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JOHANNES AVENTINUS AND HIS ENTRIES ABOUT THE REIGN OF HENRY III

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

October 2018.

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by

Iván Kis

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Iván Kis**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

In my thesis I study and analyze a significant late-medieval chronicle, known as *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* (The seven books of the Bavarian Annals, written by a Bavarian humanist historian, Johannes Aventinus (1477-1534). My main goal is to examine the *Annales*'s entries about the reign of Henry III, because these parts contain an unusually large quantity of the so-called “unique” entries, which can only be found in the *Annales*. However, to prove the veracity of these “unique” entries about Henry III—that is, whether they were fictitious accounts inserted by Aventinus or taken from a lost source—certain examinations are necessary in my thesis. At first, I summarize the life of the Bavarian historiographer in order to understand his historiographical practice, personal viewpoints, and therefore, to evaluate of Aventinus as a historian. After that, I present the historiographical practice of Aventinus's historical writing and his historiographical principles, which can be detected in his texts. I demonstrate that there are three discernible historiographical principles which appear in Aventinus's *Annales*: his patriotism, his love for rhetorical devices, and his disapproval towards the Catholic Church. It was precisely these principles, which occasionally made Aventinus alter the content of his sources. Following this chapter, I identify the sources of the *Annales* regarding the reign-period of Henry III, and finally, I dealt with the so-called “unique” entries of Aventinus.

Table of contents

I.	Introduction and methodology	8
II.	The life of Johannes Aventinus.....	11
1.	Aventinus and his birthplace	11
2.	Aventinus and his carrier at universities	12
3.	Aventinus's activities after university	17
4.	Historical background and the new position of Aventinus	18
5.	Aventinus as the official historian of the Bavarian court.....	21
a)	Aventinus's predecessors as Bavarian historians.....	22
b)	Aventinus's own collection of written materials	25
6.	The end of the life of Aventinus	29
a)	Aventinus as a prisoner	29
b)	Aventinus's personal life and marriage	29
c)	The end of Aventinus's life	30
7.	Conclusion	30
III.	The <i>Annales</i> – publication history, opinions about Aventinus, and his historiographical practice.....	31
1.	The publication history of Aventinus's works.....	31
2.	The historiographical practice of Johannes Aventinus	34
3.	Conclusion	39
IV.	The sources of the <i>Annales</i> about the period of Henry III	39
1.	The <i>Annales</i> and the <i>Annales Altahenses maiores</i>	40
2.	The <i>Annales</i> and the rest of its sources	41
a)	The <i>Annales</i> and the work of Hermann of Reichenau	41
b)	The <i>Annales</i> and the Hungarian chronicle	44
c)	The <i>Annales</i> and the <i>Chronicon Eberspergense</i>	47
d)	The <i>Annales</i> and the <i>Chronicon Monasterii Tegernseensis</i>	47
e)	The <i>Annales</i> and the <i>Chronica sive chronographia universalis</i> by Sigebert of Gembloux 48	
f)	The <i>Annales</i> and <i>Lamperti Annales</i>	48
g)	The <i>Annales</i> and the chronicle of the Annalista Saxo.....	49
h)	The <i>Annales</i> and <i>Ekkehardi Chronicon universale</i>	49
V.	The “unique” entries of the <i>Annales</i>	50

1. The “unique” entries.....	50
2. Conclusion	56
VI. Final conclusion	57
VII. Bibliography	59
1. Primary sources	59
2. Secondary sources.....	61

I. Introduction and methodology

In my thesis I study and analyze a significant late-medieval chronicle, known as *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* (The seven books of the Bavarian Annals, henceforth: *Annales*),¹ written by a Bavarian humanist historian, Johannes Aventinus (1477-1534).²

Born in Abensberg (his name derives from the Latin version of this town’s name: Aventinium), Aventinus began his education there in the Carmelite cloister. Later he studied at four reputable European universities: Ingolstadt, Vienna, Krakow, and Paris. As a result of his efforts he became such a well-educated *litteratus* that in 1495 he was appointed tutor to Louis and Ernest, the two younger brothers of William IV, Duke of Bavaria. His career in the Bavarian court was so successful, that William appointed him as Bavaria’s official historian in 1517, and commissioned him to write the history of the country.

Aventinus was working on this opus for seven years and finished it in 1524. During these years he persistently visited the towns and cloisters of Bavaria with enthusiasm, collecting a very large quantity of written sources from their libraries and archives, including

¹ The first edition of the work: Johannes Aventinus, *Annalium Boiorum libri septem*, ed. Hieronymus Ziegler (Ingolstadt: Alexander & Samuel Weissenhorn, 1554). Critical edition: *Johannes Turmair’s genannt Aventinus sämtliche Werke / auf Veranlassung Seiner Majestät des Königs von Bayern herausgegeben von der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 6 vols (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1881–1908), vols 2–3. The volume I used for this thesis: Book 5 in *Johannes Turmair’s genannt Aventinus Annales ducum Boiariae*, ed. Sigmund Riezler (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1884).

² The most recent monographs about Aventinus: Gerald Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis: The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus, 1477–1534* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Eberhard Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus. Leben und Werk des bayerischen Geschichtsschreibers* (Rosenheim: Rosenheimer Verlagshaus, 1977); Jörg Kastner, *Johannes Aventin: Mensch, Bürger, Geschichtsschreiber* (Passau, 1998); Christine Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus: Pionier der Geschichtsforschung* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2015).

chronicles and charters. By using and copying this huge amount of written material, he wrote the history of Bavaria, from the beginning to 1460.

Most of Aventinus's descriptions derive from well-known chronicles, annals and charters, but several entries in the *Annales* exist only in his chronicle. It is possible that the Bavarian historian made these up himself, but also that these data came from sources that are now lost. Assuming the latter option, these pieces of information might be regarded as new historical data concerning the history of the medieval Europe.

One of the main goals of the present study is to focus on the notes which can only be found in the *Annalium Boiorum libri septem*. In this respect one part of the *Annales* deserves special attention: as will be demonstrated, Aventinus's entries about the reign of Emperor Henry III (1039–1056) contain an unusually large quantity of the so-called “unique” entries, which can only be found in the *Annales*. However, to prove the veracity of these “unique” entries about Henry III—that is, whether they were fictitious accounts inserted by Aventinus or taken from a lost source—characteristic traits of material added by Aventinus must be identified. My method is based on the analysis of traces of Aventinus's historiographical principles in his own text, which ultimately probes questions such as what kind of historian Aventinus was, and whether Aventinus can be regarded as a credible, trustworthy historian.

The life of the Bavarian historiographer is very informative as a background of my analysis: a thorough insight into his life can lead to the understanding of his historiographical practice, and personal viewpoints, and therefore, to the evaluation of Aventinus as a historian. As will be presented in the second chapter of this thesis, Aventinus's career at universities, his role in the Bavarian court, and, more importantly, his enthusiasm for collecting written sources imply that he was a thorough, precise, careful, and assiduous man, especially concerning his work as a historian: he wanted his *Annales* about Bavarian history to be a

credible work of high quality and his criterion for credibility lay in researching and preserving ancient written sources he found during his research.

In the third chapter, I will present the publication history of Aventinus's works. The opinions of historians about his "credibility," and, especially, his historiographical practice undergird the characteristics of Aventinus's historical writing and his historiographical principles, which can be detected in his texts. The chapter argues that there are three discernible historiographical principles which appear in Aventinus's *Annales*: his patriotism, his love for rhetorical devices, and his disapproval towards the Catholic Church. As I will demonstrate, it was precisely these principles, which occasionally made Aventinus alter the content of his sources. Importantly, those passages which do not display traces of these principles are not likely to be Aventinus's own text.

In short, an expression of patriotism can be detected in those parts of the *Annales* which deal with the foreign policy of Bavaria, especially the Bavarian-Hungarian relations in the eleventh century, which are often depicted by Aventinus as mighty and glorious stories about Bavaria. In order to exalt and glorify the Bavarian historical past, Aventinus sometimes altered the content of his sources about the Bavarian foreign policy, and presented the events from Bavarian patriotic perspective.

Secondly, Aventinus's love for rhetorical devices permeate several parts in the *Annales* which cannot be found in any other known sources because he authored them. As will be shown, Aventinus—as other humanist historians—often added rhetoric elements to the content of his sources: mostly fictitious battle descriptions, and rhetorical speeches.

Finally, Aventinus's anti-Catholic attitude also appears in the *Annales*, however, as it is not relevant for the passages concerned in this thesis, it will be only noted *passim*.

In the fourth chapter, the identification of Aventinus's sources is in order. By doing that, I demonstrate that he indeed used as many written source for his *Annales* as possible,

including the chapters about Henry III. The last and most important part of this thesis deals with the “unique” entries of the *Annales* about the reign of Henry III. There is a large group of entries concerning this period (between 1039 and 1056), which cannot be found in any other known written sources, and at the same time they cannot be explained by Aventinus’s three historiographical principles either. Since they belong to neither sets—taken from other known sources or authored by Aventinus—there is only one possible explanation for this group of “unique” entries: there was a narrative source, still extant in Aventinus’s time, which contained a large amount of information about Henry III and his era, but is now lost.

II. The life of Johannes Aventinus

In the following biography of Johannes Aventinus, I focus on those points and events in the life of the Bavarian historian, which may help understand his historiographical principles and personal viewpoints. These will, in turn, contribute to the evaluation of Aventinus as a historian.

1. Aventinus and his birthplace

Aventinus was born on July 4, 1477 in Abensberg. His hometown always played an important role in his life: as it was written in several of his works, this town remained a constant and stable pillar for him during his lifetime. The name “Aventinus” also derived from his birthplace: Abensberg’s name in Latin was Aventinium. Beside Aventinus’s personal emotions, the reason for his intense attachment to Abensberg was the town’s historical past, which drew Aventinus’s attention as a young man to history in general, therefore, initiated his carrier as a historian.³

³ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 4.

Abensberg's history originated in the antiquity. According to a Roman military map, the *Itinerarium imperatoris Antonini*, which was well-known in the sixteenth century, Abensberg's name was Abusina before the Middle Ages.⁴ Furthermore, according to an inscription found in a village near Abensberg, a Roman cohort had been stationed at the predecessor of Aventinus's hometown. In the eleventh century, the town was the residence of Babo of Abensberg, who had — according to the legends — thirty-two sons and eight daughters.⁵ In 1348 Count Ulrich III received the right from Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor to build walls and moats, to serve justice, and to punish the prisoners. According to local tradition, Ulrich was the one who built the thirty-two towers of the town.⁶ At that time, Abensberg managed to be independent from the Bavarian princes. However, in the fifteenth century the town was confronted by Prince Albrecht IV, who restrained the former rights of Abensberg.⁷

It is obvious that Abensberg looked back to substantial history at the time of Aventinus's childhood, and had strong connections to the events of the high politics. Because of this, the town probably piqued Aventinus's interest towards history.

2. Aventinus and his carrier at universities

⁴ The Antonine Itinerary had two parts, one for land and one for water routes. It is probable that the map was designed for Emperor Caracalla, who made a journey from Rome to Egypt early in the third century, and that it underwent a number of revisions later. See: O. A. W. Dilke, "Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the early and late Roman Empire," in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. Harley, J. B. and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 235–36; William Rockett, "Historical Topography and British History in Camden's *Britannia*," *Renaissance and Reformation, New Series* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 74–75.

⁵ Karl Heinrich von Lang, *Über die Fabel von des Grafen von Abensberg dreissig Söhnen* (Munich, 1813); Helmut Flachenecker, "Die Grafen von Abensberg," in *Hochmittelalterliche Adelsfamilien in Altbayern, Franken und Schwaben*, ed. Ferdinand Kramer and Wilhelm Störmer (München: Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 2005), 539–562.

⁶ *Die Grafen und Reichsherren zu Abensberg*, ed. Peter Dollinger and Nicolaus Stark (Landshut: Thomann, 1869), 85–91.

⁷ On the history of Abensberg see: Franz Tyroller, "Abensberg," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)* 1, ed. Der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), 17.

To understand Aventinus as a historian, a brief overview of his education is also in order: his studies at schools and universities. As a wealthy person, Peter Turmair, Aventinus's father was able to provide his son the highest levels of education.⁸ At first, Aventinus studied at the Carmelite cloister of Abensberg.⁹ Aventinus belonged to the group of the so-called *extremi*: he was not the member of the Carmelite order, but he studied at the cloister's school.¹⁰ The monastic discipline he learned during his studies nourished Aventinus's intellectual abilities: his future character as a historian, e. g. his endurance, his reverence toward historical sources derived from his education at the cloister.¹¹

Aventinus began his studies at the age of seven or eight. At first, the young students had to learn the alphabet with the help of a wooden table containing the letters of the ABC. This was followed by grammar. The most important tool for this was Donatus's popular *De partibus orationis ars minor*. After that, the students learned the basics of logical and rhetorical studies: these skills were acquired on the basis of readings from Cato, Cicero, Quintilian and Virgil.¹²

By the time Aventinus finished his studies in the Carmelite cloister; he possessed a fine Latin knowledge,¹³ and had great discipline for studying. On June, 1495, he enrolled in the University of Ingolstadt.

The University of Ingolstadt was one of the youngest universities founded before 1500.¹⁴ It was founded by Duke Ludwig IX of Bavaria-Landshut in 1472, and concerning its

⁸ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 6.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹¹ The Carmelite order developed its provincial system of education after the Second Council of Lyons (1274). See: Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26.

¹² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 7–9. On the education in the late Middle Ages see: Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 20–21.

¹³ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 22.

¹⁴ Karl von Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt*, 2 vols (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1872); Maximilian Schuh, *Aneignungen des Humanismus. Institutionelle und individuelle Praktiken an der Universität Ingolstadt im 15. Jahrhundert*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 47 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013)

organization, regulation and curriculum, the institute followed the University of Vienna. Its law and medical school were less popular, but the University of Ingolstadt had an acclaimed faculty of liberal arts, so many students came to Ingolstadt from Germany and Eastern Europe. In addition, the institution possessed a growing library, too.¹⁵

The University of Ingolstadt was perfect for Aventinus to continue his intellectual growth. Furthermore, this institution was the place where he met someone very important: this person was Conrad Celtis, who had great effect on Aventinus' thinking and career as a historian.

Conrad Celtis was one of the most celebrated German Renaissance humanist scholars in the fifteenth century.¹⁶ He studied at the University of Cologne, and the University of Heidelberg. In 1489–1491, he stayed in Krakow, where he founded a learned society based on the model of Roman academies: it was called *Sodalitas Litterarum Vistulana* (the Literary Society on the Vistula River). Similar “societies” were founded by Celtis later, too: he formed the *Sodalitas Litterarum Hungaria* in Hungary, and the *Sodalitas Litterarum Danubiana* in Vienna, and the *Sodalitas Litterarum Rhenana* at Heidelberg.¹⁷ The aim of these organizations was to cultivate the poetry and language of the antiquity, to praise Platonic philosophy, and to publish manuscripts by the group members.

Celtis arrived in Ingolstadt in 1492 in order to teach rhetoric to the students.¹⁸ Before teaching at Ingolstadt, he studied at several universities in Italy and Germany. He wrote a number of fine poems, for which he was awarded a silver laurel by the emperor in Nurnberg

¹⁵ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 19–20.

¹⁶ See: Lewis W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis. The German arch-humanist* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957); Dieter Wuttke: „Conradus Celtis Protutius (1459–1508),” in *Fränkische Lebensbilder N. F.* 12, ed. Alfred Wendehorst (Würzburg: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986), 56–71; Jörg Robert, *Conrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung. Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich*, Frühe Neuzeit 76 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003)

¹⁷ Howard Louthan, “Austria, the Habsburgs, and Historical Writing in Central Europe,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing 3. 1400–1800*, ed. José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 304.

¹⁸ Schuh, *Aneignungen des Humanismus*, 1.

in 1487.¹⁹ In Ingolstadt, Aventinus attended Celtis's classes about poetry and the rhetoric of Cicero,²⁰ and over time, the personal bond between him and Celtis became so intense that the young Bavarian followed his master to the University of Vienna.²¹

The intense personal relationship between Aventinus and Celtis developed further in Vienna. The Bavarian historian himself used the classical word *contubernalis* for describing their friendship.²² Celtis introduced Aventinus to several celebrated individuals, including Johannes Cuspinianus,²³ rector of the university, mathematicians Johann Stabius and Andreas Stiborius, the poet Vincentinus Lang, and Johann Krachenberg, who was a jurist and imperial secretary.²⁴ Furthermore, Celtis's own undertaking was the so-called *Germania illustrata*, which aimed to recount the complete history of Germany.²⁵ Aventinus partook of this undertaking, and it is obvious that Celtis inspired him to become a historian. Already during his studies in Vienna, Aventinus began to note historical events in his journal.²⁶

Aventinus left Vienna at the end of 1500, and after a three-months sojourn in his hometown, Abensberg, he arrived to Krakow, and enrolled in the university of the town.²⁷ The University of Krakow was one of the most prominent schools in the Middle Ages, however, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the quality of education diminished. Nevertheless, at the time of Aventinus, there were still celebrated scholars in Krakow,²⁸ for instance, John of Glogau, whose class about the physics of Aristotle was attended by Aventinus.²⁹ The Bavarian historian was a member of the University of Krakow for ten

¹⁹ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 21.

²⁰ Ibid., 24.

²¹ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 30–31.

²² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 24.

²³ Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus*, 16.

²⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 24.

²⁵ Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 40–41.

²⁶ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 26.

²⁷ Paul Knoll, *A Pearl of Powerful Learning, The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 52 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016)

²⁸ As Paul Knoll notes, humanism at the University of Cracow certainly represented a significant dimension in the fifteenth century. See: Knoll, *The University of Cracow*, 540.

²⁹ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 30.

months, after which he set off on yet another journey. He travelled in Germany for almost one year; he visited Silesia, Meissen, Saxony, and Franconia. According to his journal, he travelled through Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lepizig, Erfurt, Coburg and Nuremberg.³⁰ He spent a few months in Abensberg, and in January, he travelled to Paris, and enrolled in the university here, too.³¹ Here, Aventinus became part of a flourishing intellectual community. His teachers included Josse van Clichtove, a Belgian theologian, who taught Aristotelian logic. Josse was librarian at the Sorbonne, and also a distinguished antagonist of Martin Luther.³² A celebrated scholar, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples also influenced Aventinus' thinking and worldview.³³ The Bavarian historian became a member of an intellectual group led by Lefèvre, whose aim was to create a common ground between the philosophical framework of Plato and of Aristotle.³⁴

Aventinus successfully fulfilled the requirements of the University of Paris, and he obtained a master's degree. He attended lectures about the works of Aristotle and Boethius; he got acquainted with the physical and cosmological ideas of Aristotle, and learned Greek. Before his exams, he had to present a public lecture before the whole community of the university. After his successful exams, he obtained the permission to teach from the chancellor of the institution. Aventinus himself recorded the date of his graduation: Wednesday, March 27, 1504.³⁵

³⁰ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 32.

³¹ On the history of the university of Paris, see: Jean-Louis Leutrat, *De l'Université aux Universités* (Paris: Association des Universités de Paris, 1997).; André Tuilier: *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1997)

³² "Josse Van Clichtove," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans Joachim Hillebrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); E. Jennifer Ashworth, "Renaissance man as logician: Josse Clichtove (1472–1543) on disputations," *History and Philosophy of Logic* 7, no. 1 (1986.): 15–29; Michael J. Kraus, "Patronage and Reform in the France of the Prereforme: The Case of Clichtove," *Canadian Journal of History* 6, no. 1 (1971): 45–68.

³³ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 36–40.

³⁴ David A. Lines, "Lefèvre and French Aristotelianism on the Eve of the Sixteenth Century," in *Der Aristotelismus in der Frühen Neuzeit: Kontinuität oder Wiederaneignung?* ed. Günter Frank and Andreas Speer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 273–290.; Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984)

³⁵ Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus*, 18.

3. Aventinus's activities after university

Aventinus was twenty-seven years old, when he finished his studies at Paris. He spent many years with assiduous learning, and met several celebrated scholars, who influenced his thinking. During the following four years, he continued his studies independently: he followed an antique tradition, called *otium*. Between 1504 and 1508, Aventinus spent his time with reading: he purchased the books from libraries or archives nearby. He studied the Old and the New Testament, and read the *Annales*, the *Historiae*, and the *Germaniae* by Tacitus. He certainly knew the works of Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Aurelius Victor, Claudius Ptolemy, Strabo, Ovid, Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Cassius Dio, and Diodorus of Sicily.³⁶

At that time, Aventinus spent most of his time in Abensberg, however, he frequently travelled to visit his friends and colleges: he did not want to break away from the community of the German humanists he came to know during his studies. The German humanist scholars were closely connected with each other. They exchanged books and written materials and did many favors to each other, for example they read and — if it was necessary — corrected each other's manuscripts.³⁷ In addition to this, the German humanists of this era tried to help broaden the religious reform-movement of the sixteenth century: they were not just humanists, but reformers at the same time; they shared a manner of seeking reforms.³⁸ A German scholar who did not belong to the German humanists would have had many difficulties in his scholarly carrier; therefore, Aventinus intended to maintain his relationships with them. His travels also showed this intention: after Paris, he went Strasbourg to meet the humanists of Alsace. After that, he travelled to Regensburg, then to Vienna, where he joined an intellectual group of Conrad Celtis (*Sodalitas Litterarum Danubiana*).³⁹ This group attracted many humanist scholars, with whom Aventinus also got acquainted. Among them

³⁶ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 41–43.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 43–44.

³⁸ James M. Kittelson, "Humanism and the Reformation in Germany," *Central European History* 9, no. 4 (December 1976): 310, 313, 322.

³⁹ Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 56.

was Jacob Ziegler, who later became a great philologist and historical geographer.⁴⁰ Aventinus met Ladislaus Stunthaim, too, who was the historian of the court of Emperor Maximilian.⁴¹ At that time, two other celebrated scholars showed up in Vienna: Giovanni Ricuzzi Vellini (also known as Johannes Camers),⁴² who taught the philosophy of Augustine and Plato, and Joachim Vadian, a great Swiss scholar.⁴³

In the autumn of 1507 Aventinus appeared in Ingolstadt again, and then he returned to Abensberg.⁴⁴ In 1508, his *otium* ended, and his scholarly and political career continued. For the complete understanding of his new job and assignments, it is necessary to present the most important events of the Bavarian history of this era.

4. Historical background and the new position of Aventinus

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Bavaria was separated into two parts, Upper and Lower Bavaria, which were ruled from two different capital towns, Munich and Landshut, respectively.⁴⁵ In 1503, George, prince of Landshut died, and his son-in-law, Ruprecht, count palatine of the Rhine, started a war in order to seize the throne. The legitimate successor was Albert IV, Duke of Bavaria-Munich (from 1503, duke of the reunited Bavaria), who was supported by the Swabian League and Emperor Maximilian. Ruprecht was helped by the Bohemians: they were defeated by Maximilian in the autumn of the same year. Ruprecht did not live to see the end of the conflict: his death made possible the

⁴⁰ Karl Schottenloher, *Jakob Ziegler aus Landau an der Isar: ein Gelehrtenleben aus der Zeit des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1910).

⁴¹ Winfried Stelzer, „Sunthaym, Ladislaus,“ in *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 9, 2th edition, ed. Kurt Ruh and Burghart Wachinger (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 537–542.

⁴² Lorenz Dienbauer, *Johannes Camers, der Theologe und Humanist im Ordenskleid: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Gegenreformation und des Humanismus in Wien* (Wien: Wiener Katholische Akademie, 1976)

⁴³ Rudolf Gamper: *Joachim Vadian, 1483/84–1551, Humanist, Arzt, Reformator, Politiker* (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2017)

⁴⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 45.

⁴⁵ On these eventful years of Bavaria see: Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 46–47; In greater detail, see: Franz von Krenner, „Oberländische Landtage, im Münchener Landantheile [1489-1505],“ in *Baierische Landtags-Handlungen in den Jahren 1429 bis 1513* 9 (München: Nabu Press, 2012)

union of the two parts of Bavaria, and also the declaration of the system of the primogeniture. Albert became the ruler of the united territory.

Aventinus himself also followed these events with attention, and welcomed the union with great joy. He was well aware of the fact that the new Bavaria will need assistance from well-trained state employees. In order to attract Albert's attention, Aventinus sent him a panegyric poem, and applied for a position in his court.⁴⁶ Albert, who— from 1500 onwards— had been inviting humanists with legal qualifications to his court, intended to grant Aventinus's request, however, he died at the beginning of the year 1508.⁴⁷

Albert left behind three sons: the fifteen-year-old William, the twelve-year-old Louis, and the seven-year-old Ernest. In 1508, William was too young to rule Bavaria; therefore, Bavaria was governed by a council led by a chancellor.⁴⁸ In the same year, Aventinus received a commission from the Bavarian government: he was appointed as tutor to Louis and Ernest, the two younger princes.⁴⁹ Aventinus officially began his work on 6 January 1509, after he arrived in Munich. Not long after, the princes and their new tutor were sent away from the capital to Burghausen, an isolated castle: this was regarded as a more appropriate place for teaching and learning.⁵⁰ Aventinus spent almost two years in Burghausen with the princes, and he received a salary of 60 florins,⁵¹ but he was restricted by the Bavarian court: he received only two weeks of holiday, when he wanted to attend his sister's wedding in Abensberg.⁵²

⁴⁶ A humanist was expected to be able to write this kind of poetry: this meant a skillful, practiced imitation of a Horatian ode with copious allusions to Virgil mixed with Christian imagery. It served principally to call the attention to the author: in our case, to Aventinus. On Aventinus as a poet, see: Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert I* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929–1933) 503.

⁴⁷ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 48.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 48–49.

⁴⁹ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 39.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 54.

Concerning his teaching methods, Aventinus followed traditional ways.⁵³ He chose the curriculum for the princes—Terence, Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Cicero, and Seneca—based on the guidance of former masters. Aventinus intended to train the princes’ memory, with the help of the poems of antique authors. From time to time, Aventinus and the princes visited a monastery or other important spots. The Bavarian historian taught other children too: he had a group of seven students, whose students were more active in classes than Louis and Ernest.⁵⁴

It was around this time when Aventinus finished his first serious work: an introduction to Latin grammar.⁵⁵ At the end of 1510 Louis and Ernest returned to Munich. Louis did not accept that his brother was “the man in charge”; and declared that the decree of the primogeniture did not apply to him because he was born before the declaration of this regulation. Under these circumstances, he did not continue his studies with Aventinus. Ernest, however, did continue and he and his master went to Landshut at the beginning of the year 1512, where Aventinus taught the youngest prince for two more years. The conflict between William and Louis ended with a theoretical declaration, according to which, the duchy had to remain indivisible; although in fact, the two princes each received separate territories. William got Munich and Burghausen, and Louis got Landshut and Straubing.⁵⁶

Aventinus was very close to these events: he and prince Ernest moved to Munich in December, 1513.⁵⁷ As he put it in his notes, his opinion was that when it comes to governing and ruling, it is better to entrust one person rather than more, but only if the entrusted person

⁵³ On the subject of pedagogy in sixteenth-century Germany in general, see: Friedrich Paulsen, “Das Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Kirchenreformation 1500–1600 (1648),” in *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten* 1 (Leipzig: Verlag Von Veit & Comp, 1895) 5–298.

⁵⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 55–56.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 56–57; On Latin grammars in Aventinus’ time, see: Willy Scheel, “Die deutschen Grammatiker des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zum deutschen Unterricht,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte* 15 (1905): 87–99.

⁵⁶ On the dynastic struggle in Bavaria, see: F. L. Carsten, *Princes and parliaments in Germany from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) 348–365.

⁵⁷ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 51.

has the necessary qualities for ruling.⁵⁸ Concerning the Bavarian rulers, Aventinus was never critical; he supported them and remained loyal to them even in the most difficult times.⁵⁹ Due to his role as tutor, he had a great deal of influence on Prince Ernest which meant that Aventinus was embroiled in political affairs and matters. He spent the year 1514 with Ernest in Munich, who was fourteen years old at the time. In the fall of 1515, the youngest prince was sent to a journey to Italy, and Aventinus was appointed as his leader and carer. This trip ended after three months.⁶⁰ Not long after, he escorted Ernest to Ingolstadt, where the prince enrolled in the university. Aventinus was elected to be rector of the University of Ingolstadt in the summer: this was a privilege reserved only for the most prominent members of the institution.⁶¹ Aventinus had another success in Ingolstadt: Ernest managed to achieve that instead of a coursebook by Perrotus, the university adopted Aventinus's work to teach the basics of grammar.⁶² Furthermore, Aventinus—imitating his former master, Conrad Celtis—founded a scholarly community under the name *Sodalitas literaria Angilostadiensis*.⁶³ Although the group was a short-lived initiative, several local talents became its member. Aventinus and his group intended to publish several works, e. g. the works of Cyprian, or the *Lex Salica*, but eventually, they published only one volume: the biography of Emperor Henry IV.⁶⁴

Aventinus finished his activity as a tutor in 1517, when Ernest left the university: the young prince was appointed as an administrator of the bishopric of Passau.⁶⁵

5. Aventinus as the official historian of the Bavarian court

⁵⁸ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 64–65.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 65.

⁶⁰ Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus*, 23.

⁶¹ Ibid., 24–25.

⁶² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 66–67.

⁶³ Eberhard Dünninger, “Johannes Turmair, gen. Aventinus,” in *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450-1600): Ihr Leben und Werk*, ed. Stephan Flüßel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1993) 312–313.

⁶⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 67–68.

⁶⁵ Dünninger, *Aventinus*, 55.

After his work as tutor had ended, Aventinus shortly received another appointment. He arrived to Munich in February, where the princes appointed him to be the new official historian of the Bavarian court. In addition to his, the princes commissioned him to collect historical sources, and write and publish the history of Bavaria. The princes granted Aventinus special permissions to access all libraries and archives in the country. It is also important that although the princes granted freedom to Aventinus regarding the collection of the historical written materials, they also restricted him at the same time: Aventinus had to write a history from a special Bavarian, “patriotic” viewpoint.⁶⁶

a) Aventinus’s predecessors as Bavarian historians

Concerning the terms of “modern” historiography, there is a huge difference between Aventinus and his predecessors. Half a dozen historical works were written about Bavaria before Aventinus: two of these were prepared by monks, one by a priest, two by archivists, and one by a nobleman. None of them had a university-career like Aventinus nor did they travel as much in order to collect historical sources as the Bavarian historian.

The first Bavarian history was written at the beginning of the 1400s by a monk of St. Mang, named Andrew (Andreas von Regensburg / St. Mang), who was commissioned by prince Louis VII to write the history of the country. Andrew recorded the events of his age systematically, prepared a genealogical tree of the Bavarian princes, and collected letters and documents about the Council of Constance. Based on his previous works, and by using new sources, he finished his Bavarian chronicle in 1425. Andrew presented the history of the tribal kings, the origin of Charlemagne, the foundation of monasteries, the emergence of the Holy Roman Empire and Bavaria, strictly in chronological order. Aventinus used the works

⁶⁶ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 69–70.

of Andrew several times for his own work, especially for his notes about the history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁷

Another important historical work, the *Chronicon Bavariae* was written by Georg Hauer.⁶⁸ Hauer was a university educated monk of Niederaltaich, however, his work had been evaluated over the centuries as less valuable. Aventinus mentioned Hauer's work, but did not use it in his own.⁶⁹

It is important to mention the work of Hans Ebran von Wildenberg written in the 1490s.⁷⁰ Ebran was a Bavarian nobleman in the court of Landshut, and wrote his chronicle without princely support, and it was no more than a summary of the reign of the Bavarian princes in chronological order. Nevertheless, it was interesting for Aventinus, mainly due to the sources which were used or inserted by Ebran in his work.⁷¹

Besides the works mentioned, there was another work by Augustin Kölner, who was a princely archivist: it is more or less a "storage" of charters, foundation charters, testimonies, letters, and inventories in chronological order.⁷²

It is obvious that Aventinus did not find the historical works of his predecessors useful, and instead of them he tried to imitate Tacitus or Thucydides. Besides the above mentioned-

⁶⁷ The following works of Andrew were used by Aventinus: *Cronica de principibus terrae Bavarorum*, *Cronik von Fürsten zu Bayern*, *Cronica pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum*. These were published in a critical edition by Georg Leidinger. See: "Andreas von Regensburg. Sämtliche Werke," in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte. Neue Folge* 1, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich: Rieger, 1903), 589–655, 711–715; On Andrew, see: Claudia Märkl, "Andreas von Regensburg. Augustinerchorherr und Geschichtsschreiber (ca. 1380–ca. 1442)," in *Berühmte Regensburger*, ed. Karlheinz Dietz, Gerhard H. Waldherr (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1997), 99–103.

⁶⁸ Georg Hauer, *Chronicon Bavariae*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München. Clm 1214. On Hauer, see: Martin Knedlik, "Hauer, Georg," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 19 (Nordhausen: Bautz, 2001), 633–635.

⁶⁹ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 79.

⁷⁰ Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, "Chronik von den Fürsten aus Bayern," in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte. Neue Folge* 2, ed. Friedrich Roth (Munich: Rieger, 1905), 1–161; On Ebran, see: Victor Keller, "Ritter Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, sein Leben und seine bayerische Chronik," *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Niederbayern* 31 (1895): 85–141.

⁷¹ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 79.

⁷² Augustin Kölner: *Verzeichnus der Khönigen, Kaiser, Fürsten und Hertzogen von Bayren*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München. Cgm 1592. On Kölner, see: Klaus Kopfmann, "Augustin Kölner, Sekretär und Archivar am Hof der Münchener Herzöge an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 69 (2006): 467–506.

historical writings, Aventinus did not consider the *Bayerische Chronik* by Ulrich Füetrer as a valuable work either.⁷³ Füetrer was a poet and a painter at the same time, and he was invited to the Bavarian court by Albert IV.⁷⁴

The only Bavarian historical work used by Aventinus and regarded as a valuable resource was the *Chronica Baioariorum* by Veit Arnpeck, which was finished in 1495.⁷⁵ Due to his known anticlerical attitude, Aventinus did not like Arnpeck, but Arnpeck's work, sources and historical methods helped Aventinus to a great extent. Arnpeck was a priest in Landshut, and collected information for his work from the nearby libraries. He used the work of Hartmann Schedel (published in 1493), and the writings of Andrew, Ebran and Füeter. Arnpeck's work outdid the previous ones, especially because he successfully balanced the previous events and the events of his own time. In addition to this, Arnpeck studied former military events based on modern military perspectives, instead of inserting the important sources in his work, he rather incorporated those, and he not only recorded the events in chronological order, but tried to make these more interesting and colorful.⁷⁶ As will be shown below, Gerald Strauss considers the historiographical methods which appeared Aventinus' chronicle as well, as signs of obvious progress in the historiography of the fifteenth century.⁷⁷

Besides the works mentioned, *The Compendium Roberti Gaguini super Francorum gestis* by Robert Gaguin also greatly influenced Aventinus.⁷⁸

⁷³ Ulrich Füetrer, "Bayerische Chronik," in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte. Neue Folge* 2, no. 2, ed. Reinhold Spiller (Munich: Rieger, 1909); On Füetrer, see. Hans Rupprich, "Füetrer, Ulrich," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 5 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1961), 685; Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Der Münchner Maler und Dichter Ulrich Fuetrer (1430–1496) in seiner Zeit und sein Name (eigentlich „Furtter“)," *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 90 (1968): 128–140.

⁷⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 80–81.

⁷⁵ Veit Arnpeck, "Chronica Baioariorum," in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte. Neue Folge* 3, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich: Rieger, 1915), 1–443. On Veit Arnpeck in general, see: Georg Leidinger, *Über die Schriften des bayerischen Chronisten Veit Arnpeck*, (München: Mehrlich, 1893); Martin Przybilski, "Arnpeck, Veit," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu (Boston: Leiden, 2010), 112.

⁷⁶ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 64; Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 81–82.

⁷⁷ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 83–84.

⁷⁸ Robert Gaguin: *The Compendium Roberti Gaguini super Francorum gestis*, ed. Josse Bade (Paris: Bertholdus Rembolt, 1511); On Robert Gaguin, see: Sylvie Charrier, *Recherches sur l'oeuvre latine en prose de Robert Gaguin (1433-1501)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1996)

b) Aventinus's own collection of written materials

As noted above, the Bavarian princes authorized Aventinus to enter all libraries and archives in Bavaria. The Bavarian historian travelled through Bavaria for seven years, visiting almost all libraries and archives. Between March 1517 and January 1519, he visited nearly eighty towns, villages or monasteries.

His first journey took place years before the commission: in 1509–1510. At the beginning of 1509, he showed up in Burghausen, and visited the nearby libraries of the monasteries. In Burghausen, he discovered a “Saxon world-chronicle” written by an unknown author, which he read thoroughly and prepared a Latin abstract of it.⁷⁹ He excerpted various other works as well, including the seven books and the general geographical work of Walafrid Strabo, the ten books of the history of the Franks, the history of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon, and the *Commentaries on Antiquities* by Annianus of Viterbo. After that, Aventinus continued his research in Regensburg and Landshut, extending his notes with genealogies of kings and counts, lists of Roman and Holy Roman Emperors, descriptions of towns and settlements, and excerpts of different narrative sources. As early as in 1511, he sent a short outline of his Bavarian history to Prince Wilhelm, promising further results. Furthermore, he spent his time with reading monographs about Bavarian towns and monasteries, such as Scheyern, Ranshofen, Alt-Ötting and Passau.⁸⁰

After the princes' commission, Aventinus set forth towards the Danube in March 1517.⁸¹ First, he went to the Benedictine abbey of Scheyern, then to Indersdorf. After visiting the archive of Ingolstadt, he travelled to Neustadt, and then returned home to Abensberg, where

⁷⁹ The Saxon Chronicle has been edited by L. Weiland: *Saxon Chronicle*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Deutsche Chroniken* 2, ed. Ludwig Weiland (Hannover: Hahn, 1877)

⁸⁰ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 89–90.

⁸¹ Aventinus' itinerary of the years 1517–1519 is recorded in his Diary (the so-called *Hauskalender*). See: *Haus-Kalender*, in *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämtliche Werke* 6, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1908) 1–51.

he worked for over three months.⁸² At the end of June, he went to Straubing, then passed through Metten, Niederaltaich, Osterhofen, and in August, he arrived to Passau.⁸³ In Niederaltaich, he came across a huge discovery: he stumbled upon an important source from the eleventh century: the *Annales Altahenses*. It is thanks to his discovery that the work survived.⁸⁴ From Passau, he travelled to Vornbach, then to the Augustine community of Suben, then again to the area of Burghausen: to Ranshofen, Raitenhaslach, Alt-Ötting.⁸⁵ Here, he wrote a short work about the history of the monastery Alt-Ötting, which he published in 1518.⁸⁶ After that, he made way to Regensburg, to the monastery of St. Emmeram. This is where he found a copy of Cassiodorus's *Chronicon* and a text about the life of Henry IV in 1515. The latter was also published by Aventinus in 1518.⁸⁷

In the middle of October 1515, Aventinus passed through Abensberg again, on the way to Ingolstadt, after that, he went to Scheyern, and then returned to Munich.⁸⁸ In the winter of 1517–1518, he only visited cities nearby: Freising, Landshut, Neuburg, Abensberg, Biburg, Weltenburg, Mallersdorf, and Rohr.⁸⁹ At the beginning of 1518, he travelled to Eichstätt, Altomünster, Diessen, Thierhaupten, Kübach and Hohenwart.⁹⁰ In the summer, he revisited Alt-Ötting, then went to Baumburg and Seon. In July, his destinations were Weyarn and Fischbachau, then Tengenrsee, Dietramszell, and Beuerberg, then Benediktbeuern, Schlehdorf, and Ettal. In the end of July and August, Aventinus is known to have been to Steingaden, Polling, Wessobrunn, Andechs, Diessen, Bernried, and Schäfflarn. In September,

⁸² Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 64.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 91.

⁸⁵ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 65.

⁸⁶ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 91–92.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁸ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 66.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 93.

he visited the archives of Augsburg, and in October, he worked in Regensburg, then returned to Abensberg, where he begun to organize the historical material collected.⁹¹

In January 1519, Aventinus went to his former school, the Carmelite cloister of Abensberg, where he begun to write the *Annales ducum Boiariae*, based on his collected source-material. He worked here until May 1521, when he finished the first version; by July, he finished the seventh book.⁹² After a few months of rest, he travelled to Nuremberg to arrange the publication of a short version of his work. This excerpt was published in June 1522. Aventinus sent the published work to the princes as evidence that placing their trust in him was a good decision.

In the first book of the abbreviated version, Aventinus presents the origin of the German names, the geographical description of Bavaria, the beginning of Bavarian history, and the history of the ancient mythological Bavarian kings.⁹³ The second book is about the German tribes, and their connection with the Roman Empire. In the third book, the Bavarian historian demonstrates how the Bavarians arrived to their tribal territories, how they became Christianized, and how their influence spread to French and Italian territories. In the fourth book, Aventinus presents the administration of Charlemagne. In the fifth book, he deals with the Saxons, more precisely, the Saxon princes and the Bavarian counts. The sixth book was about the Hohenstauf-period of the German and Bavarian history, and the seventh was about the life of certain Bavarian prominent persons, for example, the life of the counts of Scheyern, Wittelsbach and Dachau, and so on.⁹⁴

After finishing this version, Aventinus did not rest for long: in November 1522, he returned to Abensberg to begin writing the German version of the work. Not long after, he

⁹¹ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 67.

⁹² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 101.

⁹³ On the investigation of German antiquity by German humanists, see: Theobald Bieder, *Geschichte der Germanenforschung* (Leipzig and Berlin: Theodor Weicher, 1921)

⁹⁴ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 102–105.

travelled to Landshut to supervise the printing of the map made by his own hands.⁹⁵ After that, he showed up in Alt-Ötting and Ranshofen, and then rested in Salzburg for two months.⁹⁶ In 1524, the princes—honoring his diligence—offered him an annual salary of hundred florins, and gave him a livery. This amount of money was a significant sum, only the highest ranking officials received more. In this way, Aventinus could continue his work in financial stability, and he built himself a little house in Abensberg, too.⁹⁷

In 1524, he revised his *Annales* again, and finished before Christmas 1525.⁹⁸ In June 1526 he travelled to Munich, and presented the final form of his work to the princes.⁹⁹ It is important that at that time, Aventinus had already begun the German version of the Latin original, which he did not intend to be simply the German translation of the *Annales*. Unfortunately, certain twists and turns of his life made it impossible to complete the German version as originally planned.

Only the first two books were written according to the plan. Aventinus finished the first book at the end of 1527, he even added several new accounts compared to the Latin *Annales*. He himself noted that this part was twice as long as the first book of the Latin version. However, the religious and political circumstances interrupted Aventinus's work. The Bavarian princes intended to step up against Lutherans and as a consequence he was arrested for a short time in the fall of 1528. After that, he left Abensberg, went to Regensburg and finished the second book of the German version there by April 1528. He was not able to start the third book until 1531. Although he completed the German version of the *Annales* in March 1533, it is notable that from the fifth book onwards, it was no more than a cursory summary of the Latin *Annales*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ On the map made by Aventinus see: Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 70–72.

⁹⁶ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*. 107–108.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

6. The end of the life of Aventinus

a) Aventinus as a prisoner

By the end of 1527, the Bavarian government began to heavily attack Lutherans or people who spread the Lutheran faith, because they were regarded as the enemies of the stability of the duchy. The deviser of the actions against the Lutherans was chancellor Leonhard von Eck, who was assisted by the princes, Wilhelm and Louis.¹⁰¹

Aventinus had reason to fear these actions.¹⁰² From 1527 onwards he began to stay in Regensburg for longer period, and there is no doubt that he had connections with Lutheran persons, with whom he shared a common religious-political ground, that of a strong anticlerical attitude. Aventinus did not hide his negative opinion about clerics in his work on the Turkish wars, which was quite popular at that time. When he arrived home on October 7, he had already been under observation. He was arrested at the same day, and spent the night in prison. It is probable that Prince Wilhelm also authorized Aventinus's arrest.¹⁰³

Aventinus did not stay behind bars too long. The princes did not want to offend the prominent German humanist community by keeping one of their most important members in custody. Chancellor Eck advised the princes to release Aventinus immediately, and they agreed to do so. Twenty days after his arrest, Aventinus was set free and went to Rohr, then to Schierling, and finally, to Regensburg, where his friends waited for him.¹⁰⁴

b) Aventinus's personal life and marriage

In November 1528, Aventinus was fifty-two years old. According to contemporary descriptions—especially those by his biographers Caspar Brusch and Hieronymus Ziegler—

¹⁰¹ On the summary of the religious-political situation of that time see: Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 162–164.

¹⁰² On the relations between Aventinus and the Reformation see: Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus*, 37–40.

¹⁰³ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 167–168.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

Aventinus kept his distance from women and cared only for books. For him, duty was sacred; his opinion was that the only important activity in life was hard work.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the Bavarian historian never had real personal life. Contrary to these opinions, however he did get married at the end of his life: one year after his arrival to Regensburg, he married Barbara Fröschmann, a young Swabian woman.¹⁰⁶ Based on the fact that—besides the wedding itself—Aventinus never mentions Barbara in his journals, it is probable that there were no “emotional reasons” behind the marriage, however, he may have simply needed assistance because of his old age.¹⁰⁷

c) The end of Aventinus’s life

From 1528, Aventinus spent his time in Regensburg, and occupied himself with literary work. During his last years, his wife gave birth to three children, two of them, Gisela, Karl, died very soon, while the third, Gisela, had a long life. Aventinus and his family had no financial problems: the princes still paid him the salary granted earlier.¹⁰⁸ In the fall of 1533, Aventinus got an offer from chancellor Leonard von Eck, who asked him to teach the chancellor’s son. Aventinus accepted the offer.¹⁰⁹ In December 1533 he went to Regensburg to join the von Eck family, but he fell ill during his journey. He died on January 9, and was buried in Regensburg, in the church of St. Emmeram.¹¹⁰

7. Conclusion

After presenting the life of Johannes Aventinus, I think that it is obvious that Aventinus was an assiduous, persistent and hard-working person. He took on very seriously his studies at

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 175.

¹⁰⁶ Dünninger, *Johannes Aventinus*, 41

¹⁰⁷ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 178.

¹⁰⁸ Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*, 108–110.

¹⁰⁹ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 255.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 258–259.

universities, his task in the Bavarian court as a tutor, and also his scientific works, including the *Annales*. His assignments and jobs were always the most important parts of his life. I think that after this summary of Aventinus's life, one can conjecture that his greatest work, the *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* is an elaborate and valuable source. However, in order to accept this statement completely, Aventinus's historiographical practice must be demonstrated as well, including the sources he used.

III. The *Annales* – publication history, opinions about Aventinus, and his historiographical practice

1. The publication history of Aventinus's works

After Aventinus had completed the *Annales*, it became a prohibited reading material, mostly because of its anti-Catholic attitude.¹¹¹ However, Aventinus's *Annales* was still published for the first time in 1554 by Hieronymus Ziegler,¹¹² who was commissioned by Albrecht V. Ziegler was a professor of theology at Ingolstadt, and his task was to examine the manuscripts of the *Annales*, and to remove the worst excesses of Aventinus's anticlericalism with a view to publication.¹¹³ Therefore, Ziegler omitted in his edition all those passages which were directed against popes, ecclesiastical persons, and the Church.¹¹⁴ The work was published in Ingolstadt in 1554, and was dedicated to Albrecht.¹¹⁵ The published work bore

¹¹¹ Alois Schmid, "Die historische Methode des Johannes Aventinus," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 113 (1977): 339.

¹¹² Johannes Bolte, "Ziegler, Hieronymus," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 45 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900), 173–175.

¹¹³ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 265.

¹¹⁴ *The biographical dictionary of the society for the diffusion of useful knowledge* 4, ed. Georg Long (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844), 280

¹¹⁵ See: 1. footnote

an imperial privilege which forbade its reprinting within a period of ten years.¹¹⁶ Ziegler also prepared a translation of the *Annales*, and presented it to Duke Albrecht in 1558.¹¹⁷

In spite of Ziegler's efforts to expurgate the work of the Bavarian historian, Aventinus's name had already appeared in an index of forbidden books issued by the Venetian inquisition in 1554.¹¹⁸ In addition to this, Aventinus appears as *auctor haereticus primae classis* in Pius IV's *Index* of 1564, worked out by the Tridentine Fathers.¹¹⁹ However, Ziegler's work eventually achieved its purpose: Aventinus does not appear on Albrecht V's publication of this *Tridentine Index* in 1569.¹²⁰ In fact, a list of recommended books was attached to the *Index*, including the Ziegler version of the *Annales* of 1554.

Aventinus's German chronicle was also published by Simon Schard¹²¹ in Frankfurt am Main in 1566.¹²² This was just a partial publication: Schard had at his disposal only some parts of Aventinus's work.

The first complete version (without omissions) of the Latin *Annales* was published by Nicolaus Cisner in Basel in 1580,¹²³ and again in 1615 (Basel), and 1627 (Frankfurt).¹²⁴ This publication was based on the manuscript of the *Annales* which had been in the possession of Oswald von Eck. This was bought by one Erasmus Neustätter of Würzburg, who then lent the manuscript to Cisner. In this way, Cisner could edit the complete manuscript, including the

¹¹⁶ Max von Freyberg, *Neue Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte und Topographie* 1 (Munich: Johann Palm, 1837), 92–94.

¹¹⁷ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München. Cgm 1573–1580.

¹¹⁸ The list of the prohibited reading materials presented by the Venetian inquisition can be found in the appendix of the following work: Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

¹¹⁹ On the Tridentine Index, see: Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 147.

¹²⁰ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 266.

¹²¹ Johann August Ritter von Eisenhart, "Schard, Simon," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 30 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), 581–583.

¹²² Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Simon Schard (Frankfurt: Raben, Feyerabend und Hanen, 1566).

¹²³ Günther Dickel, "Kistner, Nicolaus," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 11 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1977), 690.

¹²⁴ *Joannis Aventini Annalium Bojorum Lib. vii., ex autenticis manuscriptis codicibus recogniti, restituti, aucti diligentia Nicolai Cisneri* (Basel: Ad Perneam Lecythum, 1580, fol., 1615; Frankfurt, 1627).

text Ziegler omitted.¹²⁵ This edition was later reprinted by Nicolaus Gundling (1710), with the difference that the editor marked the offensive passages deleted by Ziegler with asterisks.

¹²⁶ Cisner also reprinted the German chronicle published by Schard,¹²⁷ who edited this from the autograph by Aventinus.¹²⁸

At the end of the sixteenth century, there was another—final—attempt at Munich to expurgate the *Chronik* and the *Annales*, in order to bring the two works to Catholic readers. In 1589 Michael Arrodenius¹²⁹ was commissioned by Wilhelm V to re-edit the two books. Arrodenius received a five-year permit to work with the forbidden texts, but in the end, no publication resulted from his work.¹³⁰

The first critical edition of the collection of works of Aventinus was prepared by Siegmund Riezler at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³¹ This is still the only critical edition of Aventinus's works so far; however, twentieth-century historians have not found it useful. After its publication, it was strongly criticized by Wilhelm Meyer.¹³² Meyer's attack was answered by Riezler,¹³³ but a couple of years later, Riezler's edition was criticized by Romuald Bauerreiss as well.¹³⁴

The last "edition" of Aventinus's *Annales* is worth mentioning, especially regarding the Hungarian-related notes of the work. A Hungarian historian, Albin Ferenc Gombos prepared a collection of passages out of medieval narrative sources (and charters), which

¹²⁵ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 266.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 267.

¹²⁷ Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Nicolaus Cisner (Basel and Frankfurt: Ad Perneam Lecythum, 1580, 1622)

¹²⁸ *The bibliographical dictionary*, 281.

¹²⁹ Chriatian Häutle, *Dr. Michael Arrodenius, herzoglich bayerischer Archivar und Hofkaplan. Ein biographische Skizze* (Munich: Wolf, 1875)

¹³⁰ Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 267.

¹³¹ See: 1. footnote

¹³² Wilhelm Meyer, "Philologische Bemerkungen zu Aventins Annalen und Aventins Lobgedicht auf Albrecht IV vom Jahre 1507," *Abhandlungen. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse Ser. NF*, 17, no. 3 (1886): 723–791.

¹³³ Siegmund Riezler, "Zum Schutze der neuesten Edition von Aventins Annalen," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Historische Klasse* 17 (1886): 781–811.

¹³⁴ Romuald Bauerreiß, "Ein Quellenverzeichnis der Schriften Aventins," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 50 (1932): 54–77.

relate to the history of Hungary. The sources span the time from the age before the settlement of Hungarians (862) to the extinction of the House of Árpád (1301), and cover the area of the Carpathian Basin, the Orient (Byzantine and Arab sources), and the West (in Latin, Middle High German, Old French and Provençal language). As the Hungarian-related parts of Aventinus's *Annales* were included in Gombos's collection, they are relevant sources for the present study on Aventinus.¹³⁵

2. The historiographical practice of Johannes Aventinus

One of the aims of the present thesis is to ascertain whether Aventinus's notes about the reign of Henry III can be regarded as credible and authentic. However, for a thorough and accurate interpretation of this information, the first important question is: What Aventinus was like as a historian. Or, in other words: How did he write history? In order to answer these, it is necessary to examine the methods of the historical writing of Johannes Aventinus. There are three relevant features that determine Aventinus's historiographical research and writing: his love of rhetorical devices, his anti-Catholic attitude, and his vigorous patriotism.

In the following, I summarize the recent opinions of modern—mostly German—scholars about the historical practice of Aventinus. I will also elaborate how the opinions about Aventinus's credibility have changed throughout the centuries. This will be undergirded by my own examples concerning the principles of the Bavarian historian, taken from the *Annales*' Hungarian-related notes.

Over the past centuries, the scholarly opinion about Aventinus's chronicle and his credibility as a historian was connected to the views, which the scholars formulated about humanist historiography in general.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Albinus Franciscus Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*. 1 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2005) 341–387.

¹³⁶ László Veszprémy, *Lovagvilág Magyarországon* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), 21.

After its initial prohibition on account of its anti-Catholic attitude,¹³⁷ Aventinus's work, published in 1554 for the first time, became more and more popular. This popularity was mainly due to the fact that in it Aventinus represented the history of Bavaria as a mighty and glorious story.¹³⁸ In the nineteenth century, the prevailing academic opinion about the work turned negative, because the *Annales* did not measure up to the requirements of the new German historiographical concept which recognized only those narrative sources as credible whose data could be verified by other sources or by clear historical evidence.¹³⁹ However, as I will elaborate below, Aventinus—as generally the humanist historians—did not always strictly follow the sources he used, but occasionally, he modified and changed the information he read. On the whole, the opinions about Aventinus as a historian have varied on a wide scale in the previous centuries, but over the last few decades German historians began to view Aventinus in a positive light again. Recent scholars have weighed both the positive and negative opinions about the Bavarian author to develop an objective view of his historiographical work. In the following pages, I will summarize the historiographical principles of Aventinus through these recent reappraisals.

Firstly, it must be stressed that Aventinus had an enormous desire for collecting written sources. This was what primarily distinguished him from the earlier Bavarian historians.¹⁴⁰ Aventinus, as an enthusiastic humanist, eagerly visited almost all the towns and cloisters of Bavaria, collecting a large quantity of written sources from the libraries and archives he visited, including chronicles and charters. However, he did not indicate the exact source of each piece of information, and because of this, the identification of the origin of his accounts is problematic in some cases. In addition, much of his information cannot be verified by other sources as it exists only in the *Annales*. Fortunately, there is a catalog by an

¹³⁷ Schmid, "Die historische Methode," 339.

¹³⁸ Schmid, "Die historische Methode," 341.

¹³⁹ Schmid, "Die historische Methode," 343.

¹⁴⁰ László Veszprémy, "Aventinus híradása a magyarok 907. évi győzelméről," *Történelmi Szemle* 49, no. 1 (2007): 3.

unknown author, which may help to identify Aventinus's potential sources: this list contains 237 sources, mostly chronicles and annals which Aventinus used.¹⁴¹ Although the list is incomplete—for example, it contained no Hungarian sources—it is highly relevant for the present discussion.

The examination of the Hungarian-related notes of the *Annales* made it abundantly clear that Aventinus indeed took most of his accounts from well-known, authentic sources, trying to use not just one, but several chronicles to describe each time period or event. One example for this is his summary of the reign of the Hungarian King Saint Stephen I. (1000–1038), for which he used at least the following four sources: the *Chronicon ab urbe condita ad annum 1054* by Hermann of Reichenau¹⁴² the *Chronica Hungarorum* by Johannes de Thurocz,¹⁴³ the *vita* of King Stephen I by Bishop Hartvik,¹⁴⁴ and the *Annales Altahenses*.¹⁴⁵ The same can be established about the rest of the *Annales*'s Hungarian-related notes: they can be verified by several authentic annals and chronicles.

While it is obvious that Aventinus used a number of written source, it is a more important question to see in what way he used them. As he himself recorded in his diary, sufficient “judgment” (*iudicium*) was one of his main guiding principles, in other words, the need to explore his sources' credibility.¹⁴⁶ This aim of historical objectivity was a novelty in Bavarian historiography in the sixteenth century: most modern scholars praise Aventinus for his critical treatment of written material.

¹⁴¹ The catalog was published by Romuald Bauerreiß: Bauerreiß, „Ein Quellenverzeichnis der Schriften Aventins,“ 54–77., 315–335.

¹⁴² *Hermann Augiensis Chronicon*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SS 1–39. 1826–2009 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 74–133.

¹⁴³ Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* I. Textus, ed. Elizabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985)

¹⁴⁴ *Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* II, ed. Szentpétery Imre (Budapest: Hungarica, 1937–1938), 401–441.

¹⁴⁵ *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. Ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Edmund von Oefele, in MGH SS 20 (Hannover: Hahn, 1868), 782–824.

¹⁴⁶ Schmid, “Die historische Methode,“ 347.

Despite this novel way of collating material, it must be acknowledged that certain characteristics of Aventinus's historiographical practice certainly influenced his historical objectivity.

The first of these was the common feature of the humanist historians: besides the *iudicium* mentioned above, Aventinus's other main principle was the so-called *stylus*. Besides "judgment," the Bavarian humanist considered it extremely important that his chronicle must be entertaining and readable in order to raise the attention of ordinary readers.¹⁴⁷ He thought that some rhetorical changes in the texts of the used sources were permissible, but only within the limits of the laws of history.¹⁴⁸ As he put it, a historian had to follow two goals: *voluptas* (the pleasure of readers), and *utilitas* (usefulness).¹⁴⁹ In this vein, Aventinus – as other humanist historians – often added rhetoric elements to the content of his sources, for example, fictitious battle descriptions. A fine example for this in the *Annales* is the description of the Battle of Tulln between the Bavarians and the Hungarians during the reign of Samuel Aba (1041–1044). In his account Aventinus did not change the battle's description in other sources—for instance, the *Annales Altahenses*—but added rhetoric elements to make his narrative more exciting.¹⁵⁰

Aventinus's strong anti-Catholic attitude also left its mark on his chronicle.¹⁵¹ Among others, for example, he omitted well-known historical facts from his work on purpose, for example, the excommunication of Samuel Aba by the pope. This event was certainly known to Aventinus, because it was included in the *Annales Altahenses*, which he used.

Lastly, his vigorous patriotism was similarly influential on his historiography. When Aventinus was appointed as the official historian of the Bavarian court, the two Bavarian

¹⁴⁷ Schmid: "Die historische Methode," 347.

¹⁴⁸ Veszprémy, *Lovagvilág*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 21.

¹⁵⁰ Gombos, *Catalogus*, 360.

¹⁵¹ Karl Bosl, "Johann Turmair, gen. Aventinus aus Abensberg in seiner Zeit," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 40 (1977): 335.

princes, Louis and Ernest, commissioned him to write the history of the country. They expected a chronicle which presented a glorified history of Bavaria. Aventinus was drawn in this direction already in the University of Paris, where he was a member of Conrad Celtis's academic community, which aimed to write the history of Germany.¹⁵² In the *Annales*, Aventinus connected the history of Germany and Bavaria,¹⁵³ and he sought to exalt and glorify both. Aventinus was definitely one of the representatives of the so-called "national humanism" in the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴ His patriotism is most notable in the *Annales*'s Hungarian-related accounts, due to the fact that Aventinus almost always made critical remarks about Hungary in his accounts of foreign political events whose participants were Bavarians and Hungarians. He used these passages to celebrate the historical past of Bavaria, often by downplaying the history of Hungary.

The account of Aventinus about the baptism of King Stephen I and the Hungarian *vulgus* is an example for this type of formulation. According to this passage, the Bavarian prince, Henry, and his sister Gisela (later, Stephen I's wife) baptized Stephen and the Hungarians. Henry stipulated that Stephen could marry Gisela on condition of baptism and after the wedding, Gisela baptized the whole Hungary.¹⁵⁵ In this description, Aventinus followed the German historical tradition of exaggerating the role of Henry and Gisela in the Christianization of Hungary.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, Aventinus' own interlineation was that after the baptism, Henry was the one who made Stephen the king of Hungary.¹⁵⁷ In addition to this, he omitted the passage about Stephen's crown and kingship being granted by Pope Sylvester II, with the approval of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III.¹⁵⁸ Aventinus clearly depicted

¹⁵² Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis*, 25.

¹⁵³ Friedrich Merzbacher, "Aventin und das Recht," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 40 (1977): 373.

¹⁵⁴ Schmid, "Die historische Methode," 393.

¹⁵⁵ Gombos, *Catalogus*, 357.

¹⁵⁶ József Gerics, "Politikai viták hatása a magyar nép kereszténységre térésének korai hagyományára," in *Egyház, állam és gondolkodás Magyarországon a középkorban*, ed. Zombori István (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1995), 71–76.

¹⁵⁷ Gombos, *Catalogus*, 357.

¹⁵⁸ Ferenc Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896-1196)* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1993) 41.

Stephen I's baptism and enthronement in this way, exaggerating the role of the Bavarians—Henry and Gisela—and by that, praising and exalting the historical past of Bavaria.¹⁵⁹

3. Conclusion

These three principles—love for rhetorical devices, anti-Catholic voice, and patriotism—were important elements in Johannes Aventinus's historiographical style. While he collected written sources with enthusiasm, and one of his main goals was to be an objective historian, in many cases, his love for rhetorical devices, his anti-Catholic attitude, and his strong patriotism, led to the alteration of the content of his sources, or adding own accounts or data. In most cases, these historiographical devices explain any modifications he made to the text in his sources. Therefore, understanding the *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* requires acknowledging these elements, or in other words, the historical “principles” of Aventinus. Without these, the question of Aventinus's credibility or unreliability as a historian cannot be answered. However, it must be stressed that besides those cases when Aventinus altered the content of his sources (because of the three principles), he always followed strictly his sources. Furthermore, even in these cases, the altered contents were based on the accounts of known narrative sources.

IV. The sources of the *Annales* about the period of Henry III

¹⁵⁹ ”...Adsunt legati Ugrorum, pacem cum Honorico perpetuumque foedus componunt. Rectori eorum, filio Geizonis, qui obierat anno Christi 996, Gisala, soror Honorici, despondetur hac lege atque omine, ut ille explosa falsorum deorum superstitione, Christi unius et veri et summi dei cultum cum popularibus reciperet. Accepit conditionem princeps Ugrus; statim aqua lustrica tingitur; Stephanus adpellatur et a caesare rex nuncupatur. Gisala igitur fatale sortita nomen Stephano tanquam obses et fidei vinculum nuptum datur. Cuius ope et consilio Ugri philosophiam christianam sectari cooperunt. Gisala autem lingua Teutonum obsidem valet, crebrum apud Germanos foeminarum nomen. Nam maiores nostri vim quandam divinam concordiae amorisque mutui inesse foeminis crediderunt et efficiacius obligari animos eorum existimarunt, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperarentur.” Riezler, *Aventinus*, 32.

The main reason why I chose the chapters of the *Annales* about the reign of Henry III is the following: this stage of the work contains much more of those entries which can be found only in the *Annales*, but in no other known historical sources. I think that due to the large number of these “unique” entries, the parts in the *Annales* about Henry III’s ruling period deserve a complete and thorough analysis. On the following pages, I will point out which of Aventinus’ entries derive from which sources. I will demonstrate those cases as well, when although certain descriptions can be read only in the *Annales*, but can be explained by the historical characteristics presented above. In the end, I will present the most interesting, “unique” entries of the *Annales*, and I will also try to find an explanation for the abundance of these regarding the reign of Henry III in the *Annales*.

1. The *Annales* and the *Annales Altahenses maiores*

For the description of his account about the reign of the German king and Holy Roman emperor Henry III (1039–1056), Johannes Aventinus followed mostly the description of one written source: the work entitled as *Annales Altahenses*. This opus can be divided into two main parts: ranging from 708 to 1032 and from 1033 to 1073. The second part was written by an unknown monk around 1075, and, what is more important, this monk produced much more longer and detailed records than his predecessors.¹⁶⁰ When Aventinus and one of his students found and copied the *Annales Altahenses* – Aventinus even put his notes on the margins of the manuscript of the annals –, these very detailed notes attracted the attention of the Bavarian historian, and he used these for his own opus to a great extent. The detailed notes of the *Annales Altahenses* ranging from 1033 to 1073 were extremely useful for him for the narration of Emperor Henry’s reign.

¹⁶⁰ *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről*, ed. Makk Ferenc-Thoroczkay Gábor (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2006), 70.

Adopting the structure and the narrative of the *Annales Altahenses*, Aventinus presents the reign period of Henry III.¹⁶¹ Because of their large extent, I am not intend to present all of the chapters and entries of the *Annales* which derive from the *Annales Altahenses*.

2. The *Annales* and the rest of its sources

As noted earlier, for his account about the reign of the German king and Holy Roman emperor, Henry III (1039–1056), Aventinus mostly followed the description of the *Annales Altahenses*. The Bavarian historian adopted the structure and the narrative of the *Annales Altahenses*, however, in several cases he copied information and data from other sources as well. In this chapter, I will present the historical works used by Aventinus, and identify the sources of entries in the *Annales*.

a) The *Annales* and the work of Hermann of Reichenau

The most important historical work of Hermann of Reichenau (also called Hermannus Contractus, Hermannus Augiensis, or Hermann the Cripple) is entitled as *Chronicon de sex aetatibus mundi*.¹⁶² Hermann was an eleventh-century scholar, composer, music theorist, mathematician, and astronomer. He was born in 1013 to a noble family as a disabled child, and arrived in the celebrated Benedictine abbey of Reichenau in 1020. He became a monk in 1043, and spent most of his time with intellectual work. He died in Reichenau in 1054. Hermann began his great historical work around 1048. The work extended from the birth of Christ to 1054. Hermann used a large number of sources, including the *Annales Fuldensis*, the chronicle of Regino, the *Gesta Chuonradi* by Wipo, and the historical work of Venerable

¹⁶¹ Riezler, *Aventinus*, 41–77; MGH SS 20, 23–53.

¹⁶² See: 142. footnote

Bede, however, the most valuable part of his chronicle, covering the years between 1040 and 1054 are based on his own information.¹⁶³

Aventinus knew Hermann's work, and copied passages out of it as additions to the descriptions of the *Annales Altahenses*. Aventinus's entries possibly deriving from Hermann's chronicle are the following:

1. At the beginning of King Henry's war against Bohemia Bretislav I, duke of Bohemia, sent his son, Spitignev, to Henry as a hostage, and promised the king that he (Bretislav) will come to Henry, and keep his promises (1039).¹⁶⁴
2. After Henry's first attack against Bohemia ended with defeat, those German captives who remained in Bohemia were set free upon the intervention of Gunther of Bohemia, a Catholic hermit (1040).¹⁶⁵
3. Peter Orseolo, once expelled from Hungary, fled to his relative, Adalbert, margrave of Austria. Only after this did he go to King Henry (1041).¹⁶⁶
4. The exact name of Henry's second wife is recorded as Agnes. (Henry married Agnes in 1043).¹⁶⁷
5. When Henry attacked Hungary for the first time, he ravaged Hainburg and Bratislava and fought with Samuel Aba near the Hron river (1042).¹⁶⁸
6. After Henry's victory over the Hungarians, Samuel Aba offered to return the territory extending to the Leitha river to Henry. Aventinus defines this territory as that between the rivers Leitha and Fischa.¹⁶⁹
7. The decapitation of Aba. Tthe *Annales Altahenses* contains only the murder of the fallen Hungarian king without specifics (1044).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Makk-Thoroczkay, *Írott források*, 11.

¹⁶⁴ MGH SS 5, 123; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 42.

¹⁶⁵ MGH SS 5, 123; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 43.

¹⁶⁶ MGH SS 5, 123; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 46.

¹⁶⁷ MGH SS 5, 124; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 48.

¹⁶⁸ MGH SS 5, 124., Riezler, *Aventinus*, 49.

¹⁶⁹ MGH SS 5, 124; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 49–50.

8. Reginald I, count of Burgundy, rebelled against Henry, but he was defeated by Gerald, count of Geneva. Before his defeat, Reginald had besieged Mömpelgard (1044–1045).¹⁷¹
9. The destruction of Beggelinheim (appears as Beggalaemus in Aventinus) during the war against Godfrey (1044).¹⁷²
10. A naval expedition by Henry III against Margrave Theoderik (1046).¹⁷³
11. The fact that Suidger of Bamberg, who became the new pope as Clement II, originated from the genus of the Saxons.¹⁷⁴
12. The fact that at the beginning of his reign, King Andrew tried to come to an understanding with Henry (1047).¹⁷⁵
13. After Henry was consecrated and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome, he gave leader to the Normans, and punished Benevento; and the emperor was ill at that time (1047).¹⁷⁶
14. Henry III had given Godfrey's duchy to Adalbert, before attacking Theoderik (1047).¹⁷⁷
15. The murder of Adalbert by Godfrey, and the appointment of the new pope, Leo IX (1048–1049).¹⁷⁸
16. When Henry III attacked Hungary, he instructed Bishop Gebhard, Prince Welf and Bretislav to destroy the northern parts of Hungary (1051).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁰ MGH SS 5, 125; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55.

¹⁷¹ MGH SS 5, 125; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55–56.

¹⁷² MGH SS 5, 125; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 56–57.

¹⁷³ MGH SS 5, 125; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 61.

¹⁷⁴ MGH SS 5, 126; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 62.

¹⁷⁵ MGH SS 5, 127; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 63.

¹⁷⁶ MGH SS 5, 126–127; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 63.

¹⁷⁷ MGH SS 5, 127; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 64.

¹⁷⁸ MGH SS 5, 128; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 65.

¹⁷⁹ MGH SS 5, 130; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 68.

17. In Henry III's attack on Hungary (above), certain Burgundian, Polish and Saxon soldiers successfully besieged a fortress at the Rábca (Rabnitz) river, and made way for the rest of the army this way (1051).¹⁸⁰
18. The crucifixion of certain religious persons who had fallen in the sin of Manichaeism, the appointment of Henry as the archbishop of Ravenna, and the Italian margrave, Boniface, 's, burial in Mantua (1052).¹⁸¹
19. Various passages about the Pope Leo IX's struggle against the Normans (1053).¹⁸²
20. Some episodes about Prince Conrad's rebellion: Conrad denied to appear in the German imperial assembly and persuaded Andrew of break the peace treaty which the Hungarian king made with Henry III (1053).¹⁸³
21. Theodpaldus, son of Odo, went to the emperor to Gaul and offered him his services (1054).¹⁸⁴

These entries in the *Annales Boiorum libri septem* clearly derive from the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau. Most of them are brief records of personal names, place-names, or very short additions. The way Aventinus used Hermann's work reveals his historiographical method: for Henry III's reign, his main source was the *Annales Althenses*; occasionally, however, he added brief pieces of information deriving from other sources: one of these was the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau.

b) The *Annales* and the Hungarian chronicle

Besides the *Annales Althenses* and the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau, Aventinus used the Hungarian chronicle as well: to be more precise, he used one version of this source. The most important Hungarian narrative source is known as the *Fourteenth-*

¹⁸⁰ MGH SS 5, 130; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 69.

¹⁸¹ MGH SS 5, 130–131; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 69.

¹⁸² MGH SS 5, 132–133; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 72–73.

¹⁸³ MGH SS 5, 133; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 73.

¹⁸⁴ MGH SS 5, 133; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 74.

Century Chronicle Composition. This chronicle—which has not been preserved in its original form—deals with Hungarian history from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. The chronicle composition can be divided into two chronicle families. One of these is the so-called Buda chronicle family, which includes the celebrated *Buda Chronicle*, printed in 1473 by András Hess. The other is called the *Chronicon Pictum* family, which includes the *Vienna Illuminated Chronicle* (also called *Chronicon Pictum*).¹⁸⁵ The *Fourteenth-Century Chronicle Composition* was used almost without any modification by Johannes de Thurocz to his chronicle printed in 1488.¹⁸⁶

It is almost impossible to determine which variant Aventinus used. One can only conjecture that the variant he may have had access to was the chronicle of Johannes de Thurocz, as this had already been known to Aventinus in its printed form.

Aventinus's entires which may derive from the Hungarian chronicle—possibly from the chronicle of Johannes Thurocz—are the following:

1. Some negative characteristics of Peter, king of Hungary. The *Annales Altahenses* contains several negative traits of Peter, but Aventinus added some which derive from the Hungarian chronicle.¹⁸⁷
2. The names of the leaders of the rebellion against King Peter: Phisco, Stoitzlaus és Pezilo. The *Annales Altahenses* names only two so the third name, Phisco, certainly derives from the Hungarian chronicle (1041).¹⁸⁸
3. The fact that Samuel Aba captured many prisoners during his first attack against Bavaria (1042).¹⁸⁹
4. The fact that during Aba's first attack against Bavaria, the third part of the Hungarian army was defeated near Pettau (1042).¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Makk-Thoroczkay, *Írott források*, 364–365.

¹⁸⁶ See: 143. footnote

¹⁸⁷ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 79; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 41–42.

¹⁸⁸ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 80; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 46.

¹⁸⁹ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 80; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 47.

5. Some negative character traits of Samuel Aba.¹⁹¹
6. During his second Hungarian campaign, Henry III entered Hungary at Sopron (1044).¹⁹²
7. During his second Hungarian campaign, after entering Sopron, Henry III arrived in Győr (1044).¹⁹³
8. After Henry defeated Samuel Aba at Ménfő, Aba fled towards the Tisza river (1044).¹⁹⁴
9. About the death of Samuel Aba, both the *Annales* and the Hungarian chronicle say that certain Hungarian locals helped Aba's capture (1044).¹⁹⁵
10. Describing the events taken place after the battle of Ménfő, Aventinus copied the Hungarian chronicle: both contain that the place of the battle was impassable due to the "smell of the dead bodies" (1044).¹⁹⁶
11. The fact that there was a three-day-long fight before the capture of King Peter (1046).¹⁹⁷
12. The fact that during Henry's siege of Pressburg, the Hungarians sank his supply ships on the Danube. (1052)¹⁹⁸

The outline of those entries in the *Annales* which derive from the Hungarian chronicle leads to the same conclusion as before: concerning the period of Henry III, Aventinus's main source was the *Annales Altahenses*, however, he occasionally added brief pieces of information deriving from other sources: one of these was the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau, and another was the Hungarian chronicle, most probably the chronicle of

¹⁹⁰ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 81; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 48.

¹⁹¹ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 81; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 51.

¹⁹² *Johannes de Thurocz*, 82; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 53.

¹⁹³ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 82; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 53.

¹⁹⁴ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 83; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55.

¹⁹⁵ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 83; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55.

¹⁹⁶ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 83; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 54.

¹⁹⁷ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 88; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 62.

¹⁹⁸ Riezler, *Aventinus*, 70.

Johannes de Thurocz. As before, in most cases these records are no more than brief additions or short episodes.

c) The *Annales* and the *Chronicon Eberspergense*

The *Chronicon Eberspergense* is a very short opus originated from the first half of the 11th century. This is a set of monastic annals included in the Ebersberg cartulary. A certain Williram of Ebersberg, a Benedictine Abbot was believed to be the author of the short chronicle (who compiled the cartulary itself), but the authorship of the *Chronicon* is not undisputed.¹⁹⁹

1. An event taken place in 1045 in the *Annales* derives from this chronicle: Henry arrived to the village of Perseboius, where he was welcomed by a certain Richolita, whose husband, Adalberus had demised. After that, Richolita asked Henry to donate the village (*vicus*) and the nearby estates (*predium*) to her nephew. The emperor officially approved the request, and while doing that, the joists and boards erected for roof collapsed. Richolita – together with Altmann, the local abbot, died in this accident.²⁰⁰

d) The *Annales* and the *Chronicon Monasterii Tegernseensis*

This source is an Anonymus Latin chronicle of the Imperial Abbey of Tegernsee (Benedictine).²⁰¹ As I point out below, Aventinus knew and used this work, too.

1. Henry III replaces abbot Herrand in 1046: the new abbot was Egibert. This event and the names of the abbots in the *Annales* derive certainly from this chronicle.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Graeme Dunphy, “Williram of Ebersberg,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu (Boston: Leiden, 2012)

²⁰⁰ *Chronicon Eberspergense*, ed. W. Arndt, in MGH. SS. 20 (Hannover: Hahn, 1868), 14; Riezler, Aventinus, 58.

²⁰¹ Gerald Schwedler, “Chronicon Tegernseensis monasterii,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu (Boston: Leiden, 2012)

e) **The *Annales* and the *Chronica sive chronographia universalis* by Sigebert of Gembloux**

1. Sigebert of Gembloux (Sigebertus Gemblacensis; c. 1030 – 5 October 1112) was a medieval author, known mainly as a historian of a universal chronicle, opposed to the expansive papacy of Gregory VII and Pascal II. Early in his life he became a monk in the Benedictine abbey of Gembloux. Sigebert wrote many opuses, but his most celebrated work is a *Chronicon sive Chronographia universalis*.²⁰³
2. A clause in the *Annales* derives from this work: ‘*nullum posthac pontificem maximum capturos, nisi quem caesares more maiorum legerint, iurare adigit.*’ (1046)²⁰⁴
3. The capture of a certain town during the war against Gottfried: Aventinus names this as urbs ‘*Chaborum Virdunum*’. The *Chronica* by Sierbert puts it in the following way: ‘*urbem quoque Claborum, quae Virdunus dicitur.*’ (1047)²⁰⁵
4. The capture of a certain ‘Honus’ by Baldwin.²⁰⁶
5. The siege of a territory ‘*inferioris Hantoryphi*’ by Baldwin. Siegbert mentions this as the following: ‘*intra Andoverpum*’ (1055).²⁰⁷

f) **The *Annales* and *Lamperti Annales***

Lambert of Hersfeld was a chronicler from the 11th century. He was also a monk in the Benedictine abbey of Hersfeld. Lambert is most famous as the author of an extensive

²⁰² *Chronicon Monasterii Tegernseensis*, in *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus* 3, ed. Bernhard Pez and Philibert Hueber (Augsburg: Sumptibus Philippi, Martini, & Joannis Veith Fratrum, 1721), 511; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 61–62.

²⁰³ Jeroen Deploige, “Sigebert of Gembloux,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu (Boston: Leiden, 2012)

²⁰⁴ *Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia*. ed. Ludowicus Conradus Bethmann, in *MGH SS* 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 358; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 63.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Riezler, *Aventinus*, 64.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 359; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 68.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 360; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 75.

historical chronicle known as the *Annales*, which is a universal history from the creation of the world until 1077.²⁰⁸

1. The capture of two towns during the war against Gottfried: Aventinus notes that after Henry crossed the river Rhine, '*Rhenoburgium and Flarodingiorum urbem capit*'. In the work of Lambert of Hersfeld, the two towns appears the following way: '*Rinesburg and Fleerdingen*'.²⁰⁹
2. The fact that in 1053, when Pope Leo IX returned to Rome, he took Gottfried and Gottfried's brother Frederick with himself.²¹⁰
3. Certain facts about Beatrix, Henry's '*neptis*'.²¹¹

g) The *Annales* and the chronicle of the Annalista Saxo

The Annalista Saxo is the anonymous author of an imperial chronicle, which believed to be originated in the 12th century at Nienburg Abbey in the Duchy of Saxony. This chronicle contains the history of the medieval German monarchs, and their Carolingian predecessors from 741 until 1142.²¹²

1. Both the *Annales* and the chronicle of the Annalista Saxo contains a fact concerning the origin of Pope Leo IX. Aventinus remarks the following about the new pope: '*Bruno...,patre Hugone Haganosaemo...ortus.*' As the Annalista Saxo puts it: '*Bruno, qui et Leo,...oriundus de Alsatia ex castello, quod dicitur Egenesheim*'.²¹³

h) The *Annales* and *Ekkehardi Chronicon universale*

²⁰⁸ Tilman Struve, "Lampert von Hersfeld. Persönlichkeit und Weltbild eines Geschichtsschreibers am Beginn des Investiturstreits," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 19 (1969): 1–123 and 20 (1970): 32–142.

²⁰⁹ *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 1894), 61; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 64.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 62; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 72.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 66; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 75.

²¹² Klaus Nass, *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo und die sächsische Geschichtsschreibung im 12. Jahrhundert*, MGH Scriptores 41 (Hannover: Hahn, 1996)

²¹³ *Annalista Saxo*, ed. Klaus Nass, in MGH SS 37, (Hannover: Hahn, 2006), 390; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 65.

Ekkehard of Aura (or Uraugiensis) was a Benedictine monk and chronicler. He was also the abbot of Aura in the first half of the 12th century. His world-chronicle extends until 1125.²¹⁴

1. An episode in the *Annales* taken place in 1052 derives from the work of Ekkehardus: Henry III settles an argument emerging between the Bavarians and the Parisians about the relics of Saint Denis.²¹⁵
2. The fact that a certain Beatrix, who was married to Gottfried in 1055, was the mother of Mathilda.²¹⁶

V. The “unique” entries of the *Annales*

1. The “unique” entries

The last chapter of my thesis deals with the so-called “unique entries” of the *Annales*. As noted above, Aventinus had access to information which cannot be found in any other known sources, and cannot be explained by his historiographical flourishes, such as patriotic additions or rhetorical exaggeration, either.

As shown previously, most of Aventinus’s entries can be found in other—mostly contemporary—sources. This statement is certainly true even if Aventinus – in some cases – altered the content of his sources according to his own historical viewpoints (patriotism, rhetorical devices, anti-Catholic attitude).

Detailed examination of the text has shown that compared to other parts of the *Annales*, the passages which concern the reign of Henry III definitely contain more “unique” entries.

²¹⁴ Joachim Leuschner, “Ekkehard von Aura,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), 431.

²¹⁵ *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, ed. D. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS* 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 196; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 71.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 197; Riezler, *Aventinus*, 74.

In some cases, it is difficult to decide whether a note in the *Annales* is just a rhetorical addition, or a “unique entry.” However, it is also true that in the other parts of the work, outside the annals of Henry’s reign, very few such notes can be found on which it would be difficult to decide whether these are rhetorical additions or not.

If the “unique entries” of the *Annales*, that is those which cannot be justified by other sources or Aventinus’s historiographical characteristics, then it is highly possible that these derive from sources that are now lost.

The “unique entries” of the *Annales* in the passages about Henry III’s reign are the following.

1. The death of two sign-bearers (signifier), Verner and Reginald, whom Aventinus mentions when he describes the war against Bohemia, taken place in 1040–1041.²¹⁷
2. The fact that after his defeat in 1041, Bretislav was hiding in Prague.²¹⁸
3. Peter Orseolo fled to King Henry in 1041 due to a conspiracy against him. Only Aventinus recorded that before Henry promised his help to Peter, he had imprisoned him and Peter managed to get out from the prison only with the help of Margrave Adalbert.²¹⁹
4. Other contemporary sources, for example, the *Annales Altahenses* or Hermann of Reichenau’s chronicle, contain the account of Henry’s attack against Hungary in 1042 but only Aventinus adds that Henry defeated Aba twice at the Hron river.²²⁰

²¹⁷ “Veronero et Reginardus signiferi cum plerisque occisi sunt decimo calendas Septemberis.” Riezler, *Aventinus*, 43.

²¹⁸ “Caesariani superatis hostibus coniungunt copias; universam Boemiam per duos et quadraginta continenter dies ferro, igne depopulantur, agros urunt, vicos incendunt, cuncta luctu, caede, incendiis complent. Ingenti vi armatorum et frumenti captivorumque numero potiuntur; quippe hostes per occultos tramites, ne quid abscondere possent, antevenerant. Regulus Boemiae Pragae se continebat.” Riezler, *Aventinus*, 44.

²¹⁹ “Petrus tum tumultu istoc, tum conscientia scelerum perterritus, ratus se ubique terrarum tutiorem quam apud suos fore, ad Boios confines Ugris quamquam sibi infestos, quod Boiis supplicia tulisset, cum paucis aufugit benigneque ab Albrerto orientalis limitis duce acceptus Reginoburgium ad caesarem deducitur. Verum primum sicuti reipublicae hostis non solum aditu prohibitus, se din vincula quoque coniectus est.” Riezler, *Aventinus*, 46.

²²⁰ “Ovo bis ad Granum amnem cum nostris congressus, bis superatus, trans flumen est repulsus, maxima clade adfectus; unus nostratium dumtaxat periit.” Riezler, *Aventinus*, 49.

5. Henry attacked Hungary in 1042, and placed the son of St. Stephen's sibling as the ruler of the captured territory. The *Annales* is the only source that reports that Henry sent two thousand men to support the new ruler.²²¹
6. In 1043 Samuel Aba sent emissaries to Henry in order to make peace with the German leader. The descriptions of embassies were amongst Aventinus favorite rhetorical devices,²²² but at this point the Bavarian historian also notes that a certain Pezilo was amongst the hostages offered to Henry.²²³ Pezilo's title as "dux" in the *Annales* suggests that he was probably a captain.²²⁴ Pezilo is mentioned by the *Annales Altahenses* and the Hungarian chronicle as well, but only as one of the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion against Peter. Aventinus mentions Pezilo again later in his work, noting that Henry kept Pezilo with himself in 1044, when he dwelt at Hainburg.²²⁵ This attribution is rather uncertain, it is possible that Aventinus himself, rather than a lost source, placed Pezilo among the seven hostages.²²⁶
7. According to Aventinus, while negotiating the peace treaty in 1043, Samuel Aba asked for Henry's permission not to attend in person. After this, Aba swore an oath to

²²¹ "Ovo bis ad Granum amnem cum nostris congressus, bis superatus, trans flumen est repulsus, maxima clade adfectus; unus nostratium dumtaxat periit. Caesar Petrum, quem adduxerat, provinciae armis partae imponere voluit. Provinciales pertinacissime refragantur; mori se malle quam huncce rectorem pati confidentissime adseverant. Filio igitur fratris divi Stephani, qui initio belli ad Boiemos aufugerat, ea regio, consensu incolarum committitur; praesidio Boiorum Boiemorumque valido, nempe duobus millibus hominum munitur." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 49.

²²² Hevér László, *Aventinus és a magyar történelem kezdetei. Bölcsészdoktori értekezés* (Budapest, 1985), 94.

²²³ "Pezilonem ducem cum septem aliis optimatibus, in quos animadvertendi more maiorum, si pactis non staret et postridie calendas Decembris verba promissa factis non comprobaret, ius foret, obsidem tradit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 50.

²²⁴ Kristó Gyula: *A XI. századi hercegség története Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 58.

²²⁵ "...sed tercio Honorio iam antea experimentis cognitum erat, Ovonem infidum, genus Ugrorum ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum, seditiosum, discordiosumque esse. Itaque, quae postulabantur, neque abnuere neque polliceri coepit et inter eas moras promissa, retentis secum legatis Ungaricis expectat. Dumque Boiemi atque Boii convenissent, hisce se subsequi iussis, quasi venandi causa Hunnburgium se confert, ibi septem dies conmoratur, nemo omnium adparet neque Ovo, ut pollicitus erat, praesto fuit; tantum abfuit, ut promissa compleret. Caesar Pezilinum, quem, sicuti supra retuli, obsidem acceperat, Nanonemque scribam Ovonis hactenus secum retentum nec tum abire permissum, ad Ovonem cum mandatis ire, triduo reverti, mandata referre iubet." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 52–53.

²²⁶ Hungarian historian Gyula Pauler, who was generally critical about Aventinus's credibility, accepts this data of Aventinus about Pezilo. Pauler Gyula: *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt 1* (Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülése-Állami Könyvterjesztő Vállalat, 1899), 418. p., 174. note

Henry, the Bavarian prince, and Bretislav, the Bohemian leader that he will keep his promises made to King Henry.²²⁷

8. Aventinus recorded an interesting episode of the Hungarian-Bavarian history. According to him, Samuel Aba contacted two siblings from Regensburg in 1043, whose names were Bernulf and Machthun. These two Bavarian citizens secretly rebelled against Henry. In exchange for their support, Aba promised them a duchy and a margravate.²²⁸ Their conspiracy was, however, exposed and Henry put Bernulf and Machthun to death.²²⁹ As the Hungarian historian György Székely puts it, Aventinus's account can be regarded as credible, and it can be verified by an eleventh-century legend, the *Vita Sancti Udalrici*. Székely also points out that Regensburg's eleventh-century history also confirms the account in the *Annales*.²³⁰
9. In 1044, a rebellion broke out against Samuel Aba in Hungary. Both the *Annales Altahenses* and the Hungarian chronicle narrate this event, but only Aventinus notes the name of the rebellion's leader, Lorico, and the fact that after foiling the conspiracy, Aba murdered Lorico's son.²³¹ It is important that even if Aventinus

²²⁷ "Unum postremo orat, ut timori suo concedatur, ne in conspectum caesaris venire cogatur. Caesar consilio habito conditiones accipit, Honoricum ducem Boiorum et Vratizolaum Boiemiae rectorem ad Ovonem concedere iubet, coram quibus praeunte sacrificulo, Ovo sacramentum dicit, pacta iureiurandi religione sancit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 50.

²²⁸ "Erant duo germani fratres, Berinulphus et Machothunus, obscuris crepundiis apud Boios occidentales Reginoburgii, ut iam narravi, orti; verum per nefas fasque ditati ingenteis cumularant opes in aulamque, freti autoritate Nitogerionis episcopi Fruxinensis, fratris sui, irrepserant. Et ut natura mortalium avida potentiae et splendoris praeceps est ad explendam animi cupidinem, supra quam cuiquam imperito credibile sit, ambire praefecturas (quod tum eis per nobiles nondum licebat) frustra coeperunt. Proinde ab Ugris id ipsum se adsequuturos sperantes, clam Ovonem literis hortantur, ut simulata pactorum solutione Honoricum cum paucis advenientem fiducia pacis circumveniat, nihil mali suspicantem obtruncet, regnum Boiorum invadat; se Reginoburgium tradituros; sin ille non veniat, nihilominus Boiariae arma inferat; suum stadium, suam operam offerunt. Ovo literis acceptis ipsos collaudat, praemiis onerat; alteri ducatum, alteri praefecturam Boiorum promittit, incoeptis perseverare hortaturque. Illis rursus impensius, quam exigebatur, operam promittentibus, eorum consilia exequi studet." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 51.

²²⁹ "Nano scriba interceptus est, in cuius crumenula a zone serica pendente epistola Berinulphi et Machthuni inventa et a plerisque lecta caesari tandem offertur. Quam cum ipse legisset, Berinulphum et Machthunum fidei, quam violarent, meritas poenas solvere crucifigique imperat." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 54.

²³⁰ Székely György, "Kapcsolatok a feudális német hódítók elleni harcokban," *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 1 (1954): 144. p., 27. footnote

²³¹ "Fit igitur optimum in Ovonem coniuratio; ipsum vinctum aut necatum caesari tradere constituunt. Verum conspiratione detecta, indicium a conscio ad Ovonem delatum est. Lorico princeps coniurationis erat; filium eius inmissis percussoribus Ovo obtruncat." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 51.

occasionally used personal and geographic names to scaffold his own narrative, the names themselves always derive from other sources. As György Györffy settled, even if Aventinus's detailed accounts are debatable, there is no doubt that the names of the participants and the time-period of their life derive from genuine sources that are now lost.²³²

10. Concerning Henry's 1044 military campaign against Aba, Aventinus recorded "unique" data again. Other sources also report that Aba sent emissaries to Henry, but only the *Annales* contains that among them were captain (*dux*) Zudnich, and a person named Nanno.²³³ Aventinus mentioned Nanno elsewhere in his work, too, and calls him a scribe (*scriba*).²³⁴ Similarly to Lorico's case, no other known source contains these names and since it is unlikely that Aventinus made up these names himself, they must derive from other written sources. A name in the Hungarian chronicle is similar to Zudnich: *Comes (ispán) Szolnok*, who appears in the passages about Peter Orseolo's second reign.²³⁵ Since Aventinus also mentions Szolnok as "Zaunico," elsewhere in his chronicle, it is unlikely that Zudnich and Szolnok marks the same person in the *Annales*. Nanno cannot be identified. A certain Nána shows up in the foundation charter of the abbey of Tihany as a stableman, but it is unlikely that Aventinus knew the text of the charter, or that he would have placed a stableman occurring in a charter into his *Annales* as a scribe.

11. According to Aventinus, Henry—ignoring Aba's promises—attacked Hungary in 1044, but before his attack, he simulated hunting, went to Hainburg, and spent seven

²³² Györffy György, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* (Budapest: Balassi, 1948), 33.

²³³ "Caesar ab hisce persuasus, ut Ovonem arte sua tentaret, huiusmodi re dissimulata in Boiariam cum paucis pergit, dumtaxat Boiis atque Boiemis concomitatus, quasi limitem Boiariae austriacum lustraturus pactamque pecuniam absque bello exacturus potiusque iure quam armis disceptaturus, Biois orientales petit. Ovo, ut vafer erat, Zudinichonem ducem suum cum Nanone a secretis et plerisque aliis primoribus, qui vires et animum caesaris explorarent, cum auri maximo pondere ad Honoricum legat." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 52.

²³⁴ "Nano scriba interceptus est, in cuius crumenula a zone serica pendente epistola Berinulphi et Machthuni inventa et a plerisque lecta caesari tandem offertur. Quam cum ipse legisset, Berinulphum et Machthunum fidei, quam violarant, meritis poenas solvere crucifigique imperat." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 54.

²³⁵ *Johannes de Thurocz*, 88.

days there. Meanwhile, he kept Pezilo and Nanno as hostages and sent them to Aba convey the fake information that Henry's army was small.²³⁶ In this chapter, the mention of the seven days by Aventinus is probably a rhetorical device, as the Bavarian historian favored this number in his descriptions.²³⁷

12. The next "unique note" is confusing. Based on eleventh-century sources, it is obvious that Samuel Aba died right after the battle of Ménfő in 1044. However, according to the *Annales*, after his defeat, Aba still tried to revolt against the reinstalled king, Peter. Aventinus recounts that Peter tried to make peace with Aba, and offered him the duchy (*ducatus*). Aba did not accept the offer, but not long after, his men took the side of Peter, and only after this ran Aba away towards river Tisza.²³⁸ It is highly possible that this episode was fabricated by Aventinus. Notably, some passages in the Hungarian chronicle contain similar negotiations between King Solomon and Ladislaus (and Géza). It is possible that Aventinus modelled the episode above after these chapters of the Hungarian chronicle.

²³⁶ "...sed tercio Honorio iam antea experimentis cognitum erat, Ovonem infidum, genus Ugrorum ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum, seditiosum, discordiosumque esse. Itaque, quae postulabantur, neque abnuere neque polliceri coepit et inter eas moras promissa, retentis secum legatis Ungaricis expectat. Dumque Boiemi atque Boii convenissent, hisce se subsequi iussis, quasi venandi causa Hunnburgium se confert, ibi septem dies conmoratur, nemo omnium adparet neque Ovo, ut pollicitus erat, praesto fuit; tantum abfuit, ut promissa conpleret. Caesar Pezilinum, quem, sicuti supra retuli, obsidem acceperat, Nanonemque scribam Ovonis hactenus secum retentum nec tum abire permissum, ad Ovonem cum mandatis ire, triduo reverti, mandata referre iubet. Illi ubi ad Ovonem devenere, paucitatem nostrorum referunt; facile perpaucis interfectis caesarem intercipi posse docent." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 52–53.

²³⁷ Rademacher Otto, "Aventin und die Ungarische Chronik," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 12 (1887): 571.

²³⁸ "At Ovo, cum abiisse caesarem certior factus est, vires reparat, eos, qui fuga sibi consuluerant et aduc palantes vagabantur, colligit. Contra Petrus sum Boiemis atque Boiis Ovonem persecuturus, prius ad eum cum mandatis amicos legat, veniam dat gratiamque facit, obtestatur per Christum eiusque religionem, ut resipiscat, secum in concordiam, in gratiam redeat; se ducatum, quem superioribus annis tenuerit, concedere, modo regis nomen inane abdicet, omnia largiturum, quae petiverit, praeter diadema et sceptrum regni insignia, promittit. Ovo sive avidus imperii, sive quod se Petro committere non audebat, aleam belli denuo se tentaturum respondit apertoque Marte dimicaturum; numen caeli haud dubie pugnae eventum, quinam verus rex sit, declaraturum. Porro socii Ovonis rursus cum Boiemis atque Boiis victoribus, cum quibus ante male pugnassent, configere recusant fortunaque superioris praelii deterriti, superos ultra lacessere detrectant. Ab Ovone igitur, aequissimas condiciones abnuerebat, ad Petrum deficiunt. Ille a suis desertus, in vicum quendam fugam capessit. Verum villa de caelo tacta vix evasit fugamque trans Tibiscum tendit. Dum in quoddam templum confugit, incolae, qui ab eo captivi illuc translati fuerant, eundem capiunt, in vincula coniiciunt, vinctum cathenis ad Petrum deducunt. Ipse dicto die communi sententia Ugrorum et Boiorum condemnatus supplicium capite luit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55.

13. Aventinus narrates the death of Aba differently than the account of other known sources. According to the *Annales*, Aba was captured by his former prisoners.²³⁹ Gyula Pauler's opinion was that it is impossible that this piece of information was invented by Aventinus.²⁴⁰
14. With Henry's help, Peter was reinstalled to the Hungarian throne, and after that, Henry left Hungary. Soon after this, Peter invited Henry to Hungary and handed the golden lance, the symbol of sovereignty in Hungary, to Henry, pledging an oath of fealty along with his nobles. Only Aventinus records that after this, Henry took the widowed Gisela with him, and placed her in a nunnery in Passau. Hungarian historiography regards this note as credible.²⁴¹
15. Peter Orseolo was killed in a rebellion in Hungary in 1046. Aventinus narrates the death of Peter differently than other sources. According to his account, Peter was hunting at the Hungarian-Bavarian border with people from Noricum, when he was attacked and captured. After that, he was taken to Székesfehérvár, where he was mutilated and killed.²⁴²

2. Conclusion

These "unique entries" of the *Annales* can only be found in the Aventinus's Latin work. Importantly, they cannot be explained by any of the historiographical principles which Aventinus used to add extra pieces of information to his sources. In addition to this, in other parts of the *Annales*, there are fewer "unique" data than in the chapters about the

²³⁹ "Dum in quoddam templum confugit, incolae, qui ab eo captivi illuc translati fuerant, eundem capiunt, in vincula coniiciunt, vinctum catenis ad Petrum deducunt. Ipse dicto die communi sententia Ugrorum et Boiorum condemnatus supplicium capite luit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 55.

²⁴⁰ Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története*, 422. p., 184. note

²⁴¹ "Caesar ex Ungaria reversus (ut ad narrationem redeam) secum Gisalam reginam uxorem divi Stephani abducit, Bathaviae, ubi in templo sacratarum foeminarum eius mausoleum ostenditur, ab Ugris venerabundis aditur, conlocavit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 61.

²⁴² "Petrus, qui hisce diebus in confinio Boiariae atque Ungariae cum Noricis venebatur, de improvise circumventus, fortiter triduo dimicans, omnibus suis amissis tandem intercipitur; ad Albam regiam traductus, oculos, genitalia ferro amisit ex vulnereque et plaga obit." Riezler, *Aventinus*, 62.

reign of Henry III. Based on these facts, and my previous statements about Aventinus' credibility, I believe that at least some of these data can certainly be regarded as credible and authentic. Furthermore, due to the abundance of these "unique entries" in the *Annales* regarding the reign of Henry III, one can conclude the following: it is highly possible that there was a narrative source—still extant in Aventinus's time—which contained a large amount of information about Henry III and his era, but which is now lost.

VI. Final conclusion

In my thesis, I studied and analyzed a significant late-medieval chronicle, known as *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* written by a Bavarian humanist historian, Johannes Aventinus. My main goal was to examine the *Annales*'s entries about the reign of Henry III, because—as I mentioned—these parts contain an unusually large quantity of the so-called "unique" entries, which can only be found in the *Annales*. However, to prove the veracity of these "unique" entries about Henry III—that is, whether they were fictitious accounts inserted by Aventinus or taken from a lost source—certain examinations were necessary in my thesis. At first, I summarized the life of the Bavarian historiographer in order to understand his historiographical practice, personal viewpoints, and therefore, to evaluate of Aventinus as a historian. After that, I presented the historiographical practice of Aventinus's historical writing and his historiographical principles, which can be detected in his texts. I demonstrated that there are three discernible historiographical principles which appear in Aventinus's *Annales*: his patriotism, his love for rhetorical devices, and his disapproval towards the Catholic Church. It was precisely these principles, which occasionally made Aventinus alter the content of his sources. Following this chapter, I identified the sources of the *Annales* regarding the reign-period of Henry III, and finally, I dealt with the so-called "unique" entries of Aventinus.

Based on my examinations, my conclusions are the following. After presenting the life of Johannes Aventinus, I think that it is obvious that Aventinus was an assiduous, persistent and hard-working person. He took on very seriously his studies at universities, his task in the Bavarian court as a tutor, and also his scientific works, including the *Annales*. Based on these facts, his greatest work, the *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* can possibly be regarded as an elaborate and valuable source.

Although it is true that Aventinus collected written sources with enthusiasm, and one of his main goals was to be an objective historian, in many cases, his love for rhetorical devices, his anti-Catholic attitude, and his strong patriotism, led to the alteration of the content of his sources, or adding own accounts or data. In most cases, these historiographical devices explain any modifications he made to the text in his sources. However, it is important that besides those cases when Aventinus altered the content of his sources (because of the three principles), he always followed strictly his sources. Furthermore, even in these cases, the altered contents were based on the accounts of known narrative sources.

My examination of Aventinus's sources regarding the *Annales*'s entries about the reign of Henry III also proved that he definitely used multiple sources for his accounts: in this case, he used the following works: the *Annales Altahenses maiores* (this was his main source), the work of Hermann of Reichenau, one version of the Hungarian chronicle, the *Chronicon Eberspergense*, the *Chronicon Monasterii Tegernseensis*, the *Chronica sive chronographia universalis*, the *Lamperti Annales*, the chronicle of the Annalista Saxo, and the *Ekkehardi Chronicon universal*.

In the end of my thesis—based on all of my previous conclusions—I tried to explain the abundance of the “unique” entries of the *Annlaes* about the reign of Henry III. Because Aventinus can be regarded as a trustworthy historian, and these “unique” entries

cannot be explained by any of the historiographical principles of Aventinus, and due to the fact that in other parts of the *Annales*, there are much less “unique” data than in the chapters about the reign of Henry III, my opinion is that there is only one possible explanation to the abundance of the existence of these entries: there was a narrative source—still extant in Aventinus’s time—which contained a large amount of information about Henry III and his era, but which is now lost.

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