piece of land to Werbőczy, so they maintained close relationship with the inner circle of Szapolyai. (See MOL DL 71395.) – I am indebted to Szabolcs Varga for data on the csebi Pogány family.

⁶ Brodarics certainly had some more profitable bishopric in mind. We have data from as early as 1529 about him considering the bishopric of Szerém – occupied by the Turks – too small. His dissatisfaction might have prompted Szapolyai to give him the rich and strategically important bishopric of Pécs after the death of János Szerecsen in July 1532. This helped to ensure the loyalty of an outstanding diplomat/high priest. More recently on the background of the appointment of Brodarics as Bishop of Pécs, see: VARGA Szabolcs, *Brodarics István pécsi püspök (1532–1537)*, Pécsi Szemle, 2010 Spring, 18–22.

⁷ Suleyman set out for another campaign against Vienna from Istanbul on 25 April only.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 10 April 1532

Manuscript used: BN T. 14. Nr. 1601¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIV. 277–278.

1. Tomicki regrets that Brodarics takes a gloomy view of the situation of Hungary, so powerful and blossoming once. – 2. He sees the biggest obstacle to peace in that the two Kings have not been able to agree upon even the most insignificant issues. Aristocrats in the country quarrel among themselves. – 3. Perhaps the next national assembly will facilitate cooperation and the alignment of intentions. If it does not happen, he, just as Brodarics, is inclined to lose hope. – 4. He does not report on the message from Emperor Charles because he is certain that Brodarics knows about it from Sigismund's letter to King John.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Amice Honorande.

[1.] Magnam mihi attulerunt voluptatem litterae² Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis, quod ex illis sanam et incolumem illam esse cognovi, contra vero illius de pacificando isto laudatissimo et quondam florentissimo Hungariae regno desperatio
5 ingenti me dolore et animi perturbatione affecit, cum enim ab illa, quae est particeps consiliorum incolarum regni istius, scribi ista adverto, tanquam impendenti calamitati metuens nimium indoleo. Deus quidem potens est salvare omnia et in melius commutare, sed nisi is praesto adsit, ego puto actum esse de omnibus.

[2.] Nam cum hactenus regum animi in his, quae minima sunt, invicem dissentiunt,
10 et proceres regni Hungariae ad unitatem non redeunt, nescio quid mihi in spe futurae pacis vel tranquillitatis polliceri debeam, quae quanto plus regno Hungariae adimitur, tanto maiorem mihi et omnibus probis dolorem affert.

[3.] Exspecto adhuc an futura congregatio regni procerum,³ de qua hic apud nos dicitur, aliquam certam consensionem voluntatum et consiliorum illorum coniunctionem inducat et comparet, quam si inanem et omni concordia vacuum cognoscam, et
15 de reliquis omnibus facile cum Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima desperabo.

[4.] Cui scriberem ea, quae proxime a Carolo caesare sunt allata, sed certo scio ea

² Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis: Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae BK 217, Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae BCzart 271

¹³ futura om. BJ

¹ The text published in Acta Tomiciana in 1952 was based on the original draft which is not available anymore. Document nr. 1601 is missing from among microfilms of volume 14 of Teki Górskiego. I could not find it among original documents kept in Pałac Krasińskich in Warsaw. Thus, I based the published text on the printed text based on the best manuscript. In this case I could not check the original manuscript, so I have marked all differences in later copies. Further manuscripts: BK 217 fol. 88v–89r; BCzart 271 fol. 97r–v; BJ 6552 fol. 875–876; BCzart TN 47. fol. 273–274.

² This letter by Brodarics did not survive.

³ Ferdinand announced a national assembly in Pozsony for late April 1532, while Szapolyai announced one in Buda. Both expected members of the opposing party to attend in order to reach compromise more easily. See more: MOE I. 431–439, 461–462.

illam ex litteris maiestatis serenissimi regis nostri ad serenissimum istum dominum Hungariae regem scriptis⁴ cognoscere posse.

20 Commendo me amori et benevolentiae fraternae Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quam sanam et felicem esse semper ex animo opto, rogoque illam plurimum, ut perpetuam meam servitutem serenissimo domino regi suo commendet et reverendissimum dominum Colocensem⁵ ac magnificum dominum cancellarium⁶ meo nomine salvere iubeat.

25 Ex Cracovia, die decima Aprilis anno MDXXXII.

153

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Veken, 20 April 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 16–17.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 270–271.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 566–567.

1. Gritti asks Nádasdy to send him 200 selected cavalymen by the time he arrives in the country. Brodarics is sure that Gritti is for the benefit of Hungary and Christianity. – 2. The Sultan left Constantinople on 20 April. Gritti is poised to go to Transylvania with Moldovan and Wallachian troops.

Carissime Frater et Domine.

[1.] Sum in tali loco, ubi non habeo copiam papiri, ergo parcat. Mitto ad Vestram Dominationem litteras domini gubernatoris.² Rogavit etiam me, ut sollicitarem vos pro istis ducentis equitibus, quos quamprimum habere cupit postquam ad regnum venerit.
5 Cupit autem, ut sint aliqui alicuius conditionis *gentil* homines et non *gaz*, et unus non cum multis equis. Date operam, ut satisfiat desiderio suae illustris dominationis, in quantum fieri potest. Videtur ex his, quae mecum locutus est, vos fraterno amore
prosequi, et ita credo. Illud etiam credo eum esse sincero animo et bono erga salutem regni et Christianitatis, quae vobis non scriberem, nisi ita esse crederem. Vos me,
10 credo, cognoscitis.

20 Dominationis: Dominationi BK 217 BCart 27

25 Ex Cracovia ... MDXXXII: Cracoviae, 10. Aprilis
anno Domini 1532. BCart 271; Datum Cracoviae, 10. Aprilis
1532. BK 217

4 *post ad del.* Maiestatem

4 See Sigismund's letter to Szapolyai on 5 April. (AT XIV. 263–264.)

5 Ferenc Frangepán.

6 István Werbőczy.

¹ Autograph.

² See Gritti's letter in: MOL, E 185, Gritti-levelek, fol. 9.

Multa habeo vobis dicere, sed in aurem et omnia bona. Maluissem tamen, quod noster hostis³ nobiscum concordasset. Illa erat tutior via.

[2.] Caesar XX die huius lunae, exiit vel exiit ex Constantinopoli.⁴ Dominus Gritti levabit Transalpinos et Moldavos et sic veniet ad regem.⁵ Veniet cum pulcherrimo apparatu et regio. Vobis non video in ipso quicquam dubitandum. Commendate me amicis et bene valete. Ex pede montium Transalpinorum villa Veken 20. Aprilis 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscrispsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdy thesaurario et consiliario etc., domino uti filio carissimo

154

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Lippa, 9 May 1532

Manuscript used: BN T. 14. fol. 63r–64r¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társ.* 1908, 271–273.;

Acta Tomicianae XIV. 377–380. *In Hungarian:*

V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 567–569.

1. Since their opponents were disinclined to reach an agreement, even though the Sultan had agreed already, fight resumes again, which means shedding a lot of Christian blood. – 2. Sigismund convinced Szapolyai to send envoys to Charles V, but when he was ready to send them even to the farthest corner of Germany, their opponents did not want it. Now, when the Turks are attacking Austria, there is nobody to accept the task. If Charles and Ferdinand had really wanted peace they would have raised no obstacles to prevent John from sending envoys and would not have rejected arbitration of the Polish King, whom even the Sultan would have trusted. – 3. He wants to let Tomicki, Szydłowiecki, and King Sigismund know about these. – 4. Requests Tomicki to inform him and Frangepán about his opinion on the issue. They should have discussed all this much earlier but it is better late than never. – 5. Tamás Nádasdy, whom he loves as if he was his own son, did much for Hungarians to reach agreement among themselves and organised many meetings to this end. He is just going to such a meeting. – 6. Brodarics asks Tomicki to include Nádasdy among his friends. Nádasdy will certainly be worthy of it.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

³ I.e. Ferdinand Habsburg.

⁴ The Sultan's army left Istanbul on 25 April only.

⁵ Gritti wanted to supplement his army with Moldovan and Wallachian troops. Miklós Apaffy and Marcus Pemfflinger wrote to Ferdinand from Pozsony on 23 May 1532 that Gritti subdued the two Romanian voivodships and invaded Transylvania from there. See VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarországnak Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 234–235.

¹ Further manuscripts: BK 217 fol. 96–97; BCzart 271 fol. 112v–114r; BJ 6552 fol. 918–920; BCzart TN 47. fol. 413–417.

[1.] Me quoque non parvo dolore afficiunt non ea, quae Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima scribit,² cuius litterae quacunque materia sint scriptae, non possunt mihi non esse gratissimae, sed ea, quae tristioribus litteris scribendis causam dederunt, id est duritia et obstinatio eorum, quos in causa salutis totius Christianitatis concernente, molliores et tractabiliores esse decebat. Quo factum est, ut recusantibus adversariis nostris pacem, ad quam et potentissimus imperator non gravate consenserat, rursus ad arma impia sit veniendum, si non aliud plus mali, certe maximas Christianitatis vastationes paritura. Nam ego cum his diebus in Valachia Transalpina essem cum illustri domino Gritti,³ certo certius cognovi, sicuti imperatorem potentissimum non fuisse alienum non solum ab ista duorum principum inter se concordia, sed etiam a totius Christianitatis amicitia; ita nunc hac non secuta, venturum contra serenissimum regem Romanorum cum tota potentia sua in eius, quantum a Deo permissum fuerit, excidium. Quod ego ne cogitare quidem sine maximo animi dolore possum, video enim quanta ex hoc sanguinis Christiani effusio est futura.

[2.] Hortatur maiestatem regiam serenissimus rex vester, immo noster communis clementissimus ad mittendum iuxta desiderium excellentissimi Caroli imperatoris et reverendissimi domini cardinalis legati⁴ suos ad Germaniam oratores.⁵ Quod quam tuto fieri iam possit, ubi in Austriam imperator recta vadit, Vestra Dominatio cogitet. Tunc quando rex noster serenissimus paratus fuit mittere oratores suos, ex quibus unum iam praemiseraat, non in Bavariam solum (nam Pathaviam⁶ Bavariae urbem esse dictitant) sed ad extremas Germaniae inferioris partes, adversarii nostri noluerunt. Nunc, cum res in has angustias est redacta, non video, quomodo id fieri possit et nescio, quis esset, qui Turcis in Austriam venientibus tale munus suscipere vellet. Si caesarea maiestas et serenissimus rex Romanorum ex corde cuperent hanc pacem, neque antea factae fuissent aliquae difficultates in oratorum regis nostri ad suam caesaream maiestatem transitu,⁷ neque nunc recusarent, quominus haec causa agigaretur apud serenissimum regem nostrum Poloniae. In quo tantam bonitatem et prudentiam animadvertit ipse etiam, quem isti appellant Christiani nominis hostem, qui tamen plus nobis profuit parcendo, quam alii profuerunt iuvando, ut ei hanc controversiam finien-

² See Tomicki's letter on 10 April 1532.

³ Brodarics left Gyulafehérvár on 3 April 1532 to visit Gritti in Tîrgovişte. On 20 April he was back in Transylvania. See his letters on 3 and 20 April.

⁴ Papal legate Campeggio. On his role in mediation between the two kings see FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentszékekkel III.*, Budapest, 1903, 35–36.

⁵ Charles V designated Passau to be the place for the new peace talks but Szapolyai was reluctant to accept a place in Germany and suggested Cracow instead. The Emperor, in spite of Polish intervention, rejected that. See AT XIV. 38–39.; 127–128.; 133–134.

⁶ Passau.

⁷ Hieronym Łaski, commissioned by Szapolyai, would have travelled to Emperor Charles in the autumn of 1531. However, Ferdinand did not let him to continue from Innsbruck. Łaski spent weeks in Ferdinand's court from November 1531. On his negotiations there see: HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 97–112. He informed the Pope too about his unsuccessful talks. See on this the letter by Łaski on 10 December 1531 (*iam uno mense hic incassum fuerim remoratus*). See Nicolai CAMUSAT, *Mélanges historiques*, Troyes, 1619, 50v.

dam crederet. Nescio, quomodo ista invicem quadrant, cum quem imperator Turca arbitrum esse cupit, imperator Christianus recusat, nobis paulo ante ipsum etiam imperatorem Christianum non solum non recusantibus, sed ultro requirentibus et ad
35 eum per tot terrarum spatia, fortasse etiam non sine metu suspicionis amicorum nostrorum mittere volentibus, atque id quoque non prorsus indigne ferentibus pro salute publica, quod orator noster et idem wayvoda Transsilvanus⁸ ipsum hostem nostrum bis in domo sua propria reverentissime adierit et apud eum, Christiano orbe teste, semel atque iterum sit multis diebus magno cum illius honore versatus.⁹

40 [3.] Haec vellem, quod Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio una cum illustri domino meo, domino castellano¹⁰ et rex etiam noster sapientissimus ita, ut acta sunt, considerarent et ante oculos eorum, quorum interest, ponerent. Sed de his fortasse plus quam satis.

[4.] Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima cum domino castellano pro suo in rempublicam amore nunc etiam velit nos cum domino meo reverendissimo Colocensi¹¹
45 quamprimum edocere, quid de hoc negotio intelligit et sperat, quamvis ista multo antea erant tractanda. Sed proverbium Italicum est *meglio tarde che mai*, et cum his servitia mea perpetua in gratiam Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis et domini mei illustris¹² necnon reverendissimi et carissimi domini mei Plocensis¹³ plurimum et ex toto corde commendo et in gratiam sacratissimae regiae maiestatis utriusque¹⁴ commendari supplico.
50 Et Vestra Dominatio felicissime valeat.

Ex Lipa 9. May 1532.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Stephanus Brodaricus
Sirmiensi subscrispit

55

[5.] Dominatio Vestra scribit mihi se vehementer dolere, quod nostri nolint uniri, in qua una re nos quoque totam spem omnis boni reponebamus. Sciat Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio magnificum dominum Thomam Nadasdinum, thesaurarium et consiliarium regium, filium meum (eo enim loco mihi est) in hoc vehementissime elaborasse institutis huius rei gratia pluribus dietis. Idque suo tantum, non regio inductu.¹⁵
60

46 *post meglio del. che*

⁸ Hieronym Łaski.

⁹ Brodarics probably refers to Łaski's talks in Innsbruck in November 1531.

¹⁰ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

¹¹ Ferenc Frangepán.

¹² Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

¹³ Andrzej Krzycki.

¹⁴ Reference to Sigismund and his son Sigismund August, who ruled together with his father.

¹⁵ Nádasdy, as Brodarics says, attended the assembly in Kenese in 1532 essentially against the King's will. Szapolyai explicitly forbade Nádasdy to attend. (see MOE I. 408–409.). Nádasdy still went there and stood up forcefully for Szapolyai – he felt there was no sense in supporting Ferdinand because the latter had not enough power to conquer back fortresses lost in Hungary, while Szapolyai can achieve that with the Turks in a peaceful way. See MOE I. 334.

Nec credat huiusmodi labores eius cassos omnino et inanes fuisse, cum eius opera non-
nulli ad nos redierint primae notae homines.¹⁶ Nunc rursus hac eadem de causa illuc
proficiscitur suo solito volatu potius, quam cursu. Est enim Pegaso nostro Lasky in hoc
genere simillimus, sicut amore etiam maximo ac fraterno sunt iuncti. Speramusque ex
65 eius labore rursus nos non parum fructus percepturos.

Is, dum haec scribo, apud me existens egit mecum summo studio, ut se ac servitia
sua Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi commendarem, edoctus enim de summa
probitate ac prudentia et de plurimis aliis maximis ac raris Vestrae Reverendissimae
Dominationis virtutibus cupit in album servitorum ac filiorum obsequentissimorum
70 illius ascribi. Quod ego, ut Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio facere dignetur, eam
vehementissime rogo, promittoque Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi me talem
virum in amorem Vestrae Dominationis commendare, qui non sit futurus amore et
favore illius indignus. Quem ego iam non filium, sed nepotem Vestrae Reverendissi-
mae Dominationis soleo appellare. Nepotem autem ex servitore filio Vestrae Reveren-
75 dissimae Dominationis Broderico, qui eum in filium habet.

Servitor obsequentissimus
Sirmiensi subscrispsit

155

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Gyula, 7 June 1532

Manuscript used: BN T. 14. fol. 80r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIV. 413–414

1. Brodarics sent the Pope's permission to Tomicki in which the Pope exempts him and eight other persons he will designate from certain infringements. – 2. Custos of Várad János Ábrahámffy approached him to become one of those eight, this is why Brodarics is writing to Tomicki now. – 3. They are waiting for Gritti who is already in Transylvania. The Sultan is said to be near Belgrade. – 4. The King's affairs are going well too: he succeeded in getting hold of Világosvár from the estates of the deceased Palatine Báthori and hopes to obtain Temesvár too.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Mi Colendissime. Servitiorum meorum commenda-
tionem.

[1.] Miseram superiori (!) tempore ad Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem
quoddam indultum pontificium, ubi Sua Sanctitas dispensat mecum et cum octo aliis

¹⁶ Szapolyai commissioned Nádasdy already in 1531 to negotiate with Bálint Török, Pál Bakics, János Szalay, and other noblemen on Ferdinand's side, and to convince them to be loyal to him. (See BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint*, Budapest, 1994, 47.) It seemed in May 1532 that Bálint Török had changed sides or at least there was hope for it because we know Szapolyai's document from 10 May 1532 in which he pardons Török. See BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint*, Budapest, 1994, 64.

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 217 fol. 116; BCzart 271 fol. 123v; BJ 6552 fol. 949; BCzart TN 47. fol. 479–480.

5 personis per me nominandis super irregularitate incursa certis modis sicut ibi continetur.²

[2] Egit apud me venerabilis et egregius dominus Ioannes Abramffy³ custos ecclesiae Varadiensis, ut pro eo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi scriberem, peti esse unus(!) ex illo numero absolvendorum. Supplico igitur Vestrae Reverendissimae
10 Dominationi, dignetur ei super hoc beneficium suae absolutionis sive dispensationis impartiri. Quod ego conabor apud Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem servitiis meis promereri.

[3.] Nova nunc non sunt alia, nisi quod expectatur illustris dominus Gritti, qui iam in Transsilvaniam pervenit. Caesar etiam Turcarum dicitur iam non procul esse a Bel-
15 grado.

[4.] Hic negotia regia prospere procedunt, nunc etiam adepta est sua maiestas quandam insignem arcem, quae fuit de patrimonio Stephani Bathory⁴ alias palatini, Wylagoswar⁵ vocatam. Spes etiam est de Themeswar.

Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem optime cupio valere. Cui servitia mea
20 commendo et illustri domino meo domino castellano.⁶

Ex Gywla⁷ 7. Iunii 1532.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus

Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro Thomicio Dei gratia episcopo Cracoviensi, regni Poloniae [vice]cancellario etc., domino mihi observandissimo.

² We know neither the breve nor letters by Brodarics concerning the issue, only a letter from Tomicki, probably written at the end of 1531, in which he commits himself to absolve Brodarics and the eight people selected by him from anathema.

³ *Custos* of Várad János Gerlai Ábrahámffy.

⁴ Palatine István Báthori, a prominent figure within the Habsburg party. He died in August 1530.

⁵ Világosvár, Zaránd county (today: Șiria, Romania). Capturing the castle had diplomatic consequences: Duchess of Mazowia Sophia, widow of Palatine Báthori, asked for an intervention from the Polish court so that she can get back the income from the castle of Világos. See: AT XIII. 337–338.

⁶ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

⁷ Gyula, Békés county.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Lippa, 9 June 1532

Manuscript used: BN T. 14. fol. 98r.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIV. 431.

1. Royal Secretary Melchior is taking a message, so there is no need for a long letter. The point is that the obstinacy of their opponents infuriated the Sultan who now comes to plunder away their possessions. This is a grave danger for every Christian. It could have been avoided if the will had been there. – 2. Brodarics is still clueless, so he is asking for support from Tomicki and Chancellor Szydłowiecki. At the same time, he recommends himself and Melchior's mission.

Reverendissime Domine. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Is dominus Melchior² secretarius regius cum istuc proficisceretur, non erat opus ullis litteris, cum ipse sit relaturus Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae omnem statum rerum nostrarum. Cuius tamen summa illa est, quod duritia et obstinatione
5 adversariorum nostrorum excitus est e sede sua princeps omnium potentissimus, qui vadit ad perdenda et funditus evertenda, quantum tamen a Deo permissum ei fuerit, dominia eorum, non sine ingenti malo miserorum Christianorum. Quod si voluissent, facile poterat evitari. Sed iam acta agimus. Itaque de publicis satis.

[2.] Ego adhuc sum anceps eo modo, quo scripsi nuper. Rogo, oro et supplico,
10 dignetur me suo consilio Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio adiuvare, una cum illustrissimo domino meo, domino castellano.³ Cui servitia mea cupio commendari. Negotium huius domini Melchioris inter secretarios multum accepti regiae maiestati, commendo supplex Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi, et oro etiam ob mea servitia, ut in negotio, pro quo laborat, optatum finem consequatur patrocínio Vestrae Reverendissimae
15 Dominationis. Et Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio felicissime valeat.

Ex Lypa 9. Iunii 1532.

servitor deditissimus
Sirniensis manu propria

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Petro, episcopo Cracoviensi, regni Poloniae cancellario [!], domino mihi observandissimo

6 *post et del. eradic*

8 *post poterat del. prohiberi suprascr. evitari.*

¹ Autograph. Further manuscripts: BK 217 fol. 116v; BCzart 271 fol. 124r; BJ 6552 fol. 950; BCzart TN 47. fol. 505–506.

² Regarding Royal Secretary Melchior see the letter by Brodarics on 8 October 1531.

³ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Lippa, 14 June 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 18–20.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 273–274.;

Georgius PRAY, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*, Posonii, 1806, II. 13–15.

1. They have received Nádasdy's letter. Its style fascinated them but the content is not to their liking at all. – 2. They are certain that John achieves his goals sooner or later. In the meantime Nádasdy should persevere and encourage others to the same. – 3. Brodarics suffers from a heavy pain in his legs. – 4. King John is going to go to Buda to meet Gritti. Gritti gave 6 months to Szeben to return to loyalty to King John; he is in Vizakna now and is holding an assembly with the Transylvanians. He has about 8000 soldiers, but only 300 Turks; the rest are Moldavians, Wallachians, and Hungarians. – 5. Gerendi was ready to negotiate with Gritti about giving up Szeben after Gritti sent his own son as a hostage into the town. They have no news about the outcome of the talks.

Magnifice Domine et Frater Noster Honorande, salutem et servitorum commendationem.

[1.] Sciatis nos iam tandem proximis diebus, quas diu exspectavimus, litteras¹ a vobis accepisse per servitorem vestrum, quas bene intelleximus et admirati sumus earum prolixitatem et elegantiam, ita enim lepide ac apposite fuerunt scriptae, ut nobis quam gratissimae exstiterint. Sed scito nobis verba tantum fuisse grata, rem autem ipsam valde displicuisse.

[2.] Quo in negotio agimus apud maiestatem regiam diligenter, maiestatem suam omnia in eo effecturam non dubitamus, tametsi ita cito, quemadmodum vos cupitis, fieri non possit. Hortamur autem vos, ut illos, apud quos agitis,² confirmetis et continetis, fructum laboris ac fidelitatis vestrae et honorem a maiestate regia non mediocrem reportaturi.

[3.] Accedit ad hoc mea Sirmiensis infirmitas, pedum enim dolore afficior, qui mihi magno impedimento est et molestiae, et praesertim rebus vestris nunc conficiendis impedimentum; tamen iam levare incipio.

[4.] De novitatibus autem: maiestas regia Budam propedie est itura. Illustrem dominum gubernatorem in dies exspectamus, quem scimus Cibiniensibus terminum sex mensium ad dedendum se maiestati regiae concessisse, accipiendo ab eis aliquot obsides ex melioribus civibus in signum servandae fidei, et hoc, si interim Ferdinandus

¹ The letter referred to is unknown.

² Szapolyai instructed Nádasdy in February 1532 to try to negotiate with various noblemen of the opponent party at the assembly in Berhida, like Bálint Török, István Maylád, János Szalay, György Sulyok, etc. See King John's letter of instruction in: BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint okmánytára*, Budapest, 1994, 62.

20 cum imperatore Turcarum non confliget, et confligens, si superabitur.³ Et iam intelligimus dominationem suam in Wyzakna⁴ esse et ibidem cum Transsilvanis comitia pro conservatione regni celebrare,⁵ quibus peractis mox sine mora ad maiestatem regiam sese recipiet. Habet exercitum, ut fertur, ad octo milium hominum. Turcae sunt vix trecenti, reliqui Moldavi, Transalpini et Hungari.

25 [5.] Illud etiam sciatis, quod die sabbato proxime elapso⁶ illustris dominus gubernator habuit cum Gerendi⁷ congressum, quando tractatus isti de deditione peracti sunt. Ipse Gerendi numquam in conspectum domini gubernatoris ausus est prodire, nisi prius filium suum reponeret in Cibinium pro obside, quod ei libenter praestitit, sed nostra omnium cum admiratione. Quid postea secutum sit, ignoramus. Et bene valete.

30 Datum Lippae die 14. mensis Iunii 1532.

Vestri

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus subscripsit
Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario sacrae maiestatis regis Hungariae, domino fratri et amico honorandissimo

³ Nagyszeben was the last bastion of the Ferdinand-party. Gritti tried to seize it. Since he had no properly equipped army, he made a deal with Szeben that if Ferdinand does not give battle to the Sultan in the following 6 months or is defeated, the town will be handed over to King John within 6 months. See: SZAKÁLY Ferenc, *Vesztőhely az út porában*, Budapest, 1986, 69.

⁴ Vizakna (today: Ocna, Romania)

⁵ We have no further details on the partial national assembly called together by Gritti. According to Fraknói (MOE I., 468.), Gritti announced it for 14 July which is obviously false because he was already in Buda in early July. It may be a spelling mistake and June is meant, which seems more probable based on Brodarics' letter too. Gábor Barta opines that Gritti announced an assembly in Vizakna but had no time to wait for the delegates to arrive, so the assembly did not take place actually. See BARTA Gábor, *Ludovicus Gritti kormányzósága (1531–1534)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1971, 305.

⁶ I.e. on 8 June.

⁷ Miklós Gerendi (?–1542). Royal Secretary under Louis II, diplomat, Archdean of Ugocsa, later Provost of Óbuda, Joins Ferdinand after Mohács. The first Chairman of the Hungarian Chamber (1527–1529), an expert of economy. The monarch appointed him Bishop of Transylvania in 1527. He held the position until 1540, and as such becomes a key figure in the Ferdinand-party in Transylvania.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Várkony, 2 July 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levellek, fol. 21–24.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 275–277.*

1. He and Frangepán still feel that Nádasdy should seek friendship with Gritti because the fate of the country depends on the latter and it is in Nádasdy's interest anyway. He should have met Gritti already but the neglect can still be rectified. – 2. When he comes he should bring as much silverware as he can. – 3. They hear that Nádasdy imprisoned some serf of John in Ráckeve. He should refrain from such acts and should placate the King who is quite bitter about it. – 4. Frangepán finds behaviour of György Perneszyth odd; Ferenc Dobó sent him the money due and now it cannot be squeezed out of him. – 5. He should have the 500 forints of Brodarics sent to doctor Philip, but it would be even better if he got all the 2000 forints. – 6. He should be careful with spending and should entrust his possessions to someone who manages them carefully so that he will not become dependent on others in the future. – 7. Laski is in Késmárk with 700 soldiers, but some say it is 2000; the French legate is with him with substantial financial aid. Rincon is on his way from Bosnia. – 8. Kassa will hopefully return to the side of John. Laski has occupied all the territories that belong to Eperjes, Kisszeben, or Lőcse. He has fantastic news about Ferdinand who is said to have got burnt severely in a blaze in a Czech castle named Zabrák. Nádasdy should check if it is true or not. – 9. Maylád and Szalay should give up neutrality and come to King John, otherwise they will lose the castles donated to them.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime et Domine Honorandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Iam aliquoties admonui Vos, idque etiam ex voluntate ac sententia reverendissimi domini nostri, domini Colociensis [!], ut diligenter consideraretis ea, quae sunt debita Vestrae Dominationis erga dominum gubernatorem, cuius servitor estis, quousque aliter ab eo fueritis absoluti. Ego his diebus fui cum ipso Varadini. Multi sermones inciderunt etiam de persona vestra. Vos bene scitis sententiam nostram amborum: eo nos esse redactos, ut tota spes regni conservandi sit redacta ad hunc unum, qui certe optime de salute nostra disserit et loquitur, et quod loquitur, idem eum sentire ex animo non ambigo. Quaerenda igitur est amicitia hominis. Tibi autem eo magis, quod alia tibi cum eo vincula intercedunt; fac, habeas honorem tuum imprimis ante oculos, ne quis de te in re possit queri. Non displicuisset, si eum hucusque etiam adiisses. Illud videtur fuisse officii tui; sed ea, quae praeterierunt, omnibus modis sunt resarcienda et omnibus officiis compensanda. De his haec tantum. Et ad haec diligenter cogites, quia non sunt minima.

[2.] Illud quoque tibi notum esse volui maiestatem regiam, quod et antea ad te perscripsi, maximopere optare, ut venias bene instructus. Si quid argenti habere potes, etiam ab amicis conquisitum, id totum tecum afferas: cupas, pelves, fusoria, candelabra et similia.

¹² *post oculos del.* non displicui.

¹ Autograph.

20 [3.] Intelligimus te quendam colonum maiestatis regiae de Raczkewy² vexasse et captivasse, quod valde molesto tulit animo rex, neque nos probare possumus. Rogamus, monemus, hortamur te, ut a similibus abstineas, et tuos contineas. In hoc etiam regi satis facias. *Kedweth lelyed, merth ygen megh bwswlth.*

[4.] Dominus Coloccensis miratur de Georgio Pemezyth.³ Dominus Franciscus Dobo⁴ misit ad eum illam pecuniam, quam iam ab eo extricare nequimus. Vide, quam id sit honestum, praesertim cum tali amico. Quomodo vis, quod illi pecunia mutuetur, qui de accipienda tantum cogitet, et non de restituenda.

[5.] Committas etiam, ut pecunia illa alia mittatur ad manus Philippi doctoris,⁵ si non plus, saltem quingenti mei, vel circa. Tot enim dedi, vel prope, quibus ego indigeo. 30 Tamen ego urgeo totam summam duo milia, ut conductum est inter nos. Video illos esse prorsus cessatores, et miror, quod ita agant. *K[egyvelmed] hagyja megh eressen, hog ez pynz meglegen*, loquor de tota summa si videtur.

[6.] Ego admonui te, et rursus continere me non possim, quin moneam, hortor, obsecrem, ut sis parvus in expendis, quantum honeste fieri potest, ne Lazkkyzes. 35 Rerum ac proventuum tuorum curam tali demandes, qui sit fidus et industrius, ne cogaris illud ab aliis mendicare, quod tibi adhibita diligentia superesse potest. Illud etiam Agatoclis⁶ regis praeceptum in mente habeas, quod est apud Ausonium: *fortunam reverenter habe, quicumque repente dives, ab exili progrediare loco.*⁷

40 De fratre meo scripsi. Vellem eum relinqueres castellanum in aliquo ex castris, propter illam illam [!] causam.

[7.] Nova sunt haec: Lazky est in Kyesmark cum septingentis circiter equitum et peditum, qui tamen existimantur esse duo milia. Fuit apud regem Franciae et habet

² Ráckeve.

³ György Perneszyth, *familiaris* of Tamás Nádasdy, a clerk under the count of the Salt Chamber in Beregszász in the first half of the 1530s.

⁴ Ferenc Ruzskai Dobó, elder brother of the future hero of Eger, István Dobó. He was an adherent of János Szapolyai. He managed the mint in Nagybánya in the first half of the 1530s. See HÓVÁRI János, *A hűtlen Dobó*, Budapest, 1987, 9–10.

⁵ Probably identical to Philippus Varadiensis whose name comes up also in connection to finances in a letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 25 July 1531. See more there.

⁶ Agathocles (361 BC–289) was the son of a potter and became the tyrant of Syracuse.

⁷ D. Magnus Ausonius, a prominent figure of late imperial Roman literature, one of the first Christian poets. He was born around 310 in Gaul. He taught grammar and rhetoric; later (in 365) became tutor of the son of Emperor Valentinian, Gratian. His wise sayings were often used in textbooks, Erasmus cites him often in his *Adagia*. Source of the quotation: Ausonius, *Epigrammata*, 8, 7. The allusion probably relates to the marriage of Nádasdy, which made him one of the barons in highest regard in the country.

secum eius oratorem⁸ cum bona pecuniae summa; Rincon etiam per viam Boznae erit
45 hic.⁹

[8.] De Cassoviensibus spes est, quod redibunt; laborant medio domini Homonnay.¹⁰
Lasky accepit tria castra, quae fuerunt Tharczay, occupavit omnia fere ad Eperyes,¹¹
Zebyn¹² et Lewchoviam¹³ pertinentia et assidue taxat.¹⁴ Scripsit ad regem de Ferdi-
nando rege mira, cum in castro quodam Bohemico Zebrak¹⁵ vocato subito castro illo
50 conflagrato omnes, qui cum eo erant, atque inter alios cardinalem Tridentinum¹⁶ et
quendam episcopum combustos, ipsum sine anima inde extractum, ita tamen, ut de vita
eius nulla fuerit spes, non potuerunt in eo animam sentire naribus, bucca, oculis, tota
fere facie igne combusta. Si ista vera sunt, tibi constare debent, qui cures hanc rem
investigandam, sed non est invulganda, quod a nobis processerit, sed Lasky haec pro
55 veris scribit.¹⁷

Alia non sunt. Rex dominus noster clementissimus feria sexta,¹⁸ si non ante, erit
Budae. Dominus gubernator subsequetur biduo post. Praeterea non Transsilvanizes [!]
Parisiare [!].¹⁹

Monsignor reverendissimo se ricommanda a voi. Et bene valete una cum amicis.

60 [9.] Dominationem Vestram admonui his diebus per litteras, iterum admoneo, idque
etiam propterea, quod ista res mei potissimum medio fuit tractata et conclusa et litterae
impetratae. Dominus Maylath et dominus Ioannes Zalay relinquunt neutralitatem, si
nolunt perdere illa castra eis donata.²⁰ Veniant ad servitium regis. Ego scio, quid scribo
et scio, quod istae neutralitates cessabunt. Non imputent postea mihi, quod eos medio
65 tui non admonuerim. Iterum bene valete omnes et ambulate in sinceritate et veritate.

51 post ipsum *del.* semivivum ex *supraser.* sine
anima

⁸ Lasky got 5000 gold coins from the French King to hire soldiers in Poland and start military manoeuvres against Ferdinand. Royal Secretary Machault, who was with him, had another 15000 gold coins at his disposal. The French King sent this money to Szapolyai to support him continuing the war against Ferdinand. See Hatvani Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 263–264.

⁹ Antonio Rincon.

¹⁰ Ferenc Homonnay Drugeth.

¹¹ Eperjes (today: Prešov, Slovakia).

¹² Kisszeben (today: Sabinov, Slovakia).

¹³ Lőcse (today: Levoča, Slovakia).

¹⁴ Lasky, with his soldiers hired on French money, kept harassing towns of Upper-Hungary that supported Ferdinand throughout the summer. More on his activities: HAJN Gáspár, *Szepességi avagy lőcsei krónika és évkönyv a kedves utókor számára*, Budapest, 1988, 54–59.

¹⁵ Žebrák, Bohemia.

¹⁶ Bernhard Cles, Cardinal of Trident, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

¹⁷ Obviously a rumour. We have no information on any blaze in which King Ferdinand and prominent members of his court got burnt.

¹⁸ 5 June.

¹⁹ Obviously a pun, yet its meaning is unclear.

²⁰ Nádasdy was commissioned by Szapolyai to try to lure his more important opponents to his side including István Maylád and János Szalay. See the previous letter. However, the two aristocrats never joined him.

Ex Warkon, 2. Iulii 1532.
Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo

159

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 10 July 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 25–27.¹

Published: KUIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 277–278.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 570–571.

1. He has written to Nádasdy several times and is wondering why no response comes. – 2. Nádasdy should hurry to King John in Buda and bring as much silverware as he can. He should also bring presents to Gritti to whom he has to be grateful and whom he needs not suspect because rumours about him are false. Gritti is on the country's side and nobody else can save the country. King John made him Chief Commander too. – 3. Nádasdy should convince Maylád and Szalay as well to give up neutrality and join John, or else they risk losing the King's goodwill. – 4. The Sultan is near the Drave river; his messenger is expected any day. The Germans are preparing for the reception of Suleyman. – 5. He still has no reliable news on the fate of Ferdinand. – 6. After János Szerecsen died, Ferenc Pethne gave over the castle of Pécs to Péter Bodó without King John's knowledge or approval.

Domine Magnifice. Salutem et servitia mea.

[1.] Multa ad te frequentissime scripsi, miror, quod nullum possum habere responsum ad tot scripta.

[2.] Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus vellet omnino, quod venires et
statim cum meliori [!] apparatu quo potes, ducas argentaria, si qua habere potes, non
solum tua, sed etiam ab amicis. Quia his rex multum indiget. Nihil ei facere potes
gratius. Non venias, si fieri potest, sine aliquo munere, etiam ad dominum gubernatorem,
qui non est tibi contemnendus, cum fuerit et sit dominus tuus et scis, quanto te
amore sit persecutus et quam in te beneficus fuerit in extrema tua necessitate.² Illa,
quae de ipso fuerunt dicta, scias pro certo omnia fuisse vel magnam partem eorum
falsam de affectato imperio etc.³ Est vir sincerus et severus nihil aliud agens in veritate,

¹¹ *severus correxi ex: seberus*

¹ Autograph.

² A recurrent argument regarding Gritti in letters from Brodarics to Nádasdy. Namely, Nádasdy owed his life to Gritti mainly when he was taken prisoner by the Turks in Buda in 1529.

³ Brodarics is trying to convince Nádasdy that Gritti is not trying to remove John and grab power in the country.

nisi quae sunt pro commodo patriae. Heri maiestas regia egit cum eo et conclusit frequenti senatu, ut officium gubernationis exerceat re ipsa et cum effectum. Addidit ei etiam titulum capitanei generalis.⁴ Mea sententia aut iste est, aut nullus est, qui nos
15 liberet a tot malis. Dominus Deus det ei gratiam et auxilium suum, quia vos scitis, alioquin quomodo stamus aut iacemus potius.

[3.] Domino Maylath et domino Zalay persuadeas, ut relinquunt iam tandem istas neutralitates, alioquin imputent sibi, si quid eis adversi evenerit, id est, si rex beneficentiam suam erga eos non ita liberaliter exercebit. Nunc tempus est, si volunt servire
20 regi. Vos autem ambulate cum eo in veritate: Deus vos castigabit, si aliter feceritis, qui est diurnus nocturnusque inspector actionum nostrarum omnium. Si nihil aliud, time Deum, qui nullum genus hominum magis persequi solet, quam ingratos. Quod tamen de te credere nunquam potui, neque nunc credere possum. Et da veniam recta cum ista severitate sermonis suadenti. Nulla sit causa in mundo, quae te a rectitudine servitorum
25 et a vero servitio regis et a debito tuo cum domino gubernatore abducatur.

Fratrem meum, dominum Mathiam tibi plus quam me ipsum commendo.

Alia reservo ad meum tecum congressum, quem Deus faciat celerem et omnibus nobis gratum ac felicem.

[4.] Nova non sunt alia, nisi quod credimus imperatorem iam esse prope Dravum, de
30 quo Mahmuth⁵ de hora in horam exspectamus. Germani etiam dicunt se apparere ad excipiendum tantum hospitem.

[5.] De his, quae de rege Ferdinando scripseram, de illo incendio,⁶ nihil adhuc certi habemus. Tu si quid habes, fac nos certiores, oro. Et bene vale cum amicis, quibus me commendes, domino Maylath, domino Zalay et domino Hassady.⁷

35 Ex Buda, 10. Iulii 1532.

[6.] Post mortem domini Zerechen,⁸ Franciscus Pethne⁹ dedit castrum Quinqueecclesiense ad manus Petri Bodo¹⁰ praeter scitum et voluntatem regiam. Ecce rursus nova difficultas in illa re. Sed quid ad me, qui mihi Creso et omnibus Parthorum regibus

25 *Post regis et del. ad*

25 *post gubernatore del. deducit*

⁴ Appointment as Chief Commander is a sign of Gritti's increasing power. Earlier he was only Treasurer and Governor. Essentially, he is military Chief Commander from the summer of 1532. This, in a sense, reflects the actual distribution of power: Szerémi writes that the rich Gritti had almost more soldiers than King John himself. See SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...* 279.

⁵ Mahmuth was Gritti's secretary. See also the letter by Brodarics on 30 July 1532.

⁶ See on this the previous letter.

⁷ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa.

⁸ János Szerecsen died in the first days of July 1532. Simon Erdődy writes to Nádasdy on 9 July 1532 (octava visitationis Mariae): *de domino Joanne Zerechen, quod Deus avertat, dictum est nobis, illum esse iam sepultum*. (See MOL, E 185, Missiles bundle 11, Erdődy Simon levelei, fol 12.) After Bishop of Pécs György Sulyok deserted, János Szerecsen managed the Pécs diocese charged by Szapolyai. Brodarics became Bishop of Pécs after the death of Szerecsen.

⁹ I have found no further data on Ferenc Pethne.

¹⁰ The name of Péter Bodó appears among the underwriters of the letter of invitation dated at the assembly in Bélavár in 1531. See MOE I. 371.

videor esse ditior, dummodo possem me ex his tricis extricare, quod etiam Deus concedat.

Dominus reverendissimus¹¹ te salutatur, et se tibi commendat.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino et uti filio carissimo

160

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy

Buda, 16 July 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 28–29.¹

Published: KUIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 279.;

Georgius PRAY, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*, Posonii, 1806, II. 18–19.;

Josephus KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis. Tomus V*, Pesthini, 1801, 225.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 572.

1. Nádasdy is requested not to disappoint King John and Gritti, who have trust in him. He should make arrangements concerning the silverware quickly. – 2. He is recommending his brother to Nádasdy and requests him to take care of the Abbey of Zalavár. – 3. Gritti is meeting the Sultan tomorrow. The Polish legate is also in talks in Buda concerning the Moldovans and peace. – 4. Statileo has a good relationship with Gritti, whom he made Commander in Chief. – 5. Ferdinand and Charles are in Regensburg. – 6. According to the Bavarian legate, Ferdinand gets 20,000 foot soldiers and 5000 cavalymen from the Empire but only for the defence of Germany, not against John.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime. Servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Tanta scripsi his diebus et totiens assidue, ut nescio, quid aliud iam scribam fessus et scribendo et exspectando. Rogo, hortor, moneo, obsecro unacum domino Colocensi, aut Strigoniensi potius,² ut exspectationi de te regiae maiestatis, domini nostri
5 clementissimi et domini gubernatoris satis facias, idque quamprimum.

De argentariis etiam scripsi,³ si quae haberi possunt, sed quod facere vis, facias cito.

[2.] Fratrem meum tibi commendo, ut me ipsum, immo magis. De abbacia⁴ nihil aliud dico, quia scio eam tibi esse curae, ut tuam. Et ita rogo, ut facias.

¹¹ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

¹ Autograph.

² Ferenc Frangepán was Archbishop of Kalocsa. Allusions by Brodarics indicate that Szapolyai might have considered replacing Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várdai – who proved to be disloyal several times – with Frangepán, who had always stuck to him. If there was such a plan it was never carried out.

³ See the previous letter.

⁴ The Abbey of Zalavár where Nádasdy was administrator from early 1526.

10 [3.] Dominus gubernator cras vadit obviam caesareae maiestati Turcarum.
Orator serenissimi regis Poloniae est hic pro negotio Moldavico et pacis, sed de pace iam tardum est.⁵

[4.] Dominus Transsilvanus bene concordat cum domino gubernatore, quem etiam convivio sollemni excepit.⁶ Dominus gubernator factus est capitaneus generalis,⁷
15 datum ei vexillum.

[5.] Germani tacent. Miserunt ad mille pedites lankznetos Strigonium, quorum duo capti per nostros dicuntur. Carolum et Ferdinandum esse Ratisbonae sine gentibus ullis.⁸

[6.] Est etiam hic secretarius Bavariae.⁹ Attulit promissa esse ab imperio Ferdinando
20 XX milia peditum, quinque equitum,¹⁰ sed pro tutela Germaniae, et nihil contra Ioan-nem. Optime vale. Ex Buda, 16. Iulii 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino et uti filio carissimo

10 *post gubernator del. hodie.*

⁵ King Sigismund sent Constable of Biecz Laurentius Miskowski to Szapolyai in legation. See his instructions for the legation in: AT XIV. 480–483.

⁶ Szerémi writes that Bishop of Transylvania Statileo had great aversion towards the appointment of Gritti as Governor already in the 1530, so much so that he left the meeting discussing the appointment angrily. See SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...* 267–268. It seems that by 1532 he came to terms with Gritti.

⁷ Regarding the appointment see the previous letter.

⁸ Ferdinand and Charles were staying in Regensburg for the imperial diet. Contrary to what Brodarics states, they had enough soldiers. The assembly voted for the desired number of soldiers for the defence of the Empire, and this contributed considerably to the failure of Suleyman's campaign.

⁹ Bavarian Duke Louis informed Łaski on 29 June 1532 that he had sent an envoy by the name of Gregor with some letters to King John. See Karl August MUFFAT, *Correspondenzen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der politischen Verhältnisse der Herzoge Wilhelm und Ludwig von Bayern zu König Johan von Ungern*, München, 1857, 226.

¹⁰ The imperial *ordines* offered one *Romzug* of soldiers, e.g. about 29,000 foot soldiers and 5–6000 cavalrymen. On the details of organising the army, more recently, see: KÖRPÁS Zoltán, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008, 140–143.

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 21 July 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 30–33.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 280–281.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 573–574.

1. Csány arrived the other day with a message from Nádasdy but he and the King did not expect a messenger but Nádasdy himself with the silverware, something the King is really short of. – 2. They are surprised that Nádasdy asks for soldiers when the Turks are approaching as if they had no bigger problems than capturing Zagreb or Varasd. They warn him to remain loyal to John in any case. – 3. Nádasdy can safely trust Gritti; there is no reason to be afraid of him. He should remember how much he owes to Gritti. – 4. He should send silverware to the King urgently. He should allocate the salt due to Miklós Dolgos as he promised before.

Magnifice Domine et Amice Honorandissime et Carissime. Servitiorum nostrorum commendationem et mille salutes.

[1.] Venit ad nos nudiustertius Stephanus Chany² cum vestris mandatis, quae intelleximus. Sed vos ipsum, non similem vobis in vultu exspectabamus, et dominus
5 noster clementissimus non Chany, sed Nádasdy exspectabat praesertim totiens vocatum, et exspectat cum aliqua suppellectile argentea, vel ex thesauro domus iam vestrae deprompta, vel aliunde ab amicis quaesita. In quo etiam spes et exspectatio nostra nos omnes fefellit non sine aliqua et non parva animi turbatione, maxime cum nunquam regia maiestas ita indignuit, et praesentia maiorum regni dominorum et argen[te]is vasis,
10 quam nunc. Mirati sumus et miramur nunc quoque, quod Vestra Dominatio aliquam de hoc curam non gesserit.

[2.] Intelligimus ea, quae significat: petit gentes ad defensionem istarum partium. Miramur certe, quod Vestra Dominatio tam repente oblivisci potuerit status omnium rerum nostrarum, vel potuerit in animum inducere, nos nunc (de rege loquimur) in isto
15 tanti principis adventu vel adeo esse otiosos ac socordes, ut magis de expugnanda Zagrabia et Varasdino cogitemus, quam de exceptione eius; vel adeo abundantes gentibus, ut simul utrique huic rei sufficere possimus.³ Si alius ita nobiscum ageret, non curaremus. Novimus enim mores hominum nostrorum; sed de Nádasdyo miramur, integro, constante et prudente rerumque omnium nostrarum peritissimo viro. Nescimus
20 quid ad haec Vestrae Dominationi respondere, nisi quod te hortamur, et per omnia

7 post aliunde del. quaes

14 post nunc del. in isto.

¹ Autoraph

² István Csány was a *familiaris* of Nádasdy, several of his letters to Nádasdy have survived. See MOL, E 185, Chány István levelei.

³ There is no data from any other source on Nádasdy's planned campaign in Slavonia but it may be connected to his wedding. Through his marriage to Orsolya Kanizsay, he obtained considerable estates in Slavonia too. See on this: VARGA Szabolcs, *Nádasdy Tamás horvát-szlavón bánsága*, Századok, 2010, 793–823.

verae amicitiae ac fraternitatis iura obtestamur, ne ullis consiliis quorumcunque amicorum, quae tibi non erunt salutaria, deflectas a vera rectitudine verae et constantis integritatis et erga principem adeo in te beneficium, adeo tui amantem gratitudinis. Quod si faceres, quod tamen de te credere non possumus, nos tibi amici esse non possumus, qui pro te sponsores sumus. Sed de his per Chany plura, quem rex dimittere non potest, quousque illustrissimus dominus gubernator a caesare, ad quem repente est vocatus, non redierit.⁴ Per quem de rebus omnibus te faciemus certiores.

[3.] Examussum hoc interim tibi significamus: de domino Gritti nullum penitus esse dubium, quin ille sincere procedat et regni et regis salutem et honorem ex toto corde quaerens; et de hoc sis certus, quia nos habemus animum eius exploratum, cum quo cupimus te quoque esse in bona benivolentia et coniunctione. Consulimusque tibi, ut ita te cum eo geras, quod hactenus quoque facere debueras, sicut virum integrum decet; scis te eius servitorem fuisse, immo tamdiu esse, quousque ab eo non fueris absolutus. Nosti, quam ille in te benivulus ac beneficus fuerit in tuo durissimo ac desperato tempore, quantum item quaesiverit te modis omnibus evehere.⁵ Non sunt ista ex animo oblitteranda, sed omnibus modis est tibi annitendum, ut ille te sibi quam gratissimum esse sentiat. Alioquin quid de te sibi alii amici polliceri possent, diligenter ista pro tua bonitate ac prudentia consideres et ignoscas nobis si te fraterne et amice de his admonemus, et ita serio ac libere ad te scribimus.

[4.] Da praeterea omnem operam, ut aliquas cupas, vel alia argentea vasa regi his nunc maxime indigenti mittere possis. Idque statim. Scimus tibi non deesse modum.

Negotium etiam fratris mei, Mathiae Brodaryth tibi unice commendamus ambo.

Negotium praeterea Nicolai Dolgos⁶ de Hwzth ita habeas amore nostri commendatum, ne quid ille impedimenti a tuis habeat; praeterea, ut liceat ei illos sales VI mille pro servi[tii]s ei datos extramittere, de quo a[lia]s tecum egimus, et tu id promisisti te id facturum et commissurum.

Iussimus Chany, ut tibi aliqua alia nuntiet, quae vel ex nuntio, vel ex litteris eius intelliges. Et bene vale unacum amicis et fratribus, quibus nos commendes, et Orsikam tuam nomine nostro salutes.

Illud perpetuo memineris et observa: ne vel Transsilvanizes, vel Laczyzes quae vocabula quid sibi velint, credimus te intelligere.⁷ Et iterum optime vale.

Ex Buda 21. Iulii 1532.

45 *post impedimenti del. a te ha.*

51 *post Laczyzes del. Transsilvanizare scis quid sit*

⁴ As the previous letter by Brodarics shows, Gritti left Buda for visiting Suleyman, who was advancing along the Drave river, on 17 July.

⁵ Another allusion to Gritti's role in Nádasdy's escape in 1529.

⁶ Miklós Dolgos served Andrea Pizzacomino of Padua as chamberlain. Pizzacomino rented the salt mines of Máramaros from January. See DRASKÓCZY István, *Az erdélyi sókamarák ispánjai*, Levéltári Közlemények, 2004/1. 34. The name of Dolgos also appears in a letter by Ferenc Frangepán to Nádasdy written in Nyálábvár on 16 September 1534, in which he requests Nádasdy to compensate him at least partially for the Constable of Huszt demolished his stone house. (See MOL, E 185, Frangepán-levelek, fol. 13.)

⁷ The meaning of this allusion was probably clear to Nádasdy, unfortunately it is not so with us.

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino et amico et uti filio carissimo

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
[Buda], [between 21 and 31 July 1532]¹

*Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 101–102.*²

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 340–341.

1. He does not understand why Kápolnay bothers him regarding his possessions when so many friends, Nádasdy included, used their influence for him. – 2. Regarding his brother, whose case is really important to him, he requests Nádasdy to do as they have agreed in Pankota. – 3. The journey of Csány has been postponed until Gritti returns. The latter is expected any day. Maylád's servant will bring the news. – 4. He asks Nádasdy to inform his brother as soon as possible so that the brother also knows what he is supposed to do. – 5. He brings Nádasdy's attention to the case of the Venetian conservator.

[1.] Dominatio Vestra inter alia nuntiat de Francisco Kapolnay,³ de quo ego scio me alias Vestrae Dominationi questum. Miror quod neque tua apud eum auctoritas, neque aliorum amicorum, neque mea vetus cum ipso amicitia tantum valeat, ut iam tandem bona praepositurae meae utriusque mihi libere possidere permittat. Quod, ut apud eum
5 Vestra Dominatio efficere velit, eam vehementer rogo.

[2.] Quod ad negotium fratris mei attinet, dixerat Vestra Dominatio, cum in Pankotha⁴ essemus, sua sponte inquisituram de bonis etc., et ad me perscripturam, quid in negotio

⁴ *post bona del. ep. me*

¹ The letter has survived in an incomplete form; it is impossible to date it accurately. Kujáni, who first published it, believed the year 1533 noted later on the original in the MOL and gave this date himself, but this is probably false. Based on internal arguments, it seems that it was produced some time between 21 and 31 July 1532. Brodarics says they have been unable to send the envoy of Nádasdy Csány back because they are still waiting for Gritti to return. Since he says on 21 June that sending back Csány is delayed because of Gritti's absence and on 31 July he informs Nádasdy that Csány has left, the incomplete letter was written probably between these two dates. In the correspondence between Brodarics and Nádasdy that survived the name of Csány comes up only in connection to his envoyship in July and this also supports the idea that this letter should be dated this period. In this case it was certainly written in Buda.

² Autographic

³ Ferenc Kápolnay, big landowner of Southern Transdanubia, a typical robber knight. He follows Szapolyai in the beginning then sides with Ferdinand in 1530. His activities pose a serious threat to the position of Szapolyai in Southern Transdanubia. Brodarics, appointed as Bishop of Pécs, often complains about Kápolnay ransacking the estates of the bishopric.

⁴ Pankota, Arad county (today: Pancota, Romania).

fratris agere apud regem deberem. Recordor eorum omnium, quae postea sunt secuta, sed ego rogo Vestram Dominationem, ut a priori suo proposito non recedat et me
 10 quamprimum in eam sententiam, qua inter nos conductum fuerat, faciat certiore, ut rebus fratris consulere possim, de quo, quod et alias dixi Vestrae Dominationi, maiorem habeo curam, quam de me ipso, et quam de ulla re mundi. Non videtur autem, quare isti domini (de compositoribus istius negotii loquor) debeant id aegre ferre ob causas illas, quas in illis longis litteris ambo cum domino reverendissimo explicavimus. Aequum
 15 autem videtur, ut Vestra Dominatio consulendo rebus suis non obliviscatur etiam amicorum, praesertim talium, qualem me Vestra Dominatio sibi fuisse semper est experta. Hoc est, quod a Vestra Dominatione vehementissime efflagito, nec desinam flagitare, quousque consecutus non fuero, fretus iam illius erga me amore fraterno. Periculosum autem est mihi talia differre, cum ob alias causas, tum quod homo iam in senium vergens
 20 et alioquin valitudinarius, nescio quando a vobis alio vocabor, et scio non eandem esse rationem mortuorum, quam viventium et servientium. Et de hoc a Vestra Dominatione responsum exspecto.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

25 [3.] Stephanum Chany⁵ expedire non potuimus. Dilata est eius expeditio ad reditum domini Gritti, cuius reditum hodie vel cras futurum speramus omnino.⁶ Illa, quae per Chany nuntianda fuerunt, nuntiavi aliqua per hunc servitorem domini Maylathy,⁷ fratris nostri. Ad quae Vestra Dominatio curam gerat, et in omnibus ea agat, quae sunt ad salutem huius miserae patriae nostrae communis et ad honorem regis et suum.

30 [4.] Faciat etiam fratrem nostrum communem, dominum Mathiam Brodaryth certiorum statim de his, quae per hunc nuntiavi, ut et ipse sciat rebus suis in tempore providere, ne inter oscitantes opprimatur.

[5.] Negotium domini conservatoris Venetiani⁸ nostri tibi commendo. Sis memor eius, fac te ita erga tales amicos tuos geras, sicut virum bonum et integrum decet. Qua
 35 de re scripsi in illis litteris plura, et omnia verissima.⁹

10 *post quamprimum del.* de

10 *post certiore del.* Dominatio Vestra

14 *post reverendissimo del.* per

25 *post ad del.* adventum *supraser.* reditum

26 *post cuius del.* adventum *supraser.* reditum

32 *post ne del.* reperiat

⁵ István Csány was a *familiaris* of Nádasdy.

⁶ Gritti left Buda to visit the Sultan on 17 July. See the letter by Brodaries on 16 July 1532.

⁷ István Maylád, a Transylvanian aristocrat, brother-in-law of Nádasdy.

⁸ I have found no further data on the mentioned conservator.

⁹ Compare: the letter by Brodaries on 2 July 1532.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 31 July 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 34–35.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 282.

1. Csány was sent back a few days ago. Gritti sent his own secretary Mahmud with him. – 2. It is John's order that Nádasdy should appear in front of him as soon as possible, and he and Frangepán advise the same because of the Governor, whose matters are not settled in the absence of Nádasdy. – 3. They should try to protect their serfs from the Turks; they should appear before Pasha Ibrahim if necessary. – 4. Ferdinand's legates are expected to return from the Sultan today.

Domine Magnifice. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Stephanum Chany¹ dimisimus nudiustertius. Illustrissimus dominus gubernator² misit eum cum suo proprio secretario Mahmud.

[2.] Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus optat et iubet, ut veniatis ad eam
5 quamprimum. Idem consulimus nos cum domino reverendissimo Colocensi,³ honor
vester exigit hoc, praesertim propter dominum gubernatorem, cuius negotia tam publica,
quam privata sunt omnia confusa propter absentiam vestram, de qua re et de illius
erga vos animo plura per Chany.

Fratrem meum⁴ vobis commendo magis, quam me ipsum.

10 [3.] Quantum possibile est, custodiatis subditos vestros. Caesar praeter omnium
opinionem vadit per istam viam, aliud remedium nullum, si tamen aliquod, quam mittere
ad illustrem Ibraym bassam et ei supplicare.

[4.] Hodie expectamus huc oratores regis Ferdinandi, qui apud caesarem fuerunt,
domum redeunt.⁵

15 Alia omnia amplissime et uberrime per Chany. Sis felix.

Ex Buda, ultima Iulii 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino et
uti filio carissimo

¹ István Csány was a *familiaris* of Nádasdy.

² Lodovico Gritti.

³ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁴ Mátyás Brodarics.

⁵ Ferdinand sent off the two legates, Leonhard Nogarola and Joseph Lamberg, in May, but their mission failed. The Sultan had already left Constantinople, so negotiation was out of the question. However, he kept the legates with him and let them leave only when they were in Kőszeg.

István Brodarics to Dénes Hassághy¹
Buda, 13 August 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levele Hassághynak, fol. 1–4.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 282–284.*

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század, Budapest, 1971, 575–577.*

1. He has talked to Gritti about the case of the captured scribe Pál. He was told that the scribe is not a servant of Nádasdy but of the Treasury, so Gritti considers his imprisonment justified for the complaints against him until the investigation is concluded. Gritti wants to compensate the complainants. Scribe Pál had 1500 forints with him when he was arrested. – 2. The scribe stated that he had done everything on commands from the King and Nádasdy. Gritti does not believe this and scribe Pál cannot prove it. – 3. He does not understand why Nádasdy has bad feelings towards him; he, on his part, never cheated him, and he has nothing to do with the imprisonment of scribe Pál. – 4. He resents that Nádasdy threatens him with not answering his messages unless scribe Pál is released; he did not imprison the scribe and did not suggest it. On the other hand, he has always been a good friend of Nádasdy, so he does not deserve this. – 5. When scribe Pál was captured, he, Brodarics, did everything he could to intervene on his behalf but could do nothing, so many were the complaints against him. He does not understand why Slavonian noblemen do not hurry to King John – this might bring the demise of their country.

Egregie Domine, Amice Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Accepi litteras, quas ad me per servitorem Pauli Kys misistis, de quo negotio et de aliis per dominum Stephanum Chany² nuntiatis. Miror, quod dominus Thomas Nadasdinus nihil ad me scripserit, cum sciam pro certo ipsum tunc, cum iste nuntius
5 dimittebatur, domi fuisse. Postquam igitur iam per interpretem mihi est cum ipso agendum (medio Dominationis Vestrae), sciatis Vestra Dominatio, quod ego illustrissimo domino gubernatori sum locutus de captivitate Pauli³ diligenter, qui dicit, quod dominus Thomas nihil habet in hoc aegrefere vel conqueri. Quia dominus gubernator non servitorem domini Nadasdini, sed suum proprium in carcerem coniecit, non sine magna et
10 evidentiissima culpa. Debet autem scire dominus Thomas hunc fuisse servitorem domini gubernatoris relictum ad servitia officii sui thesaurariatus apud dominum Thomam instar aliorum servitorum suae illustrissimae dominationis, quos omnes apud dominum Thomam reliquerat tanquam apud generalem vicegerentem suum; fatentur hoc illi, quorum medio fuit Paulus positus ad obsequia illustrissimi domini. Non est

¹ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa.

² István Csány was a *familiaris* of Nádasdy.

³ Scribe Pál Pozaka was a tax collector in the service of the treasury. According to Szerémi's report, he took part, together with Nádasdy and Simon Athinai Deák, in a play that mocked Gritti, and which included an attack on one of the *tricesimators* of Gritti and robbing 2000 marks from him. (See SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...*276–277.) Besides complaints against him and failures to balance accounts that Brodarics refers to, this might also have played a part in Gritti imprisoning him. Szerémi also reports that Gritti had scribe Pál hanged in his own house on the octave of Pentecost (26 May 1532) (see SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...*278.). Even if this execution really took place it certainly happened later because it is clear from Brodarics' letter that scribe Pál is still alive in mid-August.

15 igitur, dicit dominus gubernator, quicquam iniuriae illatum domino Thomae per dominum gubernatorem, si ipse iniecit manus in suum proprium servitorem. Qui alioquin, etiam si fuisset proprius servitor domini Thomae, cum tamen in officio thesaurarius, quod erat et est domini gubernatoris, serviverat et multum deliquerat, debebat per principalem dominum suum iudicari et puniri, cum omnes servitores thesaurarius fuerint, 20 si non aliter, saltem per dependentiam servitores domini gubernatoris. Ista sunt, quae mecum dominus gubernator est de isto negotio locutus, contra quae nescio, quid ego, vel alius quicunque posset respondere. Paulus tenetur vinctus et tenebitur quousque non erit finis totalis in eius negotio. Sunt bis centum personae de eo conquerentes, de diversis iniuriis, damnis et oppressionibus per eum illatis. Quibus vult dominus gubernator, ut fiat iustitia et satisfactio. Inter alia ante captivitatem interrogatus si quid pecuniae haberet, dixit se non habere nisi XIII florenos. Reperti sunt apud eum ad 25 mille quingenti florenos.

[2.] Accessit et illud, quod omnes illas violentias et oppressiones, quas Paulus hic fecit, dixit fecisse partim ex regis commissione, partim ex commissione domini 30 Thomae. Quod rex interrogatus negavit ita fuisse. Nec ille potuit ostendere aliquas super hoc litteras regias, nec credit dominus gubernator, quod dominus Thomas talia et tam enormia fieri commisisset.

[3.] Ceterum ubi Dominatio Vestra mihi imputat de fiducia domino Thomae data, ego nuntiavi domino Thomae de omnibus meram veritatem. Nescio, quid habet agere 35 captivitas Pauli cum fiducia domino Thomae per me data. Ego tamen de istis fiduciis vel non fiduciis sine assecurationibus non me amplius intromittam: faciat dominus Thomas quicquid ei videtur. Nunquam ego aliud consilium ei dedi ab ineunte eius aetate, quam quod existimavi optimum et honestissimum. Cuius rei ipse est mihi testis. Neque unquam etiam imposterum aliud ei consulam, nisi ut honorem praeferat omnibus rebus mundi, et sit gratus illis, a quibus ingentibus beneficiis est affectus. Qui 40 autem sint illi, ipse scit. Si vel Vestra Dominatio, quod non credo, vel alius quispiam aliud ei consuluerit, deducet eum procul dubio in ruinam. Deberemus capere exemplum ab his, quae oculis vidimus et videmus.

[4.] Illud etiam miror, quod mihi iste adolescens retulit non prius me habiturum 45 responsum super nuntiatis per me, quam Paulus fuerit liberatus. Quasi vero Paulus mea opera vel suasu sit captus, vel quasi in manu mea sit voluntas domini gubernatoris, vel ego tenear, etiam si possem, in iniuriam et damnum tot bonorum virorum, qui de eo conqueruntur, eum eliberare. Quid habent commune negotia mea privata cum Pauli captivitate? Si dominus Thomas vult mihi facere bonam relationem super negotiis 50 meis, gratum mihi erit; sin minus, nihil possum vi capere ab eo. Sed scio fuisse aliquando tempus, quando ego non fui ei malus amicus. Et me Vestrae Dominationi commendando, et me domino Thomae commendatis et aliis amicis. Ex Buda, XIII. Augusti 1532.

Totus Vestrae Dominationis

Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis subscripsit

[5.] Sciat Dominatio Vestra, quod postquam Paulus litteratus fuit captus, ego diligentissime laboravi pro eius liberatione inducendo ad hoc omnes dominos hic praesentes. Sed nihil potui efficere. Et certe sunt infinitae querelae contra ipsum ab omni genere hominum. Neque in hoc ego possum ei prodesse.

60 Dicatis nomine meo domino Thomae, ut bene videat, quid agit et quomodo se gerit etc. etc. etc.

Miror, quod domini de Slavonia non veniunt ad regem, ista posset esse ruina illius regni et Deus velit, ne sit. Libenter plura scriberem, sed ex his etiam paucis intelligere potestis omnia, et ex his, quae per Chany et prius per quendam servitorem domini

65 Maylathy.

Servitor Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thome Nadasdino thesaurario regio, domino etc.

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István Brodarics to Lazare de Baïf¹
Buda, 14 August 1532

Manuscript used: HIIStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. A, fol. 6.

1. The Sultan crossed the Drave 20 days ago and has attacked Austria with his army directly. He has left Vienna already and is heading for Regensburg; he wants to clash with Charles and Ferdinand. – 2. The Sultan has captured Péter Perényi and had him taken to Belgrade. He might be decapitated. Gritti is poised for besieging Esztergom. The Turks have massacred 4000 Germans near Vienna. – 3. The enclosed letter should be forwarded to the French court.

Reverendissimo Monsignor salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem. Non mi occorre altro al presente scriver a Vostra Signoria, solum exponerLi lo amore et servitii mei, poi significarLi queste nove che per adesso havemo.

[1.] Lo Imperator di turchi havendo passato Drava circa 20 del passato,² subito andò
5 in Austria con tutta la potentia soa, lassando da canto el Dannubio, et già ha passato Vienna, e va in su più che pole verso Ratisbona ricercando di haver conflitto cum Carlo

¹ Lazare de Baïf (1496–1547), French Humanist, poet, diplomat. He was a legate of King of France Francis I to Venice for years.

² Suleyman crossed the Drave on 19 July 1532 and headed for Western Hungary.

et suo fratello.³ Dopo arivar suo in Austria non sapemo altro quello dee seguir, stamo a veder. Ben è vero che la durezza de Re Ferdinando noserà alui et a molti altri.⁴

[2.] Imperatore di turchi ha preso Petro Perinni, che fo a Vinetia,⁵ et l'a mandato a Belgrado, forse li torà el capo per la soa inobedientia usata verso la Maestà del Re.⁶ El signor Gritti domane va a obsediare Strigonio. Non so che quatro millia todeschi, non lontan da Vienna, erano andati a incontrarsi con li turchi, quali tutti sono sta' tagliati a pezzi. Altro non c'è.

[3.] Prego la Signoria Vostra, voglia queste alligate per amor mio mandar in Franza per lo primo che andará, et drizarle alla corte. Et io tutto son al commando de Vostra Signoria alla quale me raccomandando. Et bene valeat.

Ex Buda, 14. Augusti 1532.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensis subscripsit

20

On the outer side: Al Reverendissimo Monsignore signor Lazaro, ambasciatore del Christianissimo Re de Franza in Vinetia, domino et amico honorandissimo. Venetiis Al ambasciator del Christianissimo

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István Brodarics to Paolo Giovio
Buda, 14 August 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. A, fol. 7–8.

1. Since they are surrounded by enemies and the roads are unsafe, he cannot afford to demonstrate his love towards Giovio to such extent but as soon as he has the possibility he will fulfil Giovio's request. – 2. The sultan invaded Austria with great forces and so far it is unclear where he is heading. Péter Perényi is imprisoned by the Sultan who had him taken to Belgrade. He might be executed for being disloyal to King John.

Reverendissimo Monsignor. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

³ Brodarics is wrong or misinforms Lazare de Baif on purpose. The main army of the Sultan never entered Austria, let alone heading for Regensburg. When Suleyman heard about the Christian army of 80,000 gathering near Wiener Neustadt, he, in contrast to what Brodarics states, avoided the encounter with the imperial forces. However, Brodarics might identify foraying Turkish troops with the Sultan's army. Szerémi reports that Turkish marauders got farther than Linz, as far as Regensburg in the Danube valley. See SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...* 270–271.

⁴ Brodarics gave Ferdinand's obstinacy and inability for compromise as the main reasons for the Sultan's campaign already in his letter on 9 May 1532.

⁵ Péter Perényi Péter visited Venice under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Loreto in the summer of 1531 and had secret talks with the Signoria. Presumably, he tried to secure Venice's support for his own claim for the throne. See SZTÁRAI Mihály, *História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról*, Budapest, 1985, 9–10.

⁶ Perényi was not executed at last. Suleyman handed him over to Szapolyai who set him free, However, he had to send his son to Istanbul as hostage on Gritti's command.

[1.] Molto ringartio alla Signoria Vostra del amore et benevolentia Sua verso di me, quale me dimonstri recordandosi de mi. Io veramente anchora mi doglio asaissimamente che non Li posso significare el simile del'animo et affectione mia, quale ho
5 sempre alla Signoria Soa, et questo per ché da ogni lato semo circumsepti deli inimici, et le strade non si possono anchora assecurare dela qualcosa quando ci sarà data facultà, non restarò sempre mai di satisfar al desiderio de Vostra Signoria.

[2.] Al presente la Signoria Vostra saperà como lo Imperatore di turchi già è passato in Austria con gran potentia, et va in su più che pole. Né altro per hora posso scriver,
10 quello seguirà, staremo a vedere. Imperatore di turchi ha preso Petro Perinni e mandato a Belgrado, et forsi li perderà la vita, et questo per la inobedienza, che ha usato sempre contra la Maestà Re, dopoi havuta la gratia.¹

Non altro, se non che a Vostra Signoria mi recommando, quale se degni ricommandarme alli piedi del Nostro Signore, et al monsignore reverendissimo Salviatti² et
15 a Pisani³ et Gadi,⁴ et bene valete.

Ex Buda, 14. Augusti 1532.

Ad omnem nutum Vestrae Dominationis paratissimus servitor

Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino Paulo Iovio episcopo Nucerino, domino et amico mihi honorandissimo, Romae

17 Ad omnem... Sirmiensis subscripsit *manu Broderici*

¹ Regarding events referred to in the letter see the previous letter and its notes.

² Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553), Cardinal, nephew of Pope Clement VII.

³ Francesco Pisani (1494–1570), Cardinal.

⁴ Niccolò Gaddi (1499–1552), Cardinal.

István Brodarics to Francesco De' Nobili¹
Buda, 14 August 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. A, fol. 9.²

1. He is pleased to have heard from the Hungarian Miklós that De' Nobili has arrived in Venice. – 2. The Sultan has left Vienna already and intends to give battle to the Emperor. – 3. The Turks have captured Péter Perényi and took him to the castle of Belgrade where his own soldiers guard him. – 4. Gritti, raised Commander in Chief, is preparing to besiege Esztergom.

Messer Francisco Carissimo.

[1.] Pur questi giorni ho inteso la Vostra giunta in Venetia da Nicolo Hungaro, dela qualcosa me ho realegrato assai, perché Ve amo ex corde

[2.] Nove non habiamo per adesso se non queste che intendereti da questo fante
5 Francesco dal Marino el quale è stato cum noi. Lo Imperatore de turchi è passato horamai Vienna, va cercando conflictio. Del Carlo non se intende altro.³

[3.] El Vostro signore Petro Periny è messo in presone dal'Imperatore et è mandato a Belgrado. In li castelli ancora sono li soi.⁴

[4.] El signore Gritti è el tutto. Va adesso con uno belo exercito sotto Strigonio. E' fato
10 novamente dal Serenissimo Re nostro generale capitaneo.⁵

Et bene valete.

7 post Vostro del. Pe

¹ Francesco De' Nobili (Cherea), actor from Lucca. Presumably, he was active in the first half of the 16th century. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. The stage name Cherea alludes to a character in Terence's *Eunuchus*, which was one of his highly successful performances. De' Nobili, besides translating and staging numerous plays by Plautus and Terence, played an important part in shaping Italian-language *commedia dell'arte*. He was among the favourite actors of Pope Leo X. After the latter's death (1521) he returned to Venice, where the privy council employed him as a political agent besides his activities as actor. Marino Sanudo's diaries tell us that Hungarian legates were given accommodation mostly in the house of De' Nobili, and this applies to Brodarics as well, who arrived in Venice in January 1530 (see: Marino SANUDO, *I Diarii*, Venezia, 1890–1898, Tom. LII. 462–463.). Their acquaintance probably dates from here. De' Nobili visited Hungary several times. He was in Buda during the carnival in 1532 and played a great part in producing the satirical play that mocked Lodovico Gritti on which György Szerémi reports. For Szerémi's account, see: SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...* 276–277. On the Gritti-play and the role of De' Nobili in it, see KARDOS Tibor, *A Gritti-játék keletkezése*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1970, 547–559. On De' Nobili's journeys to Hungary, see: SZÉKELY György, *Olasz színész budai útjai 1527–1532*, Filológiai Közlöny, 1964, 387–389.

² Autograph

³ Regarding this see the notes for the letter to French legate Lazare de Baïff.

⁴ Regarding this see the notes for the letter to French legate Lazare de Baïff.

⁵ Szapolyai appointed Gritti as Commander in Chief on around 10 July. See on this the letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 10 July.

Salutate per parte mia madona Pontiana e la filia madona Elena. E a Voi me raccomandando. Racomandati li servicii mei al Serenissimo⁶ et al Signore Lorenzo Gritti.⁷
Budaë, 14. Augusti 1532.

15

Servitor et frater
Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiënsis subscripsit

On the outer side: Nobili domino Francisco Cherea Lucensi de Nobilibus, domino fratri honorandissimo. Venetiis

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István Brodarics to Ottaviano Grimaldi¹
Buda, 14 August 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Türkei I., Kart. 2., Konv 2., fol. 62.

1. The Sultan crossed the Drave around the 20th of last month, and went to Austria with his army to give battle to the enemy. The outcome is still unknown. The cause of all this is the obstinacy of Ferdinand who did not want to accept a fair peace when he had the chance. – 2. The Sultan has captured Péter Perényi and had him taken to Belgrade. He will be decapitated probably. – 3. Gritti is preparing for the siege of Esztergom. The Turks have left Vienna already and are heading for Regensburg. 4000 Germans have been massacred near Vienna. – 4. He says thanks for the wine recipe that Grimaldi sent him; he will visit Grimaldi once and stay there for the rest of his life because there is no hope for the troubles here to end.

Magnifico Signor. *Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.*

[1.] Qua non c'è altro per adesso, se non che lo potentissimo Imperatore deli turchi passata la Drava circa li XX del passato,² andò in Austria con tutta la soa potentia, *animo confligendi cum hoste*. Non sapiamo anchora quel che habbia fatto.
5 A questi termini ha ridotto le cose della christianità la durezza de Re Ferdinando, non voliendo a condescendere alla pace, la quale poteva havere con honestissime conditione.³

⁶ Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice (1523–1538), father of Lodovico Gritti.

⁷ Lorenzo Gritti is the illegitimate child of Doge of Venice Andrea Gritti, brother of Lodovico Gritti.

¹ Ottaviano Grimaldi, merchant from Genoa plying his trade in Venice. Treasurer of the French King in Milan, later legate of France in Venice.

² Suleyman crossed the Drave on 19 July 1532 and headed for West-Hungary. See also the letter to French legate Lazare de Baif.

³ Ferdinand's obstinacy is a recurring element in Brodarics' letters. He mentioned it already in his letter on 9 May 1532 as the main reason for the Sultan's military campaign and voices similar thoughts to French legate Lazare de Baif.

[2.] Petro Perinni, quello che fu a Vinetia,⁴ fu preso dal Imperatore e mandato a Belgrado, et questo per la inobedientia del Re dapo fatta la gratia, e credo che in ogni
10 modo perderà la testa.⁵

[3.] Il signor Gritti va domane a obsidiare el Strigonio. *Dum haec scribo, venerunt litterae*, che l'Imperatore di turci era passato Vienna, va dritto verso Ratisbona.⁶ Non
so che quatro milia todeschi, che erano venuti non lontano da Vienna a incontrarse con
li turci, sono tagliati a peczo. Non altro, se non che alla Signoria Vostra me ricom-
15 mando.

[4.] Questi giorni ho habuto una Vostra, che me fu *plusquam grata*. Et ringratio molto ala Signoria Vostra, che Quela se ha ricordato di fati mei. La ricetta Vostra del vino ordeato, me ha giovato assai e zova. La Maestà del Re et nostro monsignore Colocensis⁷ è tutto dela Signoria Vostra, et così il signor Alovise Gritti, *qui est apud*
20 *nos totum*.

Et com questo per adesso me ricomando in gratia dela Signoria Vostra, insieme com monsignore Colocensi. Et credo, che tandem tandem un giorno vegnirò a visitarVe per esser com Voi per el resto dela mia vita, perché io non credo, né spero fine deli nostri guai. *Et bene valere opto Vestram Dominationem*.

25 Ex Buda, 14. Augusti 1532.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Octaviano Grimaldi praefecto computorum et consiliario Christianissimi Francorum regis, domino et amico honorandissimo. Galliis, in corte del Christianissimo Re de Franza

16 Questi giorni... Sirmiensis subscripsit manu Bro-
derici

⁴ Péter Perényi visited Venice in the Summer of 1531 under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Loreto. He held secret talks with the Signoria. Presumably, his goal was to secure the support of Venice for his own claim for the throne. See SZTÁRAI Mihály, *História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról*, Budapest, 1985, 9–10.

⁵ Perényi was not executed at last. Suleyman handed him over to Szapolyai who set him free. However, he had to send his son to Istanbul as a hostage on Gritti's command.

⁶ Regarding this see the notes for the letter to Lazare de Baif.

⁷ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 24 August 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 36–37.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 285.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 577.

1. Gritti is besieging Esztergom. He made peace with Laski who is going to arrive with his army in a few weeks. – 2. Brodarics is going to be sent to Slavonia to the national assembly there. This is not a task without dangers but he is happy to fulfil it because this way he can meet Nádasdy to whom he has things to say confidentially; requests Nádasdy to attend the diet by all means.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime et Honorandissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Nunc novi nihil habemus aliud, quam quod illustris dominus gubernator oppugnat Strigonium. Dominus Lasky fuit hic et cum domino gubernatore optime concordavit, non aliter, quam prius: veniet intra paucas septimanas huc cum gentibus suis.

[2.] Ego mittor [in] Slavoniam ad dietam proximam.¹ Quae legatio, licet mihi esset molesta ac non s[in]e periculo, eam tamen eo libentius vel m[in]us invitatus suscepi, ut possem [con]stitui et colloqui cum Vestra Dominatione, quod summopere cupio ob multas gravissimas causas, quas a me intelliget cor[a]m Deo volente. Rogo autem
10 ubicunque nunc est, velit ad dietam ipsam venire, poterit ibi multum illi patriae servire (de Slavonia potissimum loquor).² Rogo igitur, oro, obsecro et obtestor, velit illuc venire omnino. Multa a me intelliget scitu necessaria, quae litteris committi non possunt, nec per nuntios ita bene explicari.

Et optime valeat.

15 Dominus noster reverendissimus³ se Vestrae Dominationi commendat et dominus Lasky. Ex Buda, 24. Augusti 1532.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino et uti filio carissimo

⁷ post ut del. esse.

¹⁰ post servire del. quae.

¹² post intelliget del. qu.

¹ We have few data on this assembly in Slavonia in the autumn of 1532. Fraknoi does not even mention it in volume I of MOE. Perhaps it was held in Iváncs. Szabolcs Varga discussed the question recently in his doctoral thesis. [Szlavónia berendezkedése a késő középkor és kora újkor határán (1490–1540) PhD thesis, Pécs, 2008.] – I am indebted to Szabolcs Varga for making the manuscript available to me.

² Brodarics was born in Slavonia so he considered the region home soil. Worry over its fate is discernible in several of his letters.

³ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy and Lajos Pekry¹
Iváncs, 23 September 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185. Brodarics-levelek, fol. 38–39.²

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 285–286.

He has sent a letter to Nádasdy and Pekry according to the wish of the noblemen who have gathered at Simon Erdődy's place but the courier did not find them. He is sending the letter again now and requests them to find a way for the courier to reach Pasha Ibrahim, because this is vital for the country.

[M]agnifici Domini mihi Honorandissimi. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[...] ex voluntate dominorum et regnicolarum, qui proximis [*diebus*] ad reverendissimum dominum meum, dominum Zagrabiensem³ convenerant, [*dedi litteras*]
5 ad Dominationes Vestras, sed nuntius, per quem missae fuerunt, [*non po*]tuit Vestras Dominationes reperire. Nunc eas rursus ad Vestras [*Dominationes*] mitto, et rogo amore Dei, et ob salutem et conservationem [*huius*] miserae patriae communis, ut velint Vestrae Dominationes reperire [*modum*], quo iste nuntius ad illustrissimum Ibraym bassam pervenire [*possit*] cum litteris ad eum missis, quas credo firmiter [*bon*]
10 um profuturas huic misero regno. Et rogo Vestram Dominationem [*Magnific*]e Domine Ludovice, uti dominum et filium carissimum, ut in hoc praesenti negotio eandem operam praestare velit, quam dominus Nadasdinus, vel alius quicumque nostrum praestaret. Prout credo Dominationem Vestram esse cupidissimum salutis patriae.

Et me ac servitia mea Vestris Dominationibus commendo. Quas feliciter valere
15 cupio. Ex curia Iwanch⁴ 23. Septembris 1532.

Vestrarum Dominationum
servitor

Stephanus Brodaryth
Sirmiensi subscripsit

20 Istum fasciculum litterarum, quem mitto ad dominum Ibraym bassam, Dominationes Vestrae ligent simul in uno folio papiri, et superscriptio sit, ut detur ad manus illustrissimi domini Bassae etc.

20 Istum fasciculum ... domini bassae etc. manu Broderici

¹ Lajos Pekry, *servitor* of Ban of Slavonia Ferenc Batthyány, hussar captain of Ferdinand, later Ban of Slavonia. Marries Duchess of Mazowia Sophia, the widow of Palatine Báthori, in February 1532, and thus ascends to Baron status. On his role in Slavonian politics see: VARGA Szabolcs, *Szlavónia berendezkedése a késő középkor és kora újkor határán (1490–1540)* PhD thesis, Pécs, 2008, passim.

² The left side of the paper is severely damaged.

³ Simon Erdődy.

⁴ Iváncs (today: Kloštar Ivanić, Croatia) was the property of Simon Erdődy at this time. It was exactly Lajos Pekry whose soldiers plundered it in 1534. See: MOL, E 185 Erdődy Simon levelei Nádasdy Tamásnak, 1534. március 21.

On the back side: Magnificis dominis meis Thomae Nadasdino et domino Ludovico Pewkry etc. dominis mihi honorandissimis

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István Brodarics to János Szapolyai
Csázma, 1 October 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 40–42.¹

Published: KUIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 286–287.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 578–579.

1. The Sultan crossed the Drave and is heading for Eszék along the river. – 2. The Bosnian Sanjak-Bey, on the other hand, is heading home through Slavonia. There is significant damage done in Slavonia: the Turks have set many places on fire, killed thousands or taken them prisoner. They might still be besieging the castle of Gudóc but they have certainly captured the town. The castle of Péter Pogány has burnt down just as the house where Brodarics was born in Polyána. – 3. Grand Vizier Ibrahim has just arrived with his army of 100,000 to Csázma where he set up his camp; he put guardians all over the place to prevent the soldiers from harming the town but they have burnt down all the neighbouring villages and the peasants' corn. – 4. Brodarics had talks with the Grand Vizier who was about to leave for Belgrade; the latter promised to forbid robbing and arson but nothing will remain intact. – 5. Brodarics makes one more attempt with Slavonian noblemen and then returns to John in Buda as soon as he can.

Sacra Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine mihi Gratosissime, servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] His diebus pluribus litteris unis post alias perscripsi ad Vestram Maiestatem omnia et inter alia de transitu caesareae maiestatis Turcarum, quae transito ponte Dravo
5 supra Markpurgam,² vadit penes Dravum versus Ezeek.³

[2.] Zangiacus autem Boznensis⁴ fecit iter per istas partes non longe a Dombro⁵ et quantum intelligere possumus, vadit per Dobrakotha⁶ ad Posegam, et prope Kobas,⁷ ubi etiam huc veniendo Savum traiecerat, revertitur in Boznam. Hic facta sunt magna
10 aetatis. Castellum Gwdowcz⁸ nescimus si adhuc est expugnatum, oppidum tamen cre-

¹ Autograph.

² I did not manage to identify this place.

³ Eszék (Today: Osijek, Croatia).

⁴ Hüsvrev (1480–1541), Pasha of Bosnia (Brodarics refers to him as Sanjak-Bey mistakenly). He occupied the castle of Zimony and took part in the campaign in 1526. In 1530, he was instructed to support Szapolyai.

⁵ Dombó, Kőrös county (Today: Dubrava, Croatia).

⁶ Dobrakutya, Kőrös county (Today: Dobra Kuća, Croatia).

⁷ Kobas or Gilétkastély, Pozsega county. An important crossing point on the Sava river (today: Kobaš, Croatia).

⁸ Gudóc, Kőrös county (today: Gudovci, Croatia).

dimus venisse in potestatem Turcorum cum multis hominum milibus, qui illuc confugerant. Castellum etiam cognati mei, Petri Pogan⁹ est crematum, ubi etiam dicuntur perisse ad III milia hominum. De Polyana¹⁰ mea nihil dico, ubi domum paternam, nunc vero fraternam exustam esse. Magis gratulari debeo, quam dolere: indigebat enim
15 reparatione.

[3.] Eo temporis momento, quo haec scribebam, supervenit huc cum zangiacis praefatis et cum maximo exercitu ad centum milia hominum, si non amplius, illustrissimus dominus Bassa et consedit in nostro conspectu ad iactum balistae a castro hoc Chas-
20 mensi,¹¹ positus statim custodibus, ne quid damni civitati inferretur. Villae tamen omnes circumcirca sunt crematae et victualia rusticorum.

[4.] Fui postea cum sua illustrissima dominatione,¹² qui me ob honorem Vestrae Maiestatis benivole et honorifice excepit, multa mecum locutus, quae longum esset litteris comprehendere. Vadit hinc recta ad Belgradum. Ipse quidem prohibet fieri damna et incendia, sed nihil remanet intactum.

25 [5.] Ego tentabo adhuc, si quid cum istis fieri poterit; redibo ad Vestram Maiestatem, quamvis reditus erit non sine magno periculo. Et Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem. Ex Chasma I. Octobris 1532.

Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

servulus

Sirmiensis subscripsit

30 *On the back side:* Magnifico domino uti filio carissimo domino Thomae Nadasdy consiliario regio etc.

⁹ The wife of Brodarics' brother Mátyás was Sára csebi Pogány. The castle referred to in the letter might be the *castellum* of Herbortya in Körös county, which was owned by the Pogány family. It was located near the villages that were burnt down.

¹⁰ Perhaps in Körös county.

¹¹ Csázma (today: Čazma, Croatia). An important chapter centre. The court of Bishop of Zagreb Simon Erdődy operated here after they were driven out from Zagreb. (Today: Čazma, Croatia).

¹² That is, with Grand Vizier Ibrahim.

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 3 October 1532

Manuscript used: BN T. 14. Nr. 1688.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XIV. 700–701.

1. Tomicki regrets that Hungary is in such a miserable state and understands if Brodarics got tired of the blows; he is heartening Brodarics that God will surely take pity on his country and things will turn for the better; he is trying to make Sigismund mediate for peace between the two kings and he himself does his utmost. – 2. Brodarics has sent 75 forints to him in gold coins with due interest; he never intended to ask for returning it because he is not in need and would have preferred Brodarics to spend it on his own needs. – 3. He alludes to the fact that Brodarics knows exactly the task of the legate of Sigismund [Piotr Opaliński].

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime ac Honorande.

[1.] Doleo ex animo statum regni istius in magna perturbatione esse constitutum, non dubitoque Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam tantarum calamitatum iam esse pertaesam. Sed cum haec omnia, nonnisi nutu et permissione divina aguntur,
5 Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima ferat illa forti ac infracto animo, spemque bonam concipiat dominum Deum misertum tandem patriae istius daturum esse tandem feliciora et magis propicia tempora. Ego, quantum ex me fieri potest, non desisto pulsare maiestatem hanc domini mei continuis precibus, ut persuasionem tentatae concordiae inter serenissimum dominum regem vestrum et eius adversarium non intermittat, sed
10 et quidquid gratiae et favoris conciliare possum Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae et aliis dominis consiliariis istius maiestatis apud ipsum serenissimum dominum regem meum, id perquam libenter et alacri animo semper praestare pro mea virili studeo.

[2.] Ceterum dati sunt mihi septuaginta quinque floreni in auro a Dominatione Vestra
15 Reverendissima missi et cum eis frustum auri,² quos ego nunquam ab illa repetissem,

1 honorande: honoandissime BCzart 271

4 permissione: promissione BK 217

4 aguntur: fiant BJ 6552

8 tentatae: tentandae BK 217

10 quidquid: quicquid BJ 6552

11 et aliis dominis consiliariis istius maiestatis om. BJ 6552

13 studeo: studebo BJ 6552

15 nunquam correxi ex: unquam; nunquam BK 217, BJ 6552, BCzart 271, BCzart TN 48.

¹ The text in Acta Tomiciana published in 1952 was prepared using the original draft which is not to be found anymore. Document No. 1688 is missing from among microfilms of volume 14 of Teki Górskiego. I could not find it among original documents kept in Pałac Krasińskich in Warsaw. Thus, I based the here published text on the printed text based on the best manuscript. In this case I could not check the original manuscript, so I have marked all differences in later copies. Further manuscripts: BCzart 271 fol. 173r–v; BJ 6552 fol. 1080–1081; BK 217 fol. 165r–v; BCzart TN 48. fol. 173–174

² Tomicki sent 71 Hungarian gold coins to Brodarics in the autumn of 1528 (see Tomicki's letter in early November 1528). Perhaps Brodarics paid back this debt.

potiusque vidissem, ut illos Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima in usus suos necessarios collocasset. Ego enim, gratia sit Deo, non egeo.

[3.] In quibus negotiis proficiscatur is orator³ serenissimi domini regis mei, non erit incognitum Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae. Cuius solito amori ac benevolentiae
20 me ex animo commendo, valereque illam in multos annos sospitem ac felicem vehementer desidero. Cracoviae die tertia Octobris 1532.

173

István Brodarics to Simon Erdődy¹
Pécs, 16 October 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 204, bundle 7

Published: Iosephus KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis*. Tomus V., Pesthini, 1801, 226.

1. He has no further news; if he has some he will inform Erdődy. He is ready not to support either party for the sake of the country; if only things would return to normalcy at last – 2. There are hard frosts which do not help landsknecht forces. 60,000 Turkish troops are said to spend the winter near Eszék in order to be able to help King John any time. Also, there are Turkish sloopers in Buda.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Ago gratias Vestrae Dominationi, quod mihi litteras remisit, quae hic Quinqueecclesiis sunt mihi redditae. Nova autem nulla nunc habeo. Quidquid erit, mox
5 Vestram Dominationem certiore faciam. Quod autem ad negotium regni istius attinet, sciat Vestra Dominatio me ita firmiter in hoc uno perseveraturum, ut nec in unam, nec in alteram partem favebitur, sed recte omnia procedant. Et Vestra Dominatio felicissime valeat, cui servitia mea commendo. Ex loco praedicto 16. Octobris 1532.

10 [2.] Nova nulla hic reperi, nisi, quod habemus frigora, et timemus nives, quae possent Lanczknetis multum obesse. Turcorum multa milia ad LXta dicunt hibernatura

16 illos correxī ex: illis; illis BCzart 271, BK 217; illos BJ 6552

18 post orator suprascr. Petrus Opaleniczky BJ6552

19 Reverendissimae: Serenissimi BCzart 271

19 ac: et BCzart 271

21 Cracoviae...1532: Datum Cracoviae die tertia Octobris MDXXXII. BJ 6552; Cracoviae 3. Octobris 1532. BCzart 271; Datum Cracoviae III. Octobris 1532. BK 217

6 post attinet del. ego

10 Nova nulla ... Sirmiēsis subscripsit manu Broderici

³ Piotr Opałński received the instructions for legation on 1 October 1532. He was supposed to visit Szapolyai's court on his way to Constantinople and report to him about the purpose of his mission to Turkey. See AT XIV. 686–688.

¹ Bishop of Zagreb Simon Erdődy was a leading figure of the Szapolyai party before he joined Ferdinand in August 1534.

prope Ezeek, ut si opus sit, possint esse auxilio regiae maiestati.² Nec de rege, nec de Gritti quicquam intellegere possum. Adhuc navales copias Turcicas Budae esse intellico. Si Vestra Dominatio aliquid habuerit, rogo, velit me facere certiore.

15 Servitor

Sirmiensi subscipit

174

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Pécs, 20 October 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 43–45.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat, 1908*, 287–289.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 579–580.

1. He thanks the information on the Germans. He has news neither on the Turks nor on the Germans in Pécs, not even from Buda or from King John. Only János Dombay wrote that Łaski has arrived in Buda with his army. – 2. He does all he can to obtain money; one can get nothing for the saffron that was sent as the soldiers' pay. – 3. The Queen is willing to hand over the castle and the bishopric on two conditions only, but both contradict the instruction Brodarics was given. The country can survive only under King John's rule. – 4. He tried to reach a deal with Kápolnay. – 5. He is sorry for his miserable country; if things keep going the way they are going now, it will belong to the Turks before it could belong to the Germans. The Turks would never allow the latter.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi litteras² Vestrae Dominationis et nova Alemanica, quae ad me perscripsit, pro quibus gratias ago Vestrae Dominationi et rogo, si quid imposterum habuerit, quod certum esse ducat, me omnino certiore facere velit litteris saltem per unum rusticum
5 huc missis.

Nos hic nihil certi intelligimus neque de Turcis, neque de Alemanis, de quo satis miror, sed neque de rege et dominis, nisi quod dominus Iohannes Dombay³ scribit mihi dominum Łasky Budam venisse cum omnibus suis gentibus.

[2.] De pecuniis statim, ut huc veni, maximam diligentiam habui, sed de pretio croci
10 nihil haberi potest. Crocus enim ille missus est domino despoto in sortem stipendii.⁴

2 post perscripsit del. Nos hic

4 post velit del. saltem

² Indeed, major Turkish force remained in Eszék, partly as a result of Gritti's intervention. See: BARTA Gábor, *Ludovicus Gritti kormányzósága (1531–1534)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1971, 307.

¹ Autograph.

² Nádasdy's letter is unknown.

³ János Dombay, Comes of Tolna county, an adherent of King John.

⁴ The saffron sent as the soldiers' pay perhaps came from Gritti. There are several pieces of data from 1532–33 that show that Gritti had an enormous amount of saffron that he tried to make money from in any way he could. See: BARTA Gábor, *Ludovicus Gritti kormányzósága (1531–1534)*, Történelmi Szemle, 1971, 308.

Curabo tamen undecunque potero ordinare florenos ducentos cum illis, quae hic expendentur pro Vestra Dominatione, vel etiam sine illis et hoc in illa moneta, de qua scribitis. Mira est inopia omnium vel timor potius ac trepidatio, ob quam, quisque quid pecuniae habet, in usus suos conservat. Si ego hinc discederem, pecuniae erunt apud Kys Ylies.

15 Tuae Dominationis consilium laudo et maxime laudo de rege omnino adiuvando. Amicus in necessitate probatur. Et hortor, ut de hac sententia ac voluntate nullius te consilia abducant.

[3.] Ego hinc ita cito discedere non possum, ob multas causas praemisi. Conte Istwan episcopatum sive arcem *la madama regente non vol dare, se non cum doe condizione una che lei habia un homo suo apresso quel del Re; l'altro che messer Bernardo nostro sia governatore.*⁵ Quae, cum sit contraria meae instructioni, praesertim primum: renuntiavi iam huic curae ac molestiae et per hoc videor mihi magna molestia levatus ac redactus ad pristinam libertatem nihil habentium et omnia possidentium. *Io vedere se porro penetrare in Buda o la dove che sara el Re. Sin minus me besognera restare qua per qualche tempo etc.* Nulla est alia spes nostrae salutis. *Tuto 'l resto sono e zanche* et manifesta regni ruina. Neque credo ullo modo, quod possimus permanere, nisi sub umbra Ioannis *a quel modo come Ve ho ditto questi nostri amici et vicini* nunquam cessabunt, quousque non eiiciant Germanos ex regno, etiam si Germani pellerent ex toto regno Ioannem.

30 [4.] Pernezythium⁶ nostrum misi ad dominum Kapolnay⁷ petitem, ut mecum conveniat, si ad hoc induci poterit vel saltem, ut me conducat. Si habuero bonam comitivam, tentabo penetrare, sed cum paucis non audeo me itineri comittere: omnia ubique sunt plena adversariis.

Orsicam⁸ nostram salvam esse iubeo et dominum Dionisium⁹ et dominum Maylath¹⁰ nostrum, et me Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felix valeat. Ex Quinqueecclesiis 20. Octobris, die meo natali 1532.

[5.] Misereor miseram patriam, quae rursus post tantam a Turcis calamitatem diripitur a crudeliori [!] milite, quam sit Turcus. Si quid, est quod Vestra Dominatio facere possit, non relinquat.

40 Certum est, quod Ioanne vivo, nunquam possidebunt Germani Hungariam. Quid diabolus prodest illis tam nostra, quam ipsorum ruina. Regnum prius erit Turcorum – quod Deus avertat – quam Germanorum. Et hic in illum finem etc.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscrispsit

14 post pecuniae del. Tuae Do

18 post multas del. praesertim

24 post minus del. restar

37 post post del. Turcorum

⁵ Probably Bernát Baksay, who was the administrator of the bishop's possessions already in the time of János Szerecsen. See: VARGA Szabolcs, *Írem kertje. Pécs története a hódoltság korában (1526–1686)*, Pécs, 2009, 23.

⁶ György Perneszyth.

⁷ Ferenc Kapolnay.

⁸ Orsolya Kanizsay, the wife of Nádasdy.

⁹ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa.

¹⁰ István Maylád, brother-in-law of Nádasdy.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Pécs, 26 October 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 46–48.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 289–290.

1. He regrets that he did not make an agreement in Nádasdy's presence on possessions that obviously belong to the bishopric of Pécs rather than to Szászvár. He requests Nádasdy to use his influence in order to make Ferenc Kápolnay return what he has unlawfully. – 2. He is asking for the town of Tihany to have it as a basis for exchange; he will give it to Kápolnay as soon as the latter returns estates of the bishopric of Pécs; Kápolnay cannot hold on to those for long anyway.

Domine Magnifice. Salutem et servitia mea.

[1.] Ego doleo et multum doleo, quod coram Vestra Dominatione non conclusi aliquid de illis bonis, quae pertinent pure ad episcopatum et hoc castrum Quinqueecclesiense et non ad castrum Zaz,¹ prout etiam ibi dixi, et nominavi illas pertinentias, quae sunt pertinentiae Zekel² et Noztan et aliquae aliae, item decimae Koppan kes Pakos kes,³ quas dominus Franciscus⁴ tenet, rogo Vestram Dominationem, velit pro hoc adhuc interponere partes suas cum domino Francisco, sit contentus ista restituere; de aliis, quae pure pertinent ad castrum Zaaz, fiet illud, quod dictum est. Alioquin ego non video, quid ipse faciat pro amicitia mea, vel Vestrae Dominationis. Rogo Vestram Dominationem pro hoc faciat diligentiam omnem, quod si iam discessisset, saltem per nuntium et litteras.

[2.] Litteras vero illas ad castellanos illos Thikonienses⁵ ad manus Vestrae Dominationis mitto. Sed opto, ut iuxta continentiam litterarum illud castrum detur ad manus meas. Et ego illud promitto dare vel dari facere ad manus domini Francisci. Ita quod remittat saltem illa bona, de quibus supra scripsi, quae pertinent pure ad castrum Quinqueecclesiense. Et in hoc Dominatio Vestra sit cauta, quia quid mihi prodesset ordinare ei Thikonium, si ego pro Thikonio ab eo non haberem ista bona et istas decimas pertinentes ad castrum Quinqueecclesiense. Committo hanc rem industriae Vestrae

10 post omnem del. litteras

10 post saltem del. cum

16 post Quinqueecclesiense del. Alioquin

17 post si del. prius

¹ Szászvár, Baranya county.

² Püspökszekely, Tolna county, a place of fairs, belonged to the estate of the bishopric of Pécs. See: CSÁNKI Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza III.*, Budapest, 1897, 450.

³ Noztan, Koppankes, and Pakoskes are probably vassal villages of Pécs, too, but it was not possible to identify them accurately.

⁴ Ferenc Kápolnay.

⁵ Tihany.

Dominationis, quae litteras istas det ei sub tali conditione et non aliter. At de hoc velit,
20 si videbitur, accipere ab eo litteras *per che le melio giocare sicuro*. Roget [!] etiam
ipsum serie, ut sit mihi verus amicus et cogitet de futuro. Certum est, quod illud cas-
trum et illa bona non relinquentur diu in manu eius, quia iste episcopatus cuiuscunque
erit, unietur et brevi, nisi omnes ruamus, quod Deus avertat. Bonum etiam esset, et
credo, necessarium, quod ego nuntiarem prius aliquid illi monacho captivo, et ille
25 nuntiaret illis castellanis. Alioquin *gazda nekwl vetewnkw zamoth*.

Et Vestram Dominationem felicissime valere opto unacum domino Maylatho.⁶ Ex
Quinqueecclesiis 26. Octobris 1532.

Rogo Dominationem Vestram, ut de hoc negotio faciat mihi responsum per hunc, qui
comitatus est Chany.⁷

Servitor

Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio etc. domino
uti filio carissimo

176

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
[Sine loco], [autumn of 1532]¹

Manuscript used: MOL. E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 103–104.²

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 339–340.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*,

Budapest, 1971, 592–593.

*Brodarics explains to Nádasdy that a good citizen should accept anything for his country, even an alliance
with the Turks, because it is never shameful to act for one's homeland.*

[...] De tota re aliud sentire neque nunc possum, quam quod antea, quam animi mei
sententiam saepe audisti. Et si vidisti me saepe tibi non solum consultarem, sed vatem

19 *post* velit *del.* habere *suprascr.* si videbitur

28 Rogo Dominationem ... Sirmiensiis subscripsit *alia manu*

2 *post* solum *del.* vera *suprascr.* consultarem

⁶ István Maylád, brother-in-law of Nádasdy.

⁷ István Csány was a *familiaris* of Nádasdy.

¹ The letter has survived in an incomplete state, so dating is doubtful. Moreover, Brodarics hardly says anything that would help determining its place or date of origin. Kujáni, who first published the letter, believed the year 1533 written on the original kept in the MOL later. This cannot be excluded but the main topic of the letter, political defence of the Turkish party, would fit in the year 1532 more. At that time the Turkish campaign that devastated the Transdanubia region of the country might have produced serious aversion to Szapolyai's Turkish-oriented politics.

² Autograph

etiam in magnis rebus fuisse, consentaneum fortasse foret, ut mihi et nunc aliquid
 5 crederes. Hoc certe probare non possum, quod unusquisque rem suam privatam curat
 rege et patria sola in medio relictā. Mihi longe aliter videtur cum principe et cum
 patria: bono civi omnia esse toleranda et non a procul spectanda, qualiacunque ea sint
 et quantumcunque toleratu difficilia. Nam virtus circa difficilia versatur. Noli mihi
 gratulari, quod his diebus abfuerim a Buda, dum nescio quid, ut tu scribis, quod tamen
 ego nescio, et a te solo intelligo, periculi immineret, quia ego et nunc rursus in illud
 10 incendium ibo, tunc potissimum regi et patriae serviturus, quando in maiori [!] periculo eam esse videro. Ita enim teneor facere, et credo, quod etiam alii tenentur, si non magis, nec apud me valent istae excusationes, quas multi afferunt: nolo inter Turcas versari. Immo postquam Deus ob scelera nostra et patrum nostrorum ita voluit, ut patria obnoxia sit Turcis, omnia nobis sunt cum patria et pro patria toleranda; omnia,
 15 omnia, nulla penitus re excepta; et nihil in hoc genere videri poterit tam indecorum et tam turpe, quod non sit decentissimum et honestissimum futurum, si pro patria et cum patria, et si pro principe et cum principe fiat. A qua sententia ego nunquam sum vivus recessurus. Neque me Turcae a patriae cura et principis obsequio repellere poterunt, neque ulla res amovebit, nisi vel adversa valitudo, vel mors, vel egestas talis, quam
 20 tolerare non possim. Parcat mihi Dominatio Vestra si ita libere apud eam sententiam animi mei explico et omnia accipere velit in bonum finem, sicut ex optimo animo proficiscuntur.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

25 Adiuro Vestram Dominationem per Deum vivum, per Deum Sanctum, dignetur videre, legere, perlegere et diligenter considerare ea, quae scribantur apud Ieremiam prophetam c. XXVII.³ et observet nunc saltem ad tempus ea, quae ibi scripta sunt. Dominus Lobowzky⁴ salutatur Vestram Dominationem et ei servitia sua commendat.

4 *post unusquisque del. [unus versus illegibilis]*
 5 *post relictā del. mea*
 10 *post in del. periculo*
 11 *post periculo del. est*
 11 *post teneor del. si ve*
 14 *post patria del. plena suprascr. obnoxia*

14 *post omnia del. tam mihi suprascr. nobis*
 15 *post genere del. erit tam, videtur*
 18 *post patriae del. cura*
 20 *post libere del. ad in marg. apud*
 27 *post nunc del. ad*

³ In chapter 27 of the Book of Jeremiah the Lord admonishes the people of Israel to serve King of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar because those who serve him will survive. Nebuchadnezzar is obviously a metaphor for Suleyman. „And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him. And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come: and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him. And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the LORD, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand. [...] But the nations that bring their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him, those will I let remain still in their own land, saith the LORD; and they shall till it, and dwell therein.” (Jeremiah 27:6-11).

⁴ Matthias Loboczky was one of the secretaries of Szapolyai.

Letter of Instruction from Szapolyai János to Ferenc Frangepán,
István Brodarics, István Werbőczy, Tamás Nádasdy, and Gergely Pesthény
Lippa, 9 November 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. A, fol. 118.

János Szapolyai authorises Ferenc Frangepán, István Brodarics, Gergely Pesthény, Tamás Nádasdy and István Werbőczy to negotiate with Hans Katzianer about peace between John and Ferdinand.

Nos Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, etc. Memoriae commendamus per praesentes. Quod nos de fide et fidelitate ac animi dexteritate et prudentia rerumque gerendarum sufficienti peritia fidelium nostrorum reverendissimi in Christo patris, domini Francisci de Frangepanibus Colocensis ac Bachiensis ecclesiarum canonice unitarum archiepiscopi, ac reverendi domini Stephani Bruderici [!] episcopi Sirmiensis, nec non spectabilis et magnifici Stephani de Werbewcz summi et secretarii cancellarii nostri, ac comitis Gregorii Pesthienny de Marthonos iudicis curiae nostrae, et Thomae Nádasdy consiliariorum nostrorum ad plenum confisi, eisdem hoc plenum mandatum nostrum plenamque et omnimodam facultatem in eo dedimus et
10 concessimus, damusque et concedimus praesentium per vigorem, ut ipsi coniunctim aut divisim duo ex ipsis, iuxta instructionem et informationem nostram eisdem superinde datam cum magnifico Ioanne Cazianer equite aurato ac serenissimi principis domini Ferdinandi Romanorum ac Bohemiae regis etc. consiliario, capitaneo generali provinciarum inferioris Austriae, capitaneoque provinciali in Carniola in facto perpetuae pacis inter suos et ipsum Romanorum ac Bohemiae regem ineundae agere, loqui,
15 tractare et promittere,¹ aliaque omnia et singula, quae ad hoc pertinere videbuntur, perinde ac si personaliter interessemus, mandatumque nostrum magis speciale quam praesentibus est expressum exigere facere concludereque valeant atque possint, promittentes nos in verbo regio nostro, ut quicquid per praefatos commissarios nostros
20 coniunctim, ut praefertur, aut per duos ex ipsis divisim cum memorato Ioanne Cazianer equite aurato etc. nomine nostro modo praemisso actum, tractatum, ordinatum et conclusum promissumque fuerit, ratum habebimus ac firmiter inviolabiliterque observabimus et litteris etiam nostris ratificabimus sine omni dolo et fraude harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio medianti.

25 Datum in civitate nostra, Lippa nono die mensis Novembris Anno MDXXXII. Regnorum vero nostrorum anno septimo.

Ioannes rex
manu propria

¹ The peace talks took place in December 1532 in Megyer in the Csallóköz region. See the next three letters.

István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to Hans Katzianer
Buda, 10 December 1532

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. B, fol. 9–10.¹

They let Katzianer know that they cannot both attend the planned meeting. Frangepán is going there without Brodarics but takes Werbőczy and Nádasdy with him. They ask Katzianer to obtain safe conduct for them.

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorande. Salutem et nostri commendationem.

[1.] Litteras² Vestrae Dominationis Magnificae accepimus, multumque gavisi sumus, dum Vestrae Magnificentiae bonum animum in rem non solum universae Christianitatis verum et huius afflicti regni intelleximus, et licet nobis ob multas et varias causas sit grave tam remote hinc discedere ad conveniendam Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, tamen ne in hoc etiam videamur deesse regno et Christianae Reipublicae, faciemus id non gravate, et quamvis maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus tum propter adventum domini gubernatoris tum ob alias causas arduas miserit ad nos litteras, ut ambo sine mora ad suam maiestatem proficisceremur,³ nos tamen, ne hoc tam pium et salutare opus in longum differetur, sic inter nos partiti sumus rem, ut alter nostrum, ego videlicet Sirmiensi irem ad regiam maiestatem, alter autem ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, et haec est causa, cur uterque nostrum non poterit huic conventui interesse. Ducam tamen ego frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus mecum spectabilem et magnificum dominum Stephanum de Werbewecz, summum et secretarium cancellarium maiestatis regiae et magnificum dominum Thomam de Nadasd ad vigesimam diem praesentis mensis ad villam Meghyer⁴ et hoc ideo tam tarde, quia Vestra Magnificencia rogavit nos, ut quattuor vel quinque diebus ante sciret adventum nostrum. Quia tamen sunt in via arces et Valentini Therek et Bakyth et Ladislai More,⁵ rogamus Dominationem Vestram, admoneat eos et provideat, ut salvi simus in eundo et redeundo, et per praesentem nuntium mittat nobis salvum conductum. Nos viceversa in eadem forma mittemus Vestrae Magnificentiae et collegis. Multum autem ego, qui Deo iuvante interero, gaudeo, ex quo audiavi futurum in hoc conventu dominum et amicum meum specialem, dominum Sigismundum Herberstein,⁶ qui bonis avibus, ut

¹ The handwriting is undoubtedly Frangepán's, Brodarics only signed it.

² Katzianer's letter has not survived.

³ King John was staying first in Lippa then in Temesvár in the eastern part of the country in the autumn. See: SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról...* 274.

⁴ The talks held in Megyer in the Csallóköz region had brought results: representatives of the two kings agreed on an armistice for 4 months on 30 December 1532. This made continuation of the talks possible. For the text of the agreement on armistice see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. B, fol. 58–60.

⁵ Bálint Török, Pál Bakics, and László Móré, aristocrats in the Habsburg party at the time.

⁶ Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein.

25 veniat, Deum oro. Interim autem Dominationem Vestram optime valere cupimus. Cui nos commendamus.

Budae, 10. Decembris 1532.

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus subscripsit
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Ioanni Koczianer, equiti aureato, serenissimi domini Romanorum regis capitaneo generali etc., domino et amico honorandissimo.

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 21 December 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 49–50.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 290–291.

1. He hopes that the talks held in Megyer in the company of Frangepán and Werbőczy will be fruitful.
– 2. Gritti wonders why Nádasdy is reluctant to hand over the castle of Huszt to Puthnoky when he has agreed to do it before. – 3. He and Łaski have arrived in Buda today; Gritti has arrived, too, as well as Camillo Ursino with Hercule Missolo.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitia.

[1.] Opto omnia evenire feliciter, quae agitis unacum reverendissimo domino nostro et domino cancellario, quibus, rogo, ut servitia mea commendet.²

[2.] De castro Hwzth scripsi mirari dominum gubernatorem, quod antea fuit parata
5 Vestra Dominatio dare illud castrum ad manus domini Pwthnoky ad commissionem ipsius, nunc, quod recusat dare simpliciter ad manus suas, de hoc miratur et dolet.³
Dominatio Vestra scit sententiam meam super hoc et domini reverendissimi, quando novissime eramus in domo domini Pesthiény⁴ et nec nunc scio aliud dicere.

[3.] Nova non sunt ulla alia. Hodie venimus huc Budam cum domino vaywoda.⁵
10 Venit etiam dominus gubernator et dominus Camillus Ursinus⁶ non sine Hercule Mis-

¹ Autograph.

² Nádasdy had been attending the armistice talks in Megyer with Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán and Chancellor István Werbőczy István since 20 December. See the previous letter.

³ Control over the salt chamber of Máramaros also made the castle and estate of Huszt important. It belonged to Nádasdy, who has been acting as deputy of Gritti in Hungary since 1530. However, their relationship deteriorated by 1532 and Gritti tried to push Nádasdy into the background and transfer the positions given to him to his own adherents. That is why he laid claim to Huszt but Nádasdy did not give up the important castle and estate.

⁴ *Iudex Curiae* Gergely Pesthiény.

⁵ Voivod of Transylvania Hieronym Łaski.

⁶ Camillo Orsini (1492–1559), mercenary commander from Venice entered the service of Szapolyai in early 1531. See the letter from Brodarics to Orsini on 24 January 1531.

solo⁷ mato[?] scripturo ad te, ut dicit, pulcherrimas litteras, sed vide, ne mentiatur iuxta solitum. Tu, credo, quod istinc ibis ad tuam Ursulinam,⁸ cui me commendabis et vestrum utriusque patri, domino Dionisio,⁹ quem hortate, ne meas iustas preces contemnāt. Tu scis, me iustum petere. Mirarer ego, si fallerer expectatione et iustissima spe mea. Tu
15 scis, quia iustum petivi et valde honestum. Rogo ne spernatis preces meas. Et bene valeate ambo, immo omnes.

Ex Buda, 21. Decembris 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

20 Doleo, quod dominus noster reverendissimus adeo contempserit preces meas de fratre Donato hic relinquendo, cuius opera multum indigebam.

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino thesaurario regio, domino etc.

180

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 26 December 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelck, fol. 51–52.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 291–292.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 581–582.

1. They are all wondering why there are no news coming from Nádasdy about how the talks progress. – 2. King John is going to arrive in Buda after the holidays. – 3. Requests Nádasdy to use his influence for Bálint Török and Pál Bakics to stop plundering possessions of the bishopric of Pécs. In order to achieve this, he should use the authority of Katizaner and János Szalay, too. – 4. Everybody will be better off if everything in Pécs remains the way it was at the time of János Szerecsen; it is easier to get back the bishopric from Brodarics than from somebody else, if King John deems it necessary. In this, Nádasdy can rely on Elek Thurzó and Tamás Szalaházy, too. Requests Nádasdy to bring up the matter with Frangepán and Werbőczy too.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Miramur omnes, quod nihil de vobis et de actionibus vestris intelligere pos-

⁷ Nothing more is known about Hercule Missolo. Some of his letters have survived in the Nádasdy Collection in which he asked for patronage imprisoned in Kassa in 1536. See: MOL, E 185, Hercules-levelck, fol. 2–9. Hercules Missolus, adventurer of Dalmatian origin (see: John V. A. FINE, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2006, 248.) whose service in England in 1529 has been substantiated. See: J. S. BREWER, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*. IV/2–3, London, 1872–1876, Nr. 5325., Nr. 5359.

⁸ Orsolya Kanizsay was the wife of Tamás Nádasdy.

⁹ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa. Brodarics keeps mentioning him in his letters to Nádasdy.

sumus a tanto tempore.¹ Nos novi nihil hic habemus, nisi Turcas in copia, qui cum
5 domino gubernatore venerunt, tam in Pesth, quam Budae.

[2.] Regia maiestas promisit venire statim post festa. [-----]² Rogo, ut me de omni-
bus statim facias certiores, et hac potissimum de causa hunc servitorem ad te misi.

[3.] Praeterea agas tum cum domino Bakyth,³ quam cum domino Valentino, vel ipse
vel per nuntium, ut committant hominibus eorum hic de Zygeth, ille de Mare,⁴ ne me
10 impediatur in bonis tempore meo occupatis in episcopatu Quinqueecclesiensi. Quid
prodest illos miseros colonos illo modo turbari, vexari, spoliari tam per nostros quam
per eorum homines, et illum miserum episcopatum hoc pacto lacerari. Rogo, ut hoc
omnino efficias, etiamsi esset adhibenda auctoritas et preces domini Koczyaner⁵ et
domini Ioannis Zalay.⁶

15 [4.] Maneat res in illo statu, in quo erat tempore domini Ioanni Zerechiny,⁷ vide-
bimus, quid postea fiet de episcopatu, cui ego non immorior. Et facilius possunt eum
recuperare ex manibus meis, quam cuiuscunque alterius, dummodo id fiat de voluntate
domini nostri.⁸ Tu me nosti, quam ego sim talium rerum ambitor praesertim eorum,
quorum domini priores ac possessores sint superstites.⁹ Si videtur, et si opus est, adhi-
20 beas ad hoc etiam dominum Thurzonem et dominum Vesprimiensem,¹⁰ quos, etsi alias
partes sequuntur, non puto mihi esse infensos. Omnes vos, credo, hoc parum pro me
efficere potestis. Miseret me Deus, scit illorum miserorum, qui assidue vexantur. Non
enim deesset mihi modus etiam ex praeda hostili tenendi ibi tantas copias, quae facile
possent illas villulas tutari. Hoc tibi peculiariter commendo, et si tibi videbitur, etiam
25 domino nostro reverendissimo Colociensi. Non enim audeo suam dominationem

¹ Reference to the armistice talks that started on 20 December in Megyer.

² Brodarics wrote one line in the original in code, but this text is too short to decipher without the key.

³ Pál Bakics (Bakyth) (Pavle Bakić) (?–1537), soldier of Serbian origin. He was in Turkish service until 1525 then he relocated to Hungary, where he was a hussar captain first of Louis II in 1525–26, then of Szapolyai in 1526–27. Finally, he joined Ferdinand in 1527. Commander of the sloopers in 1528–30, captain of the Hungarian light cavalry from 1530, at the same time Constable of Győr. Most important defender of Habsburg interests in Transdanubia.

⁴ Szigetvár, in the territory of the bishopric of Pécs, belonged to Bálint Török, while Márévár in the Mecsek hills belonged to Pál Bakics. Both supported the Habsburgs at the time.

⁵ Hans Katzianer, Commander in Chief of Ferdinand in Hungary. He was the leader of the delegation on the Habsburg side.

⁶ János Szalay, Comes of Pozsony.

⁷ János Szerecsen held the bishopric of Pécs until his death in 1532, instructed by Szapolyai.

⁸ Szapolyai appointed György Sulyok, a relative of Bálint Török, as Bishop of Pécs in 1526. After Sulyok's disloyalty, he entrusted the diocese to his old follower János Szerecsen. Brodarics became bishop after Szerecsen's death. As such, he never received papal confirmation.

⁹ György Sulyok, who had earned the position earlier, was not only still alive at this time but apparently Szapolyai had not dismissed him officially. At least, Sulyok used the 'Bishop' title until his death. Since he was a close relative of Bálint Török, Szapolyai probably refrained from removing him officially.

¹⁰ Elek Thurzó and Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy, who held the position of regent together, were key figures in the Habsburg administration in Hungary. See: ERDÉLYI Gabriella, *Vita a helytartóságról. Néhány szempont I. Ferdinánd és a magyar politikai elit kapcsolatának vizsgálatához*, Századok, 2000, 341–371.

reverendissimam et dominum meum, dominum cancellarium¹¹ talibus precibus pulsare, praesertim ignarus, quo in statu sint negotia ista et quid deceat, quid non.

Cupio servitia mea ambobus dominis unice commendari, et Vestras Dominationes omnes optime valere.

30 Ex Buda, in festo Sancti Stephani protomartyris 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdi, consiliario regio, domino uti filio carissimo

181

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 27 December 1532

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 53–54.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 292–293.

1. He has spoken about Huszt with Gritti, who says that earlier Nádasdy did not raise such obstacle as he does now. Brodarics feels Nádasdy should be grateful to those to whom he owes his life and position, so he should simply hand over Huszt to Gritti. – 2. He asks Nádasdy to settle his matter, too, with Bakics and Bálint Török. – 3. Peace talks between Suleyman and Charles would be meaningful only if John and Ferdinand reached a deal first. – 4. Perényi is held prisoner in the house of Gergely Pesthény. His case will be decided after the King's arrival. – 5. Łaski has travelled to Ferdinand in connection to the issue of King John.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitia.

[1.] Post scriptas alias litteras supervenerunt heri vesperi litterae² Vestrae Dominationis, cum illis domini reverendissimi et domini cancellarii,³ in quibus scribit ad me de castro Hwzth, de qua re locutus sum domino gubernatori. Ipse adhuc dicit Dominationem Vestram tunc, quando ipse ibat Constantinopolim, non fecisse tales difficultates, et multa alia, quae longum esset describere. Nec ego volo esse iudex in ista re inter vos et ipsum, hoc unum suadeo, quod suasi semper, ut nullam rem maioris habeat, quam honorem, ut his, per quos vitam habet et tam altas ac sublimes pro sua conditione et honoratas promotiones, gratum se exhibeat.⁴ Quod ad castrum Hwzth

3 post me del. littere

¹¹ On Szapolyai's side, Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán and Chancellor István Werbőczy accompanied Nádasdy in the talks in Megyer.

¹ Autograph.

² These letters are unknown.

³ I.e. letters by the other two members of the delegation, Ferenc Frangepán and István Werbőczy.

⁴ A recurring argument regarding Gritti in letters by Brodarics to Nádasdy. Nádasdy, when he fell into Turkish captivity in 1529 in Buda, owed mostly to Gritti that he survived.

10 attinet,⁵ videtur mihi, quod Vestra Dominatio illud simpliciter restituat domino gubernatori praesertim non contradicente regia maiestate, domino nostro clementissimo, item quod cum domino gubernatore sit bene in gratia et amore.

[2.] Apud dominum Bakyth et dominum Valentinum Therek rogo ut in aliis litteris, sed ita rogo, ut eam rem confectam omnino cupiam. Sive accipiant pacem, sive non,
15 non video quomodo possint nobis esse pares, in genere loquor de regibus nostris.

[3.] Illa, quae vos istic agitat de caesaris Solimani et Caroli pace, fortasse non huius sunt temporis, sed tunc potius fortasse agenda et tractanda essent, quando pax esset facta inter Ioannem et Ferdinandum reges, et tunc mittendi ab omnibus oratores ad eum principem, qui magis gloriam quaerit ex huiusmodi bellis, quam vel sanguinem
20 humanum, vel praedam et lucrum.

[4.] De domino Petro Periny nihil aliud, nisi quod hic est in domo domini iudicis curiae⁶ id est Pephingerorum. Totum eius negotium dilatum est ad adventum regium. Et haec Dominatio Vestra dicat domino reverendissimo,⁷ cui oblitus sum haec scribere.

Et me Vestrae Dominationi et spectabili ac magnifico domino meo, pro domino
25 cancellario⁸ plurimum commendo. Quae felix valeat. De aliis alias.

Ex Buda 27. Decembris 1532.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscripsit

[5.] Dominus Hieronymus Lasky se Vestrae Dominationi commendat, qui hodie ivit
30 ad regem pro rege.

On the outer side: Magnifico domino meo, domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio, domino uti filio carissimo

182

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 4 January 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 55–58.¹

Published: KUIÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 321–322.

1. Nádasdy could learn from Frangepán's letter what has been achieved regarding the armistice. He requests Nádasdy see to it that peace is signed, otherwise the Turks will take revenge. – 2. Regarding the castle of

29 *cominendat correxi ex: commendat cominendat*

⁵ On handing over Huszt, see the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 21 December.

⁶ This means that Perényi was held in the Pemflinger-house at the time inhabited by Gergely Pesthény. See: VÉGI András, *Buda város középkori helyrajza II.*, Bp., 2008, 195.

⁷ That is, to Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁸ István Werbőczy

¹ Autograph.

Huszt, his suggestion is still the same: Nádasdy should return it to Gritti on his own accord.. – 3. He will pay the money back, even though his pockets are empty. – 4. He does not understand why Nádasdy has daily financial problems with so many estates. – 5. He has spent much money on the orphans of his one-time servant scribe Demeter, who live in great poverty. He requests Nádasdy to give them what is their due. – 6. Perényi will be released but he has to relinquish 2 or 3 castles, but not Siklós or Valpó. – 7. Nádasdy should send the enclosed letter to Katzianer. – 8. Nádasdy should send word about Pál Bakics and Bálint Török, whose servants treat him strangely. – 9. If a deal can be made with Ferenc Kápolnay, that is good, if not, some another way should be found to settle the matter.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De induitiis² quid factum sit, Vestra Dominatio intelliget ex litteris domini Colonicensis.³ Restat iam, ut Vestra Dominatio det omnem operam, ut pax omnino conficiatur, et ne istae induitiae, in quibus impetrandis non parvam habuimus difficultatem ob causas, quas ad Vestras Dominationes perscripseram, non sint frustra factae, et ne deludamur, ut saepe contigit. Quia si hoc fieret, Dominatio Vestra sit certa et certissima, quod ulciscuntur amici nostri istam delusionem et in aeternum poenitebit adversarios nostros et fortasse nos quoque cum ipsis. Sed hoc est certum et certo certius.

[2.] De castro Hwzth ego nescio aliud scribere, nisi quod saepe scripsi et suasi, ut simpliciter restituatur. Si Dominatio Vestra aliter facere vult, meo consilio nunquam faciet. Qua in re ego maiorem habeo rationem honoris vestri, quam commodorum domini gubernatoris.⁴

[3.] De pecuniis dabo operam, quamvis sim totus exhaustus, totus in toto et totaliter.

[4.] Idque etiam consilio vestro accidit ob Quinqueecclesias in manus meas acceptas, ut Vestrae Dominationi aliquid dare possim; sed Dominatio Vestra non exspectet totum, quia est impossibile. Quicquid erit, dabitur ad manus domini provisoris, iuxta quod mihi dixit dominus reverendissimus⁵ de voluntate vestra. Miror autem tantam vestram paupertatem. Ego, quem Deus et homines sciunt nihil habere, non possem ista de me scribere. Vos, quem Deus unxit oleo laetitiae prae participibus suis, caretis expensis quotidianis. Ista sunt mira apud me, quia scio, quod aliquando etiam ex abbazia Zaladiensi⁶ videtur mihi, quod eramus ditiores, quam nunc ex tot castris, quorum bona etsi sunt spoliata et cremata per Turcos, tamen homines remanserunt. Vellem,

⁵ *post ob del.* quas

² Reference to the four-month armistice agreed upon in Megyer on 30 December 1532.

³ Ferenc Frangepán. For Frangepán's referred letter dated 5 January 1533 see: MOL, E 185, Frangepán-levelek, fol. 5.

⁴ Brodarics had tried to convince Nádasdy before about relinquishing Huszt, without much success. See the previous letter.

⁵ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

⁶ According to Pongrácz Sörös, Brodarics himself wanted to procure benefices of the Abbey of Zalavár but Nádasdy did not give them up. (See: SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Jerosini Brodarics István...* 104.) Monographer of the Abbey of Zalavár Tamás Füßy does not know about Brodarics' such aspirations or at least does not mention them. (See: FÜSSY Tamás, *A zalavári apátság története...* 113–118.). Letters by Brodarics show that he had something to do with the abbey but no relevant data have been found so far.

quod vestri provisores melius vobiscum agerent. Sed stultus ego, qui de hiis scribo!
25 Omnia tamen ista procedunt ex sincero corde. Dominatio Vestra sicut nunquam fuit
decepta per me, nec alius quisquam, ita neque in ista parvula summa decipietur.

[5.] Illud certum est, quod optarem pro pauperibus et miseris orphanis Demetrii litterati, optimi olim primum servitoris postea amici mei, quos scio multum indigere,
quod nuper oculis conspexi, dum Albae essem, et sororem eius seminudam ex miseria
30 mea vestivi, ut potui, quod depositum illud non meum sed ipsorum restitueretur, sed
credo, quod Dominatio Vestra hoc faciet, nec ego propter hoc pecuniam Vestrae
Dominationis retinebo, sed pure ac simpliciter procedam cum Vestra Dominatione,
sicut virum bonum decet.

[6.] Dominus Petrus Periny liberabitur obside filio primogenito, et datis in fidem
35 fidelis sui imposterum obsequii duobus, aut tribus castris suis; sed nec Soklyos nec
Walpo.

[7.] Istas litteras,⁷ rogo, ut Vestra Dominatio mittat ad dominum Koczyaner.⁸

[8.] Velit me facere certiore de domino Bakyth et domino Valentino Therek,
quorum servitores mirabiliter mecum agunt, de quo miror, quod mihi Vestra Dominatio
40 non nuntiavit.⁹

[9.] Domino Ioanni Zalay,¹⁰ fratri nostro communi rogo, dicat mille salutem et
domino Maylad,¹¹ et servitia mea commendet. De domino Kapolnay¹² nescio quid
scribam vel quid sperem. Si quid boni potest concludi cum eo, bene quidem, sin minus,
cogitandum est aliter de hoc negotio. Dominatio Vestra non tractet cum eo aliquid,
45 antequam non habeat aliud a me.

Et me et servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felix valeat cum
Ursula sua. Cui etiam servitia mea commendo et domino Dionisio.¹³

Ex Buda 4. Ianuarii 1533.

Hunc annum novum cupio esse felicissimum omnibus vobis.

50 Servitor

Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino meo, domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario
regio, domino uti filio meo carissimo et honorando.

35 *post obsequii del. sui*

37 *post Koczyaner del. fac*

38 *post Therek del. quod*

⁷ The enclosed letter is unknown.

⁸ Hans Katzianer, Commander in Chief for Ferdinand in Hungary. He was the leader of the Habsburg delegation in Megyer.

⁹ Brodaries had complained before about Pál Bakics and Bálint Török, who were on the Habsburg side, and asked Nádasdy to use his influence. See the previous two letters.

¹⁰ Comes of Pozsony János Szalay.

¹¹ István Maylád, brother-in-law of Nádasdy.

¹² Ferenc Kapolnay.

¹³ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 18 January 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 59–62.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 323–324.

1. He has received Nádasdy's letter to Ferenc Frangepán and István Werbőczy, who are away from Buda at the moment; they went to receive the King who is arriving from Huszt. Nádasdy should hand over the castle of Huszt to Gritti without conditions or delay. – 2. He gave Babay 100 forints, so now he owes only 119. Nádasdy should give that sum to the orphans of scribe Demeter. He has spent much money on Pécs too, which provides no income but there are costs. – 3. The hope for peace fills him with joy; if only the Turks accepted it. Since Mohács, he believes that Hungary can survive only if Turkish benevolence is ensured. – 4. It is alright for Nádasdy to travel to Kapuvár, if he wants to. – 5. Gritti resents the fact that Nádasdy has his seal and certain documents. For the sake of fairness, Nádasdy should return those to him. – 6. He is grateful for Nádasdy's intervention with Kápolnay for him, even though Kápolnay keeps plundering estates of the bishopric of Pécs, collects tithe, and harasses serfs.

Magnifice Domine. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Accepi litteras ad reverendissimum dominum Colocensem² et dominum cancellarium.³ Ipsi enim erant absentes. Iverunt enim obviam maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo, quem quotidie exspectamus de Hwzth. Ut in totum, de negotiis Vestrae Dominationis cum illustri domino gubernatore,⁴ nescio quid aliud scribam Vestrae Dominationi, nisi quod et dixi coram saepe et scripsi. Mihi videtur castrum illud⁵ simpliciter esse restituendum sine ullo intermedio et conditione. Et in hoc Vestra Dominatio bene consideret, quid eius honor requirat, quem omnibus castris mundi debet antepone, etiam si cum homine alio haberetis agere. Istum autem totus mundus scit vos habuisse maximum benefactorem, qui vos loco filii amavit, fruit et promovit valde sincero et paterno amore. Qui vobis contrarium suadent, videte, ne parum bene consulant honori vestro. Hoc est sententia mea et consilium.

[2.] Quod ad pecunias attinet, vidi rationem accepti et expensi, comperi longe aliter, quam credebam. Dederam his diebus domino Babay⁶ florenos centum, iussu vestro dedi huic pro expensis florenos duos; iam non restant insoluti, nisi florenos CXVIII,

3 post absentes del. Suae Mti

10 post filii del. fru

¹ Autograph.

² Ferenc Frangepán.

³ István Werbőczy.

⁴ Lodovico Gritti.

⁵ I.e. Huszt. Regarding this, see the previous two letters by Brodarics.

⁶ Péter Babay was a *familiaris* of Szapolyai. His name appears in a payroll from 1531 already, among the *aulici*. See: MOL, E 185. bundle 47, 41v. For the full list see: SIMON Zsolt, *Szapolyai János familiársainak egy lajstroma 1531-ből = Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről*, Miskolc, 2008, 324–329.

quos patiat, obsecro, impendi in sustentationem Demetrianorum orphanorum,⁷ qui et fame et nuditate moriuntur. Mihi enim Quinqueecclesiae absumpserunt ad duo milia florenorum in veritate. Nec scio quando erit fructus expensarum et sum satis exhaustus et inops nullos habens redditus, expensas autem graves.

20 [3.] De pace spes, quam das, est mihi valde grata, immo nihil gratius; sed ita, ut fiant, quae aguntur, talia, quae Turcarum imperator probare possit. Alioquin video manifestam et nostram et adversariorum nostrorum ruinam. Scis, quae alias de hoc commentati sumus, cum saepe alias, tum in cellibus Zazvarinis.⁸ Itaque ad hunc solum scopum tendendum, alioquin peribimus, etiam si mille paces faceremus.

25 Gratum autem mihi fecerit Vestra Dominatio, si de his rebus ad me non scribet, quia litterae vestrae possunt pervenire ad talium manus, qui hanc meam firmam sententiam, quam saepe vobis dixi, ignorantes, possent, ut nunc sunt tempora et mores, incidere in aliquam aliam de me suspicionem. Ego statim extincto divo rege nostro Lodovico⁹ hoc firmiter sentire coepi Hungariam salvam esse non posse, nisi per amicitiam Turcarum. Hoc nunc sentio. Ab hac sententia, credo, quod nunquam abduci potero. Sed de his satis superque alias et, ut scitis, usque ad clamores.

Cupio Ursulinam vestram, immo et nostram salutare meo nomine et servitia mea eidem commendari et similiter patri nostro, domino Dionisio,¹⁰ item domino Maylath,¹¹ fratri, et dominae Annae,¹² sorori praestanti corpore nymphae.¹³ Et me vobis omnibus
35 commendo et fratrem meum.¹⁴ Saltem de illo castello in officium, prout mihi Dominatio Vestra dixit, etc. In tanta re satis parum peto.

[4.] Scribitis vos iturum ad castrum vestrum Kapw,¹⁵ si opera vestra non erit nobis necessaria. Secundum me potestis ire et illuc et alio, quo Vestrae Dominationi libebit.

[5.] Illud oblitus sum vobis scribere, dominus gubernator conqueritur etiam de
40 sigillo suo apud vos existente et, nescio quibus cartis biancis, de quo ego certe multum doleo pro honore vestro. Cogitate aliquam viam omnino, qua haec emendari possint. Nulli amici vestri talia commendare possunt. Vestrum est post talem vestrum benefactorem currere et eius benivolentiam quaerere, non ipsius vestram. Scribo haec omnia ex illo sincero amore, quo vos semper sum prosecutus, ut fratrem, immo, ut filium, non

40 *post sigillo del. sibi*

⁷ Regarding scribe Demeter, see the previous letter.

⁸ Szászvár, Baranya county We do not know exactly what discussions Brodarics is referring to. Szászvár was an estate of the bishopric of Pécs, but Ferenc Kápolnay occupied it in 1532, and only Szapolyai could win it back in August 1533. See: ETE II. 284–285., and VARGA Szabolcs, *Pécs és az egyházmegye Mohács után* = FEDELES–SARBAK–SÜMEGI (ed.), *A pécsi egyházmegye története I.*, Pécs, 2009, 203.

⁹ Hungarian King Louis II died in the battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526.

¹⁰ Dénes Hassághy, Constable of Kanizsa.

¹¹ István Maylád, brother-in-law of Nádasdy.

¹² Anna Nádasdy, sister of Tamás Nádasdy, wife of István Maylád.

¹³ See: Virgil, *Aeneis*, I, 71. „sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore nymphae”

¹⁴ Mátyás Brodarics.

¹⁵ Kapuvár, Sopron county, property of the Kanizsay family since 1350. It fell into the hands of Tamás Nádasdy through his marriage to Orsolya Kanizsay.

45 in gratiam domini gubernatoris, quem scitis, quod mihi nulla fecerunt privata officia amicum, sed patria, cui video, quod sinceriter servit. Et bene valete.

Ex Buda, 18. Ianuarii 1533.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

50 Commendet me Vestra Dominatio domino Ioanni Zalay,¹⁶ domino Ioanni Coczian-nero.¹⁷ Apud dominum Petrum Periny feci officium, quod iussistis, qui liberabitur omnino, et agit vobis maximas gratias.¹⁸

[6.] De Francisco Kapolnai vobis gratias ago, et rogo, ut persistatis in ista voluntate. Ipse quotidie accumulat aliquid ad priora et dicas exigendo et meos de Zeplak¹⁹
55 vexando. Accepit nunc quoque super eos ultra alia onera et gravamina, X vasa vini. De Cherdy²⁰ possessione non loquor, quae et ipsa habet suos ab eo cruciatos et tormentas. Nescio quorsum ista adhuc evadent.

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorando

184

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics
[Brussels],¹ 2 February 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 253–254.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 277.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*,
Budapest, 1971, 654–655.

He is pleased that peace between Ferdinand and Szapolyai is near; he hopes it will last and bring some tranquillity to the country that has suffered so much. He trusts that Brodarics, too, will provide good news.

Non possum non laetari audita nuper fama concordiae inter regem nostrum Ferdi-

¹⁶ János Szalay, Comes of Pozsony.

¹⁷ Hans Katzianer.

¹⁸ On Péter Perényi's release see the previous letter.

¹⁹ Széplak, Tolna county. Széplak was located in the territory of the Pécs diocese but was an estate of the Provostship of Budafelhévíz (see: SUPKA Géza, *A budafelhévízi Szentháromság-templom*, Archaeologiai Értesítő, 1907, 103–104.). So Brodarics was doubly affected by its ravaging as Bishop of Pécs and as beneficiary of the Provostship of Budafelhévíz.

²⁰ Cserdi, a settlement in Baranya county, west of Pécs. An estate of the Chapter of Pécs. See CSÁNKI Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában II.*, Budapest, 1894, 477.

¹ There is no place given in the letter, but all the letters of Oláh from February 1533 are dated in Brussels.

nandum et Ioannem waywodam² propediem fiendae.³ Quae utinam felix fortunata sit et diuturna ac ambabus partibus proficua, regnoque Hungariae diuturnis malis iam penitus attritae saluberrima. Deus miserebitur, ut spero, iam illi oppresso regno,
5 malisque omnibus a septennio fere funditus contrito. Utinam tu laeta nobis huc nova scribere in eisdem rebus Hungariae posses. Gratius nihil nobis hoc tempore continget. Vale.

Secunda Februarii 1533.

185

Letter of Credence by János Szapolyai to Ferenc Frangepán,
István Brodarics, István Werbőczy, and Hieronym Łaski
Buda, 3 February 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 22. Konv. B, fol. 110r–v

János Szapolyai authorises Ferenc Frangepán, István Brodarics, István Werbőczy, and Hieronym Łaski to negotiate peace with representatives of Ferdinand in Óvár.

Nos Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc., marchio Moraviae et Lusatae et utriusque Slesiae dux etc. memoriae commendamus et tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit universis. Quod nos de fide et fidelitate ac animi dexteritate et prudentia, rerum gerendarum sufficienti peritia fidelium nostrorum
5 reverendissimi ac reverendi in Christo patrum, dominorum Francisci de Frangepanibus, Colocensis et Bachiensis ecclesiarum canonice unitarum archiepiscopi ac Stephani Broderici, episcopi Sirmiensi, nec non spectabilium ac magnificorum Stephani de Werbewtz, summi et secretarii cancellarii nostri, ac Hieronymi de Lasko palatini Syradiensis waivodaeque nostri Trassilvaniensis et Siculorum nostrorum comitis etc.,¹
10 consiliariorum nostrorum ad plenum confisi, eisdem hoc plenum mandatum nostrum plenamque et omnimodam facultatem nostram in eo dedimus et concessimus, damusque et concedimus praesentium per vigorem, ut ipsi coniunctim aut divisim duo ex ipsis cum dominis commissariis et oratoribus serenissimi principis domini Ferdinandi Romanorum ac Bohemiae regis ad oppidum Owar deputandis in facto perpetuae
15 pacis inter Nos et ipsum Romanorum ac Bohemiae regem ineundae ac quibuscunque differentiis inter Nos et eundem ac subditos utriusque nostrum sopiendis agere, loqui, tractare et promittere aliaque omnia et singula, quae ad hoc pertinere videbuntur, perinde ac si nos personaliter interessemus.

² In the terminology of the Habsburg party John is entitled only to the title Voivod.

³ Reference to the peace talks planned in Óvár between representatives of Szapolyai and Ferdinand after the armistice signed in Megyer in late 1532.

¹ The delegation changed from the one at the meeting in 1532 in Megyer: Frangepán and Brodarics went without Tamás Nádasdy and Gergely Pethényi; Werbőczy and Łaski joined them. See Szapolyai's letter of credence dated 9 November 1532.

Mandatumque nostrum magis speciale, quam praesentibus est expressum exigent,
20 facere concludereque valeant atque possint. Promittentes Nos in verbo nostro regio, ut
quicquid per praefatos commissarios et oratores nostros coniunctim, ut praefertur, aut
per duos ex ipsis divisim cum memoratis dominis commissariis et oratoribus praefati
Romanorum et Bohemiae regis ad hoc deputatis ac plenum mandatum habentibus
25 nomine nostro actum, tractatum, ordinatum et conclusum promissumque fuerit, ratum
et acceptum habebimus, et firmiter inviolabiliter observabimus. Nec ullo unquam tem-
pore illi verbo vel facto directe vel indirecte reclamare et opponere volumus harum
nostrarum vigore et testimonio litterarum mediante.

Datum Budae, tertia die mensis Februarii Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo
tricesimo tertio.

186

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Buda, 7 February 1533

Manuscript used: BN T. 15. fol. 157r–v¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XV. 85–86.

*1. He has not written to Tomicki for a long time, since he was away from the court in an attempt to avert the
peril that the Turkish army means for his homeland Slavonia and the bishopric of Pécs. In this, he could rely
on the Pole Łaski's support beside his own brother's. – 2. He mourns the death of his old patron Chancellor
Krzysztof Szydłowiecki deeply from his heart but is pleased that he still has Tomicki. – 3. The day for the
peace talks in Óvár has been designated; he will be part of the delegation.*

Reverendissime Domine et Benefactor, uti Pater mihi Observandissime. Salutem et
servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Non miretur Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima, quod in litteris ad eam dandis
tantam fecerim intercapedinem. Contigit id non oblivione beneficiorum Vestrae
5 Dominationis in me, quae deleri ex animo meo nullo unquam tempore poterunt, non
solum viventis, sed ne mortui quidem, sed quod fui absens longo tempore a curia idque
in quaerenda salute pereuntis natalis soli mei Slavoniae Pannonicae et in avertendo per
illam transitu potentissimi Turcarum imperatoris, si fieri potuisset, et eodem itinere
conservanda altera patria mea, civitate cum episcopatu illo olim nobilissimo Quin-
10 queecclesiensi, unde etiam non meorum neque Hungarorum neque Slavorum ope ex
maximis periculis sum ereptus, sed Polonorum. Affuit enim mihi periclitanti et opem
omnem imploranti, cum omnes fere praeter fratrem germanum² mihi defuissent, singu-
laris et nunquam e memoria mea oblitterandus favor Polonorum, duce illustri domino
meo, domino Hieronimo Lasko palatino Siradiensi, wayvoda Transsilvano.
15 [2.] His igitur rebus legationibusque occupatus, dum non datur facultas in Poloniam

¹ Further manuscripts: BJ 6553 fol. 53r–v; BCzart 271 fol. 233v–234r; BK 217 fol. 225; BCzart TN
49. fol. 79–82.

² Mátyás Brodarics.

scribendi, ereptus est mihi interea temporis singularis et amantissimus patronus meus et dominus illustris et magnificus dominus Christophorus Sidlowicius,³ collega Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis in cancellariatu, cuius mortem amaro corde deflevi. Conservata mihi Vestra Reverendissima Dominatione, altero patrono et domino ac
20 benefactore meo, de quo Deo Maximo et Optimo immortales gratias egi.

[3.] Itaque Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dignabitur id boni consulere, quod a tanto tempore nullas a me litteras accepit. Quo autem in statu nunc nostra negotia existant Dominationem Vestram non puto latere. Constitutus est dies in Owar⁴ ad conveniendum tam nostris quam serenissimi regis Romanorum oratoribus et commissariis.
25 Nostris adiunctus sum et ego tamquam partus abortivus.⁵ Ut intelligo, omnia referentur ad serenissimam maiestatem domini regis Poloniae, domini nostri communis gratiosissimi. Et cum his me et servitia mea Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi commendo. Quam Deus semper felicissimam conservet.

Budae 7. Februarii 1533.

30 Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis⁶

servitor deditissimus

Stephanus Brodaryth Sirmiensis subscripsit

Dominis meis, domino Plocensi⁷ et domino Premisliensi,⁸ filiis Vestrae Dominationis, mea servitia commendo.

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Petro, episcopo Cracoviensi, regni Poloniae cancellario, domino benefactori, et uti patri mihi observandissimo

³ Polish Chancellor Krzysztof Szyszkowski died on 29 December 1532.

⁴ Representatives of Szapolyai and Ferdinand agreed in Óvár upon continuing the negotiations in Pozsony.

⁵ See: Horace *Sat.* 1. 3, 46. The word is a so-called *hapax legomenon*, it appears in Classical literature only in Horace at the referred location.

⁶ The signature is autographic.

⁷ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Płock.

⁸ Jan Chojński (1486–1538), Bishop of Przemyśl from 1531, of Płock from 1535, of Cracow from 1537 until his death.

Ferenc Frangepán, István Werbőczy and István Brodarics to Pál Bakics¹
Tata, 8 February 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 22. Konv. B, fol. 20.

Brodarics, Frangepán, and Werbőczy let Pál Bakics know about their arrival, and ask him to arrange for their proper catering.

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

Crastina die futuri sumus apud Dominationem Vestram, hoc autem propterea volumus ipsi notum facere, ut nos non solum hilari vultu excipiat, verum etiam optime tractet, ceterum vinum bonum ordinet, non illud, quod hominibus solet apoplexiam, id
5 est guttam inducere, quo genere vini Dominatio Vestra, ut fertur, abundat. Dominationem Vestram bene valere optamus.

Ex Thatha sabbatho Dominicae septuagesimae 1533.

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus

Stephanus de Verbewcz cancellarius

10 Stephanus Brodaryth Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Paulo Bakics, domino et amico nobis honorando.

Ferenc Frangepán, István Werbőczy, and István Brodarics to Hans Katzianer
Tata, 8 February 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 22. Konv. B, fol. 23.

Brodarics, Frangepán, and Werbőczy inform Katzianer about their arrival and ask him to arrange for proper accommodation and catering for them.

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorande. Salutem et nostri commendationem.

Sumus hic in Thatha. Cras Deo dante hinc movebimus. Rogamus Dominationem Vestram boni consulat hanc moram nostram, quae sine ratione non est facta, prout id a nobis Vestra Dominatio Magnifica intelliget. Excuset etiam nos Vestra Magnificentia
5 apud dominos collegas suos. Rogamus etiam, ut nobis de hospitio commodo providere velit. Nam hoc onus Vestrae Magnificentiae imponere volumus, praesertim quod non ignoramus loci istius paupertatem, et nisi industria Vestrae Magnificentiae occursum fuerit, scimus, quam incommoditatem pati deberemus. Sed rogamus, ne patiamur. Et Vestram Dominationem optime ac feliciter valere optamus.

¹ Pál Bakics, commander of Ferdinand, Constable of Győr.

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus
Stephanus de Verbewcz cancellarius
Stephanus Brodaryth Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Ioanni Coczyaner serenissimi regis Romanorum capitaneo etc., domino et amico nobis honorando.

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Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Győr, 9 February 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 63–64.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 325.

They inform Nádasdy that they are on their way to the peace talks; they would be pleased if Nádasdy joined them, since he could be of great service to the King.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili nobis Honorandissime. Salutem et nostri commendationem.

Sumus hic Iaurini proficiscentes ad locum designatum, quamvis existimamus, quod locus ille mutabitur ob incommoditatem. Nihil nobis gratius esset, quam Vestram etiam
5 Dominationem interesse, quae maiestati regiae multum in his negotiis posset servire, de qua re propterea nunc non scribimus clarius Vestrae Dominationi, quod ex proximis litteris alterius nostrum omnia, quae nunc scribenda forent, intelligere potuit. Vellemus certe, quod Vestra Dominatio ita se cum illa persona gerere voluisset, sicut nos ei consulueramus, idque multum ex sincero corde uti domino et fratri carissimo. Sapientis
10 semper est habitum inservire tempori, et omnibus affectibus privatis praeferre commodum publicum et obsequi amicis recta suadentibus plus, quam aliis sese amantibus, quam sibi credere.

Commendamus nos Vestrae Dominationi et domino Maylad ac dominae Ursulinae vestrae et bene valeat.

15 Iaurini 9. Februarii 1533.
Servitores

Franciscus Frangepanibus subscripsit
Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico Domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio etc., Domino et uti Filio carissimo ac honorandissimo

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics
Brussels, 18 February 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára, P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 259.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 300–301.

The reason he has not written to Brodarics for nearly five years is the strife between the parties. Due to his loyalty to his Queen, he followed his mistress to faraway lands; even though he has everything he needs on foreign land, he misses his homeland and friends. Now he has learnt that there will be peace talks between the two kings in Óvár, and Brodarics will be present. He is sending his provisor János Czeglédi to Brodarics and requests Brodarics to help Czeglédi, who is attending to his business.

Quae causa fuerit, quod iam fere a quinquennio¹ nihil scripserim, arbitror te ipsum cogitare. Temporum scilicet varietas et partium dissensio mutuaque digladiatio. Utinam his malis Deus iam ex alto prospiceret! Mea in reginam meam fides et susceptum officium me coegit, ut eam hucusque sequerer, et a patriae meae limitibus tam procul abessem. Ubi,
5 quamvis ex clementia Dei et munificentia principis mei nihil mihi desit, deesse tamen videntur patria, fratres, domini et amici mei. Quorum me tenet non parvum desiderium.

Quia autem intelligam nunc pacem Hungariae in Owar² principibus consentientibus tractari, et te esse ex arbitris unum, cuius prudentia ea tractetur, nonnulla Ioannes Czeglédinus, provisor meus tibi meo nomine referet.³ Rogo, velis illi fidem praestare, et
10 res meas, si necessitas ita exegerit, et curae habere et iuvare, et in illis ipsi esse adiumento statumque meum defendere. Vale, Bruxellae 18. Februarii 1533.

István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh
Pozsony, 8 March 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 380–381.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 315–316.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 583–585.

1. He has received the letter from Oláh that János Czeglédi delivered. Since he has been on friendly terms with Oláh for a long time, the latter need not even ask, he will do everything he can for Oláh. – 2. Unfortu-

¹ According to our present knowledge, Oláh wrote a letter to Brodarics on 2 February 1533. Before that there seems to be a longer intermission in their correspondence, 3, not 5 years passed between the last letter in 1530 and the first in 1533.

² There were peace talks in early 1533 in Óvár between representatives of Ferdinand Habsburg and Szapolyai.

³ See the letter by Oláh to János Czeglédi dated also 18 February: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*... 296–300.

nately, the negotiations, which were transferred from Óvár to Pozsony, have come to a halt, so he could not make steps for Oláh, but if there is a chance he will not miss it. – 3. Requests Oláh to recommend him to Queen Maria to whom he is eternally grateful for her good deeds.

[1.] Gratissimae mihi fuerunt tuae litterae,¹ quas Ioannes Cegledinus² mihi reddidit, qui et antequam tuas litteras acceperissem, mecum de his aliisque negotiis diligenter fuerat locutus.³ Et ego illi operam meam liberaliter fuam pollicitus. Quid enim mihi pro tali fratre et amico etiam non rogato faciendum non erat, cuius probitatem et multiplices virtutes semper cupidissime sum complexus, omnia mea, etiam penitiora eidem communicavi? Accessit ad priora cognitio etiam et familiaritas cum tota tua domo in Transsilvania, ubi non semel in domo tua sum amanter exceptus; nepotulos ex fratre⁴ tuos non aliter, quam si mei fuissent, complexus. Itaque quicquid unquam in rem tuam facere potero, id erit semper ad tuum votum, immo tibi et omnibus tuis ita paratum, ut non sim rogandus; satis erit me intelligere tuum id esse, vel alicuius tuorum negotium.

[2.] Quod si iste conventus Owariensis, aut potius Posoniensis⁵ (huc enim fuerat translatus) non fuisset dissolutus ob eas causas, quas intelligere potuisti vel certe intelliges, non defuisset rebus Tuae Dominationis hic quoque mea opera, sicut in posterum quoque non deerit, ubicunque talia negotia agentur. Nam absque hoc iam non deerit, quantum intelligere possum, quin et pax fiat inter principes nostros, et talia inter subditos non transigentur, de quo Deo Optimo Maximo sunt ab omnibus gratiae agendae; et de his hactenus.

[3.] Reliqui tuos omnes salvos, apud quos fui in mense Maio anno superiore.⁶ Rogo autem Tuam Dominationem, ut obsequia mea humillima in gratiam maiestatis reginalis,⁷ dominae nostrae clementissimae commendare per omnes occasiones velit. Non possum ego, quomodocunque negotia publica vadant, quicquid suae maiestati de me dicitur, aut aliquando fortassis dictum est, oblivisci tantae gratiae ac benignitatis, quam indignum et immeritum sua est maiestas prosecuta, et supra omnes non solum

¹ See the previous letter.

² János Czeglédi, *provisor* of Miklós Oláh. See Oláh's letter on 18 February.

³ We know from Oláh's letter to Czeglédi written on 18 February that he expected Brodarics to intervene in connection to some issue related to his estates and possessions.

⁴ Máté Oláh, *iudex regius* of Szászváros.

⁵ Envoys of Ferdinand and John signed a four-month truce on 30 December 1532 in Megyer. They also decided to continue the talks. The location was first Óvár (Magyaróvár) then Pozsony. Ferdinand, however, attempted to make deal with the Turks in Istanbul excluding King John, therefore Szapolyai called his envoys back and the talks came to a halt in early March 1533.

⁶ It is not clear where Brodarics visited the family of Miklós Oláh. According to the will of István Oláh dated 1522 (see MOL, DL 89160), the family had houses in Szeben and Torda. Since Brodarics was in Brassó on 21 April 1532, and on 9 May he was already in Lippa, perhaps Szeben seems more probable where he could stop on his way from Brassó to Lippa.

⁷ Maria Habsburg, the widow of Louis II. After the battle of Mohács, Brodarics joined Queen Maria in Pozsony, but in March 1527 he turned his back to the Habsburg party including Maria and switched sides. More recently on the switching of sides: KASZA Péter – PÁLFFY Géza, *Brodarics-émlékönyv. Egy különleges pártváltás a mohácsi csata után*, Budapest, 2011.

aequales meos, sed me longe superiores sua auctoritate evexerat. Pro quo suae maiestatis in me tanto beneficio volo, donec vivam, suae maiestatis erga me gratiam omnibus, quibus potero, modis quaerere. Et utinam tam longo terrarum spatio non disungeremini a nobis, non potuissem profecto huc usque etiam mihi temperare, quin suam maiestatem reverenter adissem. Sed si Dominus Deus pacem dederit, ut spero, et plane futurum confido, non gravabit me ista etiam tam longe terrarum spatia emetiri, ut suae maiestati vel in parte saltem aliqua animi mei gratitudinem ostendem. Rogo autem Vestram Dominationem, velit mihi significare, et in quali me gratia esse sentit apud maiestatem suam reginalem, et de hoc exspecto fieri omnino certior a Tua Dominatione. Est enim mihi in praecipuis votis esse in gratia suae serenissimae maiestatis, et possum in veritate dicere illud, quod apud Virgilium Aeneas:

15 *per sidera iuro,
Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus, regina, tuo de litoribus cessi.*¹

Me Vestrae Dominationi et aliis amicis, si qui adhuc istic nostri sunt memores, commendando plurimum, et Vestram Dominationem felicem ac semper sanam esse cupio.
20 Posonii 8. Martii 1533.

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Pozsony, 13 March 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 65–66.

Published: BÉKEFI Remig, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig*, Budapest, 1906, 445–446.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 582–583.

Brodarics asks for Tamás Nádasdy's help on behalf of a teacher in Fehérvár named Márk; he studied together with Márk's brother in Padua. Asks Nádasdy not to deprive Márk of his land in Velike inherited from his father just because Márk is a priest.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Honorandissime. Salutem et mei commendationem.

Habet nonnulla bona hereditaria is dominus Marcus, praeceptor Albensis in Velike,¹ dominio scilicet Vestrae Magnificae Dominationis, quae, ut ab eodem intellexi, Dominationis Vestrae ob eam causam ab eo alienare vellet, quia presbiter est. Ego autem duplici ratione a Vestra Dominatione, quominus id faciat, impetrare contendo. Prima, quia cum eo est mihi vetus amicitia, quam conciliarat mutuus amor et benevolentia fratris ipsius

¹ Virgil *Aeneis* VI, 458–460. See almost the same lines in the letter to Miklós Oláh on 26 February 1536. Oláh, perhaps not without some scorn, overplays his reaction to Brodarics' repeated apology in his letter in verse to Imre Kálnai in 1536: *Calvinus cum Forgaciis mihi saepe recursat/ Sibiricusque animum possidet usque meum/ Et Brodericus erit, quamvis de litore nostro/ Invitus cessit, praesul in ore meo*. See Nicolaus OLAHUS, *Carmina*, Lipsiae, 1934, 11.

¹ Velike, Pozsega county (today: Velika, Croatia).

doctoris,² cum quo olim Patavii³ in studio litterario arctissima fuit mihi familiaritas.

- 10 Altera, quia cuperem, ut bona pars presbiterorum viveret potius ex bonis paternis, quam ut aliorum labore, praesertim sine rationabili causa saginarentur. Nollem autem, ut hoc ius quippiam in regnum Hungariae induceret, salvo tamen iure Verbecio: ut presbiteri bonis paternis hac ratione, quia presbiter est aliquis, ex eis excluderentur. Nam hoc iure ego quoque in Polyana,⁴ licet combusta, ius meum amitterem, quod dii
15 avertant. Sed serio rogo Dominationem Vestram, velit habere rationem huius meae pro praefato domino Marco petitionis. Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere opto.

Posonio, 13. Martii 1533.

Rogo Vestram Dominationem, velit eum habere commendatum.

Servitor

20

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorandissimo.

193

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 28 March 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 67–69.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 325–326.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 585.

1. He is saying again that Nádasdy should not underrate Gritti's friendship, whose prestige is rising by the day. – 2. There will be peace either by the division of the country or without it, but Szapolyai will stay in power. – 3. He recommends the case of his brother Mátyás Brodarics to Nádasdy; he himself cannot help his brother due to his debts but requests Nádasdy to fulfil his promise made to Brodarics in Berzence

8 post olim del. Bononiae suprascr. manu Broderici
Patavii

18 Rogo... Sirmiensis subscripsit manu Broderici

² The brother mentioned might be identical to Andreas de Veliche, about whom we know that he studied in Padua in August 1505. See VARGA Imre, *Magyarországi tanulók a padovai egyetemen a XV–XVI. századfordulón*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1975, 215.

³ More on the significance of the slip of the pen in the letter (*Bononiae-Patavii*): KASZA Péter, *Egy karrier hajnala. Adalékok Brodarics István tanulmányainak és családi viszonyainak kérdéséhez*, Századok, 2008, 1187–1209.

⁴ Polyana was an estate of the Brodarics family. On its destruction see the letter by Brodarics on 20 October 1532.

¹ Autograph.

regarding the latter's brother. Now he is travelling to Pécs for some weeks or months to settle his issues with Kápolnay.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Honorandissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De negotio, quod Dominatio Vestra habet cum illustrissimo domino gubernatore, ego aliud nescio scribere illi, nisi quod totiens et dixi et scripsi et nuntiavi. Amicitia eius non est contemnenda, cuius auctoritas augetur et credo augebitur in dies, idque per istam pacis Constantinopoli faciendae translationem.²

[2.] De negotiis publicis, ita iudico pacem omnino futuram, vel cum divisione, vel sine divisione regni, nam utrumque contingere posset.³ Quorum alterum, non dubito, futurum valde periculosum ac perniciosum, illud tamen fiet, quod in eo loco decernemur, quo hanc rem serenissimus rex Romanorum transtulit. Illud etiam certo credo, nec ullo modo contrarium credere possum maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum contra quorundam Germanicae factionis opinionem in suo statu et auctoritate permansuram. Alia ad hoc pertinentia intelligit Dominatio Vestra ex litteris domini Agnesdy vel Babay vel Ykesdy.⁴

[3.] Ego negotium fratris mei, domini Matthiae, commendo Vestrae Dominationi, qui simul cum uxore et liberis est in magna paupertate.⁵ Ego autem debitis multis involutus ob istum benedictum episcopatum Quinqueecclesiensem, quem poenituit et poenitet etc. Sed acta omnia transacta, rogo, ut Dominatio Vestra in hoc negotio fratris saltem illud faciat, de quo mecum in Berzencze est locuta, et sequatur in hoc petitionem etiam meam non illorum tantum consilium, qui forte contrarium illi suadent, quicunque sint illi, et rogo, ut de hoc mihi respondeat. Ego vado nunc Quinqueecclesias et ibi ero per aliquot septimanas, vel menses. Vellem quod in negotio cum domino Kápolnay fieret aliquis finis iam tandem, qui cum istis subterfugiis nihil aliud consequetur postremo, nisi ruinam suam, quam ego nollem.

Et me Vestrae Dominationi, dominae Orsikae, domino patri nostro communi,⁶ domino Maylad⁷ et omnibus vestris unice commendo, qui omnes valete et plaudite.

4 post Amicitia del. est n

6 post pacis del. fac

19 post faciat del. quod

² After Szapolyai ordered his diplomats back from Pozsony, bargaining effectively shifted to Istanbul where both parties tried to convince the Sultan about their points of view. Szapolyai expected much from Gritti's intervention.

³ Earlier both parties had tried to avoid the possibility of partitioning the country.

⁴ Péter Babay was a *familiaris* of Szapolyai. His name appears in a payroll already in 1531. See MOL, E 185. bundle 47, 41v. Probably Ágnesdy and Ikesdy were *familiares* too, but there are no data on them.

⁵ Mátyás Brodarics was probably hit hard by the pillage of the Turks in Slavonia in the previous year. Brodarics alluded several times to the fact that his family's property in Polyána was reduced to ashes. See his letter on 20 October 1532. and 13 March 1533.

⁶ This form usually indicates Constable of Kanizsa Dénes Hassághy.

⁷ István Maylád.

Ex Buda 28. Martii 1533.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

30

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorandissimo

194

István Brodarics to Pope Clement VII
Pécs, 8 May 1533

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 8. fol 82r.

Published: ETE II., 249–250; THEINER Augustin, Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia, Romae, 1863, 621–622.; BESSENYEI József, Lettere di principi (1518–1578), Rome-Budapest, 2002, 103.

1. He has already informed the Pope about the situation in Hungary in his letters to the Casalis; later he wrote from Pécs too; he still has no other news than that the fate of the country depends on the decision of the Turkish Sultan, something that both kings have to respect. – 2. Since the Turks have occupied the bishopric of Szerém, now he has the bishopric of Pécs which is in great danger, too.

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post pedum oscula beatorum et servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Feci Vestram Sanctitatem saepe certiozem de rebus nostris Hungaricis per litteras ad dominos Casalios scriptas et ex Posonio, quo pacis faciendae causa convenamus,¹ ac novissime hinc ex Quinqueecclesiis his diebus proximis.² Neque nunc aliud scribere possum, nisi rem Christianam eo esse deductam cuiusculque culpa id acciderit, ut de regno Hungariae, quod paulo ante vidimus florentissimum ac inter Christiana regna potentissimum, coram Turcarum imperatore disceptetur, et utrique regi illius arbitrio sit standum.³ Adhuc nihil intelligimus, quid de nobis sit decretum. Quicquid
10 erit, conabor Vestram Sanctitatem facere certiozem statim.

[2.] Ego sub mirabili sidere sum natus: occupato per Turcas episcopatu Sirmiensi, quem mihi divus rex Ludovicus cum cancellariatu dederat,⁴ nunc episcopatum Quin-

¹ Brodarics was a member of the delegation that negotiated with Ferdinand's envoys about the conditions for peace between the two kings, first in Óvár, then in Pozsony.

² Unfortunately, neither the letters to the Casali brothers nor the letters written by Brodarics earlier in Pozsony and Pécs are extant.

³ The peace talks in Pozsony were discontinued because it was discovered that Ferdinand approached the Sultan with the question of dividing the country without Szapolyai's knowledge. Jeromos Zárai represented Ferdinand, while Gritti acted for Szapolyai in Istanbul.

⁴ Brodarics, strongly backed by the papal court and Clement VII, received his nomination as Chancellor on 11 March 1526. Afterwards he became Bishop of Szerém in April.

queecclesiensem teneo,⁵ et ipsum Turcis ad III vel IIII miliaria vicinum. Adhuc quidem
satis insignem, sed magno periculo expositum. Deus Optimus Sanctitatem Vestram
15 semper conservet felicem et incolumem. Ex Quinqueecclesiis 8. Maii 1533.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus et capellanus Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis subscripsit

195

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy

Pécs, 18 May 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 74–77.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 326–328.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 586–588.

1. He advises Nádasdy to adapt to the times and not to feel ashamed to bargain with the Turks or Tatars for the homeland's sake; because this the best way to help the country. For the Pope, the Emperor, Venice, and Ferdinand have all bargained with them. – 2. As soon as his brother Mátyás arrives from Máramaros he will send him to Nádasdy immediately. – 3. He has given up on purchasing wine because of the difficulties of transportation but he is grateful for Nádasdy's contribution. – 4. Kápolnay is said to be content with Palina and Tihany, but Brodarics can promise him neither, even though he might be able to do something regarding Tihany. Incidentally, Kápolnay controls most of the bishopric. – 5. He has no news on the Turkish plans against Slavonia; Perényi might know more. – 6. He has no news from Istanbul either; Várpalota is still under siege and, according to Loboczký, it will be occupied. Łaski is sending Loboczký to Istanbul to run some personal errands and Werbőczy is on his way there too. The King urges him to return to Buda but his health does not permit it.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime atque Observandissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Iam tandem accepi litteras Dominationis Vestrae, quae mihi eo gratiores fuerunt, quod nullas alias antea habueram, neque a domino Colocensi,¹ neque dominum Mayladum² vidi, et eram prorsus ignarus de Vestra Dominatione et certe multum anxius, non quod illi adversi aliquid evenisse existimarem, sed quod hanc credo esse naturam omnium amantium.

Intelligo, quae mihi Dominatio Vestra scribit de illa persona et illius obstinatione ac duritia. Sed ego propter hoc de salute regni nihilo magis despero. Credo enim, eam non
10 dependere neque ab illo, neque ab ullo alio homine mortali, sed ab illo solo, qui creavit caelum et terram, mare et omnia, quae in eis sunt. Quod autem Vestra Dominatio etiam deficientibus omnibus principibus Christianis ad recutitos constanter tamen velit manere in fide sua, id, licet vehementissime probem, existimo tamen, quod quan-

⁵ Brodarics was never Bishop of Pécs proper according to canon law, because he never received papal confirmation for the position.

¹ Ferenc Frangepán.

² István Maylád.

docunque Papa, Carolus, Veneti, Ferdinandus, quos Dominatio Vestra nominat et alii
 15 plures, quos non nominat, quos certum est partim impetrasse iam, partim enixissime
 ambire principis potentissimi amicitiam, quandocunque, inquam, hi in amicitiam eius
 concesserint, nescio, si quid ei, vel Dominatio Vestra, vel alii non multi, qui hoc idem
 sentiunt, nocere poterunt. Ego, qui Deo teste et conscientia mea nihil aliud quaero per
 omnes labores et aerumnas, quas sustineo et a morte divi Ludovici regis³ constan-
 20 tissime sum perpressus, nisi salutem patriae, longe aliter sentio, et aliud consilium
 darem Dominationi Vestrae, et suaderem, ut tempori inserviret, quod semper sapientis
 est habitum. Et sicut divus Paulus, vas electionis, doctor gentium, tuba evangelii factus
 est, quod ipse de se testatur, omnia omnibus ut omnes Christo lucrificeret,⁴ ita et
 Dominatio Vestra tantus patriae et Christianitatis amator non dedignaretur, nec eru-
 25 besceret non solum cum Turcis, sed etiam cum Tartaris, Saracenis et quocunque genere
 infidelium conversari, eundem cibum, eundem potum capere. Hoc pacto crederem ego,
 ut nunc video tempora, longe plus obsequii praestare posse Vestram Dominationem
 patriae labenti, quam contrarium faciendo. Et in hoc Dominatio Vestra, pace illius
 dixerim, deberet aliquid amicis credere illis, qui et Dominationem Vestram amant et
 30 sapiunt. Sed de his satis. Spero enim Vestram etiam Dominationem adhuc aliquando
 amicorum recte suadentium consiliis aquieturam.

[2.] Dominum Matthiam, fratrem meum, postquam ex Maromarusio venerit, quem
 cotidie exspecto, statim ad Vestram Dominationem mittam, quem eidem, tanquam
 meipsum, commendo.

35 [3.] De vinis multa cogitavi, sed eorum vecturae difficultas me ab emendo deterret.⁵
 Itaque aliud aliquod consilium capiam. Vestrae Dominationi pro oblata in hoc opera
 gratias ago.

[4.] Illud, quod Vestra Dominatio de Kapolnay scribit eum vel Palina⁶ vel Thykonio⁷
 contentum fore, id ego longe aliter intelligo, quamvis ego neutrum illorum ei polliceri
 40 possum. Alterum tamen illorum, scilicet Thykonium existimarem me efficere posse.
 Nec scio nunc aliud de hoc scribere. Illud non potest mihi non displicere, eum mihi tam
 insignem iniuriam facere, ut maiorem et opulentiorum partem episcopatus mihi per
 maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum donati et tuo consilio per me
 occupati violenter teneat. Haec delevis, ne litterae, si intercaperentur, aliquid incommodi
 45 afferent.

41 *post eum del. [unus versus illegibilis]*

44 *post teneat del. [unus semiversus illegibilis] proxima
 sententia manu Broderici scripta*

³ Louis II died in the battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526.

⁴ The quotation is not accurate but the formulation refers back to verses 9 and 19–22 of St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, which, according to Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, is a typical idea of Brodarics inspired by Erasmus. See RITOÓKNÉ Szalay Ágnes, *Erasmus és a XVI. századi magyar értelmiség* = Idem., *Nympha super ripam Danubii. Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből*, Budapest, 2002, 129.

⁵ Regarding the ways of purchasing wine in the early 16th century and the difficulties of transportation see: TÖTTÖS Gábor, *Borkultúra a 16. században*, História, 2005/6–7, 40–42.

⁶ Palina (Somogy county) was an estate of the Provostship of Fehérvár, so Brodarics had no control over it indeed.

⁷ Tihany.

[5.] Ego de Turcis, si quid contra Slavoniam moliantur, nihil hic intelligo. Si quid habuero, faciam tam Vestram Dominationem, quam praefectos illius Slavonienses certiores. Dominus Petrus Periny, ad quem hinc servitor is vester vadit, propinquior Turcis, certiora de his scribere poterit, qui multum cupit amicitiam vestram, sed ambo
50 indigens consilio amicorum, quod ego propterea ita libere scribo, quia utrumque vestrum amo et utrique bene consultum cuperem.

[6.] Novi adhuc ex Constantinopoli nihil habemus, neque de Palotha aliud, nisi quod vehementissime oppugnatur aucto numero oppugnantorum et, quantum a domino Loboczky,⁸ fratre domini Lasky wayvodae intellexi, nihil dubitatur de eius expugnatione.⁹
55 Dominus Loboczky vadit Constantinopolim missus a domino Lasky in suis negotiis privatis. Dominus etiam cancellarius eodem ibit.¹⁰ Rex multum me urget litteris, ut ad eum vadam. Sed adhuc intra aliquot dies ire non potero dans operam valetudini, de qua tamen parvam spem habeo. Dominationem Vestram rogo, velit me facere certiorum de his, quibus fatetur se esse plenam et novorum et mirabilium per aliquem fidum, vel per
60 ciphras, si quid tale est. Nam ego, si possem, non solum ad Berzencze et Canisam,¹¹ sed etiam longe ultra venirem ad Vestram Dominationem.

Ma quel che la Signoria Vostra vol significare prego la faci presto, perche credo che io non potero stare qua troppo tempo. Et eandem cum his felicissime valere opto. Quinqueecclesiis Dominica Rogationum 1533.

65 Dominam meam illustrem, dominam Orsykam, dominum patrem nostrum communem salvos esse cupio et eis servitia mea commendari peto. Nam Annokam, credo, abesse a vobis.
Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorando

48 Dominus... cuperem manu Broderici

65 Dominam... Sirmiensis subscripsit manu Broderici

⁸ Matthias Loboczky was one of the Royal Secretaries of János Szapolyai. His name appears already in a letter by Szapolyai in 1530. (See MOL, E 185, János király levelei, fol. 3.) An undated letter of his is kept in Vienna (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 33. Konv. B, fol. 215.).

⁹ László Csulai Mór, brother of Bishop of Pécs Fülöp Csulai Mór, who died in the battle of Mohács, got hold of Várpalota through marriage in 1527. He took advantage of the turbulent years and between 1527 and 1533 looted territories loyal to Szapolyai and Ferdinand alike. Therefore, Szapolyai, using the armistice signed with Ferdinand, instructed Łaski in April 1533 to smoke him out from Várpalota. After Mór fled from the besieged fortress in mid-May leaving his two children behind, Łaski's army, supplemented by Turkish groups, captured the castle by the end of May. Simon Erdődy's report says that plunder worth of several hundred thousand forints had been obtained. See VERESS D. Csaba, *Várak a Bakonyban. A veszprémi, a pápai és a palotai vár hadtörténete*, Budapest, 1983, 32–34.

¹⁰ Szapolyai, it seems, did not trust Gritti and that is why he decided to send Werbőczy to Constantinople to participate in the talks there. (See FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Werbőczy István életrajza*, Budapest, 1899, 290.) Leaving was scheduled for April but it was delayed considerably, presumably for financial reasons: on 9 June Werbőczy was still staying in Buda. Simon Erdődy wrote to Nádasdy at that time that the Chancellor would perhaps leave the following day. (See MOL, E 185 Erdődy Simon levelei, fol. 19–20.)

¹¹ Berzence and Kanizsa, estates of Nádasdy.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 5 June 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 70–71.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 329.

1. He has not much to say but did not want to let Johannes Ceparius go without a letter. – 2. He is recommending his brother who left the other day back to Nádasdy and expects a favourable answer regarding the issue of the abbey. – 3. Nádasdy should persuade Kápolnay to reach an agreement with Brodarics, otherwise the whole area will suffer together with him. – 4. The Pope and the kings of England and France are said to meet in Nice; the Turkish Sultan has sent large armies on land and sea to win Koron back.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitia mea.

[1.] Licet nihil haberem, quod scriberem ad Vestram Dominationem, nolui tamen hunc dominum Ioannem Ceparium¹ sine meis ad Vestram Dominationem dimittere litteris. Quibus hoc tantum significo me hic esse, et esse totum tibi deditissimum.

5 [2.] Fratrem meum, dominum Matthiam, qui nudiustertius hinc ad Vestram Dominationem discessit, totum totaliter commendo et trado Vestrae Dominationi. In ea re, rogo, ostendas tuum in me amorem. De abbatiis, de quibus ad te ex Quinqueecclesiis scripsi, exspecto responsum gratum.²

10 [3.] Novi adhuc nihil habemus, et miramur de hoc. Rogo, ut dominum Kápolnay inducas et rogas[!], ut mecum aliquem finem faciat, alioquin certum est, ruet et ipse, et illa regio propter ipsum. Noli, quaeso, pati, ut mihi tam insignis iniuria per hominem tuo obsequio addictum inferatur. Ego habui et habeo adhuc magnam patientiam, sed alii non habebunt, si quid mali contigerit.

Ista Iovem haud lateant, quique horum erit causa malorum, quod Decimus Brutus³
15 secundus ille eius sanguinis, patriae liberator dixisse fertur, cum mori iam decrevisset. Tu felix sis. Et optime vale, meque tuis omnibus commenda.

Ex Buda, 5. Iunii 1533.

[5.] Ex Urbe habuimus Herculem, unde nihil aliud, nisi quod creditur futurus conventus pontificis cum regibus Galliae et Angliae in urbe Nicia confinii Italiae et Gal-

7 post abbatiis del. fac me

14 post Brutus del. moriens dixit

15 post ille del. patriae

¹ János Cepari (Csepári?). I have found no more data on him.

² Presumably not the letter dated 18 May, since that one includes no reference to any abbey.

³ Decimus Iunius Brutus, one of Caesar's murderers. Brodarics, however, mistakes Decimus Brutus for Marcus Iunius Brutus, the most important leader of the murderers besides Cassius. Plutarch says (*Brutus*, c. 51.) that he cited a line from *Medea* by Euripides before his death: *O Zeus! Let not the author of these trouble escape thee*. The line, of course, goes in Greek both in Euripides and in Plutarch (Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὅς αἴτιος κακῶν).

20 liae Narbonensis.⁴ Turcus miserat et mari et terra ad recuperandum Coron⁵ validum exercitum, et quaedam alia attulit magis particularia et notu minus digna. Mendaciorum autem tantum, quantum vix muli XVI. portare possent.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc., domino uti filio carissimo

197

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 17 June 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 72–73.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 330.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 588–589.

1. Gritti writes from Istanbul that the case of King John is on the right track even though his adversaries try to hinder his efforts in every possible way, mainly using money. – 2. Ferdinand's legate negotiates with Gritti only. – 3. Péter Bornemisza is in Istanbul with the Governor too.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Servitia et commendationem.

[1.] Nunc Vestrae Dominationi possum scribere venisse ex Constantinopoli a domino gubernatore litteras, in quibus scribit negotia maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi et huius miseri regni esse in bono statu, et quod sperat omnino, quod omnia
5 concludet et conficiet iuxta votum regiae maiestatis, licet et adversarii sibi non desint oppugnantes nos rebus omnibus et maxime pecuniis.

[2.] Scribit, quod postquam illuc appulit, reiecta fuisse in eum omnia ista negotia Hungarica, ut per eum tractarentur et transigerentur. Commissum etiam fuisse oratori¹ regis Romanorum, ut cum ipso tractaret de omnibus, et ab ipso exspectaret, qui iam
10 semel apud ipsum fuerat, instructionem etiam ei obtulerat, quam a principe suo habebat,

⁴ Clement VII planned a meeting with French King Francis I for as soon as April but it had to be postponed because of the resistance of pro-emperor cardinals. Finally they agreed to meet in Nice in September 1533. But the meeting fell through again and it took place in Marseille between 12 October and 12 November. It cannot be proven that the English King was meant to be there. Henry VIII tried to talk Francis I into persuading the Pope to allow Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, but since he failed to get the permission, he divorced in June 1533 and married Anne Boleyn. After this, Clement VII threatened him with excommunication.

⁵ The Sultan agreed to accept peace with Ferdinand on the condition the he gets the castle of Esztergom in Hungary and Charles V lets him have the fortress of Koron of strategic importance on the Peloponnese Peninsula, which the Spaniards captured in 1532. Ferdinand sent the keys of Esztergom to Constantinople and tried to persuade his brother to hand over Koron, but without success.

¹ Jeromos Zárai, Ferdinand's legate to Istanbul.

cuius exemplum regi est missum. Expectabantur litterae Caroli imperatoris. Et nullum dubium video esse, quin res bono modo conficiatur, de quo sint gratiae domino Deo.

[3.] Iste, qui litteras portavit, affirmavit dominum etiam Petrum Bornemyza² se ibi vidisse apud dominum gubernatorem. Reperit etiam per viam illum chawz imperatoris,
15 qui fuit apud regem Romanorum cum uno oratore regis eiusdem ad portam euntem.

Et me ac mea servitia et fratrem meum Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felix valeat cum omnibus suis immo nostris et nostrabus.

Budae, 17. Iunii 1533.

Scrive ancora che l' reame romanera in le man del Re nostro.

20 Servitor

Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorando

198

Piotr Tomicki [to István Brodarics]¹
[Radom], [17 June 1533]²

Manuscript used: BN T. 26. fol. 175r³

Published: Acta Tomiciana XV. 422–423.

1. He is pleased to learn from Brodarics' letter that there will soon be peace in Hungary. – 2. Constable of Cracow Andrzej Tęczyński is about to leave for Hungary, and from there he goes on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He is asking Brodarics to take care of Tęczyński while he is in Hungary.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime et Honorande.

[1.] Litterae Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quas proxime ab illa accepi magna me affecerunt voluptate, ex illis enim, quod diu scire desiderabam, intellexi et
5 Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam sanam esse et regno isti iniuria temporum

16 Et me... Sirmiensiis subscripsit manu Broderici

² The name of Péter Bornemisza appears among the signees of the invitation prepared at the assembly in Bélavár in 1531. See MOE I. 371.

¹ There is no address whatsoever in the manuscript kept in the Górski Collection. The codex kept in the Jagiello Library only has *episcopo Ungaro*. In any case, the addressee must be a priest of high rank in the Szapolyai party. Brodarics was in contact with Andrzej Tęczyński justifiably. See his letter to Tęczyński on 22 October 1528.

² The letter is extant only in an undated copy, but in all probability it was written in Radom on 17 June just as the other three letters of recommendation given to Tęczyński and Tomicki's letter addressed to Tęczyński. See AT XV. 420.

³ Further manuscript: BJ 6553 fol. 242v–243r.

afflicto pacem propediem cuiusmodi affuturam,⁴ qua et hominum dissidentium animi coniungantur et ditiones a regno avulsae ad suum unum corpus restituantur. Pro quo tam optato nuntio ingentes ago et habeo Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae gratias, et a Deo votis omnibus precor, quo ista, ut in spe sunt, succedant, perficiantur et in
10 multa diuturnitate temporum permaneant confirmata.

[2.] Spectabilis et magnificus dominus Andreas comes de Taczin castellanus Cracoviensis, primarius in ordine et statu secularium regni huius consiliarius, cum istuc ex quodam animi sui instituto ad regiam istam Hungariae maiestatem se conferret, istinc postmodum Hierosolimam usque voti solvendi causa profecturus,⁵ petiit se a me
15 Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae commendari. Quem tametsi ego, pro sua virtute et mutua, quae illi cum Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima intercedit, coniunctione nulla commendatione egere sciam, pro meo tamen in illum officio et amore Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae ita eum commendo, ut neminem magis velim aut possim commendare, illamque rogo plurimum, ut cum pro sua humanitate illum istic amice
20 excipere et tractare voluerit, ultra haec sua officia aliquod etiam mea causa grati sui animi erga illum adicere et declarare non gravetur, ut intelligere possit et Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae erga me benevolentiam singularem et hanc de se meam commendationem non vulgarem esse. Quod vicissim Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi omni gratificatione et amicis officiis referre per omnem occasionem curabo.
25 Cuius benevolentiae et amoris fraterno me commendo optans ex animo, ut dominus Deus concedat illi longam vitam, bonam valetudinem et in rebus omnibus optatam felicitatem. Datum.

199

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 19 July 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 78–79.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 330–331.;

Georgius PRAY, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*, Posonii, 1806, II. 39–40.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 589–590.

The good news arrived from Gritti yesterday that the Sultan and Ferdinand agreed upon peace in Istanbul, but only on the condition that Ferdinand has to reach an agreement with King John as well. Gritti was authorised by the Sultan to arrange and lead the talks.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitia.

⁴ In February and March 1533 further peace talks took place in Óvár and then in Pozsony between envoys of Ferdinand and Szapolyai. Brodarics was a member of the Szapolyai delegation. Compare his letter to Tomicki on 7 February.

⁵ Andrzej Tęczyński received permission for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land from Sigismund on 16 June (see: AT XV. 416–417.), and on 17 June he got three letters of recommendation, one addressed to János Szapolyai (AT XV. 421–422.), one to Sultan Süleyman (AT XV. 423.), and one to Pasha Ibrahim (AT XV. 424.). Tomicki's lines, presumably addressed to Brodarics, fit into this series.

Heri venit nuntius ex Constantinopoli cum litteris illustris domini Ludovici Gritti, qui scribit pacem esse conclusam inter invictissimum Turcarum imperatorem et inter regem Ferdinandum, ita tamen, quod cum maiestate etiam regia debeat concordare.¹ Et dedisse caesarem ipsi domino Ludovico Gritti consentiendi ad id et compromittendi oratoribus regis Ferdinandi plenam facultatem componendi differentias inter regem nostrum et ipsum regem Ferdinandum existentes, hoc etiam expresse adiecto, quod nisi cum rege concordaverit, pax cum caesarea maiestate facta nulla censeatur. Praeterea addit dominus Gritti eam esse voluntatem caesariae maiestatis, ut nulla regni particula penes regem Ferdinandum maneat. Scribit etiam se brevi huc rediturum pro negotiis istis, inter regiam maiestatem et regem Ferdinandum componendis.

Litterae domini Gritti sunt date II. Iulii. Vestra Dominatio bene cogitet, quid agit et quomodo non acceptat consilia recte suadentium. Et bene valeat.

Ex Buda, XVIII. Iulii 1533.

15 Servitor

Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino etc., domino uti filio carissimo ac honorando

200

István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 1 August 1533

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol 8., fol. 117r–v, 122r–v

Published: ETE II. 272–274.; THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 623–624.; BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*, Róma-Budapest, 2002, 105–107.

1. The two biggest problems are the case of Hungary and Lutheranism. Emperor Charles, too, came to the imperial diet in Augsburg. Hungarian affairs are going well, the Pope can hear about them from the Casali brothers. – 2. If the Pope does not attempt to prevent it by summoning a council or through other means, Lutheranism will spread all over Hungary: especially in territories ruled by Ferdinand, priests already get married, kermises and dispensations are underrated, and they preach in the spirit of Luther. – 3. Some turn the indulgences issued in the Pope's name into market goods. It is not possible to threaten them with the stake at once, and rulers are not inclined to do that either because they, too, feel that Christianity needs reforms. – 4. The Church is reproached for luxury and extorting while priests do not transmit the Word of God. If this is not remedied soon everything might perish. – 6. In Hungary, it is thanks to Szapolyai exclusively that Lutheranism has not spread more widely. Szapolyai is a loyal son of the Holy See even though he was treated unfairly. If the Pope is too late with the council, some rulers will announce in on their countries themselves.

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae humilem commendationem ad oscula pedum Vestrae Sanctitatis beatorum.

¹ A reference to the bargaining for peace in the summer of 1533 in Constantinople. For a summary of the talks see BÁRDOSSY László, *A magyar politika...* 126–128.

[1.] Non est opus me de statu horum regnorum multa ad Vestram Sanctitatem scribere, cum omnia ex dominis Casaliis¹ sit acceptura. Duae erant potissimum res in tota
5 republica Christiana difficiliores, pro quibus etiam excellentissimus Carolus imperator testatus est se in publico Germaniae conventu Augustensi² in Germaniam venisse: nostrae res Hungaricae et dogma Lutheranum. Res nostrae ad quem statum sint deductae, Vestra Sanctitas, ut dixi, intelliget ex dominis Casaliis. Neque credo serenissimum regem Ferdinandum quicquam iam amplius moturum, sed his, quae sunt auctoritate
10 potentissimi Turcarum imperatoris, quem ipsemet sibi iudicem elegit, nobis iudicio fratris eius serenissimi contentis, decreta staturum, nisi velit funditus et se et sua omnia ruere, quam mentem Deus optimus illi adimat.

[2.] Rebus igitur nostris compositis, restant negotia fidei ac religionis, ad quae componenda Vestram Sanctitatem totis viribus adniti decet, nisi velit reliquum etiam Christianum orbem paulatim a sacrosancta Sede Apostolica et a se deficere. Id enim futurum
15 manifeste video, nisi Vestra Sanctitas vel concilio faciendo, vel aliquo alio modo quamprimum subveniat. Iam scita Lutheri et eorum, qui eum sequuntur, sensim totam fere Hungariam pervadunt, in aliquibus vero locis, maxime serenissimo adhuc Ferdinando regi parentibus,³ coeperunt omnia iuxta illius dogma fieri et praedicari. Sacerdotes
20 palam uxores ducunt, indulgentiae, dispensationes et alia huiusmodi, quae aliquando in pretio fuerunt, contemptui habentur. Nec scimus nos, qui Sedis Apostolicae sumus observantes, quid ad talia respondere, vel quo pacto illorum opinionem refellere. Nam si dicamus, sanctius esse et Deo acceptius sacerdotes, quod fere ubique fit, scorta, quam uxores habere, ut longe turpiora taceantur, nescimus, quam pie id asseverare possimus.

[3.] Non defuerunt superioribus mensibus id, quod mihi certo constat, qui nomine Sanctitatis Vestrae indulgentias et dispensationes hic in Hungaria circumferrent, et non aliter, quam quaevis vilissimae merces vendi solent, nundinarentur. Nostris talia non deridentibus solum, sed et palam detestantibus. Quidnam et istis respondeamus, cum
25 iam omnibus sit illud in ore: gratis accepistis, gratis date. Quod si vim eis et incendia
30 minemur, quid minus Christianum, quam protinus ad haec recurrere? Principes etiam nostri non ita facile ad vim talibus inferendam induci possunt, quod et ipsi intelligere coeperunt multa esse in usum Christianum recepta, quae vel aboleri vel certe immutari deberent. Omnes intelligunt concilio esse opus et multarum rerum restauratione.

[4.] Taceo de his, quae de abusibus Sedis Romanae ubique praedicantur. Omitto,
35 quae de tanta beneficiorum, aliorum super alia congerie, de nulla animarum, sed tan-

¹ The Casali brothers, Gregorio, Gianbattista, and Francesco Casali served the French and the English kings but also represented the excommunicated Szapolyai.

² Reference to the imperial diet in Augsburg in 1530, where Lutheran reformation became the most important topic besides stepping up against the Turks. Philip Melanchthon handed over the tenets of the new faith to Charles V in Augsburg.

³ This is explained mainly by the fact that Ferdinand had the towns of Western and Northern Hungary with their mostly German population. These were the first ones to get connected to Lutheran teachings through their cultural connections. But Brodarics skilfully creates the impression that Ferdinand's more lenient approach may foster the spreading of heresy in his part of the country. Quite the contrary, Ferdinand was not the least tolerant: he forbade Protestant preaching in the towns and the Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier was burnt in 1528 in Vienna. See: Erich ZÖLLNER, *Ausztria története*, Budapest, 1998, 149.

tum de proventuum et corporum cura iactantur. Praeterea neminem pene esse in toto Christiano orbe antistitem in tot opulentissimis et Croesi divitiis aequantibus ecclesiis, qui verbum Dei, ad quod episcopi et sacerdotes sunt ordinati, doceat. Charta me deficeret, si vellem vel partem eorum, quae nobis et maxime Sedi Apostolicae obici-
40 untur, recensere. Igitur amore Dei Omnipotentis Vestra Sanctitas cum suo cardineo senatu aliquam rationem inire velit alicuius medelae ad talia ulcera sananda adhibenda, quae nisi antidoto quopiam quamprimum sanentur, erumpent, mihi crede, Beatissime Pater, nec ultra obducta teneri poterunt, vereor, ne cum totali divitiarumstrarum ruina. Melius esset mea quidem et multorum bonorum, cum quibus ista soleo interdum
45 mussitare, sententia partem cedere volentes, quam ut totum nolentibus et invitis eripiatur.

[5.] Quod Hungaria dogma Lutheri nondum palam receperit, Vestra Sanctitas et Sedes Apostolica nulli hoc debet, nisi nostro serenissimo principi et eius modestiae ac bonitati, qui licet a Sede Apostolica repudiatus et ab ea indignissime habitus,⁴ dat
50 tamen omnem operam, ne quid in regno suo innovetur, sed et ipse concilium suspirat. Vereor et illud, ne dum Sedes Apostolica differt, principes ipsi vel simul, vel quisque in suo regno concilium faciant. Quod multi, et viri quidem catholici, non cessant auri-
bus principum assidue instillare.

De his volui pro mea in Sedem Apostolicam fide ac devotione, in Vestram autem
55 Sanctitatem singulari observantia et animi deditissimi propensitate Vestram Sanctitatem humiliter admonere. Quae, supplico, sicut proficiscuntur ex sincero, bono et Christiano corde, ita boni aequique consulere dignetur. Et Sanctitatem Vestram Deus Optimus Maximus diu salvam et incolumem conservet.

Datum Budae die prima mensis Augusti anno Domini MDXXXIII.

60 Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the outer side: Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Clementi Septimo Pontifici Maximo,
Domino mihi Clementissimo

⁴ Pope Clement, under Habsburg pressure, excommunicated Szapolyai, since he formed an alliance with the Turks in 1529.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Székesfehérvár, 19 August 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 80–82.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 331–332.

1. Neither the King nor he himself nor Frangepán believe it is a good idea for Annóka to travel to Transylvania now, because there are Gritti's people everywhere in that part of the country. – 2. He has the same view on what attitude Nádasdy should adopt in dealing with the King and the Governor as earlier; so he is not repeating himself now. – 3. The King is heading straight for Pécs. Kápolnay is said to come to receive him; Perényi asked for a safe conduct and got it. – 4. Gáspár Ráskay stayed in Buda because Czikak wanted the constables and magistrates take an oath of loyalty to him. The King did not approve of that.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Honorandissime et Carissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Egi diligentissime apud maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum pro litteris salvi conductus pro generosa domina, sorore nostra, domina Annoka. Sed maiestati suae nullo pacto videtur ipsa nunc istinc movenda domino thesaurario, Doczy² et aliis servitoribus illustrissimi domini gubernatoris nunc in illis partibus, aliis scilicet prope Transsilvaniam, aliis in Transsilvania existentibus non longe ab his locis, per quos ire deberet. Itaque maiestas sua censet, ab hoc nunc omnino supersedendum et eius in Transsilvaniam missionem in aliud tempus commodius differendam; haec est maiestatis suae de hoc sententia, haec est et mea cum reverendissimo domino nostro, domino Colocensi.

[2.] Quod ad alia attinet, cum ego toties mentem meam Vestrae Dominationi et coram et per nuntios et per litteras explicaverim, et nihil penitus quod ad res Vestrae Dominationis tam cum maiestate regia, quam cum domino gubernatore attinet et etiam, quae inter nos duos sunt, praetermiserim, quid opus est illa eadem nunc repetere. Illa fuit semper, illa est et nunc sententia mea: Dominationi Vestrae ita esse providendum, ita se gerendum, ut etiam atque etiam prospiciat futura, ne quid aliter brevi contingat, quam Vestra Dominatio nunc cogitat. Mutabilis est rerum humanarum status. Illis autem potissimum credendum, quos homo re ipsa cognoverit et sui amantes et non imprudentes, et qui ad ea trahunt suis consiliis, quae sunt honesta et stabilia. Sed de his iam totiens usque ad taedium. Itaque Vestra Dominatio ignoscat.

[3.] Novi nihil est aliud. Rex vadit Quinqueecclesias recta.³ Noster Kápolnai dicitur

⁸ *post* censet *del. ci*

¹ Autograph.

² János Dóczy, Treasurer. As such, the successor of Nádasdy, a confidant of Gritti in Hungary. As Vice-Governor (1532–1534), he represented the interests of the absent Gritti. For this, he was executed with his master in 1534 in Medgyes.

³ Szapolyai travelled to Pécs to restore order among his South-Transdanubian and Slavonian followers. Simon Erdődy informed Tamás Nádasdy on 17 August from Csázma that the King ordered him to appear in Pécs on 24 August. See: MOL, E 185 Erdődy Simon levelei, fol. 27–28.

venturus regi obviam, dominus Petrus Periny miserat pro salvo conductu, quem habuit.

[4.] Budae remansit dominus Gaspar Raskai⁴ vice regis. Nam dominus Czybak⁵ talia optabat, quae non sunt visa regi concedenda. Inter alia noluit remanere, nisi ei iuramentum praestitissent tam castellani, quam iudices utriusque civitatis, quod, quia nunquam memineramus fuisse factum, non fuit concessum. Hoc enim videbatur fuisse, relinquere Budae regem, non locumtenentem regis. Ab amicis, quanto magis a dominis et principibus honesta petenda.

30 Me Dominationi Vestrae, dominabus sororibus nostris, dominabus mihi observandissimis, domino Dionisio, patri nostro communi commendo. Et omnes optime valete.

Ex Alba Regia XVIII. Augusti 1533.

Cuperem magnopere, si ita contingere posset, ut simul constitueremur.

Servitor

35 Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino meo, domino Thomae Nadasdino comiti etc., consiliario regio, domino uti filio carissimo

202

Jan Łaski to István Brodarics
Cracow, 27 August 1533

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]¹

Published: Acta Tomicihana XV. 577–578.; Hermann DALTON, *Lasciana nebst ältesten evangelischen Synodalprotokollen Polens 1555–61*, Berlin, 1898, 155–156.

He had the feeling that King John might hold grudges against his brother Hieronym Łaski. He is afraid that those who envy his brother want to defame him, while he was ready to give not only his wealth but his life for the king. That is why he had written to Szapolyai to learn the truth about his brother from him.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime.

25 *post alia del. volu*

26 *post quam del. uter*

⁴ Gáspár Ráskay, Comes of Nógrád. He was one of the guardsmen of Louis II in the battle of Mohács.

⁵ Imre Czikab, Bishop of Várad, was one of the most loyal followers of Szapolyai. Gritti had him killed in September 1534.

¹ The first publisher of the text Hermann Dalton only provides that the manuscript he used is from the Tsar's library in Sankt-Petersburg, so it is not possible to identify it today. One would suspect the volumes of Acta Tomicihana kept in the Jagiello Library in Cracow because those were in Sankt-Petersburg before, but this letter is not found in them. Editors of volume XV of Acta Tomicihana also reference Dalton's publication only, so they could not find another manuscript either.

Scripseram nuper nonnihil ad Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam me quodammodo olfecisse nescio quid de mutato regiae Hungariae istic maiestatis in fratrem meum² animo. Nunc vero id iam vulgatius est ubique, quam ut dissimulari possit, non
 5 sine gravissimo animi mei et omnium dolore, qui fratri pro eo ac aequum est et debemus et favemus. Cumque ea res in dies magis ac magis asseretur, visum est mihi ad ipsammet maiestatem regiam scribere,³ quod quidem id mirum est apud me, quod cum ita passim hic iactantur, frater tamen ne uno quidem verbo mihi id nuntiaverit, unde et vereor, ne quis id data opera confinxerit fraterni nominis odio, ut nunc sunt varia
 10 hominum ingenia praesertim cum nos non fortunas tantum nostras, quantae quantae [!] sunt, sed et vitam pro sua maiestate profundere non dubitaverimus. Atque ita ad maiestatem suam scripsi rogans, ut pro mea omniumque amicorum consolatione illius maiestas me litteris suis hac de re facere dignetur certiore, quibus et rumorem hunc refellere et aemulis instantibus os obturare possimus. Qua in re rogo et Vestram quoque Reverendissimam Dominationem, operam suam interponere velit. Cui me totum commendo.
 15 Cracoviae XXVII Augusti 1533.

203

Clement VII to István Brodarics Rome, 3 September 1533

Manuscript used: ASV, Armadio XXXIX., vol. 53. fol. 1241–1246

Published: ETE II. 279–281.; THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 624–625.

1. It was with great joy that he has heard about the peace to be signed by the two kings soon; this would benefit not only the countries affected but all of Christianity. – 2. Regarding Lutheranism, he approves of Brodarics' zeal but exactly he should know that the Pope has devoted all his life to fight heresy. A council would be a good solution but a thoughtlessly summoned assembly might cause more harm than benefit. – 3. He has sent legates to Christian reigning princes in preparation for a council. He is surprised that Brodarics has not heard about all that and that he believes the words of slanderers and the half-witted when he used to live in Rome for years. – 4. The Pope instructs him to prevent heretics from spreading rumours in the future and inform congregations about the real efforts of the Church. – 5. He is unaware of the indulgences mentioned by Brodarics; obviously some people misused his name. If Brodarics comes across such things he should have the person arrested so that he can get his well-deserved punishment.

Venerabili fratri Stephano Broderico, episcopo Sirmiensi.

[1.] Clemens fratri salutem. Pacificatio istorum principum, perniciosissimarumque discordiarum compositio, quam antea ex pluribus, proxime vero ex tuis litteris¹

² Hieronym Łaski.

³ See Jan Łaski's letter to King John, AT XV. 578–579.

¹ See the letter by Brodarics on 1 August 1533.

accepimus, tantam nobis voluptatem attulerat, quantam res optatas [.....]², non solum in istis regnis, verum etiam toti reipublicae Christianae apprime salutaris ac necessaria afferre potuit. Hunc autem Deum orare non desistimus, ut quemadmodum sua admirabili ac plane [.....] beneficium nobis universis obtulit, ita id et perpetuum esse, et, quod reliquum est, ad exitum perducere velit.

[2.] Quae autem de haeresi Lutherana [...] commemoras, atque rogas, ut in istam curam incumbamus atque aliquod remedium labenti religioni afferamus, Nos quidem ista [. . . .] proficisci certo scimus, teque valde collaudamus, quod in tanto locorum temporumque intervallo tuae erga nos observantiae, nostraeque vicissim in te voluntatis memoriam retinueris, et in [.....] ac perturbatione omnis divini humanique iuris tuam pristinam pietatem ac religionem etiam auxeris. Sed profecto te latere non debet, qui non modo haec publica, quae in oculis atque conspectu omnium provisa atque elaborata a nobis sunt, vidisti, sed etiam pro tua nobiscum veteri[!] familiaritate ex nostris gravissimis sermonibus totum sensum animumque nostrum perspicere potuisti, neminem omnium esse, qui istiusmodi adhortationibus ac monitis minus loci reliquerit. Quid enim tot iam annos aliud agimus, in quo omne nostrum studium, cura, mens, vita denique consumitur, nisi ut hanc turbulentissimam tempestatem discutiamus? Quid molestiae, quid laboris, quid periculi non subiimus, ut communi tranquillitati atque omnium saluti consuleremus? Nonne hoc ipso tempore difficillimum iter praeter aetatem et valetudinem nostram suscepimus, ut Domino potius et Christianae reipublicae, quam nostris commodis aut hominum inanis [!] opinionibus serviamus? Quod quidem iter eiusdem Domini bonitate et misericordia freti speramus omnibus Christianis utile atque salutare futurum. Nam de concilio, quod suades, quodque ab omnibus bonis efflagitari dicis, nos semper ita sensimus turbulentis temporibus, in seditionibus atque haeresibus nullum nec maius, nec magis praesens auxilium, quam legitime atque Spiritus Sancti instinctu vocati concilii inveniri posse. Sed tamen iisdem et rationibus et exemplis superiorum in utramque partem adductis perspicimus id, quod nemo negare potest, quantum sit in recte atque ordine habito concilio boni, tantundem autem, etiam multo plus esse in temere atque ex hominum cupiditate, non ex Domini honore ac timore coacto mali.

[3.] Itaque et a principio nostri pontificatus nunquam destitimus hortari atque suadere Christianis principibus, [ut] nobiscum et inter se ad sublevandam rem Christianam ac religionem tuendam conspirarent, et his proximis mensibus nuntios ad omnes fere principes cum his tantum mandatis de suadendo concilio misimus, neque omnino aliud aut curamus aut cupimus, ut si unquam id efficere poterimus, satis nos diu vixisse atque amplissimumstrarum omnium vigiliarum fructum cepisse arbitraturi simus. Quas nostras actiones et cogitationes ad te non esse perlatas, hominem in rebus gerendis versatum, valde miramur. Si perlatae sunt, multo etiam magis miramur te isto ingenio, ista doctrina, tanto etiam rerum usu magis imperiti vulgi rumoribus aut etiam iniquorum criminationibus, quam aut nostra constantia, aut tuo ipsius sensu commoveri. Atque haec eadem de Sedis huius Sanctae, quos vocas, abusibus et vere et recte

² Dotted parts indicate bigger gaps in the text of the breve. Since such gaps are not found in other breves usually, it is possible that in fact some words were omitted when the breve was registered.

45 respondi [!] possunt. Quis enim non videt totam istam criminationem a malevolis atque
ab haereticis confictam esse opprimendae ecclesiae causa, ut cum simulatione exagi-
tandae vitae praelatorum se in aures multitudinis insinuarint, repente in sacra atque in
ipsum Dominum impietatis suae venenum expromant. Nos quidem non negamus, quin
50 graviter etiam dolemus esse homines in hac Urbe nonnullos malos, qui neque hominis
Christiani, neque viri boni officiis saepe fungantur, minimeque digni sint non modo
dignitate ulla, verum etiam hoc solum nomine Christiani. Sed tu nobis, qui in hac Urbe
complures annos vixisti,³ idem optimus testis esse potes, neque ita esse eos multos, ut
invidia ferat, et in ceteris bonis non pauciores, ac saepe etiam multo deteriores inve-
niri.

55 [4.] Quare erit officium tuum, cum eiusmodi hominibus ac sermonibus posthac
occurreris, quod tamen te fecisse assiduo scribis, et nos certo credimus [.....] neque
pati homines imperitos ab impiorum calumniis everti, sed cum doctrina atque pruden-
tia, tum auctoritate, quae in te magna sunt [.....] omnino esse docebis. Si qua vero
etiam vera sint, non esse tamen eiusmodi, ut etiam ad concilium innocentium et inte-
60 grorum hominum infamiam et labem permanere [.....] ceteris fraudi esse non debeant.
Ut haec ipsa, quae scribis de divenditis indulgentiis ac dispensationibus, quae nobis
certe inscientibus atque invitis omnia fiunt, neque satis mirari possumus, quomodo
istae litterae sint ablatae, ut suspicari cogamur, eos in re improba nostro titulo ac
nomine falso abuti. Quare te hortamur, ut si quem posthac eiusmodi molientem nactus sis,
65 des operam, ut quantum possit, comprehendatur ac diligentissime custodiat, ut causa
cognita statui pro meritis de illo possit, ne et re animae suae et exemplo ceteris per-
niciem in posterum afferat. Quod autem scribis de vigilantia et studio ipsius principis⁴
tuendae fidei et haeresium propulsandarum, nobis gratissimum est, ut debet, optantes
ac in Domini benignitate sperantes brevi fore, ut sicut inviti et officio nostro coacti ad
70 ea devenimus, quae nobis rerum qualitas ac temporum necessitas imposuit, ita subse-
cuta, quam scribis et nos summe cupimus, pacificatione, ad pristinam nostram in illum
benevolentiam et paternum amorem libentissime revertamur.⁵

Datum Romae etc. die III. Septembris 1533. Anno X.

³ Brodarics was staying in Rome with short interruptions between 1522–1525 as a legate of Louis II. His acquaintance with the Pope dates back to this time.

⁴ That is, János Szapolyai.

⁵ The Pope excommunicated King John in 1529 under Habsburg pressure. Since then, having it revoked had been a main objective for Szapolyai's diplomacy. Obviously, the sentences in Brodarics' letter that present him as a faithful Catholic prince serve this purpose (as well).

János Szapolyai to István Brodarics
Pécs, 6 September 1533¹

Manuscript used: MOL, E 153, fasc. 281., fol. 58.

Published: Iosephus KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis*. Tomus V., Pesthini, 1801, 247.

János Szapolyai instructs Brodarics to take Pauline monks in the Saint James Monastery of Palacs under his protection against any troublemakers.

Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. Fideli nostro Reverendo Domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi ac consiliario nostro salutem et gratiam.

Quoniam nos fideles nostros religiosos fratres heremitas ordinis Beati Pauli Primi
5 Heremitae in claustro Sancti Iacobi² in monte possessionis Irewg³ vocatae fundato
degentes, simulcum universis bonis et iuribus ipsorum possessionariis, iustis ut puta et
legitimis in nostram regiam recepimus protectionem et tutelam specialem, viceque et
in persona nostrae maiestatis vestrae commisimus tuitioni et protectioni. Pro eo fide-
10 titati vestrae harum serie firmiter mandamus, quatenus praefatos fratres in dicto claustro
Sancti Iacobi degentes, simul cum praescriptis universis bonis et iuribus ipsorum pos-
sessionariis ubilibet existentibus et habitis, iustis, ut praefertur, et legitimis, contra
quoslibet illegitimos impetitores, turbatores et actores tueri, protegere, ac eosdem
indemniter manutenere modis omnibus debeatis et teneamini nostrae maiestatis in
15 persona et auctoritate nostra regia praesentibus vobis in hac parte attributa, iureque et
iustitia mediante.⁴ Secus non facturi. Praesentibus prelectis exhibenti restitutis.

Datum Quinqueecclesiis feria sexta proxima ante festum nativitatis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae. Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio.

In the upper-left corner of the document: manu propria domini regis

¹ In the first publication of this letter by József Koller the date 5 September 1539 is given, which, knowing the original, is considered a result of misreading.

² A Pauline Monastery on James Hill near Pécs. It was founded around 1225, and thus it is one of the oldest monasteries of the Pauline Order. After Pécs was seized by the Turks in 1543, the monastery was left. Further documents about the monastery: GYÉRESSY Béla–TÓTH Melinda–ifj. ENTZ Géza–SZÉPHELYI FRANKL György (eds.), *Documenta artis Paulinorum II.*, 1976, 149–158.

³ The monastery is located North-West of Pécs, at a distance of 4 kms equally from Patacs and Ürög villages. Therefore, sources refer to it sometimes as monastery of Ürög, sometimes as that of Patacs.

⁴ Szapolyai gave tax exemption to the Pauline Fathers of Patacs the same day. For the charter see: MOL, E 153, fasc. 281., fol. 47–48.

Francesco Casali to István Brodarics¹
Marseille, 23 October 1533²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. B, fol. 82–83.³

1. He has reported everything to the French King that Szapolyai entrusted to him and will act likewise to the Pope. For this, he engaged the help of Connétable Anne de Montmorency who is most important in the French court. John should win his friendship. – 2. Cardinal Trivulzio says that somebody has complained about King John for having started peace talks without the French King's knowledge, contrary to his promise. King Francis, on the other hand, received him gladly as John's legate. – 3. Pisano, Trivulzio and the rest of the cardinals as well as Antonio Rincon support Szapolyai's case, only Cardinal Salviati is reluctant, but he can be won by citing common interest. – 4. He told Francis that the Turks are inclined towards peace in Hungary if Ferdinand is willing to accept their conditions, but what happened at Koron has irked the Sultan and now he is organising a fleet. – 5. In the discord between the Pope and the King of England, in spite of all efforts by Francis, the differences have not diminished, even though the King of France is doing his utmost to put the Pope under pressure. Legates of the King of England are staying with him but have not even greeted the Pope yet. – 6. Catherine de' Medici is going to arrive tomorrow to marry the second son of Francis, Prince Henri of Orléans. – 7. If he had a cipher he could share confidential information with Brodarics more easily. – 8. His brother Gregorio Casali was ordered back to England already from Bologna. – 9. King Francis has approached the Pope regarding the absolution of Szapolyai, and the Pope said he was ready to do anything but could not give absolution unless King John asked for it.

Reverendissime Domine etc.

[1.] His diebus ita fuerunt omnes in Sanctissimo Domino⁴ honorando primisque congressibus occupati, ut non ante hunc diem facultas mihi fuerit Christianissimum regem⁵ adeundi, cui singula, quae in mandatis regiae maiestatis erant, explicavi,⁶ quod
5 itidem cum pontifice deinceps faciam. Opera equidem et auctoritate magni magistri⁷ sum usus, ad quem omnia in hac aula referuntur, et ubi ipse intenderit, alterius cuiusque instrumento non est opus. Ipse quidem percupidus visus est rem gratam serenissimo regi faciendi, quapropter opportunum valde foret, si ipsius maiestas ad eum scriberet, gratum sibi accidisse ostendens illius erga se studium et voluntatem ex meis litteris
10 cognovisse. Quod et ad servandum amicum faciet et illud corrigit, quod nullas ei red-

¹ The letter is extant in the form of an undated, unaddressed transcript. On the back side it is noted that it was written to a bishop but it is not, who wrote it to whom. Since, however, it was dated in Marseille in October 1533, it was certainly written by Francesco Casali, who was there at the time. Since, besides Szapolyai, he maintained a correspondence mainly with Brodarics in Hungary, presumably this letter was also written to the latter.

² The note on the back side provides this date.

³ Transcript.

⁴ I.e. Pope Clement VII.

⁵ King of France Francis I.

⁶ It is known from Casali's letter to Szapolyai that he had managed to meet the French King on 21 October. See: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. B, fol. 81r.

⁷ Anne de Montmorency (1492–1567) Marshal, later Grand Master of France, Connétable from 1538.

dendas litteras habui serenissimi regis, cui si quid unquam cum Christianissimo agendum erit, hunc amicum plurimi faciat oportet.

[2.] Cardinalis Trivultius⁸ eum mecum sermonem instituit, ut diceret quendam magnum virum, cuius nomen reticere vellet, questum fuisse de serenissimo rege nostro, propterea quod nihil de pace componenda regi Christianissimo significarit, cum promiserit nihil se in eo genere illo inscio facturum. Is insuper, qui apud hunc principem pontificis nuntius fuit,⁹ quocum magna mihi est coniunctio, mihi retulit non deesse, qui a[e]greferrent, quendam, qui a serenissimo rege huc missus rediit, cum de matrimonio nescio quo secum actum esset, nec de eo, nec de pace, nec de bello quicquam postmodo fuisse auditum. Ad quae singula respondi, ut aptius et convenientius per eum fieri potuit, qui harum rerum praeteritarum sit ignarus. Profecto rex Christianissimus, cum primum cognovit me huc a serenissimo rege nostro missum, gratum id sibi evenisse ostendit. Nempe me libentissime vidit et audivit.

[3.] Cardinalis Pisanus¹⁰ se studiosissimum serenissimi regis profitetur. Itemque Trivultius, quem Christianissimus valde diligit. Grimanus,¹¹ quem accepi regi deditissimum, hinc abest. Antonius Rinconus¹² cupidissimum sese ostendit rem gratam regiae maiestati faciendi, neque defuit, ubicunque potuit, operam suam sedulo praestare. Reliquorum sane cardinalium voluntates satis propitiae huic regio negotio boni publici causa videntur praeter unius Salviati,¹³ qui propterea quod adversarii protector est, alienior videtur. Eundem tamen communis tranquillitatis gratia aequiorem spero fore, est enim vir bonus, unde et pontifici et toti curiae carus inprimis est.

[4.] Rex Christianissimus interrogavit me de conditionibus pacis, ad quae ea respondi, quae regiis litteris continentur. Interrogavit etiam de principe Turcarum, animum pacine, an bello intendat. Dixi pacem ab istis partibus fore putare, si Ferdinandus ea observaverit, quae Constantinopoli convenerunt. Verum ex altera parte, quae ad Coronen¹⁴ facta sunt, posse illius animum irritare, ad quae nonnulla adiunxi, quae Venetiis acceperam de principe Turcarum de classe augenda cogitante, rem ita exponens, ut ad regium negotium apposita, ne a vero discrepans foret.

[5.] De causa regis Angliae componenda Christianissimus diligenter agere nihil omittit. Pontifex quidem in ea re vellet iis principibus gratificari, ita tamen, ut quam Romae tulit sententiam, nolit infringere. Neque etiam rex volet in eo pontifici assentiri,

⁸ Agostino Trivulzio (1485–1548), Cardinal, a prominent figure of the French party at the Roman Curia.

⁹ Clement VII sent Bishop of Faenza, Rodolfo Pio (1500–1564) to Francis on 28 May 1533. See: Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste IV/2...* 477.

¹⁰ Cardinal Francesco Pisani (1494–1570).

¹¹ Marino Grimani (1488/1489–1546), Cardinal of Venetian origin.

¹² Antonio Rincon, noblemen of Spanish origin in French service. He visited Szapolyai's court several times in legation.

¹³ Cardinal Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553) was himself related to the Medici on his mother's side.

¹⁴ Troops of Andrea Doria occupied Koron on the Peloponnese in 1532. Suleyman tried to win it back several times but succeeded only in 1534.

- ut per aliquid temporis ab hoc ultimo matrimonio absteat.¹⁵ Res itaque difficillima apparet. Obicitur de duobus legatis ad causam cognoscendam in locum tutum mittendis ea conditione, ut interim rex secundum matrimonium intermittat. Sed hoc totum recusatur. Apud regem Christianissimum sunt oratores regis Angliae, episcopus Wintoniensis,¹⁶ vir et doctrina et moribus praestantissimus et Franciscus Brianus¹⁷ regis etiam affinis, qui ne salutarunt eodem pontificem. Rex Galliae multum se certe pro hac causa conaturum pollicitur eo usque, ut dicturus etiam sit pontifici nolle ei amicus esse, nisi huic principi satisfecerit.
- 50 [6.] Cras aderit ducissa Medices,¹⁸ Laurentii filia, quae nubit duci Aurelianensi,¹⁹ secundo genito Christianissimi, ac matrimonii copulam consummabunt, quamvis Aurelianensis adolescens admodum videatur, dicunt tamen iam decimum et quartum annum explesse. Hoc si fiet, quemadmodum minime dubitatur, pontifici et Galliarum regi optime conveniet, resque inter se sic component, ut utrique recte consultum cautumque sit. Quonam autem pacto ista sint futura, adhuc ignoratur.
- 55 [7.] Si Dominatio Vestra voluerit me nonnunquam aliquid, quod non, nisi secreto committendum sit scribere, ut cifriram habeam oportet, cum praesertim videam litteras haud satis tuto istuc mitti posse. Neque hoc ideo dico, quod nunc usus cifirae inciderit, sed facile convenire posset.
- 60 [8.] Dominus Gregorius,²⁰ frater meus cum adhuc Bononiae esset, per tabellarium a rege suo in Angliam vocatus fuit, itaque per equos dispositos est profectus.
- [9.] Quamvis Christianissimus me ad pontificem ducturus sit,²¹ ut ei litteras serenissimi regis reddam, et quae in mandatis habeo, exsequar, heri tamen cum commode id evenisset, pontifici nonnihil dixi, qui respondit Christianissimum secum locutum esse et absolutionem postulasse, se vero omnia, quae poterit, pro serenissimo rege pollicitur, sed istam absolutionem dari non posse, nisi rex petat.²² Etc.

¹⁵ Henry VIII divorced from his wife Catherine of Aragon without the Pope's permission and married Anne Boleyn. The conflict between the Pope and the King of England led to a schism which meant the end of Catholicism in England.

¹⁶ Stephen Gardiner (1497–1555), English diplomat, secretary of Cardinal Wolsey, later Bishop of Winchester.

¹⁷ Francis Bryan (about 1490–1550), English diplomat, confidant of Henry VIII, Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

¹⁸ Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589)

¹⁹ Prince Henri of Orléans, later French King as Henry II (1547–1559)

²⁰ Gregorio Casali was an agent of English King Henry VIII in Rome.

²¹ Casali was finally given an audience by the Pope on 2 November. See his letter to Szapolyai on 12 November. HHStA. Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 28.

²² Clement VII excommunicated Szapolyai under Habsburg pressure in late 1529 because of his alliance with the Turks. Brodarics visited Italy already in early 1530 to get him absolved but failed in his attempts to meet the Pope.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 4 November 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 83–84.¹

Published: KIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 332–333.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 590–591.

1. *Tranquillus has arrived from Istanbul and confirmed reports on peace. Gritti and Werbőczy are also expected. – 2. He is asking Nádasdy to intervene on behalf of his brother. Nádasdy should influence Bálint Török to be a good neighbour.*

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Observandissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Iam plures sunt dies, quod a Vestra Dominatione nullas accepi litteras, causam nescio. Nos novi aliud hic non habemus, nisi quod Tranquillus² noster his diebus ex
5 Constantinopoli rediit, nihil afferens aliud, nisi confirmationem eorum novorum de pace, quae fuerant regi, domino nostro clementissimo prius perscripta. Litterae etiam ad Carolum et Ferdinandum imperatoris Turcarum, quarum exemplum vidi, hoc idem affirmant. Exspectamus reditum tam domini gubernatoris,³ quam cancellarii,⁴ qui sciatica⁵ sua laborabat, fortasse etiam sementiatica [?] et in sinonica [?], quod est eius circa
10 talium rerum curam studium et cupiditas inexplabilis.

[2.] In negotio fratris mei cuperem iam tandem fieri aliquem finem. Sed bonum ac stabilem, et qualem mutuus noster amor et fides, meaque in te fraterna sinceritas exigit. Nemo est mihi maior testis meae in te plus quam fraternae benivolentiae ac sinceritatis, unico Deo excepto et conscientia mea, quam tu ipse. Illa, quibus consilarii
15 fortasse aliqui tui causam meam apud te oppugnant, quam sint aequa, tu ipse videris. Ego tecum habeo agere, non cum illis. Sed credo te officio fraterno non defuturum. Quod ut facias, te vehementer rogo. Et optime vale unacum domina sponsa tua, domino patre nostro communi⁶ et cum omnibus tuis et nostris.

Budae, 4. Novembris 1533.

5 *post novorum del. quae*

14 *post sinceritatis del. quam uno*

¹ Autograph.

² Tranquillus Andronicus (about 1490–1571), Humanist of Dalmatian origin, secretary of Gritti.

³ Lodovico Gritti.

⁴ István Werbőczy left for Constantinople in June and arrived in Buda only in the end of December. See the letter by Brodarics on 17 December.

⁵ Sciatica is a relatively common form of low back pain and leg pain. The pain is felt in the lower back, buttock, or various parts of the leg and foot. In addition to pain, which is sometimes severe, there may be numbness, muscular weakness, pins and needles or tingling and difficulty in moving or controlling the leg.

⁶ Dénes Hassággy, Constable of Kanizsa.

20 Agas, oro, et efficias cum domino Valentino Therek et fratribus eius, ut sint mihi boni vicini.
Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc, domino uti filio observandissimo et carissimo

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István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to Hans Katzianer
Buda, 15 November 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C. fol. 33–34.

Published: BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint okmánytára*, Budapest, 1994, 75–76.

1. They take notice of Katzianer's complaint against Hieronym Łaski and Ferenc Bebek; on their part, they do their utmost to preserve truce. – 2. However, they, too, have their grievances: attached to the document, they are sending a list of the instances when the truce was broken; they are sending it to Tamás Szalaházy and Elek Thurzó as well. They request Katzianer to honour the armistice of Megyer and to send commissioners to Esztergom to clarify matters of dispute. – 3. They do not disband their army because they suspect that if they did Katzianer would attack Transylvania. – 4. They promise to call upon Łaski and Bebek to do nothing against subjects of Ferdinand I. – 5. They are accusing Bálint Török with keeping over 2000 serfs under his control by force in spite of the armistice. – 6. Several of the Szapolyai party have already returned occupied estates but none have done so in the Ferdinand party. – 7. Bálint Török complains about the Szapolyai party for having occupied Szabadka; this will be investigated. – 8. Enclosed, they list the instances when the truce was breached that they have been informed about.

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Accepimus litteras¹ Vestrae Magnificentiae, ex quibus facile cognovimus tam querelas Vestrae Magnificentiae contra waywodam Lasky et dominum Franciscum Bebek,² quam etiam bonum animum erga salutem, quietem et tranquillitatem huius
5 miserae patriae nostrae, quod ergo ad quietem et bonum huius regni attinet. Recordamur Vestram Magnificentiam tunc quoque, quando cum illa personaliter fuimus,³ multum propensam fuisse ad omnia ea, quae pertinerent ad bonum huius regni, quod non possumus non vehementissime commendare. Et ea ut faciat, atque ut in hoc optimo proposito perseveret, Vestram Magnificentiam diligentissime hortamur et rogamus.
10 Et si Vestrae Magnificentiae, quae utcunque non est in hoc regno, nec sub corona regni

¹ Katzianer's letter referred to is unknown.

² Ferenc Bebek, Comes of Gömör, renowned for his abuse of power, switched sides and joined Szapolyai in May 1532. See the letter by Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh on 31 May 1532. (IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése...* 217–218.)

³ Brodarics and Frangepán met Katzianer at the peace talks in Megyer in December 1532. Katzianer lead the Habsburg delegation.

Hungariae nata, cara est ipsius regni salus et tantum ruinae ac destructioni regni compatitur, multo magis credat, nos, qui de regno sumus, compatimur et compati debemus. Et fecimus atque in posterum quoque facturi sumus unacum dominis, fratribus et amicis nostris, servitoribus et consiliariis sacrae regiae maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi alacri et promptissimo animo ea omnia, per quaecunque poterimus melius salutem et quietem eiusdem miserrimi regni procurare. Habemus autem regem, dominum nostrum clementissimum ex Dei benignitate ad hoc ipsum propensissimum et dies ac noctes nihil aliud agentem aut cogitantem.

[2.] Quod vero ad querelas Vestrae Magnificentiae attinet, nostrae erant hae partes, Magnifice Domine, (qui undique quotidie de subditis regiis loquimur) multa enormia patimur per familiares ac subditos principis Vestrae Magnificentiae, quorum aliqua, quae nunc occurrunt, mittimus Vestrae Magnificentiae in scheda praesentibus inclusa descripta.⁴ Licet sunt longe plura, pro quibus emendandis cum his diebus specialem hominem nostrum ad reverendissimum et magnificum dominos Thomam episcopum et Alexium Turzonem etc. misissemus.⁵ Et omnia dominationibus eorum declarari fecissemus petentes ab eis nihil aliud, nisi id, quod in illis articulis Megerensibus⁶ continentur, per quod solum omnia ista facile corrigi et emendari possent, id est, ut commissarii Strigonium mitterentur. Nullum tale nobis inde responsum retulere, per quod articulis illis fieret satis, vel quieti publicae consuleretur. De quo satis et mirati et turbati sumus, maxime princeps noster, qui semper ab initio et nunc quoque paratissimus esset huiusmodi articulis satisfacere. Miramur, cur in hac re tam iusta et honesta ac debita Vestrae Dominationes faciunt tantam difficultatem. Immo cur hoc persuaderi sibi non patiuntur. Nec hoc in bonam partem interpretari possimus, nec videmus, quo pacto sine hoc posthac etiam vel in una vel in alia regni parte possint ista, quae contra indutias vel per vestros vel per nostros fiunt, conquiescere. Itaque videtur nobis, et ita rogamus, ut Dominatio Vestra facere velit, et efficere apud principem suum, ut commissarii illi omnino mittantur, et ita quieti regni consulatur. Alioquin ibitur semper de malo in peius. Et hoc miserrimum regnum de die in diem magis desolabitur cum maximo damno principum et omnium nostrum.

[3.] Illud etiam consultissimum esset, ut tam istae, quas Vestra Magnificencia secum se habere scribit, quam nostrae copiae revocarentur et dissolverentur, quia quousque erunt sibi invicem in propinquo, impossibile erit eas continere, quin aliquid hostilitatis exerceant. Nec nostri Vestra Magnificencia istic cum exercitu existente revertentur, quia Magnificencia Vestra, quamvis scribat se nullius hostilitatis gratia istuc cum exercitu venisse, nec ad aliud, nisi ad subditos sui principis tuendos. Nos tamen longe aliud adhuc principe nostro Quinqueecclesiis existente intelleximus, et nunc tanto magis intelligimus, idque ex litteris et significationibus hominum vestrae partis. Intelligimus autem Vestram Magnificentiam, ut aperte ac sincere cum illa agamus tanquam cum tali domino et amico, sub isto praetextu velle in Transsylvaniam penetrare. Non miretur

⁴ See the list attached to the end of the letter.

⁵ Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szaláházy and Elek Thurzó were leaders of the Habsburg administration in Hungary.

⁶ Representatives of Szapolyai and Ferdinand signed a four-month truce on 30 December 1532 in Meger, Csallóköz. For the text of the agreement, see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. B, fol. 58–60.

50 igitur Vestra Magnificentia, si maiestas domini nostri clementissimi habet curae res suas. Sed nil Vestra Magnificentia facere potest melius et sanctius atque ad quietem regni, cui se tantum studere scribit, accomodatius, quam si curaverit apud principem suum commissarios mittendos Strigonium, et ipsum exercitum, quem habet, qui non potest nobis esse non suspectus, dimiserit. Quo utroque facto statim omnia redibunt ad
55 tranquillitatem. Nam serenissimus rex noster paratus erit omnia, quae hactenus vel parva vel magna ex parte nostra evenerunt, arbitrio commissariorum submittere, modo et vester idem faciat. Paratus praeterea erit gentes istas revocare, postquam exercitum vestrum dissolutum aut revocatum viderit.

[4.] Commisit tamen omnibus servitoribus et subditis suis et nunc rursus tam domi-
60 no Hieronymo Lasky quam domino Francisco Bebek et omnibus aliis pro desiderio ac petitione Vestrae Magnificentiae committit, ut nihil hostile contra Vestram Magnificentiam attentent, sed nostra tantum defendant, modo a vestris non provocentur.

[5.] Ex hoc autem etiam Vestra Magnificentia intelligere potest serenissimum regem nostrum esse pacis et treugarum observandissimum, quod dum superioribus diebus
65 Quinqueecclesiis esset cum exercitu, et haberet bona domini Valentini Thewrek, quae contra indutias tenet, in maxima propinquitate. Non est tamen passus ei fieri damnum ne minimum quidem, quamvis et bona ipsa tanquam iniuste et contra indutias possessa iure optimo recuperare potuisset, quae, sicut in hac scheda est descriptum, extendunt se ad duo milia et amplius colonorum, et ubi Vestra Magnificentia scribit non esse
70 remissa bona aliqua ex parte nostra.

[6.] Non desunt plures, qui bona vestris remiserunt, prout ex eadem scheda apparet. Sed ex vestra parte nullus penitus cum solus dominus Valentinus, ut praemisum est, teneat ad duo milia colonorum contra tenorem indutiarum, qui his diebus superioribus rursus de novo talia egit, de quibus de novo scripsimus ad dominos Thomam episcopum et Alexium Turzonem, quae regia maiestas, nisi emendentur, tolerare non poterit, sed cogetur tam contra ipsum, quam contra dominum Strigoniensem⁷ et alios
75 similes aliud remedium quaerere, et armis vindicare iniurias et damna suis illata, de quo et nos protestamur coram Vestra Magnificentia, indutias tamen tam cum principe vestro, quam cum aliis eas servantibus inviolabiliter servabitur.

[7.] Bonum tamen esset, et Vestra Magnificentia efficiat, ne ad talia veniatur, quidem illo modo, quem praemisimus facile fieri poterit, sed inprimis, ut dominus Valentinus male et contra indutias ablata restituere et nostros contentare cogatur. Qui ubi conqueritur de quodam suo castello Zabathka⁸ vocato per nostros intercepto, hoc quoque contenta est maiestas regia iudicio commissariorum, sicut alia omnia, submittere.

85 In quo Deus videt et totus mundus iustum nos efflagitare vel Vestra Dominatione iudice, quam rogamus, ut ad haec per hunc specialem hominem nostrum ritum nobis responsum dare velit. Magnificentiam Vestram felicissime valere optamus.

Budae, 15. die mensis Novembris 1533.

90 frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus archiepiscopus Colocensis et Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiensi, consilarii regii

⁷ Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várdai.

⁸ Szabadka (today: Subotica, Serbia) belonged to the Török family, in pawn from 1502 and as a freehold tenure from 1504.

In the lower part of the letter: Magnifico Domino Ioanni Catzianer capitaneo et consiliario serenissimi Romanorum regis etc., domino et amico nobis honorandissimo.

[8.] Quod dominus Lasky, dominus Bebek et dominus Iohannes Thahy et alii nonnulli ex subditis regiae maiestatis remiserunt bona ad satisfaciendum articulis foederis, ex altera autem parte nullus remisit ne unicum quidem colonum.

Item de bonis per dominum Valentinum contra vim articulorum detentis, quae sunt
95 bona infrascripta: bona magnifici cuiusdam domini Iohannis Zerechen prope Drawam post festum beatorum Philippi et Iacobi per homines eius occupata; bona Petri Bodo et episcopi Bosnensis Krmi vocata; bona capituli Quinqueecclesiensis; bona episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis; bona capituli Albensis tam maioris, quam minoris.

Item Seredi recepit sales regias ad Thok[a]y.

100 Servitores domini Valentini Thewrek ceperunt servitorem domini palatini prae castrum Zygeth⁹ maiestate regia Quinqueecclesiis existente.

Nunc Seredi fecit depraedari villam capituli Agriensis Polgary¹⁰ vocatam abactis pecoribus rerum ad Thokay.

In comitatu Komaromiensi pax publicatur inter T. et T. et nominatim excipitur rex
105 Iohannes, quomodo ista conveniunt cum nuntiatis eorum.

Intelligimus etiam his diebus contra foedera interceptum esse castrum regium Znyho.¹¹

Seredi recepit contra foedera vina domini Stephani de Homonia usque trecenti vasorum.

Item Seredi possessionem Zenthmarghytha¹² vocatam capituli Agriensis, et Zegheghaz¹³
110 dominus Posgay fecit depredari et possessiones aliorum.

Andreas Choron tenet occupata bona praepositurae Sancti Nicolai Albensis pertinentiasque possessionis Pah¹⁴ in comitatu Zaladiensi.

Valentinus Tewrek tenet possessionem Bogdan dictam in comitatu Albensi.

Idem captivavit Michaellem Chyzar et Matheum Thoth cives Albenses, et recepit
115 boves cum curribus et vinis.

Idem possessiones Gan,¹⁵ Thazzar,¹⁶ Chepel¹⁷ et alias in comitatu Simigiensi.

Idem capituli Sancti Nicolai boves 124 cum curribus et vinis de pertinentiis Edelyn.¹⁸

Idem Valentinus Thewrek et Ioannes Lengel tenent Zarloforo, Thazar, Chepel, Gan in Tholnensi et Simigiensi comitatibus possessiones capituli minoris Albensis.

109 vocatam *correx*i ex: vocatum

⁹ Szigetvár

¹⁰ Polgár(i), Szabolcs county.

¹¹ Znióvárálja (today: Kláštor pod Znievom, Slovakia).

¹² Szentmargita, Szabolcs county.

¹³ Szegegyház, Csongrád county.

¹⁴ Páh, Zala county.

¹⁵ Gány (Gám), Somogy county.

¹⁶ Taszár, Somogy county.

¹⁷ Csepely, Somogy county.

¹⁸ Edelény, Tolna county.

120 Idem possessionem praepositi ecclesiae beati Nicolai Albensis Balgar vocatam in Albensi comitatu.

Lewtchovienses captivarunt quattuor servitores Petri Hethky familiaris domini Emerici Bebek, qui cambiebant illi aureos, et ab illis acceperunt quinquaginta in paratis aureos octuaginta et in marcis, florenorum ducentos et octo equos cum praeparamentis.

125 Quod dominus Strigoniensis ex Dregel fecit indicibilia damna et et[!] depopulationes in comitatu Newgradiensi subditis regiae maiestatis et insuper proventus regios ibidem pro se colligi facit.

Quod comitatus partium superiorum ante ad rationem regiae maiestatis semper dicati nuncque per Podmanizky connumeratarum subditi regis Ferdinandi exigere non
130 permittunt.

Item quod feria tertia ante festum Sancti Martini ex possessione egregii Christophori Kewrthwyles¹⁹ vocata in comitatu Zepusiensi existenti habita inhabitatores oppidi Lewchoviensis sub indutiis 12 equos, quattuor vasa vini, duos currus, frumenta et alia multa bona et suppellectilia eiusdem Christophori Thewke abstulerunt, ipse vera nihil
135 unquam damni cuiquam alterius partis homini intulit.

Item servitor domini Valentini Thewrek, Martinus Balyka cum aliis compluribus filium egregii Thobiae de Zeredahel, castellani Wysegradiensis interceptit non dimittendo eum, donec castellum suum Zeredahel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ad manus illius assignavit.

140 Castellani de Zarwaskew²⁰ episcopatus Agriensis contra indutias tam publicas principum, quam privatas prius cum Stephano Chaby, postea nunc recens cum Georgio Zaloky capitaneo regio per ipsas factas invaserunt decimatores episcopatus Agriensis in bonis domini Emerici Orzagh quibusdam ex eis occisis, aliis captis et ad Zarwaskew abductis.

Item combusserunt villam domini Orzagh, et hoc, ut diximus, non tantum contra
145 publicas principum indutias, sed contra privatas mediantibus litteris ultro citroque emanatis firmatas.

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Francesco Casali to István Brodarics
Avignon, 18 November 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 53–54.

1. He does not write in more detail because he is ill, but after returning to Rome he will inform Brodarics about everything. The French King is really sympathetic towards Szapolyai. – 2. The Pope has appointed the four cardinals that the French King wished. Francis donated substantial benefices to the Italian cardinals that turned up in Marseille except for those who already had them. – 3. He intended to go to Venice and write from there but his illness subdued him, and this is why he asked his brother Giambattista Casali to forward his letters.

Reverendissime Domine Mi plurimum Observande. Salutem.

¹⁹ Kőrtvélyes (today: Hrušov, Slovakia)

²⁰ Szarvaskő

[1.] De rebus ad serenissimum regem pertinentibus nihil nunc ad Dominationem Vestram scribo, propterea quod et illam scio litteras, quas ad ipsius maiestatem perscripsi, visuram,¹ et ut brevior sim, suadet ipsa valetudo, quam tamen spero infra
 5 paucos dies in pristinum statum redituram. Sed cum Romam reversus ero, de omnibus, quae in dies occurrent, Dominationem Vestram faciam certiore, et litteras ad dominum protonotarium fratrem² Venetias dirigam. Opus autem erit, ut Dominatio Vestra constituat, quo et cui in aliquos regni fines ipse litteras mittat adeo, ut ad vos tuto perferri possint. Illud certe non praeteribo, quod animadverti potuit regiam maiestatem
 10 plurimum amari cum a Christianissimo imprimis, tum ab iis omnibus, quibuscum agere contigit. Mirandum vero non est, si ita me in longum traxerunt, fuerunt enim die noctuque semper occupatissimi in iis, quae ad ipsos pertinebant cum pontifice transigenda. Ipse Christianissimus, quod colligi potuit, pontifici coniunctissimus est.³ Nec quicquam inter ipsos discrepans esse censeo.

[2.] Pontifex ad regis nutum quattuor cardinales creavit, fratrem ducis Albaniae,⁴ Elymosinarium Regium,⁵ avunculum Amirati⁶ et adolescentem filium sororis Magni Magistri.⁷ Christianissimus cardinales Italos, qui Massiliae aderant, pensionibus super episcopatibus et monasteriis praelatorum Gallorum assignatis donavit, exceptis iis, qui antea aliquid in regno Galliae obtinuissent, et cardinali Senensae⁸ et Sanctae Crucis,⁹
 20 quibus pateras aureas dono dedit. Cardinalis Medices¹⁰ monasterium decem millium francorum noluit acceptare maiora fortasse expectans.

[3.] Cum iam in suo discessu rex Christianissimus Massiliae[!] me expedisset, nulleque adessent tabellarii, per quos litteras mitterem, eo animo iter invasi, ut magnis itineribus Venetias contenderem, indeque litteras darem. Sed me febris in itinere
 25 arripuit, quapropter dominum protonotarium, fratrem meis litteris rogavi, ut ipse meas litteras ad maiestatem regiam dirigat. Bene valeat Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, cui me plurimum commendo, et bene valeat.

Mitto ad Dominationem Vestram una cum his exemplum litterarum, quas superiori-

11 die *correx* ex: diu

¹ See Casali's letter to Szapolyai on 12 November: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 29r–30r.

² Giambattista Casali.

³ The alliance between Pope Clement and King of France Francis was sealed with a marriage. Second-born son of Francis Prince Henri of Orléans, later Henry II, married the Pope's niece Catherine de' Medici.

⁴ Philippe de la Chambre. Duke of Albany, Scotland. John Stewart was indeed his half brother, because the first husband of his mother, Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, was Duke of Albany Alexander Stewart.

⁵ Jean de Veneur (1475?–1543), Bishop of Lisieux.

⁶ Claude de Longwy de Givry (1481–1561), Bishop of Langres.

⁷ Odet de Coligny (1517–1571), son of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the future Huguenot leader, and his wife Louise de Montmorency, sister of Connétable Anne de Montmorency. In 1533 he was only 16 and had not been ordained.

⁸ Giovanni Piccolomini (1475–1537) Cardinal, Bishop of Siena, nephew of Pope Pius III.

⁹ Francisco Quiñones (1475–1540)

¹⁰ Ippolito de' Medici (1511–1535), Archbishop of Avignon, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See from 1532.

bus diebus Massiliae ad serenissimum regem et ad Dominationem Vestram dedi,¹¹ ut,
30 si forte non pervenerint, Dominatio Vestra possit ostendere ipsa exempla regiae maiestati.

Avinioni, die XVIII. Novembris MDXXXIII.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae

Franciscus Casalius

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino episcopo Sirmiensi, regio consiliario etc., domino meo observandissimo

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Hans Katzianer to Councillors of Szapolyai
[Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics]¹
Lőcse, 24 November 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 62–65.²

1. He has received the latest letter from Brodarics and Frangepán, and summarises their main points. – 2. He is pleased that they also believe he means well for the country, but considers their accusations ludicrous when they say he wants to attack Transylvania. If this had been his plan he would not have informed them about his arrival. He is not going to disband his army because he was sent to protect Ferdinand's subjects from the harassment of an enemy that keeps breaking the truce – 3. The breaches are: the clash with Gáspár Serédy, the attack against Antal Lossonczy, and plundering by István Balentyth István, Ferenc Horváth, György Szalóky, and Ferenc Bebek in Borsod, just as the activities of Łaski in Késmárk, who hinders him in bringing fresh supplies to Lőcse. – 4. People from Késmárk captured and took away a civilian from Lőcse in broad daylight: Podmaniczky seized the castle of Szentgyörgyi and Farkas Buzini in Lednica; he, even though he had the necessary power, has not ravaged for these for the sake of the country. – 5. But if John's subjects do not stop harassing the subjects of Ferdinand he will protect them with weapons. Only commissioners could solve the problem, if both kings sent them. – 6. But Esztergom is far; two commissioners would be needed there from each side as well as in Lőcse in order to make decisions quicker. Szapolyai could send a respected person right away so that the investigation of complaints could be started. – 7. It was not him but Ferenc Révay and Ferenc Nyáry who seized Znióvárja. They did it because robbers were staying there, who caused harm to both camps. They handled it the way Szapolyai's side had handled the castle of Palota. – 8. The peace between Ferdinand and Suleyman that Brodarics and Frangepán have alluded to has not been announced anywhere, only in Vienna, and without any reference to Szapolyai. – 9. He does not consider the conquering of the town of Göncz a breach of the truce because László Nagy occupied the town during the truce. – 10. They should intervene with Szapolyai so that the King makes Łaski, Bebek,

¹¹ See the letter from Casali to Szapolyai on 12 November 1533. HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 29r–30r.

¹ There is no addressee whatsoever in the document, but the salutation *reverendissimi* indicates councillors who are high priests, and the letter is obviously a response to the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán on 15 November, so they are the two addressees certainly.

² An insignificantly small part of the letter has been published: LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára*, vol. II, Budapest, 1939, 478–479.

László Nagy, and Matthias Loboczky return what they have taken away from Ferdinand's subjects unlawfully. He will do the same regarding Gáspár Serédy. – 11. Regulations of the armistice should be observed regarding Szeben too. – 12. Zsigmond Kauffunk has robbed Konrád Haller, a civilian from Lőcse, and the gains were taken to Késmárk. If Brodarics and Frangepán cannot arrange for the booty to be returned, he himself will take action.

Reverendissimi Domini et Amici Honorandi salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Redditae sunt mihi per Vestrarum Reverendissimarum Dominationum famulum litterae, in quibus ipsae mihi ad meas, quas nuper statim post adventum meum huc ad eas dederam, respondent.³ Quarum summa fere hisce subsequentibus complexa est
5 articulis. Primum commendatio animi mei ad quietem pacationemque regni huius propensi. Deinde suspicio adventus huc mei, quasi scilicet sub praetextu tutandorum regiae maiestatis, domini mei clementissimi subditorum ad conservationemque indutiarum in Transylvaniam proficisci vellem. Tertio ut tantum efficere debeam apud dominum meum clementissimum, quod commissarii Strigonium mittantur de cognoscendis
10 animadvertendisque utrunque illatis iniuriis. Quarto de dimittendis aut avocandis copiis, quibus praesum. Postremo qui nominatim partis domini mei clementissimi contra indutiarum articulos egisse videntur etc.

[2.] Equidem, Domini et Amici Honorandi, quantum ad meam laudem attinet, quod plus tranquillitati quam huius regni excidio studuerim, non tam agnosco tandem et
15 commendationem hanc (de qua tamen Reverendissimis Dominationibus Vestris magnas habeo gratias) quam quod vellem sibi Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes de me hoc certo persuadeant me ex animo huius regni pacationem optare, et vera esse, quae de studio et voluntate in hac mea scripserim, tantumque libenter pro viribus meis conari vellem, ut, quoquo id fieret modo, hanc, quam tribuitis mihi, laudem ex merito
20 assequi possem.

Sed de suspicione illa, quae Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus subiit, quod Transylvaniam eo, quo me ipsi suspicantur, praetextu adire vellem, idque ex nonnullorum nostrae partis hominum et litteris et significationibus certum habere, multum profecto demiror adeo parvam mihi haberi fidem in his, quae nuper ad Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes a me perscripta sunt, siquidem conscius mihi sum, quae
25 hactenus egerim aperte et sincere me egisse, nullo fuco nulloque praetextu, quod, dum vixero, eadem dexteritate facturum me polliceor praestaboque. Nam si suspicio haec vestra quid veri in sese haberet, hoc est, si alia ex causa huc profectus aut expeditus essem, quam ut nuper Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes a me certiores factae
30 sunt, haud equidem tamdiu hic commoratus essem, neque illa de adventu meo ipsis significassem. Quippe si talem, quam cogitant Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes, profectionem facere constituissem, alio apparatu id facere voluissem. Quae cum ita sint, iudicent igitur ipsae Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes, an non meri impostores ac deceptores fuerint illi, qui hoc ipsum de nobis Vestris Reverendissimis Domi-
35 nationibus vel indicaverint, vel scripserint. Quod postea Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes consultissimum esse putarent, ut copiae nostrae avocarentur, quod cum fieret etiam principem et dominum vestrum suas similiter copias dimissurum. Facile

³ See the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán on 15 November.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes pro sapientia sua conicere possint, id mihi neutiquam citra mandatum et voluntatem clementissimi domini mei regis licere, quam
40 enim tum defensionis sui spem et solamen haberent fideles eius maiestatis subditi, in quorum conservationem ad hasce partes expeditus sum, si cum copiis ab ipsis tot etiam nunc vexationibus a vestris afflictis abiremus, aut quid postea non conaturi et incep-
turi essent illi vestri, cum iam nobis praesentibus nihil hostilitatis intentatum relin-
quant.

45 [3.] Ut enim conflictum illum, qui cum Georgio Seredi⁴ a vestris nulla penitus ab ipsis habita indutiarum ratione factus est in ditione scilicet regiae maiestatis, domini mei clementissimi. Etiam obsidionem arcis Mimkath⁵ et pleraque alia praeteream. An non apertissime nuper contra indutias dominus Anthonius de Lossontz⁶ (constat enim
50 dubio procul Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus illud factum) a Mathia Baso⁷ publica via, cum ad regiam maiestatem, dominum meum clementissimum ire vellet, hostili modo adortus, maior pars suorum familiarium famulorumque, quos secum habebat, occisa, aliqui capti spoliatique omnibus vix ipse et alter letali accepto vulnere
in vetus solum subterfugit? An non etiam capitanei illi tres Stephanus Balentyth, Fran-
ciscus Horwath et Georgius Zaloky⁸ manifestissime indutias violant, cum in comitatu
55 illo Borsorliensi[!] populent vastenturque omnia, ipsique et Franciscus Bebeck sub-
sidium seu dicam a subditis regiae reginalisque maiestatum extorqueant, nec non omnia licere sibi arbitrantur, quae libent? An non denique contra indutias est, quod Sigismundus ille Kauffunck⁹ in civitate Keysermarck publice sustinetur, qui publicus
est hostis et perduellio clementissimi domini mei regis, tot tantaque omnis generis
60 latrocinia et maleficia exercet diripiendo, spoliando, exurendo, et quicquid hostilium

⁴ György Serédi is probably an error, correctly Gáspár Serédi (?–1550), who was *Custos* of Vác (1522), Secretary of the Queen (1525–1526), and an important confidant of Ferdinand at the time. He was active in Upper Hungary and was Commander in Chief of the upper parts of the country (1527–1550).

⁵ Munkács (today: Mukacsevo, Ukraine). Originally it belonged to the Queen and was under the Salt Chamber of Máramaros. It seems that Szapolyai's troops occupied the castle by 1533 and this is what Katzianer objects to. It is certain that Ferdinand could occupy the stronghold only in 1537. Then the peace of Várád ruled that it should remain the property of Queen Maria as long as she lives. See BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I.* ... 170.

⁶ Antal Lossonczy, brother of István Lossonczy, who died defending Temesvár in 1552. Chief Cup Bearer of Ferdinand I in 1527–1533. The Habsburg ruler appoints him *Comes* of Nógrád on 26 December 1529 as a replacement for Gáspár Ráskay, who had been removed under the pretext of disloyalty (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 13. Konv. B, fol. 4.). He seems to have joined Szapolyai later. (See the letter by Ferdinand to Brodarics on 19 August 1538.)

⁷ Mátyás Basó was the captain of Murányvár on John's side.

⁸ I have found no more specific data on the looting by István Balentyth, Ferenc Horváth, György Szalóky and Ferenc Bebek.

⁹ Zsigmond Kauffang (Kaffunck) left Ferdinand with 12 of his comrades in the summer of 1532 because they did not get their pay due. He organised a real gang of robbers from his soldiers, and, starting from Késmárk, looted the surrounding area. Ferenc Bebek managed to capture him only in April 1534. First he was kept in Krasznahorka, later taken to Vienna. There he was beheaded in August 1534. See HAIN Gáspár, *Szepességi avagy löcsei krónika és évkönyv a kedves utókor számára*, Budapest, 1988, 62–69.

factorum excogitare et designare potest, eadem facit sic scilicet dictitante sua hostilitate, quae tamen facere non posset, nec auderet, si illic vel apud vestros sibi receptaculum non esset. Et quis tandem omnia enumerare posset, quae ab illis, qui in Keysermarck sunt, et ab ipso Hieronymo Lasco fiunt quotidie et aperte contra indutias?¹⁰

65 Quod enim nobis commeatum et victualia in hanc civitatem importare passim inhi-
buerint, vias insidiis praeoccupent, custodiantque vel intercipient, et quod huic civitati
Leytchoviensi ceterisque multis regiae maiestatis fidelibus suas villas et possessiones
non solum non remiserint, sed adhuc plures indutiarum tempore occupaverint, ex pri-
oribus meis litteris Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes cognoscere potuerunt,
65 quibus factis omnibus subinde et continenter nova grandioraque accedunt.

[4.] Inter alia enim, quae recensere adhuc possem, his consimilia et maiora unum
hoc intelligant tantum, ex quo alia colligere postea poterint Vestrae Reverendissimae
Dominationes. Cum superioribus diebus statim post adventum meum huc quidam civis
huius civitatis Leytchoviensis in silvam extra civitatem lignatum ire vellet, ille bonus
70 vir ab istis, qui in Keysermarck sunt, ex publico in itinere captus est, ipseque cum curru
et iumentis suis in Keysermarck abductus, ubi etiam nunc captivus miser detinetur, et
haec locorum hic fiunt. Ceterum, quae interim, dum hic sum, publicae tranquillitati
huius rei studens ab ipso Podmanyzky in fideles regiae maiestatis subditos contra indu-
tias moliuntur,¹¹ simili modo eos spoliando, diripiendo, exurendo, taxando et alias
75 intolerabiles ac nunquam auditas exactiones ab eis miserum in modum extorquendo,
mallem Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes ex aliis potius quam me intelligere, qui
quidem Podmanyzky paucis ante diebus arcem quoque Lednyza,¹² quae domini Wolf-
gangi Comitis de Sancto Georgio et de Pozyn est, cepit, per quae omnia supradicta,
licet nos ad arma et propulsandam iniuriam, vindicandosque fideles regiae maiestatis
80 subditos a tot vexationibus et violentis factis satis superque provocati essemus, provo-
caremurque, et ad talia damna vestris inferenda iam mihi nihil deesset neque roboris
neque scientiae, atque vestris attamen, non tam illorum factorum ac iniuriarum quam
afflicti huius regni et miserorum subditorum rationem compertumque adeo habens
ipsam regiam maiestatem potius citra subditorum suorum incommodum et damnum et
85 ne ulterior ac maior inde huic regno subsequatur calamitas commodiore et alio modo
quam armis haec componi malle, a mutua vi et armis me hactenus abstinui, et hortatus
sum eos, a quibus ista facta sunt et adhuc fiunt per litteras meas, ut a talibus suis factis
desisterent et sese iuxta praescriptum indutiarum gererent, tantum vero abest, ut desis-

¹⁰ According to the chronicle of Lőcse there were 38 attacks on properties of people of Lőcse by people of Késmárk between May 1532 and March 1533. See HAJN Gáspár, *Szepességi avagy lőcsei krónika és évkönyv a kedves utókor számára*, Budapest, 1988, 61.

¹¹ On the looting by János Podmaniczky, see the letters by Trencsén county to Katzianer on 21 July 1533 and 12 January 1534. See LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára II.*, Budapest, 1939, 473–474.; 481–482. On the activities of the Podmaniczky brothers see BESSENYEI József, *Hogyan változtassunk pártot. A köpönyegforgatás művészete*, Rubicon, 1990/4, 23–25.

¹² Lednic (today: Lednica, Slovakia). The Podmaniczky brothers were not on John's side officially at this time. They declared their preference only in 1536. At that time they got confirmation for Lednica, which they occupied three years earlier. See LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára III.*, Budapest, 1941, XXXIV.

terent, ut non solum ad eius modi litteras et admonitiones meas calumniose rescrip-
90 serint nonnulli, verum etiam honorem meum temerariis sugillationibus prosciderint. Apud alios vero, qui licet mitius responderint tamen eadem, atque apud ceteros exsecutio satisfaciendarum indutiarum est, hoc est prorsus nulla.

[5.] Haec sunt itaque, Honorandi Domini, quae regiam maiestatem, dominum meum clementissimum adduxerunt, ut me cum copiis suis huc partium miserit, quorum si non
95 finis tandem erit, ab iisque non desisterint, sed in dies magis magisque vestri talem in modum in nostros saevire perrexerint (quod tamen vix sperandum est, ut cessent, cum vestri continue plures vires cogant), certe non funditus perdere et perire fideles regiae maiestatis subditos patiemur, sed demum debitum auxilium ipsis facere cogemur. Diutius enim haec ferre neque licebit, neque honori et officio nostro conveniet. Possent
100 tamen haec omnia unico hoc medio, de quo Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes suis in litteris mentionem faciunt, hoc est, per utriusque principis commissarios tolli, intervenire et in tranquilliores statum redigi, si modo ambo principes hoc facerent.

[6.] Atqui ut in hoc nihil desit, nihilque desideretur in domino meo clementissimo, quod ad eiusmodi tranquillitatis restitutionem spectet, ego profecto, quantum in me
105 erit, libenter et fideliter in eo laborabo, efficereque pro viribus conabor, ut commissarii ab eius maiestate Strigonium expellantur, qui mutuas querelas et iniurias audiant, cognitionesque iuxta indutiarum articulos faciant, tantumque curent, ut ab omnibus, quicumque ii essent, contra quos similia lata fuerit factae cognitioni et latae eorum similiter [?] satisfiat, sed videtur mihi grave inconveniensque hoc futurum his, qui hic
110 locorum considant, si quoque eorum querelae et gravamina per commissarios Strigonii discerni deberent, propter locorum longinquitatem enim cunctantius et negligentius exsequerentur ea, quae per commissarios Strigonii diiudicaretur. Proinde consulerem, ut ambo principes et huc perinde atque Strigonium duos commissarios deligerent, qui simili auctoritate et modo causas diffinirent. Quod ut maturius fiat, statim domino
115 clementissimo meo regi huius rei causa scribam, neque hoc mihi inconsultum videretur, ut iam confestim princeps et dominus Vestrarum Dominationum aliquam insignem personam, quae alicuius existimationis esset, huc ad me destinasset pleno mandato et auctoritate, quae una mecum de omnibus iniuriis, quibus subditi utrinque afficerentur, cognosceret. Quo fieret meo iudicio, ut tantae ingrassationes violentiaeque facta aliqua
120 ex parte tollerentur. Quod si et Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus et ipsarum principi bonum ita videbitur, hoc sibi persuasum sit de me, quod omnia summa cum dexteritate et sincere nomine clementissimi domini mei regis agere, in idque totus incumbere volo, ut ab omnibus indutiae serventur integre et inviolabiliter.

Videtur itaque mihi ad querelas illas, quas Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes
125 contra nonnullos nostrorum iuxta inclusam schedam¹³ prodixerunt, in praesentiarum respondere non admodum necesse esse, quia si ad commissariorum iudicium res pervenerit, pro se rationem quisque reddet, et nimirum tunc operae pretium erit, ac cuiusque necessitas exposulabit, ut quilibet sese de facto suo satis expurget.

[7.] De capto vero castello Zmyoa,¹⁴ cuius quoque Vestrae Reverendissimae Domi-

¹³ See the attachment to the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán on 15 November 1533.

¹⁴ Zníováralja (today: Kláštor pod Znievom, Slovakia)

130 nationes in scheda sua recordantur, sciant ipsae hoc a me captum non esse, sed a Francisco Reway et Francisco Nyary,¹⁵ quantum mihi autem haec res cognita et significata est, audio nulla alia causa illud ab eis captum esse, quam quod revera castellum illud latronum praedonumque receptaculum fuerit, et quod illi, qui in eo egerint, neque Deum neque principes timuerint, sed per sese dies noctesque omnia maleficia tam in
135 amicos, quam adversarios exercuerint, ob qualia consimilia mala etiam arx Palotha¹⁶ a vestris expugnata est, et poenas dedit.

[8.] Addunt quoque Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes, quod in comitatu Comaromiensi pax¹⁷ publicaretur inter T. et T. et nominatim exciperetur princeps et dominus Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimarum. Non satis quidem colligere
140 possum, quid sibi velint hae duae litterae T. et T., tamen si Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes de clementissimo domino meo rege et Turcarum caesare haec scripserint, nolo Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes latere publicationi de pace inter praefatam regiam maiestatem et eundem caesarem Turcarum initae, dum illa Viennae divulgabatur, interfuisse me, sed de principe vestro ne ullo quidem verbo in ea mentionem factam esse, sive quod exceptus, sive quod inclusus esset, neque in dicto
145 Comaromiensi comitatu, neque alibi aliter illam pacem publicatam esse arbitror, aut secus Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes de ea certiores factas esse. Aut si ita, ut Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes scribunt, divulgata sit, pro comperto habeo id citra mandatum et voluntatem regiae maiestatis factum, quod tum ex eius maiestatis,
150 tum meis factis deprehendi potest.

[9.] Ceterum quod me Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes in hoc quoque contra indutias egisse accusant, quod oppidanis ex Gincz¹⁸ pristinam oboedientiam ad arcem Scepusiensem praestandam mandaverim, constare arbitror Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus, quo tempore, quibusque conditionibus idem oppidum captum sit,
155 quod postea vero per Ladislaum Nagh¹⁹ indutiarum tempore occupatum est, quare me in hoc contra indutias non egisse puto. Sed ne etiam de hoc amplius Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes contra me querantur, differatur et hoc, quoad princeps vester personam illam, ut superius demonstratum est, huc expediat, cuius et mei vel commissariorum iudicio relinquatur.

160 [10.] Postremo iterum atque a Reverendissimis Dominationibus Vestris magnopere

¹⁵ Ferenc Révay (see more on him in the notes for the letter on 9 December 1524) and Ferenc Nyáry were cavalry officers of Ferdinand. Ferenc Bedeghi Nyáry (?–1551), soldier and Baron. He began his career in the military campaign in 1521, and was involved in the battle of Mohács. He received Baron title for his military services in 1535. He played an invaluable role in defending Nyitra and Pozsony counties. See more in NEUMANN Tibor, *A Korlátkövek. Egy előkelő család története és politikai szereplése a 15-16. században*, Győr, 2007, 86–104.

¹⁶ Szapolyai's troops occupied Várpalota in the spring of 1533 from László Csulai Mór, who had degraded into a robber knight. Regarding this, see the notes for the letter by Brodarics on 18 May 1533.

¹⁷ Ferdinand I. announces in October 1533 that he had signed peace with the Sultan excluding Szapolyai. There was no real peace yet, the announcement was more part of a diplomatic manoeuvre. See more on this in BÁRDOSSY, *ibid.* 132–133.

¹⁸ Gönc, Abaúj county.

¹⁹ I have found no further data on László Nagy.

peto, ut adhuc ipsi Lasky, Bebeck,²⁰ Mathiae Lobazky,²¹ Ladislao Nagh et ceteris a principe Vestrarum Dominationum Reverendissimarum serio scribatur ac praecipiat, ut villas et alia bona per eos indutiarum tempore occupata, vel nondum iuxta articulos indutiarum restituta, ipsis, quibus pertinet, regiae maiestatis fidelibus remittant, id quod et quoque a nostris, domino scilicet Caspore Seredy et aliis fiat, curabimus, praeservata tamen utrique principum in suos ob violatas indutias digna poena.

[11.] Superest et adhuc unum, quod superius inter ceteras querelas inserendum fuisset. Scripserunt scilicet nuper mihi magister civium et iurati consules civitatis Cibiniensis²² ex Transsylvania, questique sunt vehementer maximis iniuriis sese affici non secus et minus, ac si nullae omnino indutiae essent. Velint igitur et in hoc curam habere Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes, ut eadem civitas contra indutias non prematur. Nam eam deserere non possumus, neque pium esset, si contra indutias gravaretur. Quod tanto magis et diligentius a Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus curaturum et effecturum spero, ut demum hoc verius a Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus scriptum esse sentiam, quod Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus, uti natis Hungaris huius regni salus et restauratio carior sit, quam mihi aut alicui alii indigenarum, in hocque fidelius laborent, quam ut ampliori dissipationi occasio detur, quemadmodum hucusque factum est, et per neminem magis, quam ipsos Hungaros. Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationes bene valeant, quibus me etiam, uti decet, commendo.

Ex Leytchovia, XXIII. Novembris anno MDXXXIII.

Ioannes Catzianer etc.

[12.] Scriptis litteris indicatum est mihi, quod ille Sigismundus Kauffunk quendam mercatorem et civem Cassoniensem, Conradum Haller nomine publica via adortus sit, ipsique suas merces et bona omnia abstulerit, quae amplius 3000 aestimantur, quae omnia in Keisermark abduxerit.²³ Satis equidem satis Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus significavi nos tantas violentias et iniurias pati non posse nec decere. Quare Vestras Reverendissimas Dominationes iterum hortamur, ut curent illa ablata bona restitui. Si enim non fieret, nos restitui ea curabimus, adeoque adhuc protestatum esse volumus, nos ob defensionem et conservationem solummodo fidelium regiae maiestatis subditorum ad hasce partes expeditos esse. Quod si igitur aliter fieri non potest, quam ut vis vi repellatur, profecto nostros pro viribus tutabimur.

²⁰ Ferenc Bebek.

²¹ Matthias Loboczky, one of the Royal Secretaries of Szapolyai.

²² Szeben was a major stronghold of the Habsburgs in Transylvania, which was under Szapolyai's control, so it was constantly harassed by Szapolyai's troops.

²³ The chronicle of Szepesség by Gáspár Hain notes this event. See Gáspár, *Szepességi avagy löcsei krónika és évkönyv a kedves utókor számára*, Budapest, 1988, 65.

Giovanni Marsupino to István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán
Rome, 4 December 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 71–72.

1. He already wrote a long letter on 30 November to them; he sent it by a nobleman from Naples. The Pope has left Genoa accompanied by a French fleet, Doria, and the knights from Rhodos. He is expected in Civitavecchia today. It is not known what he has discussed with the French King. One thing is certain: he married off his niece to the second-born son of the King. Attempts to create peace with the Emperor have failed. – 2. The King of France gave gifts to many Cardinals and people in the court. The Spaniards have reinforced Koron; the Turks are organising their fleet against the town for next summer. Francesco Marsupino is waiting for the Pope in Tibur as well as for Brodarics' letter. – 3. Ferdinand is rumoured to have signed peace with the Sultan excluding Szapolyai, so now he is the only king of Hungary. They are not getting letters from Brodarics and Frangepán, so they cannot represent John's case properly. – 4. He has written four times in recent days to Brodarics and Frangepán through Giambattista Casali; Gregorio Casali is in England, while Francesco Casali will be in Rome within two days, but it is not known what he has achieved in Marseille for King John. – 5. The old Francesco Marsupino is eagerly waiting for a letter from them and for news from Hungary. He does not understand why Pál Szondi has not arrived in Rome yet when he was supposed to return by All Saints' Day. – 6. He and old Marsupino hope that they can regain their benefices with the help of Brodarics and Frangepán and the support of Pál Várday and Tamás Szalaházy.

Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Observandissimi.

[1.] Scripsi Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus ultima Novembris longas literas¹ per quendam nobilem Neapolitanum, qui iussu et spe domini Lasko² ivit in Hungariam. Hodie, qui est quarta dies Decembris, habemus nova certa, quod pontifex
5 fuit Ianuae³ ultima Novembris, et illo die inde solvit Romam versus.⁴ Venit heri sero una triremis ad Civitatem Veterem,⁵ quae dicit se non longe a portu Serrulis pontificem reliquisse, cum tota Gallica classe et Andreae Doreae⁶ et Rodiorum.⁷ Et hodie legatus⁸ Romae misit guardiam totam, equites et pedites ad Civitatem Veterem versus Suam Sanctitatem, quae exspectatur omnino hoc sero ibi. Magna pars cardinalium curilium
10 et Romanorum vadit obviam Suae Sanctitati. Quicquid fecerit cum rege Galliae,

¹ This letter by Marsupino is not known.

² Hieronym Laski.

³ Genoa.

⁴ Pope Clement negotiated with the King of France in Marseille until 12 November.

⁵ Civitavecchia, Italy.

⁶ Andrea Doria (1466–1560), an Admiral of Charles V from Genoa.

⁷ Ships escorted the Pope to Savona. From there Andrea Doria of Genoa transported him to Civitavecchia. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 482.

⁸ Clement VII appointed Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III, Legate of Rome on 1 October 1533 in Pisa for the time he was going to be absent.

- omnino ignoratur,⁹ nisi quod nepotem suam¹⁰ locavit in matrimonium secundo genito,¹¹ cum maximo triumpho, cum summa laetitia. Hoc sciatis pro certo, quod Sua Sanctitas non potuit inducere imperatorem Carolum ad veram concordiam cum rege, quia imperator non vult mutare illas duras condiciones pacis factas cum rege in Cambrai.¹²
- 15 Rex vero cupit Mediolanum et aliquid aliud ita, quod pax nulla erit, et nihil minus ibi est factum vel tractatum, quam contra Turcam. Brevi videbimus signa, si quid pontifex intendet facere. Certi nihil scimus, nisi quod caesar noluit aliquo modo mutare priores condiciones pacis cum rege, neque voluit suos oratores interesse, et hoc est verissimum signum nullius concordiae.
- 20 [2.] Rex donavit omnibus cardinalibus, qui fuerunt cum pontifice, unicuique duo milia ducatorum in redditibus, et mille ducatos in prompta pecunia. Donavit etiam multos curiales in diversis donis. Pontifex discessit ab eo cum maxima laetitia, concordia et triumpho, exspectamus cras omnino Suam Sanctitatem hic Romae. De oratore¹³ serenissimi domini regis nihil intelligo. Multi boni et magni curiales sunt mortui in
- 25 itinere propter mare et mala itinera. Trivultius¹⁴ habuit episcopatum novem milia ducatorum, Gaddi¹⁵ 2000, ut alii, Iovius¹⁶ habuit a rege credentiam decem milium ducatorum et unam abbatiam. Sadoletus¹⁷ est cum rege. Dominus baro Burgii¹⁸ hodie erit Romae. Thomas Guerrerius¹⁹ se commendat plurimum. Coron est munitum valde ab Hispanis.²⁰ Turcus dicitur armare classem pro aestate futura. In Italia ubique arma
- 30 silent; est maxima carentia panis. Dominus Marsupinus²¹ est in Tibure civitate²² solatii causa exspectat pontificem et litteras a vobis cum maxima exspectatione.

30 carentia correxi ex: carestia

⁹ Secrecy about the talks between the Pope and the French King is a recurring theme of the various legates' reports sent from Marseille. So it was not only Marsupino who was poorly informed. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 480.

¹⁰ Catherine de' Medici.

¹¹ Prince Henri of Orléans, who, after Francis I died, became King of France by the name Henry II.

¹² France and Spain signed Peace of Cambrai on 5 August 1529. According to the agreement, France gave up its demands in Italy, withdrew its troops from the peninsula, and paid heavy reparations to Spain.

¹³ Francesco Casali.

¹⁴ Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, a leading figure of the French party. After Sacco di Roma, he was kept in the Castel Nuovo in Naples for 18 months.

¹⁵ Cardinal Niccolò Gaddi of Florentine origin, Bishop of Fermo. He was related to the Medici.

¹⁶ Paolo Giovio, historian, Bishop of Nocera.

¹⁷ Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547), noted Humanist, poet, and theologian, papal secretary. Bishop of Carpentras, France, in 1517–1544, Cardinal from 1536.

¹⁸ Baron Burgio was staying in London as a papal legate already in 1531. (See the letter by Miklós Oláh to him, on 16 October 1531, ETE II. 169–172.) He was recalled as a direct result of the excommunication of Henry VIII.

¹⁹ Thomas Guerrerius *cantor* of Catania, notary at the Curia in Rome.

²⁰ Andrea Doria's troops occupied Koron in 1532. The fortress fended off several Turkish sieges in 1533. Only Hayreddin Barbarossa could take it in the summer of 1534 after collecting a significant fleet.

²¹ Francesco Marsupino was active in Rome already in the 1520s as a representative of King Louis.

²² Tibur, today Tivoli. A small town a few kilometres East of Rome.

[3.] Rex Ferdinandus fecit imprimere pacem factam cum caesare Turcarum, sicuti videtis inclusum praesentibus; de rege Ioanne neque de Hungaria nulla fit mentio. In tota Italia dicitur, scribitur, quod Ferdinandus est rex Hungariae, et quod pax est inter
35 Turcam et Ferdinandum facta excluso rege nostro Ioanne. Vos nihil haec curatis. Si aliquando dignaremini scribere, et nos possemus ampliare nomen regis et esset honor et reputatio suae maiestatis maxima. A vobis nullas habemus litteras post discessum Orlandi,²³ nihil de vobis scimus certi, quid faciatis, quid possediatis[!], quid restituatur, quis regnet, ignoramus, nisi quantum coniicimus ex nobis, et tamen pro vestro honore
40 et gloria faceret scribere, et habere litteras, et scire, quid alii faciunt, et dicere, quid vos facitis, ut totus orbis sciat, quia regnatis.

[4.] Medio domini episcopi Casalii,²⁴ oratoris Anglici, qui est Venetiis, ad vos scripsi his diebus quater. Dominus Casalius²⁵ est in Anglia cum suo rege; frater eius, orator serenissimi domini nostri regis credo erit hic infra biduum.²⁶ Nescio tamen, quid
45 factum sit Marsiliae de vestris rebus.²⁷ Ego intelligo, quod Venetiis est quidam, qui se dicit oratorem regis; medio illius vel Casalii Vestra Dominatio posset ad nos scribere omni die.

[5.] Reverendus dominus Franciscus Marsupinus senex pauper 72 annorum cupit scire statum rerum vestrarum, et exspectat, ut dixi, maxima expectatione, ut aliquid
50 litterarum vestrarum veniat, ut possimus scire, quid faciendum nobis sit, quid de vobis sperandum. Miror, quod dominus Paulus Zondinus²⁸ nondum venit, cum pontifex iussit, ut ad festum omnium Sanctorum adesset. Dominus Farnesius legatus se commendat multum Vestris Reverendissimis.

[6.] Dominus Marsupinus et ego supplicamus humiliter, ut dignemini nos supplices
55 commendare serenissimo domino regi, domino Verbezy. Non dubitamus, quin opera Vestrarum Dominationum et beneficia Agriensia et Strigoniensia et Cappornak²⁹ pro me, alia pro domino Marsupino recuperabimus, ut liceat nobis vobiscum vivere id parum, quod superest. Omnis nostra spes in vobis est, et sumus certi, quod regia maiestas, dominus Gritti et ille bonus archiepiscopus Strigoniensis non poterunt privare
60 senem Marsupinum fidelissimum servitorem regis et regni suis beneficiis. Quando

²³ No further data have been found about legate (?) Orlando.

²⁴ Giambattista Casali was Bishop of Belluno from 1527 till his death in 1536.

²⁵ Gregorio Casali.

²⁶ Francesco Casali.

²⁷ On Francesco Casali's activities in Marseille, see his letter to Brodarics on 18 November and his report to King John. See the latter in HHSStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 29r–30r.

²⁸ Pál Szondi (?–1558) Canon of Esztergom, papal confessor, later vicar of Miklós Oláh, Honorary Bishop of Rozon. He visited Rome several times in legation (see Várdy's letter to the Pope on 20 November 1534, ASV, Principi, vol. 8., fol. 310r–v.), where, according to some documents, he continued his studies until 1546. He created Collegium Hungarico-Illiricum in Bologna in 1553. On his life, see: KOLLÁNYI Ferenc, *Esztergomi kanonokok. 1100–1900*, Esztergom, 1900, 140.

²⁹ Kapornak (today: Krplivnik, Slovenia).

a Vestris Dominationibus intelligent, quis sit Marsupinus, quid fecerit pro regno, quid sit factururus, si continget.

Neque plura nunc, nisi quod nos ambos Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus, quantum possum, commendo, easdem oro, supplico et obtestor, ut nostri memores esse velint.

65 Romae, quarta Decembris 1533

Earundem Vestrarum Reverendissimarum Dominationum

servitor Ioannes Marsupinus, cubicularius serenissimi domini nostri etc.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino, domino Stephano Broderico, episcopo et consiliario serenissimi Ioannis Hungariae, domino meo observandissimo. Eo absente reverendissimo domino Colocensi, Budae.

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Francesco De'Nobili to István Brodarics
Venice, 6 December 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 73.

De'Nobili has written a letter already and sent it via the physician sent to János Tahy. Now he is informing Brodarics that Captain Giovanni Alvise [Venier?] has returned from Hungary and wonders why he is not getting any news from there since he left. He says that if something is not done soon about it, everything that he has done so far will go to waste. He is asking Brodarics to send one of his confidants to him to whom he can tell what to do.

Reverendissimo Monsignore et Unico Patron Mio Observandissimo.

A sufficientia ho scritto a Vostra Reverendissima Signoria per el medico che se ha mandato per lo illustrissimo signor Joanne Thai.¹ Questa solo scrivo per far intender a Vostra Signoria come quel capitano Joanne Alvixe² è tornato qui, et se maraviglia che
5 mai ha havuto nova da che se partì de Ongaria, et me ha ditto, che se presto non si provvede, che tutto quello sin qui si è fatto, sarà ruinato, et che io debba scriver a Vostra Signoria, che vogli mandar uno qua de chi se fidi perché li dirà quanto accade a far, et se non si provvede a quello lui dirà, per tutto sebraro[!] che ogni cosa sarà ruinato.

Et havendo el presente messo, me ha parso per el debito della servitù mia farGlielo
10 intendere. Expetto di questo et de quanto Li ho scritto risposta, et se io sono in qualche cosa bono Vostra Signoria, me comandi, alla quale humilmente me offero et ricomando.

Da Venetia alli VI decembre 1533.

Di Vostra Reverendissima Signoria

humil servo
Francesco de Nobili

15

¹ János Tahy (?–1534), Provost of Vrána (1526–1534). One of the leaders of the Szapolyai party in Slavonia.

² Giovanni Alvise [Venier?], patrician from Venice, military officer, captain of Zára in 1530 and of Sebenico in 1534.

On the outer side: Al Reverendissimo Monsignore et unico Signoria et patrono mio observandissimo, Monsignor episcopo Serymiense, Domino Stephano Broderico in Quinqueecclesiis

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Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Gregorio Casali
Buda, 7 December 1533

Manuscript used: BL, Bibliotheca Cottoniana, Vesp. F. I. fol. 29r–30v

Published: SIMONYI Ernő (ed.), *Magyar történelmi okmánytár londoni könyv és levéltárából*, Pest, 1859, 186–188.; ETE II. 298–300.

1. King John cannot be persuaded to ask himself for absolution from excommunication, because it was declared unjustly and unlawfully; it is the task of the Casali brothers – in terms of the instructions forwarded by Corsini – to persuade the Pope about absolving King John from anathema. – 2. The Pope should take into account the spreading of Lutheranism in Hungary, something about which Brodarics wrote to him earlier. Brodarics is surprised that his letter was disapproved of in Rome when heresy is being spread already in Buda too; King John cannot be kept loyal to the Holy See for long, if the Pope does not remedy the injustice against him.

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorandissime. Salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem.

[1.] Non videatur mirum, quod ad quaedam in litteris Vestrae Dominationis ad alterum nostrum datis contenta ambo respondemus, id propterea etiam factum est, quod cum ab initio pari voluntate, et aequalibus studiis huic maiestati regiae domino nostro clementissimo serviverimus, nunc etiam, nec in his, quae scribimus, dissentimus. Dominatio Vestra scribit pluribus verbis de negotio absolutionis ab excommunicatione contra regem nostrum iniuste lata, de qua re nos multa locuti sumus et tractavimus cum maiestate domini nostri, cui nullo modo videbatur, quod debuisset pro talibus censuris tollendis instare, ut quae fuissent latae contra omne ius mundi.¹ Nul-
lum enim est tale delictum in mundo, propter quod rex debuerit ad instantiam et assertionem inimicorum, non citatus, non auditus, non convictus, nullis terminis iuris legitime servatis, excommunicari. Quod neque in privata quacunque persona debuisset fieri, multo minus in rege, et in tali rege, a cuius regno nunc salus totius Christianitatis sine dubio dependet. Et propter hoc cum sententia huiusmodi sit omnino nulla, prout a viris doctissimis tunc adhuc, cum haec in iniuriam regis promulgabantur, fuerat reperi-
tum, et decisum. Non videbatur regi hanc rem magni faciendam, asserenti potius esse officium Sanctissimi Domini Nostri² retractare sua sponte ea, quae in hunc modum fuissent acta. Inductus tandem est non sine maxima difficultate ad ea, quae Vestra

¹ Regarding the absolution, see the letter by Francesco Casali on 18 October 1533. It shows the Curia's standpoint, which said that the Pope was willing to absolve John if he asked for it himself.

² Pope Clement VII.

- 20 Dominatio et frater eius, dominus Franciscus³ intelliget ex hoc nuntio secretario regio, domino Andrea Corsino Florentino,⁴ et ex instructione suae maiestatis,⁵ quam Vestra Dominatio ab ipso accipiet. Iam Vestrarum Dominationum erit pro sua in regem propensitate agere apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum, ut censurae istae omnino tollantur.⁶
- 25 [2.] Sanctissimus Dominus Noster praeter regis innocentiam et iustitiam deberet in hoc statum etiam praesentem rerum suarum considerare, nunc etiam eo ventum est, ut Hungaria inficiatur dogmate Luterano, de quo et nuper scripseram⁷ ego Sirmiensi aliqua Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, et in veritate miratus sum, quando ex litteris Vestrae Dominationis cognovi illa displicuisse. Credimus nos teneri, pro ea devotione, qua
- 30 et Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem et privatim Suam Sanctitatem prosequimur, certiores facere Suam Sanctitatem de his, quae in istis regnis aguntur, ad rem Suae Sanctitatis pertinent et scribere ei veritatem. Nam adulari in seriis perniciosum est, et tenemur admonere Suam Sanctitatem de his, per quae sola talibus morbis obviari posset. Sed si Suae Sanctitati et reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus male sonant talia in auribus,
- 35 facile est nos a talibus abstinere, et abstinemus posthac. Sed credimus nostram taciturnitatem plus obfuturam Sedi Apostolicae. Nunc etiam non solum per oppida insigniora Hungariae palam docetur et praedicatur Luteranismus, sed hic quoque Budae rege conivente, cui quando de hoc loquimur, respondere solet se esse excommunicatum, hoc tamen ab eo aegre impetravimus, ut hic Budae prohibitum sit Luteri dogma
- 40 publice praedicari usque ad reditum huius nuntii et secretarii. Nobis videretur, quod Sanctissimus Dominus Noster talia negligere non deberet, quia istud malum assidue latius serpit, et deberet regem absolvere et omnibus modis ad se allicere. Non desunt et ex Germania, et aliis provinciis Christianis principes, et multi ex regni Hungariae primatibus regem sollicitantes. Nos pauci faciemus omnia nobis possibile, pro rege in
- 45 devotione Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae retinendo, sed nescimus, si re in tantum adaucta et regis animo in tantum exacerbato ad hoc erimus sufficientes, praesertim non sublata ista tali ac tam atroci offensa. Et credat Sua Sanctitas, quod magnae condiciones offeruntur regi, dummodo Luteranismum non prohibeat in regno et ditione sua. Dominatio Vestra consideret, si rex a Sede Apostolica hoc pacto cum omnibus suis exagitatus
- 50 tenetur multum de hoc curare et non potius cogitare de commodo suo et regni sui, praesertim cum isti, quorum plena sunt omnia, magnis et evidentissimis, ut isti dicunt, rationibus probare contendunt non agi de fide, sed de illis, de quibus (quando scripta nostra in tantum displicent) apertius non scribimus. Sed utinam ex illis neglectis non

³ Francesco Casali.

⁴ Andrea Corsini of Florence served Szapolyai as a diplomat since 1531. See HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 262.

⁵ For Francesco Casali's letter of credence, see THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum...* 625–626.

⁶ Clement VII did not consent to absolving John. Only his successor, Paul III, who ascended to the throne in 1534, did it.

⁷ Probably a reference to the letter from Brodarics to Clement VII dated 1 August 1533, which the Pope answered on 3 September.

veniant maiora mala et damna Sedi Apostolicae, quam hucusque venerunt. Consideret
55 Sua Sanctitas una cum reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus, in quantum haec res tam
brevis tempore crevit. Quid in posterum futurum creditur, nisi cito bonis, salutaribus et
Christianis remediis provideatur? Nos Vestrae Dominationi etiam atque etiam
commendamus. Quae felix valeat.

Budae 7. die Decembris 1533.

60 Vestrae Dominationis cordialissimi amici

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus subscripsit
Stephanus Brodaryth
Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Gregorio de Casalis, oratori serenissimi regis Angliae
apud Pontificem Maximum, domino et amico nobis honorandissimo. Aut eo absente domino
Francisco de Casalis.

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István Brodarics to Clement VII
Buda, 10 December 1533

Manuscript used: ASV, Principi, vol. 8., fol. 194r–v, fol. 199v

Published: ETE II. 301–302.; THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam
illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 626; BESSENYEI József, *Lettere di principi (1518–1578)*,
Rome-Budapest, 2002, 109–111.

*He received the Pope's response after Andrea Corsini left. He still holds that Lutheranism keeps spreading
in Hungary and is taking ever deeper roots. – 2. King John is being urged to change religious status on his
own accord, so His Holiness should provide the appropriate remedies. – 3. He and Archbishop Frangepán
will do their utmost to keep the King and the country in obedience to the Holy See. – 4. The Pope can get
more detailed information on all this and on news regarding peace between the two kings from Corsini, the
Casali brothers, or Apostolic Penitentiary Pál Szondi.*

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae ad
oscula pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Expedito iam hoc secretario et nuntio regio, domino Andrea Corsino¹ super-
venerunt ad me litterae Vestrae Sanctitatis de negotio Lutheran², de quo ego nullam
5 aliam ob causam scripseram ad Vestram Sanctitatem,³ quam ut Vestra Sanctitas simul

54 *post damna del. de negotio publico*

¹ Andrea Corsini left for Rome on 10 December to bring instructions to the Casali brothers. See the
letter by Brodarics and Frangepán on 7 December and Corsini's statement given when he would be taken
prisoner in 1535. See: HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsszeli országos levéltárból I.*,
Pest, 1857, 266.

² See the letter by Clement VII addressed to Brodarics on 3 September 1533.

³ See the letter by Brodarics to Clement VII on 1 August 1533.

cum suo sapientissimo senatu dignaretur in tempore providere his rebus, hoc morbo in tantum ubique exaggerato. Et nunc quoque hoc idem tanquam humillimus servulus Vestrae Sanctitatis et isti Sacrosanctae Sedi addictissimus consulo. Nunc quomodo-
cunque est Vestra Sanctitas de hoc edocta, malum assidue serpit et altiores radices agit.

10 Rationes, quas Vestra Sanctitas commemorat, non nego esse optimas et validissimas, sed nihil a nobis adduci potest tam firmum et solidum, cui illi evangelio et divi Pauli scriptis non occurrant.

[2.] Pro concilio autem, quantum instent et elaborent, nemini debet esse magis cognitum, quam Vestrae Sanctitati. Non defuerunt, nec desunt, qui hic quoque vehementer
15 urgeant hunc regem, dominum meum clementissimum, ut si alii principes cessant, ipse saltem in regno et ditione sua hanc rem discuti faciat, et quod verius et Christianae puritati magis vicinum et consentaneum esse cognoverit, illud amplectatur. Quae res his etiam diebus magna contentione coram eius maiestate est acta, hoc ipso etiam nun-
tio praesente et audiente. Itaque Vestra Sanctitas amore Dei adhibeat ad componendum
20 huiusmodi controversias illa remedia, quae ei videntur magis opportuna. Quia res ista quanto magis non curatur, tanto magis invalescit.

[3.] Ego cum reverendissimo domino fratre meo, domino Colociensi⁴ nihil omittam, quod a me fieri poterit in rege hoc et regnicolis in devotione Sanctae Sedis et Vestrae Sanctitatis retinendo. Et hoc etiam eo alacrius, diligentius ac libentius, quod vehemen-
25 tissime cuperemus hunc pontificatum Vestrae Sanctitatis non solum ab omnibus huiusmodi controversiis videre vacuum, sed rebus etiam omnibus aliis pacatissimum et florentissimum ob privatam meam et incredibilem erga Vestram Sanctitatem affectionem et observantiam.

[4.] De pace inter hos principes nihil nunc aliud habeo, quam quod is ipse dominus
30 nuntius referet, aut domini Casalii.⁵ Poterit de his, quae scribo, Vestra Sanctitas et a domino Paulo Zondino poenitentiario Apostolico,⁶ quando ad Eam redierit, edoceri, qui multis interfuit et oculis vidit ea, quae hic aguntur, et quae a Sede Apostolica et a toto nostro ordine desiderantur. Me et servitutem meam in gratiam Vestrae Sanctitatis humillime commendo. Quam Deus conservet felicissimam et sospitem.

35 Budae 10. Decembris 1533.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus et capellanus
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the outer side: Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Domino Clementi VII. Pontifici Maximo,
Domino mihi semper Clementissimo.

⁴ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁵ Brodarics and Frangepán informed English Legate in Rome Gregorio Casali about the situation in Hungary in a long letter on 7 December 1533.

⁶ On Pál Szondi, see the notes for Marsupino's letter on 4 December 1533.

Giovanni Marsupino to István Brodarics
Rome, 14 December 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 92.

1. *The Pope returned to Rome from Marseille on 10 December, where he performed the wedding of Catherine de' Medici and Henri, second-born son of Francis. Not much is known about his talks with the French King but they parted in a very cordial way.* – 2. *He is providing news on various high priests in Italy.* – 3. *He and Francesco Marsupino, who is staying in Tivoli, are waiting for the news on Hungarian affairs. He does not write to Pál Szondi because the latter must already be on his way.*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime. Supplici commendatione praemissa.

[1.] Alli X del presente mese scrissi alla Maestà del Re¹ per la via di Venetia, che il Papa era tornato a Roma salvo et sano, et duplicai le lettere, hor perché le lettere vanno perdute, me parse replicarle. Fui poi con Sua Beatitudine, bascai il piede, et Sua Santità
5 si truova sana et ben disposta. Fu la venuta sua tanto più cara, quanto manco era creduta. Quel che habi fatto col Re di Francia, non sappiamo,² perché tanto segreto vanno le cose et sonno irte, che nulla s'ha possuto intendere. Vero è che delle cose pubbliche, penso et tengo certo, non si sia parlato. Il Papa ha maritato la sua nipote al
10 secondogenito del Re con grandissima pompa.³ Il Re ha fatto grandissime carezze al Papa, sonnosi partiti con molta satisfatione et contentezza. Cesare non s'hè[!] contentato molto di questo abboccamento. Il Vostro oratore ha scritto qua haver fatto bene tutte le facende del Re, lui è restato amalato in Franccia[!].⁴

[2.] Qui si dice che monsignor di Verona è stato amazzato di 200 pugnalate dalli preti et canonici di Verona.⁵ Capua⁶ hor è grande, poichè Jacopo Salviati è morto.⁷ Il Iovio⁸

¹ See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 79–80.

² See the notes for Marsupino's letter on 4 December.

³ The Pope performed the wedding of Catherine de' Medici and Prince Henri of Orléans in Marseille.

⁴ See notes on this the letter by Francesco Casali on 18 November.

⁵ Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), Bishop of Verona, one of the first significant advocates of renewal within the Catholic Church. After several years of service at the Curia, he withdrew to his diocese in 1527 and introduced strict rules in order to reform the lives of priests, monks, and canons. During this, he had several conflicts with members of his own chapter but we have no knowledge of any direct threat of his life. The 200(!) stabs with a knife, mentioned in the letter, must be taken as figurative speech meaning that his canons were trying to make his position untenable. In a few days, in his letter dated 18 December, Marsupino himself is less certain: first he repeats the news that the bishop has been murdered, but after a few lines he refutes it. For more on Giberti's activities, see Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 609–620.

⁶ Nicolaus von Schönberg.

⁷ Jacopo Salviati, politician of Florentine origin, husband of Lucrezia de' Medici, father of Archbishop Giovanni Salviati, one of the closest confidants of the Pope. He died on 6 September 1533, before Clement VII left. See: Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 478.

⁸ Paolo Giovio.

15 sta con due quartane, hauto dal Re un presente di 10000 ducati, dico dieci millia ducati. Il Re ha dato ad ogni cardinale 1500 ducati d'intratta, Gaddi⁹ hauto 4000 ducati, una vacanza sendo a caccia col Re. Trivultio¹⁰ sta bene. Farnesio¹¹ Vi si raccomanda, si duol dal? Vostro non scrivere. Salviati¹² è rimasto in Francia. Ridolfi¹³ sta bene.

20 [3.] Suplico Vostra Signoria, si degni raccomandar il reverendo messer Francesco,¹⁴ che è a Tivoli a spasso, et me alla Maestà Regia et, quando piaccia ad essa, di scriverci come stanno le cose ungheresce, la pregiame, che nulla sapiamo di certo. A messer Paulo Zondino non scrivo, penso sia in viaggio al ritorno.¹⁵ A messer Mathia Marliano,¹⁶ a Kalnai¹⁷ me raccomando. Non so che mi dire di messer Hannibale,¹⁸ che si
25 portato tanto male a non scrivere mai. Raccomandateci a monsignor reverendissimo al Frogepano,¹⁹ et al illustrissimo signor Verbeuczi.²⁰ Et alla Vostra Reverendissima Signoria ci raccomandiamo, sperando che più habia a potere la bontà et il favor de Vostra Reverendissima in aiutarci, che lo stimulare con le nostre lettere, alla cui bona gratia già mill'anni havemo connessa la fortuna nostra.

30 Romae 14 decembris 1533.

Di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima
servitor Joannes Marsupini etc.

Qui si dice, che'l Signor Turco fa nuova expeditione contra Coron.²¹

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino, domino Stephano Broderico, episcopo et cancellario serenissimi Ioannis regis, domino observandissimo. Eo absente reverendissimo de Frangepanibus, Budae.

⁹ Niccolò Gaddi (1490–1552), Cardinal of Florentine origin, Bishop of Fermo. He was related to the Medici.

¹⁰ Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (1485–1548)

¹¹ Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III.

¹² Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, son of Jacopo Salviati.

¹³ Niccolò Ridolfi, Cardinal.

¹⁴ Francesco Marsupino.

¹⁵ About Canon of Esztergom and Papal Penitentiary Pál Szondi we know exactly from Marsupino's letter on 18 December that he was supposed to get to Rome by All Saints' Day.

¹⁶ Matthia Marigliano. See on him the notes for Brodarics' letter on 24 January 1531.

¹⁷ Kálnai Imre, Archdean of Gyulafehérvár.

¹⁸ Hannibal of Cyprus.

¹⁹ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

²⁰ István Werbőczy, Chancellor of Szapolyai.

²¹ In 1534, the Turks indeed occupied Koron, which they lost in 1532, but the campaign was not led by Suleyman but Algerian pirate prince Hayreddin Barbarossa, who was appointed Kapudan Pasha, i.e. fleet commander.

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 17 December 1533

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 85–86.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 333–334.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 591–592.

1. They are waiting for Werbőczy, who wrote from Nándorfehérvár that he would arrive from the Sultan with favourable news. – 2. Nádasdy should convince Bálint Török to maintain a good relationship with him as his neighbour in order to avoid strife for which serfs would pay the price.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Honorandissime. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Nova alia non habemus nisi quod dominum cancellarium ex Constantinopoli redeuntem exspectamus, a quo heri accepimus litteras Nandor Albae datas, in quibus
5 significat se cum optimo responso redire, omnia negotia ex sententia apud imperatorem confecisse.¹

[2.] Scripseram his diebus Vestrae Dominationi de domino Valentino Thewrek, cum quo rogo, ut agat et efficiat Vestra Dominatio, ut mecum bonam servant sui vicinatem, sicut ipsemet mihi litteris suis mediantibus promisit. Intercesserunt postea aliqua inter
10 servitores communes a servitoribus eius bona sub potestate mea existentia occupantibus, meis id permittere nolentibus. Si quid per me rectificandum fuerit in hac parte, ego rectificari faciam, ipse quoque idem faciat et deinceps, si possibile est, inducatur ad quiete cum meis vivendum. Quid prodest inter nos digladiari, et illos miseros colonos episcopatus perdere, satis alioquin afflictos? Sin minus, ego teneor meos defendere. Sed ex huius-
15 modi defensione et offensione nihil aliud sequetur, nisi destructio miserorum. Melius est, quod nec destruantur illi pauperes et dominus Valentinus accipiat aliter servitia mea. Rogo, Vestra Dominatio velit habere curam de isto negotio cum domino Valentino Thewrek et illud bono modo determinare ita, ut sit stabile, ne illi miseri coloni destruantur, quia ego aliter facere non possum, nisi tueri eos, qui sunt sub potestate mea. Et de
20 hoc me facere velit certiore. Vestram Dominationem felicissime valere cupio.

Budae, feria quarta quattuor temporum 1533.

Cupio commendari omnibus nostris.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc, domino uti filio carissimo et honorandissimo

22 Cupio...nostris. manu Broderici

¹ The Sultan, who, ignoring Szapolyai, made an agreement with Ferdinand on dividing Hungary based on the status quo, promised Werbőczy to give castles of the Szerémség region that have been seized after the death of Louis II back to Szapolyai. See: FRANKÓ Vilmos, *Werbőczy István életrajza*, Budapest, 1899, 292.

Giovanni Marsupino to István Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán
Rome, 18 December 1533

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 23. Konv. C, fol. 98r–99r

1. The Pope returned to Rome on 10 December. Nothing is known about his talks with the French King, but it is said that only family matters were discussed. Casali sent word that he had arranged everything as John had wished, but has not made it to Rome yet because he got fever on the way. – 2. They have received no news from Hungary, even though Ferdinand is spreading the news that he has signed peace with the Sultan, but he is not mentioning King John. Cardinals Trivulzio and Farnese greet them. Gaddi is staying with King Francis. Old Marsupino is waiting for their letter in Tibur, or for Pál Szondi, who has not arrived yet. – 3. The Sultan is preparing for war against Koron, a castle the Emperor wants to defend. – 4. Allegedly 8 of his priests beat Bishop of Verona to death. Knight Casali is in England, so King Henry VIII has no legate left in Rome. – 5. It turned out that the Bishop has not been killed after all; imperial forces are fighting hard to defend Koron; they have killed many Turks the other day. – 6. King John should send legates and news more often for his own good, otherwise he will lose in the diplomatic battle to Ferdinand.

Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Praesules Observandi. Commendatione praemissa etc.

[1.] Scripsi serenissimo domino regi decima Decembris, quod pontifex salvus et sanus Romam redierat, scripsi postea 14 eiusdem mensis eadem suae maiestati et
5 Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus.¹ Scribo et nunc quoque Suam Sanctitatem salvam et incolumem huc rediisse decima Decembris. De his, quae cum Galliarum (!) rege tractavit, nihil omnino possumus scire, adeo sunt secreta.² Certum est, quod caesari Carolo non placuit istud colloquium. Rex Galliae cum maxima pompa et summa humanitate tractavit pontificem, cum maxima concordia discesserunt. Quidquid partu-
10 riet conventus ille, videbimus. Hoc tamen pro certo creditur, quod nihil, nisi de privatis rebus sint collocuti. Orator serenissimi domini regis scripsit huc, se omnia regis negotia ad nutum perfecisse, ipse nondum rediit, sed correptus febricula mansit in Gallia.³ Credo eum brevi affuturum.

[2.] Mirantur multum, quod nihil vestrarum litterarum ad nos datis, cum hic nemo
15 sit, qui sciat, in quo statu sint res Hungariae. Rex Ferdinandus fecit hic imprimere pacem perpetuam factam cum imperatore Turcarum. De rege nulla fit mentio, neque de Hungaria, nisi quod se ubique scribit regem Hungariae. Farnesius⁴ se commendat

¹ See Marsupino's letter in Italian on 14 December.

² Pope Clement met the French King in Marseille. Here they carried through the marriage of Catherine de' Medici and Francis' son Prince Henri. Charles V was worried, understandably, by the Pope and the French getting closer. Nothing has leaked from the talks, however. The lack of information is a recurring theme not only in Marsupino's letter in December but in all report on the Marseille talks by legates. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 480.

³ See the letter by Francesco Casali on 18 November.

⁴ Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III.

Vestris Dominationibus, Trivultius⁵ etiam. Gaddi⁶ est cum rege Franciae. Reverendus Franciscus Marsupinus est in villa Tiburtina, pliniatur[?], omnem suam spem habet in vobis, et nisi vestra auctoritate, gratia et ope illi succurratur, actum erit brevi. Est 72 annorum. Cum maxima exspectatione exspectat litteras vestras, vel dominum Paulum Zondium,⁷ quem credidimus ad festum omnium sanctorum hic affuturum, et adhuc non comparet.

[3.] Intelligo imperatorem Turcarum rursum parare classem et arma contra Coron, et putamus caesarem Carolum idem facturum, quia intendit defendere Coron, si poterit.⁸ In reliquis arma ubique silent.

[4.] Dicitur episcopum Veronensem occisum esse ab 8 sacerdotibus, qui dederunt ei ducentas *pugnatas* propter novas institutiones, quas Veronae volebat observari.⁹ Capuanus gubernat,¹⁰ nullus ex antiquioribus servitoribus pontificis alius superest. Iovius¹¹ habuit credentiam a rege decem milium ducatorum. Adhuc exspectat vestrum Transilvanum.¹² Dominus Casalius eques est in Anglia, cuius rex nullum habet amplius oratorem hic.¹³ Dominus baro est infirmus in itinere veniens ex Anglia.¹⁴ Multi et primores cortigiani sunt mortui.

[5.] Post scripta: dominus Veronensis non est interfectus, ut dicebatur et dominus Ioannes Antonius baro rediit Romam hodie admodum infirmus. Commendat se plurimum Vestris Dominationibus Reverendissimis. Dicit, quod dominus capitaneus, orator serenissimi domini regis brevi redibit huc Romam, et quod melius se habet.¹⁵ Cavalerius est in Anglia cum illo rege.¹⁶ Dicitur pro certo, quod invictissimus Turcarum imperator rursus parat arma terrestria et maritima contra Coron, et quod his diebus Hispani, qui custodiunt Coron, interfecerunt multos Turcos, et habuerunt vidualia, quae volebant imponere in Modon.

Hic Romae nihil aliud habemus novi, privatae res bene aguntur, nisi quod frumentum est in caro foro nimis. Reliqua ut praesens. Cupiunt, Reverendissime Domine,

⁵ Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, a leading figure in the French party.

⁶ Niccolò Gaddi, Cardinal of Florentine origin, Bishop of Fermo. He was related to the Medici.

⁷ Canon of Esztergom Pál Szondi, Apostolic Penitentiary. On him, see the notes for Marsupino's letter on 3 December 1533.

⁸ Indeed, the Turks lead another campaign to occupy Koron in 1534, and this time they were successful. The Spanish garrison gave up the castle in April 1534.

⁹ On Bishop of Verona Gian Matteo Giberti see the notes for the letter by Marsupino on 14 December.

¹⁰ Nicolaus Schönberg (1472–1537), Bishop of Capua.

¹¹ Paolo Giovio.

¹² *Transilvanus* would traditionally mean Bishop of Transylvania but there is no available data that would suggest that Statileo was going to go to Rome in late 1533, which would have provided the reason for them to expect him there.

¹³ Gregorio Casali was the legate of English King Henry VIII in Rome. Since the king divorced Catherine of Aragon without papal permission in 1533, the Pope excommunicated him and diplomatic relationships broke.

¹⁴ Baron Burgio was staying in London as papal legate already in 1531. (See the letter by Miklós Oláh to him on 16 October 1531, ETE II. 169–172.) His recall was a direct consequence of the excommunication.

¹⁵ Francesco Casali.

¹⁶ Gregorio Casali.

domini cardinales Trivultius, Farnesius, Cesis et omnes amici vestri scire, quid sit de
45 vobis, quomodo regnum gubernatur, quid spei, quid timoris; nihil vestrarum litterarum
post discessum Orlandi.¹⁷

[6.] Miramur mirum in modum, quia Ferdinandus rex habet hic oratorem secretari-
um, sollicitatorem et alios, quotidie dicunt nova pessima, nihil dicunt nec mentionem
faciunt de vobis. Dicunt se pacem fecisse cum caesare Turcarum, et habuisse regnum
50 Hungariae. Idem Poloni, qui omni die Romam veniunt, omnes fovant potius Ferdi-
nando, quam regi Ioanni. Quod ita mirantur, ut nihil super. Rogo Vestram Reverendis-
simam Dominationem perscribere dignetur, vel faciat omnia ista, quomodo sunt et
quomodo stant, et quid speratis futurum, ut saltem pro commodo honore, dignitate et
reputatione vestra possimus de vobis loqui. Ita faciunt omnes reliqui principes orbis.
55 Pro gloria et reputatione, non pro pane certatur. Reverendus pater, Franciscus Marsupius
se Vestris Reverendissimis Dominationibus multum commendat. Est in villa Tibur-
tina, exspectat maxima exspectatione aliquid litterarum a vobis, ut sciat statum rerum
vestrarum et regni, et possit deliberare, quid sibi et mihi sit faciendum. Omnis nostra
spes estis vos. Potestis, si vultis, nostra et possessa legitime tot annis restituere, de
60 domino Marsupino sene loquor.

Alia non sunt, nisi quod me Vestris Dominationibus Reverendissimis plurimum
commendo. Quibus supplico, dignentur me regiae maiestati humiliter commendare.
Deus Optimus Maximus easdem felices conservet.

Romae 18. Decembris 1533.

65 Earundem Vestrarum Reverendissimarum Dominationum

servitor Ioannes Marsupinus
cubicularius serenissimi domini nostri,
praepositus etc.

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Francesco De'Nobili to István Brodarics
Venice, 5 January 1534

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. A, fol. 17.

He has not got a response to his latest letter. Captain Giovanni Alvise [Venier?] visited him again; he regrets he does not get a letter from Brodarics and asks him to send somebody with whom he can share confidential information. De'Nobili offers himself in vain because the captain does not want to tell him these without authorisation. If the matter is important somebody should be sent urgently, because the captain says that if it does not happen, everything they have done so far will go to waste. Giambattista Casali will inform Brodarics in more detail on other matters.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Mi Observandissime.

Io non so più che scriver a Vostra Reverendissima Signoria, perché de quante mie Li

¹⁷ His name appears in Marsupino's letter on 4 December 1533.

ho scritto,¹ de alcuna mai ho havuto risposta. De novo è stato qui da me quel capitano
 5 Ioanne Alvixe² dolendosi che non ha littere da Vostra Signoria, et non sa per qual via
 scriverLi, né mandar messi, ma che io debba scriver, che de li se li mandi uno, con el
 quale possa conferir molte cose importantissime. Io li ho ditto, se l'è interesse della
 Maestà del Re, che venirò in persona, et che me dichi a me el tutto. Me ha risposto non
 haver commissione de dirlo a me, et lui non vol venire alle bande de là. Io non so che
 10 maneggio sia el suo, da me non è manchato far l'ufficio del fidelissimo servitore della
 Maestà del Re et de Vostra Reverendissima Signoria, né mancherò in ogni occurrentia
 continuare. Se 'l maneggio di costui è de importantia, bisogna mandare uno qua, et
 presto. Io verò scriverli che conferisca meco, che io venirò in persona. Lui pur me
 sollicita, che se habbi presto la risposta, che altramente tutto quello sin qui è seguito,
 sarà ruinato. Siché Vostra Signoria Reverendissima intende il tutto, facciamo quanto
 15 a Quella par che ricerchi el bisogno. Io sempre sarò prompto ad ogni Suo comanda-
 mento et della Maestà del Re.

De novo non scrivo altro, perché monsignor de Inghilterra³ scrive ad plenum. Et
 a Vostra Reverendissima Signoria me offero et ricomando.

Da Venetia alli V. gennaro 1534.

20 Di Vostra Reverendissima Signoria

servitore deditissimo
 Francesco De' Nobili

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino, domino meo colendissimo Stephano Broderico
 episcopo Simiensi in Quinqueecclesiis

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Giambattista Casali to István Brodarics
 Venice, 5 January 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. A, fol. 13–14.

1. Offers excuses for his letters to arrive so late in Buda: his brother fell ill in Avignon and letters from him arrived late in Venice when there was no suitable courier. – 2. According to the news from Marseille, it would be easy to achieve the absolution of King John from excommunication; for this a properly authorised person should be sent to Rome. – 3. Francesco Casali will be in Rome soon, in case King John has some assignment for him. – 4. Brodarics should use the servant who is taking this letter as he sees fit but they are supposed to cater for him. – 5. He is not writing about news from Rome because Marsupino's enclosed letters provide exhaustive information. – 6. He sent letters to Brodarics from his brother and Marsupino earlier, he hopes those have arrived.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Mi Observandissime.

¹ See De' Nobili's previous letter on 6 December 1533.

² Giovanni Alvise [Venier?].

³ Giambattista Casali, Bishop of Belluno, commissioner of the King of England in Venice. See the next letter.

[1.] Inter alia omnia, quae in his litteris a me scribuntur, excusatio inprimis apponi deberet, cur tam sero ad vos veniant litterae hae ab aula missae. Ab hac tamen supersedendum mihi putavi, cum sciam satis me diligentem in hac re a vobis existimandum, atque apud Dominationem Vestram satis superque excusatum iri, cum videat ipsas litteras a me per praesentem nuntium, hunc meum familiarem, Hieronymum nomine huic negotio privatum destinatum vobis redditas esse. Dominatio Vestra igitur sciat, quod posteaquam dominus Franciscus Casalius, frater meus negotium sibi demandatum apud regem Christianissimum Massiliae confecit (ut ipsa melius in suis litteris videbit), iter ingressus est, ut, quam celerrime fieri posset, Venetias contenderet, hicque nuntium confestim cum his litteris ad vos mitteret. In ipso autem Avinionis itinere in aegritudinem (ut fit) incidit, repentina ac gravi febre oppressus Avinionem tandem cum pervenisset, ibi constitit, neque mittendas alioqui has litteras putavit, sperans febrem non ita invaliduram, ut ipsemet intra paucissimos dies eas ferre non posset. Cum autem morbus ingravesceret, eas Lugdunum misit, ut ea via ad me huc afferrentur,¹ sero tamen redditae mihi sunt. Iamque exactus est mensis, ex quo ad vos pervenerunt, cum cotidie speraremus aliquem nobis occurrurum, cui tuto eas ad Dominationem Vestram daremus. Cum autem res longius procederet, nihil prius mihi faciendum existimavi, quam ut familiarem hunc meum ad Dominationem Vestram mitterem cum ipsis litteris, quo ad scribendum tum etiam ad alia negotia utor, utpote qui eum fidelem hominem esse sciam atque eiusmodi, ut multa coram referre possit. Quod ut libentius facerem, equitis fratris mei litterae in causa fuere, quod mihi nescioquid non parvi momenti scripsit vobiscum communicandum, quod ab ipso Hieronymo Dominatio Vestra coram audiet, atque cum iis alia nonnulla, quae ego illi mandavi. Cum autem res ipsa videtur expetenda, non ab re esse existimo, si ea tentetur. Dominatio Vestra meminisse facile potest, quod alias mecum super hac re (quod totum eius humanitati ascribo) est collocuta, inquaerebamusque num in his regionibus aliquid esset, quod ad rem faceret, et nisi me fallit memoria, de hac privatim sermonem habuimus, quae meo quidem iudicio multis de causis omnibus aliis magis expetenda atque eligenda esset, quas ego imaginari aut reperire possem. De quibus ipse Hieronymus coram cum Dominatione Vestra loquetur. Eam rogo tamen, ut det operam, ut cum paucissimis res communicetur.²

[2.] Quoad autem cetera regis serenissimi negotia opportunum maxime mihi videtur, ut quam mature fieri possit, mittatur cum auctoritate et mandato, qui hanc absolutionem³ postulet, quae (ut ex eo, quod Massilia mihi nuntiatum est) conicere valeo, facile impetrabitur, maximeque in rem erit, si haec obtineatur absolutio, antequam ad foedera et conventiones veniatur. Regiaeque maiestati honorificum magnificumque erit, si et apud pontificem et apud Christianissimum regem oratores habeat.⁴

20 negotia *correx*i ex: negotio

¹ Regarding the above events, see the letter by Francesco Casali dated 18 November 1533.

² It is not known what Casali is alluding to.

³ The Pope excommunicated János Szapolyai from the Church at the end of 1529 for forming an alliance with the Turks. Absolution from excommunication was an important goal of Szapolyai's diplomacy.

⁴ John had no legates of his own in European courts. The three Casali brothers, who were officially in English service, represented his interests in Venice, England, and Rome.

[3.] Litteras postremo habui a domino Francisco Avinione datas, in quibus mihi scribebat se, propemodum sanitatem recuperasse, esseque ad iter Romam versus
40 accinctum, atque in praesentia fortasse Romam pervenit. Si quid igitur regiae maiestati agendum aut procurandum illi mandare libuerit, Roma non discedet, ut praesto esse possit, omnibus maiestatis suae mandatis ea fide exsequendis, qua ipse consuevit, et quae ipsi regiae maiestati debetur.

[4.] Mandavi huic meo familiari, quod si regia maiestas eius opera opus habeat vel
45 causa mittendi Romam aut alio, cuncta faciat, quae sibi imperabuntur. Cum si decernatur a vobis optimum fructum esse hanc rem tentari, fortasse etiam in Angliam mitti poterit. Obsecro tamen Dominationem Vestram, ut velit eum apud se habere vel alicui alii commendare, ubi ei necessaria suppeditentur, dum decernatur, num ad aliquod negotium suae maiestatis mittatur an vero Venetias regrediatur.

50 [5.] Novi hic, quod alicuius sit momenti, nihil habemus. Pontifex Romam XII. Decembris mensis die vel circiter pervenit, de rebus autem quae illic actae sunt, Dominationi Vestrae scribere non laborabo, cum pro comperto habeam a domino Ioanne Marsupino cuncta vobis copiose atque ordine perscribi, nam multas mihi ad Dominationem Vestram litteras variis temporibus misit, quas Hieronymo ipsi
55 ad Dominationem Vestram perferendas dedi.⁵ Meque illi humiliter commendo.

Venetis 5. Ianuarii MDXXXIII.

[6.] Scripsi etiam diebus superioribus ad Dominationem Vestram de his, quae Masiliiae eo tempore a domino Francisco, fratre meo acta erant, misique Dominationi Vestrae litteras quasdam domini Ioannis Marsupini, quas puto ipsam accepisse.

60 Servitor

Ioannes Casalius protonotarius

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino, domino meo observandissimo Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi

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István Brodarics, Ferenc Frangepán, and István Werbőczy to leaders of Vienna
Buda, 7 January 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. A, fol. 19–20.

1. Constable of Esztergom Johannes Steckel captured one of the boats of Imre Bebek, because it is said to have tried to avoid paying customs duty. One of his men by the name of Gotthard Veres was put to prison. Bebek raised a complaint with Steckel who promised legal remedy in a letter but refused to provide it after the deadline. – 2. Bebek, then, approached Thomasso Lascano, who also promised legal remedy but did not

51 de correxi ex: re

⁵ This remark by Giambattista Casali shows that his brother's letter dated in November the previous year in Avignon and Giovanni Marsupino's three letters from Rome in December left Venice together with this letter in January 1534. Meanwhile, Francesco Casali's letter on 7 July 1534 shows that Giambattista Casali's messenger was captured near Vienna, and the letters never reached the addressees.

keep his promise either: Bebek, then, in accordance with clauses of the agreements of Visegrád and Megyer, approached them to give him arrest warrant so that he can make amends himself. – 3. Thus, they are asking leaders of the town of Vienna to compensate Bebek, otherwise they will be compelled to issue the warrant so that Bebek can settle the matter himself.

Generosi et Magnifici Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi. Salutem.

[1.] Exposuit nobis magnificus dominus Emericus Bebeek de Pelsewcz,¹ comes perpetuus comitatus Gewmeriensis, consiliarius regiae maiestatis, quomodo dominus Ioannes Stekel,² qui in suis litteris capitaneum Strigoniensem se esse significabat et
5 Dominicus exactor telonei Strigoniensis, circa festum penthecostes proxime praeteritum³ unam navim suam simulcum omnibus attinentibus et asseribus ac sedecim vasis vinorum summam mille florenorum valentibus via iuris sine omni acceperant, et unum ex servitoribus suis, nobilem Gothardum Weres dictum, captivassent, et duobus compedibus vinctum in carceres detrusissent, rebusque omnibus eiusdem ac uno equo
10 attinentisque ad id necessariis ultra summam vigintiquinque florenorum valentem ablatis eundem tam diu captivum tenuissent, quoad ipsorum placitum fuisset voluntati, asserentes, quod loca solita antiqua applicationis vadorum telonei praetergressi fuissent, et per hoc navim, tanquam furtive et clanculum profectam punire vellent, in praeiudicium ipsius domini Bebeek manifestum, de super quibus differentiis ipse
15 dominus Bebeek a praefato Ioanne Stekel iuris revisionem fieri postulavit, qui domino Bebeek litteris suis mediantibus certum terminum praefixerat, termino tamen adveniente quibusdam subterfugiis iuris revisionem iustitiaeque administrationem posse fieri negavit.

[2.] Super quo idem dominus Bebeek protestationes fieri curavit, ut in suo iusto
20 negotio iuris revisio iustitiaeque administratio denegata fuisset, et pro eodem negotio dicit se scripsisse magnifico domino Thomae Laskano,⁴ qui eidem pro iuris revisione iustitiaeque administratione certos terminos praefixerat, ad quos omnes terminos idem dominus Bebeek cum gravissimis expensis suis homines suos mittere minime neglexit. Tamen idem dominus Laskanus iuris revisionem iustitiaeque administrationem non
25 fecit. Super quibus iniuriis et damnis nobis protestando optavit, ut secundum vigorem articulorum Wyssegradini et in Megyer editorum,⁵ qui in haec verba sonant (quod nullus subditorum ob alterius cuiusvis debiti vel excessus arestetur, impediatur vel inter-

¹ Inre Pelsöczy Bebek, *Custos* of Gömör, brother of Ferenc Bebek. He caused an uproar when, in spite of being a Provost, he got married. Szapolyai imprisoned him for it. See: SZERÉMI György, *Magyarország romlásáról*, Budapest, 1979, 263., and ETE II. 334–335.

² I have found no further data on Johannes (Hans?) Steckel (Stöckl?) or him being Constable of Esztergom.

³ I.e. around 1 June 1533.

⁴ Tomás Lascano (?–1539), a captain of Ferdinand of Spanish origin. In the early 1530s he was Commander of Esztergom.

⁵ Envoys of the two kings signed truce first on 21 January 1531, for three months. On 30 December 1532, another agreement was signed in Megyer on a truce for four months. For the text of the agreement in Visegrád, see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 17. Konv. A, fol. 46–49.; see the text of the agreement in Megyer in HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 21. Konv. B, fol. 58–60.

teneatur, sed unusquisque actor sequatur forum rei, et iudices nullo modo protrahant iustitiam querentibus administrare. Non observatis illis prolixis terminis iuris, sed procedant simpliciter et de plano sine strepitu iuris. Si autem quispiam iudicum indebite protraxerit iustitiam, aut denegaverit, tunc ille laesus bono fundamento deducat illud coram locumtenente vel palatino sui principis et domini, et tunc locumtenens vel palatinus bene informatus poterit dare illi litteras, ut sit liberum aliquem arestare de altera parte, alias minime) eidem arestari permetteremus, sed consulentes publicae utilitati et tranquillitati, ne insontes pro reorum delictis punirentur, scripseramus dicto domino Laskano, uti hanc causam iure mediante revideri faceret, qui certum terminum praefigens ipse dominus Bebeek certos probos viros iurisperitos ex magistris protonotariis regni ad istius causae discussionem, iurisque revisionem ac iustitiae administrationem ad diem et locum denominatos miserit. Qui illinc re infecta reversi retulerunt nobis testibus fidedignis, secularibus scilicet et spiritualibus domini Bebeek comprobasse servitorem suum cum navi ac vinis ceterisque rebus eiusdem in ea existentibus antiqua ac solita loca thelonei praetergressum non fuisse. Quibus res ipsius auferri et servitori eiusdem praefata iniuria iuste inferri potuissent. Rogan nos idem dominus Bebeek, ut visa eiuscemodi iustitia secundum vigorem articulorum liberum arestum eidem fieri concederemus. Rogatum tamen habuimus eundem, ut interim sua dominatio vellet esse pacifica, donec responsionem a Vestris Dominationibus ad has nostras litteras habere possemus.

[3.] Propterea rogamus Vestras Dominationes summo opere, velint ipsum dominum Emericum Bebeek de praescriptis vinis et rebus suis universis contentari facere, ne exinde maiora damna subditis oriantur. Nam alias nos iuxta continens praedictorum articulorum ipsi domino Bebeek litteras nostras arestatorias dare cogimur, ut sit ei liberum ubique quoslibet subditos arestare et detinere. Faciant itaque Dominationes Vestrae pro commodo et utilitate subditorum id, quod eisdem melius faciendum videtur. Valere easdem feliciter optamus.

Datum Budae, septima die mensis Ianuarii Anno Domini MDXXXVI.

Vestrarum Dominationum [servitores]
frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus subscripsit
Stephanus de Werbewecz cancellarius subscripsit
Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the back side: Generosis ac magnificis dominis regentibus civitatis Wiennensis, dominis et amicis nobis honorandis

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 22 February 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 87–88.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 334–335.

1. Gritti is expected in Buda; peace is taken for granted. – 2. Brodarics is going to go to Pécs one of these days to handle some personal matters. – 3. They have just received word from Poland that England has a new Queen. The French King is preparing for war against the Duke of Milan again. – 5. Requests Nádasdy to instruct his Constable in Huszt to allocate the salt due to Katalin, sister of Archbishop Frangepán.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Novi nihil est, nisi de adventu illustrissimi domini gubernatoris a quo Ioannes Zalanczy² rediit. De pace non possum dubitare eam omnino futuram.

5 [2.] Ego his diebus Quinqueecclesias sum iturus, Deo volente, ob quaedam privata mea negotia. Vellem Dominationem Vestram optime rebus suis consulere.

[3.] Nunc habuimus litteras ex Polonia, in quibus scribunt, novam nuper regis Angliae declaratam reginam Angliae.³ Amita Caroli eo titulo privata, idque parlamenti Parisiensis, ad quod pontifex hanc rem reiecerat, decreto.⁴ Regem Franciae
10 novam parare expeditionem contra ducem Mediolani.⁵ Ecce iterum nova bella, novae inter Christianos dissensiones.

[4.] Rogamus ambo Vestram Dominationem cum domino meo reverendissimo,⁶ ut

¹ Autograph.

² János Szalánczy (?–after 1553), aristocrat, who fled from Bács county to Transylvania, away from the Turks. *Secretarius* of the Voivod of Wallachia from 1525. Enters the service of Szapolyai in 1529, then becomes councillor of Izabella. More on his life: JAKÓ Klára, *A Szalánczyak = Emlékkönyv Imreh István nyolcvanadik születésnapjára*, Kolozsvár, 1999, 199–210.

³ The English parliament, headed by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, invalidated the marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V, on 15 January 1534. Thus, the obstacle to his marriage with Anne Boleyn was removed. See Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1956, 514.

⁴ Brodarics is certainly wrong here. What's more, the news are fairly old. The Pope did not entrust the decision to the *parliament* in Paris. Henry's divorce was announced in London after a courtroom comedy in the spring of 1533. The new wife was crowned already on 1 June 1533. The reference to Paris might come from a misunderstanding related to the fact that Henry had tried to persuade the *university* of Paris years before through Reginald Pole to give a favourable opinion as to the legality of his planned divorce.

⁵ Finally, the French did not lead their army against Milan and its Duke Francesco II. Sforza. The new Spanish–French war for Milan broke out only after Sforza's death in the spring of 1535.

⁶ Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán.

committat castellano de Hwzth,⁷ permittat sales dominae de Frangepanibus⁸ educi.⁹
Quod Vestrae Dominationi nihil officit, dominae autem affert maximam commodi-
tatem. Velit igitur Vestra Dominatio nobis sine ullo suo incommodo commodare et
15 litteras huiusmodi ad manus reverendissimi domini huc Budam [mi]ttere. Et bene
valeat.

[Bu]dae, 22. Februarii 1534.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdy, consiliario regio etc, domino
uti filio carissimo

221

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Pécs, 8 April 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 89–90.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Tár, 1908, 335.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 593–594.

*He is sending the long overdue statement on the 2000 forints received in Buda. He has given the missing sum
to the orphans of scribe Demeter, who are in great need.*

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime. Servitia mea.

Mitto Vestrae Dominationi registrum super illis duobus milibus florenorum, qui alias
Budae fuerunt assignati ad manus meas. Quod saepe prius volui mittere, sed inter tot
curas et occupationes dilatum est in hodiernum diem. Deest illa summula, quae est
5 subnotata, quam Dominatio Vestra velit computare ad summam illam pecuniarum,
quas in auro deposueram in manibus Vestrae Dominationis Posonii, quae pecuniae
fuerunt magistri quondam domini Demetrii² litterati, cuius orphani quia mirabiliter
egent, rogo Vestram Dominationem, dignetur cogitare de huiusmodi etiam summae
restitutione. Salva veritate, credo, fuisse 3,5 florenos in auro, partim largos, quos

14 *post* Quod *del.* nec

14 *post* Dominationi *del.* nec

⁷ Constable of Huszt Kristóf Kávássy.

⁸ Katalin Frangepán.

⁹ On this, see the letter by Ferenc Frangepán to Nádasdy on 20 February 1534 (MARÓTHI Rezső, *Frangepán Ferenc levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz*, Történelmi Tár, 1905, 535.).

¹ Autograph.

² Scribe Demeter's orphans come up in the letters by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 4 and 18 January 1533
as well.

- 10 vocant, partim alterius generis.³ Non urgerem pro hoc Vestram Dominationem, si non viderem egestatem extremam illorum pauperum, quos ego, quantum potui, sustentavi et sustento. Vestra Dominatio bene valeat. Quinqueecclesiis 8. Aprilis, 1534.
Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino, consiliario regio etc, domino uti filio carissimo ac honorandissimo

222

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Pécs, 8 April 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 88/a.¹

He requests Nádasdy to exhibit self-restraint regarding the house that István Théty used to have, and which now belongs to Rector of the school of Pécs Bálint, and enforce his wish through the law rather than violence.

Magnifice Domine, uti Fili Carissime et Honorande. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

- Dominatio Vestra scripsit ad magnificum Valentinum rectorem scholae huius Quinqueecclesiensis de domo, quae fuit aliquando domini Stephani Theryek, fratris nostri,
5 et scribit nimis dure contra cives meos et suos, immo contra me. Quam enim differentiam possum facere inter Vestram Dominationem et me, si amor Vestrae Dominationis erga me non prorsus est exstinctus, aut porro inter me et meos, quos ita coget et tenet defendere ut meipsum, non aliter.

- Minatur eis ne vel in Slavoniam vel Pethoviam² vel ad Redege³ vadant. Quid posset
10 eis mihi metipsi ab aperto hoste hostilius fieri? Ah Magnifice mi Domine, Fili Carissime! Meliora et mitiora verba, quaeso! Si de domo quaestio est, domus manet, hinc auferri non potest, et exspectare cogitur dominum, quicumque erit ille. Nam et mei (loquor de uxore fratris) aiunt nescio quid iuris habere, quod ego nescio. Nec moror

9 post Redege del. vel
9 post Quid del. potest

10 post eis del. ab hoste
10 post hoste del. plus mina

³ See more on the kinds of money used in the era in BARACZKA István, *A hazai pénzrendszerek és pénzek történetéhez 1540–1560*, Levéltári Közlemények, 1965, 235–257; HARKÓ Gyula, *A pénz története Magyarországon 1526–1608*, Kolozsvár, 1912; HUSZÁR Lajos, *Habsburg-házi királyok pénzei 1526–1657*, Budapest, 1975.

¹ Autograph.

² Pettau (today: Ptuj, Slovenia)

³ Redege (today: Radkersburg, Austria)

nunc. Rogo, ut dominatio sua cum suis aliter agat et iure non gladio. Hoc fortasse
15 meretur curia sola, si nihil aliud esset in Vestrae Dominationis observantia et amore.

Nova nulla habeo, nisi de domini gubernatoris⁴ adventu, quem dicunt brevi Budae futurum. Me Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felix valeat cum omnibus suis caris.

20 Quinqueecclesiis 8. Aprilis 1534.
Servitor

Sirmiensiis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino consiliario regio etc., domino et uti filio carissimo ac honorandissimo

223

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 27 May 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 91–92.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 335–336.

Requests Nádasdy to prevent Constable of Huszt Kristóf Kávássy from abusing his power in the estates of Lukács Tholdi in Máramaros.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime ac Honorande. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

Habet egregius Lucas Tholdi¹ peculiaris amicus meus quaedam bona in Maromarsio, in quibus conqueritur se a castellano² Vestrae Dominationis de Hwzth cotidie non
5 nihil molestiae ac impedimenti accipere. Quapropter rogo Vestram Dominationem, ut servitiorum meorum intuitu velit castellanum suum ab illatione iniuriae ac impedimenti ipsius Lucae Tholdi cohibere, in quod ego Vestrae Dominationi omnibus modis sum gratificaturus. Si quid autem indignationis Vestra Dominatio contra ipsum habuit,
10 id ei condonare velit, nam quicquid ipse unquam adversus Dominationem Vestram deliquit, non sponte, sed coactus fecit. Cui vel hac de causa parcendum esset. Vestram Dominationem felicissime valere optamus.

⁴ Lodovico Gritti

¹ Ferenc Frangepán wrote to Nádasdy several times about Kristóf Kávássy's abuse of power against Tholdi (see: MARÓTHI Rezső, *Frangepán Ferenc levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz*, Történelmi Társulat, 1905, 537–538.). His letters (in which Tholdi's given name is László, not Lukács) reveal that the Constable of Huszt chased Tholdi away from his estate, and Tholdi stayed with Frangepán's sister and depended on her mercy. More on Kávássy's abuse of power: PAP József, *Adalékok Máramaros történetéhez*, Máramarossziget, 1909, 63–71.

² Kristóf Kávássy, Constable of Huszt.

Budae, feria quarta post festum Penthecostes 1534.

Servitor

Sirmiensis etc. subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd etc. domino et uti filio carissimo ac honorando

224

Gregorio Casali to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
London, 14 June 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. C, fol. 23r-v

1. Andrea Corsini will report in detail on the good intentions Henry VIII shows towards Szapolyai, and on how he does everything he can to influence the French King towards a similar disposition. He is sending Casali to France to this end. – 2. Henry sent Corsini ahead to prepare the way for Casali and then to return to report comprehensively to John. – 3. They should pay attention to events in Germany because everything there is going to get under the Bavarian princes' control, which will serve John even more than Henry. – 4. For the sake of a speedy flow of news it would be important for Hungarian diplomacy to be able to send letters via Venice, where Giambattista Casali strives to be of their service. – 5. Andrea Corsini will tell the rest in person, or his brother Giambattista Casali will write about them from Venice.

Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Mei Observandissimi. Salutem etc.

[1] Dominationibus Vestris mirum non videatur, si prius ab hac regia maiestate dominus Andreas Corsinus¹ expediri non potuit, sicuti enim ab ipso intelligent, totum id egimus, ut melius serenissimo regi Ioanni inserviremus. Qui quidem Corsinus ita se
5 prudenter in omnibus gessit, ut non facile plus ab eo desiderari poterit. Ab ipso cognoveritis, quo nunc amore haec regia maiestas serenissimum regem Ioannem prosequatur, et quam sit cupida omnis eius commodi, nec non prompta ei opem ferendi in omnibus, in quibus magis posse cognoverit. Item qua arte, opera et industria curet apud regem Christianissimum, ut eius maiestatem erga regem Ioannem in eandem mentem et desi-
10 derium adducat, et quo ad ea, quae ad maiestatem suam spectant, certe ea, quae pro rege Ioanne egit, sunt eiusmodi, ut meo iudicio maiora optari non possint, sicuti dominum Andream copiose relaturum non dubito. Hoc tantum restat, ut rex Christianissimus in hanc regis nostri opinionem et consilium conveniat, pro cuius rei executione serenissimus rex meus decrevit me in Galliam mittere. Dominationes Vestrae pro certo
15 habeant, quod ego ibi non minore utar diligentia, arte et industria, qua hic usus fuerim, ut serenissimo regi Ioanni inserviam.

[2.] Rex noster praeterea ad rem fore iudicavit, ut dominus Andreas praeiret ad

¹ Andrea Corsini left from Buda on December 1533 for Rome, from there he went to France. From there he went to England on the invitation of Gregorio Casali. He left for Hungary in the summer of 1534 via Venice. See HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 266–267.

regem Christianissimum ad promovendum negotium, et postea, quo celerius posset, in Hungariam reverteretur, ad hoc ut regiae maiestati cuncta significaret. Iter tutum venturo
20 oratori praepararet, et praesentium rerum statum maiestati suae aperiret.

[3] Praeterea Dominationes Vestras scire volo, res Germaniae per ea, quae ab hac maiestate accepi, et ipsemet re quotidie video, multo maiores esse, quam dominus Andreas refert poterit, et ego pro certo habeo, quod, antequam dimidium anni transeat, universa Germania erit penitus dedita at devota duobus his principibus,² et quod Dominationes Vestrae audient regem hunc³ res maximas conduxisse, quae tamen omnia in
25 istius regiae maiestatis commodum et servitium redundatura spero, sed ego, tanquam unus ex fidelissimis maiestatis suae et Dominationum Vestrarum servis, eis consulo, ut velint paulo melius aures arrigere et ad unguem cognoscere, quomodo res Germaniae se habeant et gubernet, mittere etiam, si videbitur, oratorem ad hanc regiam maiestatem
30 et in huiusmodi Germaniae negotiis cum ea convenire. Video enim negotia huiusmodi maiori commodo serenissimo regi Ioanni fore, quam ipsimet regi meo.

[4] Per ea, quae hic hucusque fecimus, rex Ioannes poterit optimo esse animo. Habebit enim regem hunc istius regni sui fautorem et protectorem acerrimum. Ego certe, hoc tempore, quo hic permansi,⁴ nihil cum hac regia maiestate unquam egi, quod mihi
35 maiori esset curae, quam serenissimi regis Ioannis honor et commodum, in quibus omnem operam, curam, industriam mentemque omnem fixi et locavi. Sed opus est imprimis, Domini mei Reverendissimi, ut Dominationes Vestrae modum et viam inveniant, quibus possint saepe Venetias scribere, et illinc quotidie litteras habere. Oportet etiam, ut saepius scribant de rebus suis et de his, quae fieri et tractari volunt et cupiunt,
40 fratres enim mei⁵ et ego totis viribus operam dabimus, ut voti compotes remaneant.

[5.] Longioribus litteris inpraesentia non est opus, dominus namque Andreas, qui omnibus interfuit, et quem summa prudentia praeditum cognovi, omnia uberrime, sicuti se habent, relaturum confido, eius igitur relationi me remitto.⁶

28 arrigere *correx* ex: *errigere*

² Bavarian princes Wilhelm and Ludwig were prominent figures of the anti-Habsburg imperial opposition. On their activities in more detail: Alfred KOHLER, *Antihabsburgische Politik in der Epoche Karls V.* Göttingen, 1982.

³ Henry VIII.

⁴ Gregorio Casali left Rome in late 1533. Earlier, he was the English King's legate there, after Henry VIII was excommunicated for his divorce.

⁵ Giambattista Casali, who worked in Venice, and Francesco Casali in Rome.

⁶ Andrea Corsini could report on the outcome of his legation only in letters: on his way to Hungary, he fell ill in Venice and could not continue his travel. That is why he wrote there a long report to Brodarics on 15 September 1534. In the spring of 1535, when he attempted to reach the part of the country that Szapolyai controlled in the company of Giambattista Casali, Ferdinand's Spanish mercenaries captured him in Slavonia. (See Gregorio Casali's letter to Thomas Cromwell 14 May 1535. See SIMONYI Ernő, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár londoni könyv- és levéltárákból*, Pest, 1859, 312–314.) Corsini seems to have remained in prison until the end of 1536, because Brodarics, on his way back from Italy, asked for a safe conduct for him too from Ferdinand in January 1537, and this was issued on 4 February 1537. For the records of the interrogation of Corsini and Casali, see: HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsszeli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 240–280.

Non vereor, quin Dominationes Vestrae de me aliquando nova habuerint, scripsi
45 enim domino protonotario, fratri meo,⁷ ut in omnibus suis ad vos litteris me Domina-
tionibus Vestris commendaret, et eas certiores redderet de his, quae hic acciderunt,
quod ab eo factum puto.

Optime valeant Dominationes Vestrae, quibus me humillime commendo.

Londini XIII. Iunii MDXXXIII.

50 Reverendissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum

servitor Gregorius Casalius

On the back side: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus et dominis meis observandissimis
domino archiepiscopo Colocensi et domino episcopo Sirmiensi.

225

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy

Buda, 19 June 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 93–94.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 336–337.

1. He has learnt from Frangepán what Nádasdy wrote about him; he does not understand, how Nádasdy could forget their old friendship in such a way. – 2. Gritti is still expected to come, and he is going to bring news favourable for the country; but his departure was delayed by the arrival of imperial legate Cornelius Schepper and French legate Rincon. – 3. Nádasdy must have heard about events in Germany, the occupation of Würtemberg, and the defeat of Ferdinand's army; the French are besieging Milan, the Turks control Koron. The blows are many but astrologer Melchior prophesies even worse things for next year.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime et Observandissime. Servitiorum commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi quaedam a reverendissimo domino meo, domino Colociensi,² quae
Vestra Dominatio superioribus diebus, me Quinqueecclesiis existente, eidem de me
5 nuntiaverat, de quibus nolo ego nunc cum Vestra Dominatione pluribus agere, hoc
unum dico, quod semper mirabor, si Vestra Dominatio poterit unquam oblivisci talium
amicorum, qualem me semper est experta, quam videlicet sincerum et omnis sui boni
adeo studiosum.

[2.] Nos adhuc sumus in expectatione illustrissimi domini Gritti gubernatoris etc.,
10 qui scribit in recentibus litteris se propediem hic futurum cum resolutione optima

4 post Dominatio del. me

5 post cum del. vestris

10 post scribit del. se

⁷ Giambattista Casali.

¹ Autograph.

² Ferenc Frangepán.

omnium in rem regis et regni pertinentium; retardatum hactenus fuisse ob adventum Cornelii Ferdinandini³ et Rinconis⁴ Christianissimi regis oratorum.

[3.] Res Alemannicas et profligationem exercitus adversarii, item occupationem totius ducatus Vyrttembergensis,⁵ credo plus quam notam esse Vestrae Dominationi.

15 Nunc habuimus ex Polonia Mediolanum a Gallis obsideri.⁶

Coron etiam in manus Turcarum venisse est certissimum.⁷ Quibus procellis agitur mundus. Sed haec nihil sunt respectu eorum, quae Melchior⁸ astronomus dicit in annum sequentem imminere. Vestra Dominatio felicissime valeat cum omnibus suis immo nostris.

20 Budae, 19. Iunii 1534.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd consiliario regio etc., domino et tanquam filio carissimo ac honorando

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Francesco Casali to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Rome, 7 July 1534

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. C, fol. 53.

1. He got word that his brother's messenger has been captured near Vienna, and the letter he was taking to Hungary were taken away from him. A few days ago, he sent to Szapolyai a copy of the letter written to him earlier, but he does not resend the one to Brodarics because there was not much difference. – 2. The Pope and the cardinals tend to be willing to sacrifice Szapolyai as long as they can find a way that is not uncomfortable for the Holy See. – 3. The Pope's position is that he cannot absolve King John unless he asks for it.

Reverendi Domini Observandissimi. Salutem etc.

³ Cornelius Schepper (1500–1555), professional diplomat first in the service of King of Denmark Christian II, then of Charles V.

⁴ Antonio Rincon, Spanish noblemen in French service. Visited Hungary several times as a legate of the French King.

⁵ Philip of Hesse, who enjoyed French support, managed to drive out the Habsburgs from Württemberg in 1534, and reinstate Prince Ulrich to the throne from exile.

⁶ The piece of news about the siege is probably false. There is no indication that the French tried to occupy Milan in the summer of 1534.

⁷ The Spaniards emptied the fortress of Koron in April 1534 and handed it over to the besieging Hayreddin Barbarossa.

⁸ Probably the court astrologer of Louis II whose name was also Melchior. See FÖGEL József, *II. Lajos udvartartása 1516–1526*, Budapest, 1917, 81. This Melchior, referred to as an astrologer, may be identical to the Royal Secretary also by the name of Melchior, whose trips to Poland in legation are mentioned twice by Brodarics. See his letters on 8 October 1531 and 9 June 1532.

[1.] Quemadmodum accepi reverendi fratris mei familiaris quidam,¹ qui meas ad serenissimum regem litteras, quibus, quae Massiliae egeram,² continebantur, itemque litteras Christianissimi regis et nonnullorum cardinalium ferebat, prope Viennam cap-
 5 tus, et obvoluto capite nescit ipse, quo in carcerem ductus fuit. Ubi paulo minus tribus mensibus detentus missus tandem factus est et litteris et omnibus, quae habebat, spo-
 liatus. Exemplum litterarum ad serenissimum regem misi ad eius maiestatem proximis diebus,³ earum, quas ad Vestras Dominationes exaraveram, superfluum nunc foret
 10 exempla conscribere, eadem enim ferme continebant, et aliquid praeterea super nuptiis Aurelianensis,⁴ et creatione cardinalium,⁵ quae aliis nuntiis istuc perlata credendum est.

[2.] Sanctissimus Dominus cardinalesque mirum in modum se cupidos ostendunt serenissimo regi satisfaciendi, sicut ad eius maiestatem scribo. Pontifex quidem
 15 modum per me vellet inveniri, quo regia maiestas a censuris posset absolvi absque Sedis Apostolicae levitatis nota. Sed norunt maiestatis regiae mandata, quae habeo, Dominationes Vestrae: nulla enim mihi ad hoc facultas datur. Quapropter nihil etiam
 facturus sum, nisi ipsa iusserit et mandarit.

[3.] Hic certe res tota vertitur, quod pontifici videtur serenissimum regem, si non
 20 petat, nisi turpiter absolvere non posse. Sin hoc pervinceretur, ut sua sponte darent absolutionem, nec tamen viderentur male se fecisse confiteri, hoc ego polliceri posse videor, pontificem atque collegium in omnibus maiestati regiae, quae voluerit, gratifi-
 caturos. Quicquid autem serenissimus rex voluerit, id praestare viribus omnibus cona-
 bor. Bene valeant Dominationes Vestrae, et me suum totum meminerint.

Romae die 7. Iulii MDXXXIII.

25 Dominationum Vestrarum Reverendissimarum

servus [Franciscus Casalis]⁶

On the back side: Reverendissimis dominis meis observandissimis domino archiepis-
 copo Colocensi et domino episcopo Sirmiensi consiliariis.

¹ Giambattista Casali informed Brodarics on 5 January that he would send a servant to Hungary with various letters. See the letter by Casali 5 January 1534.

² On Francesco Casali's activities in Marseille, see his letter to Brodarics on 18 November 1533.

³ 27 June 1534. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. C. fol. 45.

⁴ The wedding of Clement VII's niece Catherine de' Medici and French King Francis' son Prince Henri of Orléans.

⁵ On the appointment of the four new cardinals, also see the letter by Francesco Casali on 18 November 1533.

⁶ The corner of the letter with a name is torn off.

Henry VIII to István Brodarics
Chertsey, 10 July 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 24. Konv. C, fol. 56.

Published: ETE II. 359.

He learnt about the extraordinary virtues of Brodarics and his loyalty to King John. He requests Brodarics to use his influence on behalf of Giambattista Casali, whom he has sent to King John in legation.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliae et Franciae, fidei defensor ac dominus Hiberniae Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, domino Stephano episcopo Sirmiensi serenissimique regis Hungariae consiliario etc., amico nostro carissimo salutem.

Non vulgares animi dotes ac virtutes, quibus Reverendissimam Dominationem
5 Vestram ex dilecti nobis domini Gregorii Casalii sermone praeditam esse intelligimus, efficiunt, ut non solum eandem plurimum amemus et carissimam habeamus, verum etiam spem certam et fiduciam concipiamus futurum semper, ut causas omnes in serenissimi vestri regis stabilimentum securitatemque et Christianae reipublicae quietem, tranquillitatem atque conservationem cessuras, et quae Christianissimo Francorum
10 regi, fratri perpetuoque confoederato nostro carissimo, et nobis iunctim unanimesque consensu cum serenissimo rege vestro impraesentia occurrunt et deinceps tractari contigerit, vestra opera consilioque iuvetis et promoveatis.

Ex reverendissimo igitur domino protonotario Casali,¹ quem ad serenissimum vestrum principem oratorem nunc destinamus, nonnulla publicum bonum concernentia
15 Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio nostro nomine intelliget. Cui referenti impense rogamus, ut indubiam fidem velit habere, et in iis, quae nostro nomine ager, adesse atque favere, qua in re nobis summopere gratificabitur.

Et feliciter valeat eadem Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra. Ex regia nostra de Chertsey die X. Iulii MDXXXIII.

20

Vester bonus amicus
Henry manu propria

On the back side: Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, domino Stephano episcopo Sirmiensi serenissimique regis Hungariae consiliario etc., amico nostro carissimo

¹ Giambattista Casali leaves for Hungary in the spring of 1535 accompanied by Andrea Corsini. They tried to reach Szapolyai's part of the country disguised as merchants, but they were captured in Slavonia and put to prison in Wiener-Neustadt. See the records of their interrogation in: HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból I.*, Pest, 1857, 240–280.

Francis I to István Brodarics
Fontainebleau, 24 August 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 25. Konv. A, fol. 46.

Published: ETE II. 368–369.

King of France Francis requests Brodarics to keep using his influence in King John's court in the matters that Andrea Corsini imparts to him...

Franciscus Dei gratia Francorum Rex Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico, episcopo Quinqueecclesiarum, regis Hungariae cancellario ac consiliario optimo.

Comperta mihi ea auctoritate et gratia, qua apud Ioannem, Hungariae regem, amicum mihi maximum, affinem et confoederatum plurimum vales, singulari item prudentia et dexteritate, qua in hunc diem in rerum omnium procuracione et regni eius administratione usus es, postremo officiis, quibus hactenus erga eum commendari meruisti et, quemadmodum intelligo, continenter magis ac magis commendari mereris, idque non modo ad utilitatem et quietem eius regnique Hungarici, sed et omnis universim Christianae reipublicae, lubens feci, ut tecum pro eo congratularer, peteremque abs te atque adeo rogarem, ut in hac tam honesta tamque laudabili voluntate ac proposito tibi perseverandum esse duceres, quemadmodum tibi enucleatius aperire poterit Andreas hic Cursino,¹ quocum prolixè accurateque de his communicavi. Itaque fore spero, et de viri fidelitate tantum mihi polliceor, ut affirmem eum cuncta tibi fide summa ac diligentia relaturum.

15 Reverendissime Domine, Deus Optimus Maximus te incolumem servet.

Datum apud Fontem Blavium die XXIV. mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto.

Francoys

On the back side: Illustrissimo domino, domino Aloysio Gritti, regni Hungariae gubernatori etc., amico nostro carissimo

István Brodarics to Simon Erdődy
Buda, 26 August 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 204, bundle 7¹

1. Informs Erdődy that Gritti's men lead by Orbán Batthyány have killed Bishop of Várad Imre Czibak in a night raid. Czibak's head was cut off and taken to Gritti. Brother of Imre Balassa by the name of János

¹ Andrea Corsini, Secretary of Szapolyai visited the French court on his way home from London.

¹ Autograph.

also died in the clash. The son of Chancellor Werbőczy, Imre, barely escaped. The brother of István Maylád died of his wounds later: – 2. Gothárd Kun and Maylád call Transylvanians to arms now; Miklós Patócsy recruits an army against Hieronym Łaski, who has Várad under his control.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime. Salutem et servitia mea.

[1.] Credo iam Dominationem Vestram fortasse intellexisse: dominus Czybak est interfectus² per homines domini gubernatoris,³ dum iret ad dominum gubernatorem, prope fluvium Old capitaneo domino Urbano Bathyany,⁴ qui circa mediam noctem
 5 irruit in eum, qui se diu viriliter defendit, tandem confossus, ut referunt, ex eis vulneribus concidit, caput eius abscissum delatum fuit ad gubernatorem. Perierunt ibidem et alii aliquot, inter quos frater germanus domini Emerici Balassa,⁵ boni filii vestri et mei nomine Ioannes, filius domini cancellarii Emericus⁶ vix evasit, frater domini Maylath⁷ tunc captus postea ex vulnere mortuus est.

10 [2.] Gothardus Kwn,⁸ qui et ipse vix evasit, ut intelligimus, vocat omnes Transsilvanos ad arma, idem facit Maylád noster et alii multi. Nescimus, quid sequatur. Deus omnia bene vertat. Pathochy⁹ et ipse congregat gentes contra dominum Laskio,¹⁰ qui obsidet Varadinum.

Me et servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi commendo, quae felix valeat. Budae, 26.
 15 Augusti 1534.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

6 *post gubernatorem del. Fecerunt*

² Bishop of Várad Imre Czibak was killed on 11 August 1534 by Gritti's men near Felmér.

³ Having Czibak killed was the climax of the controversial activities of Lodovico Gritti. Building on the outrage caused by the murder, an army of Czibak's relatives and the Transylvanian *ordines* encircled Gritti in Medgyes. After taking the town they slaughtered the hated Governor on 29 September.

⁴ Orbán Bathyány (?–1547), Royal Secretary (1523), an adherent of Ferdinand I, then of John I, than of Governor Lodovico Gritti (until 1534), then of Queen Isabelle (1540s), then again of Ferdinand I for a short time as well as appointed captain in Szeged (1541–1542). He also wrote songs.

⁵ Imre Balassa, Voivod of Transylvania under Szapolyai from 1534. He had several brothers, the youngest of them, János Balassa was the father of poet Bálint Balassi. In contrast to what Brodaries states, he survived the battle.

⁶ Imre Werbőczy, the only son of Chancellor István Werbőczy, joins Ferdinand after 1541 and organises defence against the Turks in Tolna county as *comes*.

⁷ István Maylád (1502–1550) was pro-Ferdinand Voivod of Transylvania from 1534 until 1541, when he was confined by the Turks. His brother was called Demeter Maylád. He got smaller estates from his brother and held no important office. However, the report on his death is erroneous, since the younger Maylád is still alive in 1540. See MAILÁTI Béla, *Maylád István (1502–1550)*, Budapest, 1889.

⁸ Gothárd Osdolai Kun (around 1490–1533/36), Constable of Buda under János Szapolyai (1527) and captain (1530s).

⁹ Miklós Patócsy was a nephew of Imre Czibak.

¹⁰ After having Czibak killed, Gritti sent Hieronym Łaski to Buda for help from King John against the seething Transylvanian *ordines*. Łaski seized the seat of Czibak, Várad, on the way, for which King John, who, seeing public indignation turned against Gritti at last, imprisoned him in Buda.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino Simoni episcopo Zagradiensi, regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae bano, domino mihi observandissimo.

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 10 September 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 95–96.¹

Published: KUIÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 337.

Brodarics assures Nádasdy of his true friendship and asks him to give credit to the words of their common friend who is taking this message.

Magnifice Domine uti Fili Carissime. Salutem et servitiorum commendationem.

Referet alia tam privata quam publica is amicus noster communis,² hoc unum et ex meis cognoscat me Vestrae Dominationi esse et futurum semper, quousque vixero, et illa animum et amorem suum in me tenebit, amicissimum et bonum servitorem. Quod vicissim rogo, ut illa faciat, ut sit mihi verus et sincerus amicus. Et haec pauca nunc satis pro temporis angustia et tali amico internuntio. Et optime valeat cum omnibus suis.

Ex Buda 10. Septembris 1534.

[Servitor]

Sirmiensis etc. subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino etc., domino uti filio observandissimo

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Andrea Corsini to István Brodarics
Venice, 15 September 1534

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 25. Konv. A, fol. 88r–90v

1. He has reached Venice on 14 September, but his illness that he had acquired travelling last year overcame him to such an extent that he had to stay there because he needs medical treatment. However, he has found a trustworthy person who will take the letters he has with him to Gritti. – 2. The French King is on their side. The English King sends Giambattista Casali in legation to negotiate about his niece's planned marriage with János Szapolyai and other things important and useful for Hungary; Kings of France and England hold King John in high esteem as he was fourth to join the league after England, France, and Scotland. – 3. The legate will leave Venice only if Corsini tells which way he should go. If his health permits, Corsini himself will join him. He is asking for money from King John. – 4. The dying Pope did his utmost for England and France to support the case of King John, which is mostly due Knight Gregorio Casali. It is his doing that these two

¹ Autograph.

² We do not know who took the letter.

kings are friendly towards King John. Casali was driven by his good intention as well as by the prospect of reward, because he hopes that his brother, who travels to Hungary, will be rewarded with a bishopric. Knight Casali went to Rome to be present at the Pope's election and work for a new Pope who is French. – 5. He is giving news from France: the Grand Marshal is mortally ill; Bishop du Bellay supports King John. Łaski sent an envoy to France a few days ago. – 6. He is pushing for some money. He is sending a package that has been returned twice from the border again as well as two fresh pieces of news from Rome. – 7. The courier leaves only tomorrow morning. Giambattista Casali went to Bologna to meet his brother, but leaves for Hungary only when he has got directions which way to go. – 8. He writes in detail about his treatment and shortage of money. – 9. It is known in the French and English courts that everything in Hungary is managed by Brodarics and Gritti. The French King appreciates that Brodarics has persuaded King John to humble himself in front of the Pope, whereas the English King resents this. Corsini has convinced the two kings that it is worthwhile to maintain friendship with Gritti because of Turkish matters. – 10. Szapolyai's two former candidates for marriage, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Isabel, younger sister of King of Navarre Henry II are out of the question now.

Reverendissimo Monsignor Mio, Signor et Patrone Observandissimo.

[1.] Questa per dirLe come hieri arrivai in Venetia, che fu alli XIII di settembre, venuto in poste di Franza, per passare con ogni diligentia dal Serenissimo Re nostro¹. Et perché l'anno passato piglai freddi et cattari nel cammino, e quali mai non ho posuto mandare via, et di sorte mi molestano che sono del tutto perduto delle gambe, et è forza arestare qui in mano di medici per curarmi, et per essere la expeditione che porto d'importantia, ho trovato un gentilomo servitore del signor governatore,² che parte questa sera et ha buon salvocondotto, et fra pochi giorni mi promette dare in mano di deto signor governatore tal expeditione, dove sono: lettere del Re di Franza³ al nostro Re, el qual del tutto è restituito in sua bona gratia; lettere del Re d'Inghilterra⁴ al nostro Re; lettere del Re di Franza al signor governatore, al signor Laschi,⁵ al signor Petro Perini,⁶ a monsignore di Zagabria,⁷ confortandoli tutti al fidelmente servire a Sua Maestà, con infinite raccomandatione a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima et a monsignore di Colocia⁸ et a monsignor reverendissimo di Transilvania,⁹ et la credentia che ho da questi Re. Tutto a 'llongho scrivo a monsignor governatore, supplicando sua excellenza voler fare tradurre la lettera et mandarla al Re. Et a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima commodità non ho havuta che tre hore ad scrivere, per la subita partita di costui.

[2.] El Re di Franza è tutto nostro. El suo consiglio poco si fida di noi, dicendo che di là assai si promette, et non si fa se non quel che ben vieneEl Re d'Inghilterra, el qual ben discerne tutto, intende per tutti e modi havere bona amicitia et parentado con el Re

¹ János Szapolyai.

² Lodovico Gritti.

³ Francis I.

⁴ Henry VIII.

⁵ Jan Łaski.

⁶ Péter Perényi.

⁷ Simon Erdődy, Bishop of Zagreb.

⁸ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

⁹ János Statileo, Bishop of Transylvania.

Giovanni. Manda suo ambasciatore in Ungheria, el prothonotario Casali,¹⁰ fratello del signor chavalier,¹¹ el qual viene per trattare mariaggio per una nepote del Re d'Inghilterra, figiola della Regina di Scotia sua sorella, non già nata di Re, ma d'un duca, el primo d'Inghilterra,¹² con bona dote. Quello ambasciatore porta lettera credent-
 25 tial del Re di Franza, lettere del suo Re a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, monsignore di Colocia et a molti altri, et viene ad trattare molte altre cose importante et utile per el regno d'Ungheria, et favorire lo accordio, quando el regno non si habbi da dividere, et se accordio non ci sarà, fare una bella guerra et contribuire ad ogni spesa, et intend-
 30 ersi una volta con esso voi, di sorte che non habbino da dubitare. L'imperiali crepano della exaltatione che hanno fatto questi dui Re del Re Giovanni, el qual è bandito et publicato in legna di Franza, Inghilterra et Scotia, e lui è quarto.

[3.] Molte cose vorrei dire a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima et non ho tempo, ma al signor governatore ho scritto una lettera di dui fogli. In somma lo ambasciatore non partirà di qui, se non l'ho avisato che cammino ha da tenere. Et io verò con sua signo-
 35 ria, *et adhuc* quel tempo, piacendo a Dio, sarò guarito. Sono senza un quattrino et pure[?] vorrei che Sua Maestà con questa risposta mi mandassi qualche soccorso, et domino servire, Monsignor, questa volta io ho ben servito, et el nome del nostro Re è andato alle stelle.

[4.] Et il Papa, che ad questa hora tengho per morto,¹³ poche settimane sono, chiamò
 40 Farnese¹⁴ et pensava d'assetare le cose nostre per ogni modo, et ne ho visto lettera ad Filippo Strozzi suo nuntio in Franza, et Sua Santità mostrava haver charo volermi parlare innanti tornassi in Ungheria, et ne veddi uno capitulo. Tutto ha fatto Sua Santità per vedere Inghilterra et Franza abbracciare amplamente le cose nostre, basta che mai potrete meritar el signor chavalier Casali, el qual è causa di tenere vivo el nome del
 45 nostro Re et haver operato di sorte che, seguendo accordio o non, el Re rimarà amico di questi a lui, et faccendosi la guerra, contribuiranno alla spesa. Tutto ha fatto ad buon fine et per essere inchinato al ben fare, con intentione però d'avere *ad eodem* meritato nella persona di suo fratello che vien ambasciatore, da un buono vescovado, el qual non merita mancho, quando vedrete quello viene ad negoziare. Par[i]ter[?] advertite
 50 che il signor chavalier è andato a Roma per trovarsi alla creatione di un papa et operare che sia franzese, con el qual pensa assettar le cose del suo Re, che molto premono al Re di Franza, el qual ha fatto chiamar detto chavalier. Però advertite, se bisogno havete di chosa alchun, commettete ad sua signoria, et pensate che, se il Re d'Inghilterra cerca questo, anchor voi lo devete cerchare. Al che *vivente Clemente*, lui
 55 non sarebbe mai condesceso. Et per essere venuto con el chavalier in posta, molte

39 *In margine alia manu: de papa*

50 *In margine alia manu: cques Casali.*

¹⁰ Giambattista Casali Protonotary, Bishop of Belluno, commissioner of the English King in Venice.

¹¹ Gregorio Casali, commissioner of the English King in Roine.

¹² Margaret Douglas (1515–1578), niece of Henry VIII, half-sister of King of Scotland James V. She was born from the marriage of Margaret Tudor (1489–1541), who governed Scotland, and Archibald Douglas, the 6th Earl of Angus.

¹³ Pope Clement VII died ten days later, on 25 September 1534.

¹⁴ Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III.

chose havemo ragionato che non [ho] tempo replicarLe. Spero in breve esser con Vostra Signoria Reverendissima. Intanto sono certo che per la mia al signor governor intenderete pressoché il tutto. Altro non ho che dire.

[5.] Lassaì el gran marescalco di Franza¹⁵ in *articulo mortis*. Monsignore di Parigi¹⁶ è tutto nostro. Se le chose d'Alemagna non si accordavano, haveno capitulato con [el Re di Franza, el qual haveva allora un gran bisogno del nostro Re et dell'opera di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima. Pure le chose si sono redotte a buon termine, et ogni volta che si manderà ad negotiar ad Roma, questo Re, securo[?] haverà buona relatione. El signor Laschi a di passati mandò uno in Franza excusandosi con la Maestà del Re, ea[?] mala relatione, gli'è stata data di lui, tucto era falso. El Re gli respose et expedì el suo homo, et anchora li scrive per me con molte credente *manu propria* che il Re Giovanni non ha mai fatto mal rapporto di lui. Et io alla Regina di Navarra¹⁷ non ho voluto presentar la lettera per non ne venire a dire chosa nessuna. Non so come stia con detto signore, gli farò vedere che il Re fa buon testimonio per me, anchora che el suo homo habbi di qua molto sparato.

[6.] Però Monsignor Reverendissimo, io miVi racomando et Vi dico che sono vecchio et molto[?] contento, se Sua Maestà non provide a caso mio et tutto, per piaceri[?] senza altrintione[?] di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima. Et comme ho detto mi[?] respon[so][?] alla lettera che scrivo al signor governatore, un pacchetto Vi mando che due volte è venuto perfino alli confini et ritornato in drieto. Io, monsignor protonotario, el chavaliere, tutto el mondo si maraviglia che mai habbiate scritto, né fatto intendere chosa alchuna, et anchora questi Re et altri signori si ridono di nostro/Vostro[?] negoziare, però advertitevi. Dui advisi freschi ci sono di Roma, che per non havere tempo copiarli, si manda li originali. Altro non ho che dire, se non che mi raccomando a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, a monsignor reverendissimo di Colocia et al mio patrone, monsignor di Transilvania, et soprattutto mandatemi danari, altrimenti non aspetare che Vi guardi di molto.

Da Venetia alli XV di settembre 1534.

Di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima

humil servitor
Andrea Corsini

[7.] Reverendissime Domine, post scritta. Questo indugia perfino alla mattina ad partire. Hier sera parti monsignor prothonotario Casali, et va a Bologna per congiungersi con el chavaliere, et meglio da lui piglare le instructione di tutte le chose, et subito tornerà ad Venetia. Né si moverà perfino non vengha adviso di là, per non sapere che cammino doversi piglare.

[8.] Sopra del chaso mio ho fatto fare questa sera consiglio di medici, e quali voglano per ogni modo prima purgarmi, et domattina si comincia, dapoì che pigli la acqua

¹⁵ Robert III de La Marck (1491–1536).

¹⁶ Jean du Bellay (1492–1560), Bishop of Paris, poet.

¹⁷ Marguerite d'Angoulême (Marguerite of Navarre) (1492–1549), elder sister of French King Francis I, wife of King of Navarre Henry II.

del legno d'India,¹⁸ che sene va in quaranta giorni con grandissima dieta, altrimenti
 95 è impossibile che possa più durare, et che katarri che ho addosso, sene vadino. Siché
 vorrei che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima fussi contenta operare con Sua Maestà, che
 qui mi fussi mandati o paghati danari, perché non ho, et lo aportatore che è il primo
 gioiellere di Venetia, torna fra pochi giorni qui, secondo mi dicie, et di ragione porterà
 risposta di là, per lui mi potreste mandare qualche dinaro. Con una semplice parola di
 100 monsignor governatore el Re d'Inghilterra mi donò 200 danari et il Re di Francia 100,
 nelli quali lochi ho tenuto forma d'imbassatore et larghamente speso. Né ho potuto fare
 altro, perché alli andamenti che sono stati, ho hauto ad comparire in molti lochi et
 consigli, et quanto io chavai d'Ungharia, Vostra Signoria Reverendissima lo sa. Di tre
 chavalli che menai, per opera di monsignore di Zagabria ne persi dui: el mio bello
 105 rimase a lui, et la mala compagnia che mi dava, mi guastò l'altro. Et tutto ho comportato
 per meglio servire, correndo sempre poste da loco ad loco. Siché miVi raccomando.

[9.] Monsignor Reverendissimo, io ho chiesto al Re di Francia lettere per il signor
 Pietro Perino, et holle havute molto amorevole, et si daranno, se Vi piacerà, rimettendo
 110 la credenza al venire mio. Item al signor Laschi, per parermi che ne havessi di bisogno,
 al qual ho da dire molte cose, et lo farò maravigliare. Item lettere a monsignore di
 Zagabria per parermi homo che molto vacilla et vuole fummo et grado. Per Vostra
 Signoria Reverendissima non ne ho chieste, né per monsignore di Colocia, che non mi
 è parvito di bisogno. E' ben vero che il Re di Francia et d'Inghilterra me è stato doman-
 115 dato di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, et loro sano che Voi, insieme con monsignor
 governatore, fate tutto. Et il Re di Franza forte Vi ama per havere indotto el nostro Re
 ad humiliarsi al papa. El Re d'Inghilterra Vi odiava dicendo che persuadevi el Re ad
 fare chosa che non deva. Tornare[?] Sua Maestà al presente procurar, faccendosi nuovo
 papa, d'assettare le cose sue. Siché è stato necessario parlare molto di Vostra Signoria
 120 Reverendissima, et quei Re alla fine Vi mandano molto ad salutare. Ho persuaso loro
 che mantenghino amistà con el governatore, rispetto alla autorità che ha, non tanto per
 le cose unghere, quanto per le turchesche, il che han fatto, in modo che mi pare haver
 condotto chosa che, se non giova, non nuoce. Dapoi questo ambascator è di già con suo
 fratello tutto nostro, et farà quella relatione che Voi vorrete, et condurrà le cose che
 125 ad noi piaceranno. E' vero che da Voi aspetta recompensa, et so, non Vi mancherà
 modo. Et la autorità sua non è che di grande importantia appresso delli adversarii, et
 è causa che anchora harete oratore da questa Signoria.¹⁹

[10.] Ora mi scordato dirLi che della figlola del Re d'Inghilterra²⁰ non accade par-
 larme, né el potrà desidera' alchun bene per lei, tanto è stata disubidiente, se già non si
 130 mutassi di fantasia, ma chi al presente ne parla, se glene fa iniuria per adviso. La

98 nuntius litteras quas *in margine alia manu*

130 *post ma del. ad*

¹⁸ A concoction of the American guaiac tree. It was used as medicine. See Francisco DELICADO, *El modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale, salutifero remedio a ogni piaga et mal incurabile*, Venetiis, 1529.

¹⁹ Republic of Venice.

²⁰ Mary Tudor (1516–1558), the eldest daughter of Henry VIII, Queen of England in 1553–1558.

sorella del Re di Navarra è maritata in un signor brettone.²¹ Rincone²² è maritato in Borgogna non molto nobilmente et là si sta, et alla partita non lo ho veduto né possuto vedere per la furia che questi Re me hanno fatto advenire im poste, sapendo che monsignor governatore è là per assettare il tutto, il che non mancherete di fare venendovi
 135 ad proposito, né le offerte di questi Re sprezzere, havendone di bisogno. Tuti li altri amici si raccomandano ad Vostra Signoria Reverendissima. Alle chose di Roma pensate. Hoggi si attende qui la morte del papa, et commettete al chavalieri, che ben servirà. Altro non so che dirmi, se non certo che per la lettera di monsignor governatore intenderete el resto. Et qui si attende risposta, et io danari, et a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima humilmente mi raccomando.
 10

Addressing in the bottom part of the letter: Reverendissimo Domino, Domino Stephano Broderico Quinqueecclesiarum domino et observadissimo. Budae

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy (?)¹
 Gyula, 16 September 1534

Manuscript used: MOL, E 204, bundle 7²

1. [The letter is seriously damaged, about half of the text is missing.] – 2. He has heard from Transylvania only the news that Babay has brought: Gritti is in a difficult situation, Łaski is imprisoned and ill as well, he has fever. – 3. Ferenc Kápolnay joined forces with the Thardassy family and seized Báta treacherously. Now he is besieging Szék; Kápolnay is a restless character, Brodarics is surprised why he expected the King to put up with all this. Now forces are sent against him too.

[1.] [...] Deus etc. [...]us vates [...] Ego habeo[...] significatam esse. Con[...] Qui est in [...] quod Samariam conveniemus. Deus properet ac secundet cetera.

²¹ Isabel d'Albret (1513/14–1572), younger sister of King of Navarre Henry II, the other bride candidate of Szapolyai, married Viscount René I de Rohan in August 1534. On Szapolyai's marriage plans in England more recently, see: BOTLIK Richárd, *Szapolyai János és VIII. Henrik kapcsolata (Adalékok a mohács utáni magyar-angol szövetség történetéhez)*, PhD thesis, 2010. – I am thankful to Richárd Botlik for making his manuscript available to me.

²² Antonio Rincon.

¹ Since the letter is seriously damaged, the addressee cannot be established unequivocally. But the closing formula clearly shows that it is a lay person. The extant part refers to persons (Péter Babay, Ferenc Kápolnay, Thardassy family) that appear in letters from Brodarics to Nádasdy several times, so it seems justified to assume that it is written to Nádasdy

² The paper is badly damaged. The first half is missing entirely. Autograph.

[2.] De Transsilvania nihil aliud audiebamus, quam quod Babai³ referre potuit. Quantum intelligo, Gritti difficulter exhibit ex cassibus, in quos sesemet ipse coniecit.⁴

5 Dominum Lasky nostrum reliqui non captivum solum sed et aegrotum febri quaterna duplici laborantem.⁵ Doleo casum amici.

[3.] Kapolnay⁶ noster adiunctis sibi Thardasensibus⁷ Batham proditione accepit, oppugnare dicebatur Zeek.⁸ Mirum hominis ingenium et semper inquietum. Miror, quod cogitare potuit regem ista laturum, vel se ibi firmum futurum. Melius meo iudicio
10 fuisset aliter rebus suis consulisset. Regi quod firmissimo iuramento datis etiam vadi-
bus fideliter serviendo. Rex misit contra eum. Vestra Dominatio optime valeat cum omnibus suis. Ex Gwl⁹ 16. Septembris 1534.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

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Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 5 October 1534

Manuscript used: BN T. 18. fol. 44r–45v¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XVI. 243–245.

1. He is surprised that he has not received any letters from Brodarics for such a long time, although he knows, Brodarics would have had reasons to write. But friends forget such things and so he is asking Brodarics to resume his good old habit of informing him about the King's, the country's, and his own things. – 2. He is especially wondering about the effects of recent confusion and why Hieronym Łaski has been imprisoned. – 3. Tomicki was struggling with fever and stomach problems all last summer; he is still recovering.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime et Honorandissime.

³ Péter Babay was a *familiaris* of Szapolyai. His name appears on a pay list in 1531 already. See: MOL, E 185. bundle 47, 41v. Babay is referred to twice in letters by Brodarics to Nádasdy. See the letters on 18 January 1533 and 28 March 1533.

⁴ Transylvanians, outraged by the murder of Imre Czibak, surrounded Gritti in Medgyes in late August, who could not escape from the mousetrap and had to surrender on 29 September. He was beheaded afterwards.

⁵ Łaski was ill all through his captivity. His brother wrote on 19 November from Késmárk that in recent days Łaski had been feeling so bad that he had confessed and written his will himself. (See AT XVI/2. 389.)

⁶ Ferenc Kápolnay joined Ferdinand in 1530. Brodarics, when he was Bishop of Pécs, had lots of troubles with the nobleman who ravaged the estates of the diocese.

⁷ Perhaps another proof that the letter is for Nádasdy is the fact that the name Thardassy and the legal case of Brodarics against them comes up in the letter to Nádasdy written on 30 August 1535.

⁸ Báticaszék in Tolna county was two separate settlements in the late Middle Ages: Báta and Szék (Cikádor). Szék had a Cistercian, Báta had a Benedictine monastery.

⁹ Gyula.

¹ Further manuscripts: BJ 6553 III. 398r–v; BCzart TN 51. 15–16.

[1.] Miror vehementer et doleo, quod per tam longum tempus nullas a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima, singulari amico meo acceperim litteras, nam illi scribendi argumentum scio non defuisse. Ego quod illi vicissim nihil scripserim, haec in promptu causa est, quod, quibus in locis per id tempus ageret, plane nesciebam, alioqui nequaquam tam diuturnum inter nos silentium fuissem passus permanere. Verum cum irrecuperabilium rerum sit summa felicitas oblivio, quae praeterierunt, boni consulens futuris amicitiae officiis praesentium litterarum interpellatione subvenire volui et proinde a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima plurimum rogo, ut ad morem suum et nostrae familiaritatis consuetudinem animum reducere meque per litteras tam de serenissimi regis sui et regni istius statu, quam de sua valetudine certiores facere velit.

[2.] Aveo enim cognoscere, an spem illam, quam de firmando maiestatis suae imperio dudum Dominatio Vestra ex certis rationibus conceperat mihiq[ue] perscripserat, isti praesentes et inopinati Hungarici tumultus atque perturbationes non immutabunt.² Hoc enim toto corde maiestati suae faveo, ut in omnibus rebus illi et suis consiliariis atque populis quam optime succedat. De domino Hieronimo Łaski, ex qua causa fuerit in custodiam coniectus, varie ad nos nuntiatur. Quare ego Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam plurimum rogo, ut me de illius rationibus et quid sit cum illo futurum certiores facere velit.³

[3.] Hic apud nos nulla sunt nova. Res serenissimorum principum nostrorum in tranquillitate gubernantur et ipsi principes recte sani.⁴ Ego tota ista aestate praeterita ex febre quodammodo varia ac molesta et ex dolore stomachi laboravi et hactenus, utcumque me deseruit febris, debilitatem ex membris excutere non possum, sed spero in Dei auxilio, quod brevi pristinam valetudinem simul cum viribus corporis recuperabo. Interim me Dominationis Vestrae amoris et benevolentiae fraternae commendo et ab illa rogo, ut me serenissimo domino regi suo, reverendissimo domino archiepiscopo Colocensi⁵ et domino cancellario⁶ commendare velit. Christus vero Dominus illam sanam et felicissimam quam diutissime servare dignetur. Datum Cracoviae die 5. Octobris 1534.

2 ante miror del. Equidem

3 scribendi suprascr. manu Tomicii

4 post defuisse del. et me iucundae lectionis ex litteris eius usura aegre carere sentio

8 post officiis del. per praesentes prospicere

10 post reducere del. velit animum

11 et regni istius in marg. manu Tomicii

14 post dudum del. mihi

18 post nuntiatur del. Ego tamen, qui causam eius detentionis honestam et non periculosam esse mallet. In marg. manu Tomicii del. talem, qualem posthac nemo iure culpae possit

23 varia ac molesta suprascr. manu Tomicii

28 et domino cancellario suprascr. manu Tomicii

² Tomicki must refer to the murder of Gritti, which brought Szapolyai into an uncomfortable position for some time. He could not be sure that the Sultan was not going to take revenge for the death of his loyal servant.

³ On the reasons for capturing Łaski see the letter by Brodarics on 26 August 1534 and its notes.

⁴ The son of Sigismund I the Old, Sigismund Augustus was elected King at the assembly in Piotrków on 18 December 1529. He was crowned on 20 February 1530 in Cracow at the age of 10. (See AT XII. 56–57.) From this point on, Poland had two kings formally, that is why Tomicki uses plural.

⁵ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁶ István Werbőczy.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Várad, 9 October 1534

Manuscript used: BN T. 18. fol. 39r¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana XVI. 275–277.

1. He is letting Tomicki know that Lodovico Gritti had Bishop of Várad Imre Czibak killed, and then he was surrounded in the town of Medgyes, captured, and beheaded. His sons and all his treasures were taken to the Voivod of Moldova. His confidant Treasurer János Dóczy had similar fate. Orbán Batthyány and secretary of Gritti, Tranquillus Andronicus are kept in custody. – 2. King John is heading for Transylvania to calm down the region. Brodarics is going to visit Elek Thurzó to continue the peace talks.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine ac Benefactor Colendissime. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Bone Deus, in quae tempora incidimus nos in hoc miserrimo et afflictissimo regno. Sperabamus bona et ecce turbatio. Sustinuimus pacem et non venit. Papius me deficeret, si vellem Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae seriem totam eorum, quae
5 his paucis mensibus aut septimanibus potius contigerunt, ex ordine describere! Summa illa est Lodovicum Gritti, tantae auctoritatis, dignitatis ac divitiarum virum, ad duos reges pacificandos venientem ob interfectum reverendissimum dominum episcopum Varadiensem,² locumtenentem tunc in Transilvania regium in oppidum Meggyes
10 inclusum et tandem captum ac capite truncatum esse,³ filios cum toto thesauro ad Moldavum⁴ per eius exercitum et servitores, in quorum manus in illo capti oppidi tumultu inciderat, abductos. Ioannem Doczy thesaurarium eodem fato periisse.⁵ Urbanum Bathiany⁶ capitaneum sub fide in Coloswar servari. Hungaros et Walachos fere omnes salvos, ex Turcis multos periisse. Pauper Tranquillus⁷ noster, secretarius Gritti et iste
15 captus servatur. Haec sunt, quae his diebus contigerunt.

¹ Further manuscripts: BJ 6553 III. 392r; BCzart TN 51. 27–28.

² Bishop of Várad Imre Czibak, one of the best supporters of Szapolyai, was murdered on Gritti's command on 11 August.

³ Gritti was executed on 29 September 1534.

⁴ Voivod of Moldova Petru Rareș. He later had both of Gritti's sons executed.

⁵ Treasurer János Dóczy, who was directly responsible for killing Imre Czibak, "was beaten to death like a dog, in a sitting position", as György Szerémi reports.

⁶ Orbán Batthyány managed to avoid revenge. According to an anonymous report kept in Acta Tomiciana (see XVI/2 217–218.), Orbán Batthyány assisted in capturing Gritti in Medgyes, that is why his life was spared, even though he, too, took part in killing Czibak.

⁷ Tranquillus Andronicus was taken prisoner after Gritti was killed. János Statileo, who was also of Southern Slav origin, saved his life by bailing him out for 500 gold coins. Andronicus then withdrew to the castle of János Keszérű in Radnót for some time. It was here that he wrote his epistle that enshrined the life of Gritti. (*De rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola*. Radnót, 16 December 1534). Published: KRETSCHMAYR Henrik. *Történelmi Tár*, 1903, 198–231. It has been published in Hungarian, translation by Péter Kulcsár. See *Krónikáink magyarul III.*, Budapest, 2008, 53–78.

[2.] Nunc rex, dominus meus clementissimus ingreditur in Transsilvaniam ad pacandam illam provinciam et in officio retinendam. Ego vado, ut cum domino Thurzone conveniam in negotio pacis, si quid boni effici posset. Cum quo superioribus etiam diebus fui. Servitia mea Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi unice commendo. Quae
20 felicissime valeat. Varadini 9 Octobris 1534.

Servitor deditissimus Sirmiensis subscripsit

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Buda, 12 November 1534¹

Manuscript used: BN T. 18. fol. 27r–v²

Published: Acta Tomicianae XVI. 353–355. Published in part:

KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 337.³

1. He does not understand why Tomicki gets his letters so rarely, even though he wrote from Várad to report on the deaths of Imre Czibak, Gritti, and Treasurer János Dóczy. – 2. King John has taken Transylvania under control again. Szeben yielded too. István Maylád was nominated 'Co-Voivod' of Transylvania so as not to hurt the dignity of the imprisoned Łaski. He knows nothing about why Łaski was captured, presumably it had something to do with the murder of Czibak and the occupation of Várad. He hopes that Łaski will be released soon. – 3. On the request of Thurzó, he will soon have talks with him on peace near Esztergom. He hopes for peace before long, because he is so tired of the constant struggles that all he wishes for is to spend the rest of his life living simply in a silent place.

Reverendissime Domine et Frater mihi Observandissime. Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Nescio, quomodo contigit tam raras meas ad Vestram Dominationem perlatas litteras, cum ego, si non valde frequenter, scripserim tamen aliquoties ad Vestram
5 Dominationem praesertim, quando data mihi fuit materia magis necessaria et ponderosior scribendi. Scripsi proxime etiam ex Waradino⁴ per servitorem domini marsalchi⁵ de casu Grittiano et Czybakiano, ubi et Doczy Ioannes thesaurarius fuit obtruncatus.⁶ Nos, ubi maxime pacem sperabamus et manibus tenere arbitrabamur, rursus reiecti sumus in altum, Deo ita volente, cui sit honor et gloria et gratiarum actio de

¹ Response to Tomicki's letter on 5 October.

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6553 392v–393r; BCzart TN 51. 46–47.

³ Kujáni has the fragment *Nunc rex dominus meus [...]* iussu Lodovici Gritti per eum factam. *Speramus tamen.*

⁴ See the previous letter. The letters by Tomicki and Brodarics, written at almost exactly the same time, obviously went parallel.

⁵ Piotr Kmita, envoy of the Marshal of Poland, visited Szapolyai in connection to the captive Łaski. He also wanted to get a safe conduct for Provost of Gniezno Jan Łaski, who set out to free his brother and was waiting for the news in Késmárk. (See AT XVI/2. 274–275., 281–282., 283–284.)

⁶ See the notes for the previous letter.

10 omnibus, quibus nos visitare dignatur propter peccata nostra et patrum nostrorum. Qui solus misertus nostri potens est nostras res in melius restituere.

[2.] Nunc rex, dominus meus clementissimus pacavit totam Transsilvaniam et in potestatem suam omnia redegit. Cibinum etiam rediit ad oboedientiam. Magnificus dominus Stephanus Maylath factus est vayvoda Transsilvanus ad mediam partem. Credo
15 id factum esse, ne quid honori domini Łasky captivi incommo- daretur. Causam captivitatis domini Łasky (non enim captivitas eius mecum fuit communicata) nescio, suspicor tamen in causa fuisse necem domini Czybak et obsessionem Varadini iussu Lodovici Gritti per eum factam.⁷ Speramus tamen cito liberabitur et cum honore; habebitur in hoc ratio non solum servitorum domini Łasky, sed et nobilissimae nationis vestrae Polonicae,
20 adeo de serenissimo rege nostro et de omnibus nobis bene meritae. Ita spero futurum.⁸

[3.] Ego rursus rogatus per dominum Thurzonem credo intra paucos dies cum ipso convenire non longe a Strigonio,⁹ utinam feliciter et fauste. Ego in episcopatu Quinqueecclesiensi mihi per maiestatem domini mei donato multa impedimenta patior per ipsosmet nostros et Deus scit, nunquam magis fui animo irrequieto quam nunc. Utinam
25 possem cum Vestra Reverendissima Dominatione vel unius horae colloquium habere! Nihil magis versatur in animo, praesertim si pax non fiet, sine qua hoc regnum salvum esse non potest, quam conferre me ad aliquem locum securum et reliquum aetatis post tot curas et aerumnas, quibus assiduis iugibus ac perennibus maxime post amissam Belgradum,¹⁰ quod fuit nostri excidii principium, exigere in aliquo honesto otio et
30 qualicunque exigua fortunula. Id me credo facturum et eo tota mentis intentio tendit. Dominationi Vestrae supplico, dignetur me gratia et amore paterno, ut facit, prosequi, de cuius valetudine recuperata gaudeo ex toto corde. Quam non dubito ad hoc tempus optime confirmatam. Quod Dominus Deus concedere dignetur. Domino meo reverendissimo, domino Plocensi,¹¹ servitia mea unice commendo et felicissime valeant Vestrae
35 Dominationes Reverendissimae mei, servitoris sui memores.

Budae 12. Novembris 1534.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis

servitor deditissimus
Sirniensis etc. subscripsit

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Petro Tomitio episcopo Cracoviensi, regni Poloniae cancellario etc., domino et fratri observandissimo

⁷ Indeed, Szapolyai, who turned against Gritti, imprisoned Łaski for seizing Várada.

⁸ The Hungarian court was under considerable pressure for Łaski. Sigismund himself wrote to Szapolyai on 26 September 1534 trying to get Łaski released, while Polish councillors wrote on the 28th. (See AT XVI/2, 199–200.; 207–208.) Even legates were sent just for this (see: AT XVI/2, 212–215). Since these attempts proved fruitless, Sigismund wrote to Szapolyai again on behalf of Łaski on 24 November (AT XVI/2, 399–401). Szapolyai released Łaski finally in 1535, who, offended, left King John, and served Ferdinand for the rest of his life.

⁹ Esztergom.

¹⁰ The Turks occupied Belgrade, the centre of the Southern defence line of fortresses on 29 August 1521. It opened up the way for conquering Hungary later.

¹¹ Andrzej Krzycki, Bishop of Płock.

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 3 January 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 4.¹

1. If they really want peace they have to go into detail, because it is not possible to bargain so that Ferdinand's side knows everything about the intentions of Szapolyai, while nothing is known on the other side.
– 2. King John could never have been persuaded to send Brodarics to Ferdinand unless he thought it was the latter's wish. If it is not important to Ferdinand, Brodarics will rather mind his own business and not put himself into danger. – 3. Albeit Ferdinand needs peace more than Szapolyai does, but the country needs it even more.

[1.] Magnificentia Vestra mihi, rogo et supplico, parcat, quod aliena manu scribo, valetudo est in causa. Quod rem ipsam attinet, quid opus est multis? Si volumus facere aliquid, necesse est, velimus, nolimus descendere ad particularia tam vos, quam nos, et prius vos, quam nos. Quid enim nos scimus facere, vel ad quid scimus inducere principem nostrum, quem videmus ad omnia aequa et honesta esse per se inclinatissimum, si non videmus mentem vestram, haec est opinio nostra, viam (?) concordandi et nulla alia. Nam quod vos intelligeretis omnia a nobis et nos nihil a vobis, hoc non esset iustum, nec nos id unquam faciemus, si millies conveniremus et de iis negotiis tractaremus.

[2.] Sciat Vestra Dominatio pro certo, quod rex meus nunquam fuisset inductus, ut ego ad regem vestrum irem, nisi credidisset pro certo principem vestrum hoc exoptare. Quod si ego male a Dominatione Vestra intellexi, et vester princeps serenissimus nihil de hoc pensi habet, amore Dei supersedeamus! Vadam ego ad negotia mea, quorum neglectus, Deus scit, peperit mihi et hucusque maximum damnum. Et alioqui si vestro principe id a me expresse non exigente ego ad illum proficiscerer, immineret mihi a meo principe exitium manifestum.

[3.] Itaque Dominatio Vestra curet de hoc, et si ista ab ipso non procedunt, qui tamen sententia mea certe magis etiam indiget pace, quam meus ob multas et maximas causas. Sed regnum magis etiam indiget, quam uterque principum. Ambo enim homines sunt, et brevi in terrae pulverem cum omnibus gloriis eorum redituri, sicut omnes patres eorum redierunt, regnum autem, quod tot hominum centena milia continet, deberet diutius vivere, et non deberet cum istis aut cum istorum altero extingui.

Si hoc negotium nunquam incipiemus, nunquam etiam finiemus.

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Copia litterarum de manu propria Broderici ad Thurzonem de tertio Ianuarii Budae 1535.

⁴ *post* scimus *del.* omnia aequa et honesta

¹¹ *vestrum* *correx* *ex:* nostrum

¹ Contemporary replica.

István Brodarics to Simon Erdödy
Buda, 5 January [1535]¹

Manuscript used: BL, Bibliotheca Cottoniana, Vesp. F. I. fol. 33v²

Brodarics lets Erdödy know that Łaski will get a hearing from the King in a few days; he himself is going to negotiate peace with Thurzó.

Reverendissime Domine etc.

Nolui hunc servitorem meum Dominationi Vestrae mittere sine meis litteris, in quibus nescio quid novi scribere, nisi quod dominus Laschy cras aut perendie ibit ad regem dominum nostrum clementissimum sub bona assecuratione, ibi credo, quod fiet
s bonus finis in negotiis suis.³ Ego credo me inter paucos dies conventurum cum domino Turzone in negotio incepto, de quo utinam bonus aliquis finis sequatur. Alia nulla penitus.

Datum Budae etc. [1535. die V. Ianuarii]

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 11 January 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 24.

1. He is asking Thurzó to forgive him for being so blunt in his previous letters – he, too, is working for public good. – 2. Due to his illness, he cannot meet Thurzó and Ferdinand now, he asks for their forgiveness. – 3. He informs Thurzó on Łaski's trip too, and sends the letter to Tomicki as well.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Servitutis commendationem et plurimam salutem.

[1.] Valde mihi displicet in ista re, de qua agimus, incidisse istas contentiones. Quas rogo, ut in totum omittamus, et Dominatio Vestra boni consulere velit, si quid durius
s a me scriptum est.¹ Sum ille, quem saepe me esse sum professus, qui et Vestrae

¹ There is neither date nor addressing in the copy. The header says that it is a copy of the letter by Brodarics to Erdödy dated 5 January. However, references to Łaski's captivity and the talks planned with Thurzó make it clear that it can only be 5 January 1535.

² Contemporary replica.

³ Regarding Łaski's captivity, see the letters by Brodarics on 26 August 1534, 9 October, and 12 November, and their notes.

¹ See the previous letter to Thurzó which indeed used less polite language.

Dominationi sum deditissimus quantum quivis alius, et in hac re cum tota sinceritate procedo bonum tantum (ita me Deus iuvet) publicum spectans et nihil aliud, subiectus tamen et ipsis suspicionibus, quae ubique in aulis principum regnant.

[2.] Nunc accepi litteras eius VIII Ianuarii² datas et eas quidem eodem tempore ternas cum salvo conductu.³ In unis [!] earum Vestra Dominatio fuit verus vates, utinam falsus fuisset, ubi de valetudine mea scribit, ex qua aliquantum relevatus rursus in eam incidi et graviolem prima, quae me lecto in totum affixit. Nec possibile est me ad Vestram Dominationem et ad serenissimum regem Vestrae Dominationis nunc venire, nisi recuperata aliquantum sanitate. Quare Vestra Dominatio, sed et serenissimus princeps suos dignetur me pro nunc, oro et supplico, habere excusatum. De domino Lasky, qui hinc est absens, ad regem dominum meum clementissimum profectus, faciam ut intelligat Vestrae erga se Dominationis amorem. Litteras etiam domino Cracoviensi⁴ mitto.

Et me ac servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felicissime valeat.

Budae, XI. Ianuarii 1535.

Servitor Sirmiensi subscipsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni, iudici curiae ac locumtenenti serenissimi Romanorum regis etc. domino mihi observandissimo

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István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 12 January 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 25.¹

1. A messenger has arrived with the news that Grand Vizier Ibrahim, earning victory after victory, has left the palace of Persian Shah Sophi behind by 20 days journey. The biggest threats for Christianity are the successes of the Turkish Sultan and the strifes among Christian rulers. – 2. He will report on the rest in person, but he cannot depart earlier than six or seven days, unless he is taken to the cemetery on a hand barrow. – 3. Hopefully, Łaski will reach an agreement with King John. Archbishop Frangepán is in Várad with Szapolyai.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Salutem plurimam et obsequia mea.

10 *post vates del. sed utinam suprascr. utinam falsus*

11 *post scribit del. quae*

² This letter by Thurzó is unknown.

³ King Ferdinand instructed Thurzó on 1 January 1535 to forward the necessary safe conduct to Brodarics, an envoy delegated by Szapolyai. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 1. Papal Nuncio Rorario informed Bishop of Trident Bernhard Cles also on 1 January that Brodarics is expected for negotiations in Vienna. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 2–3.

⁴ Bishop of Cracow Piotr Tomicki.

¹ Autograph.

[1.] Venit nunc de novo nuntius, qui affirmat pro certo reliquisse Ibraym ultra Debrisi² regiam Sophii³ Persarum regis XX dierum itinere victoriis victorias continuantem.⁴ Ego Christianis nihil magis pertimescendum esse reor, quam potentiam et fortunam principis Turcarum, et odia inter se ac discordias immortales et inextirpabiles principum Christianorum etc. Quod mirarer, si Vestrae Dominationes non intelligerent, et magis mirarer si contrarium crederent.

[2.] Alia et ego ad conventum nostrum mutuum refero. Quantum autem ex pedibus et valetudine mea coniicio, Dominatio Vestra libere per me potest vacare commensationibus suis nuptialibus. Quia impossibile est, quod ego hinc me intra sex aut septem dies movere possim, nisi forte in lecto vel in feretro, praecedentibus monachis Sancti Francisci et decantantibus illas suas melodias luctificas, a quorum huiusmodi obsequio ac munere Deus adhuc me liberare velit, et cur non semper?

[3.] Credo, quod dominus Lasky optime cum rege nostro concordabit.⁵ Dominus Colociensis⁶ est apud regem Waradini. Totus Vestrae Dominationis.

Vestra Dominatio optime valeat, una cum domina mea observandissima, domina consorte sua⁷ et liberis suis. Quibus precor, ut Dominus Deus mille det felicitates per hunc novum annum, ut per plurimos alios. Et regno parem.

Budae, XII. Ianuarii 1535.

20 Servitor

Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino Alexio Thurzoni, iudici curiae ac locumtenenti serenissimi regis Romanorum, domino mihi observandissimo

² Tebriz (today: Tabriz, Iran), the capital of Safavid Persia.

³ Brodarics is mistaken about the name of the Shah. In 1535, it was not Shah Ismail (known as Sophi in the West) who ruled Persia but his son, Tahmasp (1524–1576).

⁴ The Turkish–Persian war referred to here broke out in 1533 and brought great Turkish success. Suleyman occupied Persian capital in 1534, and by December, his army reached Baghdad. See KÁLDY-NAGY Gyula, *Szulejmán...* 101–103.

⁵ Laski would never reconcile with King John. On 27 February 1535 he writes to Katzianer that the latter can inform him about affairs of King John freely because he has quit serving him and owes nothing to him. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. B, fol. 53.

⁶ Ferenc Frangepán.

⁷ The second wife of Elek Thurzó was Magdolna Székely of Ormosd, widow of Tamás Széchy who had died in the battle of Mohács. They had two daughters.

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 27 January 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. A, fol. 58–59.¹

1. Brodarics is worried that his meeting with Thurzó and Ferdinand may not happen because of his illness, and also about the news that the Ferdinand party does not really mean to want peace. – 2. King John already doubts even the honesty of Brodarics. While he is urging the King to negotiate, the enemy might attack during the talks, as it happened during the negotiations in Poznań, when Buda was put under siege. – 3. The opposition party does not only break armistice but is rumoured to prepare for another war. An indication is that their soldiers abuse people in the estates of Archbishop Frangepán's sister. Ferenc Kápolnay imprisoned several of their men. – 4. His own camp accuses Brodarics with urging talks while the opposition is not inclined to reach an agreement cherishing all kinds of hopes. He has reasons to be afraid that his loyalty is being questioned more and more. – 5. Thurzó makes accusations regarding Transylvania and Maylád, but who could accuse John for the fact that Transylvania, which belongs to him with the exception of Szeben and Maylád's estates, wants to follow one King seeking security. – 6. Thurzó should want to negotiate with him only if his King is ready for negotiations based on fair conditions and is not going to bring up the stepping down of John.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Ego timeo, ne tandem iste noster conventus, vel meus potius ad Vestram Dominationem et ad illam maiorem personam accessus vel in longum protrahatur vel demum non dissolvatur, idque cum ob validitudinem meam, ex qua licet aliquoties sublevatus
5 aliquantum fuerim, emergere tamen prorsus non possum subinde recidivans, tum ob id, quod nostri dicunt, idque certo se de novo cognovisse affirmant vos nullo pacis desiderio teneri, sed alias ob causas istum meum ad vos accessum cupere, ut possit per hoc rebus nostris grave incommodum afferri.

[2.] Et super hoc venit a rege meo serenissimo heri ad me nuntius peculiaris de his
10 mecum non leviter expostulantis et multum mihi imputantis, ut qui ad hos tractatus eum fortasse propterea induxerim, ut ille imparatus per vos offendatur et hanc levitatem patiatur. Inducitur mihi in exemplum conventus ille Poznaniensis, sub quo regi inopinanti et pacem vobiscum tractanti repente bellum grave est motum, et Budae obsessus.²

15 [3.] Nunc etiam auditur vos nihil omittere, quod non solum ad praesentes discordias continuandas et foedera assidue rumpenda attinet, sed etiam ad futurum bellum diligenter apparandum. Nunc etiam vestri circa oppidum sororis domini Colocensis³

¹ Autograph.

² Commissioners of John and Ferdinand sat down at the negotiating table in October 1530 in Poznań with Polish mediation. However, during the talks, a general of Ferdinand, Roggendorf attacked King John, occupied Esztergom and Visegrád, and kept Buda under siege for two months, until the end of December 1530.

³ The estates of Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán and his sister Katalin were in Bereg and Ugocsa counties.

Zelevs⁴ et circa Berekzaz,⁵ quid vestri sint conati Vestram Dominationem puto intel-
ligere. Et nunc recens Franciscus Kapolnay noster transfuga a vobis contra foedera
20 receptus cepit capitaneum regis nostri, Georgium de Czybakhaza,⁶ gubernatorem
archiepiscopatus Colociensis contra omne ius et phas [!], et cum eo castellanum domini
cancellarii nostri et quosdam alios, ut iam de Thiconio⁷ non loquar. Videat Dominatio
Vestra, si haec sunt signa concordiam inire volentium.

[4.] Dominatio Vestra aliquotiens quæsta est de suis sinistre sinceræ Vestrae Domi-
25 nationis actiones interpretantibus. Credat et mihi idem apud meos contingere palam de
me et magna cum acerbitate querentium, qui regem ad hos tractatus induxerim, cum
vobis nihil minus dicant esse in animo, quam concordiam, nescio quas adhuc spes
alentibus et occasiones expectantibus.⁸ Quæ utinam vos cum regni amissione et huius
30 miseræ patriæ nostræ ruina totali non fallant. Mihi inter istas de me suspiciones et
sinistras aliquorum opiniones video mihi periculum etiam timendum, non omnes cre-
dunt, immo credo, quod paucissimi sint, qui credant me illa fide et sinceritate in his
negotiiis procedere, qua procedo. Ego tamen omnia ista contemnerem vel sola consci-
entia contentus, dummodo vos re vera concordiam velletis, et non adhuc expectaretis
35 alias occasiones. Itaque si re vera concordare vultis, fortasse non essemus vobis hoc
pacto assidue irritandi et ad peiora, quam quæ hactenus facta sunt, provocandi. Sapi-
entis poetæ est dictum furor fit læsa sæpe patientia.⁹ Utinam non ad ea nos inducatis,
quæ etc. Sed facessam hæc odiosa et contentiosa. Semel iam cum Vestra Dominatione
pace facta nolo venire amplius ad lite[m], minas et contentiones.

[5.] Obicitis nobis de Transsilvania et de domino Maylath. Quis nescit Transsilva-
40 niam totam cum ambabus Valachiis statim post necem Gritti¹⁰ simul coniurasse se uni
principi parituros. Quid potest imputari regi meo, si Transsilvania salutem suam
spectans inter istos duos principes regi meo adhaesit, quæ alioquin præter illam unam
civitatem¹¹ et dominum Maylath¹² tota erat nostra. Credo, quod et vos illam in tali casu
recepissetis et forte etiam aliter.

27 post concordiam del. [unum verbum illegibile]

31 post paucissimi del. sint

⁴ Nagyszőlös, Ugocsa county (Today: Vynohradiv, Ukraine)

⁵ Beregszász, Bereg county (Today: Berehove, Ukraine)

⁶ György Czibakházi, Constable of Buják in 1529 together with János Téthy. For this reason, perhaps
servitor of the Báthory family of Ecsed. I am indebted to Szabolcs Varga this piece of data.

⁷ We know from earlier letters of Brodarics that Kapolnay was eager to acquire Tihany. See the letter
by Brodarics to Nádasdy on 18 May 1533.

⁸ While John was afraid that the Sultan might resent the death of Gritti, so, losing the Sultan's sup-
port, he will be defenceless against Ferdinand, he tried to reach agreement with the Habsburg ruler. In Fer-
dinand's camp Gritti's death was thought to be a good opportunity to defame John in the eyes of the Sultan,
and make him acknowledge Ferdinand's rule over the whole country, so they procrastinated the agreement.

⁹ See Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 208.

¹⁰ Gritti was killed in on 29 September 1534 near Medgyes.

¹¹ Nagyszeben, which was the last stronghold of Ferdinand in Transylvania and surrendered to John
only in 1536.

¹² István Maylád, who controlled the important fortress of Fogaras, was brother-in-law of Tamás
Nádasdy, and supported Ferdinand at the time.

45 [6.] De his volui Vestram Dominationem facere certiore. Quam rogo amore Dei,
nolit me in istos tractatus implicare, nisi certo sciat principem suum omissis aliis spe-
bus nunc concordare velle bonis et convenientibus conditionibus sine ulla vel mentione
cessionis,¹³ de qua non esse loquendum toties et dixi et scripsi. Et de his rursus volui
50 Vestrae Dominationi scribere. Quantum autem sit pax necessaria et nobis et vobis,
longiori [!] epistola aut potius sermone esset explicandum. Armis enim, quod saepe
dixi, nihil fiet omnino, nisi illud, quod totus mundus oculis videt, et quod vulgare habet
proverbium: inter duos etc.¹⁴ Amissio autem regni, quantum vestro principi serenissi-
mo importet, scio nec eius maiestatem nec vos ignorare. Magis etiam fortasse, quam
nostro ob maximas et plurimas causas.

55 Vestram Dominationem felicissimam esse et simul cum domina mea¹⁵ et liberis suis
optime valere cupio.

Budae, 27. Ianuarii 1535.

Dominus Pesthieny¹⁶ Vestrae Dominationi sua servitia commendat.

Servitor

Sirmiensi subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni, iudici
curiae ac locumtenenti serenissimi Romanorum regis etc. domino observandissimo

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Mátyás Brodaryth¹ to István Brodarics
Pécs, 3 February 1535

Manuscript used: MOL, E 204, bundle 7²

1. Vitus Horváth is still reluctant to fulfil his obligation towards Brodarics. – 2. Furthermore, he robbed
possessions of citizens of Pécs; the King should be informed about that. 3. He has written to Nádasdy in
detail, requested him to meet István Brodarics, or at least see to it that he returns safe. – 4. Kápolnay keeps
ravaging and looting possessions that belong to the bishopric of Pécs. Mátyás wrote to him for a safe con-
duct for his wife, whom he wants to send to Máramaros, but he got an impudent response which said that
Kápolnay's men will not hurt and will not protect his wife. So István should take Kápolnay's malice for

48 post volui del. [unum verbum illegibile]

49 post Dominationi del. rursus

¹³ So the basis for the talks still could not be that John gives up on the throne and his part of the country.

¹⁴ The complete *proverbium* goes like this: *Inter duos litigantes tertius gaudet*. This proverb is
included as part of the argument in the speech of Brodarics given before Ferdinand on 17 March.

¹⁵ The second wife of Elek Thurzó, Magdolna Székely of Ormosd.

¹⁶ *Iudex Curiae* Gergely Pesthény.

¹ Younger brother of István Brodarics. When he was Bishop of Pécs, Brodarics often relied on his
brother in supervising and managing things in Pécs.

² A part of the letter (between „*circumquaque vallant...Kapolnay erga nos*”) has been published:
Iosephus KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis*. Tomus V. Pesthini, 1801, 230.

granted. – 5. Things are going well for him, but the costs of protecting his estates are high. – 6. The Chancellor has written to him to give everything back to Kápolnay. He resigned to this and gave back everything, but does not know yet, how the deal between the Chancellor and Kápolnay will compensate his brother for his losses.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Frater mihi semper Observandissime atque Colendissime. Perpetuorum meorum servitiorum commendationem debitam.

[1.] Ego nunc Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae copiosius non scribam, quia accepi ex litteris domini Petri Markos brevem redditum Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quem felicem exspecto. Quantum ad negotium deputationis attinet, Vitus Horwath³ in eadem durtia est erga Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam, cui misi litteras domini fratris Georgii⁴ postremo scriptas. Ad quarum contenta respondit deputationem ipsam Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae persolvere, modo prius administrantur pecuniae ad manus suas. Miseramque ad eum provisorem Quinqueecclesiensem medio cuius optabam ab eo litteras fide sua firmatas, ut si taxam ad manus suas administrari facerem, sine defectu deputationem ipsam de manibus eius persolveret, quod non fecit, sed obtulit se, quod expeditis necessitatibus regis tandem persolveret. Considerari potest, quot comitatum taxae ad necessitates regis sufficiant.

[2.] Idem Vitus nunc quoque res civium Quinqueecclesium in aresto tenet. Satis abunde de istis negotiis iam pridem etiam Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae significavi si quem tamen Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima ad regiam maiestatem miserit bonum esset de hac re eidem scribere.

[3.] Ceterum scripsi satis abunde domino Nadasdino de redditu Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, et rogavi eum et supplicavi eidem, ut Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam conveniat, vel per hominem suum et tantam curam habeat de descensu Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, ut eadem felix redire possit.⁵

[4.] Quia circumquaque vallant nos inimici nostri. Franciscus Kápolnay nunc in vicinia Quinqueecclesiarum in bonis domini capellani aliquot centum equites ducit et alit, et bona vexat, excruciat et desolat, quae sola non fuerant occupata, ad quem miseram praesertim ob eam rem, quod coniugem meam Maramarwsium mittere decreveram, optans ab eo assecurationem, qui satis levem relationem fecit: quod absque impedimento suo et suorum abire posset, sed si aliquem eam molestantem videret, non obligaretur defendere, quia cum eo nobis non esset pura amicitia, quamvis per dominum cancellarium⁶ sit aliqua inita concordia. Igitur certo credat Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima omnem malevolentiam Kápolnay erga nos.

³ Vitus Horváth was a military commander of Szapolyai. He was one of the captains who conquered Kassa for Szapolyai in December 1536. See TAKÁTS Sándor, *Magyar küzdelmek*, Budapest, 1929, 20.

⁴ György Martinuzzi (Fráter), Pauline monk. He earned bishopric of Várad after the death of Imre Czibak. He became the undisputed right hand of King John after Gritti's murder in September 1534.

⁵ Tamás Nádasdy left Szapolyai's camp in 1534 and joined Ferdinand once again. This caused a breach in his relationship with Brodarics. A sign of this is that letters between them become less frequent: in 1535 there is only one known letter by Brodarics to Nádasdy.

⁶ Chancellor István Werbőczy also had large estates in Tolna county, so it was his interest too to neutralise somehow one of the most dangerous troublemakers of Southern Transdanubia, Ferenc Kápolnay.

[5.] Nam aliter negotia Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae hic bene stant, sed sine magnis sumptibus Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae hic et in Zaaz⁷ fieri non potest, quod propter praesens disturbium capitales servitores eiusdem tenere debemus.

[6.] Praeterea qualiter scripserit ad me dominus cancellarius, ut Kapolnay omnia
35 ablata restituam, ex scedula praesentibus inclusa⁸ Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima intelliget, qui et nuntiaverat. Ego autem prout Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima iussit, in hoc et in omnibus conquievi, et omnia ipsi Kapolnay restitui. Quid tamen commoditatis de damnis Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae iuxta concordiam per dominum cancellarium cum ipso Kapolnay initam sentiamus, me omnino latet. Deus
40 Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem dignetur felicissimam atque incolumem conservare.

Quinqueecclesiis feria quarta post Purificationem 1535.

Servitor

Mathias Brodaryth

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi, consiliario regio etc., domino et fratri meo semper observandissimo atque colendissimo.

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István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki
Buda, 15 February 1535

Manuscript used: BN T. 20. fol. 49r¹

Published: TRENCSENYI-WALDAFFEL Imre, *Petrarca szonettje Brodarics levelében.*

Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1957, 227–228; *Acta Tomicianae* XVII. 121–122.

In Hungarian: V. KOVÁCS Sándor (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei XV–XVI. század*, Budapest, 1971, 594–595.

1. He wrote a letter to Tomicki not long ago, and now he has the same request. – 2. The envoy has returned from Istanbul and reported about huge military successes of the Sultan. Christian rulers and the Pope should be careful and not let the Sultan, after conquering Babylon in Assyria, conquer the Babylon that Petrarch called that in his sonnets. – 3. There is no peace between the two Hungarian kings yet, even though in this situation the whole country is doomed. – 4. He has lots of trouble with the enemy in Pécs just as well as with his compatriots.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime et Benefactor Colendis-sime. Servitutis meae debitam commendationem.

[1.] Scripsi his diebus litteras longiusculas, negotium illud, pro quo rogavi Vestram

⁷ Szászvár, Baranya county. Brodarics complained to Nádasdy already in 1532, that Kapolnay controls some estates that belong to Szászvár, which is in the possession of the bishopric of Pécs. See the letter by Brodarics on 26 October 1532.

⁸ The attachment is lost.

¹ Autograph. Another manuscript: BJ 6554 137–138.; BCzart TN 52. 229–231. (This manuscript falsely attributes the letter to Tomicki.)

Dominationem, nunc etiam eidem diligenter commendo, velit id pro perpetuis meis
5 obsequiis facere.²

[2.] Nova nunc sunt haec. Nuntius³ serenissimi regis, domini mei clementissimi
rediit ex Babilonia a caesare Turcarum, quem in reditu reliquit. Mitto ad Vestram
Dominationem his inclusum exemplum litterarum regiarum ad locumtenentem suum,
dominum Pestheny⁴ et ad me datarum.⁵ Idem nuntius narrat miranda de successibus
10 Turcarum imperatoris. Verendum esset principibus Christianis, si saperent, vel si iam
tandem ex tam diuturno vetero vellent evigilare, et invigilandum esset eis simul cum
pontifice Romano,⁶ ne caesar Turcarum iam capta Babilonia Assiriorum veniat ad
capiendam hanc, quam non nostri tantum temporis scismatici,⁷ sed multi etiam viri
15 magni ritum ecclesiae Romanae sequentes iampridem Babiloniam nominare coepe-
runt. Inter quos vir doctissimus et idem optimus Franciscus Petrarcha, quid in vulgari
suo carmine de ea praedixerit, ex libro sonetorum sive epigrammatum eius exscriptum
casu his diebus a me ibi repertum Vestrae Dominationi mitto.⁸ Quod vaticinium illius
ante annos ducentos factum utinam ne temporibus nostris adimpleatur.

[3.] Negotium pacis, in quod ego fueram interpositus, adhuc pendet. Exspecto nunc
20 novas commissiones a rege meo, si reges nostri (nam uterque Hungariam habet) sapi-
ent, concordabunt. Sin minus, Deus solus novit, quid erit de nobis et finaliter de omni-
bus istis regnis.

[4.] Ego in episcopatu meo Quinqueecclesiensi patior extrema tam per hostes, quam
etiam per nostros. Sed sit utcumque, necesse est multa me pati cum patriae calamitate, et

16 *post de del. hac suprascr. ea.*

² This letter is lost. Probably Tomicki did not get it either, because he writes to *cantor* of Cracow Stanisław Borek on 13 March that he has not received several letters from Brodarics recently: *Scripsimus litteras nostras ad dominum Brodericum, episcopum Quinqueecclesiensem, quas in manus vestras mittimus et postulamus a vobis, ut illas certum nacti nuntium Budam ad illum perferendas curetis. Scribit enim nobis multas se ad nos dedisse litteras, quarum nullae hactenus sunt nobis redditae.* (See AT XVII, 216.)

³ János Szalánczi.

⁴ Gergely Pesthény. Constable of Buda.

⁵ These attachments have not been preserved.

⁶ Pope Paul III.

⁷ Brodarics' comments on Reformation are scarce. This remark is important because it makes his view of followers of the Reformation clear: he sees them as heretics.

⁸ The attachment is lost. Trencsényi, in the article that published the letter, says the parallel between Rome and Babylon comes up in four sonnets of Petrarch, these are no. 114, 117, 137, and 138. He correctly says that the motif of Babylon appears in passing in sonnets 114 and 117, while it is central to the line of thought in sonnets 137 and 138. Trencsényi's view is that Brodarics might have sent the bleakest one to Tomicki: sonnet 138, which prophesies destruction of Babylon. (See TRENCSENYI-WALDAFFEL Imre, *Petrarca szonettje Brodarics levelében*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1957, 227–229.) Trencsényi's ideas can be supplemented with the fact that, besides sonnets 137 and 138, no. 136 is also commonly counted among the Avignon sonnets. In this, the identification of Rome with Babylon does not appear but lashing out against corruption of the papal court in Avignon is evident. Furthermore, it is possible that Brodarics sent several sonnets to Tomicki. He only says in the letter that he sending what Petrarch wrote on the subject of Rome–Babylon in vulgar language, i.e. in Italian.

- 25 non omnino invitatus patior, quae possum. Quando postea aliter facere non potero, sequar Dei voluntatem. Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam optime valere cupio.
Budaë, 15. Februarii 1535
Servitor

Sirmiënsis et Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

On the back side: Reverendissimo domino Petro Tomitio episcopo Cracoviensi, supremo regni Poloniae cancellario, domino et fratri observandissimo

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Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I for István Brodarics
Znaim, 26 February 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. B, fol. 43–44.¹

Earlier, Ferdinand gave a safe conduct valid for two months to Brodarics, so that Brodarics can go to his court for the necessary negotiations. Since Brodarics could not start his journey in time due to his illness, he is extending the validity of the earlier safe conduct by six weeks.

Ferdinandus etc.

- Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod cum Reverendissimus Stephanus Brodericus, cui id dudum plenum et validum salvum conductum ad duorum mensium spatium ad curiam nostram ac nos veniendi concessimus ita, quod in dicto termino cum [...] ²
5 personis ad nos et curiam nostram libere, secure et absque alicuius impedimento et molestatione venire, quaeque volet, negotia nobiscum et cum quibusvis aliis personis competenter agere et tractare, illisque in toto seu in parte confectis vel infectis a dicta curia nostra et ad sua propria loca seu quaecunque alia loca sibi tuta et secure redire possit etc.
- 10 Praefatum salvum conductum per nos ultra praescriptum duorum mensium tempus prolongari petierit, attento quod hactenus vel per valetudinem vel alias ob causas impeditus ad nos venire non potuerit. ³ Nos eundem salvum conductum ad sex hebdomadas ultra spatium antea praefinitum extruderimus et prorogaverimus, prout per praesentes extrudimus et prorogamus. Promittentes bona fide et sub verbo nostro
15 Regio, quod huiusmodi nostrum salvum conductum observabimus, manutenemus et defendemus contra omnes illum infringere et violare volentes. Quodque nec per nos, neque per alium seu alios quovis modo et colore quaesito contra eum faciemus ullo unquam tempore, dum tamen ipse Brodericus et sui se huiusmodi salvo conductui conformes gerant. Sed si quis vel qui ex ipsius Broderici familia se illi conformes non

¹ Draft.

² The space for a number to be filled later is left blank in the draft.

³ In fact, Brodarics wrote to Thurzó already in early January that he doubted he could travel any time soon to the meeting planned with Thurzó and Ferdinand because of his illness. See his letters on 11 and 12 January 1535.

20 tenerent, solum is vel iuxta demerita sua possit vel possint puniri sine periculo et praeiudicio aliorum ipsum saluum conductum observantium. Quibus saluus permanere debebit.

Praeterea si saepedictum Brodericum aut aliquem seu aliquos ex sua familia praeinominata aegrotari, decumbere, vel fortuito casu laedi contingeret adeo, quod in
25 dicto termino commode ad loca sibi secunda ire nequiret vel nequirent, eo casu taliter aegrotantibus, decumbentibus et laesis huiusmodi saluum conductum per totum illud tempus, quo aegrotant et decumbunt et post recuperatam valetudinem ad alios viginti dies prorogamus extrudimusque, infra quos ad loca sibi tuta contendere valeant.

Quocirca omnibus et singulis principibus ecclesiasticis et saecularibus, episcopis,
30 ducibus, marchionibus, palatinis, banis, comitibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, praefectis, capitulariis collegis et quibuscunque aliis personis cuiuscunque fuerint dignitatis, honoris, officii praeeminentis, status et conditionis per regna nostra Hungariae, ceteraque omnia et singula dominia nostra, quocunque nomine nuncupentur constitutis, sub privationis vitae et bonorum suorum poena inhibemus, ne quomodo in contemptum auctoritatis nostrae et contra hunc nostrum saluum conductum praefatum Brodericum et
35 eius familiam audeant seu praesumant aut in eorum personis, rebus et bonis turbare, molestare, captivare ac vi et violentiis afficere, sed ipsum atque eius familiam praedictam cum suis rebus et bonis libere, quiete, tute et secure per sua dominia, districtus, iurisdictiones ad nos et curiam nostram venire, et, cum ab ea discesserint, redire ad loca
40 illius tuta permittant, in quantum poenam praedictam evitare maluerint. Harum testimonio litterarum, sigilli nostri etc.

Datum in civitate nostra Znomya, die XXVI. mensis Februarii 1535.

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Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I for István Brodarics Znaim, 26 February 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, RHK, Reichsregisterbücher Ferdinand I., Band 2., fol. 194v.¹

Ferdinand permits Brodarics to travel freely within the territories under his control for six weeks as from the date of issue of the safe conduct. Brodarics may appear in his court and present what he has been entrusted to.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus etc. Quod nos Stephanum Brodericum cum nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu veniendi ad nos et curiam nostram et recedendi a nobis, redeundique ad loca sibi secunda affidavimus et assecuravimus, sicut affidamus et assecuramus

¹ It appears from the date that this is a version of the previous safe conduct copied into the *Reichsregisterbücher*. These transcripts usually contain only essential parts of the original document, standard elements of safe conducts are omitted. However, since there are certain differences in content beyond the omission of standard elements, I decided to include both in the compilation.

5 per praesentes ita, quod sub etc, quandocunque post harum emanationem sibi placuerit
cum personis quibuscunque viginti aut viginti quinque vel minus ad nos et curiam
nostram infra spatium sex hebdomadam a data praesentium computandum libere et
absque omni impedimento venire, et ea, quae in commissis habet aut habebit, nobi-
scum agere et tractare, eisque confectis vel infectis, quandocunque sibi visum fuerit,
10 discedere et ad loca sibi secunda una cum suis salvus et incolumis redire possit et
valeat.

Promittentes etc. per praesentes, quod nec per nos, nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis,
etc. durante hoc nostro salvo conductu, etiam si aliqua hostilitas inter Nos et Ioannem
Scepusiensem² quandocunque ac per quoscunque et ubicunque contingeret, eidem vel
15 alicui ex suis inferetur. Sed quod nihilominus ipse et sui in tali casu et hostilitate huius-
modi non obstante vigore huiusmodi nostri salvi conductus salvi et securi esse debeant
et possint.

Item si etiam accideret, quod aliquis ex suis se huic salvo conductui nostro non
conformiter gessisset, ex tunc eidem Broderico nihil periculi, violentiae et litisfactionis
20 ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum salvum conductum
infringit, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

Praeterea si sub hoc sex hebdomadam salvo conductu eundem Brodericum vel
aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine correptum diutius etc. usque quo convalescerit.

Et si forte accideret, quod res seu tractatio sua longius durarent, quam praedicti
25 temporis spatium hunc quoque salvum conductum nostrum ex hinc illi necessario pro-
longabimus.

Mandantes etc.

Datum Znaymae die XXVI. mensis Februarii 1536 [1535.]³

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Speech of István Brodarics in Front of Ferdinand I¹ Vienna, 17 March 1535

Manuscript used: NStA, Brandenburger Literalien Nr. 1070, fol. 118r–121r.

1. *The strife between the two kings brought many blows upon the country, while there have been several attempts at peace. First Polish King Sigismund mediated, then Lodovico Gritti came to Hungary with this purpose, but his death interrupted the talks. John's advisors, therefore, decided to send Brodarics to Vienna in order to renew negotiations. – 2. Everyone can see how much the country has suffered in the fights, since*

² In documents of the Habsburg party, Szapolyai is usually not referred to as King but either as Voivod (of Transylvania) or, as in this case, John comes of Szepes.

³ At the end of the document the date is 1536, which is doubtlessly false, because it was filed among safe conducts in 1535.

¹ In the codex, the title written above the manuscript is: *Oratio coram serenissimo rege Romanorum, Viennae 17. Martii per reverendissimum dominum Stephanum Brodericum, episcopum Sirmiensem et Quinqueecclesiensem etc. habita.*

Christian soldiers are not much different from the Turks. If peace is not made soon, then, as the well-known adage goes, between the two contending parties the third will have the country. – 3. The last eight years have shown the drawbacks of warfare for both parties. – 4. Those are wrong who argue that nothing should be left with John because it all goes to waste, since he has not relinquished anything to the Turks since Mohács. Both kings are guilty in the unrest, one cannot make only John responsible. – 5. Ferdinand should follow the example of his ancestors Frederick and Maximilian as well as of his brother Charles, who preferred to renounce their rights for the sake of peace in their countries. – 6. Signing peace, which could save Hungary from further deterioration, would bring greater honour to Ferdinand than any war, and his subjects would be more grateful than for any gifts.

Serenissime Rex.

[1.] Inter tot aerumnas et calamitates, quas per hos annos superiores passi sumus ob illa dissidia, quae inter Tuam Maiestatem et serenissimum principem meum,² regem Hungariae fuerunt, intervenere etiam non pauci etiam de pace tractatus,³ idque medio
 5 potissimum serenissimi regis Poloniae,⁴ qui ut bonus princeps et pacis Christianae amator nihil praetermisit, quod per ipsum praestari in hac parte potuit.⁵ Ventum fuit postremo ad hoc, ut illustris Ludovicus Gritti pro hoc ipso negotio componendo, auctoritate potentissimi Turcarum imperatoris mitteretur.⁶ Qui qualem exitum sit sortitus in ipso ad nos veniendo itinere, omnibus est notum.⁷ Quamvis tamen ille interierit, ac
 10 per eius mortem eiusmodi tractatus videantur interrupti, pacem tamen tam Maiestati Tuae, quam principi meo et omnibus nobis esse summopere necessariam, et absque ea ruitura brevi omnia, nemo est, qui oculis non videat.

Hoc considerantes consiliarii serenissimi principis, domini mei clementissimi nihil prius aut antiquius sibi esse duxerunt, quam ut quaererent modum et viam, qua primo
 15 quam tempore renovari posset, vel potius continuari felicibus auspiciis, quod ita infeliciter fuisset interruptum, atque ea de causa instituerunt omni studio ac diligentia apud principem meum, ut pateretur me unum de numero suorum ad Tuam Maiestatem venire, spectantes in hoc etiam Tuae Maiestatis Sacrae ad idem tendentis desiderium et voluntatem. Qui quidem princeps meus licet non ignoraret varie posse, maxime per

² János Szapolyai.

³ Talks on truce took place several times between Ferdinand and Szapolyai: they signed truce in January 1531 in Visegrád for three months. Then there were talks in December 1532 in Megyer, which also lead to armistice. Attempts at making peace, however, proved unsuccessful in the talks that began in February 1533 in Óvár, and were relocated to Pozsony later.

⁴ Polish King Sigismund I.

⁵ There were talks between commissioners of Ferdinand and Szapolyai with Polish King Sigismund mediating, two times. First before the actual outbreak of civil war, in June 1527 in Olomouc, then in 1531 in Poznań. Both were essentially unsuccessful.

⁶ Gritti returned to Hungary in the summer of 1534, and everybody knew he had full authorisation from the Sultan to decide in the conflict between the two kings. However, his death in Transylvania prevented him from fulfilling his mission.

⁷ One of the best supporters of Szapolyai, Bishop of Várad Imre Czirak was killed on Gritti's command. The outrage it caused called Transylvanians to arms. They surrounded the Italian adventurer in Medgyes, captured him, and executed him on 29 September 1534. See on this the letters by Brodaries to Tomicki on 9 October 1534 and 12 November.

20 malivolos, hunc meum insuetum ad Tuam Maiestatem accessum interpretari, maluit tamen quodcunque suspicionis vel sinistrae opinionis periculum subire, quam vel minimum quid de tractandae et faciendae pacis occasionem praetermittere.

[2.] Causam mei ad Te adventus Tua Maiestas videt.

Quod autem ad rem ipsam attinet, quid ego possum in medium afferre, quod non sit
25 saepe in huiusmodi actionibus a viris prudentissimis iactatum et toties repetitum, vel quod Maiestas Tua, pro sua singulari prudentia et ingenii sui acumine, cum his suis sapientissimis senatoribus non multo melius intelligat, quam a me dici possit? Utinam, Serenissime Rex, ante aliquot annos, immo ante incepta huiusmodi funestissima bella, pax et concordia inter Maiestates Vestras fuisset facta,⁸ non aspiceremus nunc lac-
30 rimantibus oculis tantam in Hungaria, Austria, Sclavonia et Transsilvania vastitatem ferro et igne hostili factam, tot oppida et civitates deletas, atque etiam ipsam regni sedem, Budam semirutam et vix vestigia pristinae illius nobilissimae urbis retinentem, tot augusta divorum templa partim diruta, partim ex sacrosanctis Dei Optimi Maximi abditis ac delubris stabula equorum ac pecorum facta cum sempiterno Christiani
35 nominis dedecore, et tanta divini numinis contumelia. Non vidissemus praeterea tot milia Christianorum fratrum certe nostrorum partim hostili gladio caesa, partim in sempiternam servitutem abducta, quorum maximas greges si quispiam videret in terris Turcarum de nundinis ad nundinas instar pecorum venales agi, quod ego his oculis non semel aspexi,⁹ infelicitate patriae me ad illas etiam terras peragrandas et ad huiusmodi
40 spectacula visenda adigente, si quis, inquam, haec videret, cuius est tam saxeum pecus, quod non ad commiserationem et lacrimas moveretur?

Taceo alia innumera, quae passi sumus, et quotidie patimur, non solum ab externis, sed etiam a domesticis et ipsismet militibus nostris stipendio vestro, Princeps Serenissime, militantibus. Quod enim iam inter illos et externos est discrimen, sola vulgi
45 abductione excepta? Nam et tecta comburere iam milites nostri didicerunt. Spoliare autem, praedari, rapere omnia, nedum illum victum, sed ne vestitum quidem miseris relinquere, item trahere, verberare, occidere innoxios, virginibus et matronis pudicis vim inferre, haec adeo in usum militarem venerunt, ut non videatur nomine et honore militis dignus, qui aliquid horum facere praetermittat.

Atque haec quidem nunc sustinemus, quid autem ea, quae impendent, et procul dubio
50 impendent, nisi primo quoque tempore pax fuerit facta? Quis enim dubitare potest, cui vel in parte sit rerum humanarum conditio nota, haec tot et tanta tonitrua, quae praecesserunt, pluviam esse secuturam? Valde tritum et vulgare proverbium est (quod utinam in nobis non experiremur esse verum): inter duos litigantes etc.¹⁰ Et plerunque ita
55 contingere solet, ut duobus de regno inter se certantibus tertius eo potiatur.

[3.] Possumus nobis blandiri et nos vana spe alere, et magis nobis, tum de nobis, tum de fratribus, de amicis ac subditis nostris polliceri, sed utinam talia non habeant huius-

⁸ A clear reference to the failed talks in Olomouc in June 1527.

⁹ This is more of a rhetorical device. As far as we know, Brodarics never visited any Turkish territories, which does not mean he did not see people made captive by the Turks in Hungary.

¹⁰ The full proverbium goes like this: *Inter duos litigantes tertius gaudet*. Brodarics uses it already on 27 January 1535 in a letter to Elek Thurzó.

modi exitum, quae hactenus habuerunt, atque utinam omnibus hisce spebus e pectore eliminatis iampridem fuisset inter Vestras Maiestates concordia facta, vel saltem nunc fieret.

Nec enim possum ullo modo cum illis sentire, si qui forte sunt, qui Tuae Maiestati suadeant exspectandas esse occasiones eorum, quae evenire possint, nec adhuc ad pacem faciendam festinandum, quasi vero per octo integros annos¹¹ non didicissemus cum tanto nostro malo, quid vel Tuae Maiestati, vel nobis aliis huiusmodi occasionum exspectationes commodi attulerint. Ego vero, qui in his rebus ago sincere, et qui res nostras habeo cognitatas, et tuas in parte, omnem moram et dilationem abrumpendam esse censerem, et meliorem esse crederem certam pacem, quam speratam victoriam,¹² ob illas causas, quas malo alibi, quam hoc loco commemorare.

[4.] Nec desunt fortasse, qui dicunt nullo modo esse admittendum, ut quicquam in manibus serenissimi regis mei relinquatur,¹³ utpote de manu eius periturum, ad quod quid ego respondeam aliud, nisi id, quod res habet: nullam adhuc arcem, nullum oppidum, nullam regni particulam de manu eius periisse. Excipio illa, quae adhuc sub clade Mochaciensi magis in Turcarum quam nostra potestate remanserunt,¹⁴ quod si inter tot motus atrocissimos bellorum, inter tot exterarum gentium et tantorum exercituum per Hungariam sursum deorsum commutationes, ita tamen Dei benignitate contigit. Quare non dubitare debemus, eadem Dei benignitate, qua hoc factum est, pace facta longe meliora esse speranda. Quod si quis adhuc contendat non esse quicquam in manu eius relinquendum, quid igitur, oro, faciendum, si vel virtus, vel fortuna regis, vel Turci potentia, vel natura nostrorum, vel Dei voluntas obstat, quominus ea, quae tenet, ab eo vi possunt auferri? Perdendane potius omnia ac funditus evertenda, perpetuone beligerandum cum tanta Christiani sanguinis effusione, cum manifesto horum regnorum excidio, certandumne cum Deo, in cuius ditione et voluntate cuncta sunt posita, quid scimus, quid ille de regno Hungariae constituit, qui saepe suscitatur de pulvere egenum, ut sedeat cum principibus et solium gloriae teneat. Quot habemus huiusmodi exempla, seu vetera sive recentia repetamus. Ne regis Matthiae exemplum in medium proferatur!¹⁵

Quin et illud scio in ore multorum versari omnem omnium malorum culpam uni regi meo esse adscribendam, sed ego nunc non ad illum excusandum, nec ad aliquem criminandum veni, nam et ille non est putandus carere suis excusationibus, hoc unum est, oculis videmus inter istas culparum in alterutrum reiectiones, per istas discordias perendandam interim miseram Hungariam, et ruinam eius alia Christiana regna post se trac-

63 didicissemus *correx*i ex: didiceremus

74 tantorum *correx*i ex: tantarum

¹¹ I.e. since July 1527, the outbreak of civil war.

¹² Another proverbium: *Melior est certa pax, quam sperata victoria.*

¹³ During earlier bargaining, the stake had always been possession of the whole country. The idea of making peace based on the current status quo, i.e. dividing the country, comes up from Szapolyai's part first at this time, in 1535.

¹⁴ The Turks, indeed, did not conquer castles and territories under Szapolyai's control, but they did not return Szerémség, a territory of key importance that they had acquired back in 1526.

¹⁵ Mátyás Hunyadi (1458–1490) earned the throne of Hungary without having been born in a royal family.

turam. Vobis autem, Serenissimi Principes, fortasse ambobus et illud est cogitandum, ne dominus Deus, qui solus dolorem et laborem considerat, de manu vestra requirat sanguinem tot innocentum, oppressiones tot pauperum, animas tot milium Christianorum.

[5.] Nec desunt, qui dicunt Christiano principi, praesertim ea bonitate et clementia
95 praedito, quam in te esse cognoscimus et fatemur, decidendum potius esse aliquid de
suis iuribus et rationibus, quam ea bella perpetuo urgenda, quae et sibi et aliis calamitatem et exitium asportent, privatis affectibus et commodis publicam salutem esse anteferebam. Adducunt in medium recentia tuae inclitae familiae exempla, Fridericum et Maximilianum clarissimos imperatores, quorum uterque maluit hoc ipsum
100 regnum Hungariae, de quo nunc certatur, salvum relinquere in manu et potestate aliena,¹⁶ quam super illo contendendo et ius suum ad extremum persequendo primum illud perdere, deinde post ruinam illius sua quoque regna et provincias extremo periculo exponere. Quid vero nuper Carolus, frater Tuae Maiestatis, potentissimus et optimus imperator de dominatu Mediolanensi fecit, quem cum vel pro se iure optimo retinere, vel tibi fratri donare posset, maluit moderati et continentissimi animi princeps
105 eum Italiae id a se poscenti relinquere.¹⁷ Ille hoc ob unius Italiae quietem et tranquillitatem facere non dubitavit. Tum ob tot regnorum salutem ob totius Christianitatis conservationem, ob hoc, ut tale regnum, quale est Hungaria, Christianitatis salvum permaneat, aliquid tale facere non audebis, praesertim cum saepe spreta in tempore
110 gloria cumulator redire soleat, et praesertim tali ac tanta nunc occasione oblata, ipso etiam potentissimo Turcarum imperatore nescimus, qua Dei admiranda dispositione, vos ad concordiam huiusmodi invitante et eam sedulo inter vos procurante. Quae certe tanta Dei Optimi Maximi clementia non esset vobis, serenissimi principes, contemnenda, nec fortuna perpetuo tentanda, quae varia et instabilis est, fortasse satis esse deberet
115 illum principem et super omnes mortales alios avidum gloriae, tanta adhuc erga Christianos clementia usum, ut bis iam et Budam et Hungariam in manu Christiana reliquerit,¹⁸ cum et Budam pro se retinere, et Hungariam, si non penitus occupare, at certe totam ferro et igne devastare et in solitudinem redigere potuisset, quod quidem tanto magis mirandum est, et pro eo uberiores gratiae Deo immortalis agenda, quod eius
120 maiores nihil unquam pari studio quaesierunt, quam Hungariam in suam redigere potestatem.

¹⁶ Frederick III (1440–1493), great-grandfather of Ferdinand claimed the Hungarian throne against Matthias, while Maximilian I. (1493–1519), grandfather of Ferdinand, claimed it against Vladislaus II. They renounced later, but only after battles, and they both bound their opponents, Matthias and Vladislaus, respectively, in contracts to acknowledge the Habsburgs claim for the throne, should they die without an heir. Essentially these contracts served as the basis for Ferdinand to ascend to the throne in 1526.

¹⁷ Brodarics refers to an event almost ten years earlier. Charles V conquered Milan back from the French in 1525. However, he did not keep it but gave it back to the previous ruler who had been chased away by the French, Francesco II Sforza (1521–1535). The example brought by Brodarics is all the more interesting, because Francesco Sforza died half a year after Brodarics told his speech: in October 1535. This time Charles V was not as unselfish as before, because he wanted to donate the Duchy of Milan to his son, the future Philip II. This brought about another war with the French who also claimed Milan.

¹⁸ The Sultan occupied Buda in 1526 as well as in 1529, but did not hold it. He left it unguarded in 1526 and handed it over to Szapolyai in 1529.

[6.] Longum esset et fortasse superfluum commemorare, quot et quanta commodia ex huiusmodi concordia sequerentur. Primum auctoritas et existimatio tua, tui nominis gloria et splendor, tua potentia mirum in modum crescet, et omnes uno ore hanc tuae
125 moderationis virtutem summis laudibus in caelum extollent non solum viventes sed etiam posteri, non solum loquendo et ubique praedicando, sed et scribendo et posteritati commendando. Deinde populi assiduis exactionibus vexati et penitus exhausti et exacerbati respirabunt et in amorem ac studium tui nominis accendentur et longe oboedientiores tibi reddentur. Nostri vero miseri et infelices Hungari, maxime hi, qui circa
130 fines regni positi quotidie extremam perniciem cervicibus suis et suorum exspectantes, videbuntur sibi non solum de tot miseriis et calamitatibus erepti, sed quasi de morte ad vitam revocati.

Praeterea tota ista orbis plaga, ubi Austria est, cum aliis provinciis tuis avitis et cum reliqua Germania, ubi Bohemia, Moravia, Slesia cum Lusatia, ubi Polonia cum tot
135 amplissimis regnis et provinciis, ubi postremo Hungaria cum triplici Sclavonia, Transsilvania, Moldavia et Transalpina, totusque inquam tantus terrarum tractus, tot nobilissima, amplissima et opulentissima regna, tot fortissimi populi, tot bellicosissimae nationes in unum quodammodo corpus coalescent, non aliter quam si unum caput haberent, uni tantum principi subessent.

140 Quae cum ita sint, ne dubita, Sapientissime Rex, Deo Optimo Maximo duce hanc talem et tantam occasionem ambabus (quod dicitur) manibus arripere, et hanc pacem adeo rebus Christianis salutarem, tibi adeo gloriosam, his omnibus regnis adeo utilem ac necessariam primo quoque tempore cum principe meo inire, idque bonis et honestissimis conditionibus, ad quas rex meus et ipse pro sua bonitate induci poterit.

145 Hoc te nos omnes, quotquot sumus, quos fortuna illi coniunxit et ei subiecit supplices oramus, hoc te per amorem Dei, per salutem patriae et omnium horum regnorum obtestamur, non solum nos, sed quot milia hominum esse putas, Clementissime Rex, qui licet absentes et procul hinc positi te tamen cum lacrimis orant et precantur, ut ad hanc pacem animum inclinare et se salvos esse velis. Nihil nunc cum maiori [!] desiderio exspectant, quam audire, quidnam de eorum salute, cum his tuis sapientissimis consiliariis deliberaveris, habent certo persuasum, quicquid nunc inter te et serenissimum regem meum decretum et conclusum fuerit, id de se, de fortunis, de coniugibus et liberis suis, immo et de sera eorum posteritate, denique de his omnibus regnis deinceps futurum.

155 De aliis ad hanc rem pertinentibus loquar cum Tua Maiestate Sacra, quandocunque illa voluerit.¹⁹ Amen.

¹⁹ The speech was given in a public audience, details and the real conditions needed to be discussed in a more private circle, obviously.

István Brodarics and Gergely Pesthény to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 29 March 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. C. fol. 88–89.

Published: ETE, III. 24–25.

1. *Index Curiae Gergely Pesthény and Bishop of Szerém István Brodarics let Elek Thurzó know that troops of the Roman King, in spite of contracts and armistice, attacked and destroyed troops of the Archbishop of Kalocsa near the Tisza river, and ravaged in other places too. They ask Thurzó to use his influence and have the King stop these troubles, just as they intercede for peace with Treasurer György Fráter and King John.*
 – 2. *Brodarics informs Thurzó that György Fráter is sending him a greyhound and is obtaining a good steed for the Queen. He asks Thurzó not to underestimate the friendship of György Fráter, because the country can be helped only by mutual goodwill.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorandissime. Salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem.

[1.] Post reditum¹ meum episcopi Sirmiensis ex Vienna et a Vestra Dominatione audivimus non pauca per homines ad Vestras Dominationes et ad serenissimum regem Romanorum² pertinentes contra foedera et indutias attentata, et inter alia de gentibus reverendissimi domini Colocensis prope Thysciam³ invasis et oppressis. De qua re ego Sirmiensis iam scripsi ad Vestram Dominationem.⁴ Sunt et alia nonnulla, quae intelligimus per homines et gentes Vestrarum Dominationum diversis in locis attentari, quae quomodo convenient paci, de qua nunc inter principes tractatur, idque potissimum medio Vestrae Dominationis, relinquimus Vestrae Dominationi cogitandum. Rogamus illam velit amore patriae efficere apud serenissimum regem suum, ut a talibus desistatur, ut liberioribus et quietioribus animis possimus invigilare his rebus, quae ad quietem et pacem publicam pertinent, de quibus nos sciat Vestra Dominatio non parvam curam habere, et tam apud serenissimum regem,⁵ dominum nostrum clementissimum, quam apud dominos consiliarios suae maiestatis omnem diligentiam facturos; et nunc etiam cum uno ex dominis consiliariis suae maiestatis, reverendo videlicet domino fratre Georgio,⁶ thesaurario suae maiestatis diligentissime egimus in huiusmodi negotio, et eum induximus, quod et ipse in hoc negotio apud suam maiestatem nihil praetermittat, quod per eum praestari poterit, dummodo Vestra Dominatio pro suo in hanc patriam nostram communem amore velit apud serenissimum principem suum cum amicis suis elaborare, ut iam tandem haec sanctissima res pacis conficiendae optatum sortiatur finem cum conditionibus et regno et toti reipublicae Christianae salutaribus et serenissimo etiam regi nostro honestis et convenientibus.

¹ Brodarics was still in Vienna in mid-March, where he negotiated with Ferdinand in person.

² Ferdinand I.

³ Tisza.

⁴ This letter of Brodarics is unknown.

⁵ János Szapolyai.

⁶ György Martinuzzi (Fráter).

Nos Vestrae Dominationi plurimum commendamus, quae et felicissime valeat.
25 Budae secundo die Dominicae Resurrectionis 1535.

Dominus frater Georgius est factus totus Vestrae Dominationis, qui mittit Vestrae Dominationi unum bonum leporarium sive agaar. Dabit etiam operam, ut possimus habere gradarium pro maiestate reginali, idque suis propriis expensis. Amplectatur Vestra Dominatio amicitiam hominis. Nulla re, mea quidem sententia, facilius pervenietur ad illud, ad quod omnes tendimus, quam animorum invicem coniunctione et
30 mutuo amore. Contraria contrariis curantur iuxta vulgare dictum. Res nata est ex odio ac malevolentia, debet emendari et reduci ad bonum amore ac benevolentia nostra mutua, ut illud de nobis omnibus in communi dici possit: Unus spiritus et una fides erat in eis.

35 Servitores

Comes Gregorius Pesthieny,
iudex Curiae ac locumtenens
et Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et Magnifico Domino Comiti Alexio Thurzoni, Iudici Curiae et Locumtenenti Serenissimi Regis Romanorum etc., domino et amico nobis observandissimo.⁷

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Várad, 8 April 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 28–30.

1. Brodarics handed over Ferdinand's response to Szapolyai and, together with the councillors, convinced the King to be content with sending only some of his councillors to Ferdinand for the peace talks. These will be held one week after St. George's Day in Óvár. – 2. He leaves it to Ferdinand's sober judgement to come up with demands that might be acceptable for Szapolyai without hurting his dignity. In the meantime, Ferdinand should retain his followers from breaking the truce and looting the people.

Serenissime et Clementissime Rex. Post servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

[1.] Digressus a Vestra Maiestate veni recta ad serenissimum regem, dominum meum clementissimum, cui, cum dominis consiliariis maiestatis eius retuli deliberationem Vestrae Maiestatis et responsum, quod ab illa habui, et induximus eum cum
5 praefatis dominis et amicis meis, ut sit contentus, ut aliquot ex consiliariis suis ad Vestram Maiestatem vadant ad tractandum et concludendum de pace perpetua inter Vestras

26 Dominus frater ... Sirmiensis subscripsit manu
Broderici

28 post reginali del. amplectatur

⁷ In the ETE it is written that the red seal on the letter belonged to Brodarics. This is wrong: the shield shows the head of a red deer over which there are the letters G. P., so it is obviously the seal of Gergely Pesthény.

Maiestates.¹ Qui si ad ipsam diem Sancti Georgii² adesse non possent, Maiestas Vestra boni consulere dignabitur. Dabitur omnis opera, ut circiter octavum eius festi diem³ in Owar constituentur. Cur autem in Owar, id Vestra Maiestas ex domino Thurzone intel-

10 liget, ad quem de hoc clarius scripsi.⁴

[2.] Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis erit, quae illius bonitas est, et in rem Christianam maxime in haec misera regna propensitas, ea a rege nostro et a nobis exigere, ad quae cum salute regni condescendi possit, et quae non sint praeter dignitatem regis nostri.

15 Et interim iubere suos cessare a damnis miseris et afflictissimis populis inferendis et ab induciis violandis et hoc Vestra Maiestas dignetur facere amore Dei, cuius divinis eloquiis nihil vobis principibus magis commendatur, quam cura et tutela pauperum et oppressorum.

Servitutem meam Vestrae Maiestati humiliter commendo. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem. Varadini 8. Aprilis 1535.

20 Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

humilis servulus
Sirmiensis subscripsit

Nuntius pontificis Rorarius,⁵ qui hic est, credere dignetur Vestra Maiestas nihil aliud hic egit et agit nisi de pace ista promovenda et de negotio religionis.⁶

On the outer side: Serenissimo principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando Dei gratia Romanorum etc. regi Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

20 Eiusdem vestrae ... religionis manu Broderici

¹ We know from Ferdinand's letter to Thurzó on 10 April that Brodarics requested Ferdinand to also send somebody to the talks with John's legates, so that John's commissioners do not have to appear in front of Ferdinand. Ferdinand did not approve of that. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D. 32.

² 24 April.

³ I.e. 1 May 1535.

⁴ The letter to Thurzó is gone.

⁵ Papal Nuncio Rorario.

⁶ The text *Nuntius... religionis* attached on a slip of paper.

Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I to Ferenc Frangepán, István Brodarics, and
István Werbőczy
Vienna, 25 April 1535

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 61–62.¹

Ferdinand assures Ferenc Frangepán, István Brodarics, and István Werbőczy, legates of János Szapolyai, in a safe conduct that they may appear in his court unharmed and negotiate for six weeks.

Ferdinandus divina favente clementia Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, ac Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae etc. Rex, Infans Hispaniarum, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae etc., Marchio Moraviae etc., comes Tirolis etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod *Nos Reverendos et Magnificos fratrem*
Franciscum de Frangepanibus archiepiscopum Colocensem, Stephanum Brodericum,
Stephanum Werbewtzy et duos nobiles, eorum collegas, quicunque fuerint, et quorum
nomina et cognomina hic pro sufficienter expressis habemus et haberi volumus de
nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu veniendi ad nos et curiam nostram, et rec-
edendi a nobis, redeundique ad loca sibi secunda affidavimus et assecuravimus, sicut
affidamus et assecuramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et sub verbo nostro
regio fideque publica, quam eis per has litteras damus et promittimus, quandocunque
post harum emanationem ipsis placuerit, cum equitibus centum praeter equos
curriferos et equos desultores et praeter alias personas eisdem Francisco de
Frangepanibus archiepiscopo Colocensi, Stephano Broderico, Stephano Werbewtzy et
duobus nobiles, eorum collegis antedictis necessarias ad nos et curiam nostram infra
spatium sex hebdomadam a data praesentium computandum libere et absque omni
impedimento, et ea, quae in commissis habent et habebunt nobiscum agere et tractare,

8 et curiam nostram: huc Viennam HHSIA fol. 63–64.

10 post vigore HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. et virtute

11 post eis HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. et eorum cuilibet

12 cum equitibus ... antedictis necessariis: cum personis quibuscunque et tot, quot eis ad talem eorum protectionem visum et opus erit HHSIA fol. 63–64.

12 centum: ducentis in marg. alia manu HHSIA fol. 65–66.

15 et curiam ... sex hebdomadarum: huc infra spatium duorum mensium HHSIA fol. 63–64.

16 post computandum HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. publice et

16 post et HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. ac coniuncti vel divisi prout eis et loci commoditas dederit

17 post impedimento in marg. alia manu HHSIA fol. 65–66. add. venire et accedere

17 post quae HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. a domino suo

¹ This is a blank version of the safe conduct that Ferdinand sent to Thurzó. It does not yet contain the names of the protected persons. Two drafts of the same safe conduct are extant (HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 63–64., and fol. 65–66.), which clearly show that the final version was issued for Frangepán, Brodarics, and Werbőczy. Parts that appear only in the drafts are indicated by italics. Other differences between the drafts and the final version are indicated in the philological apparatus.

² In documents of the Habsburg party, Szapolyai was normally not referred to as King but as Voivod (of Transylvania), or, as in this case, John comes of Szepes.

eisque confectis vel infectis, quandocunque eis visum fuerit, discedere et ad loca ipsis secunda unacum familia et rebus suis salvi et incolumes redire possint.

20 Promittentes etiam per praesentes, quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia, litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu, etiam si aliqua hostilitas inter nos et Ioannem Zepusiensem² quomodocunque et per quoscunque et ubicunque contingeret, aut etiam si quid nobis humanitus (quod Deus avertat) contingeret, eisdem vel alicui ex suis inferetur, sed quod nihilominus ipsi et sui (in
25 tali casu et hostilitate huiusmodi non obstante) vigore huius nostri salvi conductus salvi et securi esse debeant et possint. Item si etiam accideret quod aliquis eorum se huic salvo conductui nostro non conformiter gereret, ex tunc eisdem *archiepiscopo Colocensi, Broderico, Werbewtzy et duobus nobilibus, eorum collegis antenominatis* nihil periculi, violentiae et litisfactio ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc
30 nostrum saluum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

Praeterea si sub hoc sex hebdomadarum salvo conductu eosdem *archiepiscopum Colocensem, Brodericum, Werbewtzy et duos nobiles, eorum collegas* vel aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine correptum diutius quam praesens salvus conductus sonat, decumbere contingeret, promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum
35 usque quo convaluerit. Et si forte accideret, quod res et tractatio huiusmodi longius duraret, quam per antedicti temporis spatium, ex tunc hunc quoque saluum conductum nostrum ad ulteriora tempora illis necessaria prolongabimus.

Mandamus idcirco et praecipimus universis et singulis generaliter nostris cuiuscunque status et conditionis, qualitatis, gradus aut ordinis officialibus et subditis tam
40 spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet existentibus sub indignatione nostra gravissima et sub amissione capitis et bonorum suorum, quatenus praefatos *archiepiscopum Colocensem, Brodericum, Werbewtzy et duos nobiles, eorum collegas* per totum tempus, quo ad nos venient, et apud nos versabuntur, et quae habent, tractabunt, et ad loca eis secunda redibunt, illaesos et indemnes ire et redire permittant, eisque et suis in nullo
45 prorsus impedimentum, gravamen, molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio litterarum et sigilli nostri parvi impressione munitur.

Datum in civitate nostra Vienna, XXV. Aprilis 1535.

18 post eis HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. omnibus vel alteri eorum

19 ipsis: sibi HHSIA fol. 63–64.

23 post ubicunque HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. contigisset aut

23 aut etiam si quid ... contingeret om. HHSIA fol. 63–64.

27 gereret: gessisset HHSIA fol. 63–64.

28 post antenominatis HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. vel alicui eorum et servitorum suorum propterea

31 sex hebdomadarum: duorum mensium HHSIA fol. 63–64.

36 per antedicti temporis spatium: duorum mensium antedictorum spatium HHSIA fol. 63–64.

36 ex tunc hunc ... illis necessaria: hunc quoque saluum conductum nostrum ex tunc illis necessario HHSIA fol. 63–64.

38 Mandamus idcirco et praecipimus: Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes HHSIA fol. 63–64.

41 et bonorum suorum om. HHSIA fol. 63–64.

42 post nobiles HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. istos supradictos

42 post collegas HHSIA fol. 63–64. add. eorumque servitores omnes

47 parvi om. HHSIA fol. 63–64.

Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Vienna, 25 April 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 68.¹

Ferdinand informs Brodarics that he has received his two letters. Brodarics will learn the responses from Thurzó, to whom he has written in more detail.

Reverende Devote sincere Dilecte.

Binas a te litteras accepimus, alteras de octava,² alteras vero de 20 huius,³ quibus intelleximus, quae ad nos scripsisti. Super iis autem, cum in litteris nostris spectabili et magnifico fidei nobis dilecto, comiti Alexio Thurzoni de Bethlenfalwa, iudici curiae
s et regni nostri Hungariae locumtenenti scriptis singula modo et prolixius exsequamur,⁴ nos ideo ad illas et ea, quae tibi locumtenens ille noster significabit, referimus, quibus eam fidem habebis, quam nobismet adhiberes, si coram loqueremur. Quod tibi gratiose duximus significandum.

Datum Viennae, 25. Aprilis 1535.

In the bottom of the page: Reverendo Devoto, sincere nobis Dilecto, Stephano Broderico etc.

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 26 April 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 74.¹

1. He received the letter from Thurzó that discusses, among others, the case of Szeben, after Canon Tamás has left. He can only say, regarding the matter, that their main objective is making piece as soon as possible. He already wrote to both Thurzó and Ferdinand about concessions. – 2. Frangepán and Werbőczy, who have also been delegated to the talks, have arrived. He is sending Szapolyai's answer regarding the Szeben case. Thurzó should decide and follow his best judgment. – 3. He asks Thurzó to report on Ferdinand's opinion because he himself believes that no effective peace talks are possible without armistice.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Salutem plurimam et obsequia mea.

¹ Draft.

² See the letter by Brodarics on 8 April.

³ This letter is gone.

⁴ See the letters by Ferdinand to Thurzó on 21 April (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 59–60.) and 25 April (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 67).

¹ Autograph.

[1.] Hodie mane post discessum magistri Thomae custodis² allatae mihi sunt per tabellarium meum litterae a Vestra Dominatione³ de negotio Cibiniensi⁴ et de quibusdam aliis. De quibus omnibus in genere nescio quid aliud dicere, nisi quod nos sincere
5 in istis negotiis agimus, nihil aliud quaerentes nisi pacem vobiscum et salutem regni. Istae difficultates vel impedimenta, de quibus ego scripsi, maxime ubi adhuc cessiones urgetis et nobis inculcatis, non sunt sine causa. Quomodo enim vos vultis, parcat mihi Dominatio Vestra, nos ad hoc ire istuc et postea solitos tamen cessionum tractatus inducere et circa illos haerere, et in sempiternum haerere. Super qua re ego satis aperte
10 nuntiavi tam Vestrae Dominationi quam serenissimo regi suo per Thomam, per quem responsum exspecto.

[2.] Interim venerunt huc dominus Colocensis⁵ et dominus Werbewczy cancellarius ad hoc negotium pacis deputati. Venit etiam responsum a rege meo de Cibiniensibus, quod in specie ad Vestram Dominationem mitto, postea, quando simul erimus, ab ea
15 mihi restituendum, ex quo intelliget mentem regis mei. Vestra Dominatio de Cibiniensibus constituet id, quod melius erit pro tractatu pacis.

Et cum his me Vestrae Dominationi ac servitia mea unice commendo. Quae felix valeat.

Budae 26. Aprilis, 1535.

20 Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

[3.] Dominatio Vestra velit mihi, immo nobis mentem super his principis sui statim significare, quia sine suspensione armorum nec ego video, quod ista pax commode tractari possit.

On the outer side: Spectabili et Magnifico Domino Alexio Thurzoni, Iudici Curiae et Locumtenenti Serenissimi Regis Romanorum, domino observandissimo.

13 *post meo del. quod in*

² *Custos* of Eger Tamás Mindszenti was a confidant of Brodarics. We find in other cases, too, that he carries important letters. See the letters by Brodarics on 23 and 29 September 1528, 28 October, and 25 July 1531.

³ Thurzó's mentioned letters are lost.

⁴ Transylvania was under Szapolyai's control, and pro-Ferdinand Szeben in its heart was besieged by István Maylád, Szapolyai's Voivod of Transylvania. Ferdinand instructed Thurzó on 4 April 1535 to write to Brodarics for Maylád to stop the siege. (See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 26. Konv. D, fol. 11.) As Ferdinand's several letters to Szeben show (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. A, fol. 22., fol. 24–25., 34–35., etc.), one of the most important issues of the talks in May and June in Vienna was the case of Szeben. As a result, a new truce was signed in August, in which Szapolyai promised to stop harassing Szeben, their territories and lands. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. C, fol. 13–14. Maylád indeed withdrew from the town.

⁵ Ferenc Frangepán.

István Brodarics to an Unknown Pro-Ferdinand High Priest¹
[without place], [June 1535]²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 27. Konv. B, fol. 1.³

Published: ETE III., 64–65.

1. Bishop Brodarics requests that Ferdinand send somebody to stop Ferenc Kápolnay, who ravages everywhere, but especially in estates of the Bishop and the chapter of Pécs as well as of Chancellor Werbőczy. Kápolnay already occupied territories that belong to the Anyavár. – 2. He also requests permission for Werbőczy to send his servant to the captive Ferenc Bodó. – 3. Permission is requested for Provost of Szentistván Farkas Paksy to go and visit her sister, in Buda. His sister is the wife of Constable of Buda Gergely Pesthény.

[1.] Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dignetur reducere in memoriam maiestatis regiae, ut mittatur aliquis ex curia suae maiestatis ad compescendum Franciscum Kápolnay a tot spoliis bonorum et proventuum alienorum quorumcunque, occupationibus maxime ad episcopatum et capitulum Quinqueecclesiense, ad dominum Verbeuczy cancellarium, item ad castrum Anya⁴ pertinentibus, et ut remittat occupata.

[2.] Item ut permittatur domino Verbeuczy mittere unum servitorem ad Franciscum Bodó captivum.⁵

[3.] Item quod Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio dignetur facere scribere unas litteras ad capitaneum Strigoniensem,⁶ ut permittat domino Volf[g]ango Paxy, praeposito Strigoniensi de Sancto Stephano,⁷ quod possit ire Budam ad paucos dies ad invisendam sororem suam, quae est uxor magnifici Gregorii Pesthieny locumtenentis Budae existentis.⁸

Servitor

Sirmiensis vel Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: (contemporary handwriting) Brod[ericus]

¹ Publishers of ETE identified the addressee as Szaláházy.

² The letter has no date. We know, however, Ferdinand's letter dated 13 July, in which he makes arrangements in the case of Farkas Paksy mentioned in this letter. So Brodarics' letter might have been written some time before, in June, 1535.

³ Autograph.

⁴ Anyavár. It stood on a small island surrounded by the Sár marshes in Tolna county. It belonged to Ferenc Bodó (mentioned later in the letter) and his family. The Turks conquered it in 1543.

⁵ Ferenc Mesztergyői Bodó was an old *familiaris* of the Szapolyai family. He joined King John after Mohács as commander of the cavalry. He was taken prisoner in March 1528 in the battle of Szina. Since he refused to switch sides and join Ferdinand, he was imprisoned in Wiener-Neustadt, and he was never released. On Bodó, see the letter by Brodarics on 26 December 1535.

⁶ Tomás Lascano.

⁷ Farkas Paksy was Provost of Esztergom-Szentistvánvár in 1530–1536. See KOLLÁNYI Ferenc, *Esztergomi kanonokok*, Budapest, 1900, 138.

⁸ Ferdinand instructed Lascano in a letter written on 13 July 1535 to permit the journey of Farkas Paksy to Buda. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. B, fol. 41.

István Brodarics to Georg von Brandenburg¹
Vienna, 12 July 1535

Manuscript used: NStA, Brandenburger Literalien Nr. 1070, fol. 77–78

1. He was pleased to receive the letter from Georg von Brandenburg, who proved that he has not forgotten his old admirer. He is trying to fulfil the Marquis' request as best as he can. – 2. However, the issue in question requires higher authority than himself. The Marquis can learn more about it from his councillors, with whom Brodarics has discussed everything. – 3. Regarding peace, he is going to travel to Várad to visit King John. He hopes this will be the last stage of the talks.

Illustrissime Princeps, Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Post servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Gratissimae mihi fuerunt litterae² Vestrae Dominationis Illustrissimae. Grata etiam ea, quae domini consilarii Vestrae Illustrissimae Dominationis nomine illius
5 mihi exposuerunt. Egi gratias Deo, quod Vestra Illustrissima Dominatio dignata sit tam favorabiliter ac benivole recordari sui veteris clientis et servitoris veterem certe observantiam in pectore vivam erga Vestram Dominationem Illustrissimam gerentis, quam, quibuscumque obsequiis potero, libens declarabo.

[2.] Nunc ea, de quibus Vestra Dominatio Illustrissima mihi et scribit et nuntiat,
10 habeo pro mea exigua auctoritatula ita curae, ut si mea essent propria negotia. Sed urgendus est is, de quo cum dominis consiliariis Vestrae Dominationis Illustrissimae sum locutus, ut eius auctoritas intercedat.

[3.] In negotio pacis³ ob rei difficultatem nunc rursus ego cum uno ex collegis vado ad serenissimum regem meum Varadinum usque, et iste erit, ut video, ultimus actus in
15 hac comedia, quem Deus prosperum esse velit. Nam certi nihil possum Vestrae Illustrissimae Dominationi scribere: res est satis undique ad pacem inclinata, si Deus pacem dederit, cupio vehementer Vestram Illustrissimam Dominationem invisere in domo illius propria.

Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

20 Viennae, 12. Iulii 1535.

Servitor

Stephanus Brodericus
Sirmiensis et Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

¹ Georg von Brandenburg (1484–1543), nephew of Vladislaus II, later one of the tutors of Louis II. After the death of János Corvin, he married his widow Beatrix Frangepán, and this marriage brought him huge estates in Hungary. He belonged to the inner circle of Maria Habsburg. He left Hungary in 1525 never to return, but he still had interests in the country because of his estates, which were located mostly in Szapolyai's part of the country.

² Unfortunately, the letter of Georg von Brandenburg is lost.

³ During the year 1535, Brodarics held talks with Ferdinand or his commissioners about peace between the two kings several times.

On the back side: Illustrissimo Principi domino, domino Georgio Marchioni Brandenburgensi, Stetinae, Pomeraniae, Cassulorum Sclavorum nec non in Slesia, Camoniae dux etc, domino mihi observandissimo

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Simon Erdödy¹ to István Brodarics
Kővár, 19 July 1535

Manuscript used: MOL, E 204. bundle 13

1. Erdödy has received the letter from Brodarics, in which Brodarics expresses his hope for peace to be signed soon; he hopes that by God's grace peace among Christian princes will be lasting, finally. He asks Brodarics to inform him about the peace talks in case he has more news and can share them. – 2. He cannot provide further news but if anything comes up he will inform Brodarics. – 3. He received news after finishing the letter that three Turks of high rank have been captured near Velike; they say they seriously doubt that the Sultan will return, and are worried that if he does not arrive in 3 months he will not come at all; because of this, all Turks are in arms in neighbouring provinces, and if the Sultan does not arrive in time, they will slaughter one another.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Amice Honorandissime. Salutem et feliciū successuum perpetuum incrementum.

[1.] Litteras² Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae pro memoria veteris necessitudinis ad nos datas, quibusque spern bonam futurae pacis³ eadem promittit, sane intelleximus. Concedat Altissimus, ut iam tandem aliquando post multas strages Christicolarum inspirata Spiritus Sancti gratia pax ipsa inter principes perpetuo solidetur. Proinde rogamus Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram, ut si quae nova praesertim de conditionibus pacis habuerit, et quae cum honore suo nobis significare poterit, significet. Curabimus singularem eius erga nos benevolentiam officiosissime reconpensare.

10 [2.] Nova impraesentiarum, auribus Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae digna nulla habemus, si quae emergerint, pro observantia eiusdem intimabimus. Quam in reliquo felicissime valere optamus. Ex curia nostra Qwaryis⁴ feria secunda proxima ante festum Beatae Mariae Magdalenae 1535.

[3.] Scriptis iam praesentibus litterarum accepimus, quod fuissent capti ad castrum
15 Velyke⁵ duo vel tres et quidem non infirmæ conditionis Turci, qui retulissent, quod de caesare Turcarum eiusque reditu multum desperaretur, ita quod si caesar infra tres vel

15 infirmæ *correxī* ex: infirmi

16 *post* reditu *del.* mag

¹ Bishop of Zagreb Simon Erdödy was a leading figure of the Szapolyai party in Slavonia, but defected to Ferdinand in August 1534.

² This letter by Brodarics is unknown.

³ Reference to the more and more intensive peace talks between Szapolyai and Ferdinand during the year 1535.

⁴ Kővár, Pozsega county (today: Kamengrad, Croatia).

⁵ Velike was a smaller fortress in the Southern part of Pozsega county (today: Velika, Croatia).

circiter menses non rediret, timeretur, unquam regredi, et propter istas causas dicunt etiam omnes Turcas finitimarum provinciarum congregatos esse in armis, et si caesar infra tempus praescriptum non rediret, mutuis sese caedibus necarent.⁶ Praeterea Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra habet in Posega bonum decimatorem Ladislaum More⁷ ita quod sine maxima Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae cura eas congregabit.

Simon Erdödy Zagrabiensis manu propria

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Buda, 30 August 1535

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 97–98.

Published: KUIJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése, Történelmi Társulat*, 1908, 338.

Brodarics requests Nádasdy to take upon himself the task of arbitration together with János Szalay in a lawsuit against the Thardassy family concerning estates of the bishopric of Pécs in the Zselic region. Szalay will provide more detailed information on the case.

Magnifice Domine et tanquam Fili Carissime ac Honorande. Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem.

Habeo negotium importans cum dominis Thardassensibus¹ ex parte bonorum ecclesiae meae Quinqueecclesiensis de Selyz.² Qua in re elegimus cum domino Paulo³ Vestram Dominationem et dominum Ioannem Zalay,⁴ dominum et fratrem nostrum communem pro arbitris. Qua de re plura scribo ad dominum Ioannem. Rogo, ut Vestra Dominatio pro servitiis meis velit hunc tantum laborem pro me suscipere iuxta illa, quae Vestra Dominatio a domino Ioanne accipiet. Novi nihil. Nos cum domino Colocensi⁵ vadimus ad maiestatem regiam dominum nostrum clementissimum.

²⁰ post decimatorem del. ita

⁶ On the conflicts among Turks along the border, see also the letter by Erdödy to Nádasdy on 21 July 1535: MOL, E 185, Erdödy Simon levelei, fol. 104–106.

⁷ László Csulai Mór (?–around 1550) *Servitor* and Grand Cup-Bearer in the court of Vladislaus II. After 1526, as owner of Várpalota, he harasses all of Transdanubia. Because of this, Szapolyai besieges his castle in 1533. Marrying the widow of Lőrinc Újlaki, he acquires large estates in Pozsega. Taken captive by the Turks in 1543, he converts to Islam and dies in captivity in the Yedikule.

¹ István Thardassy was captain of Márévár under Pál Bakics, but, in 1536, joined Bálint Török, a supporter of Szapolyai. Therefore Bakics had him imprisoned. See BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint okmánytára*, Budapest, 1994, XXXI., and TIMÁR György, *Márévár vidékének története a török hódoltság idején* = FÜZES Miklós (ed.), *Márévár és környéke*, Magyaregregy, 1997, 72–74.

² Zselic.

³ Pál Bakics.

⁴ János Szalay, *Comes* of Pozsony.

⁵ Ferenc Frangepán.

- 10 Vestra Dominatio unacum domina mea observandissima, domina Ursulina felicissime valeat.
Budae 30. Augusti 1535.
Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd etc. domino et tanquam filio carissimo ac honorandissimo

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Safe Conduct by Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Vienna, 1 September 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. C, fol. 17–18.¹

Ferdinand permits Brodarics and twenty persons travelling with him to travel to Italy freely and undisturbed within four months counted from the issue of the safe conduct.

Ferdinandus etc..

- Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod Nos Stephanum Brodericum de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu affidavimus et assecuravimus, sicut affidamus et assecuramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et sub verbo nostro regio
5 fideque publica, quam ei per has litteras nostras damus et promittimus, quodcumque ei post hanc emanationem placuerit, cum personis viginti vel circa, per quaecunque regna et dominia nostra hereditaria infra quattuor mensium spatium a data praesentium computandum ad Italiam² libere et absque omni impedimento ire, transire et accedere, ac una cum familia sua et praedictis personis ac rebus suis salvus et incolumis ad loca
10 ei secunda redire possit.

- Promittentes etiam per praesentes quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia, litisfactio et iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eidem vel alicui ex suis inferetur, sed quod sub hoc nostro salvo conductu securus et salvus esse debeat et possit. Item si accideret, quod aliquis eorum se huic salvo conductui nostro non
15 conformiter gereret, ex tunc eidem Broderico nihil periculi, litisfactionis et iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum salvum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

- Praeterea si sub hoc salvo conductu nostro ipsum Brodericum vel aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine correptum diutius quam praesens salvus conductus noster sonat,
20 decumbere contingeret, promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum esse usque quo convaluerit. Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis gene-

¹ Draft.

² Brodarics probably never used this safe conduct. The date of issue supports the theory that the plan for a journey to Italy and direct negotiations with Charles V was born quite early. Brodarics and Frangepán got another common safe conduct in 22 December 1535, with which they finally travelled to Charles V.

raliter nostris cuiuscunque status aut ordinis officialibus et subditis tam spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet existentibus sub indignatione nostra gravissima et sub amissione capitis et bonorum suorum, quatenus praefatum Stephanum Brodericum per
25 totum tempus, quo ad Italiam ibit, et inde ad loca ei secuta redibit, illaesum et indemnem ire et redire permittant, eique et suis in nullo prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio litterarum et sigilli nostri impressione etc.
Datum Viennae, prima Septembris 1535.

256

Piotr Tomicki to István Brodarics
Cracow, 3 September 1535

Manuscript used: BN T. 19. fol. 63r¹

1. He received two letters from Brodarics in recent months: in the first Brodarics let him know that the Sultan did not resent the murder of Gritti, in the second Brodarics discussed the expected armistice and said he wanted to ask for something from Tomicki. – 2. Tomicki replied to these also in two letters, but has not received a response ever since; he does not even know whether or not his letters have reached Brodarics. – 3. He is surprised that Brodarics has not written to him even though he would have had the possibility to do so; he asks Brodarics to inform him on the state of affairs concerning peace, and on whether there is hope for the two kings to reach an agreement.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine Frater et Amice Carissime et Honorande.

[1] Binas accepi superioribus mensibus Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae litteras;² in unis [!] caedem Gritti³ non iniquo animo⁴ Turcarum imperatorem tulisse mihi
5 significaverat, in alteris de spe futurae concordiae nonnulla scripserat, in utrisque nescio quid a me prioribus litteris se postulasse meminit, illae enim redditae mihi non sunt, atque ut id curae mihi sit, rogat. [2] Binis istis litteris binis ipse quoque respondi atque ex Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra certior fieri cupiebam, quid illud esset, quod per me sibi confici vellet, nihil enim me facturum libentius, quam ut explerem
10 desiderium Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae. Sed ex eo tempore nihil accepi

¹ Et amice manu Tomicii add.

² Further manuscripts: BJ 6554 529–530.; BCzart TN 53. 167–168.

³ These letters have not been preserved.

⁴ Gritti was killed on 29 September 1534 in Medgyes.

⁵ Basically, Gritti served the court in Istanbul, but his major patron, Grand Vizier Ibrahim, fell out of favour in 1534, and Gritti's position became precarious. Therefore, his murder did not cause as strong indignation as was expected in John's circles.

litterarum, neque scire potui, num Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae redditae sint binae istae meae.⁵

[3.] Valdeque sum admiratus, quod cum hoc tempore certi hominis potestas Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae facta sit, cui recte dare posset, nihil ad me tamen
15 litterarum dederit. Si me scire fas est, cuperem cognoscere ex Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra de pacificatione ista inter reges, quid actum sit; numquid spes adhuc aliqua subsit. Deum precor, ut in eam mentem reges istos impellat, nihil ut pace et concordia prius habeant et antiquius.

Opto Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram ex animi sententia valere quam
20 diutissime. Cuius fraterno amori benevolentiaeque me diligenter commendo.

Datum Cracoviae III. Septembris 1535.

257

Safe Conduct by Ferdinand I to István Brodarics Vienna, 30 September 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. C, fol. 48.¹

Ferdinand permits Brodarics and thirty persons travelling with him to travel to him or to Imperial Legate Johann Wese to Vienna or to wherever they are staying freely and undisturbed within two months from the date of issue of this safe conduct.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod nos Stephanum Brodericum de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu veniendi ad nos et curiam nostram vel ad sacrae caesareae et catholicae regiae maiestatis, fratris et domini nostri carissimi oratorem²
5 redeundique ad loca sibi secunda affidavimus et assecravimus, sicut affidamus et assecuramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et virtute et sub verbo nostro regio fideque publica, quam ei per has litteras nostras damus et promittimus cum familiaribus suis triginta vel circa intra spatium duorum mensium a data praesentium computandum ad nos vel curiam nostram vel iam dictum oratorem caesareum huc Vienne
10 nam, vel ubi fuerimus, venire et accedere, et quaecunque nobiscum aut cum eodem oratore caesareo tractanda habuerit, tractare et agere, eisque confectis vel infectis quandoque sibi placuerit una cum omnibus suis salvus et incolumis ad loca sibi secunda redire valeat et possit.

Promittentes etiam, quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia,
15 litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eidem vel alicui ex suis quocunque etiam rerum eventu inferetur. Item si accideret, quod aliquis eorum se huic

⁵ Replies by Tomicki are unknown.

¹ Draft.

² Johann Wese, Archbishop of Lund.

salvo conductui nostro non conformiter gereret, ex tunc eidem Broderico nihil periculi, litisfactionis ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum saluum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

20 Praeterea si sub hoc salvo conductu ipsum Brodericum vel aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine correptum diutius, quam tractatio praedicta durabit, decumbere contingeret, promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum, usque quo convalescerit. Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis etc. quatenus praefatum
25 Stephanum Brodericum et suos una cum suis huc Viennam ad nos vel oratorem praedictum per totum tempus praenominatum salvos et incolumes ire, venire et ad loca sibi, ut praemissum est, redire sinant et permittant, eique et suis in eo nullum prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio et sigilli nostri impressione munitarum.

30 Datum Viennae, ultima Septembris 1535.

258

János Szapolyai to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Várad, 2 October 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 5.

1. He does not understand why they have asked for a safe conduct for Gáspár Horváth, who wants to travel to Szeben, when in terms of the truce what is needed is just a written document from him in which he promises not to campaign against John in Transylvania and neighbouring areas; then he is free to go wherever he wants. – 2. His opponents do not always keep the truce: his Constable of Palota has been captured, taken near the castle where they tried to make him hand over the castle by death threats. Since this failed, he is still captive.

Ioannes Dei gratia Rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. Reverendi in Christo Patres, Fideles nobis sincere Dilecti.

[1.] Litteras Vestras, quibus pro litteris salvi conductus Gaspari Horwath,¹ quo ipse Cibinum libere intrare et inde redire possit, dandis scribitis, redditas accepimus. Cur
5 privatis litteris salvi conductus ipse Gaspar Horwath egeat, non intelligimus, cum

¹ Gáspár Vingárti Horváth sent word to Ferdinand on 1 October 1535 from Torna that he had asked for a safe conduct from Szapolyai through Ferenc Frangepán. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 1–2. Frangepán informed Vingárti on 7 October in Eger about the above reply by Szapolyai. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 8. Citizens of Szeben, who supported Ferdinand, were already in a tight corner in late 1535. They informed Vingárti about this in several letters. (See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 14. and fol. 15.). They asked for immediate help saying that if they did not get it, they would have to surrender to Szapolyai.

semel litteras indutiarum² omnibus conditionibus firmatas iam ad eos dederimus. Quarum exemplum etiam waywodae nostro Transsylvanensi,³ ut ipse quoque secundum contenta illarum indutias observet, dedimus. Sed cum in litteris indutiarum expressum sit, nuntios et oratores adversarii nostri ad Cibinienses tantummodo proficisci visum est nobis, ut, si Gaspar Horwath ad eos intrare vult, litteris suis ad fidem Christianam, honorem et humanitatem suam confectis nos in eo assecureretur, quod cum nobilibus Siculis et Saxonibus ac inhabitatoribus regni nostri Transsylvanensis, regnisque illi finitimis et in vicinatu existentibus, ac aliis omnibus subditis nostris nihil, quod contra nos fidelitatemque nobis debitam esset, ibi agit, nec per litteras, neque per interpositas personas clam vel manifeste agere facit.

[2.] Illud quoque Vos latere nolimus, quod adversarii indutias hactenus non observarunt, nam et castellanum nostrum de Palotha,⁴ tum sub publica, tum vero privatarum personarum fide ceperunt, et eundem captum sub castrum nostrum duxerunt, et ad restituendum castrum minis tormentorum, demum et ignominiosae mortis coegerunt. Quod cum pro voto eorum non successisset, etiam nunc illum captum detinent, quam plurima etiam alia sunt, in quibus hactenus non observarunt.

Datum Waradini, secunda die Octobris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto.

Ioannes rex
manu propria

On the outer side: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus dominis Francisco de Frangepanibus archiepiscopo Colociensi et episcopo Agriensi, ac Stephano Broderico episcopo Sirmiensi et postulato Quinqueecclesiensi consiliariis nostris, fidelibus nobis sincere dilectis.

259

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Nagykőrös, 7 October 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 9.

1. *Informs Ferdinand that he has written to the Archbishop of Lund about Ferenc Kápolnay. He is asking Ferdinand on behalf of landowners of the area and especially of Werbőczy to forgive them if they are com-*

² The armistice signed for the time of the talks in 1535 was prolonged until February 1536, because the talks did not finish within the allocated time frame. Ferdinand promised not to attack Transylvania, while Szapolyai's troops were not allowed to harass Szeben, which was loyal to Ferdinand. Legates, captains and other officials of Ferdinand could freely travel to Szeben across territories of King John (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. C, fol. 13–14.).

³ István Maylád.

⁴ Łasky's troops occupied Várpalota from László Móri in 1533, and the castle remained royal estate until 1537. At that time Szapolyai donated it to the Podmaniczky family. See: FALLER Jenő, *Palota várának rövid története*, Várpalota, 1937, 14–16. I have found no more specific data on the constable of that time.

peddell to take military measures against such a robber knight. – 2. He has been permanently on the road and working on the issue of the two kings since he left Ferdinand: from Buda to Várád, from Várád to Eger; and back. He needs to devote a few day to his own things, but after that he will head back to Ferdinand and hopes that Ferdinand will appreciate his efforts.

Serenissime Rex, Domine et Princeps Clementissime post servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

[1.] Scribo aliqua ad reverendissimum dominum meum, dominum Londensem¹ de negotio Kapolnay, qui tot insolentiis suis effecit, ut illi, qui pro eo serenissimo regi meo
5 fideiusserunt, et quos ille fefellit, coacti sint contra eum arma sumere. Supplico Vestrae Sacrae Maiestati tam meo, quam omnium nostrum, qui in illis partibus bona habemus, maxime domini Stephani Werbewczy nomine, aequo animo Vestra Maiestas Sacra ferre velit, si datur opera, ut a tali publico praedatore illae partes liberentur. Quod non est dubium esse in maximum commodum Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis, sicut a me brevi
10 Deo dante intelliget. Respiciat Vestra Maiestas nos potius, qui omnia pro comodo Vestrae Maiestatis agimus, quam talem publicum et infamem latronem et grassatorem, qui possumus Vestrae Maiestati plus uno temporis momento servire, quam ille mille annis.

[2.] Ego, quod ad personam meam attinet, ab eo tempore, quo a Vestra Maiestate
15 discessimus, nunquam quievi die noctuque discurrens pro negotiis istis, quae sunt inter Vestram Maiestatem et principem meum in bonum et optatum finem adducenda. Currendo ex Buda Varadinum, ex Varadino Agriam, ex Agria rursus Varadinum, atque illinc Agriam. Nunc inspectis tantum negotiis meis domesticis (nam ea ordinare quoad uno die aut biduo possim) statim ad Vestram Maiestatem advolabo. Sit igitur, supplex
20 obsecro, in conspectu Vestrae Maiestatis aliquis etiam ad tantam meam diligentiam, tot labores, tantas expensas respectus.

Et servitutem meam humillimam Vestrae Maiestati commendo. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Ex oppido Naghkewres 7. Octobris 1535.

25 Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

servitor humilis

Sirmiensis et Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo principi et domino, domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto etc., domino et principi clementissimo.

25 Eiusdem vestrae ... et Quinqueecclesiensis manu
Broderici

¹ Johann Wese, Archbishop of Lund. The letter mentioned has not survived.

Prolonged Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I¹ to István Brodarics
Vienna, 26 November 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. D, fol. 76.²

Ferdinand permits Brodarics and thirty persons travelling with him to travel to him or to Imperial Legate Johann Wese to Vienna, or to wherever they are staying, freely and undisturbed from December until mid-January.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod nos Stephanum Brodericum de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu veniendi ad nos et curiam nostram vel ad sacrae caesareae et catholicae, regiae maiestatis, fratris et domini nostri carissimi oratorem³ redeundique ad loca sibi secunda affidavimus et assecravimus, sicut affidamus et assecramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et virtute et sub verbo nostro regio fideque publica, quam ei per has litteras nostras damus et promittimus, cum familiari-
bus suis triginta vel circa per totum mensem Decembrem et usque ad diem decimum
quintum mensis Ianuarii inclusive ac proxime et immediate venturi ad nos vel curiam
nostram vel iam dictum oratorem caesareum huc Viennam, vel ubi fuerimus, venire et
accedere, et quaecunque nobiscum aut cum eodem oratore caesareo tractanda habuerit,
tractare et agere, eisque confectis vel infectis, quandocunque sibi placuerit, una cum
omnibus suis salvus et incolumis ad loca sibi secunda redire valeat et possit.

Promittentes etiam, quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia,
litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eidem vel alicui ex suis
quocunque etiam rerum eventu inferetur. Item si accideret, quod aliquis eorum se huic
salvo conductui nostro non conformiter gereret, ex tunc eidem Broderico nihil periculi,
litisfactionis ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum saluum con-
ductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

Praeterea si sub hoc salvo conductu ipsum Brodericum vel aliquem ex suis adversa
valetudine correptum diutius, quam tractatio praedicta durabit, decumbere contingeret,
promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum, usque quo convaluerit.
Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis generaliter nostris cuiuscunque
status aut ordinis officialibus et subditis tam spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet
exsistentibus sub indignatione nostra gravissima et sub amissione capitis et bonorum
suorum, quatenus praefatum Brodericum et suos una cum suis huc Viennam ad nos vel
oratore praedictum per totum tempus praenominatum salvos et incolumes ire, venire
et ad loca sibi, ut praemissum est, redire sinant et permittant, eique et suis in eo nullum
prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre prae-

¹ This safe conduct is essentially identical to the one dated 30 September, but since that one expired on 30 November, Ferdinand prolongs its validity until the middle of January.

² Draft.

³ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese.

30 sumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio etc. impressione etc.

Datum Viennae, XXVI. Novembris 1535.

261

Safe Conduct by Ferdinand I to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Vienna, 22 December 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. E, fol. 21–22.¹

Ferdinand assures legates of János Szapolyai Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics in a safe conduct that they may pass through territories under his control unharmed on their way to Emperor Charles V and back.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod nos fratrem Franciscum de Frangepanibus archiepiscopum Colocensem et Stephanum Brodericum Ioannis Scepusiensis oratores² de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu affidavimus et assecuravimus, sicut
5 affidamus et assecuramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et virtute hinc per regna, dominia, provincias et quascunque terras Sacri Romani Imperii et nostras ad curiam Sacrae Caesareae et Catholicae Regiae Maiestatis, fratris et domini nostri clementissimi libere et secure unacum comitiva et rebus suis omnibus ad protectionem eorum idoneis et necessariis ire, proficisci, et ea, quae in commissis a domino suo
10 habent et habebunt apud praelibatam Maiestatem Caesaream agere, tractare et conficere, eisque confectis vel infectis per praedicta regna et dominia nostra unacum suis salvi et incolumes ad loca sibi secunda redire possint et valeant.

Promittentes eis sub verbo nostro regio fideque publica, quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium quoruncunque subditorum nostrorum praedicti Imperii aliqua vis, violentia, litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eisdem vel alicui
15 ex suis inferetur. Item si accideret, quod aliquis eorum se huic salvo conductui nostro non conformiter gereret, ex tunc eisdem Francisco de Frangepanibus et Stephano Broderico nihil periculi, litisfactionis et iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum salvum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

20 Praeterea si sub hoc nostro salvo conductu ipsos vel aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine correptum diutius, quam tractatio vel legatio eorum durabit, quibuscunque in regnis et dominiis Imperii et nostris decumbere contingeret, promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum, usque quo convaluerit. Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis generaliter nostris cuiuscunque status aut ordinis offi-

¹ Draft.

² János Szapolyai delegated Frangepán and Brodarics to Charles V one month earlier, in a letter of commission dated 22 November 1535, Várad, to negotiate directly with the Emperor about possible ways of sorting out the situation in Hungary. See the letter of commission in HATVANI Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár brüsseli levéltárából I. (1441–1538)*, Pest, 1857, 310–311.; ill. ETE III., 56–57.

25 cialibus et subditis tam spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet existentibus sub indignatione nostra gravissima et sub amissione capitis et bonorum suorum, quatenus praefatos Franciscum de Frangepanibus et Stephanum Brodericum per totum tempus, quo ad curiam Caesareae Maiestatis ibunt, et ea, quae habent in commissis, tractabunt, et ad loca eis secunda redibunt, illaesos et indemnes per regna, terras et ditiones nostras
 30 quasunque antedictas una cum tota familia et comitiva sua equisque, rebus et sarcinis suis absque alicuius passagii seu oneris realis vel personalis solutione libere ire et redire permittant, eisque et suis in nullo prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Sed et eisdem, dum et quoties ab eis requisiti fuerint, de gerendis, ductoribus
 35 ac equis et navibus providere, ceteraque eis ad victum et iter suum necessaria pro honesto et competenti pretio suppeditare debeant et curent. Harum testimonio litterarum et sigilli nostri impressione munitarum.
 Datum Viennae, 22. Decembris 1535.

262

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Ferdinand I Neustat, 26 December 1535

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. E, fol. 34–35.

1. The Bishop of Transylvania and Ferenc Batthyány will inform Ferdinand about the case of Ferenc Bodó. Brodarics and Frangepán are astonished that a promissory note is expected of them as if they were treacherous scoundrels. – 2. They are still willing to give the note as it has been set, but they are asking Ferdinand to ease the captivity of Bodó in the meantime, because harsh conditions slowly drive him out of his mind; even if he was set free he would not be able to either serve or harm anybody. – 3. If Szapolyai does not expect a promissory note in the case of László Mór, then perhaps Ferdinand should not ask for one with respect to Bodó.

Serenissime Rex, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis nostrae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Maiestas Vestra intelliget ab his dominis, domino Transsylvaniensi¹ et domino Francisco de Batthyan, quid actum sit in negotio Francisci Bodo. Nos certe vehementer sumus mirati, quod Vestra Maiestas tales a nobis obligationes petat,² ut in tali
 5 forma simul cum dominis ad Vestram Maiestatem pertinentibus nos obligemus, tamquam si essemus abiectissimi homines, qui milies fidem fregissemus, qualem nos, si ad

¹ Probably reference to Miklós Gerendi, Bishop of Transylvania under Ferdinand. The problem arises from the fact that János Statileo, appointed by Szapolyai, also used the title, so we cannot exclude that it is him. Still, the fact that he is mentioned together with pro-Habsburg Batthyány suggests that we should suspect Gerendi.

² The draft for the note written for Frangepán is extant. In it the legates had to acknowledge that they had received the safe conduct to the Emperor on the condition that they would negotiate peace in Hungary nowhere else and with nobody else but Emperor Charles V. For the text of the draft, see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 27. Konv. E, fol. 34.

ultimum supplicium traheremur, vix possemus inducere in animum, ut daremus, regem autem in forma camerae Apostolicae obligare, quam sit honestum, Vestrae Maiestati iudicandum relinquimus.

[2.] Nos nihilominus ad ea, ad quae conveniens est nos obligare, tam in persona principis nostri, quam in nomine nostro privato cum ceteris dominis ad Vestram Maiestatem pertinentibus sumus parati, secundum quod cum his dominis sumus locuti. Interim supplicamus Vestrae Maiestati humiliter, ut committat, ut teneatur in bono et competenti loco, quia nunc etiam credimus, quod ob duritiam carceris videmus eum a mente non parum alienatum, et in tantum, quod si etiam dimittetur, nec poterit prodesse cuipiam, nec obesse. Prout homines Vestrae Maiestatis, qui nobis cum eo loquentibus praesentes fuere, testes esse possunt. Deus Maiestatem Vestram semper felicem et incolumem conservet.

Ex Neustat, 26. Decembris 1535.

[3.] Cum nos nomine regis nostri non optemus a Vestra Maiestate aliquam obligationem pro Ladislao More, fortasse et a nobis pro Francisco Bodo non esset petenda. Cum Ladislaus More sit longe potentior Francisco Bodo, utpote tot castra habens. Tamen ex superabundanti sumus parati ad ea, de quibus cum his dominis sumus locuti, et de quibus etiam ad regem nostrum scripsimus, quibus Vestra Maiestas dignetur contentari.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

servitores

frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus subscripsit
Sirmiensis, Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Sacratissimae Regiae Maiestati Romanorum etc., Domino Clementissimo

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Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Trident, 17 January 1536

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 28. Konv. A, fol. 46–48.

Published: ETE III., 73–74.

1. Ferenc Frangepán and Brodarics report to Ferdinand that they have arrived safely in Trident, accompanied by the courtier Ferdinand sent with them, Sigismund. – 2. Due to the absence of the Archbishop of Lund and the illness of Brodarics they have to part with Cardinal Bernhard Cles and continue their trip by sea.

Sacratissima Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitiorum nostrorum humilem commendationem.

[1.] Iussu Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis fuit comes itineris nostri is praesentium exhibitor dominus videlicet Sigismundus,¹ aulicus Vestrae Maiestatis, qui ob respec-

¹ There are no further records on Ferdinand's *aulicus* by the name of Siegmund.

5 tum Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis nobis optimam fecit societatem et conduxit nos Tridentum usque, uti Vestra Maiestas Sacratissima nobis dixerat. Gratias igitur agimus immensas Vestrae Maiestati, quae nobis dignata est providere de idoneo comite, supplicamusque eidem, velit sua munificentia regia rependere huic bono viro labores, quos nobiscum pertulit iuxta mandatum Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis.

10 [2.] Sumus nunc hic Tridenti, Sacratissime Rex, et cogimur relinquere comitivam reverendissimi domini nostri cardinalis Tridentini,² tum ob absentiam reverendissimi domini Lundensis,³ oratoris maiestatis caesareae, tum potissimum ob adversam valetudinem alterius nostrum, Quinqueecclesiensis videlicet, qui incidit in dolores pedum, postquam huc applicuit, propter quem casum uterque cogetur Bononiam usque navigio
15 devehi. Accelerabimus tamen iter nostrum, quam maxime poterimus, ut eo citius bene terminemus res regni Hungariae, quod avide expectat a nobis bonum finem. Maie-

statem Vestram Sacratissimam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Ex Tridento 17. Ianuarii 1536.

Eiusdem Vestrae Maiestatis Sacratissimae

20 servitores et capellani humiles
frater Franciscus de Frangepan subscripsit
Stephanus Brodericus
Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

Litteris Tridentinis⁴

25 De mego [?] Comititis a[...] sole
De pace inter principes suos cito facienda
De acceptis litteris et intructionibus
Opinio Colocensis de Cibinio, quod Ioannes eam non acceptabit [...] eius voluntas capta fuerit.

30 Lasces admonet Maiestatem Vestram eorum, quae subinscripta sunt, ut manuteneantur ei, alioqui posse non mediocres inde difficultates Maiestati Vestrae emergere.
Zara mittet ad Petrum Crusits [hominum serafinum vicar itere fluminis] [?]
Litteras Maiestatis Vestrae ad bassam Bosnensem misit per nepotem suum.

On the outer side: Sacratissimae Regiae Maiestati Romanorum etc. domino clementissimo.

² Cardinal Bernhard Cles, Bishop of Trident, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

³ Johann Wese, Archbishop of Lund.

⁴ Litteris... nepotem suum on a separate slip of paper with other handwriting. It is not sure, wether this slip of paper really belongs to the original letter.

Safe Conduct by Charles V to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
[Naples],¹ 4 February 1536

Manuscript used: HHStA, RHR, Miscellanea gratialia, Fasc. 72. Konv. 1.²

Charles V guarantees in a safe conduct valid for four months for legates Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics, who are about to embark on a visit to him, that they themselves and any members of their retinue will not be harmed on their journey or on their journey back

Carolus etc.

Recognoscimus et notum facimus tenore praesentium universis, quod nos venerabilibus et honorabilibus devotis sincere nobis dilectis frater Francisco de Frangepanibus et Stephano Broderico zz. illustris Ioannis comitis Scepusiensis³ oratoribus
5 nostrum liberum, plenum et saluum conductum veniendi ad nos et recedendi a nobis, redeundique ad loca sibi secunda dedimus et concessimus, eosque affidavimus et assecuravimus, quemadmodum damus, concedimus, affidamus et assecuramus per praesentes ita, quod sub harum vigore et sub verbo nostro caesareo fideque publica, quam
10 eis per litteras nostras damus et promittimus, quodcumque post harum emanationem sibi placuerit unacum collegis, ministris ac cum quibuscunque personis equestribus sive pedestribus intra spatium quattuor mensium a data praesentium computandum ad Nos et curiam nostram libere et sine omni impedimento accedere et venire, agereque et exorare apud nos ea omnia, quae ipsis per dominum suum commissae sunt, et quae
15 quando ipsis visum fuerit, cum praefatis collegis, ministris et universo comitatu suo descendere ad loca sibi secunda libere possunt.

Promittimus etiam per praesentes, quod si praefati oratores et collegae ac ministri sui se (ut par est) huic nostro salvo conductui conformes gesserint, nec per nos, nec per aliquem alium ulla vis, violentia, litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo
20 conductu eisdem aut suis vel alicui ipsorum inferetur. Ille vero, qui saluum conductum hunc nostrum violaverit iuxta demeritum puniatur.

Praeterea si sub hoc quattuor mensium ut supra spatio dictos oratores aut eorum collegas et suos eorumne aliquem adversa valetudine correptum diutius quam quod noster praesens saluus conductus continet, decumbere contingeret, pari modo promittimus
25 illum esse sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum, usque quo convaluerit, ad redi-

¹ The place is not specified in the letter extant in a draft, but since Charles V was staying in Naples between November 1535 and March 1536, the safe conduct must be dated there.

² The draft is torn at the edges.

³ Since the Habsburgs did not acknowledge Szapolyai as king, they referred to him in diplomatic letters as Voivod of Transylvania or Count of Szepes in every case.

tumque suum ad loca sibi secunda post talem eius aegritudinem prolongamus ad 60 dies hunc nostrum saluum conductum.⁴

Mandantes graviter et serio praecipientes universis et singulis principibus ecclesiasticis et saecularibus, praelatis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, praefectis, iudicibus, consulibus, burgimagistris, locumtenentibus, rectoribus, officialibus et ceteris quibuscunque nostris et Imperii Sacri atque aliorum regnorum et dominiorum nostrorum subditis dilectis cuiuscunque status, gradus, dignitatis, ordinis aut conditionis existunt, sub indignatione nostra gravissima et poena violati salvi conductus et fidae publicae quatenus praefatos oratores, collegas et ministros et personas per totum tempus, quo nos et curiam nostram ibunt, et in ea versabuntur, et negotia domini sui vel sua tractabunt, et ad loca sibi tuta et commoda redibunt, illaesos et indemnes ire et redire permittant, eisque in nullo prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferre praesum[ant], sed potius in hoc nostro salvo conductu eos manuteneant, atque ab [omni] et quocunque periculo seu
invasione defendant, ac in omnibus humani[ssime ac] officiose tractent, quatenus poenas praefatas malint evitare. Datum. etc. Sub inscriptione manus nostrae et impressione nostri sigilli a tergo die 4. Februarii 1536.

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István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh
Naples, 26 February 1536

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára, P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 301.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 569.

Informs Miklós Oláh that the peace talks have been moved to Naples from Vienna, that is why they have travelled there. Asks Oláh to offer his services to Queen Maria, whose court he left 9 years earlier against his wish.

Carissime Domine et Frater, salutem plurimam et commendationem.

Tamdiu nec tu quicquam ad me scribis nec ego ad te, licet et ego te ut fratrem amem, et eundem affectum in te esse erga me non dubitem.¹ Statum rerum nostrarum aperte intelligis. Tamdiu tractata est pax Viennae, ut huc nunc sit translata.² Hic, speramus,

⁴ Although prolonging its validity because of illness is a standard part of a *salvus conductus*, in this case it is still important, because we know from the previous letter that gout tormented Brodarics so strongly already in mid-January that the delegation had to travel from Trident to Bologna by ship. His condition would not improve: in April he wrote to Miklós Oláh that he was going to use the break in the talks to visit the medicinal springs in Siena and get himself treated.

¹ As far as we know, they exchanged letters for the last time in 1533.

² After unsuccessful bargaining with Ferdinand, King John approached Emperor Charles V directly with an offer for peace in November 1535. The legation lead by Brodarics and Frangepán travelled to visit the Emperor, who was staying in Italy, to negotiate this.

5 bonum exitum habebit. Quod Deus concedere dignetur, bonorum omnium largitor, fortuna caesaris et fratris. Rogo Tuam Dominationem, ut meam humillimam servitutem in gratiam sacrae reginalis maiestatis, dominae meae clementissimae commendare velis. Cui, si ob meum ex Posonio³ a se et a vobis discessum adhuc indignatur, possem vere illud dicere, quod est apud poetam:

10 *Invitus regina tuo de limine cessi,
Sed me fata Deum, quae nunc has ire per undas etc.
Impertiis egere suis.*⁴

Scribe iam tandem aliquid ad me saltem provocatus. Et optime vale.
Neapoli XXVI. Februarii anno a Christo nato 1536.

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Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics
Gent, 30 March 1536

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 301–305.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 569–574.

1. He was pleased to get Brodarics' letter, from which he has learnt that Brodarics, in spite of the distance and the time that passed, preserved his friendly attitude towards him. He assures Brodarics that he, too remembers him. – 2. He has been refraining from writing because they belong to different parties and did not want to incriminate themselves, not even unfoundedly, in the eyes of their rulers. – 3. Now it is up to Brodarics and Frangepán to create peace in the present favourable situation, or else the Turks or the discord of the parties make the country perish. – 4. He spoke to Queen Maria on Brodarics' behalf. Although she still resents that Brodarics left her, if she sees him succeed for the country, it may ease her soul. – 5. He is at a good place in Maria's court; he lives in peace, enjoys court life and has scholarly company; he only misses his old friends. – 6. He left Ferdinand's court fulfilling his promise to Maria on the one hand, whom she did not want to abandon in exile, on the other hand his relationship with Szalaházy deteriorated, and Szalaházy blocked his advancement at the court.

³ Brodarics joined the court in Pozsony after the lost battle of Mohács, so in the beginning he belonged to the camp of Maria and Ferdinand. For various reasons, he still joined Szapolyai in March 1527. (On this, see the letter by Brodarics on 18 March 1527.) Oláh admonished him for his defection in a letter dated 18 February 1530.

⁴ Virgil, *Aeneis* VI, 460–461.; 463. Almost the same lines appear in Brodarics' letter to Oláh on 8 March 1533. Oláh, perhaps not without a bit of irony, played with the repeated apologies in his letter in verse to Imre Kálnai in 1536: *Calvinus cum Forgaciis mihi saepe recursat / Sibiricusque animum possidet usque meum / Et Brodericus erit, quamvis de litore nostro / Invitus cessit, praesul in ore meo*. See Nicolaus OLAHUS, *Carmina*, Lipsiae, 1934, 11. [In Hungarian: *Kálnaim és Forgáchék sokszor jutnak eszembe / Sibirik mindmáig itt a szivembe lakik / és Brodarics püspök! Nem szünök róla beszélni, / bár „partunkról, nem szívesen, tovatűnt.”* (Trans.: Hegyi György.) See KLANICZAY Tibor (ed.), *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták*, Budapest, 1982, 327.]

[1.] Accepi tuas, Reverendissime Praesul, hesterno die litteras¹ 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
 5 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* tantam esse posse, quae me in oblivionem tui adduceret, aut me Protheo² mutabiliorum, ut meis, quorum tu magis, quam alii, conscius es, moribus et affectibus mutatis veteris illius tuae in me *τῆς φιλανθρωπίας* et
 10 meae rursus in te *τῆς δουλείας, τῆς φιλῆς* non inmeminerim? Potestne aliquid eiusce- modi coniecturae in mentem tibi venire? Nonne a pueritia fere mea tu magna semper me persecutus fuisti humanitate et benevolentia?³ Ac contra ego quoque te ut dominum et alterum parentem observavi, colui, suspexi et veneratus sum, nihilque etiam aut prioribus Ludovici⁴ regis et domini nostri communis aut posterioribus temporibus
 15 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 tem- pore, quo de te non cogitarim. Tecum frequenter pransus sum, tecum somniavi, tecum collocutus sum. At me haec tibi vana praedicare putas?

20 *Οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεῖῃ ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἕρας
 Οἴκαδ' ἑ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἥμαρ ἰδέσθαι*⁵

Ut haec vera sunt. Quarum rerum testes sunt amici mei praesentes, quibuscum con- versor, testes absentes, apud quos in meis litteris frequentem de te feci mentionem, maxime Ioannem archiepiscopum Lundensem,⁶ Cornelium Scepperum⁷ et Ioannem
 25 Burgium,⁸ dum in Anglia oratorem agebat pontificis.

[2.] Quid itaque causae sit, cur nihil scripserim,⁹ quaeris? Partium nostrarum diver- sarum factio et studium, quod licet invitissimum, tamen quoquomodo me a scribendo retraxit, ne susurriones 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 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

¹ See the previous letter.

² Proteus is Poseidon's son in Greek mythology known for his shape-shifting ability.

³ According to our present knowledge, Brodarics was by no means a real sponsor of Oláh. What is more likely is that at one time they both belonged to the circle of György Szatmári, where the older, more respected Brodarics might have encouraged the first steps of the young Humanist.

⁴ Louis II.

⁵ Homer, *Ulysses*, VIII, 465–466.

⁶ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese, diplomat of Charles V, with whom Miklós Oláh maintained a correspondence.

⁷ Cornelius Schepper, like Wese, diplomat of Charles V, correspondent with Miklós Oláh.

⁸ Baron Giovanni Burgio was a papal legate in Hungary in the years before Mohács, in 1524–1526.

⁹ Oláh and Brodarics seems to have exchanged letters the last time in 1533.

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 conferre
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
40 sollicitudine perditum illud regnum, patria nostra funditus non intereat nostra hac tem-
pestate. Quod ut cures, ac publicae potius quieti, paci et saluti, quam privatorum ali-
quorum 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 se ipsum desolabit, perdet et con-
45 sumet. Si vero, quod Deus avertat, aliquo domus Austriacae infortunio vicini vestri
albo capuciati¹⁰ modica arrepta occasione, vel morte unius ex vobis, quae est, ut alia
omnia nostra, in manu Dei sita, Hungariam rursus non modo invaserint, sed occu-
paverint, et istic pedes sedemque, quod ipsi intendunt, sed vos non creditis, fixerint,
quae servitus nostram miseram nationem, quae etiam nunc apud externos populos tum
50 multas ob res, tum maxime ob commercium Turcicum pessime ubique audit, non
manebit? Vertetur Hungaria in praedam, officia, praefecturas, et τὴν πολυκοιρανίαν,
Graecorum more, tyrannidi et servituti infidelium erit subiecta. Olim in toto orbe
nominatissima et Christianis etiam omnibus principibus formidolosa, nedum Turcis.
Nunc ergo, dum adhuc tempus est, et periculum anteverti potest, adhibendus est modus
55 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 spe-
ciem reducatur, nosque omnes quandoquidem meliorem annorum nostrorum partem
iam transegimus, in pace in hac extrema aetate nostra Deo et nobis servire possimus.
Cuius rei fundamentum si nunc apud caesarem non statueritis, nescio, an postea
60 unquam talem boni aliquid faciendi nanciscemini occasionem. Quodsi concordaveritis,
quid obstat utraque factioni in mutuam amicitiam reductae, quin et arces finitimas
regni, in quibus status pendet Hungariae, Turca in Persia occupato, et forsitan nunquam
reversuro, non magno labore recuperare possint, et fines suos ita extendere, proferre et
munire, ut et praeteritam ab aliquot iam annis acceptam ignominiam nova virtute sint
65 recuperaturi, et Hungariae pacem perpetuam acquisituri. Quare, Reverendissime Prae-
sul, tuae est industriae, prudentiae, virtutis et officii, ut una cum reverendissimo Colo-
censi¹¹ ad id totas animi vires tuas intendas, quo vestris consiliis, cura et opera primum
Hungariae et vobis ipsis, deinde nobis pax et tranquillitas in hac vestra legatione requi-
ratur. Date operam, ut quod per hos annos nescio, an fato magis omnium nostrum
70 adverso, quam malis improborum hominum consiliis in illius Gordiani nodi modum
involutum erat, vestra prudentia et cura nunc, dum occasio divinitus praebita est, dis-
solvatur. Rem plane conclamatam vos restaurate, et in tranquillum deducite finem.
Modum quaeritis, quo pacto id fiat. Litteris ea de re, ut difficile est, ita insecurem

¹⁰ I.e. the Turks.

¹¹ Ferenc Frangepán was a fellow legate of Brodarics during his trip to Italy in 1536.

agere, sed rem pro maiori [!] parte confeceritis, si publicae potius salutis, quam pri-
75 vati commodi rationem habueritis.

[4.] Quod ad serenissimam reginam meam¹² attinet, acceptis litteris tuis mox maie-
statem suam accessi, et ut iussisti, tuam illi servitutem diligentius, quam a me fieri
potuit, commendavi, multisque de te ultro citroque habitis verbis dixit se quoque lit-
teras a te accepisse,¹³ et illas mihi daturam. Quod tunc fieri non potuit, quia ob ple-
80 raque alia negotia non dabatur ei otium illas perquirendi. Quae tametsi ingrato animo
ferat tuam a nobis profectionem,¹⁴ tamen animi eius alienati mitigatio hinc ex maiori
[!] parte fieri poterit, si viderit res Hungaricas, quibus ipsa mirum in 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
85 nominis Hungarici decore et illius ac suae quoque, ut dicit, patriae salute. Verum hac
de re plura cum sua maiestate agam. Nunc cum posthac erat in procinctu abeundi, nolui
his meis litteris vacuum ad te eum abire. De ceteris plura 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 volup-
tatem, si quis eam magni facit, pertineat, referta patria, atque in summo otio, quiete et
90 tranquillitate, in nulloque defectu praeterquam, quod a patria et amicis veteribus absim.
Quod mihi ab aulicis rebus et conversatione virginum reginae, ad quam te Posonii,¹⁵ si
memini, hortabar, superest temporis, id consumo partim lectionibus theologicis, partim
aliis honestis occupationibus. Nec amicorum conversationes, bonorum et doctorum
95 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, aliquando venit mihi in mentem:

*Ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἢς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκῆων
γίγνεται εἴπερ τίς καὶ ἀπόπροθι πίονα οἶκον
100 γαίῃ ἐν ἁλλοδαπῇ ναίει ἀπάνευθε τοκῆων.*¹⁶

Huius rei causa cuperem aliquando pacem domi fore, ut in uno ovili sub uno pastore
concluderemur excluso Turcarum commercio.

[6.] Quaeris, cur a rege tam longe abiverim? Primum volui pro suscepto fidei et
integritatis meae officio reginam in medio peregrinationis non deserere, bonique viri
105 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 et nostrarum
partium hominum grassatorum concertationem ac tragoediam procul audire, quam
coram oculis intueri. Postremo quia iam ab eo tempore, quo Thomas Vesprimiensis
episcopus tempore Ludovici regis frustratus erat officio cancellarii, et tu ad hanc

¹² Miklós Oláh left Hungary as Secretary of Maria Habsburg.

¹³ Unfortunately, there is no known letter by Brodarics to Maria from the year 1536.

¹⁴ Brodarics left the court of Maria Habsburg 9 years earlier and joined Szapolyai.

¹⁵ Brodarics stayed in Pozsony in the vicinity of Queen Maria and so of Miklós Oláh from September 1526 until March 1527.

¹⁶ Homer, *Ulysses*, IX, 34–36.

110 dignitatem admissus,¹⁷ simultas erat inter me et ipsum orta, quae et Posonii, quia videbat me omnibus viribus tam antea quam Posonii tibi potius addictum, quam 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
 115 promotiones in curia nostra illae magnificorum nominum, titulorum et hominum, quos ego certe tanti facio, quanti faciebam illum ipsum, quem dixi horum auctorem.¹⁸ Macedonis¹⁹ nostri mors maiorem mihi millies dolorem iniecit, quam si viginti per illum etiam sordidos homines mihi praelatos esse vidissem. Nam non admodum cupidus honoris et divitiarum, utpote qui sciam neminem moriendi necessitatem vitare
 120 posse, quantumcunque ambitiosum et divitem. Satis esse putavi, quod Deus mihi parca dedit manu, voluique custodia mea,²⁰ quae licet desertam domum, sed non parvam habet vim vinorum²¹ et aliarum rerum. Quam tu, quamcunque in partem, modo non Turcicam, res Hungarica devolvatur, mihi integram conservare velis, oro. Habes et statum meum praesentem, et causam tam longinquaе meae peregrinationis. Quod reliquum
 125 est, Deus te conservet ad meliora tempora incolumem et felicem, concedatque, ut aliquando una esse possimus. Me certo scito, hac una, ut dicit ille, regia causa excepta, τῷ σώματι τε καὶ ψυχῇ, 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 lice-
 130 bit, ordinatim certiore facias. Gandavi XXX. Martii 1536.

¹⁷ Louis II appointed Brodarics Chancellor under strong papal pressure in March 1526, so the earlier Chancellor, Bishop of Veszprém Tamás Szalaházy, was deprived of the chance to fill the position.

¹⁸ On the relationship of Szalaházy and Oláh more recently, see: FAZEKAS István, *Szalaházy Tamás, egy Habsburg-hű főpap portréja*, Történelmi Szemle, 2007, 27–29.

¹⁹ László Macedóniai (around 1479–1536), one time Bishop of Szerém, who gave up the position for Brodarics in 1526 and became Provost of Pécs in exchange. He met Brodarics and Miklós Oláh back in the 1520s, when they all belonged to the circle of Bishop of Pécs György Szatmári. More on his life: K. OBERMAYER Erzsébet–HORVÁTH István Károly, *Macedóniai László. Egy humanista élete és működése a Mohács körüli évtizedekben*, Századok, 1959, 773–801.

²⁰ Miklós Oláh became *Custos* of Székesfehérvár in 1527, after Ferdinand appointed his predecessor Miklós Gerendi Bishop of Transylvania. His benefices as *Custos* later fell into the hands of Bálint Török. Oláh tried to get them back through litigation for years in vain.

²¹ Several estates near Sümeg were part of the benefices of Oláh.

István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh
Rome, 22 April 1536

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 305–306.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 574–575.

1. He was pleased to get Oláh's letter, but he can only reply briefly due to his illness, because he is travelling to the baths in Siena. – 2. He hopes he can earn the good will of Queen Maria as soon as it becomes clear how much he has been working for the sake of her brothers. – 3. In connection to the Hungarian issue, Ferenc Frangepán and Bishop of Lund Johann Wese will be sent to John. Brodarics waits for their decision in Italy. The Pope is sending a legate to Hungary soon for the sake of peace.

Clarissime Vir, Domine et Frater Honorande. Salutem et commendationem.

[1.] Ad litteras tuas,¹ quae mihi gratissimae fuerunt, cogor paucis respondere, cum non satis validus ob longam, quam ex multis laboribus contraxi, aegritudinem ac renum incommoda, tum in procinctu nunc eundi hac ipsa de causa ad balnea Senensia
5 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.²

[2.] De serenissimae reginae, dominae nostrae clementissimae in me animo quid
10 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 interim rogo, non cessas eius maiestatem mihi reddere placabilem. Quo non est aliud,
15 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 conclusionem reverendissimus dominus Lundensis,³ bonus amicus tuus et magnus rerum
20 tuarum fautor ad serenissimum regem meum proficiscatur, cum reverendissimo domino Agriensi⁴ Frangepano, 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

¹ See the previous letter.

² Miklós Oláh returned to Hungary only in 1542, where his career took him as far as becoming Archbishop of Esztergom. Brodarics did not live to see that. On this part of Oláh's life recently, see: FAZEKAS István, *Oláh Miklós esztergomi érsek udvara (1553–1568)* = G. ETÉNYI Nóra–HORN Ildikó (eds.), *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században*, Budapest, 2005, 343–360.

³ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese was commissioned legate of Charles V concerning Hungarian affairs.

⁴ Ferenc Frangepán was a fellow legate of Brodarics during their trip in Italy in 1536.

dubitare.⁵ Missurus est brevi et pontifex unum ex reverendissimis cardinalibus huius rei gratia in Hungariam.⁶ Nova inter caesarem et Gallum⁷ vos scitis melius. Pro libellis iucundissimis ago gratias amplissimas, et me totum Vestrae Dominationi commendo, 25 quae rogo, ut me commendare dignetur domino Cornelio Sceppero.⁸ Vestra Dominatio felix valeat nostri memor.

Romae XXII. Aprilis anno 1536.

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Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics
Brussels, 18 June 1536

Manuscript used: MOL, Esterházy-család hercegi ágának levéltára,
P 108, Repositorium 71, Fasc. 23., fol. 306–308.

Published: IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 576–578.

1. Gabriel Xanthus gave him Brodarics' letter of 22 April. He is sad to hear about the illness of Brodarics, especially about his kidney problems, about which he himself is worried; as soon as he obtains proper medicine he will share it with Brodarics. – 2. If Hungary was really peaceful, he would consider returning home. What prevented him so far was the chaotic state of the country and his promise to Queen Maria. – 3. He could get some position from Ferdinand as well, but he is content with his fate. – 4. He has passed the message of Brodarics to the Queen and Brodarics can count on his further recommendations. – 5. He has learnt from the letter of Johann Wese that Wese and Frangepán travelled to Hungary already; he hopes they will be successful. – 6. He trusts that God will properly punish the French King for his deceitful machinations some time in the future. – 7. Cornelius Schepper returns Brodarics' greetings.

[1.] Gabriel Xanthus,¹ protonotarius apostolicus, nuntius serenissimi Romanorum regis apud Sedem Apostolicam, quocum mihi iam a multis annis non vulgaris fuit amicitia, misit ad me ex Urbe litteras tuas XXII Aprilis praeteriti datas, mihi vero hic

⁵ Recently, Zoltán Korpás has written a summary of the talks in the spring of 1536 using important Spanish sources. See KÖRÖSI Zoltán, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008, 171–172.

⁶ The papal court wanted to send Bishop of Modena Giovanni to Hungary, whereas Charles V wanted to send Francisco de los Ángeles Quiñones, Cardinal of Santa Croce, but legates of Ferdinand hindered sending a legate for a long time. Finally, Paul III delegated Morone in October 1536, but only as nuncio, not as legate. See KÖRÖSI Zoltán, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008, 173–176.

⁷ Francis I, taking advantage of the fact that Charles V was engaged in battles in Tunis, attacked Northern Italy again in early 1536. This obviously impaired the chances for Charles V to take an active part in the defence of Hungary.

⁸ Cornelius Schepper maintained a friendly relationship with Miklós Oláh as their frequent correspondence indicates. See IPOLYI Arnold, *Oláh Miklós levelezése*, Budapest, 1875. *passim*.

¹ Gabriel Xanthus, Royal Secretary in Ferdinand Habsburg's court, friend of Miklós Oláh. His name comes up several times in Oláh's correspondence.

nudiustertius redditas.² Vix possum calamo perstringere, quanto dolore sim affectus,
5 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
10 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
15 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 ruinae, cladi et periculo interesse. Malui praeter
20 alias causas, quas antea ad Te perscripsi, officio boni viri iampridem a me suscepto apud reginam meam inter omnes alios Hungaros satisfacere, quam istic ea intueri, quae nollem. Cuius rei me hactenus non poenituit.³ Nisi enim membrum essem Hungariae, et nonnihil patriae me debere putarem, nescio an alibi, quam hic animam Deo reddere mallem.

[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 benivolentia, quae non aliter, quam oraculum Apollinis mihi a primis annis perspecta sunt, ago et habeo gratias immortales, relaturus perpetuas pace omnium nostrum parta. 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
30 casu huc conferre noluissem, et si Dei potius, quam hominum promotionem non exspectavissem. Quid igitur velis intelligere, cupio a Te certior fieri. Quo in proposito tuo permanere velis, si id mihi salutare imprimis, et umeris meis ferendum esse existimaveris. Nam:

35 *Cui non conveniet sua res: ut calceus olim,
Si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.*⁴

[4.] Serenissimae reginae meae non modo commendavi, ut iussisti, servitia tua, sed 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,
40 quod ad rem tuam commendandam pertinet, sicuti hactenus feci, nihil a me praetermittetur.

² See the previous letter.

³ One can detect from the letter of Oláh that he, unlike Brodarics – who defected to Szapolyai from Maria in 1527 –, did not break his word and never regretted the decision, because he did not have to witness all the horrors that Brodarics had to experience at home.

⁴ Horace, *Epistulae*, I, 10, 42–43.

[5.] Reverendissimum dominum Lundensem⁵ cum reverendissimo domino Frangepano⁶ ad Hungariam profecturos iampridem ex litteris ipsius Lundensis intellexeram. Faxit Deus, ut rebus istic e bono publico utilitateque reipublicae Christianae cito con-
45 fectis felices revertantur, de quorum fine rogo te, velis me certiolem facere, elabora-
reque 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,

*Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*⁷

50 [6.] De Gallo⁸ res omnis nobis est cognita, de quo taceo potius, quam aliquid dicam. Hoc unum spero Deum tot malarum rerum et toties turbatae reipublicae Christianae auctorem, quisquis is sit, vindicaturum. Tot inita et iam in lucem prodita consilia, tot nuntii et litterae interceptae, tot irritamenta hostium Christi conveniuntne catholico principi? Credo satis eum negotii undique habiturum.

55 [7.] Cornelium Scepperum⁹ 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.

Bruxellae 18. Iunii anno 1536.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Bologna, 18 July 1536

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 28. Konv. F, fol. 43–44.

Published: ETE III., 90–91.

1. Brodarics informs Ferdinand that Ferenc Kápolnay looted again in estates that belong to the bishopric and in possessions of the Provostship of Budafelrhévíz. – 2. He requests the King that even if he cannot keep Kápolnay in check, he should forbid his own people supporting Kápolnay, because if he is left to himself, defence against him is easier. He would regret if the King preferred a well-known thief to him who is so busy serving Ferdinand.

Serenissime et Auguste Princeps, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Doleo toties Vestram Maiestatem molestare, immo obtundere pro hoc eodem negotio. Pergit rursus Franciscus Kápolnay, quod ex litteris fratris mei¹⁰ proxime ad me

⁵ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese negotiated with legates of Szapolyai Brodarics and Frangepán as commissioner of Charles V.

⁶ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

⁷ Virgil, *Aeneis*, I, 607–609.

⁸ French King Francis I, who once again launched an attack on Spanish territories in Northern Italy in the summer of 1536.

⁹ On Cornelius Schepper see the notes for the previous letter.

¹⁰ The letter by Mátyás Brodarics referred to here is lost.

5 datis accepi, mihi et meis facere negotium et mille vexationes. Rursus occupavit quasdam ad ecclesiam meam item ad praeposituram Aquarum calidarum Budensium,¹¹ quam hospitali egenorum retuli Vestrae Maiestati esse dicatam, pertinentes possessiones. Addidit his diebus et alia multa meorum spolia.

[2.] Oro, obsecro, supplico humillime Vestrae Sacrae Maiestati, si ipse ab huiusmodi insolentiis prohiberi non potest, nec dicto vult esse oboediens, prohibeantur
10 saltem alii servitores Vestrae Maiestatis, ne eum contra me adiuvant. Ego enim ab ipso me facile tuebor, si alii eum non iuverint. Et hoc cum ego dies et noctes cum tanto rerum mearum et valetudinis damno in his elaborem, quae sunt ad gloriam et commodum Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis et clarissimae illius familiae expensis infinitis in hoc
15 factis, indignissimum certe putarem, si Vestra Sacra Maiestas, sapientissimus alioqui et optimus princeps plus uni publico latroni ac praedoni faveret, quam mihi tantos labores in bonum et commodum Vestrae Maiestatis facienti.

Meam humillimam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis humiliter commendando. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

20 Bononiae, 18. Iulii 1536.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

humilis servitor
Stephanus Brodericus
Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum Regi etc. semper Augusto Domino Clementissimo

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István Brodarics to Charles V
Padua, 27 November 1536

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 29. Konv. C, fol. 37–38.

1. The Emperor must have heard about the Turkish fortress built on the Sava river. – 2. The Turks are constantly trying to occupy dioceses of Pécs and Zagreb, which protect Italy, especially the area between the Drava and the Sava rivers. Castles here, especially Zagreb and Varasd, can serve as bridgeheads for attacks

¹¹ Budafelhévíz, Pilis county. It was Béla III who donated the Provostship of the Augustinian order named after the Holy Trinity to the hospitaller canons of Esztergom. The institution that had been functioning as a co-chapter since 1445 served as a *locus credibilis* as well as nursing the sick. A recently found *supplicatio* seems to suggest that Brodarics had the possessions of the Provostship. He approached Pope Adrian VI back on 17 June 1523 with the request to give him Provostship of Budafelhévíz that became vacant when György Szatmári was appointed Archbishop of Esztergom. According to the *supplicatio*, he got it. (See ASV Reg. Suppl. 1787. fol 57r–v. – I am thankful to Bálint Lakatos for this piece of data.) More fully on the history of the Provostship, see NÉMETHY Lajos, *Adatok a budafelhévízi Szent-Háromságról nevezett prépostság és káptalan történetéhez*, Budapest, 1883. Bereka and Széplak in Tolna county could be the two estates of the Provostship that Kápolnay could reach and loot.

on Italy and the Holy Roman Empire, just as capturing Belgrade helped the attacks against Hungary.
– 3. He is sending a description of the area to Charles. Charles should consider the defence of the area because what can be done with 100 soldiers today cannot be done with 1000 or 10,000 tomorrow. Belgrade could have been kept with little cost when it was lost, and now recovering it has a high price: big effort, huge costs and a sea of Christian blood.

Sacratissimo Imperatore, Signor Clementissimo.

[1.] La Maestà Vostra credo che sarà avisata, come li turchi questa estate passata edificorno e fortificorno un castello¹ sopra la ripa dela Zava per poter havere tanto più libero et breve passo ali danni deli christiani.

5 [2.] Dapoi hanno preso parecchi castelli in quelle parte, partim in la diocoesi Quinquesecclesiensi partim in Zagrabiensi e vanno continuo occupando et spogliando quella provincia, che è tra la Drava et la Sava a modo de una isola, provincia tanto bella, fertile et abundante, che non si può dir più, e non è dubio nissuno, che la occuparanno tutta fina ale confine de Stiria et Carinthia, occupando et fortificando doe terre, che
10 sonno nel capo di questa provintia verso Stiria et Carinthia, una se chiama Zagrabia, che è sopra la ripa dela Zava, e guarda Carinthia, Carniola et Italia, cioè Friuli; l'altra se chiama Varaschino, che guarda la Stiria, Austria, Tyroli et Alemaniam, donde loro meteranno li soi presidii, come hanno fatto de Belgrado et de certi altri luoghi appresso il Danubio, per haver passo in Ungaria.

15 E sapia la Maestà Vostra Clementissima, chi considera bene questa cosa, molto più grande sarà questa perdita e più pericolosa ala christianità per terra, che non fu quella de Belgrado, e sapia la Maestà Vostra Clementissima, che li turchi apparecchiano la intrata in Italia et Alemagna per questi luoghi.

[3.] Et acciò che la Maestà Vostra Clementissima sia meglio instrutta del tutto,
20 mando ala Maestà Vostra Clementissima la descriptione² de quella provincia con agionta deli paesi vicini. Et la Maestà Vostra Clementissima, per amor delo onnipotente Dio, voglia pensar de remedio et *principiis obsta*. Quello che adesso se potria far con cento, per modo de dire, non se farà poi con mille, né con diecimila. Belgrado se poteva retegnire con poca spesa, quando fu perso. Adesso non si può recuperare, se non
25 con grandissima forza et infinita spesa, e effusione del sangue christiano.

La Maestà Vostra Clementissima me perdoni, suplico a Quella humilmente, la necessitade de quelli paesi me constringe esser importuno. E Dio conservi la Maestà Vostra Clementissima sempre sana, gaiarda et vittoriosa, in la gratia dela quale la mia servitù humilmente ricomando.

30 Patavii, XXVII. Novembris anno MDXXXVI.

¹ Doubtless identification of the fortress mentioned by Brodarics seems impossible. The most likely solution is Kobas *castellum* in Pozsega county (Giletkastély, today: Kobaš, Croatia), which was an important crossing place. The Turks conquered and fortified it in 1536.

² This description is lost or its whereabouts is unknown.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Clementissimae Maiestatis

humillimus s[ervulus]
et c[apellanus]
Quin[queecclesiensis]³

35 pagando tanto[?]

On the outer side: Sacratissimae et Invictissimae Caesareae et Catholicae Maiestati etc.
Domino semper Clementissimo

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Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I to István Brodarics Vienna, 21 December 1536

Manuscript used: HHStA, RHK, Reichsregisterbücher Ferdinand I., Band 2., fol. 256v;¹
HHStA, RHR, Miscellanea gratialia, Konv. 1.²

Ferdinand's safe conduct for Brodarics to return home from Italy. It ensures that Brodarics himself and his servants can travel across territories under Ferdinand's control with all their luggage, unharmed. It stipulates, however, that Brodarics has to go directly to Vienna where he will get another safe conduct for the way to Hungary.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod nos Reverendissimum Stephanum Brodericum ex Italia domum redire cupientem de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu affidavimus et assecravimus, sicut affidamus et assecramus per praesentes. Ita,
5 quod sub harum vigore et sub verbo nostro regio fideque publica, quam ei per has nostras damus et promittimus, securus et salvus una cum familia et rebus suis omnibus per dominia et patrias nostras hereditarias iter facere libereque et absque omni impedimento proficisci possit et valeat, eo tamen pacto et conditione, ut sese recta huc ad curiam nostram conferre debeat, quo cum venerit, ei rursus alias salvi conductus
10 litteras, quibus hinc ad loca sibi secure ire queat, daturi sumus. Promittentes etc. [*per praesentes quod nec per nos nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia, litisfactio et*

35 pagando tanto alia manu

8 *post impedimento del. ad civitatem nostram Vienna*
nam HHStA RHR

9 *post nostram del. contendere HHStA RHR*

9 *post venerit del. cum de alio salvo conductu HHStA*
RHR

³ The corner of the paper is torn off, so the signature is readable only partially, but it is certainly Brodarics' handwriting.

¹ Only important parts of the *salvus conductus* were copied into the *Reichsregisterbücher*. Standard formulas were omitted.

² Draft; the parts in italics and square brackets are to be found only in the draft.

iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eidem vel alicui ex suis inferetur, sed quod ipse et sui sub hoc salvo conductu salvi et securi esse debeant et possint.] Item si accideret etc. [quod aliquis ex suis se huic salvo conductui nostro non conformiter
 15 *gereret ex tunc eidem Broderico nihil periculi, violentiae ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum saluum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.] Praeterea etc. [si contingeret eundem Brodericum vel aliquem ex suis in itinere aegrotare, promittimus illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum usque quo convaluerit.] Mandantes etc. [idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis generaliter*
 20 *nostris cuiuscunque status, conditionis, gradus, qualitatis aut ordinis officialibus et subditis tam spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet existentibus sub indignatione nostra gravissima et sub amissione capitis] quatenus praefatum [Stephanum] Brodericum per totum tempus, quo ex Italia una cum suis familiaribus huc ibit, illaesum et indemnem ire proficiscique sinant etc. [et permittant, eique et suis in nullo prorsus*
 25 *impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant seu inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio et sigilli nostri subpressione munitarum.]*

Datum Viennae, die XXI. Decembris Anno Domini 1536.

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István Brodarics to Bernhard Cles
 [Vienna], [second half of January 1537]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 130.²

Published: ETE III., 218–219.

Brodarics requests Bishop-Cardinal of Trident and High Chancellor Bernhard Cles to obtain him two safe conducts so that he can return home safely: one for himself, his servants and luggage as well as for his fellow travellers: Andrea Corsini of Florence and merchant Felix of Venice, the other for taking away his books left behind.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime.

Supplico Vestrae Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationi, dignetur facere expediri litteras salvi conductus, quarum vigore possim secure in patriam redire.³

5 Opus est mihi binis litteris salvi conductus, unis [!] pro persona, familia et his recu-

¹ There is no date in the letter. Even though it is placed in the *fasciculus* for letters in August, it is more likely to have been written in the second half of January 1537, when Brodarics was on his way home from Italy. It seems that he had left part of his luggage in Vienna until Spring thaw. The *salvus conductus* he asks for was issued on 4 February for him, Andrea Corsini, and a merchant of Venice by the name of Felix.

² Autograph.

³ Brodarics has got the requested two safe conducts: see the next document.

lis, quas mecum feram, in quibus apponatur etiam Andreas Corsinus Florentinus⁴ et Felix Venetus mercator, quibus ambobus indulsit maiestas regia mecum venire.

Aliae litterae sunt mihi necessariae pro aliis pluribus rebus meis mecum adductis ex Italia, quas nunc hic relinquo, ut soluta glacie per Danubium commodius Budam
10 deferantur. Res autem illae sunt pro maiori [!] parte libri.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationis
servitor obsequentissimus Stephanus Brodericus, nescio si Quinqueecclesiensis vel
potius futurus suffraganeus Tridentinus⁵ iuxta vaticinium Pauli Iovii.⁶

On the outer side: Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Domino meo observandissimo,
Domino Cardinali Tridentino, Summo Cancellario etc.

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Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I to István Brodarics Vienna, 4 February 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 30. Konv. B, fol. 13.¹

Ferdinand assures Brodarics and his fellow travellers Andrea Corsini and a merchant of Venice by the name of Felix that they can pass his territory unharmed on their way to Hungary.

Ferdinandus etc.

Notum facimus per praesentes, quod Nos Reverendissimum Stephanum Brodericum hinc ex Vienna in Hungariam et patriam suam revertentem de salvo conducto nostro assicurando duximus, sicut assicuramus harum vigore litterarum ita, quod possit et
5 valeat una cum familia et rebus suis omnibus, quas secum feret, simul et Andrea Corsino Florentino et Felice Veneto mercatore² libere et absque omni impedimento ad patrios lares redire, promittentes etiam sub verbo nostro regio et fide publica, quam ei per praesentes damus, quod nec per nos, nec per aliquem alium sibi vel alicui ex suis praefatis ulla vis, violentia aut iniuria inferetur, quoad ad loca sibi secunda pervenerint,
10 quin potius hoc nostro salvo conducto securus et salvus esse possit et debeat.

Mandantes idcirco et praecipientes universis et singulis generaliter nostris cuius-

8 *post pro del. rebus*

10 *post sunt del. ut*

⁴ Andrea Corsini, a secretary and commissioner of Szapolyai. Ferdinand imprisoned him in the Spring of 1535. It seems that he could be rescued only in late 1536 – early 1537, and he could return to Hungary in the company of Brodarics, who was heading home from Italy.

⁵ Brodarics seems to have been promised some benefices in Trident, but we have no further information on that.

⁶ Paolo Giovio (Paulus Iovius), Bishop of Nocera, historian.

¹ Draft.

² No particulars are known about merchant Felix of Venice.

cunque status aut ordinis officialibus et subditis tam spiritualibus quam saecularibus ubilibet constitutis sub indignatione nostra gravissima et amissione capitis et bonorum suorum quatenus praefatum Stephanum Brodericum unacum Andrea Corsino et Felice
15 Veneto totaque familia et bonis suis illaesum et indemnem in patriam suam proficisci sinant et permittant, eique et suis in nullo prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant aut inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas evitare voluerint. Harum testimonio litterarum sigilli nostri inpressione munitarum.

Datum Viennae 4. Februarii 1537.

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István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó (?)¹
[Várad?],² [Spring of 1537]³

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 33. Konv. B, fol. 212.⁴

Brodarics informs Thurzó that he has consulted king John on some confidential matters. Requests Thurzó to inform Ferdinand as well.

Magnifice Domine.

Heri fui apud maiestatem regiam.⁵ Locutus sum cum maiestate sua de quibusdam negotiis, quae nollem, quod pervenirent ad aures cuiusquam.⁶ Rogo igitur Vestram Magnificentiam, velit de hoc maiestatem suam⁷ admonere primo suo ad maiestatem
5 regiam aditu, ut maiestas sua faciat haec ob bonas causas.

Et Dominatio Vestra mihi hanc schedam remittere velit obsignatam.

Vestrae Dominationis
deditissimus
Sirmiensis

10 et Quinqueecclesiensis subscripsit

⁴ *post admonere del. in*

¹ The little slip of paper has been preserved as an attachment to an also undated letter of Matthias Loboczky, preserved as a draft (the name in it is Martin, incorrectly). The paper has neither date nor addressee, but the text suggests Elek Thurzó, because Brodarics sends word to Ferdinand by him.

² It may have been written in Várad, because Brodarics says that he has talked to Szapolyai, and his court usually stayed in Várad.

³ The letter has no date. In the HHStA it has been filed among documents from December 1537. Brodarics signed it as Bishop of Pécs and Szerém, but from May 1537 on he used the title Bishop of Vác only, so it was probably produced in the spring of 1537, sometime in March or April.

⁴ Autograph.

⁵ János Szapolyai.

⁶ May be a reference to the peace talks to be restarted with Ferdinand. These began in June 1537 in Körmöcbánya. Brodarics got a *salvus conductus* there from Ferdinand on 15 May.

⁷ Ferdinand I.

István Brodarics to Bernhard Cles¹
[Várad],² [the spring of 1537]³

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 33. Konv. B, fol. 213.⁴

Brodarics requests Archbishop of Trident Bernhard Cles in the name of Werbőczy and two other noblemen to use his influence with the King so that the latter has somebody sent to Kápolnay before harvest, as it was requested before.

Reverendissime Domine.

Supplicamus Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi cum domino Stephano Verbewci⁵ et cum duobus nobilebus collegis nostris, dignetur efficere, ut mittatur quispiam de curia maiestatis regiae ad Kápolnai illo modo, sicut ego maiestati regiae
5 supplicavi.

Recordetur et iam aliorum, de quibus habet meum memoriale.

Ad Kápolnai frustra esset mittere collectis frugibus.⁶

Servitor

Sirmiensis subscripsit

¹ The letter has no addressing, but it is certain from the salutation and the content that it is written to an influential ecclesiastic person in Ferdinand's environment, so we can presume that it is Cardinal-Archbishop Bernhard Cles, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

² It may have been written in Várad, because Brodarics says in the previous letter, which may have been written at the same time, that he has talked to Szapolyai, and Szapolyai's court usually stayed in Várad.

³ The letter, which, like the previous one, also has been preserved as an attachment to Matthias Loboczky's letter, is undated. In the HHStA it has been filed among documents from December 1537. Brodarics signed it as Bishop of Pécs and Szerém, but from May 1537 on he used the title Bishop of Vác only, so it was probably produced in the spring of 1537, sometime in March or April.

⁴ Autograph.

⁵ Chancellor István Werbőczy was one of the most important landowners in Tolna county, so it was in his best interest to stop Ferenc Kápolnay abusing his power in Southern Transdanubia.

⁶ The fact that Brodarics wants results in stopping Kápolnay before harvest also suggest a date in the spring.

Safe Conduct from Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Prague, 15 May 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. A, fol. 35.¹

Ferdinand assures Brodarics that, in the possession of this safe conduct, he can travel to Körmöcbánya to have talks with imperial legate Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese.

Ferdinandus etc.

Recognoscimus tenore praesentium, quod Nos Reverendum Stephanum Brodericum, episcopum Vaciensem de nostro pleno et amplissimo salvo conductu affidavimus et assecuravimus ita, quod sub harum vigore et verbo nostro regio fideque publica, quam ei
5 per has nostras damus et promittimus ad civitatem nostram Cremnitium² unacum uno vel duobus collegis, familia servitoribusque, quotquot voluerit, rebusque suis libereque et absque omni impedimento accedere, et ea, quae a Ioanne comite Scepusiensi in mandatis habuerit cum reverendo patre devoto sincere nobis dilecto, Ioanne archiepiscopo Lundensi³ et episcopo Roschildensi, sacrae caesareae et catholicae et regiae maiestatis, fratri
10 et domini nostri carissimi consiliario et per Germaniam oratore agere et tractare, eisque peractis vel infectis quandocunque sibi visum fuerit, descendere et ad loca sibi secunda unacum suis salvus et incolumis redire possit et valeat.

Promittentes etiam per praesentes, quod nec per nos, nec per aliquem alium aliqua vis, violentia, litisfactio ac iuris strepitus durante hoc nostro salvo conductu eidem vel
15 alicui ex suis inferetur. Item si contingeret aliquem ex suis huic salvo conductui nostro se non conformiter gessisse, ex tunc eidem Broderico vel collegae sive collegis suis nihil periculi, violentiae et litisfactionis ac iuris strepitus facturi sumus. Ille tamen, qui hunc nostrum salvum conductum infringet, iuxta demeritum puniatur.

Praeterea si sub hoc salvo conductu eundem vel aliquem ex suis adversa valetudine
20 correptum diutius, quam ipsius tractatio durabit, decumbere contingeret, promittimus

2 *apud* Brodaricum *in marg.* Quod nos N. oratorem vel oratores et commissarios Ioannis comiti Scepusiensis, quorum nomina post expressus sit, haberi volumus

4 *apud* ei *in marg.* eis

5 *apud* nostram *in marg.* ad quencunque locum regnorum et dominiorum nostrorum, de quo reverendus pater, devotus sincere nobis dilectus Ioannes archiepiscopus Lundensis et episcopus Roschildensis, sacrae caesariae et catholicae et regiae maiestatis consiliarius et per Germaniam orator cum eis convenerit unacum familia servitoribusque quotquot voluerint et rebus suis

8 *apud* habuerit *in marg.* habebunt

8 reverendo *suprascr.* dicto oratore caesareo

12 incolumis *suprascr.* salvi et incolumes

12 possit et valeat *suprascr.* int ... ant

14 eidem *suprascr.* eisdem

16 eidem *suprascr.* eisdem vel pluribus oratoribus et commissariis, tum

19 eundem *suprascr.* eosdem

20 ipsius *suprascr.* ipsorum

¹ Draft. It seems to have been written for Brodarics and his retinue originally, but later corrections (especially changes of references to Brodarics in singular to plural) show that later they reckoned with several legates whose names are unknown.

² Körmöcbánya (today: Kremnica, Slovakia).

³ Bishop of Lund Johann Wese.

illum sub eadem fide et verbo nostro securum, quousque convaluerit. Mandantes etc. quatenus praefatum Stephanum Brodericum, eiusque collegam vel collegas cum omnium eorum comitatu et servitoribus per totum tempus, quo ad civitatem nostram Cremnitium proficiscuntur, et ibi cum praefato oratore caesareo versabuntur et tractabunt, et ad loca
25 sibi secunda redibunt, illaesa et indemnes ire, morari redireque permittant eis et suis in nullo prorsus impedimentum, gravamen aut molestiam aliquam inferant aut inferre praesumant, in quantum poenas praedictas voluerint evitare. Harum testimonio litterarum et sigilli nostri parvi impressione munitarum.

Datum Pragae, 15. Maii 1535.

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Pietro Bembo¹ to István Brodarics
Padua, 15 June 1537

Manuscript used: RVSb 492r–493r

Published: Pietro BEMBO, *Lettere*, ed. critica a cura di Ernesto TRAVI, vol. IV. (1537–1546), Bologna, 1993, 44–45.²

1. He has learnt in recent days from Lazzaro da Bassano and Girolamo da Urbino that Brodarics is well and has regained his health. – 2. Bembo hoped that Brodarics' influence would help in signing peace, but this failed. Now both kings are arming themselves, and Italy is threatened by attacks from the French on one side and from the Turks on the other side. Venice is arming itself on sea more than before, and is preparing on land as much as it can. – 3. Bembo did not write about his own thing, the acknowledgment of the title of Provincial of the Johannite order in Hungary, while he was waiting for the news concerning hoped peace. Now he is asking Brodarics to inform him on the situation. Should he ask for the interception of the Pope in this matter, and if so, when and how? He will follow the advice of Brodarics to the letter and expects news and guidance from him. – 4. He is congratulating Brodarics for his appointment as Bishop of Vác. Brodarics deserves a quieter diocese than Pécs after all those years of hard work.

Reverendissimo Signore Mio.

[1.] Sono stato a questi dì salutato, e da messer Lazaro da Bassano,³ e da messer

22 *apud praefatum in marg.* praefatos oratores et commissarios si unus vel plures fuerint

¹ Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), Humanist and poet of Venetian origin. He spent the bigger part of his life in various Italian courts (Ferrara, Urbino) and in Rome, where he was Secretary of Pope Leo X. After the Pope's death he returned to Venice where he became the official historian of the town. Paul III appointed him Cardinal in 1539.

² I use the letters to Brodarics published in the critical edition of Bembo unchanged.

³ Lazzaro Bonamico (Lazzaro da Bassano) (1479–1552), Humanist of Venice. Studied in Padua in the early 1500s, so he could meet Brodarics already there. Moved to Rome in 1521 where he could meet Brodarics, who served there as legate from 1522, again. Returned to Venice in 1527, then finally settled in Padua. There he was appointed professor of Greek and Latin in 1530. More on his life: Francesco PIOVAN, *Per la biografia di Lazzaro Bonamico. Ricerche sul periodo dell'insegnamento padovano (1530–1552)*, Trieste, 1988.

Gerolamo da Urbino⁴ per nome di Vostra Signoria, di che Le rendo molte grazie. Ho eziandio inteso da messer Gerolamo Lei star bene del mal suo, il che m'è sommamente
5 caro, e ringrazio Nostro Signore Dio, che V'abbia resa la Vostra pristina sanità. Né sono io solo che di ciò prendo singolar contento, ma infiniti altri servitori di Vostra Signoria, che qui sono affezionatissimi del nome Suo.

[2.] Io aspettava, che la presenza Vostra con l'uno e con l'altro di quelli Re dovesse operare grandemente ad conchiudere la disiderata pace tra le loro Maestà. La qual cosa
10 poichè non è successa, e che l'uno e l'altro si sono armati, pregherò il cielo, che per quella via, che più a Lui piace, conduca un dì riposo e amicizia, dove ora è dissensione e guerra, acciò che cotesta Vostra nazione longo tempo tribolata truovi termine delle noie sue. Benchè non so vedere a questa stagione, qual provincia abbia quiete co'nuovi
15 apparati Turcheschi, *qui nobis imminent*, e co'Gallici che dall'altra parte *invasuri propediem nos videntur*. De' quali non scrivo particolarmente a Vostra Signoria, estimando che Ella il sappia e intenda da altre parti assai chiaro. La mia patria s'arma da mare assai gagliardamente, e con più animo e con maggiori preparamenti, che si siano fatti
altra volta. E anco da terra si provvederà al meglio che ella potrà. *Eventus rerum* fia poi nella disposizione e consiglio divino.

[3.] *De re mea*⁵ non ho a Vostra Signoria scritto cosa alcuna, aspettando la benedetta pace Vostra. La quale come io avessi intesa esser conchiusa, learei non solamente
20 scritto, ma ancora mandato alcuna provisione da Roma, secondo che io con Lei ragionai. Tuttavolta Vi priego, che siate contento di darmi alcuna contezza dello stato nel quale ora si trovano quelle cose, cio è in che grazia è l'amico del Re Vostro, e se
25 credete che l'autorità di Nostro Signore⁶ potrà giovare a'miei pensieri. E se ella ora non potesse, quando potrà, o in che modo, e con quale richiesta. Però che io non mi partirò in parte alcuna dal consiglio Vostro, il quale ho eletto per briglia e sprone del mio corso. Estimo Nostro Signore non mi negherà l'onesto favor suo. Ho bene a memoria quello, che Vostra Signoria mi ricordò a farsi, quando ne fosse il tempo. Ma giudico
30 che Ella averà, essendo costi, meglio scorto e considerato tutta la somma, e ora mi potrà più particolarmente consigliare e indirizzare al bisogno. Il quale indirizzo e notizia io aspetterò con molto disiderio dalla Vostra cortesia.

[4.] In questo mezzo pregherò Nostro Signore Dio che, se non sete ancora del tutto ben libero e ben gagliardo della indisposizion Vostra, fornisca la sua incominciata

⁴ Girolamo Cavazzoni (Girolamo da Urbino) (about 1520–1577), composer, one of the best-known organ players of the 16th century.

⁵ Pope Leo X appointed Bembo Provincial of the Johannite order in Hungary in 1517. This position was always filled by the current Prior of the monastery in Vrána (Aurania), Dalmatia. Bembo tried to enforce his claim for the benefices that went with the title for years in vain. In 1517, he asked Bishop of Pécs György Szatmári to use his influence with Louis II, and in 1533, he asked for help from Papal Nuncio Pier Paolo Vergerio. Brodarics' advice mentioned in the letter did not bring success. Despite the support of Pope Paul III, Bembo's efforts with King Ferdinand and Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várdai proved futile even in 1539. He used the title of Provincial formally until his death. See: NYERGES László, *Le vicende dell'Ungheria all'epoca dell'espansione turca, riflesse nelle opere di Pietro Bembo = Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, a cura di Vittore BRANCA, Firenze, 1973, 105–112.

⁶ Pope Paul III.

35 grazia verso Voi, e Vi renda sanissimo e lietissimo. A me piacque la nuova mutazione, che faceste dalla cinque all'una chiesa Vaciense,⁷ poi che Ella è in luogo più quieto e riposato, che non era l'altra; estimando io Vostra Signoria, che ha faticato e travagliato lunghi anni, non abbia ora mestiero di niuna cosa più che di riposo. La qual si ricorderà che io sono affezionatissimo della sua molta virtù, e sarà contenta baciare la mano alla
 40 Maestà del Re Suo⁸ a mio nome, se questa non è presonazione, la qual nasce dalla inclinazione e divozione del mio animo al grande valor suo. Se Vostra Signoria eziandio mi saluterà il nuovo canonico Vaciense padre Alboino,⁹ ciò mi fie caro. A Lei sempre raccomandandomi. A XV di Giugno MDXXXVII. Di Padova.

On the outer side: A Monsignore messer Stefano Broderico Vescovo di Vacia. In Ungheria.

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István Brodarics to Pál Várday
 Körmöcbánya, 24 June 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. B, fol. 94–95.¹

1. He does not know how to advise Várday before getting a response from Szapolyai. The best Várday can do is to persuade Ferdinand not to postpone making peace, because much of the area between the Drava and the Sava has already been lost because of warfare. – 2. He has written to Thurzó saying that he does not wish to deal with the case of Bálint Török and Pál Bakics, even though he would have been willing to meet Várday in Ság or Garamszentbenedek in connection with the matter. – 3. As far as he knows, the army from Upper-Hungary is nearby. – 4. He is writing to János Podmaniczky and to those concerned about the wine barrels Podmaniczky has stolen, but Várday's servants should know that nothing is sacred to such characters, only plunder matters.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi semper Observandissime. Post salutem et obsequiorum commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi, quae mihi Vestra Dominatio Reverendissima scribit, vult intelligere a me, in quo sibi censeam apud serenissimum regem suum esse laborandum. Laudo
 5 hoc consilium et optimam voluntatem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis. Quem-

⁷ Szapolyai transferred Brodarics from the bishopric of Pécs to Vác in the summer of 1537. Bembo creates a pun using the Italian version of the Latin name of Pécs: Brodarics moved from Pécs 'with 5 churches' (Pécs is *Quinqueecclesiae* in Latin, which means 'Five Churches') to Vác which has one church.

⁸ János Szapolyai.

⁹ No other data has been found on Canon of Vác Alboino (Albino?). His name does not appear in the register of diocese of Vác. (See CHOBOT Ferenc–CSÁKY Károly Emánuel, *A váci egyházmegye történeti névtára I–II.*, Vác, 1915–1917.). He probably became Canon thanks to Brodarics.

¹ Autograph.

admodum recorder me alias de hoc egisse² cum Vestra Dominatione Reverendissima cupidum salutis publicae, et certe libenter in hoc parerem mandato et satisfacerem desiderio Vestrae Dominationis. Sed nescio, nec habeo, quid certi scribam, cum et ipse incertus adhuc sim, quae futura adhuc sit deliberatio regis,³ domini mei clementissimi, 10 maxime antequam secretarius ad eius maiestatem hinc a me missus revertatur.⁴ Quo etiam reverso ego, tanquam servus et alienae voluntatis minister non potero me extendere, nisi in quantum rex meus permiserit. Hoc unum Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio iudicio meo pro sua in patriam hanc nostram communem caritate et debito facere possit, ut debeat apud maiestatem domini sui⁵ hortari, videlicet monere et obsecrare 15 eius maiestatem, ut si quid tale emergerit in tractanda et componenda hac pace, quod non omnino videretur suae maiestati intolerabile, id vellet pro salute huius miserrimi regni et aliorum regnorum ac provinciarum suae maiestatis, quae in eadem sunt navi, non iniquo animo subire, et hanc pacis compositionem non amplius differre. Nec hoc scribo, quod dicam per suam maiestatem defuisse, quominus haec fuerint hactenus 20 etiam conclusa. Sed timeo, sicut semper timui dilationes, ex quibus quantum incommodi eveniret, quis non videt. Amisimus totum fere, quod erat inter Dravum et Savum.⁶ Providendum esset, ne perirent et reliqua.

[2.] De negotio domini Valentini et domini Pauli,⁷ quando dominus Paulus duriorem se praestat, decrevi ego, et ita etiam ad dominum Thurzonem scripsi⁸ non me amplius 25 in hoc negotio intromittere, propter quod negotium componendum potissimum nuntiaveram me libenter fore cum Vestra Dominatione, si ipsam vel ad Saagh,⁹ quod ab eius servitoribus audiveram ita futurum, vel ad Sanctum Benedictum¹⁰ venire contigisset.

² Brodarics met Várdy near Esztergom in April 1537, and asked him to do all he can and persuade Ferdinand and his councillors to accept the fair conditions of peace. See the letter by Várdy to Ferdinand on 6 July 1537. HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc 31. Konv. C, fol. 33.

³ János Szapolyai.

⁴ Brodarics sent his secretary Canon of Eger Tamás Mindszenti to Szapolyai around 10 July in order to clarify some terms of peace. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Okiratok és levelek a nagyváradi béke történetéhez 1536–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1878, 729–731.

⁵ Várdy supported Ferdinand I.

⁶ The area between the Drava and Sava rivers in Slavonia was Brodarics' native land. The remark can also refer to the fact that Pozsega surrendered during the Ottoman campaign in 1536, and this was experienced as a disaster. Getting it back was the purpose of the campaign in 1537, and its organisation started at this time already.

⁷ Bálint Török joined Szapolyai at the end of 1536, and he became a pillar for King John in Transdanubia. Beginning with early 1537, he practically waged a private war for getting hold of estates of pro-Ferdinand noblemen including Constable of Győr Pál Bakics. The enraged Bakics accused Török with betraying Louis II, Ferdinand I, and Szapolyai alike, and then challenged him to a duel. See BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint okmánytára*, Budapest, 1994, 122–123.

⁸ The letter to Thurzó is lost.

⁹ Ság (today: Sasinkovo, Slovakia), a village in the estate of Galgóc, which belonged to Elek Thurzó.

¹⁰ Garamszentbenedek (today: Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia).

Nam de negotiis publicis, quantum vel intelligam adhuc, ac certi habeam, vel tractare possim, Dominatio Vestra ex his, quae praemisi, facile intelligit.

30 [3.] Novi nihil habeo, nisi quod Vestrae Dominationi notius esse credo, de exercitiis videlicet partium superiorum, quos intelligimus esse ad manus prope.¹¹

Ex Urbe habui litteras diversas, sed apparatur tamen nondum quicquam rei gestae. Deus fortunet omnia pro Christianis et conservet nobis Hungariam nostram, postea Sclavonia mea periit, vel parum de ea restat.

35 [4.] Scribit ad me servitor Vestrae Dominationis, Paulus Karoly de nescio quibus vasis vinorum ad Albam Regalem per subditos Vestrae Dominationis ductis per Ioannem Podmanyczky ablatis. Ego de hac re multum doleo, et scribam tam ad Podmanyczky quam ad alios, ad quos in tali casu scribendum est, et scribam diligenter. Sed certe miror, quod iobagiones Vestrae Dominationis tantum fidunt domino Podmanyczky, et quod
40 assiduis damnis non discunt cautius cum talibus ambulare. Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima scit, quantum hoc genus hominum solet nunc vel regibus vel legibus obtemperare, vel amicorum precibus morem gerere, quibus nihil est amicum aliud, nisi praeda.

Ego in omnem eventum cupio Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi servire, et ita commisi omnibus meis. Et qui aliter faceret, non erit amicus meus, sed hostis.

45 Servitia mea Vestrae Dominationi commendo. Quae felix valeat.

Cremniciae, 24. Iunii 1537.

Servitor

Vaciensis

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino archiepiscopo Strigoniensi regni Hungariae primati etc., domino meo observandissimo.

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Giovanni Marsupino to István Brodarics
Rome, 18 July 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 85–86.

1. He sent several letters recently by various couriers; he is sending this one by Thurzó. He hears that Ferdinand's troops are in Slavonia but have not yet clashed with the Turks. On the other hand, the letter from the Archbishop of Trident states that the Turks were defeated near Zagreb. 40,000 foot-soldiers are said to have faced 60,000 cavalrymen, but he believes the real number to be not more than 4,000. – 2. The French sent 20,000 soldiers against Milan, but the crown prince had to go to Flanders with a big army to face the army of Maria Habsburg, who invaded the country. There have not been serious fights in Italy yet, the sides are manoeuvring. They do not know what the Turks are up to, but they have a huge fleet and a huge army. – 3. Venice signed armistice with the Turks but they do nothing against the Emperor, i.e. Milan. The strife

28 post quantum del. adhuc

38 post est del. diligenter suprascr. et scribam diligenter

¹¹ The army of Leonard Fels, which operated in Upper Hungary. On the activities of Fels, see KÁROLYI Árpád, *Okiratok és levelek ...* 738–739.

between Francis and Charles brings Christianity to the brink of destruction. Now, Charles has to defend against French, not the Turks. – 4. The Pope is said to recruit 15,000 armed men in Urbino, whom he wants to deploy along the coast and in Rome, but nobody has come yet. It is evident now how damaging it was to let Hungary perish. – 5. The Cardinals have been called to Rome, several are going to arrive soon. Schönberg and Sadoletto recommend themselves to King John. – 6. He would want to get some tangible reward for his services. – 7. The latest pieces of news are that the Turkish fleet is stationed 60 miles from Valona, and the Emperor's army in Flanders has been dissolved due to the lack of money.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Colendissime.

[1.] Duodecima huius mensis scripsi¹ Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae per quendam servitorem reverendissimi domini Transsilvaniensis² missus ab hinc Pragam cum brevibus pontificis ad serenissimos reges Ioannem scilicet et Ferdinandum, ut ipse mihi dicebat, expeditus hic a domino Nicolao, suffraganeo³ eiusdem domini Transsilvaniensis pro tractatu pacis istius benedictae et concordandis Bohemis cum Apostolica Sede etc.⁴ Scripsi postea per quendam canonicum Sancti Georgii,⁵ nuntium episcopi capituli Strigoniensis, quem credidi ante 8 dies discessurum longas litteras. Has vero scribo medio illustris domini Turzonis⁶ et per viam oratoris caesarei Venetiis agentis⁷ amicissimi Vestrae Dominationi etc. Qui dominus Alexius Turzo scribit ad me humanissimas litteras, agit gratias multas, quod ad eum scripserim, rogat ultro, ut scribam, promittit me facturum rem gratam et sibi et serenissimo regi, domino suo. Dicit sua dominatio insuper, quod litteras ternas meas ad reverendissimum dominum Agriensem⁸ et Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem fideliter et amice misit. De publicis rebus dolet esse plures in isto regno, qui impediunt, quam procurent pacem. Esse sui regis copias in Slavonia,⁹ Turcarum etiam, quae hucusque nihil tentarunt. Nos hic audimus ex litteris Tridentinorum¹⁰ profligatos Turcos Zagrabiae, quod tamen non

³ post Pragam del. ad serenissimum Romanorum regem

¹ Marsupino's letter from 12 July is lost.

² János Statileo.

³ The *suffraganeus* referred to in the letter might have been a suffragan of Statileo, although Statileo's biography by Pongrácz Sörös does not include a suffragan by that name. See SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Statileo János...* 27.

⁴ The Utraquista branch of the former Hussites seemed willing to return into the Catholic Church by the terms presented at the national assembly in Prague in May 1537. For more on this, see: Anton GINDELY, *Böhmen und Mähren im Zeitalter der Reformation I.*, Prague, 1861, 243–245.

⁵ The Provostship of Szentgyörgymező, which belonged to the Chapter of Esztergom, had 8 canons. We only have records on one of them from the time: Ferenc Lövyöldy had canon's benefices from 1536. See KOLLÁNYI Ferencz, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900*, Budapest, 1900, 141.

⁶ For the letter to Elek Thurzó, in which he asks the addressee to forward the enclosed letter to Brodarics, see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc 31. Konv. C, fol. 87–88.

⁷ Lope de Soria.

⁸ Elected Bishop of Eger Ferenc Frangepán.

⁹ Reference to the troops lead by Hans Katzianer. They started an offensive against the Turks in Slavonia in September, which ended in defeat.

¹⁰ Bernhard Cles, Bishop of Trident, Cardinal, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

credo, ex quo non ipsa [...]distat, eo nomine maxime quod dicitur fuisse et esse quadraginta milia peditum contra 60 milia equitum Turcarum. Puto ego, quod fuerint quatuor milia et satis esset. Dominus Turzo tamen non innuit tantum timorem de Turcis. Ego audio tractari pacem, quam Deus Optimus Maximus concedat, tempus esset tandem.

[2.] De rebus Italicis hoc sciatur pro certo, quod rex Galliae misit ultra viginti milia hominum iam ad Taurinum versus statum Mediolani, et delphinum filium¹¹ misit rursus versus Flandriam cum magno exercitu, quem volebat in Italiam traducere. Sed quia regina Maria¹² cum Flandrensibus coegerunt magnum exercitum contra regem Gallorum, et occuparunt post discessum Galli duas civitates, quas combusserunt, rex coactus fuit illuc redire cum magna parte exercitus ita, ut isto tempore credimus, nihil aliud faciet in Italia, nisi ut prohibebit caesarianos exire de statu Mediolani, qui si possent ire ad regnum Neapolitanum, nihil timerent classem Turcarum. Est opinio, quod in Flandria caesariani parum facient, quia est exercitus tumultuarius, pecuniae nullae sunt, et sine ipsis factum est nihil. Sed multum fecerunt impedire regem, ne possit totis viribus venire in Italiam pro hac vice. In Italia uterque exercitus continet se in castris et urbibus et fortalitiis stratagemata et astu pugnant. Turcus vero, usque in hodiernum diem, ubi sit, vel quid facit, nescitur, nisi quod classis sua maxima ibat versus Vallo-

nam¹³ et exercitus terrestris infinitus. Quid facturus sit, necesse est, quam citissime videamus, quia tantus exercitus oportet faciat aliquid, vadat aliquo etc.

[3.] Veneti rursus confirmarunt indutias cum imperatore Turcarum, ita tamen, quod contra caesarem nolunt aliquid facere in Lombardia, id est contra statum Mediolani. Res hinc inde maxime sollicitatae. Videt Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, in quod discrimen adducta est respublica Christiana propter libidinem istorum duorum principum et odium sempiternum, quod rex Franciae aperto Marte est cum Turcarum caesare contra imperatorem propter statum Mediolani. Et imperator cogitat se defendere contra Gallum et non contra Turcum. Uterque facit, quod potest excogitare, Deus perdat ambos, et perdet omnino, si est, ut est, in coelis.

[4.] Pontifex est hic Romae. Signum timoris non video. Dicunt, conscribit quindecim milia peditum ex Urbino, quae dispartiet per loca maritima et hic Romae. Nondum tamen aliquis venit, nec, ut dixi, aliquid scimus de Turco. Sed credo omnino, quod brevi brevi non audiemus, sed videbimus, siquid debet esse. Iam cognoscunt isti boni domini, quid fuit amittere Hungariam, et quotidie melius cognoscent.

[5.] Cardinales, ut audio, sunt omnes vocati Romam. Est opinio, quod faciet bellum longum et durabile, et quod non venit huc cum tanto exercitu, ut reverteratur. Quid futurum sit, videbimus. Reverendissimi cardinales Mantuanensis¹⁴ et Gadi¹⁵ brevi

¹¹ Prince Henri of Orléans, the future Henry II was heir to the throne after the death of Francis' first-born son.

¹² Maria Habsburg, widow of Louis II was Regent of the Netherlands.

¹³ Valona is a port town on the coast of Albania, at the Strait of Otranto, which is the entrance of the Adriatic Sea. An Ottoman centre for the production of cannons, a fortress of strategic importance in the war between Turkey and Venice in 1537–1540.

¹⁴ Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563), Bishop of Mantua.

¹⁵ Niccolò Gaddi, Cardinal of Venetian origin, Bishop of Fermo.

redibunt. Capuanensis¹⁶ et Sadolettus¹⁷ est totus vestri, commendant se plurimum. Idem facit reverendissimus dominus Franciscus,¹⁸ qui quotidie habet et dat litteras.

55 Mantuanensis et Gadi disputant per litteras, ex quo oretenus non possunt. Resignavit Neogradiensis et Pankotta praelatis utriusque, ablatis tamen prius ambobus.

[6.] Ego, Reverendissime Domine, si non est contra conscientiam, cupio ita commendari regiae maiestati, ut aliquid fructus nunc sentiam. Non exspectata pace plus cuperem aliquid temporale, quam spirituale. Sed quia difficilius esset, fiat, quod placet.

60 Ego in omni fortuna sum, fui et ero semper bonus servitor suae maiestatis et Vestrarum Reverendissimarum Dominationum. Feci, quod potui hucusque, praestabo imposterum quoque, quicquid a me desiderari potest, modo habeatur semel rationem parvam honoris et commodi mei. Me Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi unice commendo, quae dignabitur, oro suppliciter, me commendare serenissimo domino regi, reverendis-

65 simis dominis Agriensi et Varadiensi.¹⁹ Ad quos plura scripsi his diebus. Deus Omnipotens suam maiestatem et Vestras Dominationes Reverendissimas salvas conservet.

Romae, 18. Iulii 1537.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis
servitor

Ioannes Marsupinus

[7.] Hac hora habemus nova classem Turcarum cum persona imperatoris esse prope Vallonam ad 60 miliaria Italica.²⁰ Exercitum caesaris in Flandria tumultuarium dissolvi propter penuriam pecuniarum et propter adventum exercitus Gallorum.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino, domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Vacienti etc., domino meo colendissimo. Cito, cito.

¹⁶ Nikolaus von Schönberg.

¹⁷ Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547), prominent Humanist, poet, theologian, Papal Secretary. Bishop of Carpentras, France, between 1517–1544, Cardinal from 1536.

¹⁸ Francesco Marsupino.

¹⁹ György Fráter, Bishop of Várad, Treasurer.

²⁰ The Sultan arrived in Valona by land on 13 July. See KÁLDY, *Szulejmán...* 142.

János Szapolyai to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
[Várad], before 22 July 1537¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 120.²

Published: KÁROLYI Árpád, *Okiratok és levelek a nagyváradi béke történetéhez 1536–1538*,
Történelmi Társ., 1878. 760–761.

King John instructs Brodarics and Frangepán to go to Vác to discuss new considerations brought up by Johann Wese. There, they can consult his councillors on the standpoint to be taken at the talks.

Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc.

Reverendissimi in Christo Patres Fideles nobis sincere Dilecti. Qua instructione Thomas custos Agriensis³ a Dominationibus Vestris ad nos venit, intelleximus. Intelligimus dominum oratorem⁴ nova instructione venisse.⁵ Si tamen ea fuerit nova instructio, ut nonnulla etiam alia, quae antea in tractatibus non fuerunt, innovarentur, operae pretium esse existimamus, ut consilio quoque Dominationum Vestrarum in tantis rebus transigendis utamur. Hortamur itaque Dominationes Vestras eisdemque committimus, ut saltem Waciam usque descendant, ubi etiam alii consiliarii nostri de omnibus his rebus, tanquam personaliter interessemus, cum eisdem agere possint.⁶ Nam et laborum Dominationum Vestrarum hoc praesertim tempore, maxime autem vestri, Domine Archiepiscopo,⁷ quem valetudinarium esse intelleximus, rationem habemus. Quandoquidem si Dominationes Vestrae huc ad nos descenderent ex longinquitate itineris et magnam subirent fatigam et negotia tanti itineris tempore prolongarentur. Poterit autem interea dominus orator in loco sibi commodo stare.

15 Ioannes rex manu propria.

¹ The extant document is unfortunately undated. Since Provost Tamás Mindszenti, in his letter below dated Eger, 22 July, says that he has sent Szapolyai's letter to Brodarics and Frangepán, this letter must have been written before 22 July, presumably in Várad, where Szapolyai's court stayed at the time.

² The letter was preserved as an attachment to Johann Wese's letter to Ferdinand on 26 July 1537, so it is not the original but a copy made by Wese.

³ Mindszenti Tamás, *Custos* of Eger.

⁴ Johann Wese, Archbishop of Lund, who was commissioned by Charles V to negotiate with Szapolyai's envoys.

⁵ The instruction for Wese said that the primary condition for making peace is the returning of Kassa and other territories occupied in late 1536. Brodarics, however, was not authorised to negotiate this, so he had to ask for new instructions. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Okiratok és levelek...* 729.

⁶ Wese thought that Brodarics and Frangepán were ordered to Vác only to avoid trouble in Körmöcbánya when Szapolyai's troops invade Upper Hungary. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Okiratok és levelek...* 758–759.

⁷ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa, elected Bishop of Eger.

At the bottom of the letter: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus dominis Francisco de Frangepanibus archiepiscopo Colocensi ac electo Agriensi et Stephano Brodarico Waciensi episcopis et consiliariis nostris, fidelibus nostris dilectis.

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Tamás Mindszenti to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Eger, 22 July 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 121.¹

1. On his way from Várad to meet Brodarics and Frangepán, a serious illness took him over, so he was compelled to stay in Eger. He is sending to them the letter from Szapolyai ahead. – 2. He would have something personal to say, but he does not dare to send word or write about it. Szapolyai asks them to go to Vác where they will get further instructions from the councillors, who go there too. – 3. They should apologise for him to imperial legate Johann Wese because he cannot write to him due to his illness.

Reverendissimi Domini, Domini et Patroni Mei Gratosissimi. Servitutis meae perpetuam commendationem.

[1.] Currendo a maiestate² domini nostri clementissimi ad Dominationes Vestras Reverendissimas incidi in morbum solitum mihi frequentissimum et amarissimum passionis colicae. Aegre perveni huc Agriam, nec scio quando finis erit dolorum meorum, volui itaque litteras³ maiestatis regiae ad Vestras Dominationes Reverendissimas velocissime transmittere, ex quibus Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae intelligent voluntatem suae maiestatis.

[2.] Habebam et ego nonnulla in mandatis, quae Vestris Dominationibus Reverendissimis nomine suae maiestatis dicere debuissim, illa tamen ego neque scribere neque nuntiare possum. Intelligent ea tamen Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae Waciae vel a meipso vel a dominis consiliariis maiestatis regiae. A quibus illic etiam plura intelligent Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae, quos credo vigesima huius mensis ex Varadino versus Vaciam movisse. Rogat autem maiestas regia Dominationes Vestras Reverendissimas, ut Waciae sine omni dilatione constituentur, ne tempus frustra praetereat.

[3.] Supplico Dominationibus Vestris Reverendissimis, dignentur me excusare apud reverendissimum dominum oratorem⁴ caesarea et catholicae regiae maiestatis, quod nihil scribere possum ob adversam valetudinem. Non deero tamen officio meo, si Deus reddiderit mihi meam sanitatem.

Altissimus Deus conservet felicissimas atque incolumes Dominationes Vestras Reverendissimas simul cum reverendissimo domino oratore.

¹ This letter was also preserved as an attachment to Johann Wese's letter to Ferdinand on 26 July 1537, so it is a copy made by Wese, not the original.

² János Szapolyai.

³ See the previous letter.

⁴ Johann Wese, Archbishop of Lund.

At the bottom of the letter: Reverendissimis Dominis meis Colocensi, electo Agriensi
et Vacienti, Dominis meis gratiosissimis

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István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
[sine loco], [before 30 July 1537]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 145.²

Published: SZTÁRAI Mihály, *História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról*, Budapest, 1985, 114.;

KÁROLYI Árpád, *A nagyváradi béke okmányai*. Budapest, 1879, 100–101.;

BESSENYEI József, *Középkori magyar leveleink 1541-ig*, Történelmi Szemle, 1994, 329.

Lets Thurzó know that if peace is not concluded soon, Szapolyai and his circle will resort to other means.

Een ygeen felek, hogy ha ezuottal valamy wegh nem lezen az bekyssegh dolgaba,
ees ha egeb condiciokra nem ywthok, soha tebe my wtanatok nem fwgwnk yarny.
Egeb wtath lelewnk dolgonkba. Peter wram ygen megygeneswith kyalal, fyath ees
megagyak a Therekek.³ Yol erti K[egyelmed], myth akarne mondandom.

5 Zakazthya megh K[egyelmed] ezth!

3 Post egeb del. with

¹ This letter has been preserved as an attachment to a letter from Elek Thurzó, 30 July 1537, Galgóc, to Ferdinand (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc 31. Konv. C, fol. 144–147.). Although it is not signed, and Thurzó does not refer to as one from Brodarics (he only says in the letter: „Scribit etiam quidam Iohannita ad me...”), still, it is undoubtedly Brodarics’ own handwriting. Károlyi, the first publisher of the letter observes that this letter is the only extant document in Hungarian on the negotiations in Nagyvárad. We can add that it is also the only known letter by Brodarics in Hungarian.

² Autograph.

³ Ferenc, the son of Péter Perényi, was taken to Istanbul as hostage in 1532 in order to force his father with volatile loyalty to stay with Szapolyai. Péter Perényi did not get his son back at this time yet, he had to wait until 1542. On the fate of Ferenc Perényi see: SZTÁRAI Mihály, *História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról*, Budapest, 1985.

János Szapolyai to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Várad, 1 August 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 12.¹

They might have learnt from Custos of Eger Tamás Mindszenti that they are supposed to go to Vác, to where he is sending his other councillors too. Until then they should check out the intentions of the imperial legate, who keeps backtracking from the promises with which Brodarics and Frangepán returned from the Emperor.

Ioannes, Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, etc.

Reverendissimi in Christo Patres, Fideles nobis sincere Dilecti. Scripseramus paucis ante diebus² Dominationibus Vestris, quo saltem Waciam usque descenderent, ut alii quoque consiliarii nostri ad consultandum eo ad easdem ire possent. Causam, quamobrem id fieri volumus, a Thoma custode Agriensi³ et secretario nostro Dominationes Vestras iam intellexisse putamus. Meminisse tamen Dominationes Vestrae possunt, qua relatione a caesarea et catholica maiestate redierant,⁴ quantumque postea dominus orator⁵ in tractatu hic ex ea ademerit, et nunc quoque, cum nova instructione se venisse scribebat, adimat. Intellexerunt nihilominus Nos consiliarios nostros ad Dominationes Vestras tractatum mittere statueramus. Tandem visum nobis est, ut Vestrae Dominationes prius animum ipsius domini oratoris experirentur, an in tractatibus pacis mitius agere possit. Cum enim Nos ad aequas et honestas pacis conditiones prompti semper paratique fuerimus, nollemus occasionem dare dirimendi tractatum pacis.

Datum Waradini prima die Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo septimo.

Ioannes rex
manu propria

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus, dominis Francisco de Frangepanibus archiepiscopo Colociensi, electo Agriensi ac Steffano Broderico Waciensi, episcopis et consiliariis nostris, fidelibus nobis sincere dilectis.

¹ The letter has been preserved as an attachment to the letter by György Fráter written on 2 August to Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 11.

² See Szapolyai's letter written before 22 July 1537.

³ Provost of Pécs Tamás Mindszenti, *Custos* of Eger, acted as an envoy between Szapolyai's court and Brodarics and Frangepán who negotiated with Wese. See the letter by Mindszenti on 22 June 1537.

⁴ Brodarics and Frangepán visited Charles V in 1536 in Italy in order to set the basic conditions of peace behind Ferdinand's back. More recently on the talks in Italy: KÖRÖSI Zoltán, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008, 171–173.

⁵ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese, imperial legate.

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Johann Wese
Vác, 5 August 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 44–45.¹

1. They are writing belatedly in order to provide Wese with news as certain as possible – 2. Szapolyai does not understand why Wese wants to drive him out of the whole country, even Transylvania. No agreement is possible under such conditions. – 3. They have been informed that Ferdinand's troops looted around Kassa but already withdrew somewhere. – 4. Andrea Corsini will be sent to Wese, who is supposed to see to it that Corsini gets home safe. – 5. Józsa Farkas, a relative of their good friend Mihály Kenderessy, has been captured near Sopron. He is a former servitor of Bálint Török who now supports Ferdinand. Wese is asked to help in setting him free. – 6. Brodarics requests permission for his Italian physician Hieronymus Adorno to come to Vác from Vienna. – 7. All the important noblemen support Szapolyai. – 8. They are forwarding a letter from Szapolyai that arrived in the meantime. If more come from György Fráter, those will be forwarded too. The French occupied Asti. – 9. The Sultan said in a letter that he accepts and protects any Hungarian King that the country elects, except for Ferdinand.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Amice Honorandissime. Servitiorum nostrorum commendationem.

[1.] Ante omnia rogamus Dominationem Vestram, ut nobis parcat, si aliquanto serius mittimus ad Vestram Dominationem, quam fortassis Vestra Dominatio a nobis exspectabat. Quod sola hac de causa factum esse putet et credat, ut quanto certiora possemus, ad Vestram Dominationem scriberemus [!].

[2.] Nudiustertius huc Vaciam pervenimus, ubi Thomam praepositum² repperimus, ex quo intelleximus eum maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo exposuisse ea, quae suae maiestati nuntiaveramus. Affirmat Thomas maiestatem regiam multum fuisse admiratum, quod Vestra Dominatio ita secum agat, quasi velit eum de toto regno excludere, Transsylvaniam etiam, quam ipse possideat, totam ei adimendo. Dominatio Vestra scit, quae de his rebus cum Dominatione Vestra simus locuti et quae sit nostra sententia. Videmus rem eo esse deductam, ut impossibile sit pacem fieri, nisi ad alias conditiones veniatur longe diversas ab ipsis, de quibus est actum. Maxime, quod non videmus vos tales habere vires, quas nostri extimescere debeant.

[3.] De exercitibus³ prope Cassoviam hic intelleximus longe contraria illis, quae

¹² sit *correx*i ex: scit

¹ Attachment to a letter by Johann Wese dated 7 August. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 43–46.

² Custos of Eger Tamás Mindszenti.

³ In order to keep Szapolyai under pressure, Ferdinand sent Leonard Vels to Upper Hungary to threaten Kassa, which Szapolyai had conquered in late 1536.

Cremniciae audieramus. Scribunt nobis amici, vestros spoliatis aliquot oppidis et villis rursus rediisse, nescimus quo.

[4.] Cursinum Vestrae Dominationi commendamus, rogamus, ut medio eius possit
20 tutus in patriam pervenire, qui Vestrae Dominationi confidit plus, quam ulli hominum,
et nos eum in manus Dominationis Vestrae mittimus.⁴

[5.] Captum esse intelligimus a vestris prope Sopronium nobilem quendam Iosam
Farkas consanguineum strictissimum magni cuiusdam nostri amici, Michaelis Kender-
essy,⁵ qui prius servitor Valentini Thewrek fuerat. Nunc sit vel paulo ante fuerit ascitus
25 in famulicium serenissimi regis Romanorum. Captus esse autem dicitur ob nescimus
quam suspicionem. Rogamus Dominationem Vestram, maxime si non est nocens in eo,
in quo damnatur, velit eum causa nostra liberare. Est nobis, ut diximus, magna amicitia
et vetus cum illo eius consanguineo, qui alioqui est non parvae auctoritatis et fortassis
primae inter nobiles, de quo credimus alias Vestrae Dominationi locutos.

[6.] Pepones Vestrae Dominationi mittimus, quales hic meliores habemus. Medicum
30 meum Vaciensem Hieronymum Adornum Papiensem, qui est Viennae, Vestrae Domi-
nationi commendo, ut ad me salvus venire possit, pro quo ego promitto, si quid mihi
credetur, eum nihil huc portare aliud, nisi seipsum et videtur stultitia esse, quod huc
ipse veniat.⁶

[7.] Hi nostri, ut intelligimus, rem serio aggrediuntur. Nescimus quid aliud dicere,
35 omnes potiores sunt maxime cum rege nostro coniuncti, pace esset opus, pace.

Nos Vestrae Dominationi unice commendamus et obsequia nostra et hunc pauperem
Corsinum. Et Vestra Dominatio optime valeat.

Vaciae, in die Nivis Sanctae Virginis 1537.

[8.] Dum has expediremus, supervenerunt hae aliae litterae a rege nostro, quas ad
40 Vestram Dominationem mittimus. Sunt etiam aliae litterae, credimus, quod fratris
Georgii Vestrae Dominationi inscriptae. Nos ita mittimus, sicut habemus nihil aliud
habentes nec intelligentes. Dominatio Vestra litteras has regias remittere velit. Huc
venerunt nova Gallos potitos esse Aste urbe.⁷

45
Servitores et deditissimi fratres
Vaciensis et Franciscus de Frangepanibus

⁴ Andrea Corsini was released by Ferdinand from captivity in early 1537. He joined Brodarics to return to Hungary. See the safe conduct issued to him on 4 February 1537. As the letter shows, Brodarics used the peace talks to ask for help from Johann Wese so that Corsini, who quit serving Szapolyai, could return to his home town Florence safely.

⁵ Mihály Kenderessy, landowner in the Trans-Tisza region, the lord of Kenderes. Supports Szapolyai from 1527. He was rewarded for his services with estates of Antal Lossonczy in Bánhalma and of Péter Erdődy in Kakat. Died around 1538–39. I have found no further data on his relative Józsa Farkas.

⁶ The problem of the Italian doctor seems to have dragged on, because Brodarics discusses it even in his letter on 18 August.

⁷ Possession of the town of Asti in Piedmont was the subject of permanent dispute between the French and Charles V. The Peace of Cambrai gave the area, which earlier belonged to the Valois, to Charles V, but the French did not give it up.

Haec erant scripta in scheda:

[9.] Consiliarii, intelleximus, non venient, et sic tam vos, quam nos delusi sumus. Ioannes rex publice dicit se habere litteras a Turcarum imperatore eum esse contentum
50 habere pro rege, quemcunque regnum elegerit, et defendere in regno solo Ferdinando rege excepto. Quaecunque per Thomam regi Ioanni significaveramus, ea rex Ioannes manifestavit palam omnibus. Lundensis faciat nos certiores de nostris negotiis.

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimo domino Ioanni archiepiscopo Lundensi, sacrae caesareae et catholicae regiae maiestatis oratori, domino mihi observandissimo. Cremniciae.

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István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Vác, 6 August 1537¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 150.²

*1. The promised councillors have not arrived yet. He and Frangepán are waiting for instructions in Vác.
– 2. György Fráter is said to come to Buda, but this is uncertain just as so many other things are.*

Spectabilis etc.

[1.] Consiliarii³ illi nondum venerunt, nec scimus, quando venient. Nostri cum rege, domino nostro clementissimo omnes concordarunt daturi operam, ut liberent regnum a vobis German[is] ex omni parte. Nunc nihil aliud. Nos hic erimus exspectantes, si quid
5 nobis iubeatur. Me Vestrae Dominationi unice commendo, immo ambo commendamus. Quae recte valeat.

Vaciae, 6ta Iulii [Augusti] 1537.

Sunt, qui dicant fratrem Georgium⁴ Budam venire. Si hoc erit verum, posset venire hanc ob causam, sed hoc non est apud me certum, sicut alia omnia incertissima.

¹ The letter has survived in a copy only, which is dated 6 July. This is certainly a mistake, August is the correct date. Szapolyai instructed his envoys Brodarics and Frangepán to travel to Vác and negotiate certain topics only at the end of July. (See the letter by Tamás Mindszenti on 22 July) The same page (fol. 150r–151v) includes a copy of a letter by Ferenc Frangepán to Thurzó also, which has the date 9 August. So the letter by Brodarics must have been written in the first days of August.

² Contemporary replica.

³ Councillors of Szapolyai who were supposed to give new instructions to Brodarics and Frangepán for their talks with Johann Wese.

⁴ Bishop of Várad György Fráter.

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Vác, 9 August 1537¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, fol. 150.

Conclusion of peace has been postponed for so long that now everything is much more difficult to settle than it was before. Thurzó should not believe that Hungarians would not accept conditions, set by the Turks, brought by Ferenc Bácsi, happily rather than keep hoping for foreign help. He requests Thurzó to forward the letter to Cardinal Bernhard Cles and Katzianer.

Spectabilis etc.

Alia Vestra Dominatio intelliget ex litteris reverendissimi domini mei, domini Agriensis.² Quorum summa illa esse videtur vos in tantum distulisse pacis compositionem, tales et tot difficultates ingessisse, id quod nobis imputetis, sed utricunque
5 fuimus in causa vel nos, vel vos, vel utrique. Eo res deducta est, ut longe sint omnia difficiliora, quam hucusque fuerint. Credit autem ne Vestra Dominatio, quod Hungari his, quae Bachiensis³ attulit, intellectis, non sint amplexuri has conditiones⁴ potius, quam semper pendere auxilia extrema expectando. Credit Dominatio Vestra, quod non
10 terreat Hungaros infelix sors miserae Slavoniae, ne quid de aliis dicam, sed quid haec frustra. Dominatio Vestra novit, quae fuit ab initio mea de tota hac re sententia, sed si Deus aliter de nobis statuit, quid ego possum? Has alteras litteras unas reverendissimo domino cardinali Tridentino⁵ mitti supplico, alteras domino Katzianer.⁶ Et me Vestrae Dominationi meaque servitia ex toto corde commendo. Quae rectissime valeat cum omnibus suis.

15 Vaciae, 9. Iulii [Augusti] 1537.
Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

¹ The copy has the date 9 July, but, like the previous letter, it must have been written in August for the same reasons.

² For the letter by Ferenc Frangepán written also on 9 August see: HHStA Ung. Akt. Fasc. 31. Konv. C, 150r–151v.

³ Pál Bakics informed Ferdinand on 27 July 1537 that Ferenc Bácsi returned from the Sultan with news favourable to Szapolyai. See BESSENYEI József, *Enyingi Török Bálint*, Budapest, 1994, 133–134.

⁴ The Sultan promised not to abandon King John, and in case Szapolyai died he would allow Hungarians to elect their king, whoever they wanted, as long as that person was not Ferdinand. He also promised not to occupy Slavonia if it decides to support John.

⁵ Bishop of Trident Bernhard Cles, Cardinal, High Chancellor of Ferdinand.

⁶ Hans Katzianer, Commander of the Habsburg troops in Slavonia.

János Szapolyai to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Várad, 13 August 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 78.¹

1. He has learnt about the dangers that threatened them on their way to Vác. He is pleased that they have arrived safely. – 2. He still wishes them to find out about the intentions of Wese, so that he would not devote costs and effort to the talks needlessly.

Ioannes, Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, etc.

[1.] Reverendissimi in Christo Patres, Fideles nobis sincere Dilecti. Litteras² Dominationum Vestrarum accepimus, et quo discrimine Vaciam descenderint, intelleximus, sed gratum nobis est, quod optimus Deus easdem salvas reduxit. Quibus si quid, quod

5 nollemus, contigisset, non secus, quam si per Nos ipsos accidisset, accepissemus.

[2.] Quamvis Nos Thomae, praeposito Quinqueecclesiensi³ abunde Nos ipsos aperuimus,⁴ unde Dominationes Vestrae facile rebus earum sibi ipsis consulere potuissent. Quod autem ad tractatum pacis attinet, meminimus proximis diebus Dominationibus Vestris scripsisse,⁵ quo animum domini oratoris⁶ experirentur, an in tractatibus pacis

10 mitius agere possit, ne frustra Dominationes Vestrae veteriores labores susciperent et inanes expensas facerent. Nunc quoque identidem eisdem faciendum censemus. Nam nollemus occasionem dare, ut tractatus pacis per nos dirimerentur, ad quos, si debitae et honestae ac Christianae conditiones proponerentur, condescendere etiam nunc essemus parati.

15 Datum Waradini, feria secunda proxima post festum Beati Laurentii anno Domini MDXXXVII.

Ioannes rex
manu propria

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus, dominis Francisco de Frangepanibus archiepiscopo Colociensi ac electo Agriensi et Stephano Brodarico Waciensi episcopis et consiliariis nostris, fidelibus nobis sincere dilectis.

¹ Enclosed to a letter by Johann Wese on 20 August. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 75–79.

² We do not have the letter by Brodarics and Frangepán to Szapolyai.

³ *Custos* of Eger Tamás Mindszenti.

⁴ See the letter by Szapolyai to Brodarics and Frangepán written before 22 July which was forwarded by Mindszenti from Eger.

⁵ See the letter by Szapolyai on 1 August.

⁶ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese, Imperial Legate.

Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics to Johann Wese
Vác, 18 August 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 77.¹

1. They inform Wese about a more recent letter from King John. It says that Werbőczy and György Fráter have not gone to Transylvania, neither does King John travel to Temesvár. – 2. Brodarics has seen a dream that showed the Emperor's success. He hopes that the next letter from Wese will confirm it.

Reverendissime Domine, salutem et obsequia nostra.

[1.] Post scriptas obsignatas et iam missas alias supervenerunt litterae hae regiae² ex Waradino, quas in specie duximus Vestrae Dominationi mittendas, quas velit rursus ad nos remittere. Nos hic erimus.

5 Cancellarius³ et episcopus⁴ non iverunt in Transsilvaniam, prout prius nobis scriptum erat. Rex videtur etiam mutasse consilia de eundo versus Themeswar. Nos erimus hic ad manum, si quid medio nostri rex noster cum Vestra Dominatione tractare voluerit. Nec intelligimus quicquam aliud de negotio, quam id, quod scribimus.

10 [2.] Amore Dei Vestra Dominatio scribat ad nos aliquid boni de caesare et caesarianis hac nocte. Ego Vaciensis vidi in somnis mirabiliter bonum somnium de rebus et successibus caesaris, qui soleo, nescio, unde id sit, quandoque vera somniare. Utinam primae Vestrae Dominationis ad nos litterae verificent somnium meum.

Negotium illius monachi,⁵ de cuius pecuniis aureis Vestrae Dominationi nuntiavimus, Vestrae Dominationi commendamus et pauperem Hieronimum medicum.⁶

15 Quae et felicissime valeat.

Vaciae, 18. Augusti 1537.

Servitores
de Frangepanibus
et Vaciensis subscripsit

In the lower part of the letter: Reverendissimo domino meo, domino Lundensi, oratori sacrae caesareae et catholicae maiestatis, et consiliario, domino observandissimo.

¹ Also an attachment to the letter by Johann Wese on 20 August. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. A, fol. 75–79.

² See the previous letter.

³ István Werbőczy.

⁴ György Fráter informed Johann Wese from Várad on 2 August 1537 that because of the ravaging done by pro-Ferdinand troops near Kassa, he will be compelled to return to Upper Hungary. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Fráter György levelezése, Történelmi Társ., 1878*, 213–214.

⁵ Bishop of Várad György Fráter, Treasurer.

⁶ Hieronymus Adorno, Italian physician of Brodarics. See also the letter by Brodarics on 5 August 1537.

Johann Wese to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics
Körmöcbánya, end of August 1537¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. B, fol. 28–29.²

1. He finds it unacceptable that, despite of his efforts for peace, both Hungarian parties accuse him with causing delays in reaching agreement, whereas it is King John who does not specify unambiguous conditions for peace. – 2. Brodarics and Frangepán know that he has had no other purpose in sight but achieving peace and tranquillity in the country at last. The draft he has put forth is a striking evidence for this. Neither they nor King John have ever given a response. – 3. He demands that John speak his mind at last and specify under what conditions he would be ready to sign peace that is talked about so much, if the conditions suggested by Wese are inappropriate. – 4. Charles V has travelled to Monzón to be closer to Italy and expects urgent notification about the state of peace in Hungary. His wife, who is going to give birth soon, remained in Valladolid. – 5. Brodarics has got a letter from Lope de Soria, which he forwards.

Reverendissimi in Christo Patres et Domini ac Amici tanquam Fratres Observandissimi. Salutem et officiorum meorum solitam commendationem.

[1.] In hisce pacis tractatibus, quod omnium minime exspectaram, mihi usu venit. Nam cum omnem lapidem moverim, ut ista concordia tandem semel concluderetur, et
5 in ea re conficienda neque laboribus neque vigiliis ullis pepercerim, certe id saltem me
assecutum esse credebam, ut de voluntate et studio meo circa pacem plenissime constaret. Verum quantum me mea opinio fefellerit, testantur Hungarorum utriusque partis
quotidianae litterae, quibus mecum satis mordaciter expostulant, quasi per me factum
sit, quominus haec pax non sit subsecuta. Idque regem Ioannem palam profiteri se
10 quidem ad concordiam ineundam promptum semper paratumque fuisse, et nunc
quoque esse, me autem nunquam adduci potuisse, ut ad aliquas honestas pacis condiciones
condescenderem, quod ipsum testari etiam videntur binae illae litterae ad
Dominationes Vestras datae, quarum exemplaria mihi misistis.³ Unde ego sane non
solum vehementissime doleo, sed etiam demiror regem Ioannem hanc maculam mihi
15 velle praeter meritum meum inurere.

[2.] Quandoquidem Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae locupletissimi testes
esse possunt, quam sincere, quam cupide, quam denique flagranter semper optaverim
hasce discordias pro salute Hungariae et honore utriusque partis sedari atque extinguere,
nec mihi tam fuit curae ambitionem utriusque partis spectare, quam stabilire aliquam
20 ipsius regni firmam et solidam tranquillitatem. Quod cum ex multis argumentis satis
manifeste constat, tum ex eo potissimum articulo luce clarius esse debet, quem Dominationibus
Vestris Reverendissimis coram proposui. Nimirum quidnam princeps vester
decrevisset facere casu, quo haec pax conficeretur, velletne cum rege Romanorum

¹ The letter, which survived as a copy, is undated. It must have been written in the last days of August the latest, because Brodarics answered it on 4 September.

² An attachment to a letter by Johann Wese on 8 September.

³ See the letters by Szapolyai on 1 and 13 August.

arma sumere et Hungariam liberare ab intolerabili iugo Turcarum, an cum ipsis Turcis
25 antiquam amicitiam et pristina foedera servare. Quis, quaeso, hunc articulum posset
calumniari, quis, inquam, propositionem istam reprehendere, quae directe vergit ad
liberationem huius afflictissimae patriae. Et in qua nulla est vel minima ambitionis
suspicio. Tamen Dominationes Vestrae Reverendissimae non ignorant me nec ab ipsis
30 nec a principe suo super isto tam favorabili et Hungariae perutili articulo ullum respon-
sum hactenus potuisse extorquere. Quamobrem vehementer miror regem Ioannem et
hanc culpam in me revertere et in litteris suis ad Dominationes Vestras datis constanter
asserere se ad pacis conditiones, si modo honeste praeponerentur, propensum et para-
tum esse, cum tamen praefato articulo noluerit respondere, quo nihil neque honestius,
neque iustius, neque huic regno salutaris excogitari posset, decreveram haec tetrica
35 negotia omnino relinquere, ut cum videam me pro tot curis et laboribus indignationem
Hungarorum incurrere. Dum persuasum habent per me pacem istam impediri.

[3.] Verum quoniam oportet virum probum non solum crimine carere, verum etiam
criminis suspicione, visum est has litteras ad Dominationes Vestras Reverendissimas
dare pro ampliori [!] mea iustificatione, quo rex Ioannes et Dominationes quoque
40 Vestrae intelligant pacem per me, ut nunquam alias, ita nec nunc remorari. Quocirca si rex
vester tantopere pacem exoptat, quemadmodum et litteris suis innuit, et apud Hungaros
quotidie spargit, agite, resolvat se super articulo superius memorato, et insuper prae-
scribat, quibus legibus, quibusve conditionibus pacem hanc velit sanciri, quo aperte
intelligatur, ad quae pacis media ipse velit descendere, quandoquidem conditiones per
45 me propositae non placent. Ita demum manifestum erit, cuius culpa haec pax remora-
bitur. Dominationes autem Vestrae urgeant regem suum ad celerrime respondendum,
quo possim de hac re certus esse ante meum ex Vienna discessum. Poterunt autem
Dominationes Vestrae litteras suas mittere ad dominum Alexium Thurzonem, cum quo
agam, ut ad me Viennam cito deferantur.

50 [4.] Accepi his diebus litteras a caesarea maiestate datas in itinere ad Montzonum,⁴
quo maiestas sua se contulit, ut esset Italiae vicinior, et celerius Turcico bello posset
consulere. Ceterum maiestas sua inter cetera scribit mihi se demirari, quod tamdiu
super negotio Hungarico nihil ad se scripserim, meque hortatur, ut quamprimum
maiestati suae significem, quidnam agatur de hac pace. Quapropter Dominationes
55 Vestras plurimum rogo, ut extremam principis sui voluntatem et resolutionem ad me
quam citissime perscribant, quo ego possim maiestatem suam caesaream ex Vienna
plene de hoc pacis negotio informare, ne maiestas sua huius rei culpam in me revertere
possit. Augusta quoniam proxima partui est, non venit cum caesare Montzonum, sed
mansit in Valisolet⁵ ibi paritura.⁶

60 [5.] Reverendissime Domine Vaciensis, accepi heri litteras a domino Lopes de Soria
Dominationi Vestrae inscriptas, quas praesentibus annexas mitto.⁷ Dominus Deus etc.

⁴ Monzón, Spain.

⁵ Valladolid, Spain.

⁶ Charles' wife Isabella gave birth to Joan of Austria in 1537. Joan would later marry John, the son of King of Portugal John III.

⁷ Lope de Soria was the legate of Charles V in Venice. Conceivably, this is a reference to the letter by Giovanni Marsupino on 16 July, about which it is known that Marsupino sent it to Hungary by de Soria.

In the bottom part of the page: Reverendissimis in Christo patribus et dominis, archiepiscopo Colocensi et episcopo Vaciensi, dominis et amicis meis tanquam fratribus observandissimis

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István Brodarics to Johann Wese
Vác, 4 September 1537

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. B, fol. 30.¹

1. Wese complains about not getting the necessary answers from them and from King John to no avail, when he, too, is well aware that Brodarics and Frangepán did all they could to achieve success at the talks, but Wese also knows the limits to their influence. – 2. He is surprised that Wese has not informed them about the ten-month armistice reached between the French and Queen Maria in Tremona. He has learnt about it from Lope de Soria. He sent messages by Ferenc Bácsi about all he knew about Kutzianer:

Reverendissime Domine. Servitutis commendationem et mille salutem.

[1.] Hodie accepi litteras Vestrae Dominationis ad reverendissimum dominum et ad me missas,² in quibus Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio pluribus verbis queri videtur, immo queritur vehementissime, quod in negotio pacis non habet a nobis et a rege nostro serenissimo illam resolutionem, quam habere deberet. Reverendissime Domine mi, ut ego pro utroque nostrum respondeam (nam reverendissimus dominus meus Agriensis nudiustertius hinc discessit eam ob causam, quam credo eum Dominationi Vestrae perscripsisse in his litteris, quas ad Vestram Dominationem mitto³), nos pro nostro virili nihil omisimus, quod a nobis fieri potuit in hortando, urgendo et sollicitando, ut bonus fieret finis. Scimus Vestram etiam Dominationem praestitisse omnia officia et sedulitatem, fortasse adhuc Deus noluit peccatis nostris iratus. Nunc quoque acceptis his litteris Vestrae Dominationis nihil omittemus. Mittam eas mane ad reverendissimum dominum Agriensem. Addam eos stimulos, qui per me addi poterunt. Sed Dominatione Vestra intelligit omnia negotia nostra, sicut nos ipsi et vires atque auctoritatem nostram.

[2.] Miratus sum, quod Vestra Dominatio nihil mihi, immo nobis ambobus scripsit de indutiis decem mensium inter Gallum et serenissimam reginam Mariam, dominam

¹ Attachment to the letter by Johann Wese on 8 September.

² See the previous letter.

³ See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. B, fol. 31. Frangepán indicated that he had to travel to Eger in connection to some private matter, but several people urge him to visit Szapolyai's court with a view to national affairs.

meam clementissimam, id est exercitum caesareum sub Tremona factis.⁴ De qua re ego heri accepi litteras a viro fidedignissimo. Amore Dei, si quid tale habet Dominatio
20 Vestra, non patiat nos ignorare. Dominus etiam Lopes de Soria⁵ nihil ad me aliud scribit, nisi quod refert se ad ea nova, quae ad Vestram Dominationem perscripserit. Rogo, oro, obsecro, ne nos in tanta ignorance rerum omnium esse patiat, qui ita desideramus audire aliquid boni de invictissima caesarea maiestate, quemadmodum desiderat cervus sitibundus ad fontem aquarum.⁶ Quod ego de domino Cociane⁷
25 habeam, nuntiavi Vestrae Dominationi per hunc servitorem meum Franciscum Bechum.⁸ Nuntiavi etiam de quibusdam aliis negotiis. Et me Vestrae Dominationi Reverendissimae et Praestantissimae, uti Domino Meo Amantissimo et Observandissimo unice commendo. Quae recte valeat.

Vaciae, 4. Septembris 1537.

30 Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

In the bottom part of the page: Reverendissimo domino Ioanni archiepiscopo Lun-
densi sacrae caesareae et catholicae maiestatis oratori, domino mihi observandissi-
mo.

⁴ Maria Habsburg, Governor of the Netherlands, signed truce effective in the Netherlands with the French on 30 July 1537 in Théroutanne, Flanders. This was extended to Italy in the Treaty of Monzón on 16 November. See BÁRDOSSY László, *A magyar politika a mohácsi vész után*, Budapest, 1943, 201.

⁵ Lope de Soria was the legate of Charles V in Venice.

⁶ Ps., 41, 2.

⁷ Hans Katzianer.

⁸ "Bechum" is probably the result of erroneous copying for "Bachum", so this must be a reference to Provost of Szepes Ferenc Bácsi.

Draft of a departing pact for Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics¹
[Vienna?], [November 1537]²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 33. Konv. A, fol. 14.³

Published: ETE III., 219–220.

Elected Bishops of Eger and Vác Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics pledge upon their faith, honour, and conscience that in case peace is not realised between Ferdinand and John within six months, they turn away from John and become adherents of Ferdinand forever; even if they are deprived from their possessions or suffer persecution. They do this on the conditions that Ferdinand guarantees to give back their bishoprics in time and in the meantime duly takes care of their provisions.

Nos frater Franciscus de Frangepanibus Agriensis et Stephanus Brodericus Wacien-
sis ecclesiarum electi promittimus et pollicemur sub bona nostra fide, honore ac vin-
culo conscientiarum nostrarum Serenissimo Domino Nostro, Domino regi Ferdinando
nos in eventum, in quem pax et tranquillitas inter Maiestatem Suam ex una et regem
5 Ioannem, occasione Regni Hungarici partibus ab altera, infra tempus semestre a data
praesentium computandum, non sequeretur (quod Deus procul avertat), pluribus et
rationabilibus ex causis animum nostrum ad id monentibus et imprimis, ne participes
tantarum caedium et effusionum sanguinis Christiani, tum rabie et immanitate Turcica,
tum etiam furore domestico praetextu regni eiusdem patratum diiudicari possemus,
10 praefato domino Ioanni Regi contra ipsum Serenissimum Dominum Regem Ferdi-
nandum heredesque ipsius praesentes et futuros nullo unquam tempore inservire velle,
quin potius parati sumus, persecutione personali propterea in nos et direptione bono-
rum ecclesiarum nostrarum excitata et saeviente, ecclesias easdem illi resignare, ea
tamen lege, ut idem Serenissimus Dominus Rex Ferdinandus ex nunc annuat gratiose,

¹ This document, extant as a draft without signatures or dating, does not prove in itself that it reflects the real intentions of Brodarics and Frangepán, i.e. that they would turn away from Szapolyai if he and Ferdinand cannot reach an agreement. At the same time, however, several extant letters by Thurzó (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 33. Konv. A, fol. 12–13; fol. 72–73; and Fasc. 33. Konv. B, fol. 29–30) refer to such intentions. (Venit ad me quaedam honesta persona a domino Colocensi et Broderico Vaciensi [...] quam tenore litterarum [...] hoc mecum tractare commiserunt, quoniam ipsi omnino sunt deliberati si Iohannes cum Maiestate Vestra concordiam de regno Hungariae non fecerit, illi *amplius servire nolle*. See HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 33. fol. 12–13. – Italics mine. PK) We also have the draft of Ferdinand's response dated 12 December (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 33. Konv. B, fol. 45.), which refers to a copy intended for Brodarics and Frangepán, so the above letter might be related to a draft which outlined a possible pact about switching sides and which was prepared upon hearing about the intentions of Brodarics and Frangepán. To our knowledge, such pact was never ratified.

² Elek Thurzó mentions in his letter to Ferdinand on 8 November 1537 (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. fasc. 33. Konv. A, fol. 12–13.) that Brodarics and Frangepán intend to defect. If the letter was indeed drafted by Brodarics and Frangepán, then it might have been ready already in early November. If it was prepared in Vienna upon hearing the news of their intention, then, too, it was probably written in November.

³ A document without signature or date. It seems to be a draft.

- 15 ut in ecclesiis eisdem conservari, temporeque processu ecclesias ipsas recuperare
valeamus, et nihilominus interim, dum ecclesiis eisdem exuti essemus, Maiestas Sua
de honesto commeatu expensisque nobis providere, quodque interea temporis, dum per
regem Ioannem in ecclesiis praefatis tolerare forsitan nos contingeret, Maiestas Sua
20 nos in illis bonis, quam et proventibus earum universis tutos, quietos et pacificos con-
tra ullum militum seu hominum suorum impeditum intertenere et conservare dignetur
harumstrarum vigore et testimonio litterarum mediante. Datum etc.

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István Brodarics, Ferenc Frangepán and István Werbőczy to János Szapolyai
[sine dato], [end of 1537–beginning of 1538]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 425. Konv. A, fol. 94.²

*Brodarics, Frangepán, and Werbőczy send the form of oath on which they have agreed with Imperial Legate
Johann Wese.*

Ego Ioannes rex Hungariae promitto in fide mea Christiana omnes articulos praesen-
tibus litteris insertos et omnia ac singula eorum contenta firmiter et inviolabiliter
observare sine omni dolo et fraude. Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei evan-
gelia.

- 5 Serenissime Rex, Domine clementissime.
Concordavimus de hac forma cum domino oratore.³

Servitores
Colocensis⁴
Cancellarius⁵
10 Vaciensis subscripsit

¹ This autographic document was probably an attachment to a lost letter, that is why there is no date or place given. Since Brodarics signed it as Bishop of Vác, it was certainly produced after May 1537. The form of oath that they send to Szapolyai refers to keeping an agreement, which must be either the truce of Rozgony in December 1537, or the truce of Sárospatak, or the Peace of Varad signed in February 1538.

² Autograph.

³ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese, Imperial Legate.

⁴ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

⁵ István Werbőczy, Chancellor.

Antal Verancsics¹ to István Brodarics
 Segesvár, 14 February 1538

Manuscript used: OSZK, Kt. 1681. fol. lat. 3v–4v.

Published: SZALAY László (ed.), *Verancsics Antal összes munkái VI. Vegyes levelek 1538–1549.*

Pest, 1860, 6.

Verancsics lets Brodarics know that the reason for him to not write as often as the filial respect that he feels towards Brodarics would require is that he has no significant news and he feels it would be unworthy to relay plain gossip or rumours.

Antonius Wrancius Stephano Broderico Vaciensi episcopo salutem.

Tametsi deberem crebriores ad te dare litteras, Praesul Optime et de me saepe benemerite, quem filiali ac vigilantissima observantia prosequor et colo, ut ex me quoque nonnihil eorum intelligere posses, quae nunc in aulam quaeque dies afferat.

- 5 Tamen cum ego nonnisi vulgaria, et quae in triviis circumferuntur, id temporis habeam, quibus certe indignum esset aures tuas offendi, per me potissimum, minus multa ac non ita saepe scribo, cum alioqui Te tum regiis, tum multorum aliorum litteris, ad quos res alicuius ponderis perveniant, quotidie certiore fieri non dubitem.

- 10 More itaque solito salutem tibi a Deo Optimo Maximo et omnem optatum statum cum felicitate, annosque quam longissimos, verum quoad taedium non afferant, precabor. Meam deinde operam, studium ac servitutem propensissimo animo, dudum alioqui tibi addictam offero et commendo, quae quidem in hac parte omni libertate mihi carior est, cum illa uteris. Ea ut saepe uti non dedigneris, oro obsecroque plus quam vehementer. Vale.

- 15 Segesvarii XVI. Kal. Martii 1538.

¹ Antal Verancsics (Antun Vrančić, 1504–1573), Humanist, high priest, historian of Dalmatian origin, nephew of János Statileo. Studied in Trau and Sebenico. Later, financed by the benefices of being Canon of Scardona, he entered the University of Padua, where he earned Magister degree in 1526. In the 1530s, he acts as a diplomat for Szapolyai using his excellent knowledge of Latin and Italian. He joins Ferdinand in 1549 and his ecclesiastic career gains momentum. Canon of Eger from 1550, Bishop of Pécs from 1553, of Eger from 1557. Archbishop of Esztergom from 1569 until his death. A few days prior to his death the Pope appoints him Cardinal. A prominent figure of the Counter-Reformation in Hungary. His work as a historian and collector of manuscripts is outstanding. In greater detail on his life and work as a historian, see SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Verancsics Antal élete*, Esztergom, 1898; Josip TORBARINA, *Antun Vrančić*, Zagreb, 1969; BARTONIEK Emma, *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből*, Budapest, 1975.

Letter of Credence by János Szapolyai to István Brodarics
Buda, 29 March 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 34. Konv. C, fol. 103.¹

János Szapolyai gives full authorisation to István Brodarics to negotiate and reach an agreement with Ferdinand on his behalf.

Nos Ioannes Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. Memoriae commendamus et recognoscimus per praesentes. Quod nos de fide, legalitate et prudentia ac rerum gerendarum sufficienti peritia Reverendi Domini Stephani Broderici episcopi Vacien-
 5 deliberato et ex certa animi scientia hoc plenum mandatum nostrum, plenamque et omnimodam facultatem ad audiendum et recipiendum reale et corporale iuramentum serenissimi principis domini Ferdinandi, Dei gratia Romanorum regis semper augusti ac Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae etc. regis, infantis Hispaniarum, archiducis Austriae, ducis Burgundiae, Slesiae, Brabantiae, Stiriae,
 10 Carinthiae, Carniolae, Wirtembergae etc., principis Sveviae, marchionis Moraviae, comitis Habsburgi Tirolis etc., lantgravii Alsaciae, fratris, amici et confoederati nostri carissimi super pace, amicitia et fraternitate et perpetua confoederatione cum sua ac sacra caesarea et catholica maiestatis, fratre suae maiestatis facta et inita, ad recipiendum et exigendum a sua maiestate litteras super hoc et aliis articulis huiusmodi pacis
 15 amicitiae, fraternitatis et confoederationis contentis. Immo alia, quaecunque in huiusmodi articulis continentur, cum sua maiestate agendi, tractandi et concludendi, perinde ac si nos personaliter interesse mandatumque nostrum magis speciale, quam praesentibus est expressum, ista exigerent, dedimus, prout damus per praesentes, promittentes in nostro verbo regio, ut quicquid per dictum oratorem nostrum cum praefato
 20 domino Romanorum etc. rege nomine nostro super praemissis actum, tractatum et conclusum fuerit, ratum, gratum et acceptum habebimus, ac firmiter et inviolabiliter observabimus, nec ullo unquam tempore illi verbo vel facto, directe vel indirecte rec- lamare vel opponere volumus harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio litterarum.

Datum Budae vigesima nona die Martii, anno Domini MDXXXVIII, regnorum vero
 25 nostrorum duodecimo.

¹ Another manuscript: HHStA, RHK, Reichsregisterbücher Ferdinand I., Band 4., fol. 11r-v.

Ferenc Frangepán, Gergely Pesthény, and István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 2 April 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 3–4.

1. Thurzó complains about deeds of Rafael Podmaniczky and Bálint Török that break the truce as well as about what happened in Hont county while they have been making efforts for peace for years. – 2. However, Thurzó must have heard about the wrong-doings of Kápolnay, Péter Bakics, and Márton Kecseti in Tolna county and in the vicinity of Sümeg. Those caused harm worth of 40,000 forints. It is no wonder that this prompted revenge from Bálint Török. They could also mention the abuses by Gáspár Serédy and Ferenc Nyáry. – 3. Breaking peace should be stopped on both sides, all the more because Brodarics is about to visit Ferdinand in order to settle controversial matters. The arbitrators sent to Esztergom and Gönc will be perfect for the job. – 4. They believe that Thurzó paid the soldiers of Ferenc Nyáry who took part in looting in Hont. Kápolnay, Péter Bakics and Márton Kecseti cannot argue that they had no knowledge of the truce of Várad, because they must have known that earlier agreements were still in effect.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, et Amice nobis Honorande. Salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem.

[1.] Scribit ad nos Vestra Dominatio litteris separatim ad unumquemque nostrum missis¹ conquerens valde acerbe de his, quae dominus Raphael Podnemynzky² contra
5 indutias agere molitur. Addidit etiam nonnulla de conatibus domini Valentini Therek.³ Scripserat his diebus et de comitatu Honthensi.⁴ Ad haec omnia respondemus Vestrae Dominationi nihil nos magis cupere teste Deo et conscientia nostra, quam regni quietem, eam in rem iam a tot annis, toto pectore incubuisse factis pro hoc et exantlatis
10 maximis laboribus et fatigis, proxime etiam Varadini hanc ob causam dedisse omnem operam, ut fierent indutiae istae annuae, ex quibus pax perpetua sequi posset.

[2.] Dominatio Vestra queritur nostros agere multa contra indutias, sed Vestra Dominatio non quaerit illud, quod potissimum, ut cum venia Vestrae Dominationis loquamur, quaerendum erat: utri fuerint, qui inceperint. Credimus esse impossibile,
15 quod Vestra Dominatio ignoret, quae et quam nefanda patrarint his diebus in comitatu Tholnensi et Simigiensi ditione serenissimi et clementissimi domini nostri Franciscus Kápolnay et Petrus Bakyth et Vesprimiensis, quae vel saxeum cor deberent movere ad

16 deberent *correx*i ex: deberet

¹ Thurzó's letters are unknown.

² Rafael Podmaniczky (?–1559), Baron in Trencsén county, famous for his tyranny. He and his brother János Podmaniczky supported King John from 1536. Rafael was looting mostly the valley of the Vág river and in the Moravian border area in 1538. See LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára III.*, Budapest, 1941, XLIX–L.

³ Bálint Török burned Győr sometime earlier. See Thurzó's letter to Ferdinand: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 9.

⁴ Menyhért Balassa and his brother Zsigmond tried to subdue a part of Hont county. See Thurzó's letter to Ferdinand: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 9.

compassionem. Extendunt se, quantum pro certo intelligere potuimus, damna illic illata ad quadraginta milia florenorum.⁵ Non igitur omnino mirum esse debet Vestrae Dominationi, si illa damna et crudelitates inauditae concitarint dominum Valentinum ad aliquam vindictam.⁶ Quamvis id nec fecerit, nec faciat cum scitu vel voluntate domini nostri clementissimi nec nostro. Idem possumus dicere de Gasparo Seredy,⁷ qui non cessat, nec cessavit mille modis violare indutias inter principes ictas, et mille molestiis damnis et iniuriis afficere subditos domini nostri clementissimi. Idem de Francisco Nyary⁸ nostris omnibus quiescentibus et se continentibus. Adeo, ut ubique vestri fuerint primi, nostri si quid fecerunt, coacti fecerunt, et certe praeter principis nostri voluntatem. Quae cum ita se habeant, nostrae erant potius istae querelae, quam Vestrae Dominationis.

[3.] Sed iudicio nostro restat, ut hi fluctus statim undique comprimantur, praesertim cum unus nostrum Vaciensis iam iam ingreditur iter, eundi ad serenissimum regem vestrum pro ordinandis omnibus illis, quae ad observationem huiusmodi indutiarum pertinent.⁹ Interim Vestra Dominatio committat subditis principis sui, ut cessent ab incepto. Rex noster, dominus noster clementissimus idem est facturus. Constituentur brevi iudices et commissarii Strigonii et in Gewncz, qui omnes differentias revidere debebunt, et omnia male acta rectificari.¹⁰ Hoc rogamus, ut Vestra Dominatio quamprimum facere velit, quia si ibitur de vindicta in vindictam, nescimus, quando erit finis. Et interim pauperes coloni patientur multa indigna. Vestram Dominationem feliciter valere cupimus.

Budae, 2. Aprilis 1538.

⁵ Kápolnay and his companions attacked 21 estates that were under John's control. They drove away livestock and took prisoners. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Fráter György levelezése...* 218.

⁶ It seems there was a private war going on in Transdanubia in March between Ferenc Kápolnay, Péter Bakics, and Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti on one side and Bálint Török on the other. The opposing parties tried to create the illusion that they were defending the rights of their respective rulers. Kápolnay and his companions raised complaints to Ferdinand about the ravaging of Bálint Török, but they also reported on their own plans of operation. (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 34. Konv. C, fol. 60–61.; fol. 65–67.). Nevertheless, Ferdinand, referring to the truce with King John, forbade them to use armed force against Török several times (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 34. Konv. C, fol. 97.; HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 5).

⁷ Gáspár Seredy.

⁸ Ferenc Nyáry plundered in the vicinity of Ság. Meanwhile he had a *servitor* of Zsigmond Balassa captured and flogged until he was half-dead. He had a fish pond of Menyhért Balassa fished out, and finally, he attempted to capture the *Vice-Comes* of Hont county, who was also a *servitor* of Menyhért Balassa. When he failed, he plundered several of his estates. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Fráter György levelezése, Történelmi Tár*, 1878, 218.

⁹ Brodarics received authorisation from Szapolyai on 29 March for the talks with Ferdinand (see the previous document). He left for the talks via Poland in mid-April.

¹⁰ According to the agreement of Várad, the parties were supposed to delegate four commissioners each to settle disputed matters. Four of the eight selected persons were to be sent to Esztergom, and four were to be sent to Gönc. Ferdinand asked for the opinion of the *ordines* about the selection of the commissioners, but he suggested Gáspár Vingárti Horváth and Ferenc Révay by all means, and sent them to Gönc immediately. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 7.

[4.] Intelligimus Francisco Nyary Vestram Dominationem solvisse gentes ad duos
40 menses, quae huiusmodi depraedationibus interfuerunt, quae in comitatu Honthensi
fiunt et factae sunt. De quo mirati sumus vehementer, si id ita est, si Kápolnai, Bakyth
et dominus Vesprimiensis causarentur eis non fuisse notas indutias Varadini factas.¹¹
At profecto ignorare non potuerunt priores indutias Rozgonenses et Patakienses¹² non-
dum fuisse exspiratas, et sic sunt inexcusabiles.
45 Vestrae Dominationis

servitores et amici
frater Franciscus Agriensis
comes Gregorius Pesthieny locumtenens regius
Stephanus Brodericus Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni, iudici
curiae ac locumtenenti serenissimi regis Romanorum etc., domino et amico nobis
honorandissimo

296

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
[Vác?], [between 2–4 April 1538]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 11.²

Brodarics informs Thurzó that György Fráter expects the damages caused to supporters of John to be compensated for by St. George's day. After that, he is going to take revenge with fire and sword. If there is a way, fight should be avoided. They should wait for the appointed commissioners to enforce the law.

Post scriptas has supervenerunt litterae domini thesaurarii³ nomine suo et aliorum
dominorum, qui adhuc Budae sunt. Scribit se usque ad festum Sancti Georgii⁴ expec-

39 Intelligimus ... inexcusabiles manu Broderici

¹¹ We do not know if Kápolnai and his companions really pleaded no knowledge of the truce. It is clear from their letters in March referred to above that they did know about the agreement of Várad.

¹² In order to facilitate further talks that finally lead to the Peace of Várad, the parties signed truce treaties, first on 1 December 1537 in Rozgony, then on 29 December in Sárospatak. See SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Jerosini Brodarics István...* 134–135.

¹ The letter is undated. Since it has been preserved enclosed to the letter by Thurzó on 5 April, when Brodarics seems to have left Buda already, it was certainly written before that. Since he dated his following letter on 10 April in Vác, perhaps this letter was also dated there.

² Autograph.

³ György Fráter, Treasurer, Bishop of Várad.

⁴ 24 April.

taturum refusionem damnorum.⁵ Ulterius autem caede et sanguine vindicaturum iniurias subditorum regis domini nostri clementissimi illatas.⁶ Amore Dei, si ulla via est, cessetur ab armis, expectentur commissarii, dirimantur iure, quae nunc gladio vindicantur. Ista pauca re Balassiana nolit Vestra Dominatio suum nomen hactenus illibatum commaculare, et istis, nescio quibus iniuriis, ut omnes praedicant, ego tamen nondum credo, vindicandis.⁷ Scribo haec sub conditione, si id ita esset, ut dicitur.

Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

10

297

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 10 April 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 25–26.

Published: ETE III., 242–243.

1. Due to his gout, which is improving but is still tormenting him, he cannot act as swiftly as he would like to regarding what he was commissioned to do. – 2. Because of this, he informed Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese about what needs to be done: commissioners are to be selected for the settlement of disputed matters, and a captain who does not back those who abuse their power; Bálint Török was ordered strictly to stay put; recent conflicts were caused by Kápolnay, Bakics, and Márton Kecseti. – 3. Since, as far as they know, Ferdinand is about to leave Prague for Boroszló, he is going to travel to him via Poland on Szapolyai's command, so that he can pay his respect to King Sigismund too. Ferenc Frangepán will arrive in Vienna around Easter.

Serenissime Rex, Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humilem commendationem

[1.] Ego propter podagram, qua laboravi et a qua iam levare incipio, et quod rex, dominus mihi clementissimus nullo modo voluit hanc legationem transferre in alium, non ita cito potero peragere, quae mihi sunt apud Vestram Sacratissimam Maiestatem commissa.¹ Quod Vestra Maiestas pro sua clementia boni consulere dignetur.

³ *post ulterius del. etiam suprascr. autem.*

⁵ See more details in the letter by György Fráter to Elek Thurzó on 8 April 1538. See KÁROLYI Árpád, *Fráter György levelezése, Történelmi Társ., 1878, 219–221.*

⁶ We know from Thurzó's letter to Ferdinand that friar György expected compensation for some taxes collected in Hont county and for some livestock driven away. Thurzó seemed willing to return the animals but wanted to entrust the money to the *Vice-Comes* of the county until the commissioners decide about where Hont belongs. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 10.

⁷ In response to the actions of Menyhért and Zsigmond Balassa in Hont county, Thurzó himself sent Ferenc Nyáry to Hont in order to collect the tax in parts that belonged to Ferdinand. (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 14.). That is why Brodarics asks him not to tarnish his name by breaking the truce because of the offence of the Balassa brothers.

¹ The primary goal of the legation was for Brodarics to take documents of the Peace of Várad that Szapolyai signed to Ferdinand so that the Habsburg monarch can ratify them too.

[2.] Scripsi his diebus ad reverendissimum dominum meum Londensem,² quid interim opus esset facto. Designare videlicet statim commissarios ad Strigonium³ et ad Gewncz,⁴ praeterea capitaneum et gentes, capitaneum quidem talem, qui nec fuerit
10 praedator per ista superiora tempora. Nec sit posthac futurus fautor praedatorum. In rege meo, prout Budae nunc cum suis consiliariis conclusit, nulla erit mora. Conquiescant amore Dei haec latrocinia potius quam tumultus nostrorum utrinque. Domino Valentino⁵ arctissime est commissum per nuntios ad eum missos me praesente, ut cesseret. Kapolnay, Bakyth et dominus Vespermiensis causam his novis tumultibus prae-
15 buerunt.⁶ Committere dignetur et Vestra Maiestas suis, ut sint omnino quieti. Quae actae sunt, revideantur per commissarios. Puniantur per capitaneos.

[3.] Ego, quantum potero, festinabo ad Vestram Maiestatem pedibus tamen adhuc claudicantibus. Rex, dominus meus, quia intellexit Vestram Maiestatem ex Praga Wratislaviam profecturam, iussit, ut per Poloniam irem. Quod facere esset indecorum non
20 salutato et adito serenissimo illo rege.⁷

Dominus Colocensis est dimissus et expeditus a rege meo. Pro die Resurrectionis decrevit esse Viennae.⁸ Ego intra quattuor aut quinque dies me itineri committam. Deus Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam semper felicem et incolumem conservet.

25 Vataie, 10. Aprilis MDXXXVIII.

Post scripta haec accepi litteras a domino Agriensi,⁹ quibus mihi significat se ad festum Paschatis, sicut decreverat, non posse esse Viennae, non dabit tamen multum.

Eiusdem Vestrae Serenissimae Maiestatis

30 humilis servitor
Stephanus Brodericus
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto etc., domino mihi clementissimo.

26 Post scripta ... Vaciensis manu Broderici

² The letter to Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese is lost.

³ Esztergom.

⁴ Gönc.

⁵ Bálint Török still supported Szapolyai at the time and was his Captain-General in Transdanubia.

⁶ About Ferenc Kápolnay, Péter Bakics and Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti breaking peace, see the letter by Brodarics to Elek Thurzó on 2 April and its notes.

⁷ I.e. Polish King Sigismund. Brodarics had a secret mission as well: he had to ask for the hand of Sigismund's daughter Isabella for Szapolyai, who had been acknowledged as King of Hungary in the Peace of Várad, in the strictest confidence.

⁸ Szapolyai sent Ferenc Frangepán, who was supposed to arrive in Vienna around 21 April 1538. to Charles V in legation. See SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Frangepán Ferencz...* 545–547.

⁹ Also Ferenc Frangepán, whom Szapolyai appointed as Bishop of Eger as well.

István Brodarics to Tomás Lascano¹
Kassa, 21 April 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 60.²

Published: ETE III. 243–244.

Brodarics informs Captain Tomás Lascano that he is to arrive at Eperjes soon. Asks him to arrange for proper lodging for him.

Signore Mio Magnifico. Salutem plurimam et commendationem.

Vado da la Segnoría Vostra questa sera com la gratia de Dio. Spero esser com quela in Eperyes. Prego quela, voglia far me haver hospicio bono,³ et a quela me ricomando. Cassovie di de la Pasqua 1538

5

Servitore et bon fratello
vescovo di Vacía
Imbassadore

On the outer side: Magnifico Domino Thome de Lascano supremo capitaneo peditum serenissimi regis Romanorum etc, domino et amico observandissimo.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Cracow, 6 May 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. B, fol. 5–6.

Published: ETE III. 247–248.

1. He asks Ferdinand to inform Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese, or in his absence the Bishop of Győr about the reason for his delay. – 2. He has to raise a complaint about Captain Tomás Lascano, who did not allow him to enter Eperjes despite his status as official envoy, so he had to spend the night in a nearby small village. This insults not only him but his King too. – 3. Szapolyai's people received imperial legate Wese quite

¹ Tomás Lascano, military commander of Spanish origin under Ferdinand. At this time he had been serving in Hungary for decades. He was one of the leaders of the army in the autumn of 1528 which was defeated by the troops of Simon Athinai Deák, who was preparing the way for Szapolyai's return home. In the early 1530s, he is Constable of Esztergom together with his nephew Martin. In 1532, he defends the castle successfully against besieging troops of Gritti. (See BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története I.*, Budapest, 2000, 106.; 120.) Deputy Captain-General of Upper Hungary from 1538 until his death in July 1539. (See PÁLFFY Géza, *Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században*, Történelmi Szemle, 1997, 287.)

² Autograph.

³ Brodarics was disappointed: Lascano did not even let him in to Eperjes. See the next letter.

differently. Lascano might have resented the way the letter was addressed but he should have regarded the dignity of the legation rather than the legate's mistake.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimam mei et servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Scribo ad reverendissimum dominum meum, dominum Londensem,¹ quo absente ad reverendissimum dominum lauriensem,² ex quorum altero Vestra Maiestas dignabitur
5 intelligere, quid fuerit in causa meae morae, quam Vestra Maiestas, oro et humiliter supplico, dignetur boni consulere: necessitas, quod in vulgari dicto est, non habet legem.

[2.] Faciendum est mihi nunc invito, quod nunquam in vita mea recordor me fecisse, ut de alio conquerar. Et certe nec nunc facerem causa mea privata, sed honor et existimatio domini mei clementissimi regis me ad hoc invitum compellit. Dominus Thomas
10 Lascanus, bonus alioquin alias amicus meus, dum Strigonio praeesset,³ dum ex Cassovia huc veniens ad Eperyes irem et praemissem litteras et nuntium,⁴ quibus significabam, tanquam amico, me illuc ire, mihi et litteras remisit, tanquam si fuisset ei capitalis inimicus et prohibuit me in civitatem illam Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis intro-
15 mitti, minis etiam additis illi, qui litteras illas ad eum pertulerat, servitori et aulico regis mei, unde oportuit me non sine incommodo meo, de quo non tantum curarem, sed cum non parvo dedecore regis mei illa nocte pernoctare in villula quadam desertissima.

[3.] Coactus sum id Vestrae Maiestati profecto valde invitus dare ad notitiam magis, ut Vestra Maiestas ei committere dignetur, ne se cum aliis regis mei oratoribus ita gerat, quam quod ego de hac iniuria et ignominia, quantum ad personam meam attinet, mul-
20 tum pensi habeam. Reverendissimus dominus caesareus et simul Vestrae Maiestatis orator,⁵ de quo ipse potest esse testis, alia humanitate exceptus est et visus apud nostros. Undecunque ista evenerint, litteras, quas ad eum miseram et quas additis nescio quibus verbis non amicis in faciem meam retro remisit, quod mihi nunquam in vita mea factum fuerat, ne a principe quidem ullo,⁶ mitto in specie ad Vestram Maiestatem.
25 Fortasse erratum esse causabitur in suprascriptione, sed ego nescivi ei dare maiorem titulum, quam appellare eum supremum capitaneum Vestrae Maiestatis. Poteram addere vicegerentem alterius capitanei, sed id et minus esse putavi, et certe festinanter fuerunt scriptae illae litterae, et nos non solemus multis titulis amicos onerare, potius quam honorare. Sed si ego etiam erravissem, erat tamen fortasse magis considerandus
30 honor tam Vestrae Maiestatis, ad quam proficiscebam, quam regis mei, quam error meus. Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

22 *post additis del. additi*

¹ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese.

² Ferenc Újlaky.

³ Lascano was Captain of Esztergom in the early 1530s.

⁴ See the previous letter.

⁵ I.e. Johann Wese.

⁶ Even though Brodarics apparently tried to play down the insult, the astonishment of the diplomat who is used to princely courts is evident from the letter, since an officer humiliated him in a way like no monarch had ever done.

Cracoviae 6. Maii 1538.
Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

humillimus servitor
Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Vaciensis subscripsit

35

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum Regi etc. Domino mihi clementissimo.

300

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Boroszló, 27 May 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. B, fol. 67.

His health has not let him to reach Ferdinand earlier. He arrived to Boroszló today. He is ill. Since he has heard that Ferdinand will arrive here the day after tomorrow, he decided to wait for him here.

Serenissime Rex, Domine, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

Timeo, ne Maestas Vestra sit mihi irata ob tam tardum meum ad Vestram Maestatem adventum. Non potui citius venire infirmitate, non una, impeditus. Veni huc
5 Wratislaviam hodie et quidem satis invalidus, et cum intellexissem Vestram Maestatem perendie hic futuram, decrevi hic eius felicem adventum exspectare. Si tamen est aliud, quod Vestra Maestas Sacratissima mihi mandat, quod sit virium mearum, Vestra Maestas mihi significare dignetur omnia mandata Vestrae Maiestatis diligenter pro viribus executuro. Vestram Maestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et inco-
10 lumem.

Wratislaviae, 27. Mai 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Stephanus Brodericus
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto etc., domino clementissimo.

33 Eiusdem vestrae... subscripsit manu Broderici

12 Servulus... subscripsit manu Broderici

István Brodarics to Paul III
Boroszló, 9 June 1538

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Cervini, Filza XXIV., fol. 66.

Published: ETE III., 257.; THEINER Augustin, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, 1863, 640–641.

Elected Bishop István Brodarics informs Pope Paul III that he is staying with King Ferdinand in connection to the matter of peace. He has had talks with Nuncio Morone and recommends King John.

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimam mei et servitiorum meorum commendationem.

Fui hic apud hanc sacram Romanorum regiam maiestatem, et adhuc sum in negotio pacis tanto tempore quaesitae, ubi plura locutus sum cum Vestrae Sanctitatis legato, reverendissimo domino, episcopo Mutinensi,¹ quae ipse per suas litteras, credo, quod ad Vestram Sanctitatem perscribet.² Sanctitas Vestra ex his intelliget statum rerum nostrarum Hungaricarum. Et Vestra Sanctitas certo sibi persuadere dignetur serenissimum regem meum³ esse deditissimum Vestrae Sanctitati. Vestra etiam Sanctitas benigne amplecti velit talem ac tantum filium, qui et Vestrae Sanctitati et reipublicae Christianae potest esse magno usui. Dominus Deus conservet Vestram Sanctitatem semper felicem et sanam.

Wratislaviae in Slesia 9. Iunii 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus et capellanus Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Vacienensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Sanctissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino Paulo Tertio divina providentia Sanctae Romanae et Universalis Ecclesiae Pontifici Maximo, Domino meo Clementissimo.

13 Eiusdem vestrae... subscripsit manu Broderici

¹ Giovanni Morone (1509–1580), Bishop of Modena. Paul III appoints him nuncio in 1536 to the Holy Roman Empire.

² For Morone's reports sent to Rome, see: Walter FRIEDENSBURG, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1533–1559*. 2. Bd., Gotha, 1892, 293–296, 301–307; and ÓVÁRY Lipót, III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor bíbornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549. Budapest, 1879, 36–39.

³ I.e. János Szapolyai.

Memorandum by István Brodarics
[Boroszló], [early June 1538]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv C, fol. 185–186.²

1. King John offers true friendship and alliance to Ferdinand for the sake of protecting Christianity. – 2. Offers twenty thousand soldiers if Ferdinand presents the same number with the appropriate sloop units. – 3. Warns the Emperor to consider only coordinated attacks with experienced commanders and strong cavalry, because Turkish tactics differs greatly from European. Hungarians are excellent in this due to the experience gained through the years. – 4. In a military campaign it needs to be ensured that he opposing cavalry does not cut off supplies; moreover, one should prepare for a war lasting several years, which requires experienced cavalry and infantry. – 5. Lists the suggestions and questions of King John regarding military and financial issues. – 6. New captains need to be appointed to Huszt and Munkács, who do not loot; commissioners should be sent to Esztergom and Gönc to settle controversial issues. – 7. Other proposals regarding the release of prisoners, abuses of power, returning of estates, and confirmation of four bishops. – 8. Ferdinand should find a way to keep Katzianer in his service because if the latter was alienated it could cause great harm to Christianity. If he acts differently, he should act swiftly.

[1.] Optat rex oblivionem omnium iniuriarum praeteritarum ex corde. Offert amicitiam et fraternitatem sinceram. Exigit a Vestra Maiestate mutuum amorem, paratum se offert ad ponendas non solum omnes facultates suas et suorum, sed etiam personam propriam pro defensione reipublicae Christianae et regnorum communium.

5 [2.] Paratum se offert ad ea, de quibus clarius per reverendissimum dominum Lundensem nuntiavit, ad praestanda videlicet viginti milia hominum in defensionem regni, si hostis veniat, ita, quod totidem det et Maiestas Vestra unacum bono navali exercitu et competenti.

[3.] Admonet Vestram Maiestatem, ut ipsa caesaream maiestatem admoneat, ne
10 hostem particulariter aggrediantur, sed iunctis viribus, quanto maioribus haberi possit, et ne sine valido equitatu, quo hostis multum abundat, et ne sine peritis belli cum eo gerendi, aliam enim esse et longe diversam belli gerendi rationem cum illo, quam cum hoste Christiano, et in hac parte rex plus tribuit Hungaris et similis nationis hominibus, qui tot annis contra eum bellarunt, quam ullis aliis propter experientiam.³

5 post ea del. quae

13 post Hungaris del. qui tot an

¹ The memorandum is undated, but it seems to be a written summary of Brodarics' legate's instruction, which he probably presented to Ferdinand during the negotiations in Boroszló in the first half of June. Although the legate told the ideas outlined here in front of Ferdinand, notes needed to be taken because those were the basis for the written response to John (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 188r–191r.), in which sentences of the text by Brodarics recur again and again.

² Autograph.

³ Ferdinand, in his response to John, promised that he will count on the participation and experience of Hungarian troops in the planned campaign against the Turks. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 188v.

15 Quod bellum hoc videtur regi suscipiendum et gerendum animo multum pio et Christiano, sola contemplatione Dei et defensionis miserorum Christianorum. Magna animi humilitate, remota omni elatione superbiam enim illorum vincendam, nostra humiliatione ad Deum, et, quod coram Vestra Maiestate dixi, non eici hoc genus demonii solis armis, sed adiuncto ieiunio et oratione.

20 [4.] Considerandum esse illud quoque Christianis, si in terras hostis proficiscantur, non habere, ubi se firment, cum omnia fere sint sine munimento praeter paucissima castra in finibus posita. Imprimis cavendum censet, ne ob multitudinem equitatus hostilis commeatus nostris praeripiatur. Hoc bellum debere esse durabile in plures annos, exercitum debere esse numerosum et validum tam equitatu, quam peditatu.

25 Caesaream Maiestatem in Germaniam esse pertrahendum et inde in Hungariam.⁴

[5.] De iuramento praestando per Vestram Maiestatem.

De nuntio mittendo ad certos principes Imperii adiuncto ei, si Vestrae Maiestati libuerit, nuntio Vestrae Maiestatis.⁵

Ut moneta sit aequalis ponderis utriusque regis, et sit septem lotonum.

30 Ut moneta, quae hactenus fuit, redimatur ad fiscum Vestrarum Maiestatum, ne generet et damnum et errorem.⁶

Si Turcarum imperator mitteret saluum conductum per oratorem regis, quem ad eum misit, quid faciendum.

[6.] Optat, ut de castro Mwkach⁷ et de castro Hwzth moderni castellani extrudantur
35 ob tollendas deprædationes, quas faciunt, et in locum illorum boni viri ibi constituantur,⁸ et ad hoc offert rex auxilium suum, si opus erit Maiestati Vestrae vel serenissimae dominae reginae Mariae.

Ut commissarii mittantur sine mora Strigonium et ad Gewncz, et deputetur per Maiestatem Vestram contra violatores foederum vir bonus capitaneus, et qui non fuerit
40 praedator, nec sit futurus fautor praedonum.⁹

[7.] Ut cogantur subditi utriusque partis obligati rationem reddere ad rationem reddendam.

17 *post elatione del. contra*

21 *post paucissima del. loca*

29 *post aequalis del. utri*

34 *post moderni del. capitanei suprascr. castellani.*

38 *post mora del. ad*

39 *post bonus del. pro*

⁴ It seems that the Szapolyai side had outlined a general crusade against the Turks. To this, Ferdinand answered that the current campaign could only aim at defence, but if final expulsion of the Turks came up, they would consider John's suggestions. See HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 188v–189r.

⁵ Ferdinand was ready to send letters concerning aid to anybody named by John. See HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 189r.

⁶ Concerning the weight of coins in the money supply, Ferdinand postponed the decision. He wanted to consult leaders of countries involved first. Nevertheless, he was ready to cooperate in the withdrawal of counterfeit money and in penalising coiners. See HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 189r.

⁷ Munkács (today: Munkacheve, Ukraine)

⁸ Constable of Huszt was Kristóf Kávássy. Of Munkács, it was Comes of Bereg Mihály Büdy.

⁹ Ferdinand nominated Ferenc Révay and Gáspár Vingárti Horváth commissioners and left appointment of the other two persons to be delegated to the *ordines*. See HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 7.

Ut civitates omnes partium superiorum maneant in suis antiquis libertatibus et locus depositionis sit ille idem et illo modo, sicut prius fuit.

- 45 Censet necessarium, ut illi octo homines nationis Hungaricae, qui limites comitatum limitare debebunt, ex nunc eligerentur, ut eo magis cessent dissidia et tumultus. Videndum tamen, si id nunc commode fieri potest propter respectum etc.¹⁰

Optat, ut bona ecclesiarum pro nunc remittantur.

- 50 Optat, ut Vestra Maiestas permittat in superioribus partibus conducere pedites ad defensionem Budae, si necessitas fuerit.¹¹

Quod Ioannes Paxy¹² simul cum aliis, qui tenetur captivus Vesprimii absque taxatione dimittatur.

Quod committatur dominis Banffy de Alsolyndwa, ut non turbent magnificum Stephanum similiter Banffy, servitorem regis in bonis suis, et occupata restituant.¹³

- 55 Idem petit rex fieri de Wolf[g]ango Zemchei de Slavonia.¹⁴

Petit, ut Vestra Maiestas sit contenta commendare pontifici maximo expeditionem et confirmationem harum ecclesiarum Agriensis, Varadiensis, Transsilvaniensis, Vaciensis.¹⁵

- 60 Ut Vestra Maiestas committere velit, ne ianitores regii in Orozffalwa¹⁶ commorantes impediuntur per Nyary et alios. Immo potius dignetur committere, ut defendantur, et sint sub protectione Vestrae Maiestatis.

Hieronymo Adorno Papiensi, medico Vaciensis permittatur mediantibus litteris Vestrae Maiestatis, ut possit permanere in servitiis Vaciensis et Stephani Werbewczy cancellarii.

- 65 Ut primus, qui violavit indutias, puniatur poena illa, quam ego non possum scribere,

51 *post captivus del. in*

54 *post Banffy del. in b*

¹⁰ Ferdinand promised to appoint the commissioners as soon as possible. (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 189v.). Establishment of county borders was important in order to avoid disputes on legal authority such as those that arose in the spring of 1538 in Hont county.

¹¹ Ferdinand permitted recruitment indeed. See his letter to Thurzó: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 4.

¹² János Paksy was held captive by Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti. His release is a recurrent topic in letters in 1538.

¹³ When János Alsólindvai Bánffy died in 1534, his son, István, who was had been born in 1522, was still underage, so his widow Margit Székely of Kevend lead the family. István was *Comes* of Zala county in 1548, *Dapifer* in 1562, *Iudex Curiae* in 1567. On the family more recently, see: TANTALICS Béla, *A Bánffy család szellemi hagyatéka*, Lenti, 2009.

¹⁴ Farkas Szemcsei and his brother Mihály, unlike their third brother Vice-Ban of Körös, György Szemcsei, supported John. So György applied to Ferdinand in 1528 for the parts of their estates that belonged to his brothers. (See Emilij LASZOWSKI (ed.), *Monumenta Habsburgica regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae Vol. I.*, Zagreb, 1914, 125.) It seems that ten years later the conflict over the estates was still unresolved.

¹⁵ Ferdinand promised to intercede with the Pope for Ferenc Frangepán, György Fráter, János Statileo and Brodarics to be raised to Bishops of Eger, Várad, Transylvania and Vác, respectively. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 190r.

¹⁶ Oroszfalva (today: Ruşeni, Romania)

sed Vestra Maiestas intelligit.¹⁷ Quia nisi adhibeatur severitas, nunquam cessabunt latrocinia et depraedationes.

Quod violatores indutiarum, qui sunt subiecti regi meo, puniantur per capitaneum Vestrae Maiestatis et e converso, ut punitio per favorem non omittatur.¹⁸

70 Ut bona ad Cassoviam pertinentia et per nostros possessa per dominum Seredy noviter occupata remittantur.

Idem de bonis nobilium Keczzer ad castrum Lypowcz pertinentibus per Nyary et Ostrosyth occupatis.¹⁹

75 Idem optat rex fieri de bonis Wylchek,²⁰ servitoris sui vel in Moravia vel in Slesia constitutis.

Quando Vestra Maiestas videre voluerit *Tractatum de modo regnum Hungariae defendendi*,²¹ id etiam per suam commoditatem videre poterit.

[8.] De Koczyano²² scit Vestra Maiestas, quomodo sit intercessum apud regem, ut eum ad se reciperet. Consulit maiestas regia et rogat, ut Vestra Maiestas quaerat
80 modum illum in officio retinendi, ne alienetur, quia ex hoc multa mala possent contingere propter hostem communem, cui ille magna obsequia praestare, Christianis autem et regnis Vestrae Maiestatis multum incommodare, et pro hoc multum rogat rex Vestram Maiestatem timens inde aliquod magnum malum emersurum. Et si Vestra Maiestas in hoc vult regem facere, faciat eum intelligere in tempore, esse enim opus celeriter huic
85 rei providere.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

80 *post alienetur del. et*
82 *post pro del. ro*

83 *post timens del. ne*

¹⁷ Unfortunately, Ferdinand's response does not tell us what punishment Brodarics had in mind.

¹⁸ Ferdinand felt this suggestion was difficult to carry out, so he thought it was best if everybody judged over their own subjects, and if necessary, they should give a helping hand to each other in arresting offenders. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 190r.

¹⁹ Ferdinand entrusted the case of the territories occupied by Gáspár Serédy, Ferenc Nyáry, and Miklós Ostrosics to the commissioners that were to be elected. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 190v.

²⁰ Probably reference to Mikołaj Wilczek, who had been serving King John since 1527 as a diplomat.

²¹ See the text below.

²² Hans Katzianer, Ferdinand's Captain-General in Hungary. He suffered defeat from the Turks at Eszék in 1537, and the Habsburg monarch imprisoned him for this. He escaped and offered his services to Szapolyai, who did not engage the defeated mercenary leader but tried to intervene on his behalf with Ferdinand, as Brodarics' memorandum shows. He failed: the Zrinyi brothers killed him on Ferdinand's command in his own castle in Kostajnica (Croatia) on 25 October 1538.

István Brodarics to Johann Wese
[Boroszló?],¹ before 16 June 1538²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv C, fol. 187.³

Published: ETE III., 264.

Brodarics requests Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese to achieve with Ferdinand that the King pay his debt of 500 forints, 200 of which is due to Elek Thurzó, while 300 is due to Provost of Esztergom András Csézi. He assures Wese that he has spent more thousand gold coins of his own money during his work for peace than the number of 100 forints this debt amounts to. – 2. If there is an opportunity, Wese should remind Ferdinand of his conflict with the hostile Nádasdy and the issue of the Abbey of Zalavár.

Reverendissime Domine.

[1.] Hoc, quod nunc peto, ut Vestra Dominatio pro me facere velit, credat mihi Vestra Dominatio, quod non libenter facio, sed necessitas me ad hoc compellit et principis mei erga me Vestrae Dominationi nota liberalitas.

- 5 Sum multis debitis implicatus propter istas, tam diuturnas pro pace Hungarica susceptas legationes. Debeo inter alios domino Thurzoni florenorum ducentos, domino Andreae praeposito Strigoniensi,⁴ praeceptori meo florenorum trecentos. Rogo Vestram Dominationem, si tamen ei videtur, velit facere duo verba maiestati regiae, huic domino meo clementissimo, dignetur in hac parvula summa me sublevare sua maiestas, 10 deputando hanc summam in prima regni ditionis suae maiestatis contributione, utramque summam, in toto florenorum quingentos domino Thurzoni; potero Deo propitio hoc suae maiestati adhuc obsequiis et servitute mea promereri.

- Expendi plura milia aureorum, quam ista centena sint, in eum finem rei deducendae gratia, quem maiestas sua scit, ab eo tantum tempore, quo primum ad maiestatem suam ventitare 15 inceperam. Ita Deus me adiuvet. Idque de meo, ultra ea, quae mihi rex meus subministrabat.

Hoc est, quod a Vestra Dominatione, ut faciat, peto, si videtur.

[2.] De Nádasdy, filio meo, qui se certe inique mecum gerit, de abbatia Zaladiensi⁵

¹ The letter has no date. It was probably written in Boroszló because Brodarics stayed there in the first half of June.

² *Sine dato*, but it was written certainly before 16 June 1538 because that is when Ferdinand wrote to Thurzó about the issue and paid out the 500 forints requested by Brodarics (see: ETE, III. 278. ill. HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 73.).

³ Autograph.

⁴ Provost of Esztergom András Csézi and Brodarics were long-time acquaintances. Brodarics attended the doctoral exam of András Csézi in 1501 in Padua as witness. Csézi, like Brodarics, was Canon of Zagreb at the time. See VERESS Endre, *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai*, Budapest, 1915, 23.

⁵ Nádasdy was not the administrator of the Abbey of Zalavár by this time. He renounced estates of the Abbey in exchange for the inheritance obtained through Orsolya Kanizsay on 6 August 1534. In 1535, the Abbey fell into the hands of Ferenc Hassághy, nephew of Constable of Kanizsa Dénes Hassághy. See FÜSSY Tamás, *A zalavári apátság története...* 118–120.

cum fratre meo,⁶ de bonis illis faciat Vestra Dominatio mentionem suae regiae maiestati, ut recordetur, quando tempus erit, sua maiestas. Nam ista scio ego non esse
20 praesentis temporis.
Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimo Domino meo, Domino Londensi etc. etc.

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János Szapolyai to István Brodarics¹
[Várad], mid-June 1538²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv C, fol. 141.³

1. He would like to meet some of his old contacts, who are now supporters of Ferdinand; requests Brodarics to procure Ferdinand's consent. – 2. If Ferdinand agrees, Brodarics should ask for a letter of endorsement about it.

[1.] Ceterum sunt nonnulli sub fidelitate serenissimi regis Romanorum, qui nobis veteri [!] necessitudine iuncti sunt, quibus cum pene a puero magna familiaritate usi sumus. Agatis itaque apud suam maiestatem, ut dum illos ad nos pro mutua saltem colloquutione vocari faciemus, ad nos venire patiat. Assecurare namque suam maiestatem nomine nostro potestis, quod in nullum alium finem, nisi ut tandem nobis cum
5 illis colloqui liceat illos vocari faciemus. Cum enim his graviora beneficio Dei inter nos iam conveniantur, facile id sua maiestas annuere potest.

[2.] Si autem huic petitioni nostrae sua maiestas consenserit, accipietis ab ea litteras in eam sententiam, ut quoniam intelligat nos velle cum quibusdam subditis suis, qui
10 nobis veteri [!] necessitudine iuncti essent, illisque multos annos familiarissime usi sumus, agere et conversari, liber illis ex indultu suo pateat ad nos adventus.⁴ Et hisce litteras vobiscum reportatis.

⁶ Mátyás Brodarics.

¹ The fragment is not addressed, but it was preserved as an attachment to one of Brodarics' letters, and its content is in tune with Brodarics' letter on 1 July 1538, so Brodarics is certainly (one of) the addressee(s).

² Brodarics sent the letter, or a part of it, enclosed to his letter on 1 July 1538. There he says that John's letter was given to him with considerable delay, so it was probably written several weeks before 1 July, but certainly not before the middle of June.

³ The letter is incomplete. We know from Brodarics' letter on 1 July 1538 that he sent only a part of Szapolyai's letter to Ferdinand. Physically, today, the attachment is enclosed, mistakenly, to Brodarics' letter on 29 June, not to the one on 1 July.

⁴ Brodarics got the letter belatedly, when he already left Ferdinand's court, so he asked Ferdinand in a letter to fulfil King John's request. See the letter by Brodarics on 1 July 1538.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Kresmier¹, 29 June 1538

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv C, fol. 144–148.²

1. Brodarics asks for Ferdinand's forgiveness in case he states his case in the attached document more boldly than he is supposed to. – 2. It would be best if the Pasha attacked between the Drava and the Sava or between the Drava and the Danube, because it would be possible to defeat him with an appropriate army, even without Italian auxiliary forces, for ten thousand Hungarians defeated twenty or twenty-five thousand Turks before Mohács. – 3. Nothing more needs to be done than to allow the Turks to push forward and then occupy their bridges on the Drava or Sava, and victory is achieved. Quickness, sloops, and an experienced commander are needed. – 4. Protestant princes should not be banned from helping.

Serenissime Rex, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humilem commendationem

[1.] Post discessum servitoris Vestrae Maiestatis, qui heri vesperi apud me fuit cum litteris domini Thurzonis ad Vestram Maiestatem missis, satis superque cogitavi de illo
5 negotio, et visum fuit mihi fortasse etiam magis audaciter [!], quam par esset, perscribere ad Vestram Maiestatem in hac scheda praesentibus inclusa,³ quid ego de hoc sentirem. Quae Vestra Maiestas perlegere dignabitur et boni consulere, etiam si minus prudenter scribantur. Procedunt tamen ex sincero corde et in obsequium Vestrae Maiestatis ac bonum publicum propensissimo. Supplico autem Vestrae Maiestati, ne dicar
10 talium rerum auctor propter bonos respectus.

Vestram Maiestatem Dominus Deus confirmet semper felicem ac sanam.

In Kresmyae, 29. Iunii 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis

humillimus servulus

Vaciensis subscripsit

15

[2.] Crediderim esse fortunam Christianorum et Vestrae Maiestatis, quod ille bassa⁴ inter flumina nostra veniat, sive veniat inter Savam et Dravam, sive inter Savum et Dravum, sive inter Dravum et Danubium. Dummodo Vestra Maiestas et ille alius, quem nominare nolo, habeant bonam curam, bonos capitaneos vel capitaneum potius,
20 vires navales, de gentibus non dubito eas esse posse tantas, ut sufficiant contra vires illius vel illorum. Maxime si exercitus Italicus accederet. Sed etiam sine illo semper

16 Crediderim ... errare alia manu in separata scheda

¹ Today: Kroměříž, Czech Republic

² Autographic letter with a non-autographic attachment. The attachment to Brodarics' letter on 1 July is enclosed mistakenly.

³ See below.

⁴ Reference to Grand Vizier Ayas Pasha. Ayas was said to intend to attack Slavonia, but this campaign did not take place. On this, see the letter by Ferdinand on 15 July 1538 and its notes.

fere ante ultimam cladem divi regis Ludovici, ubi nec ordinem ullum, nec capitaneum, nec artellarias, quae bene fuissent tractatae, habuimus,⁵ decem milia Hungarorum victoriam habuerunt contra viginti vel viginti quinque milia et plura Turcarum.⁶

25 [3.] Nullum autem videtur maius stratagema in hoc bassa devincendo, quam collectis prius in loca tutiora populis permittere ipsum progredi ulterius, quo volet, vel ut ponat se ad obsidendum aliquem locum, sive ille sit Buda, sive Walpo, sive quid aliud, et interim dare omnem operam ad intercipiendum pontes, quos vel super Dravum, si in Hungariam nobis nunc Transdanubianam, vel super Savum habuerint, si in Sclavoniam
30 venerint. Quod etiam ipsum Vestra Maiestas non existimet possibile non esse. Tunc, credat mihi Vestra Maiestas, nesciet nec quo fugere, nec ubi consistere, et victoria erit facillima domino Deo annuente. Opus autem est celeritate, perito capitaneo, victualibus, viribus navalibus et secreto. Maiestas Vestra boni consulat. Tenetur quisque in tanto periculo communi dicere, quod sapit.

35 [4.] Lutheranis principibus, ut essent auxilio, fortasse non esset negandum, quod non agetur cum eis, nisi Scriptura Sacra, in quo Vestra Maiestas nescio quid posset errare.

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper augusto etc., domino meo clementissimo.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
[sine loco], [end of June 1538]¹

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv C, fol. 193–195.²

1. For the sake of defending the country, both monarchs should station 2000–3000 soldiers in the border areas, financed from the country's income. In addition, Ferdinand should spend on this from the incomes of his other countries. – 2. The Emperor and Ferdinand should intercede with the German Empire, the Pope, and other monarchs in order to mobilise 40,000 soldiers for the defence of Hungary. 20,000 of these should always be available for the two reigning princes in the border areas, and the pay of the other 20,000 should

⁵ Interestingly, Brodarics, here, speaks about conditions of the army that went to Mohács as if he was using the description given by Cuspinian: *Rex, licet caret et imperatore experto, qui aciem instruere sciret, tormenta iaculari et exercitum ordinari [...], aciem educit non satis compositam.*

⁶ On 6–7 August 1523, in the battle of Szávaszentdemeter, Hungarian troops lead by Pál Tomori defeated the army of Begler-Bey of Rumelia Ferhad and Bey of Nándorfehérvár Bali, who were ravaging the Szerémség region.

¹ Unfortunately, the document is undated., but the text shows that Brodarics sent the draft to Ferdinand after their consultations, on his way back home, so it can be dated late June the earliest. The draft itself was probably produced even earlier, in Várada, at least Brodarics' note on the back side suggests this. Ferdinand mentions in his official reply to Brodarics that he would be glad to get to know the details of the plans for the defence of the country. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 190v.

² Autograph.

he deposited in Hungary under the supervision of commissioners. – 3. And if those soldiers are not needed, the money should be preserved for later use with the two monarchs Ferdinand and Szapolyai, with the commissioners having a voice about it. – 4. If necessary, the Emperor and Ferdinand are obliged to protect Hungary and King John against any enemy. – 5. Szapolyai believes that the Sultan is going to attack Germany this year. If he besieges Buda, Brodarics asks for 3000 Czech infantrymen from Ferdinand, who knows himself how important it is to protect Buda.

Modus regni defendendi

[1.] Quod teneantur praesidia continua in finibus regni per utrumque principem, de proventibus regni Hungariae quilibet videlicet principum teneat tria milia hominum pro sua rata vel tot, quot pro qualitate temporis videbitur principibus esse satis. Serenissimus autem rex Romanorum³ velit ultra hoc tenere ex aliis suis regnis et provinciis pro continuo praesidio. Et hoc in omnem eventum, etiam si vicinus⁴ fuerit contentus de pacificatione principum.⁵

[2.] Verum si non fuerit contentus, neque tamen arma contra Hungariam moverit, nihilominus efficiat caesarea maiestas⁶ unacum serenissimo fratre suo⁷ apud Imperium, apud pontificem maximum et apud alios principes Christianos, ut pro regni Hungariae conservatione contra vicinum ordinentur in eum eventum quadraginta milia hominum, quorum viginti milia servantur cum effectu semper in finibus utriusque principis ita, ut ea faciant, quae principes ambo iusserint. Aliorum autem viginti milium stipendia reponantur in loco certo et tuto in regno Hungariae sub bona custodia in manibus duorum commissariorum Imperii et illorum principum, qui pecuniam huiusmodi contribuerint adiunctis eis tribus commissariis trium principum, caesaris, regis Romanorum et regis Hungariae, Ioannis.

[3.] Si autem huiusmodi milites non viderentur multum necessarii, extunc tota haec pecunia reponatur de anno in annum, et conservetur fideliter in usus futuros tutelae ac defensionis regni, vel ad expeditionem generalem.

Ita tamen, quod sit in arbitrio illorum commissariorum accedente ad hoc voluntate et consilio amborum principum serenissimorum videlicet regis Romanorum et regis Hungariae, Ioannis non requisitis etiam aliis principibus exponendi de illa summa pecuniae, quantum necesse iudicaverint.

[4.] Ubi vero necessitas ingrueret, et per maiestatem regiam caesarea maiestas et serenissimus rex Romanorum requisiti essent, teneantur contra omnes regni hostes auxilio esse et regem ac regnum defendere.

Modus regni defendendi Varadini tractatus

[5.] Illud pene oblitus sum adscribere, quod tamen dixi coram Vestrae Maiestati.

11 *post vicium del. teneant suprascr. ordinentur*

12 *post servantur del. semper*

15 *post huiusmodi del. depo*

28 *In verso manu Broderici*

29 *Illud pene ... Budae manu Broderici*

³ Ferdinand I.

⁴ I.e. the Sultan.

⁵ This means that 3000 soldiers should be stationed in the border areas by each party even if the Sultan accepts the agreement of Várad between John and Ferdinand.

⁶ Charles V.

⁷ Ferdinand I.

- 30 Rex habuit litteras a caesare impiorum eum versus Germaniam exiturum hoc anno.⁸
Si igitur veniret ad Budam obsidendam, petit rex a Vestra Maiestate ad eius defen-
sionem tria milia peditum Bohemorum, qui sint sub nomine regiae maiestatis, et capi-
taneo eius pareant. Melius enim existimat rex, quod Turcus, si veniat, Budae remoretur,
quam ad superiora dimittatur. Alias cogeretur rex vel bonis verbis vel aliis, quibus pos-
35 set, modis efficere, ut Buda reipublicae Christianae conservaretur. Quae quantum
importet toti Christianitati, notissimum est Vestrae Sacrae Maiestati. Nec vult rex cum
illis peditibus impedire, vel eos a Vestra Maiestate habere, si manifesta necessitas non
fuerit. Scit Vestra Maiestas, quantum sit in rem Vestrae Maiestatis conservatio
Budae.⁹

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Magyarbród, 1 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 7–8.¹

1. Szapolyai says in the letter that the Sultan himself will not take part in any war in person this year, but will send a strong army, but it is not known, where. The legate has not heard anything about the Turks either, except from what he has heard from Thurzó, which is something worthy of consideration. – 2. John would like to speak with some of Ferdinand's subjects, especially with Ferenc Batthyány; Brodarics requests Ferdinand to write to them that he (Ferdinand) agrees to this for the sake of peace. – 3. Ferdinand could also tell Batthyány personally, that Batthyány should not be afraid of offending Ferdinand by visiting King John.

Serenissime Rex, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humillimam com-
mendationem.

- [1.] Accepi litteras a serenissimo rege meo² sed tarde allatas. Nuntius enim nesciens,
ubi essem, et diversa a diversis audiens retrocesserit post me quasi usque ad Vaciam.
5 Rex scribit ad me se habere caesarem quidem Turcarum non exiturum, sed missurum
exercitum validum, ignorat tamen rex, ad quas partes.³ Addit hoc quoque sese quicquid
habuerit certi, statim significaturum illi amico. Maiestas Vestra intelligit, quem dicere
velim.⁴ A nuntio diligenter interrogavi, si quid audiisset de Turcis. Dicit se non audiisse
quicquam, nisi apud dominum Thurzonem. Ego nec ab amicis habeo quicquam formi-
10 dulosi. Non sunt tamen contemnenda ea, quae dominus Thurzo scribit ad Vestram
Maiestatem.

⁸ The Sultan did not attack the German Empire in 1538.

⁹ This request was probably made at the talks already, because Ferdinand, in his response to John, promised 3000 Czech infantrymen in case the defence of Buda requires them. See HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 191r.

¹ Autograph.

² János Szapolyai

³ In fact, the Sultan himself lead a military campaign against Voivod of Moldova Petru Rareș.

⁴ It is not known whom Brodarics refers to.

- [2.] Scribit praeterea ad me hanc schedam rex meus, quam in specie ad Vestram Maiestatem mitto.⁵ Dignetur Vestra Maiestas in hoc ei gratificari. Scio ego eius maximum desiderium colloquendi et conversandi cum nonnullis subditis Vestrae Maiestatis, cum quibus ei magna familiaritas fuit. Inter quos scio esse dominum Franciscum Bathiany.⁶ Poterunt autem, si Vestrae Maiestati videbitur, litterae illae Vestrae Maiestatis, quas habere optat, cum ea praefatione scribi, quod cum nunc agatur de pace inter etc., de qua conficienda sit optima spes, et adversarius Vestrae Maiestatis optaverit etc., id Vestra Maiestas noluerit ei denegare etc.
- [3.] Vestra Maiestas, supplex oro, mihi ignoscat, quod de omnibus rebus ita libere et fortasse temerarie scribo. Illas autem litteras iubeat Vestra Maiestas ad dominum Thurzonem mitti, ut is eas ad me mittat. Domino Francisco Bathiany, quem nunc apud Vestram Maiestatem esse credo, posset coram annuere, ut si rex meus eum ad se vocaret, posset sine offensa Vestrae Maiestatis id facere, ut ad eum iret.
- De me id possum Vestrae Maiestati significare me vix in vita mea unquam fuisse debiliorem et haec aegerrime exaravi. Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et sanam.

Ex Broda hungaricali, prima Iulii 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

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Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Linz, 15 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv A, fol. 77–78.¹

1. Ayas Pasha is said to have started a campaign with a big army to occupy Pécs, Valpó, and Siklós. – 2. He believes that King John should provide news about movements of the Turks and about his own plans more often, because this is part of their alliance. He himself has recruited considerable force to defend his provinces, but he would want to know about John's plans too. – 3. Requests Brodarics to intercede with John so that John fulfils what is in the peace treaty, and sends commissioners to the designated places. He should also prevent his subjects from harassing Ferdinand's territories and supporters. – 4. He will be careful in selecting suitable captains, and believes that Brodarics' suggestions for the protections of the country are worthy of consideration. – 5. He does not feel it would be fortunate to allow his adherents to visit John before

⁵ See Szapolyai's letter in: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol 146.

⁶ Ferenc Batthyány, former Croatian-Slavonian Ban, was essentially an unwavering supporter of the Habsburgs since 1526.

¹ Draft.

the peace treaty is announced. – 6. No more taxes should be imposed on towns in Upper Hungary, and exiles from Kassa should be allowed to get back their possessions, as King John has promised.

Reverende Devote, sincere Dilecte.

[1.] Redditae sunt nobis binae Devotionis Vestrae litterae, ex quibus ea, quae de rebus Turcicis et aliis confidenter perscripsistis, gratiose intelleximus. Sed quia in dies magis magisque rumor increbescit, et fidedignis plane auctoribus continue nuntiatur
5 nobis ex diversis locis Aias bassam² iamdudum egressum cum magno exercitu adventare iterque suum versus Quinqueecclesias ad Sclavoniam capturum eo consilio, ut coniunctus cum ceteris sanciacis tam civitatem Quinqueecclesiarum quam arcem Walpo et Soklos³ itemque alia loca mox violenter occupet et tandem latius progrediatur.

[2.] Non possumus non mirari nobis in hunc usque diem nihil eiusmodi a serenissimo
10 rege vestro⁴ allatum esse, cum tamen in litteris suis ad Devotionem Vestram datis, sicuti scribitis, ultro pollicitus sit se statim, cumprimum aliquid de iis rebus certi haberet, significaturum fore. Ita enim arbitramur, haud quemque facilius de Turcarum conatibus nova certa consequi posse, quam regem vestrum, ex quo autem pax atque amicitia inter nos sincere, ut confidimus, coivit, maxime certe videtur nobis convenire,
15 ut pro communi bono et utriusque nostrum subditorum et incolarum salute quotidie admoneamur. Tum quid ipse de Turcarum progressu intelligat, tum quos apparatus faciat et quomodo, quantoque auxilio rempublicam Christianam atque nos, confederatos suos adjuvare staverit, quibus denique viribus atque copiis commune regnum defendere in animo habeat. Nam id omnino ad veram pacem et unionem conservandam
20 spectare censemus, ut nos inter nos mutuis auxiliis iuvemus, praesertim cum totius Christianitatis periculum agatur. Unde merito cogitandum esset nunc serenissimo rege vestro de viis atque modis, quibus rem Christianam pro sua virili portione una nobiscum tutaretur. Etenim, quod ad nos attinet, nihil sane praetermisimus, ut apud regna et dominia nostra et alibi, quanta maxima possumus, auxilia obtineremus, eaque minime
25 spernenda summo labore nostro impetrata et promissa sunt, in quibus contrahendis dies noctesque sumus solliciti, neque unquam boni et Christiani principis officio deerimus. Atqui maiorem in modum utile foret nos crebro de regis vestri actionibus, quas nunc suscipiat, certiores fieri, ut in tanto periculo et Turcarum non contemnendis motibus res nostras tanto melius dirigere possemus.

[3.] Perferantur equidem quotidianae ad nos fidelium nostrorum querelae, quod
30 indutiae annales ex parte vestra non observentur, quoque modo vestri subditis nostris innumera damna inferant, tum iurisdictioni nostrae semper aliquid subtrahere conentur, neque etiam adhuc a rege vestro commissarios deputatos esse cognovimus. Quae omnia non videntur ad stabilimentum pacis facere.

² Ayas Pasha (1482–1539) was Janissary Agha first, later Begler-Bey of Anatolia, later of Rumelia. He took part in the campaigns in Hungary in 1529 and 1532 as second Vizier. He became Grand Vizier in 1536, after Grand Vizier Ibrahim was executed. He died of plague in 1539. See also the letter by Brodarics on 11 August 1539.

³ Valpó (today: Valpovo, Croatia) and Siklós were important castles in Baranya. The Turks could occupy them only in 1543.

⁴ János Szapolyai.

35 Quam ob rem Devotionem Vestram singulari studio requirimus et hortamur, velit primo quoque tempore apud regem suum diligenter curare, primum ut nos de novis Turcarum subinde admoneat, deinde ut nec ipse in tantis motibus et discriminibus cesset aut quiescat, utrumque enim ut ad pacem et amicitiam nostram augendam conservandamque valde profuerit, ita etiam ad communis regni defendendi rationes faciet.
40 Postremo vero ut commissarios suos ad avertenda graviora damna et calamitates, consopandasque controversias inter utriusque subditos, et complanandas differentias sine ulteriori [!] prorsus mora ad debita loca iuxta indutiarum continentiam expediri iubeat, suisque omnibus serio edicet, ut inviolabiliter observent indutias, alioquin cogeremur nostris, licet inviti, permittere, ut se contra vim et iniurias tueantur. Sed malumus et
45 speramus etiam regem vestrum non passurum fore, ut sui indutias tam enormiter violent. Nos idem penes nostros fideles faciemus.

[4.] De bonis capitaneis eligendis et aliis id genus rebus ad defensionem contra Turcas necessariis summa a nobis geretur cura, sicuti Devotio Vestra sincere et prudenter suasit, eiusque consilium de belli gerendi ratione merito probandum censemus,⁵ erit autem non
50 minus partium serenissimi regis vestri, ut se pari modo ad omnia praeparet et accingat, de quibus, ut illum verbis nostris hortetur Devotio Vestra, apprime petimus.

[5.] Ceterum, quod rex vester petit quasdam litteras, quibus liceat ei nonnullos subditos nostros ad se in colloquium vocare,⁶ ex quo pax ista nondum publicata est,⁷ et a paucis etiam scitur, videtur nobis propemodum inconveniens, ut nunc illud fiat. Sed
55 post publicationem pacis non nisi libentissime admissuri sumus.

[6.] Porro cuiusmodi querelas ad nos fideles nostri subditi atque cives Lewschovienses, Barthphenses, Epperienses et Kyszebynenses de institutis novis et insolentibus tricesimis exactionibus et vectigalibus et id genus aliis, quibus ab adversa parte onerentur, detulerint, Devotio Vestra ab eorum supplici libello hisce litteris incluso intelliget.⁸ Quare, cum haec contra leges indutiarum fieri videantur, et nos eiusmodi inno-
60 vationes non facile tolerare possimus, requirimus itaque Devotionem Vestram, ut ea omnia plenissime regi suo explicare velit, quatenus iubeat inconsueta illa onera gravaminaque tolli, alioqui necesse esset nos rationes ad medendum dictis incommodis opportunas atque idoneas adhibere, nostrisque permittere, ut quoquomodo se contra
65 talia inconvenientia defenderent. Et de eo certum citumque responsum expectamus nomine regis vestri.⁹ Postremo habebit Devotio Vestra cum his exemplum litterarum exsulum Cassoviensium,¹⁰ ex quo videbit eorum querelas, de quibus, ut similiter agat eadem Devotio Vestra cum rege suo, plurimum hortamur, attento eo, quod nobis eius

⁵ See the memorandum by Brodarics on the defence of the country.

⁶ Regarding this, see the letters by János Szapolyai to Brodarics in mid-June and by Brodarics to Ferdinand on 1 July.

⁷ The Peace of Várad was not announced for the time being, because Szapolyai was afraid of Turkish retaliation.

⁸ The referenced attachment has not been preserved.

⁹ Ferdinand informed citizens of Bátfá, Eperjes and Kisszeben also on 15 July, that he had written to Brodarics about their issue and hopes for a quick reply. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 79–80.

¹⁰ This attachment is lost too.

rei causa promissio facta est, et ultra hoc dignum et iustum sit, ne penitus a bonis suis
70 eiciantur, sed potius permittatur, ut agros et bona sua circum et extra Cassoviam,
sicuti rex vester consensit, colere possint absque ullo impedimento, de quo maxi-
mopere laboramus. Super iis omnibus, ut nobis Devotio Vestra quamprimum rescribat,
valde petimus.¹¹

Datum Lintii, 15. Iulii 1538.

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István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Vác, 15 July 1538

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 99–100.¹

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társ., 1908, 338–339.

1. Nádasdy can learn from his serfs how the tricesimators treated them before he arrived home. He does all he can for them, but the case is already in front of the Treasurer: – 2. He returned from his legation in fairly bad condition and now he is going to visit thermal waters in Buda to cure himself: – 3. He is sending Ferdinand's letter in which there is an additional clause concerning his estates.

Magnifice Domine, Domine et tanquam Fili Observandissime. Servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Dominatio Vestra latius intelliget ab istis suis iobagionibus, quomodo egerunt cum eis hi tricesimatores ante meum domum reditum, de quo ego multum dolui et
5 doleo et, quicquid possibile fuit, feci. Sed iam ante meum reditum res fuit significata domino thesaurario.² Ad quem pro hac re diligenter scribo adhibiturus omnem operam in hoc negotio. Sed certe neque vestri sunt sine culpa; debebant cautius agere.

[2.] Quod ad alia pertinet, ego redii a rege vestro satis infirmus. Vado nunc ad aquas calidas Budenses, si quid mihi prodesse poterunt. Doleo Dominationem Vestram apud
10 dominum Thurzonem non reperiisse.

[3.] Mitto ad eam litteras regis sui, in quibus addita debet esse clausula etiam de bonis nostris. Ego etiam rogo, ut si quid adhuc superest, id sit sub protectione Vestrae Dominationis. Sed credo idque cum magno meo magno dolore vel iam nihil superesse, vel brevi. Miror, quod tam parva cura habetur de illa miserrima provinciola.

15 Me Vestrae Dominationi plurimum commendo, quae recte valeat unacum domina mea honorandissima, domina consorte sua. Cui servitia mea commendo.

Vaciae 15. Iulii 1538.

Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

¹¹ Citizens of Kassa got a letter of encouragement from the Habsburg monarch on 16 July, which said that Ferdinand had written to Brodarics about their case and asked for his intervention. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 99.

¹ Autograph.

² György Fráter.

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino Regnorum Dalmatiae Croatiae etc. bano, domino et tanquam filio honorandissimo

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Buda, 15 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 84–85.

1. He asks Ferdinand to intervene for János Paksy, whose release he has permitted already in Boroszló. Nevertheless, Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti does not want to release Paksy, even though the prisoners from Pécs to be released in exchange are already free, but demands the return of other estates for Paksy's release. – 2. Iudex Curiae Gergely Pesthény, brother-in-law of Paksy, has done much for the release of Katzianer's subordinates, it would be good to reciprocate it now.

Serenissime Rex et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Supplicaveram Vestrae Maiestati Wratislaviae pro dimissione Ioannis Paxy. Maiestas Vestra id gracie annuit.¹ Visa hoc fecisse in aliqua parte meorum etiam
5 servitiorum ob respectum. Quod ego perpetuo conabor reservire Vestrae Maiestati. Dominus tamen Vesprimiensis² nihil in hoc ad litteras Vestrae Maiestatis facere nunc voluit, licet illi captivi Quinqueecclesienses, qui pro Ioanne Paxy liberari debebant, sint liberi. Petit in recompensam dimissionis Ioannis Paxy remitti sibi nescio quae bona
10 ecclesiae suae Vesprimiensis sub ditione serenissimi regis mei existentia. De similibus autem quid statutum sit, Vestra Maiestas plane intelligit. Supplico igitur Vestrae Maiestati Sacrae unacum aliis consiliariis domini mei, dignetur ita committere, ut in hoc ulterior difficultas non fiat.

[3.] Dominus Pesthyeny locumtenens regis mei, cognatus Paxy³ nunc etiam non parvos labores et expensas fecit pro eliberandis captivis Coczianensibus,⁴ et praestitit
15 in hoc Vestrae Maiestati non contemnendum obsequium. Idem imposterum facturus in aliorum eliberatione. Supplico Vestrae Maiestati, immo omnes supplicamus, valeant

¹ Brodarics stayed in Boroszló between late May 1538 and mid-June, and held talks with Ferdinand there. Indeed, Ferdinand, in his response to the legate, gave his consent to the release of János Paksy. *Committet etiam Regia Maiestas, ut Johannes Paxy simul cum aliis, qui tenentur captivi Vesprimii, absque taxatione dimittantur, sed ita et tali conditione, ut e converso reddantur captivi in Quinqueecclesiensi et alibi [...]* See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. C, fol. 190.

² Márton Kecseti (?–1551), nephew of Tamás Szalaházy, Bishop of Veszprém (1528–1549).

³ Brodarics, in a letter dated 1 June 1535, mentioned that the sister of Provost of Esztergom Farkas Paksy was the wife of Gergely Pesthény. Since here Pesthény is referred to as a relative of John, and in a later letter he is referred to as John's brother-in-law, Farkas and János Paksy must have been brothers.

⁴ The army lead by Hans Katzianer suffered disastrous defeat from the Turks on 9 October 1537 near Gorian. Perhaps Pesthény contributed to the release of Habsburg mercenaries who were taken prisoner in the battle.

apud Vestram Maiestatem tantum preces nostrae iustae, quantum domini episcopi nescio qualis, certe non aequa voluntas. Omnes conabimur id reservire Vestrae Sacrae Maiestati. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

20 Budaë, 15. Iulii 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

humilis servitor
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Buda, 23 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 124–127.

1. Ferdinand can learn more about the movement of Turkish troops from John's legate. It would be real luck if they came between the rivers because it would be easy to defeat them near Eszék. – 2. He requests Ferdinand, again to release János Paksy, if not for him then for his brother-in-law Gergely Pesthény, who has done so much for Ferdinand. – 3. All he has learnt in Buda, where he went for treatment, is that the Sultan wishes to stay in Istanbul this summer to supervise the war against Persia and on sea. Mehmet Bey divided his existing forces. – 4. Ferdinand should write to Thurzó for the latter to permit recruitment of foot-soldiers in Upper Hungary for the defence of Buda. When Ferdinand negotiates with John's envoys, he is asked to refer to John as 'His Majesty'. He requests the release of Paksy again. – 5. John has sent legates to the imperial princes to ask for help in defending Buda. He asks Ferdinand to use his influence with these princes because it is unknown where this legate may be.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humillimam commendationem

[1.] Maiestas Vestra intelliget omnia ex hoc domino nuntio¹ Vestrae Maiestati noto, et dignabitur facere illas provisiones, quae sunt necessariae. Ego rursus dico fortunam
5 Maiestatis Vestrae esse et Christianorum, si Turcae veniant inter flumina ista. Mea sententia facile opprimi poterunt. Praesertim, si ad pontes intercidendos adhibeatur diligens cura. Quod vel incisione magnarum arborum supra Ezeek² et per Dravum demissione fieri posse crediderim, quod et tempore expeditionis Mohachensis cogi-

¹ In all probability, it is an *aulicus* of Szapolyai, György Horváth, to whom King John issued his letter of credence on 15 July 1538 in Segesvár (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 86.). Werbőczy says in a letter dated 24 July, Buda, that his request will be forwarded by envoy György Horváth, who is on his way to Vienna. (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 130.).

² Eszék (today: Osijek, Croatia).

tatum et consultum fuit, sed non executum.³ Sed navalibus viribus ante omnia est
10 opus. Ego quicquid certi habuero, dabo operam, ut Vestra Maiestas fiat certior cum
omni celeritate, modo praecipitur capitaneo Strigoniensi, ut statim litterae meae mit-
tantur.⁴ Ero enim vel hic Budae vel Vaciae.

[2.] Oro supplex rursus Vestram Maiestatem, ut Ioannes Paxy⁵ dimittatur. Faciat
Vestra Maiestas hanc gratiam omnibus nobis et regi nostro imprimis. Locumtenens,
15 eius sororius⁶ qualis sit vir, quantum ad servitia Vestrae Maiestatis propensus, intellexit
a me Vestra Maiestas.⁷ Dominus Vesprimiensis⁸ non ludat istomodo cum commis-
sionibus Vestrae Maiestatis. Iam tandem incipiat intelligere Vestram Maiestatem esse
sibi et dominum et regem.

Servitutem meam humillimam in gratiam Vestrae Maiestatis iterum atque iterum
20 commendo, quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Budae, 23. Iulii 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Vacienensis subscripsit
adhuc multum debilis

25 [3.] De rebus Turcicis dixit mihi idem locumtenens regis mei se omnia, quae habet,
perscripsisse ad dominos regentes Vestrae Maiestatis Viennenses. Illa tamen est
summa, sicut ex omnibus partibus accipio: Turcam ipsum⁹ hac aestate Constantinopo-
li futurum, prospecturum inde tam bello, quod cum rege Persarum¹⁰ habet, quam bello
navali.¹¹ Mehmet begus,¹² quas copias paratas habuit, dicitur, nescimus quo consilio,
30 in diversa loca partitus. Hoc tantum hic intelligere potui, quo me valetudinis afflictiae
curandae gratia ad aquas calidas¹³ contuli. Quam nescio, si unquam recuperare potero.

25 De rebus ... dignetur *separata scheda adiuncta*

³ The first plan in 1526 was to stop Turkish attack at the Sava river, later it was the Drava. Both plans failed because of the slowness of the Hungarian army. See BRODERICUS, *Historia verissima...* 28., 33., and 38.

⁴ Ferdinand fulfilled Brodarics' request: in his letter on 1 August 1538, he specifically instructed Captain of Esztergom Martin Lascano to forward letters from Brodarics without delay. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 5.

⁵ The release of János Paksy is a recurrent topic in the Brodarics' letters in July and August.

⁶ Gergely Pesthény was *Iudex Curiae* and Governor of Buda under Szapolyai and brother-in-law of János Paksy.

⁷ Gergely Pesthény assisted Ferdinand in getting members of Katzianer's army released. See Brodarics' letter to Ferdinand on 15 July 1538.

⁸ János Paksy was held captive by Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti in spite of the fact that Ferdinand had ordered the release of Paksy back in June.

⁹ Finally, the Sultan did not remain in Constantinople but lead the campaign against Moldova himself.

¹⁰ Tahmasp I (1524–1576), Persian Shah, with whom Suleyman had been at war since 1534.

¹¹ The Turkish fleet had executed many attacks on the Adriatic Sea and along the coast of Italy since 1537.

¹² Mehmet, Bey of Szendrő.

¹³ The Buda area was famous for its curative hot springs.

De Sclavonia nihil aliud intelligimus, nisi assiduas Turcarum depredationes. Cui Vestra Sacra Maiestas amore Dei, quomodocunque poterit, succurrere dignetur.

[4.] Maiestas Vestra committere dignetur domino Thurzoni, ut permittat ubique in
35 ditione Vestrae Maiestatis in partibus superioribus libere conduci pedites pro defen-
sione Budae necesarios.

Maiestas Vestra mihi parcat, si quid excedo in scribendo ad illam. De hoc admonui
et dominum vicecancellarium¹⁴ Vestrae Maiestatis. Quando similes nuntii regis mei
sunt apud Vestram Maiestatem, et cum eis Vestra Maiestas loquitur, dignetur loqui cum
40 omni honore regis mei apponendo maiestatem¹⁵ etc. Dixi huius rei causam domino
vicecancellario Vestrae Maiestatis.

Amore Dei Pax dimittatur propter istum bonum virum, dominum Pesthieny, qui
plus valet unus ad tuendam et conservandam Budam, quam omnes alii. Pax etiam erit
hic Budae cum ipso et respectu eius, spero, quod multi eius generis nobiles.

45 Haec valde debili manu exaravi, quare ignoscat Vestra Maiestas, oro supplex.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

[5.] Vestra Maiestas scit regem meum misisse ad nonnullos principes Imperii pro
petendo auxilio pro Buda,¹⁶ quibus, cum sint Vestrae etiam Maiestatis magni amici,
50 dignetur Vestra Maiestas significare ista nova, quae nuntius domini regis mei ad
Vestram Maiestatem defert, et rogare eos nomine iam utriusque Vestrarum Maiestatum,
ut festinare velint ad mittenda auxilia, quod nos nescimus, nunc ubi agat nuntius regius
ad eos missus, neque scimus quo mittere litteras ad eum, ad quem tamen ego ad sortem
scripsi.

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente
clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

34 Maiestas Vestra ... subscripsit manu Broderici
separata scheda adiuncta

48 Vestra Maiestas ... scripsi verso *separatae schedae
alia manu*

¹⁴ Ferdinand's Vice-Chancellor between 1538 and 1544 was Georg Gienger.

¹⁵ The Habsburgs refused to acknowledge that Szapolyai was elected King in November 1526, and did not address him as King. Officially, the situation changed after the Peace of Várad, but in practice it did not always go smoothly, as Brodarics' subtle hint attests.

¹⁶ Bavarian princes informed King John in early May that they were making efforts to get some help for him from the imperial princes. Their legate in Buda Jörg Weinmeister also wrote in July 1538 that Szapolyai had asked for 8000 infantrymen and 2000 armoured cavalrymen for a period of two years in order to resist Turkish attack. See Karl August MUFFAT, *Correspondenzen und Aktenstücke...* 507–511.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Buda, 27 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 152–153.

1. The Turks are rumoured to march against Moldova. There is no bigger threat to Transylvania than Turkish control of the two Voivodships. – 2. The situation is uncertain in Slavonia too, even though a smaller army would suffice to keep it safe. He requests Ferdinand to intervene for the release of János Paksy.

Serenissime Princeps, Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

[1.] In tanta novarum rerum de Turcis diversitate nescio quid scribere. Quae attulit captivus modo eliberatus, qui ad Vestram Maiestatem vadit, ab ipso intelliget, quibus recentiora nec nos habemus. Quae et ab aliis confirmantur, quae si vera essent, esset id reipublicae Christianae et Hungariae, maxime Transsilvaniae valde periculosum. Teneretur enim Transsilvania quasi undique obsessa, si Moldavia et Transalpina vel altera earum deveniret in manus Turcarum, et in zangiacatus divideretur. Quod si Turcus ad hoc tendit, non esset fortasse malum admoneri per Vestram Maiestatem serenissimum regem Poloniae,¹ ne Moldavum² infestaret, sicut coepit, ferret aliquid eius insolentiarum ob bonum publicum. Melius est ibi habere Moldavum qualemcunque, quam Turcum. Aiunt isti, qui haec attulerunt Turcum utrique regi tam Poloniae quam nostro nuntiasse, ne quis eorum vel adjuvet vel recipiat ad se Moldavum.

[2.] Illud undique affirmatur res Sclavonicas ire pessum, cui provinciae amore Dei provideatur, in quantum fieri potest. Quod, intelligo, non magnis copiis fieri posset. Pro Ioanne Paxy³ dimittendo rursus oramus supplices omnes Vestram Maiestatem. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem

Budae 27. Iulii 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

20

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

¹ Polish King Sigismund I also considered attacking Moldova and drive out Voivod Petru Rareș.

² Voivod Petru Rareș held the throne of Moldova from January 1527 to September 1538. Then, he had to flee from the Sultan to Transylvania. By 1541, he won the support of Suleyman back, and together with it the throne. He managed to keep it until his death in 1546.

³ Concerning János Paksy, see the notes for the letter on 15 July 1538.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 29 July 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 161–164.

1. Brodarics asks Ferdinand to allow his brother Mátyás Brodarics to stay in his wife's estate, which he has had for 7 years, until his case is investigated. – 2. Ferdinand should write to Ferenc Kápolnay for the latter to return possessions of István Alsólindvai Bánffy. – 3. Ferdinand is asked to intervene with Gáspár Serédy for Serédy to return an estate named Bél in Zemplén, which was taken away from György Boynychy.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Huc usque supplicavi ut plurimum pro amicis, nunc supplico humillime Vestrae Sacrae Maiestati pro negotio fratris mei germani Matthie Brodaryth, quo tamen negotio
5 his meis litteris declarando nolui molestare Vestram Maiestatem, sed scripsi de hoc ad dominum vicecancellarium¹ Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis. Peto autem id, quod facile semper concedi solet, ut ante rei cognitionem frater meus non cogatur ex bonis uxoris suae,² quae possidet, et per septem superiores annos possedit, extrudi ante causae cognitionem. Vestra Maiestas dignetur pro sua clementia et iustitia exaudire preces
10 utriusque nostrum, qui ambo sumus humillimi servitores Vestrae Maiestatis.

Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae, 29. Iulii 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Vacensis subscripsit

15 [2.] Maiestas Vestra dignetur scribere ad Franciscum Kápolnai ne magnificus Stephanus Bánffy de Alsólindwa³ impediatur in bonis suis per eum. Et si quae occupasset intra tempus indutiarum, ut ea remittat. Fuit hoc mihi commissum a rege meo, sed ego ob valetudinem adversam, qua tunc gravissime laborabam, hoc fui oblitus. Supplico, ut Vestra Maiestas id facere dignetur, et litteras ad dominum Thurzonem mittere, ut ad me per eum mittantur.

20 [3.] Negotium domini oratoris, domini Georgii H. I. [?] Boynychy, ut bona sua possessionaria in comitatu Zemliniensi per Gasparum Serédi⁴ remittantur Beel cum pertinentibus,⁵ ne se ingerat deinceps, sed sit potius leniter quam alios.

15 Maiestas... mittantur manu Broderici separata
scheda adiuncta

20 Negotium... alios separata scheda alia manu
adiuncta

¹ Georg Gienger.

² The second wife of Mátyás Brodarics was Sára Csebi Pogány.

³ István Alsólindvai Bánffy was later Comes of Zala county (1542–1548). See the letter by Ferdinand on 19 August, in which he responds to the request of Brodarics.

⁴ Gáspár Serédi, Captain-General of Ferdinand in Upper Hungary.

⁵ Ferdinand, in his letter on 2 August 1538 from Linz, instructed Serédi to return the estate illegally occupied from György Boynychy (Bojnić) with all that belongs to it. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 12.

Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Linz, 1 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 6–7.¹

1. The Bishop of Veszprém has been instructed earlier to set János Paksy free, but the ordines asked for the prisoners to be sent to Thurzó, because Bálint Török releases supporters of the Habsburg party held by him when he learns that prisoners of the Bishop of Veszprém are with Thurzó. – 2. He does his utmost in defence of the country; his Captain of Esztergom has been ordered to forward Brodarics' letter to him without delay. – 3. Ordered Thurzó to permit for John's men to recruit infantrymen in Upper Hungary. – 4. He always gives the proper title to King John, as György Horváth can testify.

Reverende Devote, sincere Dilecte.

[1.] Binae nobis Devotionis Vestrae litterae redditae sunt de 15 et 23 mensis Iulii proxime praeteriti,² in quibus nos inter alia rogat pro dimissione Ioannis Paxy,³ quem etsi liberum dimitti ab episcopo Vesprimiensi⁴ mandaveramus, tamen postea accidit, ut
5 communes status atque ordines regni istius nostri Hungariae supplicaverint nobis, ut captivos illos, quos dictus Vesprimiensis haberet, ad manus locumtenentis nostri, spectabilis et magnifici comitis Alexii Thurzo dari iubeamus, quoniam Valentinus Thereck de fidelibus subditis nostris, quos ipse captivos in vinculis tenet, ita respondisset, quod quamprimum eos, quos ex subditis partis alterius dictus Vesprimiensis tenet,
10 manibus ipsius locumtenentis assignatos cognovisset, omnes captivos, quotquot ex nostratibus haberet, libertati restitueret, quorum precibus gratiose annuens ipsi Vesprimiensi destitute praecepimus, ut captivos, quos penes se habet, locumtenenti primo quoque tempore consignet. Locumtenenti vero iniunximus, ut eosdem ad manus suas datos emittere non debeat, antequam Valentinus Thereck libertati restituerit, quos
15 ipse ex nostris fidelibus captivos habet, simul cum illis bonis per eum a tempore praesentium indutiarum iurisdictioni nostrae indebite et violenter abstractis. Et haec quidem mandata, si prioribus hactenus non esset obtemperatum, denuo cum ad Thurzonem, tum ad Vesprimiensem daturi sumus.

[2.] In ceteris quod ad defensionem communis regni Hungariae spectant, ex parte
20 nostra omnes posibles provisiones facere laboramus et iam diu laboravimus, nihilque sane praetermissuri sumus in ea re curanda vel diligentiae vel studii, ut Christiani principis officio satisfaciamus. Ceterum quod Devotio Vestra pollicetur se daturam operam, ut quicquid certi habuerit, de eo cum omni celeritate certiores fiamus, eam sane obla-

¹ Draft.

² See the letters by Brodarics under the dates listed.

³ János Paksy. On him, see the notes for the letters above.

⁴ Márton Kecseti.

tionem grato animo a se suscipimus, et praecepimus etiam capitaneo nostro Strigoniensi, ut quascunque Devotio Vestra ei miserit litteras nobis inscriptas, eas subito ad nos dirigendas curet.⁵

[3.] Thurzoni commissimus, ut sinat ubique in ditione nostra, praesertim in partibus superioribus pedites pro defensione Budae et aliorum locorum necessarios per homines serenissimi domini regis Ioannis ad hoc deputatos libere et absque aliquo impedimento conduci,⁶ et super hoc patentes etiam litteras expediri fecimus ipsi Georgio Horwath⁷ traditas.

[4.] Quemadmodum nos exhibeamus in titulo serenissimo regi vestro dando,⁸ Devotio Vestra ab eodem Georgio Horwath cognoscere poterit. Et haec obiter ad Devotionis Vestrae litteras respondere volumus requirentes eam singulari studio, ut de singulis occurrentiis istarum partium nos certiores reddere non negligat. Quam erga se gratia nostra regia aliquando recognoscemus.

Datum Lintii, prima Augusti 1538.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 3 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 15–16.

1. He has forwarded Ferdinand's letter to Szapolyai. Gergely Pesthény says in a letter that the Turks still camp near Belgrade. – 2. It is not easy to get news about the Turks, because the Sanjak-Beys themselves know nothing before they get orders where to go. In order to cure his illness, he will have to visit physicians in Vienna soon.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humilem commendationem.

[1.] Ad litteras Vestrae Maiestatis, quas accepi, nunc impeditus gravi valetudine respondere non possum, scripsi tamen de his omnibus statim ad regem meum. De Turcis nuntiavit mihi dominus Pesthyeny¹ hac ipsa hora, licet dictum fuerit, quod discissent de Belgrado, eos tamen adhuc ibi esse circa Belgradum, nunc in uno, nunc in alio loco, non in parvo numero. Quid moliantur certum scire non possumus.²

[2.] Maiestas Vestra scit consilia Turcarum non facile posse sciri, quae nec ipsi

⁶ circa Belgradum in marg. manu Broderici

⁵ See Ferdinand's letter to Captain of Esztergom Martin Lascano: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 5.

⁶ See the letter by Thurzó on permitting recruitment: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 4.

⁷ György Horváth was an *aulicus* of Szapolyai, whom King John sent to Ferdinand in legation on 15 July 1538. (See his letter of instruction: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. A, fol. 86.).

⁸ On using the proper title for King John, see Brodarics' letter on 23 July.

¹ Gergely Pesthény, *Iudex Curiae*, Governor of Szapolyai in Buda.

² This certainly does not refer to troops of the Sultan but to troops of sanjaks along the border concentrated near Belgrade.

Zangiaci³ sciunt, priusquam eis mandetur certus locus, ad quem vadant. Si quid erit,
10 ego in certificanda Vestra Maiestate vel domino Thurzone non ero segnis, licet valde
sim infirmus non uno genere mali. Propter quod credo, oportebit me reassumptis parum
viribus Viennam concedere ad medicos. Timeo morbum incurabilem, nisi quamprim-
um rebus meis consulero, et omne non unum.

Servitutem meam humillimam in gratiam Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis humiliter com-
15 mendo. Quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae, 3. Augusti 1538.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente
clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 7 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 35–37.

1. Ferdinand's letter about imminent peace has practically revived him. With proper preparations and by selecting suitable captains, the Turks can be defeated this year. – 2. He has forwarded the news to Szapolyai. The Sultan prepares for an attack against Transylvania or Moldova. The King of Poland should make peace with the Voivod of Moldova by all means. – 3. No Turkish movements have been reported from the Pécs area.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimam servi-
tutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Accepi litteras Vestrae Maiestatis et statim misi ad regem meum de optatissimis
novis pacis,¹ de quibus sit dominus Deus benedictus in saecula amen. Si Maiestas
5 Vestra dignabitur me talibus novis saepe recreare, faciet non solum de infirmo sanum
sicut Wratislaviae,² cum suo vino et medico multum adiuvit valetudinem meam, sed
faceret, si essem mortuus, de mortuo vivum, si vos tres cum invictissimo fratre³ et cum
hoc alio, quem nominare adhuc supersedeo,⁴ revera et cum effectu vultis.

13 Maiestas Vestra ... non unum *inferiore parte paginae*
manu Broderici scripta

³ Sanjak-Beys.

¹ I.e. reference to the peace for ten years signed by Charles V and King of France Francis in Nice on 18 June 1538.

² Brodarics met Ferdinand in late May in Boroszló, where he took documents of the treaty of Várad. We know from his letter to Ferdinand written on 27 May in Boroszló that he was already very ill at this time.

³ Charles V.

⁴ Francis I.

Hinc ad annum Deo duce sperarem, quod possemus in manibus habere Bizantium⁵ sine ullo dubio. Sed opus est bonis provisionibus, bonis consultoribus et bonis capitaneis.⁶ Talibus, qui sciunt et naturam et mores eorum, cum quibus res nobis est. Omnia nobis inserviunt, et inter alia locorum opportunitates, quae nemo crederet, quam bene serviunt nobis.⁷ [2.] De aliis, quae Vestra Maiestas ad me proxime scribere fuit dignata, et scripsi et nuntiavi regi diligentissime.

15 Nunc habeo nova, quod Turci vadunt contra Transsilvaniam vel Moldaviam.⁸ Cum Moldavo omnino concordandus esset serenissimus rex Poloniae.⁹

Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae, 7. Augusti 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

20

humilis servulus
Vaciensis subscripsit

[3.] Miseram his diebus Quinqueecclesias et circum illa loca adinquirendum de Turcis. Scribitur et nuntiatur mihi per gubernatorem Quinqueecclesiarum se nihil scire de aliquibus motibus Turcarum.

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 8 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 42–43, and 39/2.¹

1. He received word from Governor Gergely Pesthény at the same time when he got Ferdinand's letter: the Turks prepare against Transylvania, so military help from Ferdinand is needed. He holdly writes about his

21 Eiusdem... subscripsit *manu Broderici*

22 Miseram ... Turcarum *scheda separata manu Broderici adiuncta*

⁵ The Byzantine, i.e. the Sultan.

⁶ Perhaps a hint at Katzianer's defeat in 1537 in Gorian.

⁷ Peace with the French gave Charles V the possibility to organise a large-scale anti-Turkish league with the participation of Venice and the Pope. He tried to draw King of France Francis into this when they met in person in July 1538 in Augies Mortes.

⁸ Suleyman started his campaign against Moldova in June, but, in Hungary, it was not known whether or not the occupation of Transylvania is among the goals.

⁹ Voivod of Moldova Petru Rareș got involved in a war with Polish King Sigismund, too, in 1538, but the Polish Monarch ended the attack against Moldova, partly due to the intervention of Szapolyai See VERANCICS Antal, *Péter moldvai vajda elűzése (1538)*, Gesta, 2007, 53.

¹ The numbering of the sheets is disorderly.

suggestions to both kings. – 2. He will inform Ferdinand about everything in detail if the Captain of Esztergom forwards his letters in time. – 3. Laski can be of great service to both kings now because he has good knowledge of the Turks as well as of the terrain.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humilem servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Accepi nunc eadem hora, qua litteras Maiestatis Vestrae de Paxy,² litteras a locumtenente regio,³ in quibus ad me scribit certum esse, quod Turci Transsilvaniam petunt,⁴ succurrendum igitur esset, Serenissime Rex, idque quamprimum. Credo eos ibi opprimi posse cum auxilio Dei. Quid tamen mihi ex meo fatuo, non tamen militari capite videatur, scripsi hodie ad regem meum.⁵ Et idem scribo ad Vestram Maiestatem in hac scheda praesentibus inclusa.⁶ Maiestas Vestra, oro supplex, boni omnia consulat. Est in antiquo proverbio saepe etiam est olitor valde opportuna locutus.⁷

[2.] Quicquid erit, et quicquid ego scire potero, faciam Vestram Maiestatem in dies et in horas certiore, modo capitaneus Strigoniensis⁸ non sit segnis in litteris meis ad Vestram Maiestatem mittendis.

Deus Maiestatem Vestram semper felicem conservet et incolumem.

Vaciae, 8. Augusti 1538.

(Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Vaciensis)

[3.] Dominus Lasky posset nunc praeclara servitia praestare Maiestatibus Vestris, quippe et locorum nostrorum et rerum Turcicarum peritus, et tam animo, quam corpore expeditus.

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto, domino mihi clementissimo.

17 Dominus Lasky ... expeditus *scheda separata alia manu adiuncta*

18 *post tam del. corpo*

² See the part on Paksy in Ferdinand's letter on 1 August 1538.

³ Gergely Pesthény, *Iudex Curiae*, Szapolyai's Governor in Buda.

⁴ In fact, the Sultan did not attack Transylvania. The purpose of the attack was chasing away of the Voivod of Moldova.

⁵ János Szapolyai.

⁶ See the postscript.

⁷ *Saepe etiam est olitor valde opportuna locutus*: Even a vegetable-grower often speaks very much to the point. The proverb is from Gellius originally (*Noctes Atticae*, 2. 6,9), but the fact that it appears in *Adagia* by Erasmus shows how widely known it was (*Adagia*, 1.6.1).

⁸ Martín Lascano, nephew of former Captain of Esztergom Tomás Lascano. Ferdinand, in a letter dated 1 August 1538, instructed Captain Martín Lascano specifically to forward letters from Brodarics promptly. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 5.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I

Vác, 11 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 56–57.

1. Sigismund Stetner, Ferdinand's courtier, visited him; leaders of Vienna sent him to collect information on the Turks, but he could say nothing more than what he had written to Ferdinand in his latest letters. When he receives news from Transylvania, where he has three men, he will notify Ferdinand. – 2. Lope de Soria writes that the Sultan has serious difficulties with the Persian Shah, so he will need all his troops in Europe. In this case Ferdinand may be able to reconquer castles along lower reaches of the Danube from Eszék to Belgrade. – 3. Regarding the citizen of Pest, he is forwarding King John's request to Ferdinand.

Serenissime Princeps et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimam servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Diverterat ad me ex Buda dominus Sigismundus Stetner,¹ aulicus Vestrae Maiestatis missus per dominos regentes Viennenses inquirens de rebus Turcicis. Cui ego nihil aliud scivi respondere, nisi quod ad Maiestatem Vestram perscripsi proximis et novissimis meis litteris.² Quod etiam ex superabundanti volui his litteris meis esse notum nos nihil aliud habere. Habeo tres in Transsilvania, quorum aliquis impossibile est, quod non redeat, sive ergo inde, sive aliunde quicquid erit, faciam statim Vestram Maiestatem certiore.

[2.] Fortasse Deus dabit, quod pro hoc tempore erimus tuti ab hoste, quem ex litteris recentibus, quas a domino Lopes de Soria³ accepi, cognovi cum rege Persarum⁴ esse valde impeditum, ut coactus sit vocare ad se omnes suos exercitus Europeos mittendos in auxilium filii.⁵ Quod si ita est, et si non esset tarde, possent Vestrae Maiestates facere aliquid praeclari in recuperanda adhuc isto anno Ezek⁶ et ea, quae sunt per ripam Danubii usque ad Belgradum. Sed fiat id, quod commode et sine periculo fieri potest, et tunc, quando fieri potest.

[3.] Habui commendatum istud negotium civis Pesthiensis a rege meo, oblitus fui illud expedire. Quod nunc mitto et supplico Vestrae Maiestati, ut in eo dignetur ad petitionem regis mei facere, quod iustum est.

Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem. Cui servitutum meam humillimam iterum commendo.

Vaciae, 11. Augusti 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

humilis servitor
Vaciensis subscripsit

23 Eiusdem... subscripsit manu Broderici

¹ No further data have been found on Sigismund Stetner.

² See letters by Brodarics on 3, 7, and 8 August.

³ Lope de Soria was Legate of Charles V in Venice.

⁴ Tahmasp I (1524–1576), Shah of Persia.

⁵ Mustafa, Suleyman Sultan's second son (1515–1553), Sanjak-Bey of Manisa from 1533.

⁶ Eszék (today: Osijek, Croatia).

On the outer side: Serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Ferdinando divina favente clementia Romanorum etc. regi semper Augusto etc., domino mihi clementissimo.

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Pietro Bembo to István Brodarics
Padua, 14 August 1538

Manuscript used: RVSb, 493r–494r

Published: Pietro BEMBO, Lettere, ed. critica a cura di Ernesto TRAVI, vol. IV. (1537–1546), Bologna, 1993, 126–127.¹

1. Bembo received Canon of Vác Albuino. Later he got Brodarics' letter from Péter Babay. He is glad that Brodarics has recovered and found peace in his new bishopric. – 2. He visited Ferenc Frangepán in Mestre, and had a long conversation with him about Brodarics. – 3. He is sorry to hear that the Sultan is preparing for heavy attack against Hungary. The Emperor and the French King concluded peace finally, mediated by the Pope. – 4. He believes it is favourable from the perspective of his own issue, getting his title as Provincial of the Johannite order recognised, if Ferdinand possesses both parts of Hungary. – 5. Canon Albuino left for home, but as soon as he returns to Padua he will urge him to return to Brodarics.

Signor Mio Reverendissimo e Osservandissimo Dio Vi salve.

[1.] Ebbi il Vostro messer Albino² in Vinegia, il quale e mi salutò officiosamente per nome di Vostra Signoria, e lungamente mi ragionò di Lei. E poi ultimamente, ho avute le Vostre lettere da messer Pietro Babai,³ che anco mi visitò qui in Padova in vece di
5 Voi molto cortesemente, rendo di questi uffici e della memoria che ella serba di me, molte grazie a Vostra Signoria. E veggo, che fate da quel buono e amorevole Signore, che io Vi conobbi qui. E confesso Vi, che questa Vostra memoria m'è carissima e giocondissima, e sarà sempre. Dio volesse, che io Vi potessi tornare a godere in questo
10 aere, come già mi mostraste avere alcun disiderio di voler fare. Ma poscia che Vostra Signoria è risanata, di che rendo grazie a Nostro Signore Dio, e oltre a questo ella si contenta di quel suo piacevole e tranquillo vescovato, io godo dell'una e dell'altra di coteste Vostre felicità, così lontano come io sono, né stendo più oltre il mio disiderio di quello che si conviene allo stato et alla medesima felicità Vostra.

[2.] Io visitai monsignor Agriense⁴ in Mestre, avendomi egli fatto intendere che mi
15 vederebbe volentieri. Dal quale ebbi una amorevolissima accoglienza. Ringrazio Voi che m'avete fatto quel buon signore amico. Stetti seco forse quattro ore, *in quibus*

¹ In the present edition I use the texts of Bembo's letters to Brodarics from the critical edition of Bembo unchanged.

² The Italian Albuino became Canon of Vác in the summer of 1537, probably as a result of the appointment of Brodarics. See Bembo's letter on 15 June 1537.

³ Péter Babay was an *aulicus* of János Szapolyai.

⁴ Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa, elected Bishop of Eger. Frangepán travelled across Italy to Emperor Charles V in Spain as a legate of Szapolyai. See SÖRÖS Pongrácz, *Frangepán Ferencz, kalocsai érsek, egri püspök*, Századok, 1917, 545–547.

sermo plurimus de te. Mi rallegro con Voi che le infinite fatiche e cure di molti anni, Vostre e di lui, hanno pure partorito quel fine che si cercava, della pace. Dio lodato.

[3.] Ben m'increscono le novelle che a noi vengono del grande apparecchio e apprestamento che 'l Signor Turco⁵ fa contro all'Ungheria.⁶ Come che io non posso credere che 'l cielo non gli abbia a levar le forze di nuocerli. Qui abbiamo noi avuto prima la tregua, e poi la pace,⁷ tra la Maestà dell'Imperadore⁸ e il Re Cristianissimo,⁹ tanto sincera e pura e affettuosa che si vede chiaro che Nostro Signore Dio l'ha ordita egli. Di che siamo tenuti alla bonità del Papa, che ha preso tanto viaggio e disagio, per trarne questo fine.

25 [4.] *Quo ad rem meam*,¹⁰ che *Ferdinandus utrobique*, mi piace. *Sed omnino regat Dominus et hoc et mea reliqua atque imprimis me ipsum*.

[5.] Messer Albino se n'andò tantosto alla patria, né poi l'ho veduto. Come egli torni, che non doverà tardar molto, io il solleciterò a ritornarsi a Vostra Signoria. Ho salutato messer Cola¹¹ e messer Lazaro¹² a nome Vostro, i quali Vi si raccomandano senza fine, molto
30 ringraziando Vene. Io Vi bacio la mano, e Vi fo intendere che quanto io sono, che è tuttavia poca cosa, tanto sono di Vostra Signoria, e Vi disidero piena e perpetua felicità, né cosa leggo più volentieri delle Vostre lettere. A XIII d'Agosto MDXXXVIII. Di Padova.

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Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Linz, 15 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 87.¹

Published: LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára III.*, Budapest, 1941, 34–35.

Ferdinand I calls upon Brodarics to use his influence with King John so that Bálint Török and Rafael Podmaniczky stop abusing their power during the truce; moreover, he deems the sending of commissioners from John's side necessary in order to settle complaints and grievances that have arisen in the meantime.

Reverendissime, Devote, sincere Dilecte.

⁵ Suleyman.

⁶ In fact, the Sultan attacked Moldova only, but public opinion held at the time that Hungary and/or Transylvania could have been targets too.

⁷ Reference to the peace treaty signed by Charles V and Francis I in July in Augies Mortes due to the Pope's intervention.

⁸ Charles V.

⁹ King of France Francis I.

¹⁰ Bembo had held the title of Provincial of the Johannite Order in Hungary since 1517, and had been trying to get hold of the benefices that went with it. See the notes for the letter by Bembo on 15 June 1537.

¹¹ Cola (Nicola) Bruno (around 1480–1542), Humanist from Messina, friend and secretary of Pietro Bembo. More on his life: Vittorio CIAN, *Un medaglione del Rinascimento. Cola Bruno Messinese e le sue relazioni con Pietro Bembo*. Florence, 1901.

¹² Lazzaro Bonamico. On him, see the note for Bembo's letter on 15 June 1537.

¹ Draft.

- Creberrimis in dies interpellamur querelis fidelium subditorum nostrorum, quemadmodum Valentinus Thereck² et Raphael Podmanyczky³ nihil vereantur sub istis indutiis⁴ nostrorum occupare bona, proventus eripere et semper sese in ditionem nostram
 5 latius ingerere, dictumque Valentinum decimas capituli lauriensis et aliarum ecclesiarum colligere, necnon dicas subditis nostris imperare et exigere audere, et perinde agere solere, ac si nullae vel auditaessent inter nos et dominum vestrum indutiae. Quare cum istiusmodi violentias et iniurias, pro eo ac debemus, graviter feramus et antea Devotionem Vestram gratiose requisiverimus, ut apud dominum suum nomine
 10 nostro ageret, quo iuxta articulorum in litteris indutiarum contenta iam tandem commissarii expedirentur, qui cognitis ruptarum indutiarum causis curarent rectificanda, quae violenter utrinque acta sint, praesertim cum nostros commissarios iamdudum deputaverimus, Devotionem Vestram impense adhuc hortamur, ut tantum efficere laboret, quo dominus suus subditos suos a molestatione fidelium nostrorum cohibeat, neque
 15 illos in ditionem nostram latius se ingerere permittat, quin potius commissarios suos sine longiori [!] mora expediat, a quibus omnia rectificari possint, prout in articulis indutiarum comprehensum est. Alioquin operam nos dare oportebit, ut talia oportuna remedia afferantur, quo iurisdictionem nostram manuteneamus, nostrosque fideles subditos a damnis et iniuriis defendamus.
- 20 Petimus autem super hisce litteris nostris id, quod et antea postulavimus, citum responsum a Devotione Vestra.
- Datum Lintii, 15. Augusti 1538.

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Ferdinand I to István Brodarics Enns, 19 August 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36. Konv. B, fol. 114–115.¹

Published: LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára III.*, Budapest, 1941, 35–39.

1. Ferdinand is grateful for Brodarics' letter in July and August, in which Brodarics reported on the movements of Turkish troops. – 2. He requested Polish King Sigismund emphatically through his legate not to wage a war against the Voivod of Moldova because of the Turkish danger but to give help to Ferdinand and John instead. – 3. He will spare neither effort nor money to secure Slavonia. – 4. He instructed the Bishop of Veszprém once again to hand over János Paksy with the other prisoners to Elek Thurzó. – 5. The Bishop of Veszprém and the chapter filed a complaint that Bálint Török collects tenths that are due to them illegally, and threatens them with occupying their estates because he had those once. But there are other complaints about the abuse of power by Menyhért Balassa and the Podmaniczky's. – 6. Noblemen of Győr

² Bálint Török, the most powerful aristocrat of Transdanubia, supported Szapolyai from 1536.

³ On Rafael Podmaniczky's abuse of power, see: LUKINICH Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára III. 1538–1548*, Budapest, 1941, 47–61.

⁴ I.e. the Peace of Várad between the two kings.

¹ Draft.

county complained that Bálint Török taxed them and noblemen of Sopron, whereas these places had never lived under the control of King John or Török. – 7. Exiles of Kassa complain that, despite the truce and King John's promise, they were not given the chance to go home and cultivate their lands. – 8. Jeromos Horváth also filed a complaint against Bálint Török for various abuses of power, and numerous other complaints came from several Western counties about illegal attempts for taxing. – 9. He has learnt that Antal Lossonczy drove out his brother, who is on Ferdinand's side, from the castle of Szalánc. – 10. He requests Brodarics to intercede with King John for remedying these grievances according to the prescriptions in the truce treaty, otherwise he will have to resort to other means to protect his subjects. – 11. If these do not happen, he sees no reason to release János Paksy and his companions. – 12. Accepts the request of Brodarics regarding his brother, and will instruct Ferenc Kápolnay to return the usurped livestock to István Bánffy.

Reverendissime, Devote sincere Dilecte.

[1.] Redditae sunt nobis successive plures Devotionis Vestrae litterae de XXVII., XXIX. Iulii mensis proxime praeteriti et III., VII., VIII., et XI. praesentis ad nos datae,² in quibus diligentiam suam circa nova de Turcarum conatibus scripta valde gratam
 5 probatamque habuimus, hortantes eam gratiose, ut in eo scribendi officio continuare pergereque velit. Praesertim cum non ignoret non minus regis et domini sui, quam nostrum interesse, ut de istiusmodi Turcarum motibus expeditioneque in singulos paene dies certiores fiamus.

[2.] Serenissimum regem Poloniae, fratrem et affinem nostrum carissimum multis
 10 ante diebus per litteras cum proprio nuntio ad se missas vehementer admonuimus et rogavimus, ut ne bellum contra Moldavum³ susceptum prosequatur, quin potius impendentia nunc a Turcis pericula respiciens ad ferendas nobis et serenissimo regi Ioanni suppetias animum inducat. Quem rursus hac de re non nisi diligentissime alteris
 15 litteris nostris adhortati sumus, ut nolit in tanto totius reipublicae Christinae periculo privatas persequi iniurias.⁴

[3.] Ad res Sclavonicas tutandas nullis certe neque sumptibus neque laboribus parcendum esse iamdudum statuimus.⁵

[4.] Ioannem Paxy⁶ una cum ceteris captivis ad manus locumtenentis nostri Alexii Thurzonis ab Vesprimiensi⁷ consignari identidem mandavimus.⁸

20 [5.] Atque in dies magis magisque ex omni parte gravissimis querelis fidelium subditorum nostrorum aures nostrae obtunduntur de iniuriis et violentiis, quas Valentinus Tereck cum sociis suis, necnon Melchior Balassa, Ioannes et Raphael Podmanytzky et alii nonnulli adversae partis sub istis indutiis annalibus non sine iurisdictionis nostrae diminutione exercere audent et conantur. Conqueritur episcopus Vesprimiensis

² See these above under the given dates.

³ Petru Rareș, Voivod of Moldova.

⁴ Brodarics asked Ferdinand in his letter on 27 July to intercede with Sigismund on behalf of Moldova, which was threatened by the Turks.

⁵ See Brodarics' letter on 27 July.

⁶ Brodarics wrote to Ferdinand on 15 and 27 July 1538 for the release of János Paksy. Ferdinand informed him about taking the necessary steps already on 1 August.

⁷ It was Bishop of Veszprém Márton Kecseti who held János Paksy captive.

⁸ See Ferdinand's letter to Márton Kecseti on 19 August 1538. HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 113.

25 illiusque ecclesiae capitulum Valentinum Tereck omnes decimas frugum abstulisse, conarique et decimas vinorum auferre, minitarique sese omnes illorum proventus usurpaturum ac bona occupaturum eo praetextu, quod aliquando ante indutias ea tenuerit et proventus anno superiori [!] diripuerit, quasi liceat ea, quae ante indutias male occupata bene amiserat, nunc rursum sub indutiis occupare.

30 [6.] Queruntur nobiles comitatus lauriensis se ad congregationem quandam per Valentinum Tereck vocatos esse, inauditaque connumeratione taxarum vexari eundemque nobilibus in comitatu Semproniensi et vicinis locis mandasse, ut tributum una cum certis victualibus conferant. Ex multis autem plurimorum querelis intelleximus plerosque esse, in quos potestatem ante praesentes indutias serenissimus rex Ioannes
35 vel Valentinus nunquam habuit.

[7.] Queruntur miseri et deplorandi exsules Cassovienses se nullibi in istis indutiis refugium habere, neque a iis, qui in Cassovia sunt, tutos esse, quippe qui eos capitaliter persequi, capere divexareque non cessent, illisque ne in hunc quidem diem permitti, ut agros et bona sua circum et extra Cassoviam, sicuti serenissimus rex Ioannes consensit, colere possint, de qua re et antea Devotionem Vestram admonueramus, ut cum rege suo ageret.⁹
40

[8.] Lamentatur fidelis noster Hieronymus Horwath¹⁰ Valentinum Tereck sub generalibus indutiis bona sua et fratris depopulatum esse, in quibus plus quam trium milium florenorum damnum intulerit, insuper sex possessiones eorum occupavit occupatasque teneat, variis etiam et intolerabilibus eisdem vexationibus vexet. Deplorant et indignantur regnicolarum nostrorum status exponentes adversam partem conari fideles
45 subditos nostros in comitatibus Castriferrei, lauriensis, Soproniensis, Trinchiniensis, Vesprimiensis, Zaladiensis et Honthensis fere in totum subiicere, dicas violenter exigere et omnem tyrannidem in eisdem comitatibus exercere.

[9.] Delatum est praeterea ad nos Anthonium Lossonczy¹¹ fratrem suum, qui sub
50 nostra fidelitate est, ex arce Zalancz¹² contra leges indutiarum violenter eiecisse deturbasseque, et multis in locis fidelium nostrorum bona ab adversa parte vexari diripique audimus, perinde ac si nullae essent indutiae.

⁹ Ferdinand asked for Brodarics' intervention already on 15 July. Even if he did intervene, it must have been unsuccessful, if there was a need to bring up the matter again one month later.

¹⁰ Jeromos Horváth and his brother Péter were *servitors* of the Bishop of Veszprém. See BESSENYEI, *Enyingi Török Bálint...* 147.

¹¹ Antal Lossonczy, Grand Cup-Bearer of Ferdinand between 1527–1533. From the complaint against him it is clear that in 1538 he already supported Szapolyai, and remained loyal to the family after Szapolyai's death: according to Farkas Bethlen he was a prominent figure in Queen Isabella's court in the mid-1540s. (See BETHLEN Farkas, *Erdély története II.*, Budapest, 2002, 100., 121.) Lossonczy had several brothers. One of them was István, Captain of Temesvár, who was killed in action in 1552. Probably, the letter does not refer to him, because he, too, supported Szapolyai at the time. So the third brother Farkas Lossonczy might have been the one driven out from the castle of Szalánc, but there are no more data available on him. Antal Lossonczy was taken prisoner by Ferdinand's troops in the autumn of 1538: Péter Perényi informed the Habsburg monarch on 2 September 1538 that the King's troops, lead by Łaski, captured Antal Lossonczy while crossing the Tisza (see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 11. See Ferdinand's response on 4 October in: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 9.).

¹² Szalánc (today: Slanec, Slovakia).

[10.] Quae res ut sunt nobis graves et permolestae, ita, nisi statim rectificentur et tollantur, prout rectificari et tolli debent expeditis iuxta indutiarum contenta commissariis, necessario nos commovebunt et compellent ad ineundas rationes opportunaque remedia adhibenda, quibus et iurisdictionem nostram contra eiusmodi gravamina et inconvenientia manuteneamus, et subditos nostros a talibus iniuriis minime ferendis protegamus. Hortamur itaque Devotionem Vestram, agat nomine nostro apud serenissimum regem Ioannem, ut indutiae integrae observentur a suis, bona ecclesiae
55 Vesprimiensis remittantur, ablataeque decimae restituantur per Valentinum Tereck, ditioni nostrae nihil detrahatur, subditis nostris nulla tributa imperentur, exsules Cassovienses iuxta promissum a rege Ioanne factum permittantur agros et bona sua circum et extra Cassoviam colere, Hieronymo Horwath et fratri suo possessiones per Valentinum occupatae restituantur cum illatorum damnorum satisfactione, fratri Antonii
60 Lossonczy, fideli nostro castrum Zalancz reddatur, a quo sub indutiis deiectus est, commissarii sine mora expendantur.

[11.] Alioquin non videmus, cur vel Ioannem Paxy vel alios liberari iubeamus, quin potius causa erit, quamobrem salvis etiam indutiis nostros fideles contra tot iniurias tuendas suscipiamus. Sed haec omnia medio commissariorum utrinque recte rectificari
70 poterunt, ut istiusmodi iam tandem controversiae direptionesque sub ipsis principiis decendantur auferanturque, ne maiora forsitan mala et inconvenientia sequantur et invalescant.

[12.] In negotio fratris Devotionis Vestrae clementer annuimus illius petitioni,¹³ Francisco vero Kapolnay mandavimus per annexas,¹⁴ ne Stephanum Bánffy¹⁵ impediat in bonis suis, et si quae occupavit intra tempus indutiarum, ut ea remittat.

Et haec ad litteras Devotionis Vestrae breviter respondere volumus.

Datum Enns, 19. Augusti 1538.

64 occupatae *correx*i ex: occupatas

¹³ See the relevant part of Brodarics' letter on 29 July.

¹⁴ See Ferdinand's letter to Ferenc Kapolnay, also preserved as a draft, dated Enns, 19 August 1538. (HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 36., Konv. B, fol. 111.) In the short letter, he orders Kapolnay not to harass Bánffy, and, if he has taken away anything from Bánffy's estates during the armistice, to return it.

¹⁵ István Alsóöldvai Bánffy. See the letter by Brodarics on 29 July, in which he speaks up on behalf of Bánffy.

István Brodarics to Giovanni Morone¹
Vác, 20 August 1538

Manuscript used: ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, busta 159., fol. 24–25.

Published: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 284.

1. *He has heard from King John that the Sultan allegedly crossed the Danube in order to invade Transylvania. King John does all he can to resist, in agreement with the Voivods of Moldova and Wallachia, who are ready for anything against the Turks. His Majesty summoned everybody, even the defenders of Buda, so that he can resist such a huge force with the help expected from Ferdinand.* – 2. *Asks Morone to forward the enclosed letter to the Pope.*

Reverendissimo Signore.

[1.] Le nove che io posso scrivere ala Signoria Vostra Reverendissima sono, che heri² ho riceputo littere dala corte dela Maestà del Re nostro,³ per le quale intendo lo Imperatore turcho personalmente dovere avere passato il Danubio mercorei passato
5 che fu ali 14 del presente,⁴ per intrare in Transilvania. La Maestà del Re nostro fa tutte le provvisione a lui possibile per resistere, perché ha bona intelligentia cum li vaivodi di Moldavia⁵ et Valachia,⁶ li quali sono parati patire ogni cossa avanti che cedere al Turcho. Oltra de questo ha domandato Sua Maestà a sé tutti quelli del regno, etiamdio quelli erano ala defensione di Buda, acioché cum lo aiuto, il quale si expecta dala
10 Maestà del Re de Romani,⁷ si possa resistere a tanto impeto.

[2.] Prego la Signoria Vostra Reverendissima si degni dare fidelle recapito ale annexe⁸ directe ala Sanctità del Nostro Signore,⁹ ali piedi dela quale sempre mi offero et aricomando, et ala Signoria Vostra Reverendissima altresì, la quale Idio longamente conservi.

15 Vaciae, die 20. augusti 1538.

Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

¹ See the letter by papal Nuncio Aleander to Alessandro Farnese (Linz, 14 September 1538), in which he mentions that Moldova is in danger, and sends a copy of a letter by Brodarics concerning this. Walter FRIEDENSBURG, *Legation Aleanders 1538-39, Erste Hälfte*, Gotha, 1893, 162.

² On 19 August 1538.

³ János Szapolyai.

⁴ On 14 August.

⁵ Petru Rareș.

⁶ Radu Paisie VII, Voivod of Wallachia (1535–1545).

⁷ Ferdinand I.

⁸ The attachment is lost.

⁹ Pope Paul III. Nuncio Morone forwarded Brodarics' letter to Rome on 27 August. See ÓVÁRY Lipót, *III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor bíbornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549*. Budapest, 1879, 49–50., and Walter FRIEDENSBURG, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1533–1559...* 335.

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino, domino Ioanni Morono episcopo Mutinensi et oratori Sanctissimi Domini Nostri. Domino et fratri semper honorando. In curia Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Romanorum.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 31 August 1538

Manuscript used: ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, busta 159., fol. 17–19.¹

Published: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 285–286.

1. *The Turks have not crossed the Danube yet, because they have few ships, and the Voivod resists them strongly. The Sultan assured Szapolyai about his good intentions but forbade him helping Petru Rareș or to accept him in Transylvania. However, he allegedly sent word to the Romanian Voivods that he was going against Szapolyai.*
– 2. *Szapolyai called all Transylvania to arms; Bálint Török is rushing to his aid with a fairly big army; Péter Perényi and everybody from Upper Hungary and the central part of the country do the same. If Ferdinand's auxiliary troops arrive great things are to be expected this Autumn: perhaps some southern border fortresses can be reconquered, like Kilia and Dnyeszterfehérvár, although Eszék would be more important. The Sultan is said to be dead.*

Serenissime Princeps, Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humil-
limam commendationem.

[1.] Hodie venerunt ad me haec nova, quae potuit iam Vestra Maiestas intellexisse
ex domino Lasky, qui ut pedes, ita etiam manus habet me longe velociore. Turcam
5 nondum transisse Danubium, et, quod naves ei defuerint tot, quot erant necessariae, et,
quod Moldavus² strenue eum retinet cum valido exercitu, nec permittit eum transire.
Habet Turcus apud [regem] meum oratorem, per quem intelligo ipsum nuntiasse ei
bonam amicitiam, sed ita, ut Moldavum nolit ullo modo adiuvere, nec in Transylva-
niam admittere, cuius castigandi causa et ipse veniat, immo, ut velit, si Moldavus in
10 Transylvaniam fuga se conferat, eum capere et in manus suas tradere. Ex alia parte
dicitur nuntiasse Moldavo et similiter Transalpino³ omnia his contraria, se non contra
eos, sed contra regem Ioannem hanc expeditionem sumpsisse. Ad regem Poloniae
etiam dicitur misisse amicitiam suam ei offerendo. Vid[et] Maiestas Vestra, quibus
artibus circumvenire hos principes quaerat.

³ quae potuit ... longe velociore om. HHSIA, PA
Belgien

⁵ defuerint: defuerunt HHSIA, PA Belgien

⁷ Turcus: Turca HHSIA, PA Belgien

⁷ apud regem meum: apud regem meum Ioannem
HHSIA, PA Belgien

¹³ Videat ... querat om. HHSIA, PA Belgien

¹ Contemporary copy, torn at the edges. Besides the copy in Parma, an abridged, summarising copy is kept in Vienna, in the HHSIA. See HHSIA, PA Belgien, Kart. 23. (Alt. 27.), Konv. 7. fol. 251. I supplemented what is missing from the Parma copy using the Vienna manuscript, wherever it was possible. Square brackets indicate these corrections. My own supplements are in italics in square brackets.

² Petru Rareș, Voivod of Moldova.

- 15 [2.] Rex meus his diebus debuit habere totam Transylvaniam in castris. Valentinum
Therek intelligo cum non parva manu infra Budam septem milliaribus traicere Danu-
bium, ut in Transylvaniam vadat. Petrus Peryny, et omnes superiorum et mediarum
partium regni hinc etiam ex his locis idem faciunt. Superest, ut et auxilia Vestrae
Maiestatis tam pedestria, quam equestria non tardant, ut id, quod Vestra Maiestas pie
20 inceptit, Christi [*nomine*] et pie prosequatur, sicut omnes nos simul cum rege nostro
hanc in bonitate Vestrae Maiestatis fiduciam habemus. Existimarem cum tantis copiis,
cum viribus videlicet Vestrae Maiestatis et regis nostri, et duorum illorum principum
Valachiae magnum aliquid et praeclarum hoc adhuc autumnis fieri posse, vel circa
Ezeek et inferiora, vel in illis partibus, in quas totum hoc bellum nunc incubuisse
25 videtur. Ubi utinam per istam tantam occasionem possent recuperari illae nobilissimae
arces tempore incliti regis Matthiae amissae, Kyllye⁴ et Nezther.⁵ Sed illa Ezekiana
nunc plus importat, ludunt enim circa praecordia. Intelligimus etiam Turcam esse mor-
tuum,⁶ quod si ita esset, longe essent omnia facilia. Vestram Maiestatem Deus con-
servet semper felicem et incolumem.
- 30 Vaciae, ultima Augusti MDXXXVIII.
Eiusdem Vestrae Serenissimae Maiestatis

humillimus servulus
Vaciensis subscripsit

18 etiam: et *HHSIA, PA Belgien*

19 tardant *correx* ex: tardent

18 *post faciunt ms. HHSIA, PA Belgien*: Expectantur
auxilia istius sacrae regiae maiestatis Romanorum. Sine
dubio tot gentes possent aliquid magni facere, nec esset
haec tanta occasio omittenda et frustra tot expensae. Prae-
sertim, quod et hic Turcam mortuum esse intelligimus.

³ Radu Paisie VII, Voivod of Wallachia. ⁴ Kilia (now: Kiliya, Ukraine) a small city located in the Danube Delta. It was founded by Stephan cel Mare in order to counteract the Ottoman Empire. However, the Turks conquered it in 1484.

⁵ Dnyeszterfehervár (Castro Mauro, Akerman, Nester Alba) (now: Bilhorod-Dnyzstrovskij, Ukraine) was the last city on the right bank of the Dnister to be incorporated into the newly-established Principality of Moldavia, and for the next century was its second major city, the major port and an important fortress. In 1484, along with Kilia, it was the last of the Black Sea ports to be conquered by the Ottomans.

⁶ False rumour. Of course, Suleyman was not dead.

István Brodarics [to Elek Thurzó]¹
[Vác], [31 August 1538]²

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 12.³

1. The Turks have not crossed the Danube yet, because they have few ships, and the Voivod resists them strongly. The Sultan assured Szapolyai about his good intentions, but forbade him helping Petru Rareș or to accept him in Transylvania. However, he allegedly sent word to the Romanian voivods that he was going against Szapolyai. – 2. Szapolyai called all Transylvania to arms; Bálint Török is rushing to his aid with a fairly big army; Péter Perényi and everybody from Upper Hungary and the central part of the country do the same. – 3. Thurzó should urge Ferdinand to send the auxiliary troops. If there had been sloops, Eszék and other towns along the Danube could be reconquered. – 4. A prerequisite for the commissioners' work is that weapons become silent.

[1.] Venerunt ad me haec nova Turcam nondum transisse Danubium et quod naves ei defuerint tot, quot erant necessariae, et quod Moldavus⁴ strenue eum retinet cum valido exercitu, nec permittit eum transire. Habet Turcus apud regem meum oratorem, per quem intelligo ipsum nuntiasse ei bonam amicitiam, sed ita, ut Moldavum nolit
5 ullo modo adiuvare, nec in Transylvaniam admittere, cuius castigandi causa et ipse veniat, immo, ut velit, si Moldavus in Transylvaniam fuga se conferat, eum capere et in manus suas tradere. Ex alia parte dicitur nuntiasse Moldavo et similiter Transsalpino omnia his contraria, se non contra eos, sed contra regem Ioannem hanc expeditionem sumpsisse. Ad regem Poloniae etiam dicitur misisse amicitiam suam ei offerendo.

10 [2.] Rex meus his diebus [*debuisset habere*] totam Transylvaniam in castris. Valentinum Therek intelligo cum non parva manu infra Budam septem milliaribus traicere Danubium, ut in Transylvaniam vadat. Dominus Petrus Peryny, et omnes superiorum et mediarum partium regni hinc etiam ex his locis idem faciunt.

[3.] Rex me multum urget, ut sollicitem auxilia a vobis, et maxime medio Vestrae
15 Dominationis. Quae id sollicitare velit. Etiam si Turcus retineri posset, ne transiret

10 *debuisset habere om. HHStA, Fasc. 35. Konv. A, fol. 12. Addidi ex ms. HHStA, PA Belgien, Kart. 23. (Alt. 27.), Konv. 7. fol. 251.*

14 Rex... necessarij manu Broderici

¹ The letter is just a fragment, both addressing and dating are missing. Since the second part is autographic, Brodarics wrote it certainly. From the formulation it seems probable that it is addressed to Elek Thurzó. This is supported by the fact that in the Parma archives there is a copy of the letter by Elek Thurzó to Ferdinand, dated 1 September, Galgóc (see: ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, busta 159., fol. 18.). It is essentially an abridged summary of this letter proving that Thurzó really got such news from Brodarics.

² The fragment is undated. Since the first half is almost identical to the previous letter addressed to Ferdinand, it was probably written at the same place at the same time.

³ The letter has been erroneously treated as an attachment to Thurzó's letter on 5 April 1538, but its subject and content show clearly that it was written much later, in late August 1538.

⁴ Petru Rareș, Voivod of Moldova.

Danubium, bonum tamen esset hoc autumnio aliquid facere in recuperatione Ezeek⁵ et earum, quae per ripam Danubii sunt, ne tot copiae frustra iam essent levatae. Sed ad haec opus esset navalibus viribus. Velit de his Vestra Dominatio regem suum vel nostrum potius urgere, ut aliquid recte fiat.

20 [4.] De commissariis⁶ nescio, quid dicam. Nisi hi fluctus conquieverant, difficile erit iudicare. Nam leges, ut ait ille, inter arma silent.⁷ Contra quos debet agi; illi sunt nobiscum multum necessarii.

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Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Gmunden, 1 September 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 9.¹

1. He has received reports by Brodarics on the Turkish campaign in Moldova; he asks Brodarics to keep him informed on everything that goes on. – 2. He does everything he can to protect Transylvania and to help King John: already, he has sent 2000 Spanish and 1000 German infantrymen and a considerable force of light cavalry to Transylvania. He is urging his Hungarian subjects to help.

Reverende Devote, sincere Dilecte.

[1.] Litteras Devotionis Vestrae XVI. et XX. Augusti proxime praeteriti ad nos datas accepimus,² ex quibus ea, quae de Turcarum expeditione contra Moldaviam et Transylvaniam ultra priora latius nobis significavit, diligenter intelleximus, et suam illam
5 sane in denuntiandis singulis quibusque novis de rebus Turcicis operam studiumque grato a se animo suscipimus et plurimum commendamus. Hortantes eandem, ut imposterum quoque hoc scribendi genus continuare velit.

[2.] Pro certo enim sibi Devotio Vestra persuadere debet, nos firmiter statutum habere, ut serenissimum regem Ioannem, dominum suum omni, quo possumus, auxilio
10 iuvenus. Namque bis mille Hispanos et mille pedites Germanos, nec non equitum levis armaturae bonum numerum³ ex Owario recta celeriterque Transsylvaniam versus deduci iam nunc ordinavimus, nihilque adeo praetermissuri sumus, quod ad defensionem conservationemque Transsylvaniae facere videbitur. Etiam atque etiam pro virili nostra curaturi, ut regni istius partem haud postremam, quoad per nos fieri queat,
15 minime indefensam relinquamus, neque apud nostros fideles subditos in praefato regno

⁵ Eszék (today: Osijek, Croatia) was a crossing place of strategic importance.

⁶ In terms of the Peace of Várad, the two parties delegated commissioners to settle disputes. However, the Turkish military campaign against Transylvania seems to have hindered their work.

⁷ *Inter arma silent leges.* Cicero, *Pro Milone*, IV. 10.

¹ Draft.

² The two referenced letters have not been preserved.

³ Ferdinand sent 500 horsemen to Transylvania, who had stationed near Eperjes earlier. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 2v.

isto impensius agere cessamus, ut in expeditionem illam coniunctis armis viribusque ocius procedant.⁴ Quod Devotionem Vestram latere noluimus.

Datum in oppido nostro Gmonden, prima Septembris 1538.

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István Maylád to István Brodarics
Verecke, 18 September 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 66–67.¹

1. Suleyman is near Suceava; Petru Rareș is said to have fled with a handful of his men to Poland or to the mountains in the direction of Beszterce. – 2. The Voivod has neglected reinforcement of his castles, whereas the Sultan has not brought powerful siege guns, only 230 camp guns. But if he gets hold of the castles through betrayal, Transylvania and Poland are in great danger. – 3. Suleyman has appointed a new Voivod, but he knows no specifics of the person. Allegedly, the Sultan does not allow his troops to ravage and loot Moldova. – 4. Boyars don't mind having a new Voivod as long as the Sultan does not appoint a Turk but somebody Romanian, because they all hate Petru Rareș for his tyrannizing over them. – 5. Asks for forgiveness for being slow with the answer. – 6. He had the gorge at Ojtoz blocked by felled trees for a length of three miles.

Reverendissime Domine et Pater Observandissime. Salutis et servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Imperator nunc prope Zwcham,² arcem wayvodae Moldaviensis est. Petrus vero wayvoda a boyeronibus relictus cum paucis quibusdam vel Poloniam vel Bistri-

5 ciam³ versus ad alpes se recepisce dicitur, sed de hac re nihil adhuc certi habebam.

[2.] Qui si consilio regiae maiestatis, cui neque meum de eius ad nos exitu consilium defuit, paruisset, melius nunc res suae procederent. Quem non solum de exitu, verum etiam, ut arces, quae in Moldavia essent, rebus necessariis bene provisae redderet, saepius maiestas regia admonuit, sed frustra. Nam boyerones isti, qui nunc apud me
10 sunt, et alii, qui e Moldavia ad nos fugiunt, similiter referunt Petrum wayvodam latrunculos quosdam in arcibus illis reliquisse, tantumque illos de conservatione arcium curare, ut plerique iam ex illis funibus se per murum demittere coeperint. Quae si bene promissae, bonisque et praecipuis viris commissae fuissent, spes esset ex conservatione illarum regnum Moldaviae non ita cito a caesare capi posse. Quem certo affir-
15 mare possum nullam bombardam maiorem, quibus munita loca oppugnari possent, praeter bombardas campestris, quas ducentas et triginta exploratores mei in toto esse

⁴ Ferdinand, in letters also dated 1 September, called upon Elek Thurzó, Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várdai, Gáspár Serédy, Mihály Bakics, and Constable of Huszt Kristóf Kávássy to send troops for the defence of Transylvania. See HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 2–4., fol. 5. and fol. 10.

¹ Draft.

² Suceava, Romania, seat of the Voivod of Moldova.

³ Beszterce in Transylvania was in the possession of Petru Rareș.

dicunt, secum advexisse. Si vero arces illae per deditionem ad manus imperatoris venerint, manifestum periculum et nobis Transsylvanis et Polonis quoque, qui Turcam contra Moldavum excitasse dicuntur,⁴ imminet.

20 [3.] De novo wayvoda, quem imperatorem in Moldavia constituisse dicunt, nihil certi habeo,⁵ Sandrini⁶ tamen cuiusdam filium illum esse praedicant. Turci neminem, ut audio, occidunt, neque incendio aliquam populationem caesar ipse in regno Moldaviae fieri permittit, et eos quoque, qui aliquid tale designaverint, non sinit esse impunitos, cum regnum illud suum esse dicat.

25 [4.] Novus wayvoda ne boyeronibus quidem ipsis, ut intelligo, displiceret, modo ut Walchum aliquem wayvodam, et non Turcum caesar ipse in regno relinqueretur. Nam Petrum wayvodam propter eius malos mores et tyrannidem omnes odio prosequuntur.⁷

[5.] Tarditatem hanc meam in scribendo, ne dicam negligentiam, Dominatio Vestra
30 Reverendissima mihi ignoscat, neque suum a me amorem propterea retrahat, ego enim in omnibus Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae tanquam obsequentissimus filius inservire volo. Quam Deus felicem ad votam conservet.

Ex Bereczky feria quarta proxima post festum exaltationis Sanctae Crucis anno Domini 1538.

35 Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae

deditissimus filius et servitor
Stephanus Maylad

[6.] Ego hic in Oythoz, unde aditus caesari in hoc regnum esse possit, cum bonis Siculis, quantum bonitas inter Siculos esse potest, custodio. Quam ad tria miliaria iam
40 sectis arboribus intercludere feci.⁸

On the outer side: Reverendissimo domino Stephano Broderico episcopo Vacienti, consiliario regiae maiestatis, domino et patri observandissimo.

⁴ Verancsics also mentions in his report on the chasing away of Voivod Péter that the Poles also abetted the Sultan against Moldova. See VERANCICS Antal, *Péter moldvai vajda elűzése...* 47.

⁵ Suleyman nominated half-brother of the Voivod Ștefan Lăcustă (István V) to replace Petru Rareș. He held the throne until 1540.

⁶ Ștefan Lăcustă was the son of Margit Drágffy, the daughter of former Voivod of Transylvania Bertalan Drágffy of Béltek, and Alexandru (Sandrin), the son of Reigning Prince of Moldova Ștefan cel Mare.

⁷ Antal Verancsics also reports on the ruthlessness of the Voivod of Moldova. See VERANCICS Antal, *Péter moldvai vajda elűzése...* 48–49.

⁸ It was a classical means of defence to block the gorges that lead to Transylvania by felling trees. This time it was the one at Ojtoz. See also: VERANCICS Antal, *Péter moldvai vajda elűzése...* 58.

István Brodarics to Alessandro Farnese¹
Vác, 20 September 1538

Manuscript used: ASF, Carte Cervini, Filza XXIV. fol. 34.

Published: THEINER Augustin, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum meridionalium*, Romae, 1863, 643–644.

1. He has received Farnese's letter and the papal breve, which he forwarded to Szapolyai immediately.
– 2. The Sultan is rumoured to besiege Suceava with 200,000 people. The Voivod of Moldavia sent ordinary folks to Transylvania and he himself is waiting for Szapolyai's help at a safe place with his army. Łaski left off with Ferdinand's 4000 foot soldiers yesterday, and further cavalry is said to arrive soon.

Reverendissime et Illustrissime Domine, Domine semper Colendissime. Salutem et obsequiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] Accepi litteras Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae una cum brevi Sanctissimi Domini Nostri,² quod statim per proprium hominem misi ad serenissimum regem meum, qui certe semper fuit oboedientissimus et devotissimus filius Sanctitatis Suae. Hocque Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima et Illustrissima certo sibi persuadeat atque Sanctitati Suae dicat, nam rerum quotidianus eventus hoc apertissime demonstrabit.

[2.] Nova superioribus litteris meis ad Sanctitatem Suam scripsi. Hodie tamen venit nuntius ad me, qui eadem ferme nuntiavit scilicet Turcarum imperatorem personaliter in Moldavia esse, et castrum in Moldavia nomine Zuchiava,³ locum proprium residentiae ipsius vaivodae obsedis, et, ut fertur, cum ducentis milibus hominum.⁴ Locus ille non admodum munitus est iuxta morem illarum regionum, vaivoda autem omnibus prius combustis, ut commeatus hosti desit, populum suum in Transylvaniam reduxit, se autem cum suo exercitu ad loca tuta recepit, ubi exspectat, quod serenissimus rex meus possit esse paratus, qui nihil eorum, quae necessaria sunt, in tanto negotio postponit: omnes enim ad maiestatem suam vadunt. Et hesternum die hinc discessit magnificus dominus Hieronymus Laschy capitaneus generalis serenissimi regis Romanorum cum optimis peditibus numero circiter 4000, non multo autem pauciores equites maiestatis suae alio scimus ad serenissimum regem meum vadunt. Unde nobis de victoria Dei Optimi auxilio maxime sperandum est.

Voi insieme cum la Santita del nostro Signore pregati Idio, che le cosse vadano bene

17 discessit correxi ex: discessit

¹ Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), grandson of Pope Paul III. Dean from 1534, Vice-Chancellor of Curia, later Cardinal.

² The letter from Alessandro Farnese and the breve referred to have not been preserved.

³ Suceava, Romania.

⁴ Sources give the numbers of the Turkish army with the usual uncertainty. Brodarics speaks about 200,000 people, Nuncio Morone in his report in 18 August (see ÖVÁRY Lipót, III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor hibornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549. Budapest, 1879, 45–46.) reports about an army of 10,000 janissaries and 100,000 cavalrymen.

et di bon core sempre me offero et arecomando a la Reverendissima et Illustrissima Signoria Vostra, la quale Idio felicemente conservi.

25 Vaciae die 20. Septembris 1538.

Servitor Vestrae Reverendissimae
et Illustrissimae Dominationis
Stephanus Brodericus
episcopus Vacienis subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Domino, Domino cardinali Farnesio Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Vicecancellario meritissimo, Domino semper Colendissimo.

328

István Brodarics to Paul III
Vác, 8 October 1538

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]¹

Published: ÓVÁRY Lipót, III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor bíbornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549. Budapest, 1879, 48.

1. He has learnt from Werbőczy's envoy that Suleyman has left Moldova after driving out Voivod Petru Rareș and replacing him with his son. Maylád's letter confirms this, but he does not name the successor of Voivod Rareș. – 2. Ferdinand ordered Łaski to lead his troops back to their own territory.

Beatissime Pater et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimam servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Per hanc noctem venit ad me famulus cancellarii nostri, domini Werbewczy,² per quem mihi nuntiavit venisse heri tarde hominem fidedignum ex Transsilvania affirmantem Turcarum caesarem ex Moldavia discessisse expulso Petro wayvoda, imposito ibi novo wayvoda, filio Petri, non facto magno damno, quippe qui, de quo a domino Maylád, wayvoda Transsilvaniae litteras habui,³ commiserat suis, ne vel incendiis vel hominum praeda illud regnum vastarent. Illud etiam scripserat dominus Maylád novum

29 Servitor ... subscripsit manu Broderici

¹ Óváry might have found the original of the letter during his research at the archives in Naples. The text is almost word by word identical to the next two letters addressed to Elek Thurzó and Ferdinand. Unfortunately, Óváry did not give the exact source. There is no copy of it among the copies of documents from Naples kept in the MTAKK. It has no trace in Óváry's records of his Hungarica-researches kept in the archives in Naples (Archivio Ricostruzione della Cancelleria Angioina, Arm. I Scaff. B 6). Since the archives suffered considerable damage in World War II, it is possible that the original does not exist anymore. In any case, I have been unable to find it. Thus, below I am using the text of Óváry. The following two letters verify somewhat the accuracy of the transcription.

² István Werbőczy, Chancellor.

³ See István Maylád's letter to Brodarics on 18 September.

wayvodam velle instituere, sed non nominabat, quem. Ego crediderim potius esse con-
stitutum alium, quam filium Petri expulsi.⁴

[2.] Intelligo etiam, quod rex, dominus meus clementissimus⁵ dominum Lasky et
gentes serenissimi Romanorum regis cum aliis gentibus remisit ad propria.⁶ Duxi sta-
tim Vestrae Sanctitati haec tanta nova significanda. Quae ego ob certas alias causas
credo esse vera. Tamen quicquid erit, quicquid habere potero, statim rursus significabo
15 Vestrae Sanctitati, quam Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae octava die mensis Octobris 1538.

Clementissimae Vestrae Sanctitatis

humillimus servulus
Vaciensis episcopus

329

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Vác, 8 October 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 23.

1. He has learnt from Werbőczy's envoy that Suleyman has left Moldavia after driving out Voivod Petru Rareș and replacing him with his son. Maylád's letter confirms this, but he does not name the successor of Voivod Rareș. – 2. Ferdinand ordered Laski to lead his troops back to their own territory.

[1.] Per hanc noctem venit ad me famulus domini Werbeczy,¹ cancellarii nostri, per
quem mihi nuntiavit venisse heri tarde hominem fidedignum ex Transsylvania
affirmantem Turcarum caesarem ex Moldavia discessisse expulso Petro wayvoda,
imposito ibi novo wayvoda, filio Petri, non facto magno damno, quippe qui, de quo et
5 a domino Maylad litteras habui,² commiserat suis, ne vel incendiis vel hominum
praeda illud regnum vastarent. Illud etiam scripserat dominus Maylad novum wayvo-
dam velle instituere, sed non nominabat, quem. Ego crediderim potius esse constitutum
alium, quam filium Petri expulsi.³

[2.] Intelligo etiam, quod regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus nuntiavit

⁴ In fact, it was not one of the sons who replaced Petru Rareș. Suleyman appointed Ștefan Lăcustă, (István V), half-brother of the Voivod. He remained on the throne of Moldavia until 1540.

⁵ János Szapolyai.

⁶ Laski lead the auxiliary troops sent to aid Szapolyai. The other two letters say that Ferdinand ordered the troops back when the danger of the Sultan invading Transylvania after Moldavia was gone. On the other hand, Brodarics says in the letter to the Pope that it was Szapolyai himself, who sent back the auxiliary troops.

¹ István Werbőczy, Chancellor.

² See the letter by István Maylád to Brodarics on 18 September.

³ In fact, it was not one of the sons who replaced Petru Rareș. Suleyman appointed Ștefan Lăcustă, (István V), half-brother of the Voivod. He remained on the throne of Moldavia until 1540.

10 domino Lasky,⁴ ut et gentes serenissimi Romanorum regis et aliae ad propria redirent. Duxi statim Vestrae Dominationi haec tanta nova significanda. Quae ego ob certas alias causas credo esse vera. Tamen quicquid erit, quicquid habere potero, statim rursus significabo Vestrae Dominationi.

Haec sunt, quae habui, Spectabilis et Magnifice mi Domine. Si quid aliud erit, non
15 patiar ignorare Vestram Dominationem.⁵

Quae recte valeat.

Vaciae, 8. Octobris 1538.

Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni iudici curiae et locumtenenti serenissimi domini Romanorum regis, domino mihi observandissimo.

330

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I

Vác, 8 October 1538

Manuscript used: IHHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 25–26.

1. He has learnt from Werbőczy's envoy that Suleyman has left Moldova after driving out Voivod Petru Rareș and replacing him with his son. Maylád's letter confirms this, but he does not name the successor of Voivod Rareș. – 2. Ferdinand ordered Łaski to lead his troops back to their own territory.

Serenissime Rex, Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime. Post humillimam servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] Per hanc noctem venit ad me famulus cancellarii nostri, domini Werbewczy,¹ per quem mihi nuntiavit venisse heri tarde hominem fidedignum ex Transsylvania affirmantem Turcarum caesarem ex Moldavia discessisse expulso Petro wayvoda, imposito ibi novo wayvoda, filio Petri, non facto magno damno, quippe qui, de quo et a domino Maylad, wayvoda Transsilvano litteras habui,² commiserat suis, ne vel incendiis vel hominum praeda illud regnum vastarent. Illud etiam scripserat dominus Maylad novum wayvodam velle instituere, sed non nominabat, quem. Ego crediderim potius esse constitutum alium, quam filium Petri expulsi.³

14 Haec sunt... subscripsit manu Broderici

17 post Vaciae del. 7. Oct.

⁴ Łaski lead the Habsburg auxiliary troops sent to aid Szapolyai. These were withdrawn when the danger of the Sultan invading Transylvania after Moldova was gone.

⁵ The previous letter to Pope Paul III does not have this autographic addition.

¹ István Werbőczy, Chancellor.

² See the letter by István Maylád to Brodarics on 18 September.

³ In fact, it was not one of the sons who replaced Petru Rareș. Suleyman appointed Ștefan Lăcustă, (István V), half brother of the Voivod. He remained on the throne of Moldova until 1540.

10 [2.] Intelligo etiam, quod rex, dominus meus clementissimus nuntiavit domino Lasky,⁴ et gentes Vestrae Maiestatis ut redirent ad propria. Duxi statim Vestrae Maiestati haec tanta nova significanda. Quae ego ob certas alias causas credo esse vera. Tamen quicquid erit, quicquid habere potero, statim rursus significabo Vestrae Maiestati. In cuius gratiam servitutum meam humiliter commendo. Quam Deus conservet
15 semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae, 8. Octobris MDXXXVIII.

Mitto ad Vestram Maiestatem litteras⁵ vayvodae Maylad, quae non videntur multum dissentire a nuntiatis per cancellarium.

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

20

On the outer side: Sacrae regiae Romanorum etc. maiestati, domino meo clementissimo.

331

Ferdinand I to István Brodarics
Linz, 8 October 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 24.¹

Ferdinand is forwarding a letter to Brodarics, which informs him on movements of the allied fleet against the Turks.

Reverende, Devote, sincere Dilecte.

Cuiusmodi nova de expeditione classium confoederatorum² contra Turcos acceperimus, Devotio Vestra ex incluso exemplo³ intelliget. Quod propterea ad se mittendum putavimus, ut nobiscum in meliorem spem erigeretur brevi aliquando fore, uti res bel-

17 Mitto... subscripsit manu Broderici

⁴ Laski lead the Habsburg auxiliary troops sent to aid Szapolyai. These were withdrawn when the danger of the Sultan invading Transylvania after Moldova was gone.

⁵ The attachment has not been preserved.

¹ Draft.

² A League was formed in February 1538, initiated by Charles V, which involved Venice and the Papal State, with the purpose of delivering a decisive blow to the Turks on sea., and thus open up the way for a campaign against Constantinople. Ferdinand informed Brodarics about the movements of this fleet, still trusting the success of the campaign, even though the allied fleet entered a battle with the Turks near Preveza along the Greek shore on 27 September. Haireddin Barbarossa lead the Turkish fleet, and the outcome was dubious. For more on forming the League and on military movements in 1538, see KÖRPÁS Zoltán, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008, 183–191.

³ The enclosed letter is unknown.

- 5 lae felicius adversus istos succedant. Id, quod Deus Optimus Maximus faxit, in cuius bonitate clementiaque confidere debemus.
Datum Lintii, 8vo Octobris 1538.

István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 13 October 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 38–39.

1. He can confirm what he wrote earlier, based on new, sure information: the Sultan, after nominating a new Voivod, left Moldova. – 2. He does all he can to support the legation of Pál Bornemissza in connection to the commissioners. – 3. Werbőczy's letter confirms what Maylád has written already, that the Sultan made a relative of Petru Rareș Voivod, and gave him a guard of 5000. The defeated Voivod fled to one of his castles in Transylvania. György Fráter is besieging the other. – 4. Since he has to travel to Zala in connection to his younger brother, he will be unable to write to Ferdinand as often as he has.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine Clementissime.

[1.] Illa nova, quae proxime scripseram,¹ renovantur et confirmantur caesarem Turcarum recessisse cum toto suo exercitu alio wayvoda in Moldaviam imposito, nec magno damno ibi facto. Habui de his litteras secretarii regii intimi, qui ad me non
5 scriberet fabulas. Nec habeo nunc quicquam aliud.

[2.] Dominus Paulus,² secretarius Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis est hic apud me. Vadit ad regem.³ Ego, quod praesens praestare non possum, facio absens per litteras sollicitando illud negotium commissariorum⁴ totis viribus.

Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

10 Vaciae, 13. Octobris 1538.

[3.] Post scripta: Cancellarius noster Werbewczyk haec eadem mihi nuntiavit de Turcarum discessu. Fecit wayvodam quendam consanguineum Petri wayvoda nutritum in sua porta.⁵ Debet esse ille, de quo wayvoda Maylád ad me scripsit in litteris, quas in specie proximis litteris meis inclusas ad Vestram Maiestatem misi.⁶ Turcarum impera-
15 tor reliquit cum eo usque ad quinque milia hominum pro praesidio. Petrus wayvoda fugit in Transsilvaniam ad alterum ex suis castris, in quo est cum uxore et liberis.⁷

¹ See the letter by Brodarics to Ferdinand on 8 October.

² Ferdinand sent Pál Bornemissza to Szapolyai in legation on 26 September 1538. See the instructions for Bornemissza: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. A, fol. 91r–94v.

³ János Szapolyai.

⁴ Reference to the commissioners to be appointed in terms of the Peace of Várad.

⁵ The new Voivod, Ștefan Lăcustă, was a half-brother of the expelled Petru Rareș. He had lived in exile in the Sultan's court for a long time.

⁶ See the letter by István Maylád to Brodarics on 18 September.

⁷ The Voivod's family had fled to the castle of Csicsó in Transylvania earlier. Petru Rareș joined them there.

Alterum castrum ipsius obsidetur per thesaurarium.⁸ Quae res non caret misterio, sed non credo id esse in perniciem Petri wayvodae.

servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

20

[4.] Clementissime Rex.

Ego cogor ire licet satis invalidus adhuc ad Zala in negotio quodam importanti fratris mei,⁹ quod cum affinibus suis habet ex parte bonorum. Propterea non potero esse ita frequens in scribendo ad Vestram Maiestatem. Quod supplico, ut Vestra Maiestas boni
25 consulere dignetur.

servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Sacrae regiae Romanorum etc. Maiestati, domino meo clementissimo.

333

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Vác, 14 October 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 40.¹

1. The Turks left Moldova indeed, but left a guard of 5000 behind to protect the new Voivod, who had been raised in the Sultan's court. – 2. Had the troops gathered together in time, John would have tried his luck against the Sultan. At least Transylvania has been saved, and Moldova is said to have avoided serious damage. – 3. He has no more recent news; he expects good news from Thurzó about military operations on the sea. – 4. He needs to travel to Zala for three weeks in connection to some property issues of his brother; on his way back he will try to meet Thurzó.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Nova, quae scripsi de Turcarum imperatoris de Moldavia discessu, fuerunt vera; discessit cum toto exercitu suo relicto tamen quinque milia circiter praesidio novo waywodae, qui nutritus in curia eius est, et ipse de genere wayvodarum.²

5 [2.] Peccatum credo esse in tarditate tam nostrorum, quam vestrorum. Qui si tempestive affuissent, credo, quod rex dominus noster clementissimus fortunam tentasset

21 Clementissime... subscripsit manu Broderici separata
scheda adiuncta

⁸ A legate's report from Venice from late October also says that György Fráter laid siege to Küküllővár held by Petru Rareș. See VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 290–291.

⁹ Mátyás Brodarics.

¹ Autograph.

² The new Voivod, Ștefan Lăcustă, was half-brother of Petru Rareș.

cum Turca. Illud optimum fuisset eum debellare. Secundo tamen loco nec hoc est malum, quod Transsilvania sit salva, nec in Moldavia facta esse dicuntur maxima damna.

10 [3.] Iam ego non habeo, quid scriberem novi, nec eas, quid a me exspectetur. Ego autem in dies exspecto a Vestra Dominatione nova felicia de rebus maritimis.³

[4.] Ego cogor ire pro revisione bonorum fratris mei⁴ ad Zala. Si potero rediens constituatur cum Vestra Dominatione. Quae recte valeat.

Ex Vacia 14. Octobris 1538.

15 Abero per tres septimanas circiter.

Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni iudici curiae et locumtenenti serenissimi domini Romanorum etc. regis, domino mihi observandissimo.

334

István Brodarics to Girolamo Aleandro¹

Vác, 14 October 1538

Manuscript used: ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, busta 159., fol. 22–23.

Published: VERESS Endre (ed.), *Akták és levelek Erdély- és Magyarország Moldvával és Havasalfölddel való viszonyához*, Budapest, 1914, 289–290.

1. He received Cardinal Aleandro's letter dated 3 October gratefully and asks him to preserve his kind feelings towards him. – 2. The Sultan is rumoured to have left Moldova, where he nominated a new Voivod, but it is not known, whom. At least it is a Christian. Thanks to King John's zeal, Transylvania has been saved.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime. Post servitutis meae commendationem.

8 post quod del. ille

10 post novi del. neq

³ Reference to the military operations of the fleets of Spain, Venice, and the Papal State, members of the League. Ferdinand informed Brodarics on these operations on 8 October. In more detail on the operations, see the notes there.

⁴ Mátyás Brodarics.

¹ Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542), Cardinal, Papal legate in 1538–1539 in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. He was appointed Cardinal in March 1538. Before entering Roman service, he had produced significant scholarly work. He taught at several universities in Italy and France, and was elected Rector in Paris. He met Erasmus in 1508 in Venice, and they maintained a very good relationship for a long time, which later deteriorated due to disputes regarding the Reformation. He might have known Brodarics from the latter's years in Padua, but it is also possible that they met later, in the early 1520s, when Brodarics was legate in Rome.

² This letter is lost.

[1.] Cognovi ex his litteris, quas Linzii III. huius datas a Vestra Dominatione accepi,² maximam humanitatem eiusdem et erga me benivolentiam. Quae ita humane, benivole et gratiose dignatur etiam in hunc amplissimum summi honoris gradum evecta recordari sui antiqui servitoris. Utinam id possim obsequiis meis aliquando promereri, quod, ut consequi possim, totis viribus ad hoc contendam, hoc solum supplex oro, velit me sua gratia et favore prosequi.

[2.] Novi non est nunc aliud, nisi, quod pro re certa ad me scribitur ex Transsilvania Turcarum imperatorem cum suo exercitu retrocessisse, imposito in Moldaviam novo wayvoda, quem adhuc, quis sit, non satis intelligo.³ Est tamen Christianus et, ut intelligo, de genere wayvodarum. Agenda sunt gratiae Deo, quod Transsilvania nobilissima et omnium (ausim asseveranter dicere) Europae provinciarum ditissima sit liberata et salva, virtute et industria serenissimi regis nostri. Dignetur haec nova Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio facere nota Sanctissimo Domino Nostro.⁴ Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam Deus conservet felicem et sanam.

Vaciae, 14. Octobris 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae Paternitatis

servitor deditissimus

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino, Domino Hieronimo S. R. E cardinali Brundusino, Sacrosanctae Sedis Apostolicae in Germania legato de latere, etc. Domino mihi observandissimo.

335

Ferdinand I to István Brodarics

Vienna, 24 October 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. B, fol. 69.¹

He has received letters from Brodarics written on 8 and 13 October on the events in Moldova gratefully. Requests him to keep him informed.

Reverende Devote, sincere Dilecte.

¹² Est [...] de genere wayvodarum *add. in marg. manu Broderici*

³ Ștefan Lăcustă was half-brother of the banished Petru Rareș.

⁴ Legate Aleandro forwarded Brodarics' letter to Rome on 22 October 1538. (See ÓVÁRY Lipót, *III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor bíbornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549*. Budapest, 1879, 52.)

¹ Draft.

² See Brodarics' letters at the listed dates.

Accepimus binas Devotionis Vestrae litteras de 8. et 13. huius ad nos scriptas,² in quibus nos de successu rerum in Moldavia certiores fecit. Id quam nobis gratum fuit. Hortantes eandem, ut sic eo, quo coepit, studio continuare velit in scribendi ad nos
5 officio, quemadmodum se ultro facturum minime dubitamus. Quod nostra quoque erga se gratia recognoscemus.

Datum Viennae, 24. Octobris 1538.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 15 November 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. C, fol. 14–15.

Brodarics recommends to Ferdinand György Horváth, Szapolyai's legate, who is about visit Ferdinand, and asks Ferdinand to help him in remedying his grievances.

Sacra Regia Maiestas et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

Proficiscitur ad Vestram Maiestatem is egregius Georgius Horwath,¹ nuntius serenissimi et clementissimi domini mei. Quem ego ob amicitiam, quae mihi cum ipso est, et
5 quod novi ipsum virum bonum et devotum servitorem Vestrae Maiestatis, Vestrae Maiestati in suis negotiis amice et humillime commendo. Dignetur intellecta eius molestatione, quam patitur a inimico suo eidem gratiose subvenire. Miratus sum, quando intellexi non ab uno homine, quantas crudelitates facit ille bonus vir.² Quibus et similibus facilius iam mederi poterit commissariis iudicaturis.

10 Aliud nunc novi nihil habetur apud nos.

Vestram Maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Vaciae, 15. Novembris 1538.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

15 humillimus servitor
Vacienis subscripsit

On the outer side: Sacrae regiae Romanorum etc. Maiestati, domino meo clementissimo.

¹ György Horváth was an *aulicus* of Szapolyai, who had already visited Ferdinand in legation back in July. King John commissioned him again on 29 October 1538. See HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 37., Konv. B, fol. 94.

² The letter is slightly ambiguous, because *bonus vir* does not pertain to György Horváth but, not without some sarcastic overtones, to his opponent. He does not want to name him, but the person must have been a good man of Ferdinand.

Charles V to István Brodarics
Toledo, 22 November 1538

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 37. Konv. C, fol. 44r, 42r–v, 45r.¹

1. He has received Brodarics' letter, in which Brodarics expressed his joy over the peace treaty with the French and urged Charles to go to Hungary for the sake of a military campaign against the Turks. – 2. He is keen on fighting against the infidels, this is why he made peace with his enemies and is trying to create peace among other Christian monarchs, so that they can all go against the Turks together. – 3. He appreciates Brodarics' merit and effort in creating peace between Ferdinand and John, of which reports of Archbishop Wese and Brodarics' trip to Naples three years ago give evidence. – 4. Assures Brodarics that he will not forget about these when he will have a chance to back Brodarics' promotion, and he will encourage King Ferdinand for the same.

Carolus etc.

Reverende in Christo Pater sincere nobis Dilecte.

[1.] Legimus Dominationis Vestrae litteras datas Vaciae Pannoniae die sexto mensis Augusti proxime praeteriti,² quibus et pacem cum Christianissimo rege Franciae, fratre
5 et sororio nostro carissimo initam nobis gratulatur,³ et ad reliqua negotia, quae reipublicae intersunt, peragenda nostrumque adventum istuc maturandum nos cohortatur. Quae litterae nobis sane multis nominibus gratae fuere. Perspeximus enim ex illis non modo Vestrae Dominationis erga rempublicam studium et pietatem, verum etiam quantum nobis tribuat adeo, ut nobis istic praesentibus certam quodammodo spem victoriae
10 de publico Christiani nominis hoste sibi polliceri videatur.

[2.] Nos quidem, ut nihil unquam magis concupivimus, quam arma nostra in hostes fidei convertere, ita nunc quoque in ea sumus sententia, atque hac de causa non modo cum adversariis nostris ad pacis condiciones et media devenire, verum etiam inter reliquos Christianos principes pacem et amicitiam procurare semper studuimus, ut tandem, Deo favente, arma in hostes fidei communibus Christianorum viribus et auxiliis
15 converterentur.

[3.] Atque huic quidem rei, ut plurimum adiumenti conferre potest haec nostra cum

2 post Pater del. Venerabilis
4 post quibus del. nobis
4 post cum del. Srenissimo
5 post ad del. arma in communem hostem fidei ac religionis nostrae Turcam cohortatur exsequenda *suprascr.* reliqua negotia... istuc maturandum
9 post tribuat del. quibus *suprascr.* adeo ut nobis
12 post modo del. ad pacis media cum *suprascr.* sed quoque del. nullas pacis condiciones saltem tolerabiles unquam sumus asperna

13 post ad del. pacem et concordiam *suprascr.* pacis condiciones
14 post studuimus del. quod
15 post auxiliis del. convertere possent *suprascr.* converterentur
17 post plurimum del. potest conducere *suprascr.* adiumenti conferre potest

¹ Draft. The numbering of the sheets is disorderly.

² Unfortunately, we do not know the mentioned letter of Brodarics.

³ Charles V and French King Francis I signed peace for ten years in Nice on 18 June 1538.

Christianissimo rege concordia, ita non minus habet momenti ista inter serenissimos principes dominum Ferdinandum, Romanorum, Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. regem, 20 fratrem nostrum carissimum et dominum Ioannem pariter Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae etc. regem, fratrem, amicum et confoederatum nostrum carissimum nuper inita et conclusa pax et concordia.⁴ In qua componenda quantum Dominatio Vestra studii et laboris insumpserit, testatur in plenis ipsius ad nos legatio Neapolim usque abhinc triennio,⁵ difficillimis itineribus suscepta, accedit testimonium venerabilis Ioan- 25 nis archiepiscopi Lundensis⁶ etc. principis consilarii et oratoris nostri devoti dilecti, a quo inter cetera abunde intelleximus, quam bonam et accuratam diligentiam Dominatio Vestra in eo negotio adhibuerit.

[4.] Quod quidem officium Dominationis Vestrae nobis tanto fuit gratius, quanto magis ista pax et concordia reipublicae Christianae exaltationi et istius regni Hungari- 30 ae incolumitati expediebat. Itaque Dominationi Vestrae tum ob causas praenarratas, tum hoc inprimis nomine gratiam habemus nunquam apud nos intermorituram, quin eius officii in re tam pia et sancta, quam reipublicae Christianae exaltationi et istius regni incolumitati tam necessaria et nobis tam exoptata praestiti iam tum futuri simus memores, quando augendae rei ac dignitatis suae provehendae locus et occasio sese 35 obtulerint. Et quamvis non dubitamus serenissimum fratrem nostrum, Romanorum etc. regem hoc eodem animo et voluntate una nobiscum esse, nihilominus tamen serenitati suae in Dominationis Vestrae commendationem scribimus, ut et ipse Dominationem Vestram omni favore complectatur, ut in sua familiaritate accipiat, et in rebus omnibus dignam eius rationem habeat. Quod ipsum et nos facturos, sicubi rebus Dominationis 40 Vestrae nostra opera poterit esse usui, denuo recipimus. Ac proinde Dominationem Vestram hortamur, ut pristinum suum reipublicae iuvandae studium retinere velit, et qua diligentia et cura in componenda inter praefatos serenissimos reges pace usa est, eam alendae ac fovendae inter nos et illos amicitiae impendere ne gravetur. Erit enim hoc et virtute eius dignum, et reipublicae atque istius regni Hungariae rebus congruum, 45 nobis vero adprime gratum, omni benevolentiae et amicitiae officio compensandum erga Vestram Dominationem. Quae bene valeat.

Datum Toleti, die XXII. Novembris 1538.

In the header of the letter: Stephano Broderico episcopo Waciensi, consiliario etc.

26 *post bonam et del. sinceram suprascr. accuratam*

32 *post pia del. tam suprascr. et*

32 *post sancta del. ac*

34 *post suae del. promovendi temp suprascr. prove-*
hendae locus.

35 *post obtulerint del. Hoc eodem suprascr. Et quam-*
vis non

42 *post est del. hanc eandem suprascr. eam alendae ac*

⁴ I.e. the Peace of Várad, concluded in February 1538.

⁵ Brodarics left for Naples in the company of Ferenc Frangepán in November 1535 in order to meet Charles V for the sake of peace talks. Because of the talks, Brodarics spent almost a year in Italy with Emperor Charles.

⁶ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese.

István Brodarics to Alessandro Farnese
Vác, 16 December 1538

Manuscript used: ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, busta 159., fol. 20–21.

1. Szapolyai will marry the daughter of King of Poland Sigismund soon. Szapolyai is sending two Hungarian aristocrats to make the marriage proposal, and ordered Brodarics to go with them. – 2. Mehmet Bey has crossed the Sava and invaded Slavonia with 12,000 soldiers. – 3. The Pope should send help as soon as possible and urge Christian rulers to do the same, because if they wait much longer, there will be nobody to receive the help.

Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine, Domine mihi semper Observandissime.
Post servitutis meae commendationem.

[1.] De rebus Hungaricis, quid Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi scribam, non habeo, nisi quod video hos duos reges ad mutuam concordiam propensiores, et quod
5 omnia paratiora videntur. Regia maiestas, dominus meus clementissimus accepturus est in uxorem filiam¹ regis Poloniae ex secunda uxore, ducae Barenensis² primogenitam,³ pro qua adducenda sua maiestas delegavit duos magnificos dominos⁴ apud nos primi nominis, quibus et me suae maiestati adiungere placuit, adeoque iam itineri accinti sumus. Nuptias speramus futuras diebus nuptialibus proxime futuris fama est. Sed
10 nondum satis comperta.

[2.] Mehmet becum a porta caesaris Turcarum rediisse, et cum duodecim milibus Turcarum Savo apud Belgradum traiecto in eam partem Pannoniae, quam Sclavoniam vocant, irrumpere velle, vel iam irrupisse.⁵ Timetur, ne miserae isti terrae magnum instet periculum.

15 [3.] Quare, Domine Reverendissime, Vestra Illustrissima Dominatio moneat, hortetur sollicitetque Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum,⁶ ut et Sua Sanctitas huic iam paene pessumdato regno succurrat, et alios principes Christianos ad subveniendum urgeat, ne, si cito succursum non fieret, non sit postea, cui subveniatur. Quod reliquum est, Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem salvam, felicem et incolumem valere
20 opto, cui me commendo.

13 vel iam irrupisse *suprascr. a manu Broderici*

¹ Isabella Jagiello (1519–1559), daughter of Sigismund and Bona Sforza, wife of János Szapolyai from 1539, mother of elected Hungarian King John Sigismund. More on her life: VERESS Endre, *Izabella királyné (1519–1559)*, Budapest, 1901.

² The first wife of Polish King Sigismund was Borbála, the sister of Szapolyai. After her death (1515) he married Bona Sforza, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan and Bari.

³ Five children were born to Sigismund and Bona Sforza. The eldest of these was Isabella Jagiello, born in 1519.

⁴ The two lay members of the delegation were Péter Perényi and István Werbőczy.

⁵ Bey of Szendrő Mehmet attacked Slavonia only in May 1539, but he was driven out by June.

⁶ Pope Paul III.

Vatiae, XVI. Decembris anno Domini 1538.

Supplico Vestrae Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationi dignetur servitutum meam humillimam commendare in gratiam Suae Beatitudinis.

Eiusdem Vestrae Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationis

25

servitor humilis

Stephanus Brodericus

episcopus Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Domino Cardinali de Farnesiis Sacrosanctae Apostolicae Sedis vicecancellario etc., Domino mihi observandissimo.

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István Brodarics to People of Selmechánya¹

Vác, 20 December 1538

Manuscript used: MOL, R 314. Selmec- és Bélabánya. Item I, No. 7.

Published: KUJÁNI Gábor, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508–1538*, Történelmi Társulat, 1908, 339.

He is informing citizens of Selmechánya that he has sent auditor Benedek of Vác to them; asks them to give credence to his words, and then to send him back to his brother Mátyás Brodarics as soon as possible.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Viri Amici nobis Honorandi. Post salutem et nostri commendationem.

Misimus ad Dominationes Vestras hunc Benedictum servitorem et theloniatorem civitatis nostrae Vaciensis, praesentium scilicet exhibitorem pro certis et arduis necessitatibus nostris Dominationibus Vestris referendis. Unde rogamus Dominationes Vestras, tanquam amicos nostros, velint dictis ac verbis hominis nostri perinde atque nostris fidem praestare indubiam et cum bona velocitate in absentia nostra ad dominum fratrem nostrum, dominum Mathiam Brodaricz remittere. Quod reliquum est, Dominationes Vestras felicissime ad vota earundem valere diutissime desideramus.

10 Ex Wacia 20 die mensis Decembris 1538.

Stephanus Brodaryth

episcopus Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Prudentibus ac circumspectis viris, iudici iuratisque civibus ac ceteris incolis civitatis Scebnicensis [...], dominis et amicis nostris nobis honorandis

22 Supplico ... subscripsit manu Broderici

¹ Today: Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia.

Reversalis by István Brodaries, Péter Perényi, and István Werbőczy
Cracow, 29 January 1539

Manuscript used: Libri Legationum vol VI, fol. 67v–72v.¹

Published: Maciej DOGIEL, *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae*, Vilnae, 1758, vol. I, 137–140.;

TÓTH Péter (ed.), *A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai II. 1526–1541*, Miskolc, 2003, 175–179.

1. János Szapolyai has charged István Brodaries, Péter Perényi, and István Werbőczy to propose marriage to Polish Princess Isabella. – 2. They agree upon the sums of dowry due to Isabella. – 3. For the sake of ensuring the towns and villages due to Isabella, the agreement must be countersigned by Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand within 60 days counted from 23 February. – 4. Superiors of the castles and towns are to take oath of loyalty to Isabella. – 5. Should Isabella remarry after King John's death, she gets her dowry in a lump sum. – 6. If Charles and Ferdinand cannot be persuaded to sign the contract then King John is obliged to deposit the equivalent of Isabella's dowry and the part of the dowry already given with the King of Poland, or the Doge of Venice, or the Fuggers. – 7. When John has deposited the requested sum, the King of Poland sends the withheld part of the dowry to Hungary. – 8. After the wedding, Isabella must renounce all inheritance claims in Poland. – 9. If Isabella dies childless her dowry reverts to the son and daughters of the King of Poland, unless she specifies differently herself. – 10. They value of the dowry given to Isabella in cash and possessions. – 11. If Szapolyai fails to fulfil the conditions, he is obliged to pay 140,000 gold coins in damages. If he does not do that, the King of Poland is free to loot his country. – 12. Through the envoys, John commits himself to make over, as a wedding gift, on the day after wedding, a yearly income of 2000 forints from the tax paid by Transylvanian Saxons.

Reversale contractus oratorum Hungariae regis eiusdem matrimonii serenissimae dominae Isabellae

[I.] Nos Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Vaciensis ac Petrus de Peren comes perpetuus comitatus Abawariariensis [!] et partium regni Hungariae superiorum capitaneus generalis, etc. et Stephanus de Werbewcz summus cancellarius, consilarii et oratores serenissimi principis et domini, domini Ioannis Dei gratia regis Hungariae, Dalmatiae Croatiaeque, etc. marchionis Moraviae ac Lusatie et utriusque Slesiae ducis, etc. domini nostri clementissimi recognoscimus et praesentium serie fatemur, quod cum idem dominus noster rex cupiens illam affinitatis coniunctionem,² quae inter suam maiestatem ac serenissimum principem et dominum, dominum Sigismundum eadem gratia regem Poloniae, magnum ducem Lituaniae, Russiae Prussiaeque dominum et heredem, ac Masoviae ducem, etc. dudum intercessit, et eum amorem, quo ambae maiestates sese mutuo semper hactenus persecuti sunt ac complexi sunt ampliore affinitatis vinculo roborare, nos ad eundem serenissimum dominum Poloniae regem et serenissimam dominam Bonam,³ consortem suam carissimam, Poloniae item

¹ Another manuscript: BCZart TN 56. 475–484.

² Sigismund's first wife Borbála Szapolyai was the sister of János Szapolyai, Voivod of Transylvania at the time, so the two monarch were brother-in-laws before.

³ Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland.

reginam et ad serenissimum dominum Sigismundum Augustum,⁴ suarum maiestatum filium, similiter Poloniae etc. regem in facto matrimonii inter maiestatem ipsius domini nostri clementissimi et inter serenissimam virginem dominam Isabellam,⁵ istarum regiae ac reginalis maiestatum filiam contrahendi legatos oratoresque destinasset, et
 20 ambae maiestates istae prioris affinitatis et amoris ipsius serenissimi domini nostri regis considerationibus certis etiam aliis respectibus bonis, praesertim pro solidiori [!] firmiorique [!] praedictorum Hungariae ac Poloniae regnorum conservatione, praefatam serenissimam virginem dominam Isabellam maiestati domini nostri clementissimi iuxta desiderium suum legitimam (iuramento per verba de praesenti interveniente)
 25 desponsassent tradidissentque in coniugem et uxorem, tunc inter praedictas maiestates Poloniae et inter nos mandatorios antefati domini nostri regis in negotio dotis et contradotis ipsius serenissimae puellae dominae Isabellae modo subnotando et sub conditionibus infrascriptis concordatum est.

[2.] Principio convenit inter serenissimum Poloniae regem supradictum et nos, ora-
 30 tores regiae maiestatis Hungariae, quandoquidem nunc abduci debet serenissima sponsa atque in Hungariam commigrare, ut de dote deque antiphera, quam alii contradotem vocant, his illi rationibus caveatur.

Quoniam dotis nomine paraphernorumque in gemmis, auro et argento aestimatorum et ponderatorum septuaginta milia ducatorum per serenissimum regem Poloniae
 35 dabuntur auri boni, puri et iusti ponderis, in hac pecuniae summa et in aliis septuaginta milibus aureorum similiter Hungaricalium auri puri, boni et iusti ponderis, quae contradotis nomine assignabuntur, inscribi serenissimae dominae reginae Izabellae debent et obligari arces seu castra, civitates, oppida, villae, quae serenissimo regi Poloniae ac serenissimae dominae Isabellae, filiae suae maiestatis nomine, loco et proven-
 40 tibus satisfacere posse dotis et contradotis nomine videantur.

[3.] Quoniam vero inscriptio et obligatio arcium eiusmodi et civitatum non videretur suae maiestati regis Poloniae esse firma satis et stabilis futura, nisi ad eam faciendam caesareae et catholicae maiestatis⁶ et serenissimi Romanorum regis⁷ consensus accessisset, tenebitur serenissimus rex noster intra sex menses a Dominica Invocavit proxime ventura⁸ computandos a caesarea et Romanorum maiestatibus diplomata expedire,
 45 quibus maiestates eorum consentient ad arces, civitates, castra, oppida et villas dotis et contradotis nomine inscribendas et obligandas, quae summam dotis et contradotis exaequare vectigalibus et redditibus suis possint annuis, quae nulli sint obnoxia, sed libera prorsus, neque cuique obligata, quorum fructus et proventus et tuto et absque
 50 ullo negotio colligi possint, quae denique eiusmodi sint, ut iudicio serenissimi regis Poloniae probentur, ipsique et serenissimae filiae suae maiestatis prorsus satisfaciant.

[4.] Ac praefecti arcium praedictarum iusiurandum dare tenebuntur, si quid humanitus acciderit serenissimo domino nostro regi Hungariae, superstesque illi fuerit

⁴ Sigismund Augustus was elected, while his father was still alive, Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1529, and King of Poland in 1530.

⁵ Isabella Jagiello.

⁶ Charles V.

⁷ Ferdinand Habsburg.

⁸ I.e. between 23 February and 23 August 1539.

serenissima domina regina Isabella se in illius fide, potestate auctoritateque futuros.

55 Hoc idem et nobiles et cives praestabunt.

[5.] Omnes autem arces hae et civitates sive dotis sive contradotis nomine inscriptae hac lege et conditione obligari debent, ut si prior e vita discedat serenissimus rex noster, visumque sit serenissimae dominae nostrae reginae Isabellae renovare nuptias, non possint arces illae et civitates singillatim et seorsum, sed simul tamen omnes et
60 coniunctim redimi tota pecuniae summa, quae tam dotis, quam contradotis nomine debebitur semel numerata.

[6.] Quod si forte adduci non possent caesarea et Romanorum maiestates, ut ad obligandas arces et civitates praedictas consentirent, tunc intra duos menses post lapsum praescriptorum sex mensium tenebitur serenissimus rex noster secundum tenorem cautionis et obligationis, quam nos vigore mandati sui litteris datis fecimus, septuaginta milia aureorum contradotis et viginti sex milia et quinque florenorum Hungaricales in auro, quae ex tota summa tam dotis, quam paraphernae in Hungariam secum abducit serenissima domina regina Isabella, aut apud serenissimum regem Poloniae serenissimumque filium et serenissimam coniugem eius maiestatis, aut apud
70 illustrissimum dominum Venetorum, aut apud Fukaros⁹ in sequestro deponi et in auro, argento bono numerato, vel ad valorem dictorum omnium, quae deponi debent, ponderato. Ita tamen, quod si serenissimus dominus et rex noster locum depositionis eius pecuniae apud serenissimum regem Poloniae filiumque et serenissimam coniugem suae maiestatis elegerit, ipsa domina regina Poloniae teneatur serenissimum regem
75 nostrum assecurare etiam sub obligatione bonorum suorum tam dotalitorum, quam aliorum hereditariorum sive in hoc regno Poloniae, sive in magno ducatu Lituaniae existentium.¹⁰ Quae omnis pecunia ita deposita et reliquum dotis, quod apud serenissimum regem Poloniae erit retentum, non prius movebitur, quam aliquod fuerit postmodum idoneae cautionis genus excogitatum, quo prospici possit indemnitati securitatisque serenissimaeque dominae reginae Isabellae tam de dote, quam contradote
80 inscribenda.

[7.] Simul atque vero ita haec transacta fuerint, tum serenissimus rex Poloniae et ea, quae retinuit et si quae alia apud eum et serenissimum filium ac dominam reginam deposita erunt, versus Hungariam omnia ab eo tempore, quo ei cautio dotis et contradotis serenissimae filiae suae maiestatis facta probari coeperit et illam ratam habuerit, ipse, serenissimus filius¹¹ et serenissima domina regina Poloniae infra duos menses, si in regno suo fuerit, si vero in magno ducatu Lituaniae, infra tres transmittere tenebitur et in manus eorum, qui mandata ad hoc habuerint, vel circa Podolin¹² vel circa Liblyo¹³

⁹ So John had to deposit the equivalent of the dowry with the Polish King himself, or Doge of Venice Pietro Lando (1538–1545), or at the Fugger banking house.

¹⁰ For the text of Bona Sforza's promissory note, see: Maciej DOGIEL, *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae*, Vilnae, 1758, vol. I, 136–137.

¹¹ For the promissory note of Sigismund and his son Sigismund Augustus, see: Maciej DOGIEL, *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae*, Vilnae, 1758, vol. I, 135–136.

¹² Podolin (today: Podolínec, Slovakia), one of the 13 towns of the Szepesség region put in pawn to Poland.

¹³ Lubló (today: Stará Ľubovňa, Slovakia), another town of Upper Hungary in pawn to Poland.

consignare, neque impedire, quominus si quam in sequestro pecuniam serenissimus rex
90 noster alibi, quam apud serenissimum regem Poloniae deposuerit, tollat, tum enim hinc
maiestati regiae et serenissimo filio et dominae reginae aliud restituendum et hac
ratione, ut scriptum est, mittendum versus Hungariam non veniret, quam quod ipsi de
septuaginta milibus dotis et paraphernae retinuerint.

Quod quidem se sedulo facturum unacum serenissimo filio suo et serenissima regina
95 promisit et spondet litteris suis.

[8.] Postquam vero serenissima regina Isabella ad serenissimum dominum regem
nostrum, maritum suum traducta copula carnali cum eius maiestate coniungetur, tene-
bitur tum in praesentia oratorum serenissimi regis Poloniae, qui illius maiestatem
deducunt, abdicare se omni iure hereditario sive paterno in regno, dominiorumque
100 suorum omnium, sive materno earum possessionum, quae serenissima mater habet,
cavere tenebitur per se et serenissimum dominum regem nostrum neminem amplius aut
illius aut serenissimi domini regis nostri nomine sive dotis nomine, sive quocunque
tandem alio aut a serenissimo domino rege Poloniae, aut a successoribus suis quidque
petituram.

[9.] Quod si absque liberis serenissima domina regina Isabella (quod Deus avertat)
decesserit, dos et parapherna, hoc est septuaginta milium summa ad serenissimum
regem Poloniae, serenissimum filium suae maiestatis et illustrissimas filias suas redire
debebit, nisi fortasse secus aliquod ea de re statuerit serenissima filia suae maiestatis,
cui et testandi de summa hac, atque cui velit, quantum velit dandi, donandi et legandi
110 potestatem esse voluit, tam inter vivos, quam causa mortis.

[10.] Dotis nomine triginta duo milia sunt assignata aureorum Hungaricalium auri
puri, boni et iusti ponderis. Datae sunt vero paraphernorum nomine gemmae, margari-
tae, monilia reliquaue cimelia, quae summam triginta octo milium efficiunt, ut uni-
versa dos cum paraphernis aestimata aureos efficiat Hungaricos septuaginta millia.
115 Quae quidem parapherna quod tanti pretii data sunt, sciri debet non id factum esse de
more et consuetudine regni huius, sed magis adeo ex abundantia quadam amoris sere-
nissimi regis Poloniae et serenissimae coniugis eius erga serenissimam dominam
reginam Isabellam, filiam suarum maiestatum. Nam serenissimus rex Poloniae quidem
bonam partem earum rerum ultra dotem datarum supra id auxit, quod dari filiabus suis
120 et praedecessorum suorum consueverat, et serenissima coniunx suae maiestatis multo
plus etiam earum rerum ipsi filiae ex singulari sua liberalitate, non ex debito ullo, dono
dedit et assignavit.

[11.] Haec sunt conditiones, de quibus inter serenissimum regem Poloniae et nos,
legatos serenissimi regis nostri convenit, quas maiestatem illius ratas gratasque habi-
125 turam similibus reversalibus litteris datis in manus eorum oratorum suorum, qui serenis-
simam dominam reginam Isabellam deducunt. Nos vigore mandati, quod habemus, sub
poena centum quadraginta milia aureorum serenissimum dominum regem nostrum
obligavimus et obligamus, quae quidem centum et quadraginta milia aureorum absque
ulla recusatione serenissimus rex noster numerare serenissimo regi Poloniae tenebitur,
130 si intra tempus praescriptum non observaverit. Quod si serenissimus rex noster poe-
nam, quam in non adimplendis pactis praesentibus transgressus incurreret, solvere
neglexerit, vel etiam recusaverit, ex tunc fieret, fierique debet libera facultas serenis-

simo regi Poloniae provincias, terras, civitates, castra, oppida, arces, villas tam suas regias, quam alias quascunque spiritualium et secularium subditorum suorum, ubi-
135 cunque in ditione et dominiis regnorum suorum Hungariae, seu in aliis provinciis existentium ad solutionem dictorum centum quadraginta milium aureorum Hungaricalium artare, cogere, immo bona omnia quaecunque praefata, in eodem regno consist-
entia, mobilia et immobilia invadere, occupare et detinere tamdiu, donec de praedictis
140 centum quadraginta milibus aureorum Hungaricalium serenissimo regi Poloniae satis-
factum non fuerit. Et in tali casu ipse et sui posterius non debebunt, neque etiam iuste
poterunt praedicto serenissimo regi Poloniae resistere aut succensere, contradicere
verbo vel facto, per se vel submissas personas, publice vel occulte, directe vel indi-
recte, sed illius maiestatis propositum et actiones tales, quascunque contra eius maie-
statem aut posteros, dominia et subditos eius fecerit, approbare, commendare et ratifi-
145 care, nulla arte, dolo vel ingenio praemissis contravenientibus actis, contractibus et
inscriptionibus ac pace communi regnorum et terrarum in suo robore nihilominus
remanendo, quibus per actiones quascunque praefati serenissimi regis Poloniae in
repetitione poenae seu vadis huiusmodi centum quadraginta milium, ut praemissum
est, intentatas et commissas non poterit, neque censebitur in aliquo derogatum esse.

150 [12.] Praeterea nos oratores ad hoc etiam serenissimum regem nostrum Hungariae
obligavimus, quod maiestas illius loco doni nuptialis, seu donationis propter nuptias,
[quam] *Morgengab* appellant Germani, assignatura sit duo milia florenorum Hungari-
calium census annui in censu Sancti Martini Saxonum regionum Transsilvaniensium,
quem in singulos annos serenissima domina regina Isabella percipiet, quoad serenis-
155 simo domino regi nostro et serenissimae coniugi eius vita suppeditaverit, atque in usum
convertet, quin et hoc polliciti sumus iidem legati nos diligentem operam navaturos, ut
ille census serenissimae dominae reginae aliqua accessione locupletetur.

Nos igitur oratores praenominati vigore pleni et sufficientis mandati nobis per maie-
statem domini nostri clementissimi in verbo suo regio traditi ad praemissa omnia invio-
160 labiliter observanda et litteris quoque suis in manus eorum oratorum, quos serenis-
simus rex Poloniae cum serenissima regina Isabella nunc in Hungariam mittit, dandis
ratificanda maiestatem suam sponte obligamus praesentium litterarum nostrarum manu
nostra subscriptarum et sigillis nostris munitarum vigore atque testimonio.

Datum Cracoviae, vigesima nona Ianuarii, anno Domini MDXXXIX.

165 Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Vaciensis subscripsit
Petrus de Peren propria manu.

Stephanus de Werbewcz cancellarius manu propria subscripsit

István Brodarics to Elek Thurzó
Buda, 19 February 1539

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. B, fol. 32–33.¹

1. He understands Thurzó's arguments about announcing the peace treaty clearly. He would prefer to talk about it in person, but it would be even better to discuss the matter in the presence of the two kings, or at least their more important councillors. – 2. Emperor Charles should be persuaded to use his troops in Hungary rather than on the sea, because it holds much greater promise and is less costly. – 3. Regrets that Thurzó could not attend King John's wedding but there is no need to apologise to the King. However, the Archbishop of Esztergom could have been sent to the coronation of the Queen.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine. Servitutis commendationem.

[1.] Intellexi et perlegi ea, quae Vestra Dominatio ad dominum meum, dominum Periny scripsit de publicatione etc.² Video ea, quae Vestra Dominatio scripsit. Res magna est et difficillimum de hoc aliquid decernere. Multa essent consideranda in
5 utramque partem, de quibus ego libentius coram cum Vestra Dominatione loquerer, quam per litteras disputarem. Immo fortasse illud esset optimum horum omnium, ut vel praesente utroque rege, vel sine ipsis utriusque regis primores consilarii simul convenirent regum permissu, loquor de Hungaris et fortasse de aliis nationibus regi vestro, domino meo clementissimo subiectis, et fortasse praesentibus Imperii oratoribus res
10 haec discuteretur ad aliquem brevem terminum, vel saltem domini consilarii Hungari et hanc rem diligenter discuterent. Quorum de salute potissimum agitur.

[2.] Illud certe omnino videretur mihi valde necessarium, ut imperator huc ad Hungariam praecipuas vires suas et se converteret, ista enim maritima expeditio ut est periculosa et parvi fructus, ita longe sumptuosior, quam haec nostra terrestris et Danu-
15 biana.³ Itaque, amore Dei, in hoc omnes incumbamus, et hoc Carolo, optimo caesari persuadeatur. Timeo, ne frustra in mari et tempus et expensas terant. Sed de his vellem ego cum Vestra Dominatione et aliis regni et salutis publicae amatoribus coram loqui, et cito vellem aliquid finiri, hostis enim est semper paratus adversarius noster, tanquam leo rugiens⁴ etc.

11 *post potissimum del. ageretur suprascr. agitur*

15 *post et del. d. id fa*

16 *post persuadeatur del. fr*

19 *post leo del. rursus etc.*

¹ Autograph.

² The issue is the announcement of the Peace of Várad. Ferdinand argued that the agreement cannot be kept secret from the Turks. Moreover, John has already disclosed the existence of the peace treaty in his letters to Italian and imperial reigning princes. See the instruction given to Nicolaus Salm, the legate sent to the wedding of John and Isabella, on 10 February 1539. HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. B, fol. 18v–19r.

³ Despite the defeat at Preveza in the autumn of 1538, Charles V was considering a sea campaign again in late 1538 and early 1539, but it did not happen.

⁴ See 1 Peter. 5:8. The quotation in whole: *Sobrii estote vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret.*

- 20 [3.] Excusatione Dominatio Vestra apud regem, dominum nostrum, credo, non indiget. Tamen quando apud regem erimus,⁵ nihil omittetur, quod nostra utriusque diligentia fieri poterit. Rex noster aetatem habet. Intelligit per se etiam nullo monitore talia negotia. O quam gratum nobis omnibus, amicis Vestrae Dominationis fuisset, si adesse his felicissimis nuptiis⁶ potuisset, neque id tam propter nuptias, quam propter alia etc.
- 25 Vestram Dominationem felicissime valere cupio unacum domina mea et omnibus liberis Vestrae Dominationis.
- Budae, die cinerum 1539.
- Saltem misissetis ad nos reverendissimum dominum meum Strigoniensem coronandae reginae causa.⁷
- 30 Servitor

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Thurzoni iudici curiae et locumtenenti regiae maiestatis Romanorum etc., domino mihi observandissimo.

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István Brodarics to Ferdinand I
Vác, 29 May 1539

Manuscript used: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. E, fol. 57–58.¹

Published: ETE III., 356–357.

Bishop of Vác István Brodarics thanks to King Ferdinand that the latter regards his sickly state and does not order him to go to Prague but allows him to wait for the King in Vienna.

Serenissime Rex et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post humillimae servitutis commendationem.

- Accepi litteras² Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis, quibus iubet, ut iam non Pragam ad Vestram Sacram Maiestatem irem, sed Viennae Vestram Maiestatem debeam exspectare.
- 5 Ago submissimas gratias Vestrae Maiestati, quod meae imbecillis valetudinis tantam habuerit rationem; utinam hoc aliquando possim obsequiis meis promereri.

⁵ King John was staying in Ráckeve and received the bride and her entourage there.

⁶ It is not a reference to the wedding yet but to their first meeting and handfast, which took place on 19 February in Ráckeve. The wedding was planned to take place in Fehérvár and the wedding feast in Buda. The embarrassing presence of the Turkish legate delayed the ceremony. Thurzó wrote to Ferdinand as late as on 23 February that nobody knew when and where will John's wedding take place (see: HHSIA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. B, fol. 35.). Finally, the coronation and the wedding took place on 2 March.

⁷ Traditionally, it was the Archbishop of Esztergom, in this case Pál Várday, who crowned kings and queens. Finally, Várday attended both the wedding and the coronation on 2 March.

¹ Autograph.

² This letter is not known.

Etsi hic etiam, sicut aliquando questus sum, fortasse merito queri possem me ante diem nominari senem a Vestra Maiestate, idque valde intempestive et concilio appetente et promissa mihi iam virgine formosa ex his, quae cum serenissima regina,³
10 domina mea clementissima ex Polonia sunt adductae. Sed hoc quoque Vestrae Maiestati pro sua in me regia clementia condono. Modo Vestra Maiestas dignetur me sua gratia prosequi. Habet ibi pro sacerdote monachum, pro episcopo tenui magnum archiepiscopum.⁴ Et in hoc facile animadvertet quosdam principes magis esse affectos monachis, quam sacerdotibus.⁵ Ego autem usque ad Sauromatas mittor gelidosque
15 triones.⁶

Meam humillimam servitutem in gratiam Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis supplex commendo, quam felicissimam esse cupio. Vaciae 29. Maii 1539.

Eiusdem Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis

servulus humillimus
Vaciensis subscripsit

20

On the outer side: Sacratissimae Regiae Romanorum etc., Maiestati etc., Domino mihi semper clementissimo.

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Bull of Appointment by Paul III for István Brodarics Rome, 30 May 1539

Manuscript used: MOL, I 1. bundle 1, Nr. 25.

Pope Paul III, in view of Brodarics' merit and virtues, appoints István Brodarics to head the bishopric of Vác, a position that became vacant by the death of János Országh.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Stephano electo Waciensi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Apostolatus officium meritis licet imparibus nobis ex alto commissum, quo ecclesiarum omnium regimini divina dispositione praesidemus, utiliter exsequi eo adiuvante Domino cupientes solliciti corde reddimur et solertes, ut, cum de ecclesiarum ipsarum regiminibus agitur, committendis tales eis in pastorem praeficere studeamus, qui populum suae curae creditum sciant non solum doctrina verbi sed etiam exemplo boni operis informare, commissasque sibi ecclesias velint et valeant auctore Domino

³ Isabella Jagiello, daughter of Polish King Sigismund, wife of János Szapolyai.

⁴ It is unclear whether or not Brodarics travelled. The reference to the Archbishop probably means Ferenc Frangepán, who was a Franciscan monk, and whom Szapolyai appointed legate to Ferdinand on 23 May (see: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. E, fol. 54.). Thus, it is possible that Brodarics, who at the time was suffering from quite grave gout, remained in Vác.

⁵ Perhaps refers to Pauline monk György Fráter, who by this time was the most influential person around Szapolyai.

⁶ Brodarics probably refers to the planned legation in Poland, which never happened due to his illness.

salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare. Dudum siquidem provisiones ecclesiarum
 10 omnium tunc vacantium et in antea vacaturarum ordinationi et dispositioni nostrae
 reservavimus decernentes ex tunc irritum et inane, si secus super his a quoquam, qua-
 vis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingerit attemptari. Et deinde ecclesia Vacien-
 si, cui bonae memoriae Iohannes olim episcopus Vaciensis,¹ dum viveret, praesidebat,
 per obitum eiusdem Iohannis episcopi, qui extra Romanam Curiam debitum naturae
 15 persolvit, pastoris solatio destituta, Nos vacatione huiusmodi fidedignis relatibus intel-
 lecta ad provisionem eiusdem ecclesiae celerem et felicem,² de qua nullus praeter nos
 hac vice se intromittere potuit sive potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supra-
 dictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longae vacationis exponatur incommodis, paternis et sollicitis
 20 studiis intendentes, post deliberationem, quam de praeficiendo eidem ecclesiae per-
 sonam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem. Demum
 ad te in presbyteratus ordine constitutum et decretorum doctorem,³ cui apud nos de
 litterarum scientia, vitae munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et tem-
 poralium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis fidedigna testimonia
 25 perhibentur, direximus oculos nostrae mentis. Quibus omnibus debita meditatione
 pensatis de persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum
 accepta eidem ecclesiae de ipsorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate Apostolica provide-
 mus, teque illi in episcopum praefecimus, et pastorem, curam et administrationem
 ipsius ecclesiae tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo in Illo, qui
 30 dat gratias et largitur praemia, confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus tuos dicta
 ecclesia sub tuo felici regimine regetur, utiliter et prospere dirigetur ac grata in eisdem
 spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Iugum igitur Domini tuis impositum
 humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem praedictas sic exer-
 cere studeas sollicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatori provideo et
 fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque praeter aeternae retributionis
 35 praemium nostram et Apostolicae Sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius con-
 sequi merearis. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae
 millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono Tertio Kalendas Iunii. Pontificatus nostri
 anno quinto.

Blosius

¹ János Guthi Ország, Bishop of Vác from 1520 (effectively probably from 1524) until his death in 1536. See SZARKA Gyula, *A váci egyházmegye és püspökei a török hódítás korában*, Vác, 1947, 2–6.

² It took almost three years for the Pope to fill the *vacantia*. Brodarics, according to Pietro Bembo's letter on 15 June 1537, got the bishopric of Vác sometime in the middle of 1537, half a year after the death of János Ország, but he received papal confirmation only two years later, in the above bull.

³ Brodarics earned a degree in canon law in 1506 in Padua.

Paul III's Bull of Absolution to István Brodarics
Rome, 30 May 1539

Manuscript used: MOL, I 1. bundle I Nr. 26.

Pope Paul III absolves István Brodarics from any kind of excommunication or anathema or punishment, so that he can fulfil his duties as Bishop of Vác in clear conscience.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Stephano Broderico presbytero Crisiensis diocoesis, decretorum doctori salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Apostolicae Sedis consueta clementia, ne dispositiones per eam de cathedralibus ecclesiis pro tempore factae valeant quolibet impugnari, sed personae ad eas promovendae illis puro corde et sincera conscientia praesidere valeant, remedia, prout convenit, adhibet opportuna. Cum itaque nos hodie ecclesiae Waciensi ad praesens certo modo pastoris solatio destitutae de persona tua nobis et fratribus nostris ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de fratrum eorundem consilio, Apostolica auctoritate providere teque illi in episcopum et pastorem praeficere intendamus. Nos, ne provisio et praefectio praedictae, si forsan aliquibus sententiis, censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis ligatus sis, valeant propterea indebitae reputari, providere volentes te a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis a iure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existis ad hoc duntaxat, ut provisio et praefectio praedictae ac singulae litterae Apostolicae desuper conficiendae suum sortiantur effectum, auctoritate praedicta, tenore praesentium absolvimus et absolutum fore nuntiamus,¹ non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis ac dictae ecclesiae iuramento, confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae absolutionis et nuntiationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono tertio Kalendas Iunii. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Blosius

¹ Pope Clement VII excommunicated János Szapolyai in the winter of 1529/30 because the latter formed an alliance with the Turks. The anathema pertained to his adherents who remained in his service as well, so Brodarics was also affected.

Bull of Paul III to István Brodarics
Rome, 1 June 1539

Manuscript used: MOL, I 1. bundle 1, Nr. 27.

Pope Paul III permits consecration of István Brodarics as Bishop of Vác, and prescribes the text of his oath in the bull.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Stephano electo Waciensi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum nos pridem ecclesiae Waciensi tunc per obitum bonae memoriae Iohannis olim episcopi Waciensis extra Romanam Curiam defuncti pastoris solatio destitutae de persona tua nobis et fratribus nostris ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de fratrum
5 eorundem consilio, Apostolica auctoritate duxerimus providendum praeficiendo te illi in episcopum et pastorem, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur.¹ Nos ad ea, quae tuae commoditatis augmentum cedere valent, favorabiliter intendentes tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati tibi, ut a quocunque malueris catholico
10 antistite gratiam et communionem dictae Sedis habente accitus et hoc sibi assistentibus duobus vel tribus catholicis episcopis similem gratiam et communionem habentibus munus consecrationis recipere valeas et eidem antistiti, ut recepto prius per eum a te nostro et Romanae ecclesiae nomine fidelitatis debitae solito iuramento iuxta formam praesentibus annotatum tibi munus praedictum auctoritate nostra impendere libere et
15 licite plenam et liberam concedimus, earundem praesentium tenore facultatem volumus autem et praedicta auctoritate statuimus et ordinamus, quod si non recepto a te per ipsum episcopum iuramento huiusmodi idem episcopus munus tibi impendere et tu illud suscipere praesumpseritis, tum ipse quam tu ab administratione ecclesiarum vestrarum suspensi sitis eo ipso. Praeterea volumus, quod huiusmodi a te tunc praestiti
20 iuramenti nobis te verbo ad verbum per tuas patentes litteras tuo sigillo munitas per proprium nuntium quantotius testinare procures, quodque per hoc venerabili fratri nostro, archiepiscopo Strigoniensi² nullum imposterum praeiudicium generetur. Forma autem iuramenti, quod praestabis, haec est: Ego Stephanus electus Waciensis ab hac hora in antea fidelis et oboediens ero beato Petro, Sanctaeque Apostolicae Romanae
25 Ecclesiae et domino nostro, domino Paulo papae III. suisque successoribus canonice intransitibus. Non ero in consilio, consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur vel iniuriae aliquae inferantur quovis quaesito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut per nuntios seu litteras ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam.
30 Papatum Romanum et regalia Sancti Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum et defenden-

14 praesentibus *correx* ex: quosentibus

¹ See the bull of Paul III on 30 May 1539, in which he appointed Brodarics.

² Archbishop of Esztergom Pál Várday.

dum contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicae Sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo et in suis necessitatibus adiuvabo. Iura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem Romanae ecclesiae, domini nostri papae et successorum praedictorum conservare, defendere, augere et promovere curabo, nec ero in consilio vel facto seu
 35 tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel praeiudicialia personarum, iuris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari impendiam hoc pro posse, et quantotius potero, commode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri,
 40 per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. Regulas, sanctorum patrum decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos, schismaticos et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus praedictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi praepeditus fuero canonica praepeditione. Apostolorum
 45 limina Romana Curia existente citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis biennis aut per meipsum aut per meum nuntium visitabo, nisi Apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiae meae inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia.

50 Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono Kalendas Iunii. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Blosius

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István Brodarics to Georg Gienger¹
 Vác, 30 June 1539

Manuscript used: HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 39. Konv. F, fol. 17.²

Published: SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Jerosini Brodarics István*, Budapest, 1907, 144.

Brodarics requests Gienger to obtain a safe conduct from Ferdinand for the man of Bishop of Transylvania Statileo, who wants to take with him the camels requested for his master.

Magnifice Domine et Amice Observandissime. Obsequii mei commendationem.
 Reverendissimus dominus episcopus Transsilvaniensis Statilius³ ad legationem

¹ Georg Gienger von Rotteneck (1500–after 1563) Vice-Chancellor of Ferdinand I in 1538–1544. See Alfred KOHLER, *Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Fürst, König und Kaiser*, München, 2003, 145.

² Autograph.

³ Bishop of Transylvania János Statileo.

huius sacrae maiestatis, domini mei clementissimi⁴ proficiscens⁵ commiserat suis, ut post se mitterent quosdam camelos ultra illos, quos secum duxerat. Quos quidem nunc
5 per hominem suum proprium missuri sunt sui factores. Rogo, ut Vestra Dominatio efficiat apud istam sacram augustam maiestatem, scilicet dominum meum clementissimum,⁶ ut velit⁷ homini huiusmodi cum camelis⁸ ituro litteras passus sive saluum suum conductum dare pro securiore eorum per provincias et dominia sacrae maiestatis conductione. Quod nos ambo cum domino episcopo Statilio primum suae maiestati,
10 postea Vestrae etiam Dominationi reservare studebimus. Quam et recte valere opto. Cui me totum tradeo.

Vaciae 30. Iunii 1539.

Vestrae Dominationi deditissimus
Stephanus Brodaricus
15 episcopus Vacienensis subscripsit

On the outer side: Magnifico domino Georgio Gengh iuris utriusque doctore, Sacrae Augustae Maiestatis Romanorum etc. vicecancellario et consiliario, domino et amico praecipuo. Fiat, ut petitur ex consilio regis 4ta Iulii 1539.

5 post proprium del. est

18 Fiat ... 1539 alia manu

⁴ János Szapolyai.

⁵ Statileo travelled to Rome in November 1538, then he made a European round trip during which he visited French King Francis as well as Charles V. Szapolyai signed the *credentialis* to Statileo on 11 November 1538. (See HHStA, Ung. Akt., Fasc. 37. Konv. C, fol. 7.) More on his legation: FRANKÓI Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-Székkal I.*, Budapest, 1903, 50–52.; and SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Statileo János életéhez*, A pannonthalmi szt. benedekrendi főiskola évkönyve, Pannonthalma, 1916, 46–51.

⁶ I.e. Ferdinand I. After the Peace of Várad, Brodarics considered Ferdinand also his King, and he referred to him as such in his letters.

⁷ In the margin, in a different handwriting, it is written: *fiat*. The text on the back side confirms this. It seems then, that Statileo's man did get the requested *salvus conductus*.

⁸ Statileo intended to give the camels to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who got them and expressed his thanks to the Bishop of Transylvania in a letter dated 19 October 1539. See SÖRÖS Pongrác, *Statileo János életéhez*, A pannonthalmi szt. benedekrendi főiskola évkönyve, Pannonthalma, 1916, 49.

The Will of István Brodarics
Vác (?),¹ June 1539

Manuscript used: SNA, fond Hodnovorné miesto Leles, Acta Actorum 1539. Nr. 41.

Published: ETE III. 372–375.

1. He designates the executors of his will; specifies the amount due to his niece born to his sister Borbála and to his nephew by the name of Miklós. – 2. Lists his debts, the sums and the creditors, and also how he intends to settle each. – 3. Lists his heirs and the amounts due to each. – 4. Makes arrangements regarding his things, possessions, outstanding debts. – 5. He leaves the rest of his wealth to his brother Mátyás and to his children, mostly those from Mátyás' first marriage. – 6. Lists his claims toward Nádasdy and reminds King John of pending payments.

Anno 1539² in mense Iunio.

[1.] Quandocunque mihi aliquid humanitus contigerit, hoc de rebus meis disponendum duxi per executores meos, quos cupio esse dominum fratrem meum, dominum Matthiam Broderyth de Polanya, aulicum regium, item reverendum et venerabiles dominos Thomam praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem, custodem Agriensem,³ secretarium regium, Stephanum de Buda, Ioannem similiter de Buda et Ambrosium Zedelyn,⁴ provisorem, archidiaconos et canonicos ecclesiae meae Vachyensis. Hoc libet: puellae, nepti meae ex sorore mea Barbara volo dare florenorum trecentos, vestes meas duas, quae executoribus meis videbuntur. Nicolao fratri eius, quem minus ad bonam frugem reducere potui, florenorum ducentos, sed et pecunia haec non detur ei ad manus, sed executores emant ei aliquid haereditariorum, quod pro tanta pecunia emi poterint, ita tamen, quod illud non possit vendere, nec impignorare, nec ullo alio modo alienare.⁵

[2.] *Creditores.*

Magnificae dominae Catherinae de Frangepanibus, relictæ magnifici domini quondam Gabrielis de Peren debeo argenti illaborati marcas XLVIII; detur ei illud argentum Kremniciense et argentum emptum ex teste reverendi quondam domini Damiani episcopi suffraganei Vaciensis,⁶ cum argenti Kremniciensis facit marcas XXV. Addantur

18 post marcas del. cici

¹ There is no exact dating in the will, but since it was written in June 1539, Brodarics might have committed it to paper in his bishopric's seat, Vác.

² Copied or excerpted from the original will. The copier, out of habit, wrote 1540 or a year starting with 154 in the first line. Then, realising his mistake, he erased the 4 and wrote 39. This shows that it was produced in the 1540s.

³ Provost of Pécs and Custos of Eger Tamás Mindszenti.

⁴ Canon of Vác Ambrus Zedelin, Land Steward of the bishopric.

⁵ Quite probably, he is the Miklós Brodarics who is mentioned in a *salvus conductus* dated October 1537 (see HHStA, Ung. Akt. Fasc. 32. Konv. C, fol. 84.), and who was supposed to study in Vienna, but the will indicates that he was reluctant.

⁶ Suffragan Demjén managed the bishopric after János Guthi Országh died (in late 1536) until the nomination of Brodarics in mid-1537.

ex disci argentei, qui faciunt marcas circiter XXV. Reliquum suppleatur, unde exsecutoribus videtur. Cui quidem dominae dedi pro pecunia zybellenas numero VI, valentes
20 verisimiliter florenorum XXIII.

Item Domino Alexio Thwrzo debeo florenorum ducentos currentis monetae.

Domino Andreae praeposito Strigoniensi florenorum C.

Debeo Padwe pro Nicolao Zalay non multum, ipse scit, quantum; summa non credo, quod excedat florenorum XX. in auro. Alexandro de Bonzagnis de Regio, quod est
25 inter Mutinam et Parmam, pro argento fratris sui, reverendi quondam domini Ioannis de Bonzagnis episcopi Chyanadiensis florenorum C in auro. Haec omnia supradicta restituantur per exsecutores.

[3.] Valentino de Alba Regali, nepoti quondam Demetrii litterati de Alba Regali dentur florenorum C, Iob de Quinqueecclesiis florenorum C.

30 Francisco de Bonssegnis de Sancto Sepulcro, camerario meo florenorum ducenti.

Consanguineis Francisci, qui fuit consanguineus dominae Catherinae, prioris uxoris domini Matthiae Broderyth florenorum L.

Consanguineis Andreae de Naghwath, qui est mortuus, dum Tarnoviae cum rege exularemus, florenorum 32. Alberto Papeznyak florenorum L-ta.

35 Hospitali Sancti Spiritus dentur florenorum C.

Priscae, filiae dominae Sarae florenorum L. Servitoribus, quibus, credo parum debere, solvatur.

Anthonio litterato de Myndzenth florenorum 2

Andreae literato [.....]⁷

40 Domino Andreae, praeposito praefato debebam florenorum trecentos, quos ab eo adhuc ante cladem Mohachiensem mutuo acceperam, eos serenissimus rex Romanorum ad preces meas ex taxa sua regia per dominum Alexium Thwrzonem ei deputavit; similiter et domino Thwrzony eodem tempore florenorum ducentos, quos ab eo prius acceperam et uterque eorum fuit contentus.

45 Ecclesiae Wachiensis debeo summam, quam magister Ambrosius novit.

Ioanni litterato de Iwanych et liberis eius florenorum ducentos.

[4.] *De rebus et proventibus meis.*

Habeo in cellariis meis diversis vina omnis generis; habeo in horreis meis tot fruges, ut facile haberi possit [!] ex eorum pretio, etiamsi vilissimo pretio vendantur, florenorum duo milia. Habeo argentum marcarum CXVIII. Adhuc sine antiquis minutis.
50

Ex novis decimis agnellosum verisimiliter florenorum trecentos, et frugum verisimiliter florenorum sexcentos. Ex novis decimis vinorum florenorum mille.

Exspecto ex Transsilvania boves centum, mihi a domino episcopo Transsilvaniensi⁸ donatos, valentes florenorum trecentos.

55 Exspecto ex eodem loco gradarios IIII, unum a plebano Byrthalmy pro pecuniis, unum alium a Petro More, item a domino waywoda Maylath, quartum a domino praeposito Veteris Bwdae.⁹ Habeo hic et in Monyorod boves, vaccas et alias huiusmodi, quorum numerum novit provisor.

⁷ No sum has been given in the Will.

⁸ Bishop of Transylvania János Statileo.

⁹ Antal Verancsics, Provost of Óbuda.

Item vestes, item utensilia domus, item alias res, de quibus obstat quidem registrum
60 in rubeo libro meo, sed non sunt omnia ibi expressa.

Habeo ex veteri [!] moneta florenorum quadringentos in manibus Francisci Itali. Habeo certas res minutas in parva ladula, inter quae aurum Natmonense [!] valens ad florenorum XL, anulum *theorkes*⁹ satis bonum, valens verisimiliter florenorum ducentos.

65 Habeo zybellingos LXVII. Item debet mihi Stephanus de Bykesd presbyter, alias provisor meus Wachiensis ex computu et compositione cum eo facta medio fideius-
soris florenorum ducentos; sine fideiussore alios florenorum ducentos. Hos ultimos ei relaxo.

[5.] Ex his facile poterint disponi omnia supradicta, immo etiam ex tertia vel quarta
70 parte istorum, et si quae essent, quae ego essem oblitus, hic ponetur. Reliqua omnia relinquo domino Matthiae Broderyth, fratri meo et eius liberis, maxime ex priori [!] uxore eius genitis, nam alii, ex secunda uxore eius geniti, non in tantum egent.

Si Deus regnum conservaverit, quorum bona ego cum meo damno magno conservavi, et multa hic passus sum damna a domino Nadasdino, possum vera dicere,
75 aliquot milium florenorum in abbatia Zalad.¹⁰ Rogo autem dominum Matthiam, ut sit memor animae meae in iuvandis pauperibus, maxime in hospitali Sancti Spiritus Waciensi degentibus.

[6.] Maiestati regiae munus aliquod competens, quod exsecutoribus meis videbitur. Maiestati reginali quodcunque parvum munusculum, si non daretur aliud, saltem unum
80 ex horologiis meis, quod videbitur melius exsecutoribus meis.

Ecclesiae Wachienti quantum videbitur. Domino Colocensi, quod videbitur. Domino Quinqueecclesiensi, quod videbitur. Sepultura domini praedecessoris facit, ad quam egreus Andreas Hispa dedit florenorum XX.

Dominus Nadasdinus habuit apud se in deposito, me ei Posonii datas, qui fuerant
85 quondam Demetrii litterati de Alba Regali florenorum in auro vel trecenti vel quadringenti salva veritate. Rogo suam dominationem, velit eos Valentino, Demetri nepoti restituere; velit etiam recordari, quod debet fratri meo bona ad trecentos vel quadringentos colonos iuxta suam promissum teste rege et litteris eius, quando rex contulit ei bona Kanysay ob respectum meum cum ista conditione. Illud etiam recordetur, quod
90 abbatiam meam tenuit per plures annos et percepit proventus meos. Supplico maiestati regiae, sit memor servitiorum, laborum meorum, expensarum, et salarii mei, quod mihi sua maiestas in singulo anno constituerat, cuius vix tertiam partem habui ante adeptionem episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis. Praeterea vero mihi legata fuerunt quatuor milia florenorum in singulos annos; et non relinquant orphanos meos, maxime
95 fratrem meum, dominum Matthiam etc.

Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Wachiensis
manu propria.

79 quodcunque *correx* ex: quocunque

89 *post* recordetur *del.* supplico

⁹ This is the only Hungarian word in the will: this a ring with a turquoise stone.

¹⁰ Reference to the Abbey of Zalavár, which was in the centre of an old dispute between Brodarics and Nádasdy. Details of the conflict are unclear.

István Brodarics to Sigismund I
Buda, 11 August 1539

Manuscript used: Libri Legationum vol. VI, fol. 109a–114a

Published: TÓTH Péter (ed.), *A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai II. 1526–1541*, Miskolc, 2003, 206–207.

1. They have received news from Venice that the French legate returned from Constantinople, but peace cannot be made with the Turks before they get Castelnovo back. Hayreddin Barbarossa is in front of the town with 150 ships, while Andrea Doria is off the coast of Sicily with 60 galleys. – 2. Having sorted out matters in Spain, Charles V sailed to Genoa, and from there he is heading for Nuremberg to prepare for the war against the Turks. – 3. Either he or another legate will inform Sigismund on his talks with the imperial legate. – 4. Ayas Pasha is dead, Ludfi Pasha replaced him; terrible plague rages in Constantinople.

Serenissime Rex et Domine, Domine Clementissime. Post servitutis meae humillimam commendationem.

[1.] Ex Venetiis habuimus oratorem Christianissimi regis rediisse ex Constantinopoli, nullam pacem esse factam sive indutias, ut sperabatur, inter Christianos principes et Turcam, illum enim noluisse ne verbum quidem audire de pace, nisi prius restituto Novigrod, alias Castello Novo¹ aestate superiori [!] per Andream Doriā² intercepto, Barbarossam³ cum 150 navibus esse non longe a Castello Novo, Andreā Doriā circum oram Siciliae cum LX triremibus, inauditam esse famem quasi per totam Italiam.

[2.] Caesarem Carolum rebus suis omnibus in Hispania recte dispositis duobus cardinalibus Hispanis et duce Calabriae⁴ relictis ad Hispaniarum gubernationem et filii sui tutelam accepta licentia ad tres annos navigare in Italiam, circa medium Septembris proximi mensis futurum Genuae, inde venturum in Germaniam ad conventum Norimbergensem adhuc ante hiemem pro bello Turcis inferendo, non defuturas tamen ei vices etiam maritimas contra hostem. Deus haec prosperet et fortunet.

15 Quid hic actum sit cum oratore caesareo,⁵ Vestra Maiestas intelliget a me vel ab alio, qui ad Vestram Maiestatem mittetur.⁶

¹ Andrea Doria won back Castelnovo (today: Hercegnovi, Bosnia-Herzegovina) in the Kotor Bay in the autumn of 1538, but Hayreddin Barbarossa conquered it again in August 1539.

² Andrea Doria (1466–1560), admiral of Charles V from Genoa.

³ Hayreddin Barbarossa (around 1478–1546), Algerian pirate chieftain, commander of the Turkish fleet from 1532. He had an important role in building up Turkish power in the Mediterranean.

⁴ Ferdinand of Aragon (1488–1550) Royal Prince of Naples, heir to the throne, Duke of Calabria, Viceroy of Valencia. Nephew of former Hungarian Queen Beatrix of Aragon.

⁵ Archbishop of Lund Johann Wese.

⁶ Brodarics could not travel to Poland. Ferenc Frangepán, whom Szapolyai sent in place of him, wrote to Nuncio Giovanni Morone in September 1539 that the gout that tormented Brodarics was so serious that he would hardly be able to take part in public affairs again. (*Dominus Brodericus episcopus Vaciensis adeo oppressus est podagra, ut nulla spes sit, ut possit publicis rebus amplius inservire.*) See ÓVÁRY Lipót, III. Pál pápa és Farnese Sándor bibornok Magyarországra vonatkozó diplomáciai levelezései 1535–1549. Budapest, 1879, 77.

De rebus Constantinopolitanis habemus Aiace[m] bassam esse extinctum vel peste, vel manu caesaris ipsius, nam utrumque scribitur.⁷ Ludfy bascham⁸ in eius locum suffectum, esse ingentem pestilentiam Constantinopoli, propter quam caesarem in
20 nescio, quae non remota loca concessisse, tertiam partem eius urbis et meliorem flamma absumptam. Vestram maiestatem Deus conservet semper felicem et incolumem.

Budae, XI. Augusti M-o D-o XXXIX-o.

25

Servulus humillimus
Vaciensis episcopus subscripsit

349

István Brodarics to Tamás Nádasdy
Vác, 17 October 1539

Manuscript used: MOL, E 185, Brodarics-levelek, fol. 102/a.

Brodarics requests Tamás Nádasdy to help his brother Mátyás Brodarics in his inheritance dispute with the Pogany family.

Magnifice Domine, ut tanquam Fili mihi Observandissime. Salutem et obsequiorum meorum commendationem.

Scio iam et Vestrae Dominationi mortem generosae dominae relictae quondam Petri Pogan probe constare, neque etiam ignorare eandem, qualiter convenerat inter ipsam
5 dominam, dum adhuc in humanis ageret, et dominum Matthiam Broderyth fratrem nostrum, ut utrique esset separatim aliquid, quod pro libito possidere posset. Nunc autem ipsa domina e vivis sublata novit Vestra Dominatio neminem esse prorsus, qui ad illa bona, exceptis filiis superstitionibus ipsius quondam dominae iure consanguinitatis propius [...]dere posset, quam fratria nostra, generosa videlicet domina [Sara?] Pogan.
10 Itaque rogo Vestram Dominationem Magnificam enixe, tanquam d[ominu]m ac filium observandissimum, velit intuitu obsequiorum n[ost]r[orum] domino fratri nostro istuc ad eandem ituro causa in praedicta omnem favorem et auxilium praestare, vel si longe istinc abesset, committere suis, quorum interest et quos ipse requisitos habuerit, ut nomine Vestrae Dominationis Magnificae in eius cau[sa] tuenda fulciendaque nihil
15 praetermitterent. Id quod ego Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae maioribus obsequiis conabor rependere. Quae et [fel]icissime diu valeat.

Vaciae, 17. Octobris 1539.

⁷ Ayas Mehmet Pasha, Grand Vizier indeed died of plague in July 1539, so Suleyman did not have him executed.

⁸ Lutfi Pasha (around 1488–1563) became Grand Vizier after the death of Ayas, in July 1539, and remained that until 1541. He was a distinguished historian, his main work being *History of the House of the Ottomans*.

De aliis nec de Silvestro nunc nihil scribere possum impeditus infirmitate.

Servitor

20

Vaciensis subscripsit

On the back side: Magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae
bano etc., domino ut tanquam filio observandissimo

APPENDIX

1

Caspar Ursinus Velius to István Brodarics¹

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]

*Published: ÁBEL JENŐ-HEGEDŰS István, Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium
in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, Budapest, 1906, 469.*

*Ad reverendissimum dominum Stephanum Brodericium episcopum Syrmiensem etc, incltyti regni Hungariae
cancellarium*

Optimus ut fieres dux inde autorque fuisti,
Iam, Stephane, a teneris unguibus ipse tibi,
Ut fieres tantus, maior licet esse mereris,
Suspikor hoc aequos sic voluisse Deos.
Si tibi quotidie magni cumulentur honores,
Non melior fieri, maior ut esse potes.

2

Ad eundem

Optimus es, summo et nunc munere fungeris,² olim
Perfecta est bonitas iam tua, crescit honos.

3

Ad eundem

Doctus es et bonus et sapiens, haec singula magnos
Cum faciant, quaeso, trina quid efficiunt.

4

Ad eundem venientem Strigonium

Salvus venerit opto Brodericus
Lyncaeus non mihi lippus intuendus,
Cuius lumina si videre possent,
Quantum mens videt, Argus alter esset.

¹ The poems, if they were not provided with the addressing afterwards, were possibly written in the spring of 1526, because Brodarics received his appointment as Chancellor on 11 March and became Bishop of Szerém in April. Allusion to earning the highest position in poem 2 seems to confirm this.

² An obvious allusion to earning the position of Chancellor.

Georgius Logus to István Brodarics

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]

Published: Georgi LOGI SILESII, Ad inclitum regem Ferdinandum hendecasyllabi. elegiae et epigrammata, Viennae, mense Maio 1529. Excudebat Hieronymus Vietor. ÁBEL Jenő-HEGEDŰS István, Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, Budapest, 1906, 248–249.

Logi delitiae tui, Thalia,
Et solaciolum, unica et voluptas,
Tantum mi teneris amata ab annis,
Quantum nemo oculos suos amavit,
5 Vel si quid magis est amandum ocellis.

Vir est unicus ex meis amicis,
Nobilis, sapiens et eruditus,
Syncerus, bonus, integer, benignus,
Qui te deperit usque fido amore,
10 Et quem tu redamas fideli amore.

Sed quidnam tenerum Thalia rides?
Florentis iuga sic amoena Pindi
Gaudenti benevolentibus coronis
Flores sufficiant tibi perennes,
15 Modo quem tenui vocas susurro,
Ille est optimus ille Brodericus.

Hunc tu per Genium suum, meumque
Roga per Iovium, et suum, meumque,
Ut praestet mihi cum suis amicis
20 Iisdem, et praecipuis meis amicis,
Doctis, nobilibusque, maximisque.
Zolcano patre et optimo Barone,
Laxanoque meo probo et sagaci,
Affinique meo, intimoque amico,
25 Ut me restituant tibi, mihi te.

Hoc tandem efficiet, suique amici,
In votis modo si meis, quod unum est,
Curarint subito, simul beatae
Romae, ut restituar suae, meaeque.

Romae quo melius, beatiusque
30 Nil Phoebusque sororque dia coelo
Illustrant radiis suis ab alto.

Sed quae digna satis, Thalia, quaeso,
Nos pro munere, dic, venusta tanto
35 Auro et praemia comparanda nullo

Reddemus? Placet, et decebit illum,
Gratque et memores uterque cultis
Usque ad sydera versibus feremus.

6

Epitaph Poem from Miklós Oláh about István Brodarics

Manuscript used: [Original is lost]

Published: Nicolaus OLÁHUS, *Carmina*, Lipsiae, 1934, 27.

Epitaphium Stephani Broderici episcopi ecclesiae
Vaciensis mortui septima mensis Novembris anno 1539.

Hac iacet inclusus gelida Brodericus in urna,
Cui decus et nomen pulchra corona dedit.
Phoebus in aethereo donec clarescet Olympo,
Dum tenebras densas Cynthia clara fugat,
Semper erit Stephani virtus, doctrina perennis,
Sancta fides, probitas et pietatis amor.
Pontificis sacro vixit decoratus honore,
Cuius in officio sedulus usque fuit.
O felix, claros patriae qui vidit honores,
Illius ast cladem cernere non voluit.
Dum nullam potuit nostris adhibere medelam
Hisce malis, subito migrat ad astra poli.

István Brodarics to Piotr Tomicki

Manuscript used: BJ 6554 704.¹

Published: Acta Tomiciana X. 420.

Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiesis,
 Petro Tomicio episcopo Cracoviensi regni Poloniae vicecancellario viventi²

Quas tibi nunc referam, praesul dignissime, grates?
 Unde petam meritis praemia digna tuis?
 5 Tu me, dum patriis longe exulo pulsus ab oris
 Et medicae infirmus quaero salutis opem,
 Complexus vero patriae pietatis amore es,
 Tu pater et dominus, tu mihi frater eras.
 Nil passus tunc deesse mihi, cum cuncta deessent,
 10 Cum premerent variis me mea fata malis.
 Ergo cum nequeam, quas vellem, solvere grates,
 Persolvant meritis numina sancta tuis.
 Illa tibi optatam tribuant longamque salutem
 Et tribuant votis omnia fausta tuis.
 15 Sis columnen patriae, sis tanti gloria regni,
 Sis patrum et regis cura benigna tui.
 Atque utinam iratos potuisses iungere reges,
 Laus erat haec titulis annumeranda tuis;
 20 Hos quoque sollicita versantem mente labores
 Vidimus, in magnis et voluisse sat est.

¹ Stephanus Brodericus...vicecancellario viventi:
 Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Simiensis, Ungarus, vir
 pius ac sanctus ad Petrum Tomicium episcopum Cracovi-
 ensem vicecancellarium regni Poloniae *BOss 158*

¹ Another manuscript: *BOss 158*, 211–212. (*Poemata Andreae Cricii episcopi collecta per Stanislaum Górski* (kodeks papierowy, pisany kilku rekami w XVII wieku)

² The poem is, unfortunately, undated, but it must have been written before 1532, because Tomicki is addressed as Vice-Chancellor. Brodarics is most grateful to him for giving him sanctuary during his exile, and this suggests that it was produced in 1528. For this is the only year when Brodarics had to spend one year in Poland in utter insecurity after Szapolyai's defeat at Szina.

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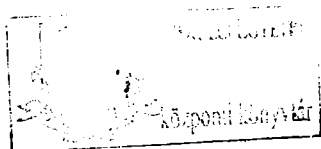
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