

GÁBOR KECSKEMÉTI

HUNGARIAN CONNECTIONS OF NICODEMUS FRISCHLIN

Several contemporary sources indicate that the noted 16th century German humanist Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) was known in Hungary and had connections there. These are related mostly to the early Frischlin, his activities as a teacher in Tübingen¹ and his staying in Hungary and Croatia. Dávid Zsigmond Kassai (David Sigemundus Cassoviensis, 1556–1587) of Upper Hungary arrived to Tübingen from Wittenberg in August 1577. When he printed his work *Elegia continens hodoeporicon*, his teachers, Frischlin and Martin Crusius greeted it with Latin and Greek poems respectively.² In May 1579, the young Hungarian wrote a preface and an epigram to Frischlin's comedy *Priscianus vapulans* published in Strassburg in 1580. The preface recommended it for reading for its style and praised it for its gentle irony. The epigram placed Frischlin on the level of Buchanan in the history of neo-Latin theatre.³ István Zalánkeméni Kakas

¹ On Tübingen and its university of the age of Frischlin: Volker SCHÄFER, *Universität und Stadt Tübingen zur Zeit Frischlins*, in: *Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590). Poetische und prosaische Praxis unter den Bedingungen des konfessionellen Zeitalters: Tübinger Vorträge*, Hrsg. Sabine HOLTZ, Dieter MARTENS, Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt, Frommann–Holzboog, 1999 (Arbeiten und Editionen zur Mittleren Deutschen Literatur: N. F., 1) (hereafter: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999), 105–142. Overview on Frischlin recently: Richard E. SCHADE, *Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590)*, in: *German Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation: 1280–1580*, ed. James HARDIN, Detroit etc., A Brucoli Clark Layman Book–Gale Research, 1997 (Dictionary of Literary Biography, 179), 83–88.

² SZABÓ Károly, HELLEBRANT Árpád, *Régi magyar könyvtár* (Old Hungarian library), I–III, Budapest, MTA, 1879–1898 (hereafter: RMK), III, no. 683; FRAKNÓI Vilmos, *Adalékok a hazai és külföldi iskolázás történetéhez a XV. és XVI. században* (Additions to the history of home and foreign schooling in the 15th and 16th centuries), *Századok*, 9(1875), 667–677, 676. After the elegy, some greeting poems, amongst them one of Hieronymus Megiserus of Stuttgart, can be found. On Hungarian students studying in Tübingen at the same time: FRANKL [FRAKNÓI] Vilmos, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században* (Home and foreign schooling in the 16th century), Budapest, 1873, 287.

³ RMK III, no. 5404; and APPONYI Sándor, *Hungarica: Magyar vonatkozású külföldi nyomtatványok*, I–II, Budapest, 1900–1902; *Ungarn betreffende im Auslande gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, München, Jacques Rosenthal's Verlag, I, *XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, 1903; II, *XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert (bis 1720)*, 1928; III, *Neue Sammlung*, I, *XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, besorgt von Lajos DÉZSI, 1925; IV, *Neue Sammlung*, 2, *XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert*, besorgt von Lajos DÉZSI, 1927; V, *XV–XVIII. Jahrhundert; Register zu Bd. I–V*, besorgt von József VEKERDI, Budapest, OSZK, 2002 (hereafter: App.), no. 475 = RMK III, no. 5405; their newer edition in 1585: RMK III, no. 5459; SZABÓ György, *Kassai Dávid Zsigmond*, *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények*, 1968, 41–53 (hereafter: SZABÓ Gy. 1968), 43–45; SZABÓ György, *Abafáji Gyulay Pál*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1974 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 3), 55. At the end of it, Frischlin's Tübingen letter certificatory and his *Epicedion* on his father (Jakob Frischlin, 1522–1566) are printed. The latter must be the *De obitu patris*, cited in the manuscript sermon collection of János Foktövi (1614); cf. H. HUBERT Gabriella, *Egy morális antropológia 1614-ből: Foktövi János kézirat predikáció-gyűjteménye* (A moral

(†1603) of Kolozsvár (today Cluj, Romania) wrote a preface in 1584 to Frischlin's work published in Padova that praised the Polish King and Transylvanian Prince István Báthory.⁴ Frischlin appears in Jakob Monau's thematic anthology (1581, 1595) together with Andreas Dudithius (1533–1589) and János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus, 1531–1584).⁵ In the beginning of 1583, Frischlin authored a poem of congratulation for a wed-

anthropology from 1614: the manuscript sermon collection of János Foktövi), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 90(1986), 209–221, 215. On Priscianus comedy: HEINRICH Gusztáv, *A német irodalom története* (The history of German literature), Budapest, Révai, 1889, I–II, II, 338; David PRICE, *The Political Dramaturgy of Nicodemus Frischlin: Essays on Humanist Drama in Germany*, Chapel Hill–London, The University of North Carolina Press, 1990 (University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, 111) (hereafter: PRICE 1990), 69–83; on the performance of it by Nyitra (today Nitra, Slovakia) Piarists in 1750: KILIÁN István, *A magyarországi piarista iskolai színjátszás forrásai és irodalma 1799-ig / Fontes ludorum scenarum in gymnasiis collegiisque Scholarum Piarum Hungariae*, Budapest, Argumentum Kiadó, 1994 (A Magyarországi Iskolai Színjátszás Forrásai és Irodalma), 289. On Frischlin's dramatic works: Adalbert ELSCHENBROICH, *Imitatio und Disputatio in Nikodemus Frischlins Religionskomödie „Phasma“: Späthumanistisches Drama und akademische Unterrichtsmethode in Tübingen am Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (hereafter: ELSCHENBROICH 1976), in: *Stadt, Schule, Universität, Buchwesen und die deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hrsg. Albrecht SCHÖNE, München, Beck, 1976 (hereafter: SCHÖNE 1976), 335–370; *A színház világtörténete* (The world history of theatre), gen. ed. HONT Ferenc, I, ed. STAUD Géza, SZÉKELY György, Budapest, Gondolat, 1986², 212; HALÁSZ Előd, *A német irodalom története* (The history of German literature), Budapest, Gondolat, 1987², 136; Fidel RÄDLE, *Einige Bemerkungen zu Frischlins Dramatik*, in: *Acta conventus neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. Stella Purce REVAR, Fidel RÄDLE, Mario A. DI CESARE, Binghamton NY, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1988 (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 53) (hereafter: REVAR–RÄDLE–DI CESARE 1988), 289–297; LATZKOVITS Miklós, *Argumentum és prólógus a régi magyar drámában* (Argument and prologue in old Hungarian dramas), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 99(1995), 586–594, 588; Andor TARNAL, *La floraison tardive de la poésie et du théâtre latins*, in: *L'Époque de la Renaissance (1400–1600)*, IV, *Crisis et essors nouveaux (1560–1610)*, directeurs Tibor KLANICZAY, Eva KUSHNER, Paul CHAVY, Amsterdam–Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000 (Histoire comparée des littératures de langues européennes), 211–222, 467; on their performances in Catholic, even in Jesuit schools: Fidel RÄDLE, *Frischlin und die Konfessionspolemik im lateinischen Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 495–524, 496. – Kassai had good relations with Frischlin as well as with Crusius, he greeted some works of the latter with poems, he was private student of Crusius in 1578, and was congratulated with a propempticon by his tutor in November 1579 (SZABÓ Gy. 1968, *op. cit.*, 46, 49).

⁴ RMK III, nos. 5448, 7431; S. Katalin NÉMETH, *Ungarische Drucke und Hungarica 1480–1720: Katalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel – Magyar és magyar vonatkozású nyomtatványok 1480–1720: A wolfenbütteli Herzog August Könyvtár katalógusa*, I–III, München etc., Saur, 1993 (hereafter: NÉMETH S. K. 1993), no. H600; NÉMETH S. Katalin, *Hungarikák a wolfenbütteli Herzog August Bibliothekben* (Hungarica in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), in: *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon: A III. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson (Szeged, 1991. augusztus 12–16.) elhangzott előadások* (Old and new peregrination: Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary), ed. BÉKÉSI Imre, JANKOVICS József, KÓSA László, NYERGES Judit, Budapest–Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság–Scriptum Kft., 1993, I–III (hereafter: BÉKÉSI–JANKOVICS–KÓSA–NYERGES 1993), III, 1573–1580, 1577. On foreign studies of Kakas: VERESS Endre, *Zalánkeményi Kakas István*, Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1905 (Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok, 47), 20–32.

⁵ App. no. 485; TARNAL Andor, *A parodia a XVI–XVIII. századi Magyarországon* (Parody in Hungary in 16th–18th centuries), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 94(1990), 444–469, 455.

ding in Laibach (Ljubljana), printed in Németújvár (today Güssing, Austria).⁶ His teaching methodology *De ratione instituendi puerum* was printed in Németújvár in 1584. This begins with a poem addressed to Ferenc Batthyány.⁷ The work was published again in 1621 and 1645 as part of the educational appendix—*Syllecta scholastica*—of the Latin–Hungarian dictionary compiled by Albert Szenci Molnár (1574–1634).⁸ Matthias Hranicae (1569–1619) put down the news of Frischlin’s tragic death into a *Calendarium historicum* edited by Paul Eber.⁹ Joannes Bocatius (1569–1621) commemorated Frischlin in an encomium and called him “Cicero atque Terentius alter”.¹⁰ István Miskolci Csulyak (1575–1645), in his travelling diary, quoted Frischlin’s elegy in memory of Johannes Hus.¹¹

⁶ RMK II, no. 176 = *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* (Old Hungarian printed materials), I–III, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971–2000 (hereafter: RMNy), no. 533. On Frischlin’s Hungarian stay: TURÓCZI-TROSTLER József, *A magyar irodalom európaizálódása* (Europeanization of the Hungarian literature), in: TURÓCZI-TROSTLER József, *Magyar irodalom – világirodalom: Tanulmányok* (Hungarian literature – world literature: Studies), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1961, I–II, II, 5–63, 49.

⁷ RMNy no. 555. The text of the Latin poem: App. no. 2009. Connections of Frischlin and the court of Batthyánys are not even mentioned by Hungarian literature; cf. IVÁNYI Béla, *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjától: Cikkei és anyagyűjtése* (Of the history of Hungarian book culture: Articles and collection of documents), ed. HERNER János, MONOK István, Szeged, 1983 (Adattár, 11); BARLAY Ö. Szabolcs, *Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanisten-Kreis: Die ersten Jahrzehnten der Güssinger Bibliothek*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 1979, 231–251; BARLAY Ö. Szabolcs, *Romon virág: Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról* (Chapters from the Renaissance after Mohács), Budapest, Gondolat, 1986, 183–238; on these connections, see Robert J. W. EVANS, *Frischlin und der ostmitteleuropäische Späthumanismus* (hereafter: EVANS 1999), in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 297–322, 304–311.

⁸ RMK III, no. 1330 = RMNy no. 1239; RMK III, no. 1626 = RMNy no. 2099. Szenci Molnár must have reprinted the 1584 edition. One of Frischlin’s polemical works against Martin Crusius, the posthumous edition of *Poppysmi grammatici dialogus tertius* (Prague, 1596) contains the pedagogical piece, just like the anthology of Johannes Rhenius does (*Methodus institutionis nova quadruplex*, Leipzig, 1617, 1626), however, the dedicatory poem, published again by Szenci Molnár, is absent from these collections.

⁹ SZELESTEI N. László, *Hranicae Mátyás bejegyzései egy Eber-féle Calendarium historicumban* (Entries of Mátyás Hranicae in a *Calendarium historicum* by Eber), *Lymbus*, IV (1992), 1–37, 14. On Eber: Heinrich KÜHNE, *Das Calendarium historicum des Paul Eber*, *Marginalien: Zeitschrift für Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*, 40(1970), 54–65; Walter THÜRINGER, *Paul Eber (1511–1569): Melanchthons Physik und seine Stellung zu Copernicus*, in: *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern*, Hrg. Heinz SCHEIBLE, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 73), 285–320.

¹⁰ Ioannes BOCATIUS, *Opera quae exstant omnia*, ed. Franciscus CSONKA, I–II, *Poetica*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; III, *Prosaica*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum: Series nova, XII/1–3), I, 459–460.

¹¹ Richard PRAŽÁK, *Magyar református humanisták csehországi utazásai a harmincéves háború előtti években* (Bohemian journeys of Hungarian humanists of Calvinist denomination before the thirty years war), in: Richard PRAŽÁK, *Cseh–magyar történelmi kapcsolatok: Történeti, irodalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Bohemian–Hungarian historical connections: Studies in history, literature, and culture), introd. FRIED István, Budapest, Korma Könyvek, 2001 (Bohemia Kézikönyvtár), 56–68, 60. The 1598 Strassburg edition of Frischlin’s “opus poeticum” can be found in the catalogue of Csulyak’s library: *Pécseli Király Imre, Miskolci Csulyak István és Nyéki Vörös Mátyás versei* (Poems), ed. JENEI Ferenc, KLANICZAY Tibor, KOVÁCS József, STOLL Béla, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962 (Régi Magyar Költők Tára: XVII. század, 2), 343.

Frischlin's stay in Wittenberg in 1587–88 is also well known,¹² just as the propempticon that he wrote in honour of János Csanádi, senior of the Hungarian fraternity, who was returning to his homeland.¹³ However, literary research has not paid attention yet to a print from 1587, produced in Wittenberg, which is partly a so far unprocessed, unknown hungaricum,¹⁴ partly quite a strong expression of a significant step in the history of Hungarian literary thinking.

The print contains an oration of Nicodemus Frischlin given at the Wittenberg university at the outset of his private course: *Oratio de exercitationibus oratoriis et poeticis, ad imitationem veterum, recte utiliterque instituendis*.¹⁵ The octavo printed version of forty leaves begins with a four pages dedication dated from 6 December 1587. The dedication is addressed to eleven persons, all young men studying in Wittenberg, all students of Frischlin and members of the circle of his influence. The list starts with Braunschweig-Lüneburg princes Ernestus and Augustus.¹⁶ Tübingen counts and possessors of Lichtenneck Conradus and Aluicus follow, then come Count of Doboka, Ferenc Losonci

¹² SZABÓ András, *Magyarok Wittenbergben (1555–1592)* (Hungarians in Wittenberg) (hereafter: SZABÓ A. 1993), in: BÉKÉSI–JANKOVICS–KÓSA–NYERGES 1993, *op. cit.*, II, 626–638; *idem*, in: SZABÓ András, *Res-publica litteraria: Irodalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a késő humanizmus koráról* (Studies on literature and culture of the late humanism), Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 1999 (hereafter: SZABÓ A. 1999), 79–90, 85 (this treatise is available in German translation: *Ungarische Studenten in Wittenberg 1555–1592*, in: *Iter Germanicum: Deutschland und die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn im 16–17. Jahrhundert*, Hrsg. András SZABÓ, Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 1999, 154–168). Frischlin left Wittenberg in March 1588; David Friedrich STRAUSS, *Leben und Schriften des Dichters und Philologen Nicodemus Frischlin: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Culturgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, Literarische Anstalt, 1856 (hereafter: STRAUSS 1856), 411–412, 420.

¹³ RMK III, no. 779; KONCZ József, *A wittenbergi akadémián a XVI. században tanult magyar ifjak latin versei mint forrásművek és pótlékok a Magyar Athenáshoz* (Latin poems of Hungarian students of the Wittenberg university in the 16th century as sources and additions to the *Magyar Athenás* of Péter Bod), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1(1891), 246–260 (hereafter: KONCZ 1891), 248. Their intimate friendship was deduced from this poem: Géza SZABÓ, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Coetus an der Universität Wittenberg 1555–1613*, Halle/Saale, Akademischer Verlag, 1941 (Bibliothek des Protestantismus im Mittleren Donauraum, 2) (hereafter: SZABÓ G. 1941), 56.

¹⁴ It is not recorded, e. g.: App.; NÉMETH S. K. 1993, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ *Oratio de exercitationibus oratoriis et poeticis, ad imitationem veterum, recte utiliterque instituendis*, recitata a Nicodemo FRISCHLINO in Academia Wuitebergensi, Wittenberg, 1587. In the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 108.3 Rhet. (4). The oration was reprinted in more posthumous collections of the works of Frischlin (Nicodemi FRISCHLINI *Cum in Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini Epistolarum libros duos: tum A. Persii Flacci Volaterrani Satyras sex eruditae et elegantes Paraphrases; quae vice Commentarii esse possunt. Adiecta Oratione de exercitationibus oratoriis et poeticis, ad imitationem veterum, recte utiliterque instituendis: nec non carmine Panegyrico de quinque potentissimis Saxoniae ducibus, etc.*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1596, 320–377; its later editions: 1602, 1607; Nicodemus FRISCHLIN, *Orationes insigniores aliquot*, editae opera et studio M. Georgii PFLUEGERI Ulmani, Strassburg, 1598, 112–168; its later editions: 1605, 1618), however, the text of dedication was omitted from all of these.

¹⁶ Ernst II (1564–1611, gov. 1592–1611) and August Sr. (1568–1636, gov. 1633–1636), sons of Wilhelm Jr. (1535–1592, gov. 1559–1592).

Bánffy,¹⁷ then Limburg baron Carolus, Scherffenberg baron Ulricus Christophorus, then gentleman “in Horouuiz” Andreas Dudithius, and Baron Mihály Gimesi Forgách. The last in the list are the Polish gentleman Andreas Kochyzki and Joannes “liber baro” from Buchaim.

It has already been known that Bánffy and Forgách (1569–1603)¹⁸ stayed in Wittenberg from the summer of 1587 through 1589. Ferenc Bánffy and his tutor became members of the Hungarian fraternity on 26 July. The tutor, János Baranyai Decsi (1560–1601) later became a noted humanist, and wrote and published an account of their journey with the title *Hodoeporicon*. They both entered the university and, together with Andreas Dudithius Jr.,¹⁹ found a place to stay with the professor of medicine Salamon Alberti (1540–1600). The professor was the Rector of the university at the end of 1587.²⁰ In Frischlin’s dedication a fourth housemate appears. He is Andreas Kochyzki, also mentioned at the end of *Hodoeporicon*.²¹ Forgách—together with his entourage of three

¹⁷ His title was misprinted: “Comiti Debocensi”. The correct title can be found in the records of the coetus: SZABÓ G. 1941, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁸ SZABÓ András, *Levelek és levelezés a kései humanizmusban* (Letters and correspondence in late humanism) (hereafter: SZABÓ A. 1993/1999), in: SZABÓ A. 1999, *op. cit.*, 101–110, 106–108.

¹⁹ *Johann Jacob Grynaeus magyar kapcsolatai* (Hungarian connections of Johann Jacob Grynaeus), ed. SZABÓ András, Szeged, 1989 (Adattár, 22) (hereafter: SZABÓ A. 1989), 140; SZABÓ A. 1993, *op. cit.*, 84. On senior Dudithius’ connections with the Hungarian coetus of Wittenberg and his plan in 1585 of bequeathing his library to an intended “Collegium Dudithianum” of Hungarian, Croatian and Slovenian students staying in Wittenberg, see KESERŰ Bálint, *Újfalvi Imre és az európai „későhumanista ellenzék”* (Imre Újfalvi and the European “late humanist opposition”), *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*, 9(1969), 3–46 (hereafter: KESERŰ 1969), 11; SZABÓ A. 1993, *op. cit.*, 84. Dudithius junior was born in 1568 and studied in Wittenberg from September 1586, see Pierre COSTIL, *André Dudith, humaniste hongrois, 1533–1589: Sa vie, son oeuvre et ses manuscrits grecs*, Paris, Société d’Édition des Belles Lettres, 1935, 136, 215–217, 402–403; Lech SZCZUCKI, *Magna indole puer = Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban: Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére* (Cultural efforts in the early modern age: Studies in honour of Bálint Keserű), ed. BALÁZS Mihály, FONT Zsuzsa, KESERŰ Gizella, ÖTVÖS Péter, Szeged, JATE, 1997 (Adattár, 35), 555–560. Frischlin’s name has not been mentioned in connection with the Dudithiuses till now. The list of teachers of Dudithius Jr. known so far includes Esiom Rüdiger former Wittenberg (SZABÓ A. 1993, *op. cit.*, 81), Quirinus Reuter (1558–1613) later Heidelberg and Salomon Gessner (1559–1605) later Wittenberg professors (Andreae DUDITH *Orationes quinque in Concilio Tridentino habitae quarum posteriores duae nunc primum e Msc. prodeunt: Praefatus est ac dissertationem De vita et scriptis ill. auctoris historico-criticam adiecit* Lorandus SAMUELFY, *Halae Magdeburgicae*, 1743, 88–89). I was unable to find a copy of the edition of the Frischlinian oration dedicated to the young Dudithius that would bear the marks of former belonging to the Dudithius library. Just one tenth of this library could have been restored: JANKOVICS József, MONOK István, *Dudith András könyvtára: Részleges rekonstrukció* (The library of Andreas Dudithius: A partial reconstruction), Szeged, Scriptorum Kft., 1993 (Adattár, 12/3), 7–20.

²⁰ SZABÓ G. 1941, *op. cit.*, 142.

²¹ *Magyar utazási irodalom 15–18. század* (Hungarian travel books from the 15–18th centuries), ed. KOVÁCS Sándor Iván, MONOK István, Budapest, Szépirodalmi, 1990 (Magyar Remekírók) (hereafter: KOVÁCS S. I.–MONOK 1990), 247–264, 264. His name is left without annotation by TARDY Lajos, *Baranyai Decsi Czimor János Hodoeporiconja (1587)* (The *Hodoeporicon* of János Baranyai Decsi Czimor), *Filológiai Közlemény*, 1965, 359–371, 368. He was an offspring of Kochticky family (Freiherr von Kochtitz und Lublinietz, i.e. Kochcice and Lubliniec near Częstochowa), son of Johannes Kochticky (1543–1611) mentioned regularly in the correspondence of Maximilian II and Dudithius Sr.

persons, his tutor Demeter Krakkai and two young noblemen, Zsigmond Máriássy (1569–1622)²² and Zsigmond Újfalusi Péchy²³—joined the Hungarian fraternity on the 3rd of August.²⁴ We have known that Forgách published his speech given in the fraternity in the same year with the title *Oratio de peregrinatione et eius laudibus*.²⁵ We have known that the exchange of letters between Forgách and Justus Lipsius happened in 1588 and 1589;²⁶ we have known that he started a correspondence with Johann Jacob Grynaeus in 1588;²⁷ we have known that Matthaeus Dresser dedicated a part of his *Isagoges historicae* to him;²⁸ we have known that he knew Giordano Bruno who was staying in Wittenberg as a private tutor.²⁹ On account of these connections, we have appreciated Forgách as somebody “with a special gift to discover the most original, talented minds”³⁰ and, because of this, he has had a special role in the “history of the modern European

²² On a letter written to him by Sebastianus Ambrosius Lahm in 1595, see SZABÓ András, *A magyar késő-humanizmus történetéhez* (To the history of Hungarian late humanism), in: *Collectanea Tiburtiana: Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* (Studies in honour of Tibor Klaniczay), ed. GALAVICS Géza, HERNER János, KESERŰ Bálint, Szeged, 1990 (Adattár, 10) (hereafter: GALAVICS–HERNER–KESERŰ 1990), 215–232, 225–229.

²³ His oration published in 1588 in Wittenberg (*Oratio de bonis animi et corporis*) was dedicated to Forgách (RMK III, no. 5490).

²⁴ SZABÓ G. 1941, *op. cit.*, 141.

²⁵ RMK III, no. 769; Hungarian translation: FORGÁCH Mihály, *Beszéd az utazásról és dicsőségéről* (1587), transl. KULCSÁR Péter, in: KOVÁCS S. I.–MONOK 1990, *op. cit.*, 7–33.

²⁶ FORGÁCH Mihály és Justus LIPSIVS levélváltása (The exchange of letters between Mihály Forgách and Justus Lipsius), ed. KLANICZAY Tibor, Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 1970 (hereafter: FORGÁCH 1970); Justus LIPSI *Epistolae*, Brussel, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten), I, 1564–1583, cura A. GERLO, M. A. NAUWELAERTS, H. D. L. VERVLIEET, 1978; II, 1584–1587, cura M. A. NAUWELAERTS iuvante S. SUÉ, 1983; III, 1588–1590, eas ediderunt, adnotatione critica instruxerunt, notisque illustrarunt Sylvette SUÉ, Hugo PEETERS, 1987; V, 1592, quam curaverunt edendem Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER, Jacques KLUYSKENS, 1991; VI, 1593, quam curavit edendem Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER, 1994; VII, 1594, quam curavit edendem Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER, 1997; XIII, 1600, quam curavit edendem Jan PAPPY, 2000 (hereafter: LIPSIVS 1564–1606), III, 144–146 (88 11 14 F), 173 (89 06 05 F).

²⁷ SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 85–89. Krakkai wrote his first letter to Grynaeus in 1586 from Strassburg (SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 92), Baranyai Decsi got into connection with him in early 1590 from the same town (SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 140), Bánffy had no direct contact with the Basle theologian (SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 54–57, 143).

²⁸ App. no. 314; SZABÓ András, *Mágocsy Gáspár és András udvara* (The court of Gáspár and András Mágocsy), in: *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Culture in Hungarian Renaissance courts), ed. R. VÁRKONYI Ágnes, Budapest, Gondolat, 1987, 263–278, 277. Earlier literature on the connections of Dresser and the Wittenberg Hungarian coetus: KONCZ 1891, *op. cit.*, 249–250; Miklós ASZTALOS, *Wissenschaftliches Leben in der Wittenberger ungarischen Gesellschaft im 16. Jahrhundert*, Ungarische Jahrbücher, 1930, 128–133 (hereafter: ASZTALOS 1930), 128–129.

²⁹ KOLTAY-KASTNER Jenő, *Giordano Bruno a magyar irodalomban* (Giordano Bruno in the Hungarian literature), *Irodalomtörténet*, 38(1950)/2, 101–107, 102–103; SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 152; SZABÓ A. 1993/1999, *op. cit.*, in: SZABÓ A. 1999, *op. cit.*, 107. On Bruno’s Wittenberg stay: SZABÓ A. 1993, *op. cit.*, 84–85. On acquaintance of Frischlin and Bruno: Samuel M. WHEELIS, *Publish and Perish: On the Martyrdom of Philipp Nicodemus Frischlin*, *Neophilologus*, 58(1974), 41–51.

³⁰ SZABÓ A. 1993/1999, *op. cit.*, in: SZABÓ A. 1999, *op. cit.*, 107.

orientation of Hungarian intellectual life”.³¹ We have known that the years 1587–88 may have been the brightest ones in the history of the Hungarian fraternity in Wittenberg,³² and the fact that Ferenc Bánffy was Rector at the end of 1588³³ may be related to the crypto-Calvinist–Melanchthonian attempt to transform the university.³⁴ The two young Hungarian noblemen’s—Forgách and Bánffy—connection to Frischlin may add new data to the intellectual orientation and system of personal connections of the period. Twenty-eight Hungarian students matriculated in 1587 in Wittenberg.³⁵ It is obvious that, beyond those mentioned in the dedication, other members of the fraternity and all Hungarian students may have heard about the correspondence with Frischlin, and this may add a crowd to the actors in the history of our reception of Frischlin.

This work of Frischlin is also worth reading, because its connections concerning the history of ideas are more important than the Hungarian aspects and the facts of the author’s Hungarian relations.

The essay begins with appreciation of the fact that it was Melanchthon who led Germany out from barbarism. Frischlin is not afraid that without and after the *praeceptor Germaniae* things would start “retro sublapsa referri”,³⁶ and elevated speech was also always highly acclaimed at this university. Then why would he give up “cramben recoc-tam”?³⁷—this is his oratorical question. Why does he praise Melanchthon’s importance

³¹ FORGÁCH 1970, *op. cit.*, 5.

³² ASZTALOS 1930, *op. cit.*, 129–131; SZABÓ G. 1941, *op. cit.*, 66–71; KESERŐ 1969, *op. cit.*, 10–11; KLANICZAY Tibor, *Az akadémiai mozgalom és Magyarország a reneszánsz korában* (The academic movement and Hungary in the age of Renaissance), in: KLANICZAY Tibor, *Pallas magyar ivadéka* (Hungarian seed of Pallas), Budapest, Szépirodalmi, 1985, 9–31, 26–27.

³³ Cf. RMK III, no. 5496.

³⁴ SZABÓ A. 1989, *op. cit.*, 140.

³⁵ ASZTALOS 1930, *op. cit.*, 129. Out of them, only the four young men mentioned above were of noble origin. On the importance of this fact: KEVEHÁZI Katalin, *Melanchton és a Wittenbergben tanult magyarok az 1550-es évektől 1587-ig: Adalékok Melanchton magyarországi recepciójának első évszázadához* (Melanchthon and the Hungarians who studied in Wittenberg from the 1550’s to 1587: Additions to the first century of Hungarian reception of Melanchthon), Szeged, 1986 (Dissertationes ex Bibliotheca Universitatis de Attila József nominatae, 10), 37.

³⁶ Virg. *Georg.* I,200; *Aen.* II,169. This locus in the old Hungarian literature and intellectual history: KECSKEMÉTI Gábor, *Prédikáció, retorika, irodalomtörténet: A magyar nyelvű halotti beszéd a 17. században* (Preaching, rhetorics, literary history: Hungarian funeral oratory in the 17th century), Budapest, Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1998 (Historia Litteraria, 5), 124–125. On the appreciation of Virgil by Frischlin: GÜNTER HESS, *Deutsch und Latein bei Frischlin: Imitatio und Alweichung* (hereafter: HESS, G. 1999), in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 471–493, 478. On his imitation of Maffeo Vegio’s continuation of *Aeneis*: WALTHER LUDWIG, *Der Doppelpokal der Tübinger Universität von 1575 und zwei neue Epigramme des Nikodemus Frischlin*, *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 60(2001), 139–151; on this occasion: RICHARD ERICH SCHADE, *Court Festival in Stuttgart: Nicodemus Frischlin’s Württembergische Hochzeit (1575)*, *Daphnis*, 23(1994), 371–407; WALTHER LUDWIG, *Frischlin’s Epos über die württemberg-badische Hochzeit von 1575 und zwei neue Briefe Frischlins*, *Daphnis*, 29(2000), 413–464. – Melanchthon’s famous oration of 1518 (*De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis*) as the model of Frischlin’s oration was identified by WILFRIED BARNER, *Nicodemus Frischlin’s „satirische Freiheit”* (hereafter: BARNER 1999), in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 397–422, 420.

³⁷ Cf. *Juv. Sat.* VII,154.

in oratory when a wise man can only agree with this? His immediate answer is that a better summary of the *ars* of rhetoric than Melanchthon's two books still cannot be given; there is no one *perfectior, absolutior* of him. Also, professors here practice rhetorical theory in a way that if he wanted to talk about this, we would be entitled to say "noctuas Athenas".³⁸ However, it might be useful to talk about *exercitatio*—following good authors. There are two kinds of this: *praeexercitationes* and *declamatio*. In this oration, Frischlin only speaks about the first.³⁹ In supporting its importance he goes far: he compares grammar to the *sterquilinum* of Ennius.⁴⁰ He says that digging in this is useless and reading authors is acquiring pure gold; this is the ideal.

In the year of 1587, the writings of Frischlin are basically characterized by an involvement in a lengthy and passionate debate. The print dedicated to the Hungarian students can only be interpreted correctly if it is placed into this series of polemical writings. The debate went on between Frischlin and Martin Crusius (1526–1607), his former teacher in Tübingen and later fellow professor.⁴¹

Crusius—according to his careful notes—first taught the 17-year-old Frischlin in March 1563 "in Rhetorica Philippi Melancht. et in orationib. Ciceronis".⁴² The material

³⁸ The Greek equivalent of this expression was used first by Aristophanes (*Birds* 1,298), Frischlin's beloved author (on his sympathy, see David PRICE, *Nicodemus Frischlin's Rhetoric* [hereafter: PRICE 1988], in: REVARD-RÄDLE-DI CESARE 1988, *op. cit.*, 531–539, 533–534).

³⁹ Abridgement of the oration: STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 409–411; PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 29–30; Nicola KAMINSKI, *Dekonstruktive Stimmenvielfalt: Zur Polyphonen imitatio-Konzeption in Frischlins Komödien Hildegardis Magna und Helvetiogermani*, *Daphnis*, 24(1995)/1, 79–133, 83; HESS, G. 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ-MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 482–483. Günter Hess described the oration as the poetics of imitation of *poeta philologus*, a kind of "Poetik der Imitations- und Zitatkunst" (Günter HESS, *Deutsch-lateinische Narrenzunft: Studien zum Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Latinität in der satirischen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971, 163, 338). Eckart Schäfer redefined this more crisply: "mit genialischer Unverschämtheit aus der Imitatio fast eine Theorie des Plagiats machte" (Eckart SCHÄFER, *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis, Georg Fabricius, Paul Melissus, Jakob Balde: Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands*, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1976 [hereafter: SCHÄFER, E. 1976], 44). – On the closure of the oration: PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 45; BARNER 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ-MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 420.

⁴⁰ Cf. "respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii". Aelius DONATUS, *Vergilii vita*, in: *Vitae Vergilianae*, recensuit Iacobus BRUMMER, Leipzig, Teubner, 1912 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), 1–38, 31, interpolation after line 193 of the edition.

⁴¹ Egidius SCHMALZRIEDT, *Martinus Crusius (1526–1607) Philologe und Rhetoriker*, in: *500 Jahre Tübinger Rhetorik, 30 Jahre Rhetorisches Seminar: Katalog zur Ausstellung im Bonatzbau der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen vom 12. Mai bis 31. Juli 1997*, Hrsg. Joachim KNAPE, Redaktion und Gestaltung Hagen SCHICK, Tübingen, Seminar für Allgemeine Rhetorik, 1997, 44–50.

⁴² Martini CRUSII, in Tybingensi Academia utriusque linguae Professoris, *adversus Nicodemi Frischlini, P. L. Comitum Palatini Caesaris, quinque rei Grammaticae, et virulentarum calumniarum, Dialogos, anno 1587. editos, defensio necessaria*, Basle, 1587 (hereafter: CRUSIUS 1587), 148. It must have happened in the third class of the Pädagogium of the university, where "lectio rhetorices Melanchthonis" was taught by Crusius between 1559 and 1569. The same subject was taught by Georg Liebler between 1575 and 1594. Therewithal, from 1559 until his death Crusius lectured on "lectio linguae Graecae sive poetics Graecae". Norbert HOFMANN, *Die Artistenfakultät an der Universität Tübingen 1534–1601*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck),

taught can be accurately reconstructed, since it was exactly 1563 when Crusius' textbook explaining Melanchthon's *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* was published.⁴³ In this, all chapters are followed by a much longer section written by Crusius. These contain questions and exercises. The book is a clear, beautiful humanist textbook with a wide margin,⁴⁴ rich in examples and lucid explanations. In the next year, Frischlin attended classes of a colleague of Crusius, professor of rhetoric, Georg Hizler. The latter made him a baccalaureus in March 1564.⁴⁵ The young student of humanities served as a professor of Latin poetics and history from 1567.⁴⁶ His relationship with Crusius started to decline in the 70's. This animosity was one of the reasons of his leaving the university in 1582.⁴⁷

The debate became more and more desperate in the years to come. Frischlin described this the following way:⁴⁸ When he was invited to Laibach in 1582 in order to teach children of Kraina noblemen,⁴⁹ he found textbooks in the school that had been published in Strassburg and Tübingen anonymously. These, as he found out, were largely abstracted from Melanchthon's work, but with many errors. With the help of his protectors and his predecessor, he collected many grammatical textbooks. (He did not see any by Crusius and was unaware of the existence of any.) He had a very low opinion of these books: "Philippo et Linacro sua furari, Scaligero, et, (ut iam quoque video) Saturnio, Hieronymo Ruscello, Q. Corrado Mario, atque aliis adversos esse: Mureti, Lipsii, Lambini, Adriani Turnebi, Josephi Scaligeri et similibus animadversiones aut contemnere, aut non legere, plerisque omnibus aequae studium."⁵⁰ Not only they reproduce Melanchthon under their

1982 (Contubernium: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 28) (hereafter: HOFMANN 1982), 238–250.

⁴³ Philippi MELANTHONIS *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* Martini CRUSII *quaestionis explicati*, in *Academia Tybingensi*, Basle, 1563. The epitomized version of the work was published in 1590: Martini CRUSII *Quaestionum*, in *Philippi Melanchthonis Elementorum Rhetorices libros duos, Epitome*, Tübingen, 1590.

⁴⁴ On the importance of this, see Paul F. GEHL, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence*, Ithaca–London, Cornell University Press, 1993.

⁴⁵ CRUSIUS 1587, *op. cit.*, 148. Hizler (1528–1591) taught the orations of Cicero and rhetoric of Melanchthon in the fourth class between 1559 and 1587. He was followed by Crusius, teaching this subject until his death. HOFMANN 1982, *op. cit.*, 238–250.

⁴⁶ On the deficiency of university prospects and neglect of Frischlin on several occasions in the seventies: Hedwig RÖCKELEIN, Casimir BUMILLER, *Ein unruhig Poet: Nikodemus Frischlin 1547–1590*, Balingen, Stadtarchiv, 1990 (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Balingen, 2), 47.

⁴⁷ SCHERER, in: ADB, 8, 96–104; Gustav BEBERMEYER, in: NDB, 5, 620–621. On their hostility: Reinhold STAHLCKER, *Martin Crusius und Nikodemus Frischlin*, *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 7(1943), 323–366 (hereafter: STAHLCKER 1943).

⁴⁸ Nicodemus FRISCHLIN, *Strigilis grammatica; Pro sua Grammaticae et Strigili grammaticae dialogi tres*, Oberursel, 1587 (RMK III, no. 5478) (hereafter: FRISCHLIN 1587a), a2r–b1r.

⁴⁹ On Frischlin's Laibach directorate: STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 247–281.

⁵⁰ Of the mentioned humanists less known are: Thomas Linacer (c. 1460–1524), his grammatical works: *Progymnasmata grammatices vulgaria* (London, c. 1515), *Rudimenta grammatices* (ibid., c. 1523), *De emendata structura Latini sermonis* (ibid., 1524), the latter two works were published in many later editions; Augustinus Saturnius, author of *Mercurii maioris sive grammaticarum institutionum libri X* (Basle, 1546); Girolamo Ruscelli (c. 1504–1566), his grammatical works: *Osservazioni della lingua volgare* (in his *Tre discorsi*, Venice, 1553), *De' commentarii della lingua Italiana libri sette* (ibid., 1581); Quinto Mario Corrado

own names, they do it “nugacissimis, atque inutilissimis nugis aliunde assutis”. Frischlin studied many authors, among these it was the work of Scaliger in which he found new and inspiring system that served as a basis of his own grammar. His Italian friends suggested publishing his ideas. Frischlin published several works of grammar, like *Strigilis grammatica* (Venice, 1584) containing three tracts and *Grammaticae latina* (Tübingen, 1585; Frankfurt, 1586). The response was positive and János Zsámboky greeted *Strigilis* in a letter.⁵¹

Martin Crusius saw the published works and their warm reception⁵² and this made him write his *Libri duo ad Nicodemum Frischlinum*. The first book is called *Animadversiones in Grammaticen eius Latinam*, the second is called *Antistrigilis*. There is a fictitious letter from a “paedagogulus misellus” to Frischlin attached to the second book. According to one handwritten note of Crusius, this is the work of Georg Liebler.⁵³ It came out in Strassburg in 1586.

(1508–1575), author of several grammatical works (*De lingua Latina libri XIII*, Bologna, 1575; *De copia Latini sermonis libri V*, Venice, 1582); Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), son of Julius Caesar Scaliger, he stated his grammatical views in his commentaries of editions of M. Terentius Varro (Geneva, 1573, 1581) and Sextus Pompeius Festus (Paris, 1584).

⁵¹ Although Frischlin had entered into relations with Zsámboky (Sambucus) as early as 1570, with commendation from Crusius (EVANS 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 312), he is not mentioned in Zsámboky’s letters collected by Hans Gerstinger—*Die Briefe des Johannes SAMBUCUS (ZSAMBOKY) 1554–1584*, Hrsg. Hans GERSTINGER; *Anhang: Die Sambucusbriefe im Kreisarchiv von Trnava*, Hrsg. Anton VANTUCH, Graz–Wien–Köln, Böhlau, 1968 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–Historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte, 255)—; admittedly, dedicatory letters are not gathered in this edition. Frischlin is absent from a Slovakian monograph on Zsámboky—Anton VANTUCH, *Ján Sambucus: Život a dielo renesančného učenca*, Bratislava, Veda, 1975 (Dejiny vied a techniky)—, as well as from humanist acquaintances of Zsámboky registered by earlier Hungarian research (Ladislaus VARGA, *Quibusnam cum viris doctissimis Europae Sambucus coniunctiones litterarias inierit?*, *Acta Classica Universitatis Debreceniensis*, 1967, 99–115). Only one work of Frischlin, his commentary on Callimachus (1577) has been reported to come of the library of Zsámboky; GULYÁS Pál, *A Zsámboky-könyvtár katalógusa (1587)* (The catalogue of the library of Zsámboky, 1587), ed. MONOK István, Szeged, Scriptorum Kft., 1992 (Adattár, 12/2), 160, no. 341. In spite of these poor details, Frischlin had the occasion to contact Zsámboky in Vienna directly, or from Németújvár with the intervention of Boldizsár Batthyány; on the latter possibility: RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY Ágnes, *Zsámboky János levelei Batthyány Boldizsárhoz* (Letters of János Zsámboky to Boldizsár Batthyány), in: GALAVICS–HERNER–KESERŰ 1990, *op. cit.*, 209–213; *idem*, in: RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY Ágnes, „*Nympha super ripam Danubii*”: *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (Studies on the Hungarian culture of the 15–16th centuries), Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2002 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 28), 213–217.

⁵² STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 377–378.

⁵³ STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 383. For Georg Liebler (1524–1600)—known mainly of his works on physics—Frischlin had had an amicable attachment at the end of the seventies: an oration of Liebler was published with Frischlin’s *Phaloecium nuptiale*, greeting the marriage of the author. Georgius LIEBLER, *Oratio de causis corruptae iuventutis, habita in Academia Tubingensi: cum primae laureae honores, 49 adolescentibus conferrentur*, Tübingen, 1576.

Frischlin wrote as many as six responses to the work of Crusius in the form of dialogue. They were published late in 1586 and in early 1587 under the titles *Pro sua Grammatice et Strigili grammatica* and *Poppysmus grammaticus*.⁵⁴

Crusius felt it necessary to reply to all the dialogues immediately in a work dated from 4 July 1587.⁵⁵ As he sees it, since the world was created, no student had ever hurt his teacher in such a way. His oratorical question is: what can a teacher do when he finds in his student characteristics of a new Catilina, a new Clodius?⁵⁶ Turning to the content, he resents that the expression “excrementa Enniana aut Acciana” was applied to grammar. According to him, Frischlin attributes views to him that he has never said and does not hold, and all the Italian authorities cited with great vehemence would in fact oppose Frischlin.

Frischlin’s response to Crusius’ work was *Celetismus grammaticus*, in which he added two more dialogues to the existing ones. These were written late in 1587⁵⁷ and published in 1588. The first part includes a letter from Lipsius to Frischlin.⁵⁸ “Cum Crusio tua liti-

⁵⁴ The first dialogue of *Pro sua Grammatice et Strigili grammatica dialogi tres* had been written in September 1586 in Frankfurt and was published for the autumn bookfair of the same year (Frischlin sent it to Lipsius in October), second and third dialogues had been prepared in October in Marburg and were sold on the spring bookfair of the next year. The two first dialogues of *Poppysmus grammaticus*, dedicated to Josephus Scaliger and Justus Lipsius, were printed at the same time, they had been written in November and December in Leipzig (the third one was to be published posthumously). The long title of the latter reverses the letter of “paedagogulus misellus” against Crusius and his Tübingen friends: ...*adversus M. Crusii, et Moropolitarum, Tubingae Bacchantium, Coccysmos, sive Antistrigilem*. The Greek word of the title—meaning ‘cuckooing’—is a synonym used by Frischlin to refer to *Antistrigilis*. On dating these works: STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 385. On the whole dispute: 373–399.

⁵⁵ CRUSIUS 1587, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Cited by STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 395.

⁵⁷ STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 385.

⁵⁸ Only one exchange of letters between Lipsius and Frischlin is registered in the inventory of the letters of Lipsius: Frischlin addressed himself to Lipsius on 15 October 1586 from Marburg (Alois GERLO, Hendrik D. L. VERVLIET, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564–1606*, Anvers, Éditions scientifiques Érasme, 1968 [hereafter: GERLO–VERVLIET 1968], 86 10 15 F), paid great reverence to him (“O mi Lipsi, ocelle totius Germaniae, lux literarum...”), and informed him of the disputes with Crusius, asking his protection: “Non ego frustra Priscianum scripsi vapulantem nec frustra litem suscepi contra Crusium procacissime delirantem. Nihil enim valet Julius Scaliger, nihil Saturnius, nihil Marius Corradus, nihil Ruscellus, nihil ceteri, qui quasdā nugas Grammaticorum oppugnarunt. Itaque in acie iam versor contra delirum et vere stupidum hominem. Te vero expeto patrociniū, qui in hoc certamine tuum interponas iudiciū.” (LIPSIUS 1564–1606, *op. cit.*, II, 305–307.) He attached his first dialogue against Crusius. Lipsius answered him from Leiden in January 1587 (GERLO–VERVLIET 1968, *op. cit.*, 87 01 00). This answer was published by Frischlin in 1588, next time it was printed in the second volume of the letter collection of Lipsius in 1590. The second edition (containing Lipsius’ letter to Forgách as well) was discovered by János Rimay in the study of Péter Révay in summer of 1592; Antoine CORON, *Justus Lipsius levelezése a magyarokkal és Révay Péter kiadatlan levele Lipsiushoz* (The correspondence of Justus Lipsius with Hungarians and an unedited letter of Péter Révay to Lipsius), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 80(1976), 490–496, 495. – There is no evidence of any exchange between Lipsius and Crusius, and no other letter of Lipsius published so far mentions even the names of Frischlin or Crusius. Crusius disapproved of Lipsius. In November 1596, in a conversation, he interjected the following remark “(occasione incidente) de Iusto Lipsio: mihi eius ellipses verborum in Scriptis, non placere.” Martin CRUSIUS, *Diarium*, Tübingen, Verlag der H. Laupp’schen Buchhandlung, I, 1596–

cula nonnihil me cruciat”—wrote the humanist from the Netherlands and then explained his regret saying that it is a waste, a scattering of the forces to fight with each other “in hac paucitate eruditorum”. Nevertheless, in the coming sentences he clearly takes sides with Frischlin. “Sed tamen, libere dicam, etsi aetate ille grandior, tu mihi in hoc certamine Achilles, ille Troilus videtur.”⁵⁹ Troilus—Crusius that is—issued another response in September the same year.⁶⁰ This was the last one.

After Frischlin’s captivity in Württemberg⁶¹ and his death in an attempt to escape in 1590, Crusius’ authority became indisputable.⁶² However, Crusius shed—as Frischlin’s brother, Jakob⁶³ put it—some crocodile tears for Frischlin.⁶⁴

1597, Hrsg. Wilhelm GÖZ, Ernst CONRAD, 1927; II, 1598–1599, Hrsg. Wilhelm GÖZ, Ernst CONRAD, 1931; III, 1600–1605, unter Mitwirkung von Reinhold RAU und Hans WIDMANN Hrsg. Reinhold STAHLCKER, Eugen STAIGER, 1958; *Gesamtregister*, bearb. Eugen STAIGER, 1961 (hereafter: CRUSIUS 1596–1605/1927–1961), I, 242.

⁵⁹ LIPSIUS 1564–1606, *op. cit.*, II, 320–321. It is interesting to notice Lipsius’ delicate distinction: Frischlin had mentioned the dispute with Crusius as “lis” in the letter addressed to him, while Lipsius named it as “liticula”; he referred to the fierce battle with a citation from the *Iliad* (I,304), but later he allocated the role of Troilus, not of Agamemnon to one of the disputers (cf. *Virg. Aen.* I,474–478). The following sentences of his letter admonish Frischlin to be more temperate and abate the stake of grammatical skirmishes: “Ego miror homines esse, qui plus Grammaticorum praeceptis tribuant quam illis per quos Grammatici vivunt. Mihi probum et rectum est, quidquid proba et prisca illa aetas scripsit, etsi Grammaticorum omni cohorti aut non lectum aut neglectum.” See also STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 394. – It is not groundless to assume that Frischlin’s appreciation of Lipsius and Lipsius’ statement acknowledging Frischlin could have played their part in encouraging the young Forgách to write his letter to Lipsius next year.

⁶⁰ Martini CRUSII, utriusque linguae [!] et rhetoricae in Academia Tybingensi Professoris, *ad ingrati desperationique Nicodemi Frischlini mendacem ac scelestissimum Celetismum, anno 1588. editum, iusta, vera et postrema Responsio*, Basle, 1588.

⁶¹ New analyses of Frischlin’s career against social background: Klaus SCHREINER, *Disziplinierte Wissenschaftsfreiheit: gedankliche Begründung und Praxis freien Forschens, Lehrens und Lernens an der Universität Tübingen (1477–1945)*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1981 (Contubernium, 22), 11–12; Wilhelm KÜHLMANN, *Akademischer Humanismus und revolutionäres Erbe: Zu Nicodemus Frischlins Rede De vita rustica (1578)*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 423–443; Dieter STIEVERMANN, *Der Fall des Dichters Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) als sozialgeschichtliches Exempel*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 163–200; Siegfried WOLLGAST, *Frischlin als junger Müntzer? Zu einer Polemik*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 445–470.

⁶² The appointment to *praeceptor* for John Frederic, Duke of Württemberg was attained by Michael Beringer in 1596. He was protected by his former professor, Crusius, and epitomized his own rhetoric booklet (*Epitome Rhetorica ad eloquentiae studium scitu maxime necessaria breviter, ordine et perspicue comprehendens: et ex pluribus praestantissimis autoribus collecta per M. Michaellem BERINGERUM Ulbachensem, Tübingen, 1596*) mainly “ex quaestionibus Rhetoricis Cl. viri Martini Crusii, [...] sicut etiam ex Ecclesiaste Erasmi Roterod. et Andreae Hiperii libello”. It is remarkable, altogether, that Frischlin was mentioned among the recommended, edificatory secular authors in Lucas Osiander’s instruction concerning the reading material for the preachers of Württemberg in 1591 (Lucas OSIANDER, *De studiis privatis recte instituendis admonitio. Scripta in usum Ministrorum Ecclesiae in Ducatu Vuirtembergico*, Tübingen, 1591, 17–19).

⁶³ Historico-psychological analysis of the connection of Frischlin brothers: Casimir BUMILLER, *Im Schatten des „größeren“ Bruders: Eine psychohistorische Studie zum Geschwisterverhältnis von Nicodemus und Jakob Frischlin*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 201–259.

⁶⁴ STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 582. Crusius was haunted by the conflict with his single important student until his death (Hubert CANCIK, *Crusius contra Frischlinum: Geschichte einer Feindschaft*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 261–295, 265). He got an example of the posthumously printed third dialogue of *Poppysmus* on

This long, and on both sides passionate debate touched countless personal and scientific questions. Going into details of these does not fit into the framework of this paper. For us, there are two aspects that seem important to emphasize.

It is a permanent characteristic of Frischlin's argument, that he contrasts the uselessness of grammatical writers with the actual praxis of first class authors.⁶⁵ This is well demonstrated by the letter given to Crusius in the last part of the third dialogue in *Pro sua Grammatice*.⁶⁶ The letter is written by Constantinople patriarch Jeremiah,⁶⁷ and tells us how he is informed about the grammatical war in Germany. The chief commandants on Crusius' side are Liebler, Cellius⁶⁸ and others. They command quite shabby troops: besides Priscianus and other old grammarians, there are only some decrepit smelly old men ("senex obsoletus et rancidus") in their army: Ennius, Pacuvius, Caecilius, Afranius,

30 September 1596, and it made him perturbed: "Es ist ein Schelmenbüchlin i. e. conviciorum plenus, in me, et collegas illius temporis: quos vocat Bacchantes Moropolitas." He was to write to Reutlingen senate, demanding severe punishment of Jakob Frischlin teaching there (CRUSIUS 1596–1605/1927–1961, *op. cit.*, I, 202). He was dubious for a long time: would he answer, or "silentium erit pro responso." (CRUSIUS 1596–1605/1927–1961, *op. cit.*, I, 211.) He declared his intention of answering in a company on 21 November but his partner was unsympathetic: "Dixi, me responsum contra tertium Poppysmum. Ait, quid contra mortuum velim facere? Dixi, At contra viuos, qui talia edunt. [...] Doluerunt convictores: me consolati sunt." On this occasion, his former writings against Frischlin were charged with two accuses: "Dixit Schegkius, me excessisse modum in scribendo contra Frischlinum. [...] Non omnia vera esse, quae contra illum scripsim." He defended the forcefulness of his tone with the previous harassment suffered by him quietly for more than ten years. He affirmed the exact trueness of his writings: "Vera sunt omnia, quae scripsi. In re Grammatica refutavi eum. Quia in personam meam invasit: etiam personalia tractavi. Obieci ei adulterium, periuria, alia flagitia. Vera sunt, consentienti Vniversitate. Nemo refutavit." (CRUSIUS 1596–1605/1927–1961, *op. cit.*, I, 242.) On 22 March 1604, he was introduced to Jakob Frischlin who saluted him respectfully. Taking leave of him, "Etiam porrexi dexteram Frischlino, dicens: Ihr habt Eich übel gegen mir gehalten: ignoscat tibi Deus: ego tibi etiam ignosco. Acquievit. Addidi, Osiandro [Lucas Osiander, 1571–1638] audiente, nec longe Procancellario distante, etiam Myllero: Ego quotidie Deum oro, pro meis, et Amicis, et Inimicis. Consecuta est magna approbatio, tum Abbatis, tum ipsius Frischlini: Eij daß ist recht. Sic alii." (CRUSIUS 1596–1605/1927–1961, *op. cit.*, III, 683.)

⁶⁵ For late antique shaping of this principle, see, e. g., the definitions by Sergius ("ars grammatica praecipue constitit in intellectu poetarum et in recte scribendi et loquendi ratione") or Maximus Victorinus (grammar is "scientia interpretandi poetas"); cited by TÓTH Sándor, *A latin humanitas poétikája: A studia humanitatis iskolás poétikájának elméleti kérdései a magyar irodalmi nyelvújítás korszakáig, I. Institutiones generales artis poeticae (A költői mesterség általános törvényszerűségei)* (Poetics of the Latin humanity), Szeged, Gradus ad Parnassum Könyvkiadó, 1998, 52.

⁶⁶ Frischlin's apprentice pronounces that "in huius veteratoris contumelioso libro", i. e. in Crusius' book there has remained only one part unanswered: "epistola paedagogulorum sequitur, ad te scripta". Crusius is going to depart, but he is summoned by Frischlin to take a letter addressed to him. The letter can be found at the end of 1587 Oberursel edition, on unnumbered pages; cf. STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 390–391.

⁶⁷ On Tübingen connections with the real patriarch Jeremiah II and on theological expectations concerning them: Franz BRENDLE, *Martin Crusius: Humanistische Bildung, schwäbisches Luthertum und Griechenlandbegeisterung*, in: *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus*, Hrsg. Franz BRENDLE, Dieter MERTENS, Anton SCHINDLING, Walter ZIEGLER, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001 (Contubernium: Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 56), 145–163.

⁶⁸ From 1582 until his death, Cellius (1546–1606) was the successor of Frischlin in Tübingen, he lectured on "lectio poetices Latinae et historiae". HOFMANN 1982, *op. cit.*, 238–250.

and Lucilius. All other authors fight on Frischlin's side: Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Sallust, and Curtius stand in the first row, Virgil, Horace, Persius, and lots of other poets are in the second. Behind them are the group of new grammatical writers: Julius Caesar Scaliger, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Ruscellus, Augustus Saturnius, Marius Corradus, Vives, Ramus, and Thomas Linacer. The rearguard is made up from some poets laureate headed by János Zsámboky. They count on strong helping forces: the forces of Justus Lipsius from the Netherlands, the troops of Josephus Scaliger from Gaul (Gallia), and the army of Scipio Gentili from England.⁶⁹

Another feature of the debate is that it focuses on the assessment of Melanchthon's role.⁷⁰ Of the opposing forces, it is Crusius' army in which the *praeceptor Germaniae* is drafted at this time. Frischlin's comrades are hopeful that he will change sides. When Frischlin writes a dedication to the new editions of *Strigilis* and *Pro sua Grammatice* on 1 October 1586 to the dean and professors of the Wittenberg faculty of arts, his main emphasis is the assessment of the former Wittenberg professor Melanchthon. He goes a long way to prove that he is reputed to vilify Melanchthon only because of his opponents' unfounded accusations.⁷¹ His grammatical reforms never went against Melanchthon, who deserves praise and forgiveness for his work in an age when all efforts were directed towards leaving barbarism behind.⁷² Melanchthon wrote his grammar at an early age, a long time ago, and Frischlin is positive that were he still alive he would agree with and approve of his (Frischlin's) inventions.⁷³ The central statement of the whole dedication is his own reforms are of a higher order than the works of Crusius who is a mere plagiarist.

As we have seen, Frischlin stood for the same basic principles in the grammatical debate against Crusius that he emphasized concerning rhetoric in his 1587 Wittenberg oration. He even refers back to his earlier texts. As opposed to precepts—however high the level of realization might be—he emphasizes the importance of reading the authors. He focuses on *exercitatio*. These basic principles were not new.⁷⁴ Johannes Caselius ex-

⁶⁹ Fleeing from Italy, two sons of the protestant humanist Matteo Gentili, Alberico (1552–1608) and Scipio (1563–1616), studied in Tübingen in 1579–1580. – On the role of metaphor of battle in Frischlin's works: BARNER 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 420.

⁷⁰ On theological background of this: Jörg BAUR, *Nicodemus Frischlin und die schwäbische Orthodoxie*, in: HOLTZ–MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 365–396, 380.

⁷¹ “Ut nomen meum redderetur invisum omnibus Academiis et Scholis, quae Philippi Melanchthonis nomen amant: ideo collegium Philosophicum Academiae Tubingensis, praefixit quandam praefationem famosam, libello Martini Crusii: in qua scribunt, me publice esse gloriatum, quod libros Philippi, iam ante ex Academia Tubingensi eiectiones plerosque, et ad Orcum damnatos cum auctore suo, velim ego ex omnibus scholis exterminare. Hoc autem ut falsum, vanum, fictum esse, intelligatis vos Wittenbergenses, et omnes, qui me amant, docti et boni viri.” FRISCHLIN 1587a, *op. cit.*, a2r.

⁷² Frischlin's purism was more hostile to neologisms than the opinion of Erasmus and Melanchthon; see PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 27–29.

⁷³ FRISCHLIN 1587a, *op. cit.*, a7v; STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 381–382.

⁷⁴ On their origin, humanist usage (Niccolò Perotti, Guarino Veronese), and effect in Hungary: BARTÓK István, *Sylvester János grammatika-meghatározásának jelentősége és forrásai* (The importance and sources of the definition of grammar by János Sylvester), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 108(2004), 405–422.

pounded these in the same spirit in his *De ludo litterario recte aperiendo* in 1579.⁷⁵ It was not the first time either, that Frischlin expounded them.⁷⁶ However, during the long history of this infamous debate, he became the most dedicated and obstinate representative of these principles.

These debates were at their peak in 1587, in the year of the dedication to the Hungarian students. It was at this time, the end of 1587, that Frischlin produced his last contribution to the debate, *Celetismus*. We can assume that the Hungarians in Wittenberg, all personal acquaintances of Frischlin, were attentive of the debate.

Frischlin mentions his debates in the dedication to the Hungarian students, although he just makes some general comments on his opponents' ill will. (He even explains the great number of wished patrons with the great number of enemies.) He goes on saying that: "Libet enim mihi Telephum [...] imitari, qui ab eadem hasta, a qua vulnus acceperat, remedium petiit."⁷⁷ This allusion, mindful of what has been said so far, can be easily understood: in his disagreement with those who stick to theoretical precepts, it is now himself who is producing a theoretical work. "Conscripsi nunc olim tres de arte oratoria libros: in quorum primo docetur, quomodo argumentis propriis, seu oratoriis, et cum re ipsa natis, confirmanda, aut refutanda sit oratoria propositio, sive causa: quae est aut forensis, vulgo dicta Iudicialis, aut senatoria, sive deliberativa, aut popularis, sive demonstrativa. Aristoteles inverso ponit haec ordine, et recte. Nam facilius est laudare aut vituperare, quam consultare: facilius item suadere, et dissuadere, quam accusare aut defendere. In secundo libro, ostenditur, quomodo ex locis Dialecticis, et cuius materiae communibus, quodvis argumentum confirmationis, aut refutationis, sit illustrandum, et amplificandum. Qua quidem re efficitur oratio, non tantum vera, sed etiam copiosa. Nam haec utraque ad fidem faciendam praecipue pertinent. In tertio libro docetur, quomodo probata et amplificata sint exornanda luminibus sententiarum, verbi gratia, interrogationibus, subiunctionibus, repetitionibus, exclamationibus, et luminibus verborum, nempe Metaphoris, et omnis generis tropis. Nam in his duobus consistit omnis motus orationis. Atque hi libri ita sunt a me concinnati, ut eorum adminiculo possis quamvis orationem resolvere, et resolutam iterum componere, aut consimilem aliam scribere."

As far as we know, this theoretical work of Frischlin mentioned in the dedication, *De arte oratoria libri tres*, never appeared in the structure presented here. Its text is unknown, not even plans for its production in this format have been registered in the litera-

⁷⁵ "...praeceptionibus vero et regulis oneretur quam paucissimis; statimque deducatur [puer] ad intelligendos Latinos scriptores... nihil adeo magis discentium cupiditatem retardat, quam eos ab ultima infantia ad iuventutem usque detineri in plusquam nugis grammaticis..." Cited by FINÁ CZY Ernő, *A renaissancekori nevelés története: Vezérfonal egyetemi előadásokhoz* (The history of Renaissance pedagogy: Enchiridion of university lectures), Budapest, 1919; reprint: Budapest, Könyvértékesítő Vállalat, 1986 (Tudománytár) (hereafter: FINÁ CZY 1919/1986), 232.

⁷⁶ On the similar spirit of his pedagogical work of 1584: FINÁ CZY 1919/1986, *op. cit.*, 232. Outline of Frischlin's pedagogical methodology: STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 274–275; MÉSZÁ ROS István, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis”* (Sixteenth-century town schools in Hungary and “studia humanitatis”), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1981 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 11), 98–99.

⁷⁷ On Telephus: Apollodorus epit. 3,20.

ture.⁷⁸ The first edition of Frischlin's theory of rhetoric was published by his earlier Tübingen student Hieronymus Megiserus in Leipzig in 1604 under the title *Rhetorica, seu Institutionum oratoriarum libri duo*.⁷⁹ The first book of near eighty pages presents genres of speech and their loci of invention in the order attributed to Aristotle by Frischlin.⁸⁰ Large part of the second book describes *loci rerum* on almost fifty pages. These can be taken *a pari, ex praedicamenti quantitatis et relationis, a simili, a dissimili, a contrario, a toto et partibus, a causis et effectibus, a circumstantiis et adiunctis, a genere, a specie, a propriis et communiter accidentibus*. Up to this point, the posthumous print follows the structure outlined by Frischlin, but tools of *copia verborum* are discussed in less than ten pages at the end of the book. This means that either Frischlin's work remained unfinished, or Megiserus received it in an incomplete form. We have no reason to assume that it was the editor who shortened it.⁸¹ An interesting aspect of the booklet is that although it contains detailed prescriptions for rhetorical invention, it denies even the existence of disposition presentable in the theory of rhetoric: "Dispositio cum non sit uniformis, sed varia et multiplex, ita ut varietas ista comprehendi praeceptis non possit, ideo pro parte artis haberi non potest."⁸²

The Wittenberg print dedicated to the Hungarian students mentions theory of rhetoric only in the dedication. The oration itself—as we have seen—discusses exactly the importance of *exercitatio* as opposed to *praecepta*. We can deduce from Frischlin's numerous early and late works how he himself taught, how his course in Wittenberg was built upon this method. An example is his anthology of selected orations that was published in 1588 for students of Schola Martiniana in Braunschweig where Frischlin worked after Wittenberg. The book contains excerpts from the works of Curtius, Livy, Sallust, Caesar, and Cicero.⁸³

⁷⁸ Where Frischlin's oration of 1587 is mentioned in the literature (e. g. ELSCHENBROICH 1976, *op. cit.*, in: SCHÖNE 1976, *op. cit.*, 338; SCHÄFER, E. 1976, *op. cit.*, 44; PRICE 1988, *op. cit.*, in: REVARD-RÄDLE-DI CESARE 1988, *op. cit.*, 532; PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 17–18, 29–30; BARNER 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ-MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 420; HESS, G. 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ-MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 482–483), usually there are references to its posthumous reprints that do not contain the original dedication. A single hint of Reinhold Stahlecker implies that he should have consulted the dedication as well: STAHLCKER 1943, *op. cit.*, 356.

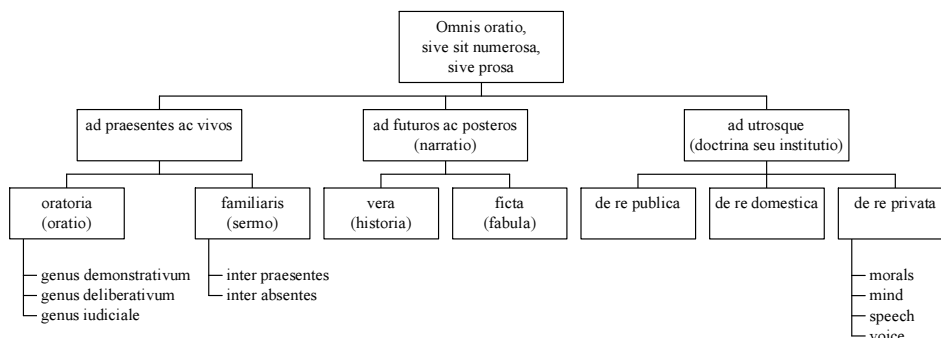
⁷⁹ Nicodemus FRISCHLIN, *Rhetorica, seu Institutionum oratoriarum libri duo. Nunc primum, in gratiam studiosae iuventutis, typis excusi, opera et impensis Hieronymi MEGISERI, Leipzig, 1604* (hereafter: FRISCHLIN 1604). On Megiserus (1554/55–1619), see Th. ELZE, in: ADB, 21, 183–185; EVANS 1999, *op. cit.*, in: HOLTZ-MARTENS 1999, *op. cit.*, 301, 318–320.

⁸⁰ The real order of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is different: its first book treats of *genus deliberativum* first (1359a–1366a), then of *genus demonstrativum* (1366a–1368a), and, at last, of *genus iudiciale* (1368b–1377b).

⁸¹ Strauss stated that the first book treats of invention, the second of elocution—this is inaccurate. At the same time, he ascertained considerably that the last version of the work must have been shaped in Braunschweig—this town exemplifies laudation of cities—and, that the strict logical order of the printed version differs from the features of other works of Frischlin. STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 427.

⁸² FRISCHLIN 1604, *op. cit.*, 78.

⁸³ *Selectae orationes e Q. Curtio, T. Livio, C. Salustio, C. Caesare, M. Cicerone. In usum Scholae Martinianae apud Brunsvicensis, studio et opera Nicodemi FRISCHLINI ibidem Rectoris, Henricopoli, 1588;*



Frischlin's system was a well-thought-out one with a wide scope of application. The best demonstration of this may be the table at the end of the 1587 Wittenberg print.⁸⁴ The table is an attempt to classify and overview all literary genres in one unified system. The basis of classification is that a literary work may address three different kinds of audience: "ad praesentes ac vivos", "ad futuros ac posteros", or "ad utrosque". The first class, that addresses people who are present has two subgroups: "oratoria, et haec proprie dicitur oratio" and "familiaris, et proprie dicitur sermo". Types of *oratio* follow the three antique genres of speech, but *genus demonstrativum* includes "odae, elegiae, satyrae, epigrammata etc." as well,⁸⁵ and "quaedam satyrae" belong to the *absoluta* version of the *status iuridicialis* of *genus iudiciale* or *forensis*. There are two kinds of *sermo*: "inter praesentes, ut dialogus, ecloga, comoedia, tragoedia" and "inter absentes, ut epistola". There are similarly detailed classifications of the other two genres.⁸⁶

STRAUSS 1856, *op. cit.*, 425–426. It is probable that Frischlin had collected these school texts—works of the most excellent heroes mentioned in the letter of patriarch Jeremiah!—much more earlier.

⁸⁴ The table shown here is a simplified and more perspicuous one than that of Frischlin. His original table reprinted: ELSCHENBROICH 1976, *op. cit.*, in: SCHÖNE 1976, *op. cit.*, 339; PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 49.

⁸⁵ From these inclusion, David Price concluded on the possibility of ranging more literary genres, even the whole dramatics among the genres of *genus demonstrativum* (PRICE 1988, *op. cit.*, in: REVARD–RÄDLE–DI CESARE 1988, *op. cit.*, 532), disregarding the explicit mention of comedy and tragedy at another point of the table. Price, accordingly, stressed the panegyric features of Frischlin's dramatic art, and considered *genus iudiciale* and *genus deliberativum* as just auxiliary properties of some of his pieces (*ibid.*, 538). In his later monograph, Price—drawing the lesson from the table—did not make again the same mistake of commingling, and stressed, accurately, that many characteristics of *genus demonstrativum* did influence the dramas of Frischlin (PRICE 1990, *op. cit.*, 47–50).

⁸⁶ The specificity of literary works addressing the audience of future is narration. It can be "vera, ut historia" (e. g. Herodotus, Lucan, Livy, Caesar, Sallust, Thucydides, Silius Italicus) or "ficta, ut fabula" (e. g. Homer, Virgil and others). Works addressing both types of audience "vocaturque doctrina seu institutio", Frischlin's table shows their detailed classification according to disciplines. The topic of institution can be "de re publica" (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Aelian, Vegetius, Xenophon), "de re domestica" (Columella, Hesiod, the *Georgica* of Virgil), and "de re privata". Works written on the latter may instruct us in our life and morals (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero etc.), in our mind (mathematics, geometry, astronomy, physics, medicine, jurisprudence, theology), in our speech (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric), or in our voice (music).

The table demonstrates an exacting humanist author's love of freedom. Almost certainly it was produced as a proof that a wide variety of rhetorical procedures can and should be acquired from a wide range of poets, writers, and genres.

The international literature on 16th century Protestant schools and textbooks has notified us several times that Melanchthon's rhetorical textbooks were used less and less in the second half of the century, or they were revised. It was felt that they were suitable for teaching theory, however, their methods, the techniques of *definitiones* and *praecepta* seemed inappropriate for the students to use. Jeremias Spiegel (1588–1637), who came from Thuringia and earned magister title at the Wittenberg university, had similar reasons to find a Melanchthon edition by Lucas Lossius⁸⁷ (1508–1582) inappropriate as a textbook for Imre Thurzó.⁸⁸ The more and more popular new textbooks presented the material in a more compact, simplified form: the idea was that instead of theory, teaching should take place through examples, through making the student read.⁸⁹ This educational change had significant consequences in literature, and Frischlin's role in the European story has not been emphasized too much. Concerning the Hungarian aspects: we have not taken into account possible reception of Frischlin's views in Hungary.

⁸⁷ I consulted a late edition of it: Lucas LOSSIUS Lunaeburgensis, *Erotemata dialecticae et rhetoricae Philippi Melanthonis et praeceptionum Erasmi Roterodami, de utraque copia verborum et rerum: iam primum ad usum scholarum (quas vocant triviales) breviter selecta et contracta. Libellus ad puerilem institutionem, si quisquam alius, in hoc genere, valde accommodatus et utilis. Diligenter, nunc postremo, ab autore recognitus, et utiliter auctus*, Wittenberg, 1620. The date of the first dedication is 1550.

⁸⁸ Imre Thurzó (1598–1621, son of palatine György Thurzó) studied in their family castle in Biccse (today Bytčica, part of Žilina, Slovakia) in 1614–1615. Spiegel coached him, fitting him for his later studies in Wittenberg. Cf. *A Thurzó család és a wittenbergi egyetem: Dokumentumok és a rektor Thurzó Imre írásai 1602–1624* (Thurzó family and the university of Wittenberg: Documents and the writings of the rector Imre Thurzó), ed. HERNER János, Szeged, Szegedi Oktatástörténeti Munkaközösség, 1989 (Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum, 1), 273.

⁸⁹ Dilwyn KNOX, *Order, Reason and Oratory: Rhetoric in Protestant Latin Schools*, in: *Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. Peter MACK, Basingstoke etc., Macmillan etc., 1994 (Warwick Studies in the European Humanities) (hereafter: MACK 1994a), 63–80; Kees MEERHOFF, *The Significance of Philip Melanchthon's Rhetoric in the Renaissance*, in: MACK 1994a, *op. cit.*, 46–62.