

Kornél András Illés

**INTER RES PUBLICAS CANENT MUSAE.  
THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUNGARY AND  
THE PAPACY IN THE EPISTOLARY OF JOHN OF ZREDNA  
BETWEEN 1444 AND 1451**

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

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The Diplomatic Relationship between Hungary and  
the Papacy in the Epistolary of John of Zredna  
between 1444 and 1451

by

Kornél András Illés

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern  
Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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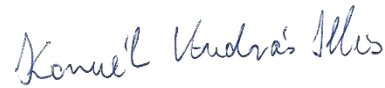
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I, the undersigned, **Kornél András Illés**, candidate for the MA degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information 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

The citations taken from texts of antique authors play a major role in the narratives John of Zredna built in the letters he wrote to the Holy See between 1444 and 1451 in the name of John Hunyadi and the royal council of Hungary. The significance of the quotations was already shown by previous research, chiefly by Iván Boronkai, however, only a very narrow selection of citations was thoroughly examined and the citations have not been connected to their immediate political context yet. In the present thesis it is shown that the overarching strategy of applying citations in these letters is situational similarity between the issues contemporaneous with John of Zredna and the stories of ancient past. However, it is also demonstrated that through the repeated use of particular ancient stories, parallels drawn between medieval and ancient individuals and political entities could also assume a meaningful position in the narratives John of Zredna formulated. It has also been proven that the cultural policies of the renaissance Papacy beginning with the pontificate of Nicholas V, and the changes in Hungarian diplomatic strategy after the lost battle of Kosovo Polje in 1448 had a profound impact on the way John of Zredna used citations. Moreover, it is established that the citations John of Zredna used tied his texts to a characteristically humanistic as well as chiefly Germanic cultural milieu.

# Table of contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Introduction.....   | 1  |
| Topics in the letters.....  | 6  |
| The first group: internal war and ottoman pressure .....  | 7  |
| The second group: ecclesiastical matters .....  | 10 |
| Synoptic table of the topics.....   | 13 |
| Citations or commonplaces? .....  | 14 |
| 1 <i>Si fueris Romae, Romano vivito more</i> – parallels drawn by the citations.....                            | 22 |
| Parallels with the parties of the wars ancient Rome fought.....   | 22 |
| Moral parallels .....   | 24 |
| Parallels based on the similarity of situations.....  | 27 |
| 2 <i>Repetitio est mater studiorum</i> – recurring stories from the classics in the <i>Epistolary</i> .....     | 35 |
| Veii, the Fabii and Appius Claudius .....   | 35 |
| The troubles of Rome and Hungary .....  | 38 |
| <i>Pius</i> Aeneas, Queen Dido and the <i>clementia Caesaris</i> .....  | 41 |
| 3 <i>Homo doctus, homo politicus</i> – the political functions of the citations .....                           | 46 |
| The suspicions of Eugene and the self-definition of Nicholas .....  | 46 |
| A lost battle .....   | 50 |
| 4 <i>Respublica citata</i> – citations of the <i>Epistolary</i> in other texts from the fifteenth century ..... | 55 |
| Multiple overlaps .....   | 56 |
| Two overlaps at maximum.....  | 60 |

|                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| One overlap .....      | 61  |
| Conclusion .....       | 65  |
| Bibliography .....     | 69  |
| Primary sources.....   | 69  |
| Secondary sources..... | 69  |
| Appendices.....        | 74  |
| Appendix 1 .....       | 74  |
| Letter 3 .....         | 75  |
| Letter 35 .....        | 77  |
| Letter 36 .....        | 78  |
| Letter 37 .....        | 81  |
| Letter 45 .....        | 91  |
| Letter 52 .....        | 91  |
| Letter 53 .....        | 92  |
| Letter 60 .....        | 93  |
| Letter 62 .....        | 93  |
| Letter 63 .....        | 94  |
| Letter 69 .....        | 95  |
| Letter 71 .....        | 100 |
| Letter 72 .....        | 100 |
| Letter 73 .....        | 101 |



|                 |     |
|-----------------|-----|
| Appendix 2..... | 102 |
|-----------------|-----|

# List of Tables

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1 The Topics of Particular Letters sent to the Pope Incorporated into the Epistolary .....  | 13  |
| 2 Citations of the Epistolary that should be Considered as Commonplaces.....  | 15  |
| 3 Comparative table about the contexts of the citations in the Epistolary and their original context in the classical texts.....                              | 74  |
| 4 Texts from fifteenth-century authors who applied the same classical citations as the ones John of Zredna used in particular letters of the Epistolary ..... | 102 |

# List of Abbreviations

ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099: *Titus Livius. Historiae Romanae decas I, III, IV.* Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Lat. 3099.

# Introduction

Hungarian historiography from the very beginnings of its professionalization displayed great predilection towards a particular book compiled in 1451. The volume that is usually dubbed as the Epistolary of John (Vitéz) of Zredna<sup>1</sup> was often heralded in overviews regarding the renaissance culture and humanist erudition of the Carpathian Basin as one of the most important cornerstones of the beginnings of humanism in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> It is a peculiar book indeed: it contains diplomatic letters from the years between 1444 and 1451, written by John of Zredna, bishop of Oradea (Várad), later archbishop of Esztergom, who served two different kings of Hungary as chancellor and was a major figure of Hungarian politics as well as cultural life from the 1440s to his death in the very beginning of the 1470s.<sup>3</sup> The volume

<sup>1</sup> He was known as John Vitéz (János Vitéz originally) in Hungarian historiography for quite a long time. However, it was shown that he himself most probably never used this as his name – see: Klára Pajorin, “Vitéz János vezetéknévéről” [Regarding the surname of John Vitéz], in *Ritoók Zsigmondné Szalay Ágnes 70. születésnapjára*, [For the 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Mrs. Zsigmond Ritoók Ágnes Szalay] ed. Zsuzsanna Tamás (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó-Rebakucs, 2001), 18–19. Hence, I will use the more appropriate John of Zredna name in the present thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Vilmos Fraknói, *A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora (1440–1526)* [The era of the Hunyadis and the Jagellonians (1440–1526)] (Budapest: Atheneum, 1896), 521–526; János Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása: Magyar humanizmus* [Distribution of literary Knowledge: Hungarian humanism] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1935), 61–75; Tibor Kardos, “Deákműveltség és magyar renaissance, II. közlemény” [School erudition and Hungarian renaissance, II. publication], *Századok* 73, no. 9–10 (1939): 484–485; Tibor Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [The age of Hungarian humanism] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 106–122; Sándor V. Kovács, “Bevezetés” [Introduction], in *Magyar humanisták levelei* [Letters of Hungarian humanists], ed. Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1971), 7–10. While the humanist nature of the Epistolary was somewhat contested in the beginning of the 2000s (see Klára Pajorin, “Vitéz János műveltsége” [The erudition of John Vitéz], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 109, no. 5–6 (2004): 533–540.), it being one of the first humanist texts in Hungary still can be considered part of the scholarly consensus, and new facets of its connection are still being discovered today – see Edina Zsupán, “János Vitéz’ Book of Letters: Prologue,” in *A Star in the Raven’s Shadow: János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Földesi (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 2008), 117–139; Farkas Gábor Kiss, “Origin Narratives: Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings of Hungarian Humanism,” *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8, no. 3 (2019): 471–497. In a recent English language overview of the cultural history of Hungary Pajorin herself also modified her opinion and stated that the Epistolary contains both humanistic and medieval elements – see: Klára Pajorin: “Humanist Literature,” in *Psalmus Hungaricus: A Hungarian Cultural History*, ed. József Szentpéteri, vol 1. 3 vols (Budapest: Research Center for Humanities, 2023), 317.

<sup>3</sup> For the critical edition of the Epistolary see Iván Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: Opera quae supersunt*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 27–168. For general information on the Epistolary see: Zsupán, “János Vitéz’,” 122–127. The most recent overview about the life of John of Zredna is Tomislav Matić, *Bishop John Vitez and Early Renaissance Central Europe: The Humanist Kingmaker* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2022). The older, but well-respected biography of the bishop is Vilmos Fraknói, *Vitéz János esztergomi érsek élete* [The life of John Vitéz, archbishop of Esztergom] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1879). Other important articles regarding his life and career are Ferenc Szakály, “Vitéz János, a politikus és államférfi (Pályavázlat – kérdőjelekkel)” [John Vitéz, politician and statesman (draft of a career – with some questions)], in *Vitéz János*

itself was put together by a certain Paul Ivanich, a subordinate priest of John at Oradea.<sup>4</sup> Allegedly its material was compiled due to a certain archdeacon Paul constantly nagging the author to send him his letters, as the archdeacon wanted to get acquainted with the style John of Zredna applied in his texts. This story is told to us in the collection itself: it contains two letters explaining the genesis of the Epistolary written to the mentioned archdeacon Paul.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Paul Ivanich also left the mark of his hand on the collection: he wrote a short introduction and an epilogue to it, as well as a great number of philological and historical notes to the particular letters.<sup>6</sup> However, we can be almost certain that the end product was also authorized by John of Zredna himself: one can consult a copy of the Epistolary extant today that bears his marks of additional corrections and comments.<sup>7</sup>

While the person of John was immensely important in the origins of the Epistolary as the previous brief overview of the work illustrates, the letters themselves peculiarly were not written in the name of the bishop. John of Zredna basically functioned as the ghostwriter of the Hungarian government in the second half of the 1440s. During these troubled years the country was led first by a council of magnates then a governor and was dominated by the famous general John Hunyadi, who also served as a governor after the creation of this rather unusual position for a monarchy.<sup>8</sup> What John of Zredna did was basically writing diplomatic

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*emlékkönyv* [Celebratory volume about John Vitéz], ed. István Bárdos et al. (Esztergom: Balassa Bálint Társaság, 1990), 9–38; András Kubinyi, “Vitéz János és Janus Pannonius politikája Mátyás uralkodása idején” [The political career of John Vitéz and Janus Pannonius during the reign of King Matthias], in *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában*, [Humanist erudition in Pannonia] ed. István Bartók, László Jankovits, and Gábor Kecskeméti (Pécs: Művészetek Háza-Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2000), 7–26; András Kubinyi, “Vitéz János: a jó humanista és rossz politikus” [John Vitéz, good humanist and bad politician], in *A magyar történelem vitatott személyiségei*, [Debated Figures of Hungarian History] ed. Rita Nagy Mézes (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2008), 71–89.

<sup>4</sup> Zsupán, “John Vitéz’,” 122–127.

<sup>5</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 28–42.

<sup>6</sup> These notes are also published along with the text of the Epistolary – see Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 27–168.

<sup>7</sup> Edina Zsupán, “Vitéz János Leveleskönyve. ÖNB, Cod, 431” [The Epistolary of John Vitéz, ÖNB, Cod. 431], in *Erdély Reneszánsza I.* [The renaissance of Transylvania I.], ed. Csilla Gábor, Katalin Luffy, and Gábor Sipos (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2009), 16–24.

<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed overview of the political situation in Hungary during these years see heading *The first group: internal war and Ottoman pressure* of subchapter *Topics of the letters*.

letters for John Hunyadi and the royal council of Hungary (comprised of the most powerful magnates as well as the prelates of the country) that were then sent to various potentates of Europe and then found their way into the Epistolary. Hence the collection is not only a significant piece of literary history, but also the most important witness of Hungarian diplomatic correspondence during these years. This peculiar amalgam of cultural and political significance gives an excellent material for interdisciplinary research: an analysis of the Epistolary utilizing the tools of literary history and philology as well as historical scholarship has the ability to shed a light on the way humanism was used as a tool of political lobbying.

The goal of the present thesis is to undertake exactly this task, by examining the usage of citations in the diplomatic letters of the Epistolary, which were taken from texts written during the centuries of antiquity.<sup>9</sup> A comprehensive analysis of the classical quotations used by John of Zredna in the Epistolary and an assessment of their political functions is a long overdue task of Hungarian scholarship. The distinguished classical philologist Iván Boronkai formulated some preliminary remarks regarding the matter in the 1970s. However, he only analyzed three letters of the collection along with two orations also authored by John of Zredna, and strongly emphasized that a full and thorough examination of the whole body of citations used by John of Zredna is ought to be carried out in the future.<sup>10</sup> While Boronkai laid out the groundwork of this more extensive research by identifying a good number of citations in the Epistolary in his critical edition of all the extant works of the humanist bishop

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<sup>9</sup> From now on for the sake of conciseness I will refer to these quotations as ‘classical citations’ or simply ‘citations’, assuming that since the thesis specifically deals with citations taken from ancient works of literature, it is redundant to specify that repeatedly. The focus on the classical citations is justified by the fact that the letters of the Epistolary written to the pope are dominated by classical citations, only a few quotations of the Psalms appear besides them (they are noted in the critical edition of Boronkai: Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 27–168.). Since there are profound differences between classical and biblical citations both in their nature and possible usages, it did not seem fitting to examine them together, however, the Epistolary does not contain enough biblical citation to devote a separate analysis to them, thus concentrating on just the classical citations seemed like the most fitting solution.

<sup>10</sup> Iván Boronkai, “Vitéz János és az ókori klasszikusok” [John Vitéz and the ancient classics], in *Janus Pannonius: Tanulmányok*, [Janus Pannonius: Essays] ed. Tibor Kardos and Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 219–33.

and statesman,<sup>11</sup> he did not carry out the project he previously proposed and nobody picked up the task after his death.

Additional relevance is given to the analysis of the citations of the Epistolary by the recent findings of Farkas Gábor Kiss. He pointed out that a manuscript of Livy kept today in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek<sup>12</sup> contains an outstanding number of notes written by John of Zredna and with the help of these notes one can find previously undetected citations in the Epistolary.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the interdisciplinary potential the Epistolary carries was not properly exploited in past research either: scholars of literary history usually concentrated on the cultural significance of the collection, while historians usually used the historical data its letters contained without taking the textual and narrative framing of the information seriously into account.<sup>14</sup> Hence, I aim to fill a dual gap in the research: on the one hand I will carry out the more comprehensive analysis regarding the citations proposed by Boronkai, while on the other hand I intend to bring the missing interdisciplinary approach into the research regarding the Epistolary.

Nonetheless, examining all the citations of the whole Epistolary as well as their political context would exceed the framework of a master's thesis.<sup>15</sup> Henceforth in the present work I am concentrating on those letters of the Epistolary that were sent to the Papacy. Focusing on the correspondence with the Holy See is justified by the fact that the Papacy was arguably the most important diplomatic partner of Hungary during the years the letters of the Epistolary

<sup>11</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 27–168.

<sup>12</sup> ÖNB Cod. Lad. 3099

<sup>13</sup> Kiss, “Origin Narratives,” 483–490. Regarding the notes of the mentioned manuscript see also: Farkas Gábor Kiss, “A humanista olvasás kezdetei Magyarországon: Zrednai Vitéz János első Livius-kézirata (Bécs, ÖNB, cod. 3099.)” [The beginnings of humanist reading in Hungary: the first Livius manuscript of John Vitéz of Zredna (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 3099)], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 126, no. 6 (2022): 764–81.

<sup>14</sup> For the most important publications of literary historians see note 2. Most of the general historical works regarding the 1440s somehow utilized the information found in the Epistolary. Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389-1526* (Leiden: Brill, 2018) for example heavily uses it. For a more comprehensive list of the historical works concerning the era see note 19.

<sup>15</sup> I am undertaking the task of mapping out all the newly identifiable citations as well as the analysis of the whole body of the citations incorporated into the Epistolary in my PhD research I am carrying out as a doctoral student of Eötvös Loránd University at Hungary.

were written.<sup>16</sup> In these years the advance of the Ottoman Empire on the Balkans was a decisive factor the Kingdom of Hungary had to take into account in its foreign policy. In that framework, the relationship with the Papacy was crucial: the Holy See was the only power which could secure the Europe-wide monetary and military support that Hungary needed to counteract the Ottoman expansion. Additionally, the timeframe of the letters corresponds with the first years of the so-called ‘renaissance papacy’,<sup>17</sup> hence the incorporation of classical citations could have elevated significance in the letters sent to the Holy See.

Methodologically I will heavily rely on the mentioned article of Boronkai. His main *modus operandi* was putting the citation one may read in the Epistolary and the cited passages side by side, compare them and determine how the particular letter incorporated into the Epistolary utilized and transformed the meaning the cited passage carried in the original text.<sup>18</sup> That approach will be employed throughout the whole thesis and it serves as the theoretical base of the comparative table of Appendix 1, which is further described in the introductory text attached to it. However, I also intend to improve on the methodology of Boronkai by complementing his qualitative approach with a more quantitative one. In order to more strongly establish the previously mentioned interdisciplinary approach, I will take into account the changes in the number of citations in particular years and connect it to the political developments of these years. Furthermore, I will endorse the political context in the application of the above-mentioned qualitative approach too: while scrutinizing the usage of the classical citations, I will pay special attention to the possible political functions of particular parallels with ancient stories.

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<sup>16</sup> Péter E. Kovács, “A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt (1437–1490)” [The Holy See, the Turks and Hungary during the era of the Hunyadis (1437–1490)], in *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve* [One thousand years of the relationship between Hungary and the Holy See], ed. István Zombori (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 97–100.

<sup>17</sup> For a more detailed discussion about the renaissance papacy see Chapter 4, subchapter 1

<sup>18</sup> Boronkai, “Vitéz János és az ókori.”



The thesis will undertake the task outlined in the previous paragraphs by first examining the intrinsic characteristics of the Epistolary regarding the usage of particular classical citations as well as groups of classical citations in chapters 1 and 2. Then I will extend the horizon of the text and examine the broader contexts of the citations. Chapter 3 will analyze the immediate political context and possible functions of the citations in regard of the policies of the Holy See as well as the Kingdom of Hungary, while Chapter 4 will elucidate on the cultural context of the citations by examining texts from other fifteenth-century authors that used the same classical citations as the ones John of Zredna incorporated into the letters authored by him. During these endeavors I will establish what were the main methodologies of John of Zredna regarding the application of citations, what were the possible political factors behind using citations in general and applying particular citations in particular texts, and how did the considered citations tie the Epistolary to the humanist movement. That will be accompanied by two auxiliary subchapters of the present introduction. The first one will outline the main topics of the letters considered in the thesis in order to make following the further arguments more accessible as well as to avoid repetition of information about certain events. The second one will elaborate on the corpus of citations that I intend to examine by tackling the problem of distinguishing between actual citations and commonplaces in the material used in the upcoming analysis.

## **Topics in the letters**

Various issues are dealt with in the letters that contain classical citations and were incorporated into the Epistolary, thus are analyzed in the present thesis. Two well-discernable groups may be identified. The letters in the first one regard the major decisive factors in the Hungarian politics in the 1440s: the wars the country fought with the Ottoman Empire and the problems that stemmed from the civil war after the death of King Albert. The letters in the

second one usually concerns minor ecclesiastical issues of the Hungarian church that needed to be discussed with the pope.

## The first group: internal war and ottoman pressure<sup>19</sup>

After the death of king Albert of Habsburg in 1439 a considerable number of the Hungarian magnates decided that the Polish Wladislas of the Jagellonian dynasty should be the successor of the deceased king. However, Albert's wife, Elizabeth gave birth to a boy after the demise of the king, who would thus become the legitimate heir of his father. In order to secure her son's succession on the throne, Elizabeth had the Holy Crown of Hungary stolen with the help of Helena Kottanerin, her lady-in-waiting,<sup>20</sup> and with the backing of some Hungarian oligarchs she had the infant child crowned. The situation swiftly turned into a civil war, which was won by the supporters of Wladislas (Wladislas I in Hungarian historiography). Due to the unfavorable political circumstances Elizabeth fled Hungary and

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<sup>19</sup> The following explanation concerns the basic political history of Hungary in the 1440s. Most of the information explained here are regarded as commonplaces in Hungarian historiography and thus contained in a multitude of books and articles. Henceforth, to avoid redundant and repetitive footnotes, I will provide an overview of the most important publications regarding the issues outlined here, and only cite specific works on places where I paraphrase the opinion of a certain scholar or present new findings that was not yet integrated into the historical canon. The most important overview of the period written in English are the following: Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*; Joseph Held, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 278–297. The series written for the supposed 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Hungarians' arrival to the Carpathian Basin and the well-respected but in a lot of aspects ideologically driven overview of Hungarian history produced between the first and the second world war both cover the period extensively: Fraknoi, *A Hunyadiak*, 9–112; Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian history], vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1936), II. 412–463. Another overview was produced during the 1950s from an overbearing Marxist point of view which was in accordance with the official cultural politics of the Stalinist Hungarian government at the time: Lajos Elekes, *Hunyadi* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1952). More recently the most valuable overview aimed at a scholarly audience was the book written by Tamás Pálosfalvi, already cited here. However, several volumes were written in Hungarian, which were rather published for a more general audience, but nevertheless give a very good overview of the era and are often used in scholarly texts: Zsuzsa Teke, *Hunyadi János és kora* [John Hunyadi and his era] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980); István Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala: Magyarország története 1440-1541* [The dawn of modernity: The history of Hungary 1440–1541] (Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2003). The highly polemical article of Tamás Pálosfalvi about the main characteristics of Hungarian politics during these years is one of the most recent publications regarding this era: Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Monarchia vagy rendi állam? Gondolatok a késő középkori magyar állam jellegéről" [Monarchy or the rule of the Estates? Thoughts about the characteristics of the late medieval Hungarian state], *Századok* 154, no. 1 (2020): 135–82.

<sup>20</sup> About the significance and history of the Holy Crown see János M. Bak and Géza Pálffy, *Crown and Coronation in Hungary 1000–1916 A.D.* (Budapest: Research Centre for Humanities–Hungarian National Museum, 2020).

sought refuge at Frederick III, King of the Romans. However, in 1444, at the battle of Varna, the young king was slayed by the Ottoman forces. As Wladislas did not have an offspring, Elisabeth's previously crowned son, Ladislaus (Ladislaus V in Hungary) became the obvious heir of the throne.

Nevertheless, Ladislaus was still in the custody of Frederick III, who refused to set him free and let him ascend to the throne until 1452. An interim solution was made for this period by electing first a council of seven captains, then a single governor to oversee the Kingdom. Among the texts considered in the thesis, letter 69 is strongly connected to these issues: it was written in 1450 in the name of John Hunyadi and the royal council of Hungary as a complaint against Frederick III to the pope, because the Roman king still did not renounce his forced guardianship over Ladislaus V and also disturbed the peace of Hungary with small-scale military operations in the borderlands.<sup>21</sup>

The key figure during the events outlined previously was the mentioned John Hunyadi, a Hungarian noble of Wallachian origin, who became one of the most powerful magnates of the Kingdom in these years, partially thanks to his merits as a military leader that he showcased during the Ottoman-Hungarian wars. He was one of the most influential politicians during the reign of Wladislas, he served as one of the seven captains, and later became the governor of Hungary, thus essentially the leader of the country until the return of Ladislaus V. As it was already mentioned, John of Zredna, the author of the letter collection examined in the present thesis was his close associate, which greatly helped the ambitious cleric to advance his career.

The Ottoman expansion on the Balkans played a crucial role in the politics of Hunyadi as a governor. He had a rather unique strategic approach: he believed that the Ottomans could

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<sup>21</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 142–146.

only be defeated if a grand-scale European army attacked them on their own territories. He had a fair amount of success with that approach in 1443; however, the troops led by him were horribly defeated at the battle of Varna in 1444. Nevertheless, Hunyadi still believed that his concept could yield success after the battle, so he prepared another attack during his governorship. Nonetheless, the campaign was an absolute failure, the troops of Hunyadi lost the decisive battle at Kosovo Polje, the second under that name, fought between 16 and 18 October 1448.

Several letters written to the pope and incorporated into the Epistolary concern these events. Letter 3 was written in 1445 in the name of Hunyadi and it informs Pope Eugene IV about the lost battle of Varna as well as encourages him to keep on supporting the war against the Ottomans.<sup>22</sup> Letters 35, 36 and 37 were written as a part of the preparation for the campaign that ended at Kosovo Polje: their goal was to convince Pope Nicholas V to back up the attack in spite of the Papacy's opinion according to which Hunyadi should have postponed the campaign by a year.<sup>23</sup> Finally, letter 45 was written in 1449 after the defeat at Kosovo Polje. It tries to control the damage the military failure had done to the reputation of Hunyadi, and aims convince the pope to keep on supporting him.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 43–46.

<sup>23</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 87–95.

<sup>24</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 104–106.

## The second group: ecclesiastical matters

### *The Archbishopric of Kalocsa*<sup>25</sup>

In 1448 Hunyadi wanted to appoint Mikołaj Lasocki, his emissary at the papal Curia as the archbishop of Kalocsa, the seat of the second archdiocese in Hungary, founded by King Stephen I around 1009, a few years after the first one in Esztergom. However, Lasocki declined the offer and proposed that they switch with Matthias of Łabiszyn, bishop of Transylvania: he would become the bishop of Transylvania himself and his Matthias would get Kalocsa. While arrangements were made to realize this, Lasocki renounced the whole deal and refused to become a bishop in Hungary at all, as he got another bishopric in his native land, Poland. Hunyadi wanted to solve the situation by filling the gap Lasocki left in the system with the bishop of Vác, Peter Agmánd, whose previous seat he wanted to give to a canon of Oradea, Vincent Szilasi. Nonetheless, another problem emerged, as bishop Matthias did not want to go to Kalocsa, Hence Péter Agmánd, the bishop of Vác was transferred to Kalocsa, and Vincent Szilasi became the new bishop of Vác while Matthias stayed at his seat in Transylvania. Letter 53 records this last stage and asks the pope to confirm it in 1450.<sup>26</sup>

### *The Diocese of Zagreb*<sup>27</sup>

Another diocese that was in the middle of controversies and thus appeared in the letters examined here was the bishopric of Zagreb, the diocese serving the province of medieval Slavonia. Demetrius Čupor was installed as the bishop of the diocese in 1444, however the

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the issues with Kalocsa see Held, *Hunyadi*, 126–127; Matić, *Bishop John Vitez*, 40–41; Fraknói, *A Hunyadiak*, 108–109; István Katona: *A kalocsai érseki egyház története*, [The history of the archbishopric of Kalocsa], trans. József Takács (Kalocsa: Kalocsai Múzeumbarátok Köre, 2001), 232–238; Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-székkal* [The ecclesiastical and political connections of Hungary to the Holy See] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), 77–79; Menyhért Érdújhelyi, *A kalocsai érsekség a renaissance-korban* [The archbishopric of Kalocsa during the renaissance era] (Zenta: Kovácsévics Ottó, 1899), 17–24; E. Kovács, “A Szentszék,” 103–104.

<sup>26</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 115–117.

<sup>27</sup> About the matters presented above see: Matić, *Bishop John Vitez*, 78–79; Fraknói, *A Hunyadiak*, 108; Fraknói: *Magyarország egyházi*, 76–77; E. Kovács, “A Szentszék,” 103.

immensely powerful Celje (Cilli) family got the bishopric under their own influence, and installed Benedict of Zvolen as its head. After Demetrius fled his diocese, he sought refuge at Oradea, at the court of John of Zredna. As Hunyadi was a sworn enemy of the Celje family, while John had personal ties to Demetrius, they tried to use their influence to help Demetrius in this dire situation. They managed to convince the pope to start an investigation regarding these matters which was led by John of Zredna himself. Letter 72, written in 1450 is the product of this investigation: it states that the diocese is under lay influence and Demetrius would be a much more fitting bishop than Benedict. Letter 73 is also strongly connected to this issue: it was written in the name of Hunyadi in 1451 and it states that the governor would also be happy if Demetrius could get back his bishopric.<sup>28</sup>

### *Dealings with Dömös*<sup>29</sup>

Letter 60 is connected to a debate between Hungary and the Papacy regarding the deserted provostry of Dömös. The pope gave the provostry to Valentine of Kapos, a Pauline monk and papal chaplain in order to establish a new monastery. However, the provostry was originally founded by the Hungarian kings of the Árpád-dynasty in the eleventh century, thus its patronage belonged to the king of Hungary.<sup>30</sup> With the mentioned letter, written in 1450 the Hungarian Estates officially filed a complaint as the pope disregarded the rights of the Hungarian state regarding the provostry.

<sup>28</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 149–154.

<sup>29</sup> The following publications explain the situation of Dömös: Held, *Hunyadi*, 141–143; Fraknói, *A Hunyadiak*, 109–111; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 79–85.

<sup>30</sup> Regarding the early history of the provostry see: Gábor Thoroczkay, “A dömösi prépostság története az alapítástól I. Károly uralkodásának végéig” [The history of the provostry at Dömös from its foundation to the reign of Charles I], *Fons* 19, no. 4 (2012): 409–433.

## *The jubilee of 1450*<sup>31</sup>

Governor Hunyadi developed a rather unique idea of acquiring income in 1450: he asked the pope to grant to the visitors of the shrines of Hungarian holy rulers, Saint Stephen (buried in Székesfehérvár) and Saint Ladislaus (entombed in Oradea) the same kind of indulgence that those received who travelled to Rome during the jubilee of the same year. The income these pilgrimages generated would have supported the warfare against the Ottoman Empire in the plans of Hunyadi. Letter 52 basically encapsulates this request.<sup>32</sup> While the pope granted this privilege, it was originally applicable only to the pilgrimages of the elite. However, Hunyadi and the royal council petitioned to allow this for persons of lesser social standing also, and the pope indeed changed his original decision accordingly. Letters 62 and 63 are containing these petitions.<sup>33</sup>

## *The Imprisonment of an Emissary*

Letter 71 is connected to the imprisonment of a certain Nicolaus de Wagio, a Florentine man who was sent as an emissary by John Hunyadi to Rome, but was arrested due to his personal debts. The letter itself is a complaint about the imprisonment of Nicolaus and the disregard towards his special status as an emissary.<sup>34</sup> There is a consensus among historians in Hungary that this Nicolaus was in fact Niccoló di Vaggio Giuseppi, a well-respected Italian merchant living in Hungary. On the turn of the 1420s and the 1430s he was doing business in Cracow, while after his imprisonment by the pope discussed in the mentioned letter, in the 1450s, he managed mint and salt chambers in Hungary, mainly in Transylvania.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> About the jubilee in general see: Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 181–184. Regarding its specificities in Hungary see: Held, *Hunyadi*, 140; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 72–74.

<sup>32</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 113–114.

<sup>33</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 131–135.

<sup>34</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 146–148.

<sup>35</sup> About Niccoló see István Draskóczy, “Olaszok a 15. századi Erdélyben” [Italians in Transylvania in the 15<sup>th</sup> century], in *Scripta manent. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 60. életévét betöltött Gerics József professzor tiszteletére*

## Synoptic table of the topics

In order to make it easier for the reader to refer back to the topic of each letter throughout the thesis the following table summarizes the issues presented above in a concise and easily searchable manner:

### *1 The Topics of Particular Letters sent to the Pope Incorporated into the Epistolary*

| <b>Number of the Letter</b> | <b>Main Topic</b>   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 3                           | The events and aftermath of the battle of Varna.                                      |
| 35, 36, 37                  | Preparation for the battle of Kosovo Polje, trying to secure the support of the pope. |
| 45                          | The aftermath of the battle of Kosovo Polje   |
| 52                          | John Hunyadi requests absentee indulgence for Hungarians.                             |
| 53                          | The issues regarding the archbishopric of Kalocsa.                                    |
| 60                          | The feud between the Papacy and Hungary regarding the fate of the abbey of Dömös.     |
| 62, 63                      | Petition to permit the absentee indulgence for persons of lesser social standing.     |

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[Scripta manent. Celebratory essays for the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of Professor József Gerics], ed. István Draskóczy (Budapest: ELTE, 1994), 128–129; Krisztina Arany, “Firenzei kereskedők, bankárok és hivatalviselők Magyarországon” (1370–1450)” [Florentine merchants, bankers and officers in Hungary (1370–1450)], *Fons* 14, no. 3 (2007): 510., Krisztina Arany, *Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century: A Prosopographic Study of Their Economic and Social Strategies* (Kiel: Solivagus-Verlag, 2020), 272.



|    |   |
|----|---|
| 69 | Complaint filed against Frederick III, King of the Romans.                                      |
| 71 | The imprisonment of John Hunyadi's emissary, Nicolaus de Wagio in Rome.                         |
| 72 | The results of the investigation carried out by John of Zredna regarding the diocese of Zagreb. |
| 73 | John Hunyadi is backing Demetrius Čupor in his claim for the diocese of Zagreb.                 |

## Citations or commonplaces?

After the overview of the historical context of the letters presented above, I would also like to reflect on some methodological concerns, before beginning the analysis of the citations. Most of the citations analyzed in the present thesis have been identified by Iván Boronkai in the already introduced critical edition of the extant works produced by John of Zredna.<sup>36</sup> One additional classical citation was found by Farkas Gábor Kiss in 2019 using the Livy codex mentioned earlier.<sup>37</sup> I was also able to identify additional classical citations with the help of the said manuscript.<sup>38</sup> These citations form the basis of the present thesis. Nevertheless, when part of a much earlier and widely read text is incorporated into another text there is always some uncertainty whether the particular passage is an actual direct citation or just a commonplace used in multiple different texts. This is especially important in the case of the present analysis, as an intertextual connection between the cited text and the letter authored by John of Zredna cannot be established if the particular passage was only a commonplace,

<sup>36</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 27–168.

<sup>37</sup> See letter 69 citation number 3 in Appendix 1.

<sup>38</sup> See letter 17 citations number 22 and 23 in Appendix 1. Generally, I took a phrase into consideration as a possible citation if at least two words are taken from the classical texts. In the case of phrases where only two words correspond with the classical text, I only considered it if no other words are inserted between the two words that correspond with the classical work. In the case of phrases that consists of three or more words (including conjunctives) I allow other words to be inserted within. That principle is applied to both the places cited by Boronkai and the ones I identified.

hence it should not be considered here. In order to tackle this problem, I scrutinized all the citations found in the critical edition, trying to establish if they became commonplaces, using the vast database of Library of Latin Texts<sup>39</sup> as well as other editions<sup>40</sup> of texts written by Cicero and Saint Jerome.<sup>41</sup> I was able to find ten passages that were noted by Boronkai as citations, but should be regarded as commonplaces, because they are either commonly used in other texts or were described as proverbs by the original text itself or by the notes Paul Ivanich wrote to the Epistolary. The following table contains these citations along with the reason of classifying them as commonplaces:

*2 Citations of the Epistolary that should be Considered as Commonplaces*

| <b>The citation according to Boronkai<br/>(marked in italics):</b>  | <b>The cited<br/>place<br/>according to<br/>Boronkai</b> | <b>The reason behind<br/>considering it a<br/>commonplace</b>   |
|---|--|---|
| „ <i>Communem casum communi voto<br/>relevandum etsi persuadere apud<br/>sanctitatem vestram locum non<br/>habuerim, litteris tamen supplex et bene<br/>fidens nuper admonui, simul paucis<br/>expedivi ea vice, quid quantumve<br/>senserim de conflictu novissimo, in quo</i> | CIC. <i>Q. fr.</i><br>1.4.4                              | Incorporated into multiple<br>other texts: OV. <i>Met.</i> 13.199,<br>CIC. <i>Q. Rosc.</i> 124.7, <i>Ver.</i><br>2.4.144.1, <i>Caec.</i> 103.3, <i>Lig.</i><br>20.1, <i>Att.</i> 2.15.4.2, <i>Liv.</i><br>34.23.5.3, SUET. <i>Gal.</i> 10.3.6,<br>Iustinianus: <i>Digesta</i> 3.3.8.2.3 |

<sup>39</sup> Tim Denecker, ed., “Library of Latin Texts,” BREPOLiS, last modified July 26, 2022, <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx>

<sup>40</sup> J.-P. Migne, ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Opera Omnia* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1845–1846), Marcus Tullius Cicero, “Pro Milone.” PHI Latin Texts, accessed 1 May, 2023, <https://latin.packhum.org/loc/474/31/0#0>

<sup>41</sup> In the case of the citations identified by Farkas Gábor Kiss and myself such analysis did not seem to be necessary as the notes in the ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099 hint at John of Zredna directly citing them from the original.

|  |                                     |   |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| fortunam magis quam vires nobis interruptas sustulimus.” <sup>42</sup>   |                                     | és 49.14.18.7.1   |
| „Multi etenim circumvicini principes — puta utriusque Wolachie, item de Bulgaria nonnulli, ceterum de Albania quamplures ac de Constantinopoli — plurima undiquaque armorum pollicebantur subsidia, invitabantque nos <i>pennatis — ut aiunt — advolare pedibus</i> : cetera omnia itidem provisa esse.” <sup>43</sup> | Hieronymus:<br><i>Epistulae</i> 4.1 | Saint Jerome mentions it as a proverb.  |
| „Scio, pater, quid de me alibi agitur; non magno mihi pretio venit —, amicos pocius perditurum me fortasse perdoleo. Verum committo divine per omnia voluntati, feram ut potero, quia iam <i>alea iacta est</i> .” <sup>44</sup>   | SUET. <i>Jul.</i><br>33.1.1         | Paul Ivanich marks it as a proverb <sup>45</sup>  |
| „Quidam subditus ducatus Austrie, Orberger dictus, <i>in societatem fortunarum</i> suarum plurimos — ut audivimus — complices coadunans,   | LIV. 1.9.14                         | It was used in the Digesta of Justinian, which hints at the phrase being widely used — see: Iustinianus: <i>Digesta</i> |

<sup>42</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 43.

<sup>43</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 43.

<sup>44</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 61.

<sup>45</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 61.

|   |                      |   |
|---|----------------------|---|
| obseptum insultibus tenet iter, isque adversus obvios plus animi gerens quam fidei, eque sacra ut profana spoliatur, gravat et predatur.” <sup>46</sup>   |                      | 17.2.73.pr.1 and 17.2.73.pr.4.  |
| „Iam supra sexaginta numeramus annos, quibus pene continuis furiam illam facemque bellorum sustulimus, in privatam curam, in privata quoque unius gentis arma conversam. Stetimus utcumque multis cladibus, bellis, funeribus exhausti, doloribus affecti, <i>occisione occisi</i> .” <sup>47</sup> | Liv. 28.43.10        | One may find it in Livy in 9 different places (2.51.9, 3.10.11, 4.58.9, 9.38.3, 9.44.12, 10.39.13, 22.54.7, 28.43.10, 30.32.6), and other authors also used it (Cic. <i>Phil.</i> 14.36. Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 15.4.7. Gel. 5.17.2). |
| „Quoniam hoc casu recte quidem vis preire ius videretur, et non boni exempli esset, si regni Hungarie <i>leges cogerentur inter ipsa vestra arma silere</i> etc.” <sup>48</sup>   | Cic. <i>Mil.</i> 11  | It was originally written by Cicero, but turned into a commonplace used even today. For example, Saint Jerome also used it in one of his letters. (Epistulae 126)   |
| „ <i>Ocio</i> paceque <i>frui</i> , beatissime pater, nobis semper in voto fuit; verumtamen   | Cic. <i>Off.</i> 3.3 | It was used by numerous other authors: Liv. 2.39.11. Cic. <i>de</i>   |

<sup>46</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 77.

<sup>47</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>48</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 111.

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <p>illo ocio, quod patrie nostre verum ocium parere posset!”<sup>49</sup></p> |  | <p><i>Orat.</i> 1.2. és 2.22. <i>Cic. Rep.</i> 1.7. M. Manlius: <i>Astronomica</i> 5.119. <i>PLIN. Ep.</i> 4.24.3. és 7.7.2. Ambrosius: <i>Epistulae</i> 14.99. Rufinus: <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> 11.9. Hieronymus: <i>Epistulae</i> 64.54.8. <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> 12.1.75. Ammianus Marcellinus: <i>Rerum gestarum libri</i> 31.7.5. Beda Venerabilis: <i>In cantica canticorum</i> 1.1. Berno Augiensis abbas: <i>De observatione ieunii quatuor temporum</i> 1. Johannes Gerson: <i>Epistulae</i> 52. Johannes Gerson: <i>Opera spiritualia et pastoralia</i> 418.2.11.1. Quillelmus de Tyro: <i>Chronicon</i> 10.19. Petrus Damiani: <i>Epistulae</i> 4.165. Rodulfus Trudonensis: <i>Gesta abbatum Trudonsium</i> 1.11.</p> |
|---|--|--|

<sup>49</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 105. While here a word is inserted into a two-word citation, it seemed appropriate to take the phrase into consideration due to the closeness in the meaning of *otium* and *pax*. However, as it is shown above, *ocio frui* is clearly a widely used commonplace.

|   |                                    |   |
|---|------------------------------------|---|
|   |                                    | Saxo Grammaticus: <i>Gesta Danorum</i> 5.15.3.  |
| „Et primum te in formabis de presenti statu ecclesie Zagrabiensis temporali et spirituali, ac de preterito tempore, quo dominus Benedictus fuit promotus, ac de sciencia, vita et moribus ipsius — id elicere et dicere possum in primis, quod presens status ipsius ecclesie temporalis (uti prefatus sum) prophano regimini subiectus premitur ac debilis est, ita ut si ad priorem statum illum — in quo ego quoque ante certa tempora versatus sum — comparatus fuerit, videbitur profecto non parum <i>mutatus faciem</i> .” <sup>50</sup> | VERG. <i>Aen.</i> 1.658            | This is the most widely used commonplace from the ones mentioned here. Only a few of the most important texts which use it: PROP. 1.2. OV. <i>Ep.</i> 16.289, <i>Met.</i> 11.659 és 14.549. SEN. <i>Dial.</i> 3.13. TAC. <i>Ann.</i> 14.10.3. |
| „Sed certe, quia cum veteranis bancariis novo doctori manus conserenda est, vide ne forte hii (quod olim de lassis bobus dicitur) <i>forcius figant pedem</i> !”  | Hieronymus: <i>Epistulae</i> 102.2 | Saint Jerome mentions it as a proverb.  |
| „ <i>Iniecistis certe scrupulum</i> — sed an mihi vel vobis: vos videritis!”  | TER. <i>Ad.</i> 228                | A multitude of works used it: CIC. <i>Clu.</i> 76. SUET. <i>Cl.</i> 37.1. APUL. <i>Apol.</i> 77. <i>Met.</i> 1.11.  |

<sup>50</sup> Boronkai, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 150.

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | Augustinus: <i>De ordine</i> 1.8.<br>Hieronymus: <i>Epistulae</i><br>84.55.7. Iulius Valerius<br>Alexander Polemius: <i>Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo graeco</i><br>1.5. Dionysius Exiguus: <i>Praefatio ad Felicianum et Pastorem</i> 27. Cassiodorus: <i>Expositio psalmorum</i> 77.783.<br>Cassiodori discipulus – <i>Commentaria in epistulas sancti Pauli Ad Thessalonicenses</i> I 3.642.32.<br>Johannes Gerson: <i>Opera doctrinalia</i> 446.173.36. |
|--|--|---|

The citations mentioned in the table above are therefore not considered in the present thesis.

All the citations that were not identified as commonplaces here and thus considered in the present thesis are incorporated into the comparative table of Appendix 1. From now on I will cite all the quotations by their number in the said appendix.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, proving that some of the citations of Boronkai are in fact commonplaces does not prove that all the other passages marked by Boronkai as citations are in fact citations. Thus, additional precautionary

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<sup>51</sup> Generally, I am indicating the number of the citation in the footnotes, except when I am referring to a particular group of citation by its members signified with their numbers in the main text of the thesis. In this case at the first mention of the group I am listing its members in brackets for the sake of clarity, then I am indicating the number of the citation in the main text each time it a particular quotation is mentioned again.

measures were taken. I classified all the considered passages into two categories: ‘most probably citations’ and ‘probable citations’ which are further explained in the introductory text attached to Appendix 1.



# 1 *Si fueris Romae, Romano vivito more* – parallels drawn by the citations

In order to comprehensively analyze the possible functions of using particular passages from texts written by ancient authors in the Epistolary, one must first map the parallels built by the citations in order to find the overarching strategy that generally defined the way John of Zredna used his classical citations. The notions Iván Boronkai formulated in his pioneering article mentioned in the Introduction gives us some starting points in this regard. First of all, he underlines that a well applied citation had the ability to give moral validity to the claim it was incorporated into.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, he repeatedly emphasizes that some classical citations John of Zredna employed drew parallels between Hungary and ancient Rome, as well as between John Hunyadi and the great heroes of the ancient past, especially Scipio Africanus.<sup>53</sup>

## **Parallels with the parties of the wars ancient Rome fought**

Based on Boronkai's findings, it would be logical to assume that John of Zredna tried to build a consistent parallel between the Hungarian-Ottoman warfare and the wars the antique Rome fought, in which Hungary and its allies (especially the Papacy) would be likened to the *urbs aeterna*, and the Ottoman Empire to whatever foe Rome antagonized with. If we examine the citations of the Epistolary one by one, we may indeed find several examples that support this argument. The pope as well as John Hunyadi are often associated by the citations with the great men of Roman history, the famous general Iulius Caesar, the subduer of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and even the mythical predecessor of the Roman nation, Aeneas.<sup>54</sup> It is also noteworthy that almost all of these citations are classified as 'most probably citations' in Appendix 1, henceforth we can be quite sure that the parallels they draw were indeed

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<sup>52</sup> Boronkai, "Vitéz János és az ókori," 223.

<sup>53</sup> Boronkai, "Vitéz János és az ókori," 226–227.

<sup>54</sup> See letter 3 citation number 2, letter 35 citation number 1, letter 52 citation number 1, letter 63 citation number 1, letter 37 citation number 17 and letter 62 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

intended. Nonetheless, we may identify several parallels established by citations in the Epistolary between the Kingdom of Hungary as a political entity and the ancient Rome. For example, the perseverance of Hungary in the 1448 war against the Ottoman Empire is related to the persistence of the early republican Rome in its war against the Etruscan city of Veii.<sup>55</sup> The problems of the medieval kingdom were also often linked to the various crises of the Roman state, let it be hunger and famine, military defeat or internal conflicts.<sup>56</sup> Even the representer of the Kingdom, the royal council is linked to Aeneas one time, while the inhabitants of the country are attached to Scipio by a citation.<sup>57</sup>

After taking into consideration these examples one may swiftly conclude: John of Zredna indeed tried to build parallels between the Kingdom of Hungary, the Papacy and ancient Rome through citations. Yet, thorough examination of all the quotations clearly shows that there are an equally abundant number of cases where the citations applied by John of Zredna connect the above-mentioned entities and the individuals representing them to political forces depicted in ancient texts as the enemies of Rome. As it was shown above, Hunyadi and the Kingdom of Hungary were linked to Aeneas, nonetheless the people of Hungary are also connected to the great enemy of the mythical hero, Turnus, the leader of the Rutuli, who opposed Aeneas settling in Italy in the epic of Vergil about the adventures of the mythical hero.<sup>58</sup> Hunyadi and the Kingdom of Hungary are both associated by citations with probably the greatest foe of the Roman state, Hannibal, the famous general of the Second Punic War.<sup>59</sup> Both of these quotations are considered as ‘most probably citations’ in Appendix 1, henceforth their presence cannot even be explained by assuming that John of Zredna maybe used them as commonplaces. Another citation establishes connection between another

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<sup>55</sup> See letter 36 citations number 3, 4 and 5, letter 37 citations number 3 and 4 as well as number 18, 19 and 20 in Appendix 1

<sup>56</sup> See letter 37 citation number 5, 6, 7, 9 and 16 in Appendix 1.

<sup>57</sup> See letter 63 citation number 2 and letter 37 citation number 21 in Appendix 1.

<sup>58</sup> See letter 3 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>59</sup> See letter 36 citation number 2 and letter 37 citation number 11 in Appendix 1.

Carthaginian military leader, Hanno and the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>60</sup> It was demonstrated that Hungary, determined in its fight against the Ottoman Empire, is often linked to Rome also perseverant in its war against Veii, but at the same time there are two citations in the Epistolary that associate Hungary with Veii, the Etruscan opponent of the Roman Republic, which was consistently expanding its territory at the time.<sup>61</sup> These citations are also part of the group ‘most probably citations’ in Appendix 1, moreover, one of them was identified by using a marginal note from the manuscript of Livy owned by John of Zredna himself, hence we have direct proof that John knew its exact context in the *Ab urbe condita*.<sup>62</sup> We may also mention that the Kingdom is sometimes related to ancient political entities that were not among the greatest enemies of Rome but only became a part of the Roman sphere of influence due to the military dominance of the *urbs aeterna*: Hunyadi and Hungary are once linked to Lucania, an ancient political entity that in the past occupied lands in the Southern part of Italy, and once to Locri, a city-state similarly located in Southern Italy, in the region which is today called Calabria.<sup>63</sup>

## Moral parallels

Based on the notions explained above, one may state that likening his political community to ancient Rome was most probably not a main strategy employed by John of Zredna when he cited the classics. While he was keen to liken the pope and Hungary to the glorious antique city and its great heroes, he was not consistent about that: if it fitted his narrative, he was ready to establish connection between Hungary and deadly enemies of the Roman state. Nonetheless, Boronkai also proposed that applying citations could serve as moral validation of claims. Taking this into account, it can be argued that it was not John of Zredna’s main concern to situate Hungary in the ancient wars Rome fought, but rather he wanted to

<sup>60</sup> See letter 37 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>61</sup> See letter 69 citation number 4 and letter 37 citation number 23 in Appendix 1.

<sup>62</sup> See letter 37 citations number 23 in Appendix 1.

<sup>63</sup> See letter 36 citation number 1 and letter 37 citation number 8 in Appendix 1.

showcase the virtues of certain individuals, or the Kingdom of Hungary itself, by linking them to virtuous persons of the past, and during that he paid little attention to whether the connection was made with Rome or one of its enemies. For example, the already mentioned citation that connects Hungary to Turnus may very well be interpreted in that framework, after all Turnus was a distinguished general and strenuous fighter.<sup>64</sup> In this framework there is no issue with once associating John Hunyadi, the dominant political actor of the 1440s in Hungary to Scipio Africanus and connecting the Kingdom of Hungary to Scipio's great Carthaginian enemy, Hannibal at other times: both men were memorable generals and outstanding persons.<sup>65</sup>

While the examples mentioned above certainly point into the direction of a morally motivated usage of the citations, analyzing the entirety of the quotations found in the *Epistolary* shows that it cannot be considered a universal strategy employed by John of Zredna. There are several citations where the connection established by the ancient piece of text inserted into the letter endows no grandeur or prestige to the person or entity that is contemporaneous with John of Zredna. He often likens his political community to the weaker or even submissive party of ancient conflicts described by classical authors. For example in the original Livian context of the already mentioned citation that links John Hunyadi to Lucania, the Italian political entity appears weak, as it is asking Rome for supporting troops against the *Samnites*.<sup>66</sup> Similar notions can be formed about the parallel between Hungary and Locri also mentioned earlier: in the text of Livy the particular passage that is employed in the *Epistolary* is attached to Locri filing a complaint in Rome because of the unjust actions legate Pleminius carried out.<sup>67</sup> Attaching Hungary to Veii may be considered quite similar: while the city was once powerful, the citation used by John of Zredna is originally tied to Rome magnanimously

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<sup>64</sup> See letter 3 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>65</sup> See letter 36 citation number 2 as well as letter 37 citations number 11 and 17 in Appendix 1.

<sup>66</sup> See letter 36 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>67</sup> See letter 37 citation number 8 in Appendix 1.

renouncing the tribute that should have been paid by the Etruscan city as it was weakened by internal conflicts at the time.<sup>68</sup> The state of the *Sabini* also had a great influence in ancient Italy, however in the passage cited by John of Zredna from Livy they appear as inattentive victims as the Romans abducting their daughters.<sup>69</sup> We may even notice that Hungary is connected to the losing party in the Epistolary when it is associated with the great Rome: while expounding the many torments that the Ottomans caused for the Kingdom, John of Zredna employs a citation that ties Hungary to Rome when it was utterly defeated at the battle of Caudium by the *Samnites*.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, we may notice several citations where John of Zredna makes connection between Hungary and actors of ancient stories that are certainly not portrayed in a positive light in the classical texts. Maybe the most powerful example for that appears in a letter John of Zredna wrote in 1450 about the unlawfulness of Frederick III holding Ladislaus, the minor king of Hungary, Bohemia and duke of Austria under his guardianship.<sup>71</sup> One of the citations of this letter connects the royal council of Hungary to the despised, dethroned last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, who was basically unequivocally depicted as a villain in ancient literature.<sup>72</sup> Once again, this cannot be dismissed with assuming that John of Zredna only used the piece of text in question as a commonplace and the parallel is merely a product of chance as the citation in question is considered as ‘most probably citation’ in Appendix 1, hence it is quite probable that the erudite bishop consciously used it. Furthermore, in the same letter John of Zredna establishes a similar connection regarding the mentioned king Ladislaus: based on the notion of truly seizing the power that is granted by kingship he associates the young monarch with the wife of Tarquinius Arruns, who murdered not only her

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<sup>68</sup> See letter 69 citation number 4 in Appendix 1.

<sup>69</sup> See letter 69 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>70</sup> See letter 37 citation number 5 in Appendix 1.

<sup>71</sup> Regarding this issue see pages 7–9.

<sup>72</sup> See letter 69 citation number 3 in Appendix 1.

husband, but also her sister and father in order to obtain the said power.<sup>73</sup> Similarly to the previously mentioned citation that was connected to Tarquinius Superbus, this is also among the ‘most probably citations’, hence the parallel it draws cannot be easily disregarded.

## Parallels based on the similarity of situations

Based on the examples explained above, one is able to deduce that it is not possible to identify the intention to allude to a moral example as the main characteristic in the usage of citations in the *Epistolary*. However, if the focus is shifted from the individuals and entities connected by the citations to the situations themselves that are associated with each other by the citations, a peculiarly consistent trait of them may be recognized. The situations that are described in the letters of the *Epistolary* with the usage of citations are strikingly similar to the situations to which the cited pieces of texts are associated in the original, ancient works of literature. When John of Zredna connects Hungary to Turnus via the already discussed citation from Vergil, there is a clear connection between the situation of Hungary and the situation of Turnus and the Teucri: after a great defeat they have to remember that bad fortune can quickly turn into good.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, in the same letter, a citation from Cicero draws a clear parallel between the role Caesar could play in the situation described by the great orator and the one the pope could play in the case presented in the letters: they both are the only hope for someone and thus can be their sole savior.<sup>75</sup> The third citation in the same letter from the play *Octavia*, once attributed to Seneca can be puzzling at first, but in reality, it is hardly confusing if we look at it through the lenses we used during the previous two observations: Octavia is in great distress when she utters these lines as she is tormented by the wicked Nero, just like Hungary that is tormented by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> See letter 69 citation number 6 in Appendix 1.

<sup>74</sup> See letter 3 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>75</sup> See letter 3 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>76</sup> See letter 3 citation number 3 in Appendix 1.

In letter 35 the parallel between the Ciceronian text and the one authored by John of Zredna is similar to the above-mentioned citation from Cicero in letter 3: “you should bring help for the affected to whom you previously gave the stimulus of hope” (*ferat opem effectui, qui spei stimulos dedit*),<sup>77</sup> states the author quoting a passage where Cicero exhorted Caesar similarly to be the liberator of Ligarius.<sup>78</sup> This mode of using the citations is exceptionally striking in the cases where John of Zredna used pieces of the oration attributed to Appius Claudius in Livy both in letter 36 and letter 37: Hungary had difficulties during its war against the Ottomans and in that situation perseverance became crucial, just like for the Rome of Appius Claudius struggling with its war with Veii.<sup>79</sup> It is similarly apparent in the case of the mentioned citation regarding Lucania: the Italian state asked for the support of Rome, because the military endeavors of a third political force, the *Samnites* forced them into a conflict, correspondingly the Hungary of the fifteenth century also had to ask for support during a military attack that it initiated because it was forced to do so by the Ottomans.<sup>80</sup> We encounter a citation tied to Hannibal in the work of Livy in the same letter, where he is arguing that the attackers have the advantage due to their motivation. In his letter John of Zredna used that quotation to highlight a similar position: he tried to justify the attack that Hunyadi was preparing by arguing that being the attacker has its merits.<sup>81</sup>

A comparable connection is made by John of Zredna with another citation from Livy that is connected to the secretive annihilation of the elites in Gabii, an ancient city near Rome by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of the much-hated king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus: Gabii was in a great danger at the time, just like Hungary at the time when the letter was written.<sup>82</sup> In

<sup>77</sup> John of Zredna: Epistolarium 35.6, my own translation

<sup>78</sup> See letter 35 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>79</sup> See letter 36 citation number 3, 4 and 5 as well as letter 37 citations number 18, 19 and 20 in Appendix 1. For a more detailed analysis of these citations see pages 33–36.

<sup>80</sup> See letter 36 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>81</sup> See letter 36 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>82</sup> See letter 37 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

the same text sent to the pope in the name of John Hunyadi, it is expounded that Hungary fought off the expanding Ottoman Empire alone. John of Zredna used two citations from Livy during that highlighting the heroism of Hungary: just like the Fabii were the sole family that truly fought the war against Veii, Hungary was alone in the face of the Ottoman danger.<sup>83</sup> That Ottoman danger and the harm it caused is accentuated by a citation through which John of Zredna connects the acts of the Ottomans to Hanno's complaint about the harmfulness of Hannibal's actions.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, all the horrors that the inhabitants of Hungary had to endure are connected by the citations to the possible horrors that Romans would have to endure after their defeat at Caudium: once again the core of the parallel is the similarity between the situations, the horrors that stem from military clashes.<sup>85</sup> The parallel between the mentioned horrors of the Ottoman attacks and the crisis of the ancient Rome due to famine and diseases is done in a similar manner: the main connection between the text of John of Zredna and the ancient text is based on the similarity of the situation of Hungary and Rome, that is grave suffering from great catastrophes.<sup>86</sup> Analogous arguments may be formed regarding the parallel between Hungary and Locri: in the book of Livy the life of Locri is disturbed by legate Pleminius just as the life of Hungary was disturbed by the Ottomans.<sup>87</sup>

Hopelessness is the major characteristic that connects the situation of Hungary and the situation of the Roman troops Publius Decius lead during Rome's war against the *Samnites* evoked by another citation.<sup>88</sup> The fate of war prisoners associates the Ottoman conflict and an episode of Livy where Hannibal speaks about prisoners.<sup>89</sup> The hatred Ottomans displayed towards Hungary according to John of Zredna is linked to the hatred that moved the Punic

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<sup>83</sup> See letter 37 citations number 3 and 4 in Appendix 1. For a more detailed analysis of these citations see pages 33–36.

<sup>84</sup> See letter 37 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>85</sup> See letter 37 citation number 5 in Appendix 1.

<sup>86</sup> See letter 37 citations number 6 and 7 in Appendix 1.

<sup>87</sup> See letter 37 citation number 8 in Appendix 1.

<sup>88</sup> See letter 37 citation number 9 in Appendix 1.

<sup>89</sup> See letter 37 citation number 11 in Appendix 1.



Wars forward.<sup>90</sup> The endless nature of mercilessness associates the words of Atreus, exiled son of Pelops and mythical king of Mycenae in the *Thyestes* of Seneca to the Ottomans in the text of John of Zredna.<sup>91</sup> At first it may be puzzling that John of Zredna also cites Vergil's *Georgica*, a text about an imagined countryside, more exactly a part that describes an idyllic scenario not so far from the previously mentioned, quite dark parallels and ties it to the destruction of Hungary. However, a connection of the two situations may also be noticed here based not on similarity, rather on contrast: evoking the mellow picture painted by Vergil may very well highlight the losses Hungary had to endure in the ongoing war by simply pointing out that this kind of peace is now missing from the lands of the Kingdom.<sup>92</sup>

Similar notions may be discovered behind the citations that link the decadence of Rome to the civil war in Hungary: internal conflicts and the disorder that stems from them connects the two situations.<sup>93</sup> The two citations from Livy that are tied to the military endeavors of Scipio incorporated into the same letter probably serve a related purpose: the first one connects Hunyadi's plan of attacking the Ottomans on the Balkans to Scipio's strategy of attacking Hannibal in Africa, while the second one bases its parallel on the thoughts about the deaths of loved ones, once again likening the situations described in the letters of John of Zredna to situations explained in the source material.<sup>94</sup> The alienness of the language imposed by the Ottomans on their Christian subjects connects its description to the part in the *Ab urbe condita* where Livy speaks about the education of Numa Pompilius, the mythical second king of Rome.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, the end of the Hungarian civil war is associated with the

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<sup>90</sup> See letter 37 citation number 12 in Appendix 1.

<sup>91</sup> See letter 37 citation number 13 in Appendix 1.

<sup>92</sup> See letter 37 citation number 14 in Appendix 1.

<sup>93</sup> See letter 37 citation number 16 in Appendix 1.

<sup>94</sup> See letter 37 citations number 17 and 21 in Appendix 1.

<sup>95</sup> See letter 37 citation number 22 in Appendix 1.

Livy passage cited in its description by the simple fact that both the ancient author and John of Zredna describe the conditions after the closure of an armed conflict.<sup>96</sup>

In another letter a quotation of Cicero is tied to the inertias of politics: both Hunyadi and Cicero did what they did because the political situation did not leave any other options for them.<sup>97</sup> Another Cicero quotation associates the role of Caesar in a court proceeding and the role of the pope in the war against the Ottoman Empire: both the Roman general and Nicholas V had every opportunity to aid the ones who were in trouble.<sup>98</sup> Likewise the power to foresee things of great importance ties together the piece of text about the dealings of Hunyadi regarding the archdiocese of Kalocsa and Tarquinius Priscus founding the Iuppiter-temple on the Capitol Hill.<sup>99</sup> Two citations link thankful pieces of text in the Epistolary to episodes of ancient works of literature where one of the protagonists show gratitude to someone: John of Zredna articulated the thankfulness of John Hunyadi towards the pope with the words Aeneas used to thank Dido, mythical queen of Carthage for her help in the epic of Vergil, while John also used a passage from Cicero where the statesman thanks Caesar, when he wrote about the appreciation of the Hungarian royal council towards Nicholas V.<sup>100</sup> A certain feeling of shame connects a part of letter 60 where John of Zredna wrote about the shameful atrocities towards Hungary, to Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, where the Roman historian feels shameful over the state of his homeland.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the feeling of eternal fame and appreciation connects the deeds of Nicholas V to the conversation of Dido and Aeneas in the *Aeneis*.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>96</sup> See letter 37 citation number 23 in Appendix 1.

<sup>97</sup> See letter 45 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>98</sup> See letter 52 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>99</sup> See letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>100</sup> See letter 62 citation number 1 as well as letter 63 citation 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>101</sup> See letter 60 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>102</sup> See letter 63 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

The perplexing parallel between the elite of Hungary and the inattentive *Sabini* already mentioned before can also be deciphered if we look at the similarity of the situation: something fully occupied the attention of both the Hungarian magnates and prelates as well as the *Sabini*, as they both “devoted their minds along with their eyes”<sup>103</sup> to a certain issue.<sup>104</sup> Likewise, the second citation of letter 69, where John of Zredna used a passage that was associated with the prophecy about the forthcoming great achievements of Servius Tullius, the penultimate king of Rome in the book of Livy, is most probably connected to the letter by the fact that the narrator foresaw the bright future of the new Hungarian king, similarly to queen Tanaquil, the wife of the predecessor of Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Priscus.<sup>105</sup> The citation that brings together the royal council of Hungary and Tarquinius Superbus can also be deciphered based on the similarity of the situations: John of Zredna wrote about the possibly shattered hopes of the council using the words with which Livy described the shattered hopes of the exiled Roman king.<sup>106</sup> John of Zredna used several citations when he described the unjust actions of Frederick III towards Hungary. He condemns his actions where he gained benefits from the hardships of Hungary by citing a passage from Livy where Rome did not want to take advantage of the hardships of Veii.<sup>107</sup> He also quotes Livy to liken Frederick keeping Ladislaus V under his guardianship by force to the illegitimate kingship of Tarquinius Superbus who also could only gain power by force.<sup>108</sup>

Seizing power is the base of connecting Ladislaus V to the place in Livy where he writes about the ambitions of Tarquinia, the wife of Tarquinius Arruns.<sup>109</sup> Inefficient legal protection ties together the offenses of Hungary and the story of Lucius Iunius Brutus, the

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<sup>103</sup> For the Latin passages see the place in Appendix 1 cited in the following note. My own translation.

<sup>104</sup> See letter 69 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>105</sup> See letter 69 citation number 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>106</sup> See letter 69 citation number 3 in Appendix 1.

<sup>107</sup> See letter 69 citation number 4 in Appendix 1.

<sup>108</sup> See letter 69 citation number 5 in Appendix 1.

<sup>109</sup> See letter 69 citation number 6 in Appendix 1.

founder of the Roman Republic.<sup>110</sup> In a peculiar parallel drawn by a citation from Cicero, John of Zredna connects the responsibilities of the royal council to the responsibilities of a member of a distinguished family: as Quintus, the brother of Cicero should be wary of making mistakes and thus infringing the interests of his whole family, the royal council should be careful to avoid mistakes and thus causing harm to their community, the Kingdom itself.<sup>111</sup> Hungarian internal conflicts are attached to the times that immediately followed the death of Romulus, the founder of Rome by the fact that both the Hungarian and the Roman elite eventually ceased to carry on in their quarrels in order to secure the stability of the state.<sup>112</sup> The oration attributed to Tullus Hostilius, the fierce third king of Rome in Livy is associated with the Hungarian civil war similarly: as the Romans were weakened by the internal conflicts with the inhabitants of their brother city, Alba Longa, Hungary also could not unlock its full potential due to the dissension of its different parties.<sup>113</sup> A line from one of Terence's comedies was used in a letter about the imprisonment of one of Hunyadi's emissaries: Davus, one of the protagonists of the play will be punished even if the allegations against him are unjust, and the rightfulness of the imprisonment of the said emissary is also dubious according to the text.<sup>114</sup> The words of Sallust previously connected to shamefulness in letter 60 once again fulfills a similar purpose in letter 72: here John of Zredna himself is the sender and assumes that the pope himself feels shame and hatred because of the issues tied to the diocese of Zagreb.<sup>115</sup> The dealings regarding Zagreb are also connected to the *Remedia amoris* of Ovid in another letter: the poem states that long delay can cause severe

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<sup>110</sup> See letter 69 citation number 7 in Appendix 1.

<sup>111</sup> See letter 69 citation number 8 in Appendix 1.

<sup>112</sup> See letter 69 citation number 9 in Appendix 1.

<sup>113</sup> See letter 69 citation number 10 in Appendix 1.

<sup>114</sup> See letter 71 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>115</sup> See letter 72 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

problems with the ill. Similarly, the long going debates about the diocese made the situation around it deeply serious.<sup>116</sup>

To conclude the findings of this chapter, it can be said that the main concern for John of Zredna behind employing citations was most probably connecting issues of his time with episodes of ancient literature based on the similarity between the situations described in the classics and the situations that the letters collected in the Epistolary concern. No consistent overarching strategy applicable to all the citations incorporated into the considered letters can be identified in the association of certain sides of the military conflicts carried out by the ancient Rome and the sides of the Ottoman-Hungarian clashes. Likewise, it seems as if moral stance of protagonists from ancient texts also does not serve as the fundament of the parallels drawn by the citations in all cases. In contrast, apparent connection may be recognized between the issues prevalent in the era of John of Zredna and the affairs of ancient times that are associated to each other by quotations that appear in all the cases considered here. Henceforth, the analysis of the citations and their original contexts in classical texts shows that the backbone of the parallels established by John of Zredna through quoting antique works of literature is not the political stance or general moral characteristics of certain individuals who played a role in the stories told by the classics, but rather the resemblance, or in one case the contrast between certain singular situations.

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<sup>116</sup> See letter 73 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

## 2 *Repetitio est mater studiorum* – recurring stories from the classics in the *Epistolary*

After considering the *Epistolary* as a whole and determining the general tendencies of applying citations in it, now I am diverting my attention to particular groups of citations that often have their own logic of drawing parallels between the issues John of Zredna presented in his letters and the ancient stories the citations evoked. One may identify clusters of citations, sometimes spanning over multiple letters, that associate the same episode of the antique past with the identical or the same kind of events contemporaneous with John of Zredna. Some of these groups consist of multiple different citations taken from the same classical work, some of them incorporate citations of multiple works written by the same author or in one case multiple works of multiple authors.

### **Veii, the Fabii and Appius Claudius**

Probably the most prominent one among these groups is the recurring parallel between Hungary fighting the Ottoman Empire and the Roman Republic fighting the Etruscan city of Veii. The citations that may be considered parts of this group are all in Letter 36 (citations number 3: *ut ad estatem rursus hiis instituendis novus de integro exsudaretur labor*, number 4: *si differretur bellum, animum postea fore* and number 5: *non differremus bellum, sed intra fines mox futurum acciperemus* in Appendix 1) and Letter 37 (citations number 3: *in privatam curam, in privata quoque ... arma conversam*, number 4: *unius gentis*, number 18: *ad perseveranciam stimulat*, number 19: *instare perseveranter, defungique cura* and number 20: *brevis erit res, si uno tempore agetur* in Appendix 1). It should also be mentioned that all of these quotations except citation 18 in letter 37 are considered as ‘most probably citations’ in Appendix 1, thus one can be quite sure that they are indeed citations and not commonplaces. Citations number 3 and 4 in letter 37 are connected to the heroism of the gens Fabia in the *Ab*

*urbe condita*.<sup>117</sup> According to Livy after the decisive victory of Rome over Veii during the consulate of Marcus Fabius and Cnaeus Manlius, the war transformed into a slow-burning struggle with constant guerrilla attacks and small-scale combats.<sup>118</sup> In this situation the impending attack of *Aequi* and the *Volsci* caused major distress for Rome because, if the mentioned people would attack her, she would have to fight a two-front war with both the new aggressor and Veii.<sup>119</sup> The problem was solved with the help of the Fabii, by basically privatizing the war against Veii: the illustrious gens offered to take care of all the onerous tasks connected to the hostility with the Etruscan city all alone, so the Roman administration could concentrate on other enemies.<sup>120</sup> However, the Fabii were not prepared for such a task: the Etruscans ambushed them near the river Cremera and killed all the members of the family, except a teenage boy who managed to escape.<sup>121</sup>

Citations number 18, 19, 20 in letter 37 and citations number 3, 4, 5 in letter 36 are connected to a later episode of the hostility between Rome and Veii in the account of Livy, namely to the role Appius Claudius played in the final defeat of the Etruscan city. After an intermittent rest of arms, the sparring between Rome and Veii became heated once again when Publius Cornelius Cossus, Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Cnaeus Fabius Ambustus and Lucius Valerius Potitius lead Rome as *tribuni militum*.<sup>122</sup> This episode of the hostility between the two cities eventually ended with the total defeat and occupation of Veii.<sup>123</sup> However, Rome had to employ strategies unusual at the time to achieve victory: she continued the siege of Veii during the winter, which was met with the objections of the *tribuni plebis* as they strongly disagreed with keeping the citizens in arms during the cold months.<sup>124</sup> The citations John of

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<sup>117</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>118</sup> LIV. 2.43–47.

<sup>119</sup> LIV. 2.48.

<sup>120</sup> LIV. 2.48.

<sup>121</sup> LIV. 2.50.

<sup>122</sup> LIV. 4.58–61.

<sup>123</sup> LIV. 5.21.

<sup>124</sup> LIV. 5.2.

Zredna used are taken from an oration attributed to Appius Claudius in the *Ab urbe condita*, with which the Roman statesman wanted to convince his people to adhere to their plan and continue the siege despite of the concerns of the *tribuni*.<sup>125</sup>

The repeated application of citations connected to the speech of Appius Claudius in these particular letters are of no secondary importance, as the texts concern the military campaign that led to the battle of Kosovo Polje. As it was already mentioned in the introduction, there was a profound disagreement between John Hunyadi and the Papacy regarding this endeavor: the Pope advised Hunyadi to postpone the attack to the next year, while Hunyadi wanted to launch it as soon as possible and the purpose of letters 36 and 37 was to convince the pope that the offensive was necessary and Hungary could not wait another year to launch it.<sup>126</sup> As parts of these arguments the link created between the military campaign in question and the speech of Appius Claudius probably had a major function as it addresses the concerns of the Pope by alluding to an ancient example. Appius Claudius argued the same thing as Hunyadi: the military endeavor should be carried out even in the disadvantageous colder months, despite of the concerns of some regarding the unusual nature of that strategic decision. The narrative of Livy subsequently proved the stance of Appius Claudius to be right: Veii was once and for all defeated. Henceforth it is quite plausible that John wanted to give extra credibility to the viewpoint of Hunyadi by employing these particular citations: he most probably tried to allude that the outcome of the campaign will show that Hunyadi was right, just like Appius Claudius.

However, the citations connected to the Fabii bring a much darker tone into the narrative. As it is mentioned in Appendix 1, John of Zredna draws parallel between Hungary fighting the Ottomans all alone and the Fabii fighting Veii all alone. Everybody who read the second

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<sup>125</sup> LIV 5.3–6

<sup>126</sup> See pages 8–9 of the Introduction.



book of Livy knew what the fate of the illustrious gens was, hence this connection could hint at a similar destiny for Hungary. The allusions to the story of the Fabii had the ability to serve as a subtle incentive for the Pope to put his concerns aside and support Hunyadi: if the Papacy leaves Hunyadi alone, just like Rome left the Fabii alone, the outcome will be the same. Taking into account the immense importance Hungary had in the anti-Ottoman warfare at the time,<sup>127</sup> this possibility could induce serious anxiety in the Curia.

## The troubles of Rome and Hungary

The allusions to the demise of the Fabii are paired up with another group of citations in letter 37 that draws similar parallels. In this letter John of Zredna repeatedly quotes the third book of the *Ab urbe condita* as well as its *praefatio* and in all cases he uses passages connected to crises Rome had to endure. Two of these citations (citation number 6: *funeribus exhausti* and number 7: *lugubres domos* in Appendix 1) are connected to the account of Livy about the year when Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quinctius held the offices of the consuls. According to the antique historian, this year was quite calm regarding the military conflicts of Rome, however, the city experienced devastating plague and famine.<sup>128</sup> The other two quotations (citations number 15: *nec incomoda nostra, nec remedia pati posse* and number 16: *vires se ipse conficiebant* in Appendix 1) from this letter which may be put into this group are tied to another kind of crisis in the *Ab urbe condita*. In the cited part of the *praefatio* Livy states the aims of his work: he wanted to present the glorious past of Rome as well as the process through which his city dived into decadence and decay in order to present how the *urbs aeterna* reached its desperate state one could witness during the time of Livy, which will eventually lead to utter and total destruction in the opinion of the author.<sup>129</sup> The exact citations John used are tightly connected to this last notion: as it is explained in Appendix 1,

<sup>127</sup> Péter E. Kovács, "A Szentszék," 100.

<sup>128</sup> LIV. 3.32.

<sup>129</sup> LIV. 1.praef.

they are tied to the arguments that Rome brought its dire fate on itself and there is basically no hope to find remedy for the problems.<sup>130</sup>

As it was already mentioned in the previous subchapter as well as in the introduction, letter 37 is connected to the papal support of the campaign Hunyadi launched in 1448 against the Ottoman Empire.<sup>131</sup> It is shown in Appendix 1 that the citations mentioned above are connected to two topics in the letter: citations number 6 and 7 are associated with the destruction the Turkish raids caused in Hungary, while citations number 15 and 16 are connected to the harm the internal wars led to during the years preceding 1448.<sup>132</sup> With that kept in mind the differences between the crises the citations bring up can be more easily understood: the natural disasters of plague and famine are associated with the external threat and harm the Ottomans caused, while the decadence of Rome induced by its own people is connected to the civil war of Hungary also brought forth by its own inhabitants. Attention should also be paid to the fact that the citations from the *praefatio* are categorized as ‘most probably citations’ in Appendix 1, while the quotations from book three are only ‘probable citations’, thus the validity of the parallels one may reconstruct based on citations number 15 and 16 are surer than the one based on citations number 6 and 7.<sup>133</sup>

Nonetheless, letter 37 is not the only one among the missives sent to the Papacy that contain citations connected to the deviance of ancient Rome: letters 60 and 72 also allude to that.<sup>134</sup> However, the cited author is different: in both of these letters John of Zredna employs the same passage (*piget tedetque*) from the work of Sallust about the war Rome fought with the Numidian king Jugurtha.<sup>135</sup> The two words incorporated both into letter 60 and letter 72 is

<sup>130</sup> See letter 37 citations number 15 and 16 in Appendix 1.

<sup>131</sup> See pages 8–9 of the Introduction.

<sup>132</sup> See letter 37 citations number 6, 7, 15 and 16 in Appendix 1.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> See letter 60 citation number 1, and letter 72 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

connected to the opinion of the author about the state of politics in Rome during his time. They are part of the introduction of the text, in which Sallust explains that in his opinion not fortune, but vices and virtues govern history, intellectual work is superior to material riches, because they last forever, and that writing history is the most useful among all kinds of intellectual work, because history can inspire great achievements.<sup>136</sup> At the end of chapter 4 these ideas turn into a lament about politicians being crooked and aggressive in the times when the book was written.<sup>137</sup> This is closed by the part John of Zredna quoted which states that Sallust is quite bitter about the despicable characteristics he mentioned previously.<sup>138</sup>

Both letters that used the words of Sallust concern ecclesiastical matters of the Kingdom of Hungary. Letter 60 is connected to the debate over the fate of the abbey at Dömös, while letter 72 is connected to the protracted issues of the bishopric of Zagreb.<sup>139</sup> Here the shameful state of Rome gains a new façade of meaning in view of the parallels compared to its uses in letter 37: while previously the devastation of Rome was connected to the possible total demise of Hungary as a whole, here it is confined to more particular issues. The matters letter 72 touches upon are only meaningful in connection with the diocese of Zagreb. In contrast, the letter regarding Dömös uses general notions about the rights of the kings of Hungary regarding the church of the country,<sup>140</sup> nonetheless in the end the whole debate is about a particular benefice of the Kingdom.

Henceforth it may be said in conclusion that the parallel between the devastation of Rome and the troubles of Hungary could have many subtexts: it could allude to the harms caused for the whole country by the external force of the Ottoman army, or to the great danger internal wars could mean to the kingdom, as well as to the damage that quarrels could cause

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<sup>136</sup> SALL. *Iug.* 1–4.

<sup>137</sup> SALL, *Iug.* 4.

<sup>138</sup> SALL *Iug.* 4.

<sup>139</sup> For a detailed overview of these issues see the Introduction of the present thesis, pages 10–11.

<sup>140</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 149–153.

in the cases of particular ecclesiastical matters. However, the most meaningful connection in these cases is the fact that John of Zredna repeatedly linked troubles the Kingdom of Hungary and some of its institutions had to endure to troubles that the glorious ancient Rome experienced. At this point it should also be highlighted that all these citations were incorporated into letters sent to Pope Nicholas V.<sup>141</sup> Taking the cultural policies of Nicholas into account this could hint to the application of these quotations being a part of a well thought out strategy, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

### ***Pius Aeneas, Queen Dido and the *clementia Caesaris****

The last two groups taken into account in the present chapter are fundamentally connected, as both of them concern the policies and attitudes of the Papacy towards requests made by Hungary. Both groups only contain passages that were categorized as ‘most probably citations’ in Appendix 1.<sup>142</sup> The first group consists of citation number 1 (*persolvere dignas non opis est nostre*) in letter 62 and citation number 2 (*semper honos nomenque suum laudesque manebunt*) in letter 63, both are passages connected to the first meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the *Aeneis*. In the very beginning of the epic Aeneas and his fellow Trojans have to endure a storm induced by Hera while they are fleeing their home on the sea, and they end up with heavily damaged ships on the shores of Carthage.<sup>143</sup> Following these unfortunate events Aeneas asks for help from the queen of the city, Dido while uttering the words John of Zredna quoted: he states that he would be immensely grateful and Dido would be forever remembered for her generousness if she helped him and his men.<sup>144</sup> After that Dido indeed gave a helping hand to the Trojans: she led them to her palace and threw a generous feast.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 90, 125, 153.

<sup>142</sup> See letter 35 citation number 1, letter 52 citation number 1, letter 62 citation number 1, letter 63 citations number 1 and 2 in Appendix 1.

<sup>143</sup> VERG. *Aen.* 1.33–179.

<sup>144</sup> VERG, *Aen.* 1.578–612

<sup>145</sup> VERG. *Aen.* 1.613–642

As it was already pointed out in the Introduction, these letters are both connected to the request of Hunyadi and the royal council to the pope to give permission to the lesser folks of Hungary to participate in the jubilee of 1450 without actually travelling to Rome.<sup>146</sup> With that kept in mind, the citations seem to give an opportunity to the pope to occupy the role of the savior, which was played by Dido in the *Aeneis*. It is also noteworthy that the epithet of *Aeneas* in the epic was *pious*:<sup>147</sup> just like Dido could save the pious *Aeneas*, the pope could save the soul of the pious people living in Hungary. However, it should not be forgot that *Dido* did not act based only on her own conscience: *Iuppiter* previously arranged that *Aeneas* would get help from the queen and it was his godly mother, *Venus* who made him find *Dido*.<sup>148</sup> Hence it was actually Dido's fate to assist the Trojan hero. Inferred from that it may be proposed that these allusions were intended to form another indirect message to Nicholas V besides giving him the opportunity to appear as the savior of Hungarians: he was actually bound by fate to satisfy the request.

Similar function could be assigned to the other group of citations examined here, which consists of passages taken from two speeches of Cicero.<sup>149</sup> Just like in the case of the previously analyzed group, all of the citations considered here are in the category of 'most probably citation' in Appendix 1.<sup>150</sup> Both of the cited orations were addressed to Iulius Caesar.<sup>151</sup> Two of the quotations (letter 35 citation number 1: *ferat opem effectui, qui spei stimulos dedit* and letter 52 citation number 1: *Nichil enim habet (ut veteribus illis verbis coutar) apostolica auctoritas maius, quam ut possit, nec debitum melius, quam ut velit salvare quam plurimos.* in Appendix 1) are from a speech defending *Quintus Ligarius*, and

<sup>146</sup> See pages 10–11 of the Introduction.

<sup>147</sup> It is basically a commonplace in classical philology that Aeneas is supposed to be the 'pious' hero. For a good overview about the epithet see Nicholas Moseley, "Pius Aeneas," *The Classical Journal* 20, no. 7 (1925): 387–388.

<sup>148</sup> VERG. *Aen.* 1.297–304 and 1.387–389.

<sup>149</sup> See letter 35 citation number 1, letter 52 citation number 2 and letter 63 citation number 1.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> CIC. *Lig.* and CIC. *Marc.*

one from an oration said in favor of *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* (letter 63 citation number 1: *magnas gracias beatitudini vestre agimus maioresque habemus* in Appendix 1). *Ligarius* was a Roman legate in Africa during the civil war and an ally of the Pompeian party, hence an enemy of Caesar. In the particular case the speech is concerned with he was accused by *Quintus Aelius Tubero*, whose father *Ligarius* prevented from taking his position as the governor of Africa.<sup>152</sup> In the defense, Cicero greatly relied on a definitive policy of Caesar, the *clementia Caesaris*, which basically meant that Caesar ‘forgave’ his enemies after his victories rather than exacting revenge on them.<sup>153</sup> The cited passages are tightly connected to that: both of them encourage *Caesar* to be merciful towards *Ligarius*.<sup>154</sup> The quotation taken from the speech regarding *Marcellus* is quite similar, although the contents of it differs from the contents of the *Pro Ligario* to some extent. The *Pro Marcello* is not a defense speech: *Marcellus* was also an official of the Roman state – namely a consul – and he also opposed Caesar, most notably regarding him applying for consulate without travelling back to Rome from *Gallia*. However, he was not accused with anything, although he retreated from Rome after the battle of Pharsalus, where Caesar defeated the forces of Pompey. The occasion to which the oration was written is that Caesar eventually ‘forgave’ *Marcellus*, thus he could safely return to Rome.<sup>155</sup> The cited passage once again concerns the *clementia* shown by Caesar: Cicero voices his gratitude towards Caesar for being merciful with *Marcellus*.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Regarding this historical data see Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 836.

<sup>153</sup> The *clementia Caesaris* is an immensely important aspect of politics of the Roman civil war, thus it gained considerable attention from antique scholars around the world. Some important publications regarding the matter: Giusto Picone, ed., *Clementia Caesaris. Modelli etici, parenesi e retorica dell’esilio* (Palermo: Palumbo, 2008); Cornelia Catlin Coulter, “Caesar’s Clemency,” *The Classical Journal* 26, no. 7 (1931): 513–524; Tamás Nótári, “Tanulmányok a caesari clementia tárgyából,” [Studies about the topic of Caesar’s clementia] *Klió* 19, no. 4 (2010): 76–84.

<sup>154</sup> See letter 35 citation number 1 and letter 52 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>155</sup> Regarding the story of *Marcellus* and his relationship with *Caesar* see Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow, ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 327; and Nótári, “Tanulmányok.”

<sup>156</sup> See letter 63 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

The letters that incorporate these citations address two main issues: letter 35 asks Pope Nicholas V to support Hunyadi's military campaign against the Ottomans, while letter 52 and 62 concern the indulgences of the jubilee: letter 52 is petitioning for absentee indulgences for Hungarians, while letter 62 is asking Pope Nicholas to open up that opportunity for lesser folks also, after the original demand were met.<sup>157</sup> Hence all three citations offer the role of the generous protector for the Pope: he could act like Caesar and exercise magnanimity by giving Hungary support against its enemies or by facilitating the participation in the jubilee year for the inhabitants of the country. Therefore, it may be concluded that both the citations from the *Aeneis* and from the speeches of *Cicero* serve the purpose of giving the Papacy a chance to assume the position of the gracious savior. Of course, it is not surprising that that letters asking someone for something try to utilize the addressee's vanity. What is significant here is that these letters do not only<sup>158</sup> achieve that with exalting topoi, but rather employ some of the most important texts of the Roman culture to implicitly strengthen this strategy, hence tying it to the ideals of humanism and its predilection with ancient heroes and texts. This endeavor arguably had immense political significance, due to the attitudes of the addressed Nicholas V towards humanism, as it will be shown in the next chapter.

To conclude the findings of this chapter in comparison to the results of the previous one, it may be stated that an overarching characteristic regarding the likening of Hungary and its allies or the Ottoman Empire to particular sides of the wars the ancient Rome fought could not be found. Consistent ethical implications of the parallels drawn by the citations cannot be identified also. The general *modus operandi* of citing classical texts in the Epistolary seems to be situational similarity on the macro level of the collection. However, on the micro level,

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<sup>157</sup> About these issues see pages 11–12 of the Introduction.

<sup>158</sup> Of course, the letters are not devoid of ornate sentences about the glory of the Pope. For example: *Unde aptissime favor ipse ut magni ducatur, opus est, qui et primus et solus fuit, et in quo uti spiritualis doni, ita et temporalis munificencie singularitas declaratur.* Iohannes Vitéz de Zreda: *Epistolarium*, letter 62, sentence 5. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 132.

in the recurring application of particular ancient stories to particular types of situations, the connection established between certain figures also have a significance: it is meaningful that Hungary is associated with the unfortunate *Fabii* or that the Pope is linked to *Dido* or to *Caesar*. Hence it can be argued that there are multiple layers of the citations in the letters of the Epistolary that were sent to the Pope. The general strategy which can be applied to all of the citations when they are examined one by one seems to be situational similarity. However, this is accompanied by more highlighted parallels between particular figures in well definable groups of citations that repeatedly link particular stories of the ancient past to particular issues of the days when John of Zredna wrote his letters. Nonetheless, a certain amount of diversity can also be detected in the functions particular citations of a group could play within the boundaries of the certain group: the parallels drawn with the decay of Rome have differences in their functions in letter 37 and in letter 60 as well as in letter 72 and there are slight differences even in letter 37.



### 3 *Homo doctus, homo politicus* – the political functions of the citations

In the previous chapters the intrinsic characteristics of the application of citations in the Epistolary were explored, both on the level of the whole collection and on the level of groups of citations concerning particular ancient stories. However, it should not be neglected that these texts did not exist in vacuum. On the one hand they served very specific political purposes as pieces of a diplomatic correspondence, and on the other hand they are parts of the intellectual milieu of renaissance and humanism that defined the cultural history of the fifteenth century. In the following two chapters these broader contexts will be examined, first the political context, which is the possible role the citations of the letters could play in the relationship between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy See in the eventful years of the late 1440s in regard to particular papal policies, as well as the changes in the diplomatic strategies of Hungary.

#### **The suspicions of Eugene and the self-definition of Nicholas**

The most important issue that needs to be addressed is the fact that the letters collected in the Epistolary are addressed to two different popes: Eugene IV (1431–1447) and Nicholas V (1447–1455). Both had quite different policies and had to tackle diverse issues: while Eugene had to fight the last battles of the Papacy with supporters of conciliarism, Nicholas had to reestablish authority of the Holy See after the troublesome years of the great Western schism and its aftermath.<sup>159</sup> However, Nicholas becoming pope did not bring forth changes only in the policies of the Papacy. A shift can also be detected in the usage of citations in the letters

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<sup>159</sup> Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 172–184; Roger Collins, *Keepers of the Keys of Heaven: A History of the Papacy* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 311–322; Brett Edward Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 178–189; John B. Toews, “Formative Forces in the Pontificate of Nicholas V, 1447–1455,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 2 (1968): 261–284; Loy Bilderback, “Eugene IV and the First Dissolution of the Council of Basle,” *Church History* 36, no. 3 (1967): 243–53; Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

of the Epistolary after Nicholas occupied the throne of Saint Peter. While in the letters addressed to Pope Eugene IV one may only find three citations,<sup>160</sup> in the missives sent to Pope Nicholas V the careful reader can identify no less than forty-nine passages that John of Zredna took from ancient authors.<sup>161</sup> At first glance one could easily disregard this by saying the only reason behind the mentioned peculiarity is simply the fact that considerably more letters were addressed to Nicholas V than to Eugene IV. Indeed, among the missives incorporated into the Epistolary nineteen were sent to Nicholas V<sup>162</sup> and seven to Eugene IV.<sup>163</sup> Nonetheless, that claim could easily be disproven if one divides the number of the citations with the number of the letters in case of each pope. That way one will be able to see how many citations would one letter contain in each case if the quotations would be distributed between the letters evenly. This will show if the higher number of letters in the case of Nicholas V really makes a difference and brings the two popes closer to each other regarding the number of the citations in the texts written to them. The result in the case of Eugene IV is approximately 0.43 while in the case of Nicholas V it is approximately 2.58. Hence it seems like that the claim proposed in the beginning of this subchapter still holds its ground: the classical citations are more prominent in the group of letters that were sent to Pope Nicholas V.

This comes as no surprise if one considers the difference between the attitudes of Pope Eugene and Pope Nicholas to humanism. Eugene IV was profoundly suspicious towards the literature produced by pagan antiquity and considered Saint Augustine the peak of ancient

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<sup>160</sup> See letter 3, citations 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix 1.

<sup>161</sup> See letter 35 citation 1, letter 36 citations 1–5, letter 37 citations 1–23, letter 45 citation 1, letter 52 citation 1, letter 53 citation 1, letter 60 citation 1, letter 62 citation 1, letter 63 citations 1–2, letter 69 citations 1–10, letter 71 citation 1, letter 72 citation 1, letter 73 citation 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>162</sup> See letters 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 80 of the Epistolary – Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 85–164.

<sup>163</sup> See letters 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 24 and 25 of the Epistolary – Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 43–72.

culture, henceforth he was rather hostile towards the cultural ideas of humanism.<sup>164</sup> Nicholas V was the polar opposite: he made the ideals of humanism into the core of his cultural program. When he ascended to the pontifical throne, the power of the Holy See was fundamentally weakened: the schism and the debates of conciliarism eroded its once glorious supra-national authority. As John B. Toews pointed out, Nicholas tried to reestablish the significance of the Papacy by enhancing its symbolic power through embracing and hence controlling humanism, the most recent cultural current of Europe.<sup>165</sup> This new self-representation of the Papacy manifested in the magnificent building projects of Nicholas and his constant efforts to build one of the richest humanist libraries.<sup>166</sup> However, the importance of humanism was not limited to these great endeavors of patronage in the policies of Nicholas V. As the new cultural currents became prevalent in display of authority of the Holy See, the administration of its diplomatic relations changed accordingly: it was increasingly carried out by elite diplomats trained in humanism.<sup>167</sup> Henceforth it is quite probable that the change in the significance of the citations in the letters of the Epistolary is connected to humanism gaining significance in the Curia: John of Zredna and his intellectual circles most probably detected new cultural currents gaining prevalence in the communication of the Papacy and thus he adjusted his own communication towards the heir of Saint Peter accordingly.

It is important to underline however that John of Zredna never received any formal humanist education,<sup>168</sup> and did not travel to Italy during the years the considered letters were written. The papal legate Juan Carvajal serving as an intermediary would be a plausible solution as John of Zredna wrote multiple letters to him, which were also incorporated into the

<sup>164</sup> Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 179–180. There are no known citations from the works of Augustine in the Epistolary, thus it can be said that this preference of Eugene IV was not considered by John of Zredna while composing the letters. – see Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 27–168

<sup>165</sup> Regarding the challenges the Papacy had to face and the answer presented above see Toews, “Formative Forces,” 261–284.

<sup>166</sup> Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 178–181; Collins, *Keepers of the Keys*, 319–320.

<sup>167</sup> Collins, *Keepers of the Keys*, 321–322; Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy*, 185.

<sup>168</sup> Matić, *Bishop John of Zredna*. 103.

Epistolary.<sup>169</sup> However, Tomislav Matić recently pointed out that the physician and acquaintance of Guarino Veronese, Taddeo degli Adelmari of Treviso could be one of the sources of the humanist influences that reached the bishop of Oradea.<sup>170</sup> Taddeo served the pope at the time and also functioned as the intermediary between Hungary and the Holy See,<sup>171</sup> henceforth he could easily provide information about the policies of Nicholas V to John of Zredna. It is also noteworthy that in the second half of the 1440s John provided financial support to some gifted young men to study in Italy.<sup>172</sup> These students could also serve as channels through which the bishop got familiar with the affairs of the Italian states, including the Papacy.

Here additional attention should be devoted to the peculiarities explained in the second and third subchapters of Chapter 2. It was stated that by recurrently employing citations from the *Aeneis* and the orations of *Cicero*, John of Zredna connected the strategy of appealing to the recipient's vanity to humanism. It is possibly not a coincidence that all the letters that incorporate these citations were addressed to Pope Nicholas V.<sup>173</sup> A similar argument may be formulated regarding the allusions to the fall of Rome in the Epistolary: they are all in letters sent to Nicholas.<sup>174</sup> In the context of the attitudes displayed by Nicholas V towards humanism this group of citations gains additional significance: likening the situation to the calamities of the beloved ancient Rome of the humanists could have significant resonance in the papal court that was heavily infused with the ideas of the renaissance. Henceforth these parallels further prove that John of Zredna adjusted his style to the new cultural policies of the Papacy

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<sup>169</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letter 27, 29, 30, 40 and 65. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 73–137.

<sup>170</sup> Matić, *Bishop John of Zredna*. 104.

<sup>171</sup> Matić, *Bishop John of Zredna*. 104.

<sup>172</sup> Matić, *Bishop John of Zredna*. 109.

<sup>173</sup> See Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letter 35, 52, 62 and 63. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 85–135.

<sup>174</sup> See pages 23–25 of the Introduction.

under Nicholas V: it is not only tangible through the sheer number of the citations, but also in the particular applications of certain groups of citations.

## A lost battle

As it was shown in the previous chapter, the death of Eugene IV and the election of Nicholas V had a profound impact on the way John of Zredna used the classics in the letters he wrote to the Holy See. However, another significant change may be identified during the pontificate of Nicholas V. Before the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1448, which had a disastrous outcome for Hunyadi, all the citations that were used in texts sent to the Pope Nicholas V were incorporated into letters that concerned the Ottoman wars and the preparation for the military campaign of 1448: John of Zredna used 29 citations from classical works in total during this period in three different letters sent to the Pope regarding this matter.<sup>175</sup> It is also significant that these three letters give the bulk of the missives sent to Nicholas V before Kosovo Polje: we only have one additional letter in the Epistolary that was addressed to him, which dealt with the diocese of Zagreb and does not have any classical citations in it.<sup>176</sup> In 1449, right after the lost battle the number of citations used in letters sent to the pope rapidly decreased, one may only find one.<sup>177</sup> Nevertheless, the diplomatic correspondence between Hungary and the Papacy did not cease to exist, as the Epistolary contains the same number of letters from this year as from the previous: in 1449 four letters are addressed to Pope Nicholas V in total in the collection.<sup>178</sup>

Yet in 1450 the number of citations applied in the letters in question skyrocketed compared to the previous year, although it still not reached the peak of 1448: 18 classical citations were

<sup>175</sup> See Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letter 35, 36 and 37. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 85–94. For the citations see letter 35 citation number 1, letter 36 citations number 1–5 and letter 37 citations number 1–23.

<sup>176</sup> See Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letter 38. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 94–95.

<sup>177</sup> See letter 45 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>178</sup> See Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letters 45, 47, 48, 51. Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 104–113.

incorporated into letters sent to the pope.<sup>179</sup> The total number of the letters also grew: 14 letters were sent to the pope in this year that were incorporated into the Epistolary.<sup>180</sup> A shift in the topics may also be detected: as it was already stated, the Ottoman warfare dominated the communication with the Holy See in 1448 as only one letter sent to the Pope is not concerned with that topic in the Epistolary. A change already occurred in 1449: out of the four letters sent to Pope Nicholas only one is concerned with the Ottomans and the Southern border of Hungary,<sup>181</sup> the other three were written in connection with the issues regarding the archbishopric of Kalocsa.<sup>182</sup> Nonetheless, the single citation from this year was still incorporated into the letter that dealt with the Ottoman question.<sup>183</sup> However, in 1450 the Ottoman warfare completely lost its significance, not a single letter that was incorporated into the Epistolary and was sent to the Papacy dealt with it. That was accompanied with Hungarian ecclesiastical matters gaining more significance: most of the letters sent to the Pope dealt with the previously mentioned issues with Kalocsa,<sup>184</sup> the problems with the diocese of Zagreb,<sup>185</sup> the jubilee year of 1450,<sup>186</sup> and the questions concerning the abbey of Dömös.<sup>187</sup>

This shift is mirrored by a change in the usage of citations also: while during 1448 and 1449 the letters that were connected to the ecclesiastical matters like the archbishopric of Kalocsa usually did not incorporate citations, in 1450 a good number of them did use quotations: letter

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<sup>179</sup> See letter 52 citation number 1, letter 53 citation number 1, letter 60 citation number 1, letter 62 citation number 1, letter 63 citations number 1 and 2, letter 69 citation number 1–10, letter 71 citation number 1, letter 72 citation number 1 and letter 73 citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>180</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letters 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 80. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 113–164.

<sup>181</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letter 45. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 104–106.

<sup>182</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letters 47, 48 and 51. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 107–113.

<sup>183</sup> See letter 45, citation number 1 in Appendix 1.

<sup>184</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letters 53, 54 and 55. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 115–119.

<sup>185</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium*, letters 72 and 73. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 149–158.

<sup>186</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium* letters 52, 62 and 63. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 113–135.

<sup>187</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium* letters 59 and 60. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 122–129.

53 regarding Kalocsa, letter 60 regarding Dömös, letters 72 and 73 regarding Zagreb, as well as letters 52, 62 and 63 regarding the jubilee all incorporated one or two citations.<sup>188</sup> Nonetheless, in 1450 there was an issue which attracted a considerable number of citations, just like the Ottoman wars in 1448: the conflict with Frederick III. While all the other letters from 1450 have only two citations at maximum, the letter written to Pope Nicholas in connection with the mentioned discord had 10 citations in it.<sup>189</sup>

Henceforth one may see the following pattern: in 1448 the Ottoman warfare was the absolute priority, most of the letters sent to the Papacy concerned the matter. This was accompanied by an enormous number of citations, all incorporated into texts dealing with the Ottomans. After the defeat at Kosovo Polje, the Ottoman question started to lose its primacy, however citing antique authors was still reserved to the discussion of this issue in 1449. In 1450 the Ottoman warfare completely disappeared from the correspondence and a shift may be detected in the use of the citations also: the antagonism with Frederick III became the prominent matter that attracted a bigger number of quotations. Nonetheless, it did not dominate the usage of citations as overwhelmingly as the Ottoman warfare did in the previous years: letters discussing Hungarian ecclesiastical matters started to also use citations, although only one or two in a single letter.

For an explanation of these changes, one has to look at shifts in the diplomatic and military strategy of Hungary induced by the battle of Kosovo Polje. This defeat was fundamentally different from the one the forces lead by Hunyadi endured in the battle of Varna four years earlier. As Tamás Pálosfalvi pointed out, Hunyadi was still confident in the viability of his offensive strategy after 1444.<sup>190</sup> Accordingly, in the material of the Epistolary the Ottoman wars remained prominent in spite of the catastrophic battle: the first three letters incorporated

<sup>188</sup> See the mentioned letters in Appendix 1.

<sup>189</sup> See letter 69 citations number 1–10 in Appendix 1.

<sup>190</sup> Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 144.

into the collection, written to Pope Eugene IV just after Varna, immediately tried to secure ongoing papal support for Hungary against the Turks.<sup>191</sup> In comparison, the battle of Kosovo Polje was a wakeup call: it showed that the Ottoman Empire cannot be defeated the way Hunyadi imagined. This resulted in the general abandoning of his former plans and Hungarian diplomacy trying to establish peaceful relations with the Ottomans.<sup>192</sup> According to Held, the new attitude of the Hungarian government was accompanied with an increased indisposition towards military endeavors of Hunyadi in the Papal court.<sup>193</sup> However, as it was mentioned multiple times previously, the Curia had major concerns even before 1448, which corresponded with policies of Nicholas V that tried to distance the Papacy from military feuds.<sup>194</sup> Hence the shift in the Hungarian strategy should be considered the main factor here: as the Ottoman warfare ceased to be the biggest concern of the kingdom, more attention was paid to other matters: its own ecclesiastical issues as well as the dispute with Frederick III, which is shown by the Ottoman question disappearing from the topics of the letters sent to the Papacy. It seems like that this change influenced the usage of citations also: as the previously mentioned matters gained elevated importance, citations started to be incorporated into the letters concerning them, with issues regarding Frederick III gaining preeminence probably due to their elevated international significance.

Henceforth, it may be concluded from the arguments put forward in this chapter that the application of classical citations incorporated into the letters sent to the Papacy was profoundly influenced by the shifts and changes in the symbolic policies of the Holy See and the military strategy of Hungary during the 1440s. The election of Pope Nicholas V resulted in humanism gaining considerable importance in papal self-representation after the aversions

<sup>191</sup> Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna: *Epistolarium* letters 3, 4, 5. Boronkai, ed, *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna* 43–49.

<sup>192</sup> Regarding the effects of Kosovo Polje see Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 166–169, Held, *Hunyadi*, 135–137

<sup>193</sup> Held, *Hunyadi*, 137.

<sup>194</sup> Toews, “Formative Forces.”



of Eugene IV towards the new cultural movement. This was accompanied with a sudden growth in the number of citations in the letters authored by John of Zredna, as well as a pursuit to give a humanist tone to the glorification of the Papacy as the savior of Hungary. Moreover, the usage of citations was also influenced by the lost battle of Kosovo Polje: while before 1450 the citations appeared exclusively in letters sent to Nicholas V concerning the Ottoman wars, after the defeat and the elimination of the Ottoman question from the correspondence between Hungary and the Papacy, the quotations became more evenly spread among various ecclesiastical matters, which was accompanied by the creation of a new gravitational point of the citations, the discord between Hungary and Frederick III. This may very well be explained with the abandonment of the offensive strategy against the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the Hungarian diplomacy turning its attention towards other matters that had to be discussed with the pope.

## 4 *Respublica citata* – citations of the Epistolary in other texts from the fifteenth century

In the chapter directly preceding the present one, the political context of the citations was explored. However, there is another context that should also be considered: the growing humanist movement of the fifteenth century, and its literary output. As it was already mentioned in the Introduction, the Epistolary was often linked to the very beginnings of humanism in the Kingdom of Hungary. The humanistic circles John of Zredna was connected to also gathered considerable attention: while scrupulous examination of the extant historical data shown that his friendships with Gregory of Sanok and Pier Paolo Vergerio are quite debatable,<sup>195</sup> it is sure that he had a quite good relationship with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini,<sup>196</sup> and Sándor V. Kovács conjectured that he even had connections to Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>197</sup> More recently, Tomislav Matić argued that through his patronage towards gifted young men, he acquired a quite good reputation among the humanist intellectuals of Italy, while never actually visiting the peninsula personally.<sup>198</sup> However, the connections between the letters of the Epistolary considered here and the textual universe of the humanists are not only defined by the personal relationships John of Zredna had. In the following chapter I intend to situate the texts themselves in the humanist milieu of the fifteenth century by mapping other authors from the era who also used the classical citations that John of Zredna employed. The writers that are going to be discussed will be divided into three groups: the first group consists of authors who used citations also employed by John of Zredna multiple times, the second group contains authors who used citations also employed

<sup>195</sup> See Kiss, “Origin Narratives;” Pajorin, “Vitéz János műveltsége,” 538–540.

<sup>196</sup> Emőke Rita Szilágyi, “Vitéz János és Enea Silvio Piccolomini levelezése az 1450-es években” [The correspondence of John Vitéz and Enea Silvio Piccolomini in the 1450s], in *Convivium Pajorin Klára 70. születésnapjára* [Convivium for the 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Klára Pajorin], ed. Enikő Békés and Imre Tegye (Debrecen-Budapest: Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Klasszika-filológiai Tanszék – MTA BTK Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2012), 195–205.

<sup>197</sup> V. Kovács, “Bevezetés,” 8–9.

<sup>198</sup> Matić, *Bishop John Vitéz*, 91–124 and 199–216.

by John two times at maximum, while the third one will be built up from intellectuals whose citations show only one overlap with the quotations of John. The overlapping citations are all collected in the table of Appendix 2, and will be referred to by the numbering applied there throughout the following chapter.

## Multiple overlaps

One may notice while browsing through all the different texts where the classical citations used by John of Zredna appear that three names occur repeatedly: Antonio Bonfini, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>199</sup> Out of these three Bonfini is the closest to John geographically. Born in Ascoli, he began his career in Italy as a teacher in Florence, Padova, Ferrara, Rome and from 1478 onwards in Recanati.<sup>200</sup> However, the height of his career as well as his greatest achievement as a writer are very closely tied to Hungary. In 1486 he entered the service of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, more precisely of his wife, Beatrice of Aragon.<sup>201</sup> While he produced some major translations in the court of king Matthias (he prepared a Latin version of Philostratus, as well as Filarete), he left the court in 1487 due to unclear reasons.<sup>202</sup> However, a year later King Matthias invited him back and appointed him as royal historian.<sup>203</sup> Bonfini started the most important, as well as lengthiest work of his while holding this office. The *Rerum ungaricarum decades* set out to achieve a quite ambitious goal: to record the history of Hungary from the very beginning to the day of the author.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>200</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia I.: Történetírás a középkori Magyarországon* [Hungarian historiography I.: Historiography in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2002), 118; Péter Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini és műve” [Antonio Bonfini and his work], in *Antonio Bonfini: A magyar történelem tizedei*, [Antonio Bonfini: The decades of Hungarian history] trans. Péter Kulcsár (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1995), 1009.

<sup>201</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118

<sup>202</sup> Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini,” 1011; Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118

<sup>203</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118.

<sup>204</sup> Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini,” 1009–1019; Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118–123.

King Matthias could not see the final form of the work, and even the author did not manage to reach the very present of his in the narrative before his death in 1502, however, the significance of the work cannot be underestimated.<sup>205</sup> Gyula Kristó argued that the text – which is usually dubbed as *Decades* in short – is the peak of medieval Hungarian historiography.<sup>206</sup> Péter Kulcsár in the afterword of his Hungarian translation of the *Decades* compared the text to the works of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Philippo Buonaccorsi, Polidoro Vergilio, Paulo Emilio and Lucio Marineo Siculo on the bases that all of these authors applied to the ideals of humanism to an account of the history of a particular, non-Italian nation.<sup>207</sup> The *Decades* is indeed a characteristically humanist text that makes use of such influential authors as Flavio Biondo.<sup>208</sup> According to Kristó, the model for Bonfini was Livy,<sup>209</sup> thus it is not surprising that he employed two citations from the great Roman historian (one of them on two different places), which was also used by John of Zredna four decades earlier.<sup>210</sup> However, there is another overlap between the citations employed by Bonfini and the ones used by John of Zredna: a short passage of Cicero was incorporated into a letter authored by John, and was repeatedly used in the *Decades*, as well as in another work produced by Bonfini, a dialogue about virginity and marriage he presented to King Matthias when he first arrived to his court.<sup>211</sup> In total Bonfini employed citations also used by John of Zredna in the letters considered here on six different places in the two mentioned texts.<sup>212</sup>

While his strong connections to Hungary make Bonfini the closest to John of Zredna geographically; chronologically and personally Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464) was the most strongly related to John among the three authors mentioned in the beginning of the

<sup>205</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118.

<sup>206</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118.

<sup>207</sup> Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini,” 1017.

<sup>208</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 119–120; Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini,” 1017–1018.

<sup>209</sup> Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia*, 118.

<sup>210</sup> See letter 37, citation number 22 and letter 53, citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>211</sup> See letter 3, citation number 3 in Appendix 2. About the Symposium see Kulcsár, “Antonio Bonfini,” 1010–1012.

<sup>212</sup> See letter 3 citation number 2, letter 37 citation number 22 and letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

present subchapter. The Italian-born humanist and prelate certainly had one of the most adventurous careers among the great humanists of the fifteenth century. Entering the Council of Basel in the entourage of the cardinal of Fermo he quickly became an important figure of the conciliarist movement.<sup>213</sup> However, his friendship with John of Zredna began in another phase of his career: in 1442 he became poet laureate of the Holy Roman Empire and a secretary of Frederick III, King of the Romans.<sup>214</sup> As a holder of this office, he carried out diplomatic meetings in which John of Zredna was also involved, moreover a long-going correspondence started between the two in the 1450s.<sup>215</sup> While he was employed by Frederick III, he also grew away from the conciliarists, to the extent that he was first appointed as the bishop of Trieste in 1446, then even became a cardinal, and later – in 1458 – a pope under the name Pius II.<sup>216</sup>

All the citations that both him and John of Zredna used are incorporated into the voluminous correspondence of Piccolomini: he employs such citations on exactly 4 places in his letters.<sup>217</sup> As Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson and Philip Krey argue, these texts served as the vehicle through which the influential intellectual could construct his public image.<sup>218</sup> This function is even more accentuated by the letters being published relatively shortly after the death of Piccolomini.<sup>219</sup> They also became stylistic models in their own time, and – as Izbicki, Christianson and Krey assert – they were “a marvel and monument of humanist

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<sup>213</sup> Gerald Christianson, Philip Krey, and Thomas M. Izbicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius: Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 3–26.

<sup>214</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izbicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 26. About the years Piccolomini spent in the service of Frederick III see also Daniel Luger, *Humanismus und humanistische schrift in der Kanzlei Kaiser Friedrichs III.* (1440–1493) (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 49–63.

<sup>215</sup> Szilágyi, “Vitéz János és,” 195–205; Szakály, “Vitéz János,” 22–23.

<sup>216</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izbicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 30–57.

<sup>217</sup> See letter 37 citation number 22, letter 53 citation number 1 and letter 63 citation number 2 in Appendix 2.

<sup>218</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izbicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 6–8 and 56.

<sup>219</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izbicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 53.

writing.”<sup>220</sup> It is also worth mentioning that Piccolomini is usually credited with a great role in the development of humanist culture in Germanic lands.<sup>221</sup>

The third author that ought to be considered here is more distant from John of Zredna than the previously portrayed two, both geographically and chronologically, however his citations have more overlap with the ones employed by John of Zredna than either of the two already mentioned authors: one may find no less than 22 places in his writings where he used the same citations as John of Zredna.<sup>222</sup> This person is no other than the forever ‘prince of humanism’, Erasmus of Rotterdam (c 1466–1536). He probably needs no introduction to anyone studying intellectual history. The humble illegitimate son of a cleric raised to incredibly high ranks in the humanist society of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century: armies of visitors and correspondents reached out to him due to his immense fame, and his enormous importance in the development of German humanism was hardly denied.<sup>223</sup> Most of the overlaps between the citations he used and the ones John of Zredna employed may be found in his letters, just like in the case of Piccolomini.<sup>224</sup> This is not the only similarity with the case of the later Pope Pius II: the missives of Erasmus also became stylistic models for humanist writers.<sup>225</sup> Nevertheless, not all the overlapping citations are in the letters in the case of Erasmus, several were incorporated into the biography he wrote about Saint Jerome.<sup>226</sup> This was not the only text Erasmus wrote about significant figures of early Christianity,<sup>227</sup> but it certainly had a great importance in the scholarship regarding Jerome. As John B. Maguire pointed out, the explicit goal Erasmus set out in his text was to write

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<sup>220</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 57 about the letter being stylistic models see 53.

<sup>221</sup> Christianson, Krey and Izicki, ed., *Reject Aeneas*, 30.

<sup>222</sup> See letter 37 citation number 8, letter 37 citation number 22 and letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>223</sup> Erika Rummel, “Erasmus, Desiderius,” in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1999), 284 and 289.

<sup>224</sup> See letter 37 citation number 8, letter 37 citation number 22 and especially letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>225</sup> Rummel, “Erasmus,” 286.

<sup>226</sup> See letter 37 citation number 8 and letter 37 citation number 22 in Appendix 2.

<sup>227</sup> John B. Maguire, “Erasmus’ Biographical Masterpiece: Hieronymi Stridonensis Vita,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (1973): 265.

something profoundly different from earlier accounts about the life of the Church Father, something that is based on provable historical facts.<sup>228</sup> Henceforth, as Erika Rummel highlighted, Erasmus essentially produced the first biography of Jerome that was not a hagiography.<sup>229</sup>

## Two overlaps at maximum

In the case of two other authors, the number of overlaps between their classical citations and the quotations used by John of Zredna is less substantial: the works of Arnoldus Gheylven (sometimes written as Arnold Geilhoven) and Francesco Filelfo both use overlapping citations on two places.<sup>230</sup> While Arnoldus Gheylven was certainly an educated man and a scholar, he was not a humanist in the classical sense: he finished his education in Italy in 1402, shortly after he entered cloister of the Augustine Canon Regulars in his native Low Countries and there he mainly wrote books about canon law until his death in 1442.<sup>231</sup> However, that does not mean that his intellectual upbringing as well as his literary output was completely devoid of the impact of humanism. As Nicholas Mann pointed out, one may detect certain humanist elements in his writings.<sup>232</sup> Moreover, during his youth he maintained a close relationship with the family of Petrarch.<sup>233</sup> He also knew and frequently cited the texts the famous poet wrote.<sup>234</sup> The *Gnotosolitos parvus*, the text that contains both of the citations that overlap with the ones John of Zredna used is no exception under this: while the text was

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<sup>228</sup> Maguire, "Erasmus' Biographical," 266–267.

<sup>229</sup> Rummel, "Erasmus," 286.

<sup>230</sup> See letter 3 citation number 2, letter 60 citation number 1, letter 37 citation number 7 and letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>231</sup> Nicholas Mann, "Arnold Geilhoven: An Early Disciple of Petrarch in the Low Countries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 73–108.

<sup>232</sup> Mann, "Arnold Geilhoven," 91.

<sup>233</sup> Mann, "Arnold Geilhoven," 76.

<sup>234</sup> Mann, "Arnold Geilhoven," 76.

written mainly as a handbook that was intended to be used by confessors, it cites Petrarch eleven times, and mainly considers him as a moral authority.<sup>235</sup>

The case of Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) is completely different. The Italian-born intellectual was one of the most famous and influential members of the humanist movement. He taught in multiple great Italian cities, including Bologna, Rome, and Florence, and served the dukes of Milan for a long time. He also gained much significance as an avid opponent of the Medici family.<sup>236</sup> However, his legacy was mainly shaped by the role he played in Greek philology. He first visited Constantinople as a Venetian envoy, but then he became a diplomat of Emperor John Paleologus, acquired excellent knowledge of the Greek language, and even married a Greek woman.<sup>237</sup> His language skills as well as his connections in the East enabled him to become one of the most important facilitators of Byzantine – Western cultural exchange in the fifteenth century.<sup>238</sup> His overlapping citations are somewhat similar to the ones of Piccolomini in the sense that they were all used in his correspondence,<sup>239</sup> which he started to collect in 1451,<sup>240</sup> the same year in which John of Zredna's Epistolary was also compiled.

## One overlap

While the authors explored above have a stronger connection to the letters of the Epistolary in regards of their overlapping citations, one may find numerous other works from diverse intellectuals who employed citations also used by John of Zredna only once. Josse Bade (c. 1461–1535) for example used a citation also employed by John of Zredna in his *In*

<sup>235</sup> Mann, "Arnold Geilhoven," 77–78 and 90.

<sup>236</sup> About the mentioned elements of his career see Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings 1451-1477* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 247–250; John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning* (London: Smith Elder & CO, 1900), 199.

<sup>237</sup> Robin, *Filelfo in Milan*, 257; Symonds, *Renaissance*, 193–194.

<sup>238</sup> Diana Robin, "A Reassessment of the Character of Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1983): 202; Symonds, *Renaissance*, 296.

<sup>239</sup> See letter 37 citation number 7 and letter 53 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>240</sup> Robin, *Filelfo in Milan*, 248.



*Parthenicen Catharinarum Bapiste Mantui*.<sup>241</sup> While Bade received an education in Leuven and Italy, moreover he even taught for a while in Lyon, his legacy is defined by his endeavors as a printer. He was first lector at the shop of Jean Trechsel, then he founded his own business in Paris, which enabled him to gather a humanist circle around himself.<sup>242</sup> One may also find a citation overlapping with John of Zredna's quotations in the *Oeconomia* of the renowned German humanist, Conrad Celtis (1459–1508). Celtis received his education in Köln, taught in various institutions throughout the German-speaking lands including Vienna, and even spent some time in Hungary, in the court of the already mentioned King Matthias Corvinus.<sup>243</sup> He was also an immensely important figure of German humanism: his sodalities functioned as hubs of the proponents of humanist learning and he was the first poet laureate of the Empire who was born on German soil.<sup>244</sup>

While Celtis had personal connections to Hungary, another author who used one of the citations John of Zredna also employed only had an association with the Central European kingdom through the topic of his text. Alexander Cortesius (c. 1464–1491) was born in Rome as a son of a papal secretary and later he himself also worked for the Holy See.<sup>245</sup> The text that incorporates the mentioned citation written in the fall of 1487 or the winter/spring of 1488 dealt with the military achievements of King Matthias Corvinus in a laudatory manner.<sup>246</sup> The work in which Dionysius Cartusianus (1392–1471) used a citation also employed by John of Zredna is a profoundly different text as it concerns the Gospel of

<sup>241</sup> See letter 37 citation number 7 in Appendix 2.

<sup>242</sup> Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969), 6–297.

<sup>243</sup> Herbert W. Benario, "Conrad Celtis and the City of Nürnberg," *The Classical Outlook* 82, no. 3 (2005): 101–102; Orbán 11, Eckhard Bernstein, "Celtis, Conrad," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, vol. 1. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), 380–382.

<sup>244</sup> Bernstein, "Celtis," 382; Benario, "Conrad Celtis," 102.

<sup>245</sup> Iosephus Fögel, "Introductio," in *Alexander Cortesius: De laudibus bellicis Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), III.

<sup>246</sup> László Havas, "A. Cortesius panegyricusa Mátyás és a pápaság diplomáciai érintkezésének tükrében" [The panegyricus of A. Cortesius for Matthias in the light of the diplomatic relations of the Papacy] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 69, no. 3 (1965): 323–327. László Havas argues that the poem might have been a part of the diplomatic strategy of the Papacy regarding the involvement of Matthias in the uprising of Ancona against the Papacy. For the citation see letter 37 citation number 22 in Appendix 2.

Luke.<sup>247</sup> Dionysius was mainly a theologian as well as a Carthusian monk. He was associated with the pre-reformation movement aimed at improving the church; he also achieved the title of *doctor ecstaticus*.<sup>248</sup> However, like Arnoldus Gheyloven, he was not completely barred from the ideas of humanism: he also quoted Petrarch, albeit with an ecclesiastical-moralist tone.<sup>249</sup> Georges de Halewyn (also known as Georgius Haloinus, Georges d'Halluin and Jaris van Halewijn, c. 1473–1536) was situated in a different part of medieval society, as he was a wealthy noble, while having close ties to the humanist movement. He was once a member of the courts of Philip the Handsome and Emperor Charles IV, but also kept contact with Erasmus and financed the endeavors of the previously mentioned Josse Bade.<sup>250</sup> He incorporated a citation also used by John of Zredna into his best-known work, the *De restauratione linguae latinae*.<sup>251</sup>

To conclude the remarks made in this chapter, a quite notable tendency may be pointed out: the network these common citations draw up has a very characteristically Central European center of gravity: the three authors who used citations employed by John of Zredna multiple times are all connected to the development of humanism in this region. Antonio Bonfini was one of the pioneering humanist history writers in Hungary. Piccolomini while being an Italian himself, greatly contributed to the spread of humanism in German lands, while the oeuvre of Erasmus is one of the peaks of the said German humanism. If one devotes additional attention to the authors who less frequently used overlapping citations, it may also be found that the German lands and the Low Countries dominate the picture even more: Arnoldus Gheyloven, Josse Bade, Conrad Celtis, Dionysius Cartusianus and Georges de Halewyn were all born on

<sup>247</sup> See letter 71, citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>248</sup> Regarding his life see the online version of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*: Jacob Cornelis van Slee, “Dionysius Der Karthäuser,” *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1877, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118679716.html#adbcontent>.

<sup>249</sup> Mann, “Arnold Geilhoven,” 93.

<sup>250</sup> Françoise Fery-Hue, “Un Grand Seigneur Humaniste, Georges D’halluin: Œuvres Inconnues, Œuvres Disparues, Œuvres Inédites,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 66 (2017): 154–155.

<sup>251</sup> See letter 71 citation number 1 in Appendix 2.

these lands. The only exceptions are the two Italians: Francesco Filelfo and Alexander Cortesius. However, it should be mentioned that the text of Cortesius also has a strong connection to Central Europe, namely to Hungary. Hence it may be safely said that the citations draw up an intellectual network that was very much tied to the Holy Roman Empire and the territories that are parts of the Netherlands and Belgium today, with some Hungarian connections also. It should also be highlighted that several of the authors considered here – for example Erasmus or Celtis – were parts of a later generation than the one John of Zredna belonged to. This underscores that John was among the pioneers of applying humanist stylistic elements in this intellectual milieu. Furthermore, it also highlights the fact that the connections explored above are not based on personal contacts, rather on common intellectual background. Nonetheless the texts produced by John are peculiar parts of this milieu as they were not penned in the name of their author, while all the other texts considered in the present analysis were written and circulated under the name of the very intellectuals listed above.

## Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that the analysis presented on the previous pages has shown: John of Zredna applied an intricate and multi-layered strategy when he used classical citations in the letters he wrote to the Holy See. This strategy was strongly connected to the formative early period of the renaissance Papacy as well as to the changes in the strategies of Hungary regarding the Ottoman expansion. Moreover, mapping other fifteenth-century texts that use the same classical citations as the ones employed by John of Zredna uncovered a characteristically Central European, more exactly German humanist cultural milieu to which the Epistolary has strong connections. This network not only situates the Epistolary in its wider intellectual context, but it also carries significance regarding the history of humanism in the entire region. John of Zredna was among the early adopters of humanism in Central Europe and played an absolutely pioneering role in the implementation of its ideas in Hungary. Thus, linking his letters and the Classical citations in them to a greater humanistic context can shed a light on the beginnings of the humanist culture in Central Europe that flourished in the times of Bonfini and Erasmus.

Looking at the citations at the macro level of the letter collection and examining them one by one has shown that the preliminary observations Iván Boronkai made based on the analysis of a limited number of letters cannot be applied to the whole body of the citations John of Zredna used in his letters sent to the Papacy. The parallels between the Hungarians and the Romans are not consistently applied in most citations. Likewise, no consistent moral subtext can be identified behind the parallels drawn by the citations. The general *modus operandi* of applying particular citations in the texts authored by John of Zredna seems to be situational similarity between the issues contemporaneous with the bishop and the events of the ancient past.

Nonetheless, on the micro level of the Epistolary, when one considers certain groups of citations, the parallels drawn between the actors of Hungarian politics and the protagonists of antique stories become immensely relevant. The parallel between Appius Claudius and Hunyadi plausibly served as means of giving more credibility to the opinion of the Hungarian general regarding the military campaign of Kosovo Polje, while by linking the Kingdom of Hungary to the Fabii, John of Zredna probably tried to allude to the possible dire fate of the country. The repeated parallels between the troubles of Hungary and the various crises of Rome are also meaningful in the sense that they had the ability to give a more sinister color to the problems the Central European country had to face. Furthermore, attaching the pope to figures of ancient literature who could play the role of the gracious savior can also be deciphered as a part of a strategy that tried to appeal to the very self-definition of the Holy See that was formulated by Nicholas V.

This self-definition is essentially the fundament of the renaissance Papacy. After the tempestuous years of Eugene IV fighting the last battles of the conciliarist era, Pope Nicholas V found the new cornerstone of his self-definition in renaissance humanism, the new cultural ideas towards which his predecessor was quite hostile. Thorough quantitative and qualitative analysis of the citations John of Zredna employed in his letters show that parallels drawn with the ancient past mirrored the change in the Holy See's attitude towards humanism. Considerably more citations were applied to the letters written to Nicholas V than to the ones sent to Eugene IV. Moreover, John of Zredna gave a classical tone to the basic political strategy of appealing to the recipient's self-esteem in the texts sent to Pope Nicholas V. The application of the mentioned citations namely gave the opportunity to the pope to assume the same role as the gracious saviors of the Roman past. It is probably no coincidence also that the citations harkening back to the troubles of Rome and the parallels between Hunyadi and Appius Claudius, as well as Hungary and the Fabii were all present in missives sent to

Nicholas V. Moreover, these notions can also help us to better understand the self-fashioning of the Holy See in the beginning of the renaissance Papacy: such strong presence of humanistic elements in a mainly political correspondence just a couple of years after the ascension of Nicholas V to the papal throne suggests that his new cultural policies indeed had a profound impact on the way the Papacy was seen by its diplomatic partners.

Nevertheless, papal policy was not the only formative force in the strategies John of Zredna followed when he applied citations. He most probably adjusted his approach to applying citations to Hungary abandoning its offensive strategy against the Ottoman Empire after the failure of the last grand-scale campaign of Hunyadi in 1448. Prior to the defeat at Kosovo Polje most of the letters written by John to Nicholas V dealt with the Ottoman question, and all the citations the bishop used were incorporated into these letters. However, the topic of the warfare against the Ottomans ceased to be present in the correspondence of Hungary and the Papacy preserved in the Epistolary. In contrast, more and more letters started to be written about internal ecclesiastical matters of the Kingdom and citations started to appear in them. Moreover, a new gravitational point of the quotations emerged in the form of the antagonism between the Hungarian government and Frederick III.

While the political strategies of Hungary and the Papacy seem to have had a profound impact on the application of the citations in the letters of the Epistolary considered here, and thus they form an important context of the examined quotations, the cultural milieu to which the citations tie the Epistolary should also be considered. Uncovering texts that used the same citations as the ones John of Zredna employed made it apparent that the letters are part of a cultural network closely tied to the Holy Roman Empire and Hungary. Most of the authors whose citations overlapped with the quotations used by John of Zredna were either born on German soil and in the Low Countries or – in the case of Piccolomini – contributed greatly to

the development of German humanism, while not being German. However, the strong presence of Bonfini among the authors considered here suggest that John of Zredna was not the only intermediary between this characteristically Germanic humanist milieu and the Kingdom of Hungary, but he can be considered the first. Nevertheless, the German orientation was not exclusive either, the presence of Filelfo, Cortesius, and even Piccolomini to some extent suggest that the letters of John may also be connected to the cradle of humanism, the Italian intellectual world.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1

### **3 Comparative table about the contexts of the citations in the Epistolary and their original context in the classical texts**

The following appendix contains a comparative table of the citations of the Epistolary incorporated into letters sent to the pope, and their original contexts in ancient texts, as well as the indication of exactly where one may find them in the Epistolary and in the quoted classical works. When the citation is identified in the critical edition of Iván Boronkai I signify the page where the identification can be found in the edition, in the footnotes. When the citation is identified by myself, I signify the folio number of the manuscript ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099 based on which the identification happened. One time the citation is identified by Gábor Farkas Kiss based on the same manuscript in a recent article of his, in that case I cite that article. The letters are numbered according to the critical edition in order to make it easier to track them. While letter 36 citation 10 is undoubtedly a quotation of Livy, at this point of the research it is impossible to determine whether it is from Book 7 or Book 21, thus this citation was only considered in the qualitative analyses in the present thesis. As it was stated in the Introduction there are passages that are more surely quotations and pieces of texts that have higher chance to be recognized as commonplaces even if that cannot be proven at this point, hence they are ought to be handled as citations. For the present work I consider passages from the Epistolary incorporated into this table as ‘most probably citations’ when they are be directly connected to a note from ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099 (either by Farkas Gábor Kiss or me) or they take more than 3 words from the original ancient text (without prepositions and conjunctions). I consider pieces of texts that are consisted of three

words or less as ‘probable citations’ as their length could suggest that they could be commonplaces, but the initial research using Library of Latin Texts outlined in the Introduction could not prove their widespread use. An exception under the general rule is citations number 3 and 4 in letter 34: while in the case of citation 4 only two words of the original text is employed in the Epistolary, the piece of text that incorporates it is a composite of two places of Livy not too far from each other (noted separately here as citations 3 and 4), thus if the longer citation 3 is considered as ‘most probably citation’ it would be illogical to not do the same in the case of citation 4. I highlight the category ‘most probably citation’ with boldface lettering.

### Letter 3

|                   | Place of Cited Passage in the Epistolary | Citation                     | New Context                                | Place of the Cited Passage in the Original Text | Cited Passage        | Original Context                                |
|-------------------|--|------------------------------|--|---|----------------------|---|
| 1. <sup>252</sup> | Sentence 16                              | <i>habent nutans fortuna</i> | Since Hungarians know from experience that | VERG. <i>Aen.</i>                               | <i>habet Fortuna</i> | Turnus argues that although Aeneas and his army |

<sup>252</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 44.

|                   |             |   |  |                       |                        |   |
|-------------------|-------------|---|--|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
|                   |             | <i>regressum</i>                                      | fortune is quite volatile and bad fortune will eventually turn into good, they can gain mental strength for the ongoing wars against the Ottomans from the lost battle of Varna. | 11.413.               | <i>regressum</i>       | defeated the Rutuli in their last encounter, they must not give up fighting.  |
| 2. <sup>253</sup> | Sentence 20 | <i>dux salutis et comes</i><br><br>CEU eTD Collection | In the name of John Hunyadi John of Zredna exhorts the pope to lead the fight against the Ottomans.  | Cic. <i>Marc.</i> 11. | <i>dux es et comes</i> | Cicero exhorts Caesar to forgive Marcellus and thus become both the leader and the supporter of this great act, since unlike his previous victories he will achieve this one alone. |

<sup>253</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 45.

|                   |             |                       |  |                     |                               |   |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 3. <sup>254</sup> | Sentence 21 | <i>fulmine quatit</i> | Hungary needs to continue the fight against the Ottomans, since the Ottoman Empire is constantly occupying the neighbors of Hungary one after the other. | <i>Octavia 229.</i> | <i>fulmine infesto quatit</i> | Octavia wishes that the gods would end her tribulations caused by her husband Nero. |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------|-------------------------------|---|

## Letter 35

|                   |            |   |  |                      |                                  |  |
|-------------------|------------|---|--|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <sup>255</sup> | Sentence 6 | <i>ferat opem effectui, qui spei stimulos dedit</i> | John of Zredna exhorts the pope to give help against the Ottomans. | <i>Cic. Lig. 30.</i> | <i>fer opem qui spem dedisti</i> | Cicero exhorts Caesar to show mercy towards Ligarius, since he did the same with multiple people |
|-------------------|------------|---|--|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|

<sup>254</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 45.

<sup>255</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 85.



|  |  |  |  |  |  |   |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |  | earlier, and thus the defendant can hope for that also. |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|

## Letter 36

|                   |             |                                      |   |                |                                  |  |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <sup>256</sup> | Sentence 12 | <i>Bello itaque ad bellum coacti</i> | The pope wants Hunyadi to postpone his planned military endeavor against the Ottomans, but Hunyadi argues that he had to launch the attack due to the military maneuvers of the Ottoman sultan. | Liv. 10.11.11. | <i>belloque ad bellum cogere</i> | The deputies of Lucania ask Rome to grant military support to them, as they were attacked by the Samni in order to get them to take part in the Samni-Roman war. |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------------------------|--|

<sup>256</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 88.

|                   |             |  |  |               |  |   |
|-------------------|-------------|--|--|---------------|--|---|
| 2. <sup>257</sup> | Sentence 13 | <i>quanto maior<br/>spes maiorque<br/>animus est</i>                                     | John of Zredna argues for perseverance in attacking the Ottomans with the assertion that the attacker is always more motivated than the party that has to defend its position. | LIV. 21.44.3. | <i>quanto maior<br/>spes, maior est<br/>animus</i>   | Hannibal tries to inspire his troops in Italy by stating that the attacking party is always more motivated. |
| 3. <sup>258</sup> | Sentence 15 | <i>ut ad estatem<br/>rursus hiis<br/>instituendis<br/>novus de integro<br/>exsudetur</i> | John of Zredna tries to convince the pope that Hungary will not have sufficient power to attack the Ottomans in next summer and moreover if                                    | LIV. 5.5.6.   | <i>ut ad aestatem<br/>rursus nouus de<br/>integro his<br/>instituendis<br/>exsudetur labor</i> | Appius Claudius tries to convince Romans that they should continue their war with Veii.                     |

<sup>257</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 88.

<sup>258</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 88.

|                   |              |  |  |              |  |      |
|-------------------|--------------|--|--|--------------|--|------|
|                   |              | <i>labor</i>   | Hungary postpones its attack, the Ottomans will seize the opportunity to attack first. |              |  |      |
| 4. <sup>259</sup> | Sentence 15  | <i>si differretur bellum, animum postea fore</i>                       | Idem   | LIV. 5.5.10. | <i>si differtur bellum, animum postea fore</i>                                       | Idem |
| 5. <sup>260</sup> | Sentence 15. | <i>non differremus bellum, sed intra fines mox futurum acciperemus</i> | Idem   | LIV. 5.5.3.  | <i>non differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus</i> | Idem |

<sup>259</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 88.

<sup>260</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 88.

## Letter 37

|                   |            |   |   |                |  |  |
|-------------------|------------|---|---|----------------|--|--|
| 1. <sup>261</sup> | Sentence 4 | <i>malorum<br/>publicorum<br/>sensum</i>      | Right before the battle of Kosovo Polje John of Zredna expounds the threat the Ottomans pose for Hungary. | LIV. 1.54.10   | <i>sensus malorum<br/>publicorum</i>   | Sextus Tarquinius annihilates the elite of Gabii and tries to hide this from the public by forming the public opinion with generous gifts. |
| 2. <sup>262</sup> | Sentence 9 | <i>furiam illam<br/>facemque<br/>bellorum</i> | Hungary had to fight the Ottoman Empire alone for more than 60 years.                                     | LIV. 21.10.11. | <i>furiam facemque<br/>huius belli</i> | Hanno argues that Carthago needs to give out Hannibal to Rome, as he is the most important initiator of the war against Rome.              |

<sup>261</sup> Iván Boronkai identifies it as a citation of Seneca: Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 90. However, we may notice a marginal note in the ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099 that marks a passage in Livy that is more similar to the present citation than the Seneca passage Boronkai cites: ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099, 10<sup>v</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|                   |              |   |  |               |   |  |
|-------------------|--------------|---|--|---------------|---|--|
| 3. <sup>263</sup> | Sentence 9.  | <i>in privatam curam, in privata quoque unius gentis arma conversam</i>                     | Idem   | LIV. 2.49.1   | <i>in priuatam curam, in priuata arma uersum</i>  | According to Livy the Fabius family managed the war against Veii all alone.  |
| 4. <sup>264</sup> | Sentence 9.  | <i>Idem</i>   | Idem   | LIV. 2.49.4.  | <i>omnes unius gentis</i>   | Idem   |
| 5. <sup>265</sup> | Sentence 11. | <i>obnoxia fratrum nostrorum corpora hosti proposita, ludibria victoris, iugum hostile,</i> | John of Zredna expounds the horrors that accompanied the Ottoman-Hungarian wars. | LIV. 9.5.8–9. | <i>obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria uictoris et</i> | Livy here speaks about the future humiliation and horror that Roman soldiers expected after their defeat at Caudium. |

<sup>263</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>264</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>265</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|                   |             |   |  |              |   |   |
|-------------------|-------------|---|--|--------------|---|---|
|                   |             | <i>fedi captivorum<br/>agminis<br/>miserabilem<br/>viam</i> |  |              | <i>uoltus superbos et<br/>per armatos<br/>inermium iter,<br/>inde foedi agminis<br/>miserabilem uiam<br/>per sociorum<br/>urbes</i> |   |
| 6. <sup>266</sup> | Sentence 10 | <i>funeribus<br/>exhausti</i>                               | Hungary always fought heroically with the Ottomans, although the Kingdom had to endure serious losses. | LIV. 3.32.2. | <i>exhausta funeribus</i>   | Rome had to endure famine and diseases. |
| 7. <sup>267</sup> | Sentence    | <i>lugubres domos</i>                                       | John of Zredna expounds  | LIV. 3.32.2. | <i>lugubres domus</i>   | Idem                                    |

<sup>266</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>267</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|                   |                 |   |  |               |   |   |
|-------------------|-----------------|---|--|---------------|---|---|
|                   | 11.             |   | the horrors that accompanied the Ottoman-Hungarian wars.   |               |   |   |
| 8. <sup>268</sup> | Sentence<br>12. | <i>plus quam hostilia passi</i>                 | The texts explains that a lot of damage was done to Hungary during its wars with the Ottomans.         | LIV. 29.17.8. | <i>plus quam hostilia patiamur</i>            | The city of Locri informs the senate that while they were treated harshly by legate Pleminius, they still asked Rome to solve these problems. |
| 9. <sup>269</sup> | Sentence<br>12. | <i>preter arma et animos libertatis memores</i> | Hungary had to endure such horrors during the Ottoman wars that all what is left for its people is the | LIV. 7.35.8.  | <i>praeter arma et animos armorum memores</i> | During the war against the Samni the Roman troops found themselves among unfavorable geographical   |

<sup>268</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>269</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|            |                 |                                |   |               |                                |   |
|------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------|--------------------------------|---|
|            |                 |                                | memory of freedom.  |               |                                | surrounding. Publius Decius tied up the forces of the enemy with few men to buy time for the main troops to evacuate. He exhorts his soldiers with these words. |
| 10.<br>270 | Sentence<br>12. | <i>extrema<br/>periculorum</i> | Hungary was often near total demise during the Ottoman wars | Liv. 21.34.8. | <i>extremum periculi</i>       | The locals ambush Hannibal in the Alps.   |
|            |                 | CEU eTD Collection             |   | Liv. 7.29.2.  | <i>extrema<br/>periculorum</i> | Livy predicts during the description of the war against the Samni that Rome will  |

<sup>270</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.



|            |                 |   |  |               |   |  |
|------------|-----------------|---|--|---------------|---|--|
|            |                 |   |  |               |   | fight several wars and it will often get near total demise during these.   |
| 11.<br>271 | Sentence<br>12. | <i>nescio, an<br/>maiora vincula<br/>maioresque<br/>necessitates<br/>nobis, an<br/>captivis nostris<br/>fortuna<br/>circumdederit</i> | The inhabitants of Hungary had to endure such horrors that their fate became comparable to the ones who were held captive by the Ottomans. | LIV. 21.43.3. | <i>nescio an maiora<br/>vincula<br/>maioresque<br/>necessitates uobis<br/>quam captivis<br/>uestris fortuna<br/>circumdederit</i> | Hannibal arranges a gladiatorial fight with the locals that he held captive. He argues that the fate of his soldiers may be worse than the captives', as they either win or die on foreign soil. |
| 12.<br>272 | Sentence<br>14. | <i>maioribus prope<br/>adversum nos</i>   | Hungary will never be free from the Ottoman  | LIV. 21.1.3.  | <i>odiis etiam prope<br/>maioribus</i>  | The fighting parties were moved forward by hatred  |

<sup>271</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>272</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|            |                 |  |  |                 |   |  |
|------------|-----------------|--|--|-----------------|---|--|
|            |                 | <i>odiis certat,<br/>quam viribus</i>                | attacks, due to the hatred<br>of the Turks.  |                 | <i>certarunt quam<br/>uiribus</i>                         | during the Punic Wars.   |
| 13.<br>273 | Sentence<br>14. | <i>nullum est satis</i>                              | The Ottoman wars will<br>never end.  | SEN. Thy. 256.  | <i>nullum est satis</i>                                   | Atreus states that nothing can<br>end his thirst for vengeance.                  |
| 14.<br>274 | Sentence<br>19. | <i>florem depasta</i>                                | The internal conflicts of<br>Hungary used up a<br>considerable portion of its<br>resources during the wars<br>with the Ottomans. | VERG. ecl. 1.54 | <i>florem depasta</i>                                     | Idyllic scenery: bees collect<br>nectar at the beautiful<br>countryside.         |
| 15.<br>275 | Sentence 19     | <i>nec incomoda<br/>nostra, nec<br/>remedia pati</i> | The civil war rendered<br>Hungary so weak that it<br>could not retaliate against<br>the attacks of the                           | LIV. 1.praef.9. | <i>nec uitia nostra<br/>nec remedia pati<br/>possumus</i> | Rome became unbearably<br>decadent. however due to<br>its deteriorating state it |

<sup>273</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>274</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>275</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

|            |                 |   |  |                        |   |   |
|------------|-----------------|---|--|------------------------|---|---|
|            |                 | <i>posse</i>  | <b>Ottomans.</b>   |                        |   | <b>cannot solve its problems.</b>   |
| 16.<br>276 | Sentence 20     | <i>vires se ipse<br/>conficiebant</i>                     | <b>During the civil war<br/>Hungary damaged its<br/>own power.</b>                       | <b>LIV. 1.praef.4.</b> | <i>uires se ipsae<br/>conficiunt</i>                        | <b>Rome annihilated its own<br/>resources.</b>  |
| 17.<br>277 | Sentence<br>22. | <i>non ad<br/>gerendum modo,<br/>sed ad<br/>finiendum</i> | <b>John Hunyadi wants to<br/>attack the Ottomans and<br/>thus end the war forever.</b>   | <b>LIV. 28.40.1–2.</b> | <i>non ad gerendum<br/>modo bellum sed<br/>ad finiendum</i> | <b>Scipio wants to attack<br/>Hannibal in Africa and<br/>thus close the Second Punic<br/>War.</b> |
| 18.<br>278 | Sentence 27     | <i>ad<br/>perseveranciam<br/>stimulet</i>                 | <b>It is crucial that Hungary<br/>stays perseverant in its<br/>endavours against the</b> | <b>LIV. 5.4.12.</b>    | <i>ad perseuerandum<br/>stimulet</i>                        | <b>Appius Claudius argues that<br/>the Romans should remain<br/>perseverant in their war</b>      |

<sup>276</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 91.

<sup>277</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 92.

<sup>278</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 92.

|            |             |   |  |                |  |  |
|------------|-------------|---|--|----------------|--|--|
|            |             |   | Ottomans.  |                |  | against Veii.  |
| 19.<br>279 | Sentence 29 | <i>instare<br/>perseveranter,<br/>defungique cura</i> | Idem   | Liv. 5.5.7.    | <i>instare ac<br/>perseuerare<br/>defungique cura</i>                    | Idem   |
| 20.<br>280 | Sentence 30 | <i>Brevis erit res, si<br/>uno tempore<br/>agetur</i> | Idem   | Liv. 5.5.7.    | <i>brevis enim<br/>profecto res est, si<br/>uno tenore<br/>peragitur</i> | Idem   |
| 21.<br>281 | Sentence 31 | <i>domesticorum<br/>funerum</i>                       | The pope can count on Hungarian soldiers who want to avenge their killed loved ones. | Liv. 26.51.13. | <i>domesticorum<br/>funerum</i>  | The Carthaginian generals argue that Scipio's confidence will demise when he thinks about the death of |

<sup>279</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 92.

<sup>280</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 92.

<sup>281</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 92.

|            |              |                                      |  |             |                                      |  |
|------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------|--------------------------------------|--|
|            |              |                                      |  |             |                                      | his loved ones.  |
| 22.<br>282 | Sentence 5.  | <i>lingue<br/>commercium</i>         | The Ottomans forced their language on their Christian subjects.  | LIV. 1.18.3 | <i>lingue commercio</i>              | Numa Pompilius could not get his education from Pythagoras as they did not speak the same language.                      |
| 23.<br>283 | Sentence 21. | <i>ob residuas<br/>bellorum iras</i> | After the closure of the civil war Hungary is able to focus its forces towards the war against the Ottomans. | LIV. 1.30.7 | <i>ob residuas<br/>bellorum iras</i> | After the closure of the war between Rome and Veii, the Sabini hired mercenaries among the unsatisfied citizens of Veii. |

<sup>282</sup> ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099, 3<sup>v</sup>

<sup>283</sup> ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099 6<sup>r</sup>

## Letter 45

|                   |              |  |  |               |  |   |
|-------------------|--------------|--|--|---------------|--|---|
| 1. <sup>284</sup> | Sentence 14. | <i>ocium negotii inopia, non requiescendi studium nobis constituat</i> | John of Zredna writes in the name of John Hunyadi. He wants to secure the help from the Papacy against the Ottomans. During that he mentions that Hungary did not retreat because it wanted to, rather due to the political situation. | Cic. Off. 3.2 | <i>otium negotii inopia, non requiescendi studio constitutum est</i> | Cicero mentions that while Scipio retired on his own terms, he was forced into retirement by the political circumstances. |
|-------------------|--------------|--|--|---------------|--|---|

## Letter 52

|                   |             |                   |                        |               |                        |                           |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <sup>285</sup> | Sentence 7. | <i>Nihil enim</i> | The letter reminds the | Cic. Lig. 38. | <i>Nihil habet nec</i> | Cicero argues that Caesar |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------------|

<sup>284</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 104.

|  |  |   |   |  |   |   |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|---|
|  |  | <i>habet (ut<br/>veteribus illis<br/>verbis coutar)<br/>apostolica<br/>auctoritas<br/>maius, quam ut<br/>possit, nec<br/>debitum melius,<br/>quam ut velit<br/>salvare quam<br/>plurimos.</i> | <p>pope has both the opportunity and the obligation to save the souls of believers by granting them indulgence.</p> |  | <i>fortuna tua maius<br/>quam ut possis,<br/>nec natura melius<br/>quam ut velis<br/>servare quam<br/>plurimos.</i> | <p>has both the opportunity and the affinity to save the defendant, Ligarius during the court proceeding.</p> |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|---|

## Letter 53

|                   |            |                     |                           |             |                     |                            |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <sup>286</sup> | Sentence 4 | <i>praesagienti</i> | John Hunyadi foresaw that | LIV. 1.38.7 | <i>praesagiente</i> | Tarquinius Priscus foresaw |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------------|

<sup>285</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 114.

<sup>286</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 115.

|  |  |              |  |  |              |   |
|--|--|--------------|--|--|--------------|---|
|  |  | <i>animo</i> | it will be a good decision to make Peter Agmándi the bishop of Transylvania. |  | <i>animo</i> | the importance of the Iuppiter-temple on the Capitol Hill when he founded it. |
|--|--|--------------|--|--|--------------|---|

## Letter 60

|                   |              |                       |  |                       |                        |   |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
| 1. <sup>287</sup> | Sentence 29. | <i>piget tedetque</i> | The sender, the royal council of Hungary hates the atrocities against their country and it feels shame about it. | SALL. <i>Iug.</i> 4.9 | <i>piget taedetque</i> | Sallust hates the decadence of Rome and feels shame about it. |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|---|

## Letter 62

|                   |             |                   |                        |                   |                          |                           |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <sup>288</sup> | Sentence 7. | <i>persolvere</i> | John Hunyadi cannot be | VERG. <i>Aen.</i> | <i>persolvere dignas</i> | Aeneas cannot be grateful |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|

<sup>287</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 127.



|  |  |                                       |  |           |                                 |                                 |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|  |  | <i>dignas non opis<br/>est nostre</i> | grateful enough for the<br>great favors of the pope. | 1.600–601 | <i>non opis est<br/>nostrae</i> | enough for the help of<br>Dido. |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|

## Letter 63

|                   |             |  |  |                  |  |  |
|-------------------|-------------|--|--|------------------|--|--|
| 1. <sup>289</sup> | Sentence 8. | <i>magnas gracias<br/>beatitudini<br/>vestre agimus<br/>maioresque<br/>habemus</i> | The royal council thanks<br>Nicholas V for his favors.   | Cic. Marc. 33    | <i>maximas tibi<br/>omnes gratias<br/>agimus, C.<br/>Caesar, maiores<br/>etiam habemus</i> | Cicero thanks Caesar for<br>showing mercy towards<br>Marcellus.                                      |
| 2. <sup>290</sup> | Sentence 8  | <i>semper honos<br/>nomenque suum<br/>laudesque<br/>manebunt</i>                   | Due to the gratefulness of<br>the Hungarian royal<br>council, the memory and<br>glory of Nicholas V will | VERG. Aen. 1.609 | <i>semper honos<br/>nomenque tuum<br/>laudesque<br/>manebunt</i>                           | If Dido helps the fleeing<br>Troians her name and<br>glory will live forever<br>according to Aeneas. |

<sup>288</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 132.

<sup>289</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 134

<sup>290</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 134

|  |  |  |               |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|---------------|--|--|--|
|  |  |  | live forever. |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|---------------|--|--|--|

## Letter 69

|                   |             |  |  |             |  |  |
|-------------------|-------------|--|--|-------------|--|--|
| 1. <sup>291</sup> | Sentence 3. | <i>Dedite eo mentes cum oculis fuere</i>                     | Filling the throne completely occupied the mind of the Hungarian elite before the ascension of Ladislas V. | LIV. 1.9.10 | <i>deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant</i>                                     | When the Romans abducted the daughters of the Sabini, the mind of the Sabini were occupied by festivities.                     |
| 2. <sup>292</sup> | Sentence 3. | <i>lumen rebus dubiis futurum praesidiumque afflicte rei</i> | The future king (Ladislaus V) will bring light to the terribly disturbed Hungarian politics.               | LIV. 1.39.3 | <i>lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae</i> | Tanaquil sees the flames around the head of Servius Tullius and warns his husband that the child will be the defender of Rome. |

<sup>291</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 142.

<sup>292</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 142.

|                   |              |  |   |             |  |   |
|-------------------|--------------|--|---|-------------|--|---|
| 3. <sup>293</sup> | Sentence 8.  | <i>in irritum<br/>cadentis spei</i>                    | If Frederick III lets down the Hungarians once again regarding the freedom of Ladislaus V, new horrors will come for the Kingdom. | LIV. 2.6.1  | <i>ad irritum<br/>cadentis spei</i>                      | Tarquinius Superbus was let down by the suppressed movement that intended to reinstall him as the king of Rome.   |
| 4. <sup>294</sup> | Sentence 10. | <i>ex incomodo<br/>alieno suam<br/>occasionem peti</i> | Frederick the III takes advantage of Hungary's grave situation by his constant attacks.   | LIV. 4.58.2 | <i>ex incommodo<br/>alieno sua occasio<br/>peteretur</i> | The Roman senate renounces the tribute Veii should pay, as the city is debilitated by internal conflicts and they do not want to take advantage of their grave situation. |

<sup>293</sup> Farkas Gábor Kiss, "Origin Narratives," 485–486.

<sup>294</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 143.

|                   |              |  |   |             |  |   |
|-------------------|--------------|--|---|-------------|--|---|
| 5. <sup>295</sup> | Sentence 12. | <i>iuris quicquam<br/>praeter vim</i>                    | Frederick III can only keep<br>Ladislaus V in his court by<br>force, as he does not have<br>legitimate reason for it.                       | LIV. 1.49.3 | <i>ius regni<br/>quicquam praeter<br/>vim</i>    | The reign of Tarquinius<br>Superbus was based on<br>force, as he did not have<br>proper legitimation.   |
| 6. <sup>296</sup> | Sentence 21. | <i>habere potius,<br/>quam sperare<br/>regnum mallet</i> | When Ladislaus V<br>reaches adulthood, he<br>will cease to be only the<br>heir of the throne as he<br>will truly seize his royal<br>powers. | LIV. 1.47.2 | <i>habere quam<br/>sperare regnum<br/>mallet</i> | The wife of Tarquinius<br>Arruns is not satisfied by<br>his meek husband, she<br>rather wanted a man who<br>really strived to seize the<br>royal power. |
| 7. <sup>297</sup> | Sentence 24. | <i>in iure parum<br/>praesidii</i>                       | If Hungary still cannot find<br>protection in the<br>paragraphs of law, then it   | LIV. 1.56.7 | <i>in iure parum<br/>praesidii</i>               | Law could not protect L.<br>Iunius Brutus during the<br>reign of king Tarquinius  |

<sup>295</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 143.

<sup>296</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 144.

<sup>297</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 145.

|                  |              |  |   |                           |   |  |
|------------------|--------------|--|---|---------------------------|---|--|
|                  |              |  | will use force to defend its interests.   |                           |   | Superbus, so he pretended that he was dull in order to appear harmless.  |
| 8 <sup>298</sup> | Sentence 26. | <i>si neglegenciores fuerimus, non solum parum consuluisse, sed potius statui nostro invidisse videremur</i> | If John Hunyadi and the royal council did not defend the interests of Hungary, they would make a great mistake and cause trouble for their country. | Cic. <i>Q. fr.</i> 1.1.44 | <i>si neglegentior fueris, &lt;non&gt; tibi parum consuluisse sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris</i> | Cicero admonishes his brother that he should pay attention to his actions, as if he neglects his reputation, it will cause harm to the reputation of the whole family. |
| 9 <sup>299</sup> | Sentence 3.  | <i>variis voluntatibus submotis regem</i>  | The different parties of Hungarian internal conflicts set aside their   | Liv. 1.17.3               | <i>in variis voluntatibus regnari tamen</i>   | After the death of Romulus internal conflicts broke out in Rome. However, the  |

<sup>298</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 145.

<sup>299</sup> ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099, 2<sup>r</sup>

|                   |             |   |  |              |  |  |
|-------------------|-------------|---|--|--------------|--|--|
|                   |             | <i>omnes mallemus</i>   | rivalries and magnanimously wanted to get a new king for the kingless country.   |              | <i>omnes volebant</i>  | patres feared that their enemies will take advantage of the situation and attack them, so they wanted to solve the questions around power. |
| 10 <sup>300</sup> | Sentence 4. | <i>dimicare non magis cum hostibus, quam cum molestiis sociorum</i> | The internal conflicts weakened Hungary, because the great lords had to fight with their internal enemies, not with the external enemies of the country. | LIV. 1.28.4. | <i>dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam dimicatio maior atque periculosior est quam cum pro dimicacione ac</i> | Tullus Hostilius states in his oration that the betrayal of the Alban troops caused more harm to the Romans than the official enemy.       |

<sup>300</sup> ÖNB Cod. Lat. 3099, 5<sup>v</sup>

|  |  |  |  |  |                          |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|
|  |  |  |  |  | <i>perfidia sociorum</i> |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|

## Letter 71

|                   |             |                               |   |                |                                |  |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---|----------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. <sup>301</sup> | Sentence 2. | <i>quo iure quave iniuria</i> | John of Zredna makes a complaint in the name of Hunyadi that his emissary was imprisoned by the pope. | TER. And. 214. | <i>quo iure quaque iniuria</i> | Davus is pondering on his situation. He fears that his master will suspect that he plots against the intended marriage and thus he will be punished severely, no matter if the accusations will be just or unjust. |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---|----------------|--------------------------------|--|

## Letter 72

|                   |              |                        |                        |                |                        |                             |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <sup>302</sup> | Sentence 35. | <i>piger taedetque</i> | John of Zredna assumes | SALL. Iug. 4.9 | <i>piger taedetque</i> | Sallust hates the decadence |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|

<sup>301</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 147.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |                                   |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|
|  |  |  | that Pope Nicholas V must hate the long conflicts around the diocese of Zagreb and feel shame because of it. |  |  | of Rome and feels shame about it. |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|

## Letter 73

|                   |             |                                       |   |                       |  |   |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---|
| 1. <sup>303</sup> | Sentence 2. | <i>per longas<br/>invaluere moras</i> | The state of the diocese of Zagreb is truly grave because of the dragging conflict around it. | OVID, <i>Rem.</i> 92. | <i>per longas<br/>convaluere moras</i> | If one procrastinates and does not call the doctor, the illness will become graver. |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---|

<sup>302</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 152.

<sup>303</sup> Boronkai, ed., *Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna*, 153.



## Appendix 2<sup>304</sup>

### 4 Texts from fifteenth-century authors who applied the same classical citations as the ones John of Zredna used in particular letters of the Epistolary

| The Citation of the Epistolary                        | Texts citing the same passage  |
|---|--|
| letter 3, citation 2<br><i>(dux salutis et comes)</i> | Arnoldus Gheylouen: Gnotosolitos paruus pars 1, rubrica 10, par. 9 ( <i>equiparatur duci et comiti</i> )<br><br>Antonio Bonfini: Rerum ungaricarum decades, decas 4, liber 3, par. 186 ( <i>potitus virtute duce et comite fortuna preclara multa gesta peregristi</i> ), Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali 3.485 ( <i>virginitate duce et fide comite elephantian exuit</i> ), és 3.956 ( <i>contendamus castitate duce et mutua comite charitate</i> ) |
| letter 37, citation 7<br><i>(lugubres domos)</i>      | Josse Bade: In Parthenicen Catharinarum Bapiste Mantui exp. liber 2, linea 327 ( <i>signa atra idest lugubria domus desetae sup. fiunt.</i> )<br><br>Francesco Filelfo: Epsitolarium libri XLVIII, liber 42 epistula 12 ( <i>inveni domum lugubrem ob recentem obitum unius</i>  |

<sup>304</sup> The material for the following table was gathered using the database of Library of Latin Text (Denecker, ed., “Library of Latin Texts”). Due to this I employ the titles as well as the book, chapter, page, line and letter numbering used in the said database. When the citation in the database follows the book and chapter or line numbering conventions of classical philology, I include only the numbers as it is usually done in the mentioned discipline. In the cases the database uses alternative units to cite a particular piece of the text, I indicate the used units in front of the number in the form they appear in the Library of Latin Texts.

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <i>fili mei)</i>   |
| letter 37, citation 8<br>( <i>plus quam hostilia passi</i> ) | Erasmus of Rotterdam: Epistulae quas composuit Erasmus (1484–1536) epistula 2470 ( <i>Et Argentorati quidem assuerunt eum in me dixisse plus quam hostilia</i> ), Vita Hieronymi pag. 146, linea 894 ( <i>quod sub amicitiae praetextu plus quam hostilia molirentur</i> )   |
| letter 37, citation 22<br>( <i>lingue commercium</i> )       | <p>Antonio Bonfini: Rerum Ungaricarum decades decas 1, liber 9, par. 59 (<i>quos lingue commercia conciliarunt</i>) and decas 1, liber 9, par. 72 (<i>qui cum Bohemis lingue commercio plane coniuncti sunt</i>)</p> <p>Alexander Cortesius: De laudibus bellicis Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis laudes bellici 450 (<i>et mores hominum et variae commercia linguae</i>)</p> <p>Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: Epistolarium – Epistulae privatae quas ante sacerdotium composuit (1431–1445) epist. 152 (<i>illa Hetrusca fuit nec lingue commercium intercessit</i>), Epistolarium – Epistulae priuatae quas sacerdos atque episcopus Tergestinus composuit (1447–1450) epist. 40 (<i>amoris autem conciliator lingue commercium</i>)</p> <p>Rotterdam Erasmus: Epistolarium – Epistulae quas composuit Erasmus (1484–1536) epist. 2206 (<i>nimirum aliarum linguarum commercio</i>), Vita Hieronymi pag. 248, linea 2150 (<i>primum on linguae commercium</i>)</p> |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>letter 53, citation 1</p> <p><i>(presagienti animo)</i></p> | <p>Antonio Bonfini: Rerum Ungaricarum decades, decas 1, liber 3, par. 78. (<i>Nescio, quid magni presagit animus</i>)</p> <p>Francesco Filelfo: Epsitolarium liber 4, epistula 37 (<i>Magna enim animus meus de the praesagit</i>) és 7.12 (<i>Nam animus praesagit nescio quid</i>)</p> <p>Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: Epistularium – Epistulae priuatae quas episcopus Senensis composuit (1450–1454) epistula 274 (<i>quam meus presagit animus</i>)</p> <p>Rotterdam Erasmus: Epistolarium – Epistulae quas composuit Erasmus (1484–1536) epistula 151 (<i>semper mihi male praesagiit animus</i>) and epistula 173 (<i>Mihi sic presagit animus</i>) and epistula 990 (<i>Mihi praesagit animus futurum olim ut istud collegium</i>) and epistula 1009 (<i>de quo mihi praesagit animus</i>) and epistula 1293 (<i>ita isthuc eunti nescio quid mihi mali presagiit animus</i>) and epistula 1411 (<i>De hoc Pontifice mihi mirifice praesagit animus</i>) and epistula 1414 (<i>Quaquam de Adriano mihi semper praesagierat animus nos in parietem caducum inclinare</i>) and epistula 1489 (<i>praesagit animus infelicem et cruentum exitum</i>) and epistula 1597 (<i>Hunc exitum praesagiit animus</i>) and epistula 1599 (<i>nec ausim scribere quod mihi praesagit animus</i>) and epistula 1767 (<i>Ac mihi quidem praesagit animus hanc vel audaciam</i>) and epistula 2149 (<i>Vtinam res felicius cedat omnibus quam mihi praesagit animus</i>) and epistula 2179 (<i>HVNC ludum mihi semper presagiit animus</i>) és epistula 2188 (<i>nihil laeti praesagiebat animus</i>) and epistula 2300 (<i>Animus hoc mihi praesagiebat</i>) and epistula 2403 (<i>Deus omnia vertat in meliorem exitum quam mihi presagit animus</i>) and epistula</p> |
|--|---|

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | 2631 ( <i>Ac mihi praesagit animus istos sacramentarios miserum exitum habituros</i> ) and epistula 2980 ( <i>de quo nihil boni mihi presagiit animus</i> ) and epistula 3076 ( <i>mihi tale quiddam praesagiebat animus</i> )   |
| letter 60, citation 1<br>and letter 72,<br>citation 1 ( <i>piget<br/>tedetque</i> ) | Arnoldus Gheyloven: Gnotosolitus parvus pars 1, rubrica 1, capitulum 4, par. 13 ( <i>Piget, tedet ac penitet et illud Therencii: „Nec quid agam scio”.</i> ),  |
| letter 63, citation 2<br><br>( <i>semper honos<br/>nomenque suum</i> )              | Conradus Celtis: Oeconomia 4.9 ( <i>Semp(er) honos nomenque tuu(m) laudesque manebu(n)t</i> )<br><br>Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: Epistularium – Epistulae priuatae quas episcopus Senensis composuit (1450–1454) epistula 291 ( <i>semper honos nomen que tuum laudesque manebunt</i> )  |
| letter 73, citation 1<br><br>( <i>per longas<br/>invaluere moras</i> )              | Dionysius Cartusianus: Enarratio in evangelium secundum Lucam articulus 35, cap. 13, versus 11 ( <i>juxta illud Ovidii, sero medicina paratur, quum mala per longas invaluere moras</i> )<br><br>Georgius Haloinus: De restauratione linguae latinae lib. 1, epistola prooemialis, par. 25 ( <i>dicente Ovidio: principlais obsta: sero medicina paratur, cum mala per longas convaluere moras</i> ) |