

SÁNDOR BENE

ACTA PACIS—PEACE WITH THE MUSLIMS

(Luigi Ferdinando Marsili's plan

for the publication of the documents of the Karlowitz peace treaty)*

Scholars and spies

Even during his lifetime, the keen mind of the Bologna-born Luigi Ferdinando Marsili was a stuff of legends—so much so that, soon after his death in 1730, the Capuchin monks of his city severed the head of the polymath count from his body and exhibited it in the crypt of their church on the Monte Calvario. Perhaps they hoped to benefit from the miraculous powers of one of the most enlightened minds of the century, perhaps they were under pressure from the beliefs of their flock to permit the veneration of the new, profane relic, it is hard to tell. In any case, the head was a peculiar testimony to the cult of relics, apparently including the bodily remains of scholars, which refused to die down in the age of reason—until it was eventually reunited with its body in the Certosa cemetery in the early 19th century when Napoleon disbanded the monastic orders.¹ It is not inconceivable that the head of the count granted a favour or two to those beseeching it, however, the whole thing did constitute a rather improper use for a human head...

At any rate, the story is highly emblematic of the way that Marsili's legacy—an incredibly valuable collection of nearly 150 volumes of manuscripts²—was treated by researchers of later generations. Scholarly interest in the Marsili papers was divided according to the researchers' fields of interest—the botanists looked for material on plants,³ cartogra-

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¹ The photograph of the plaque to be found in the S. Domenico containing the above information was published in KISARI BALLA György, *Marsigli tábornok térképei* (The maps of general Marsigli), Budapest, 2005, 32.

² The material can be found in the University Library of Bologna (Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna) under *cod. 1044*, in the 146 volumes of the Marsili fond (hereafter referred to as BUB Ms 1–146) and in some separately catalogued units. For a complete description, see: Lodovico FRATI, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili conservati nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, La Bibliofilia, 27–30(1925–1928); published in one volume under the same title: Firenze, 1928.

³ Antonio BALDACCINI, *I fondamenti botanici nell'opera di L. F. Marsili*, in: *Memorie intorno a Luigi Ferdinando Marsili pubblicate nel secondo centenario dalla morte*, per cura del Comitato Marsiliano, Bologna, 1930, 277–319.

phers tried to find maps,⁴ linguists sifted the material for runic writings,⁵ historians foraged for charters⁶ and military historians wanted to find sketches of fortifications.⁷ Further fragmentation of interest took place along ethnic lines: Hungarian researchers collected and catalogued material related to Hungary⁸ and the same was true for their Bosnian⁹ and Croatian¹⁰ counterparts and will be true for the Turks who have not yet arrived on the scene, but when they do, they will find ample material for themselves. However, with the passage of the accumulative, positivist period, it was the great wealth of the material that started to become increasingly problematic.¹¹ While the Marsili literature was growing healthily and soon encompassed a vast variety of writings ranging from treatises on the history of coffee¹² to historical discourse analyses making use of modern textual linguistics and literary theory,¹³ it seemed that the community of scholars abandoned all hope for discovering the inner logic of the material taken as a whole. New plans regarding publications and commentaries only emerged in connection with Marsili's published, earlier works, the *Danubius* or the *Stato militare*.¹⁴ With one exception,

⁴ VERESS Endre, *Gróf Marsigli Alajos Ferdinánd olasz hadi mérnök jelentései és térképei Budavár 1684–1686-iki ostromairól, visszafoglalásáról és helyrajzáról* (The reports and maps of the military engineer count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli on the sieges of Buda in 1684–1686, its retaking and its topography), Budapest Régiségei, 9(1906), 103–170; Antal András DEÁK, *Die Nürnberger Hersteller der Donau- und Ungarnkarten von L. F. Marsigli*, Duisburger Forschungen, 42, 211–216; KISARI BALLA 2005, *op. cit.*

⁵ SÁNDOR Klára, *A bolognai rovásémlék* (The relic of the runic writing in Bologna), Szeged, 1991.

⁶ ÁLDÁSY Antal, *Olaszországi történeti kutatások* (Researches on history in Italy), Magyar Könyvszemle, 1893, 261.

⁷ Lodovico MARINELLI, *Luigi Ferdinando Marsili uomo di guerra*, in: *Memorie 1930*, *ed. cit.*, 1–55.

⁸ The primary work is VERESS Endre, *A bolognai Marsigli-iratok magyar vonatkozásai* (Hungarian concerns of the Bolognese Marsigli papers), Budapest, 1906. (The same annotated catalogue published in Magyar Könyvszemle, 1906, 109–130, 211–231.) More recent contributions in the Hungarian literature: MÓNKA F. MOLNÁR, *Le ricerche ungheresi del Fondo Marsigli di Bologna*, in: *Annuario: Studi e documenti italo-ungheresi*, a cura di József PÁL, Roma–Szeged, 2005, 38–50; Levente NAGY, *Le generazioni di studiosi ungheresi e il fondo Marsili*, *Quaderni di storia* (Bologna), 59(2004), 205–222.

⁹ Stjepan BEIGL, *Spisi grofa Marsilija u sveučilišnoj biblioteci u Bolonji*, *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 13(1901), 537–563; *Bosna, Hrvatska, Hercegovina. Zemljovidi, vedute, crteži i zabilješke grofa Luigija Ferdinanda Marsiglija krajem XVII. stoljeća*, priredio Hamdija HAJDARHODŽIĆ, Zagreb, 1996.

¹⁰ Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Primjerak Vitezovićeve djela Oživljena Hrvatska iz ostavštine grofa L. F. Marsiglija*, *Senjski zbornik*, 26(1999), 179–228.

¹¹ The first time attention was called to this was in VÉKONY László, *Egy olasz polihisztor a Kárpát-medencében* (An Italian polymath in the Carpathian Basin), Szabadka (Subotica), 1984, 4–6.

¹² Luigi RAVA, *Il conte Marsili e il Caffè*, in: *Memorie 1930*, *ed. cit.*, 357–381.

¹³ Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Croatia on the Triplex Confinium: Two Approaches*, in: *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, eds. Drago ROKSANDIĆ, Nataša ŠTEFANEC, Budapest, 2000 (CEU History Department Working Paper Series, 4), 221–238.

¹⁴ The bilingual (Hungarian–Latin) publication of *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis perlustratus et in sex tomos digestus ab Alysio Ferd. Com. Marsili socio Regiorum Societatum Parisiensi, Londinensis, Monsperliensis* (Hagae–Amstelodami, 1726) with commentaries (hereafter: *Danubius*) is under way in Hungary: Luigi Ferdinando MARSIGLI, *Danubius Pannonyco-Mysicus, Tomus I: A Duna magyarországi és szerbiai szakasza* (The Hungarian and Serbian reach of the Danube), transl., ed. DEÁK Antal András, s. I. [Esztergom], 2004. (See also his introduction:

the papers of the Bolognese soldier, scholar and diplomat resisted all systematic attempts at publication. The exception is a typical one: exactly two decades ago, Raffaella Gherardi published the political dispatches that Marsili sent to the Emperor in Vienna after the peace treaty of Karlowitz (1699) when he headed up an imperial delegation to determine the new boundaries between the Turks, the Habsburgs and the Venetians.¹⁵ The publication was made under the aegis of a research project¹⁶ focusing on the efforts at modernising the Habsburg state during the early 18th century. Gherardi highlighted two aspects of Marsili's intellectual *habitus* as relevant: his sympathy for the *Merkantilpartei* which was organised on the basis of the works of the Austrian cameralists, such as Becher, Schröder, Hörnigk and others, and the pivotal nature of the notion of *notitia rerum publicarum* (originating from Hermann Conring's strictly scientific concept of politics) in his various political projects and memoranda.¹⁷ Gherardi places Marsili's intellectual development at a highly important junction in the European history of ideas. The pillars of his thought—the discarding of a theologically and ethically based idea of politics and the emergence of an approach focusing on administrative aspects and the encyclopaedic employment of statistics, demographics, geography and historical science in the organisation of a given state (in this case the Habsburg Empire)—provide a new, modernising context for the violent political phenomena of the day, some of which he instigated and the Habsburg government put into practice. The religious homogenization, the large-scale resettlements after the Turkish wars, the efforts to eliminate the autonomy of the Church and of the various social orders, etc., were viewed and understood for a long time by national historiographies (in Hungary and elsewhere in the Habsburg territories) only in terms of injuries and offences. Gherardi was right in pointing out that in Marsili's thinking, politics and science formed a dynamic unity, more precisely, that the military and diplomatic moves of the Bolognese count were inspired by the new political science of his day. However, because Gherardi's research project focused on a single period in Marsili's career (the period of the peace negotiations and the border survey of 1699–1701) she paid less attention to the other side of the coin, namely to what extent political perspectives influenced Marsili's scientific efforts or whether there was such influence at all in the last two decades of his life after he had been forced out of Viennese politics. The manuscript background material of the published reports and the organisation by Marsili

DEÁK Antal András, *A Duna fölfedezése* (The discovery of the Danube), in: MARSIGLI 2004, *ed. cit.*, 8–88.) The Hungarian translation and commentaries of *Stato militare dell'Impero Ottomano, suoi progressi e sua decadenza* (Amsterdam, 1732) is being prepared by Mónika F. Molnár, cf. F. MOLNÁR 2005, *op. cit.*, 46.

¹⁵ Luigi Ferdinando MARSILI, *Relazioni dei confini della Croazia e della Transilvania (1699–1701)*, I–II, a cura di Raffaella GHERARDI, Modena, 1986 (hereafter: *Relazioni*).

¹⁶ For monographic treatment see Raffaella GHERARDI, *Potere e costituzione a Vienna fra Sei e Settecento: Il «buon ordine» di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*, Bologna, 1980.

¹⁷ ID., *Itinerario di un Staatswerdung: Il patrimonio austriaco di modernizzazione fra XVII e XVIII secolo*, in: *La dinamica statale austriaca nel XVIII e XIX secolo, strutture e tendenze di storia costituzionale prima e dopo Maria Teresa*, a cura di Pierangelo SCHIERA, Bologna, 1981, 65–92; ID., *Scienza e governo della frontiera: Il problema dei confini balcanici e danubiani nella pace di Carlowitz*, *Il pensiero politico* (Bologna), 32(1999), 323–351.

of this background material, would provide an opportunity for an analysis in this direction. In fact I think it is on the basis of the background material that we could analyse and resolve the problem of the “reuniting the two Marsilis.”

There has been only one effort of this kind, one that aimed at painting a complete picture of this complex personality: the excellent Marsili biography by John Stoye,¹⁸ in which the author, whose grasp of the traditional genre is enhanced by his reasoned methodology, presented the Bolognese count in the way he himself had wanted to be seen—“miles sum” (I am a soldier), he introduced himself before the Royal Society in London.¹⁹ However, this monograph also admits to having focused on the politically active years of Marsili and to having treated the last decades in a sketchy manner and only for the sake of completeness.²⁰ It also left two fundamental questions open. One of these is the scholar vs soldier/politician/diplomat dilemma (which of these he really was, to what extent and in what periods) and the other is the “missing” emotional life of Marsili with all its attendant implications. True, he provides an implicit answer for both questions. For one thing, biography as a genre almost automatically implies consecutive stages in time—i.e. first mostly a soldier, later mostly a scholar. Furthermore, Stoye is not concerned with the emotional life of his hero because he felt there was nothing to explore there: “...a personage quickly attracting notice wherever he went. Perhaps he enjoyed such superlative energy because other things were missing. We have not found evidence of his sexuality or lack of it; of any wish to father a family or maintain a noble household.”²¹ For all its cautious reservations, this statement obviously suggests that Marsili was a soldier free of passions, a sober bureaucrat free of national prejudices and a scholar unencumbered with a family—which, again, offers a kind of implicit solution to the problem.

In the following, I would like to propose some new hypotheses in relation to these two issues. It is my conviction that the organisation of the Marsili papers—or their present state of disorganisation—is closely connected with the hitherto unexplored, unanalyzed aspects of the author’s personality. The contours of the “unknown” Marsili, which I believe to have found, were starting to take shape for me when I discarded the interpretative scheme “first a soldier, then a scholar” and started to look for political motivations in Marsili’s late, scientific texts. Perhaps it would help in our further thinking if we tried to find a common name for the two vocations. Marsili, in my considered opinion, was a *spy*.

¹⁸ John STOYE, *Marsigli’s Europe 1680–1730: The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli Soldier and Virtuoso*, New Haven–London, 1994. As for Hungarian works, we should mention the old monograph by BELICZAY Jónás (*Marsigli élete és munkái* [The life and works of Marsigli], Budapest, 1881), and two recent studies: GRÓF László, *Marsigli gróf élete* (The life of count Marsigli), *Cartographia Hungarica*, 2(1992), 3(1993), 4(1996); and JÁSZAY Magda, *Marsili a katona, diplomata és tudós Magyarországon a török kor alkonyán* (Marsili, the soldier, diplomat and scholar in Hungary at the fall of the Turkish occupation), *Történelmi Szemle*, 41(1999), 31–52.

¹⁹ Aloysius Ferdinandus Comit. MARSIGLI, *Danubialis Operis Prodrömus, ad Regiam Societatem Anglicanam*, Nürnberg, 1700, A2v.

²⁰ STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 342.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 309.

Perhaps he was one in the literal sense—as a member of the English delegation travelling to Constantinople, he is sure to have spied on the English and further research would have an easy time revealing that he also collected information on the members of opposing courtly factions primarily on the commission of Chancellor Kinsky.²² But he was a spy in a much deeper sense as well, a spy in the essence of his personality and vocation. His greatest passion was gathering intelligence, he was interested in everything (the mysteries of mathematics and astronomy, the state of the opposing armies' equipment, the waters of the Bosphorus, the fish in the rivers Danube and Theiss, the intentions of the diplomats involved in the peace negotiations, the history and geology of territories conquered or to-be-conquered, the customs and languages of faraway peoples). The word he used most often and not without a touch of religious piety was *Informazione*. At the same time, he exhibited manic preoccupation with organising, holding back and circulating of information, with the separation of informational circles and networks—in other words, with the issue of boundaries in general. Psychologically speaking, it was a masterstroke by the Viennese government to put him in charge of the border survey project. In the light of all this, I think the secrets of the documents he left behind can only be unlocked by a special kind of espionage: research into the Marsili papers is a task of philological archaeology. The various projects, the finished or incomplete texts often embedded into other works constitute layers that are often difficult to distinguish from one another and in many cases, the contributions of the count's various colleagues (cartographers, political advisers, science experts) are difficult to tell from his own work. Therefore I am basing my hypothesis concerning the original order of the material on an inter-textual analysis, in the course of which I examined the texts of a colleague who seemed to have more influence than any other in ordering the layers of the legacy. The presentation of the collaboration between the imperial ideologue Marsili and the nation builder Pavao Vitezović Ritter, the father of pan-Croatian and Illyrian ideology, is outside the scope of this paper²³ and so is the analysis of their similarities and differences—but a demonstration of the philological links must be carried out. I will conclude this paper by putting forth my own proposition with regards to a new Marsili edition and the coordination of the research necessary for this, relying on the former plans to publish Marsili's *Acta executionis pacis* and the notions since articulated in the relevant literature.

²² On his espionage activities as a member of the English delegation to Constantinople and the scandal that broke out after his detection, see STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 101–118.

²³ A lecture of mine on the issue (*Real Heroes with Hindsight: Marsigli's Mission in the Recaptured Territories in South-Hungary*) delivered at the *Whose Love of Which Country? Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotic Discourses in the Early-Modern Period* conference (Central European University, Budapest, 20–21 May 2006) is under publication in the conference papers (ed. Balázs TRENCSENYI).

The love affairs of the Cavalier Armisillo

Let us begin with the myth of the cool, passionless soldier and bureaucrat. An attentive reader of Marsili may discover two strong emotional motifs in his *Autobiography*. One is that of the unhappily ended love stories. Returning from his studies in Rome and Naples, the young count was selected by his benefactors to be a member of a council of eight of Bologna, representing the city's nobility. In this capacity, whilst organising Carnival activities, Marsili distinguished himself by reviving the ancient tradition of jousts. He entered the competition himself, under the name of Armisillo (an anagram of Marsili) and in the obligatory letter of challenge to the other competitors, he proclaimed that the soul of a knight should be moved by desire for glory rather than by love. However, as he wrote, it took only three days to find himself enmeshed in the net of the latter: on the closing night of the Carnival, he could not bear to part with the lovely Eleonora Zambecchi. He knew his chances were slight: Eleonora was not only beautiful but wealthy as well, while the number of his siblings and his constrained finances made it nearly impossible for him to dream of marriage. After serenading his lady amidst spectacular props, standing on an antique chariot of triumph, he took off to attempt the impossible and find fame and glory in the world. However, he had not even finished his mathematical studies at the University of Padova, when news of Miss Zambecchi's wedding reached him. Desperate and downcast, he sought his father permission to join the Venetian delegation to Constantinople, thus beginning his decades-long peregrinations.²⁴ It was in the capital of the Ottoman Empire that his heart was broken again: he fell in love with the beautiful daughter of the French Ambassador, whose beauty enchanted even the Sultan, who wanted to have her portrait painted. The maiden was receptive to Marsili's advances but fulfilment was never reached. The Ambassador wanted her to marry a rich knight from Normandy and while initially Marsili entertained ideas of a duel with his competitor, his friends dissuaded him. "Repressing my emotions, I accepted that luck favoured the deserving," he wrote dejectedly in his autobiography.²⁵

The other strong emotional motivation of our hero had to do with his homeland. One should be careful with the concept though: the count had strong emotional ties to his hometown Bologna (whenever he refers to his *Patria*, he means Bologna) but the sum total of these emotions cannot in the least be equated to what we mean by "patriotism" today. At a very early age, the count longed to leave his hometown and Italy as they had few career opportunities to offer. He was not even twenty when he watched the departing ships at the port of Livorno with the young Count Montecuccoli, whose father by this time had made a name for himself in the capital of the Habsburg Empire.²⁶ Marsili decided to try his luck by the same route, but shortly after entering the Emperor's service, he was taken prisoner by the Turks in Hungary. He was ransomed by his Venetian bene-

²⁴ Luigi Ferdinando MARSILI, *Autobiografia messa in luce nel II centenario dalla morte di lui dal Comitato Marsiliano*, a cura di Emilio LOVARINI, Bologna, 1930 (hereafter: *Autobiografia*), 7–8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21–27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

factors in 1684 and could not wait to return to Bologna—but once back in his home town, he learned that an assassin had already been paid an advance to murder him. “This incident,” he wrote, “opened my eyes to the unbounded wickedness of my *Patria* and notwithstanding the efforts of my loving friends and family, disregarding their advice not to be caught up in the winds of war again, I took off for Innsbruck.”²⁷ He would not set foot in Bologna again for nearly two decades. At certain intervals, he sent home parts of the collection he accumulated during his peregrinations—valuable manuscripts, statues, minerals—and by the time he fell out of favour with the Emperor and returned to Bologna, his earlier resentment for the city had subsided. According to his own admission, the idea of founding a scientific and educational institution to propagate the achievements of natural science and modern mathematics had been germinating in his mind for years, but he provided peculiar reasons and motivations for his plans retrospectively. The idea, he wrote, was born “so that I can be of service to my *Patria*, especially the young noblemen, who could train themselves in the arts that make a good soldier out of a man—so that with such training they could break out of all this lassitude at home and try their luck abroad.”²⁸ To endow one’s hometown with knowledge and intellectual treasures in order to enable others to leave it is a rather peculiar version of patriotism, but one that could even be regarded a national quirk of the Italians. But what is definitely peculiar to Marsili is that he nearly founded his Institution somewhere else. When his brother, Filippo, reproachfully told him that “neither him nor any other member of the family was willing to put up with the mess he created in the palace”²⁹ (the scientific collection he had brought back took up the rooms and corridors of the family home), he took umbrage and even the Papal Legate of the city had a hard time dissuading him from moving his collection to France “to leave a mark on memory” there.

There is a common thread running through these stories. Disowning his home and being ready to leave immediately are the products of the same mental procedures that earlier made him withdraw from his emotional affairs. Do spies have emotions? They probably do, but a woman or a *Patria* are too mundane as objects of desire, exposed to continuous change which makes it hard to be attached to them. A real spy needs a sovereign personality who can be showered with that greatest of gifts that might be laid at a lover’s feet: information. Marsili projected all this repressed emotional energy onto a person both symbolic and real: the Holy Roman Emperor. This is apparent from the words with which he described his first encounter with Leopold after his release from captivity, “In his infinite goodness, His Majesty permitted me to throw myself at his feet

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 62–63.

²⁸ Luigi Ferdinando MARSILI, *Istruzione finale al signor Biagio Antonio Ferrari per la riduzione e regolamento migliore dell’Istituto*, published by Ettore BORTOLOTTI, *La fondazione dell’Istituto e la Riforma dello «Studio» di Bologna*, in: *Memorie* 1930, ed. cit., 420.

²⁹ “...dovetti sentire una mattina da lui stesso che non si voleva nè da lui nè da gli altri della famiglia questo bordello nel Palazzo”. *Ibid.*, 422.

and let me know how happy he was to see me regain my freedom and return to his princely service.”³⁰ It almost reads like a declaration of love!

His scientific *opus magnum*, which he started to write on the commission of Leopold and completed towards the end of his life, seems to radiate the same sort of emotions. The foreword to the *Danubius* echoes the grief of a jilted lover who cannot break his attachment to the one who betrayed him: “Oh, unhappy work that has lost its protector and benefactor! But unseemly it would be to search for a new benefactor, a new protector for my work, for all gratitude is due to the Emperor and no-one else. Let it then be dedicated to no-one and enjoy the patronage of no-one.”³¹

The lopsided nature of the scientific work, which concentrated only on the sections of the Danube region then under the Emperor’s rule, preserved the imprint of political intents that helped to bring it about. That Marsili conducted his politics on a scientific basis has been a commonplace since the publication of Raffaella Gherardi’s research. The polymath soldier was indefatigable in collecting information on the history, demographics, geography, economy and religions of the territories newly recaptured from the Turks, so that in his dispatches to the Emperor and his ministers he could make reasonable proposals for the organisation of a highly governable State, for the efficient operation of trade, transport and postal service, for the military defence of the territories and for the development of beneficial relations with the Turkish territories in the border regions. He justified his vision by saying that the Habsburg Monarchy had to catch up to the great rival states of Europe, but in reality, he was much more concerned with the internal organisation the empire. Marsili dreamed of a just and multi-ethnic Empire that was a home for all its subjects, guaranteeing their welfare and security, one that was administered by a bureaucratic, economic and military elite free of all national prejudices. (Which naturally implied the decreased importance of inherited privileges, the conscious mixing of ethnicities, mass resettlements, a constant social flux which was also to result in vertical mobility and career opportunities for the talented.)³² However, the introduction of rational, scientific methods into politics is but a surface sign of an almost irrational desire for Order. In Marsili’s key concepts (*buon ordine, buon governo, commercio, traffico*, etc.) and in his desire for a just and well-ordered Utopian state guaranteeing general welfare, it is difficult not to discern the antithesis to his “Patria,” this parochial, wicked entity pitting material considerations against emotions—and likewise, it is easy to see love and passion in his relationship to his idealized Ruler: a kind of negative theology, the logic of religious discourse in his scientifically-grounded political opinions. The “language change” so often talked about in the literature, his shift from Italian to Latin, usually attributed to his desire to reach a wider audience, was rather politically motivated in my opinion. The emphasis on the Latinity of the Danube Basin, the demonstrative presentation of the relics of antiquity serve in part to ensure the symbolic legitimacy of the power of the Habsburg Monarchy (the Holy *Roman* Emperor) and in part to suggest

³⁰ *Autobiografia*, 63.

³¹ MARSIGLI 2004, *op. cit.*, 347.

³² See Raffaella GHERARDI, *Introduzione*, in: *Relazioni*, I, 9–32.

that this land, barbaric until lately, might be ordered and administered along Classical patterns.³³

Illyria and Hungary—Illyria or Hungary?

Just what advantage do the above considerations have for the research into the count's carefully ordered legacy of documents which is still nearly impenetrable in its complexity? In my view, instead of trying to separate scientific texts (treatises on natural history, historical summaries, etc.) from his political texts (memoranda, diplomatic and military documents) we should attempt to organise scientific texts on the basis of political logic—which procedure should make it easier for us to explore the various thematic layers of the legacy. Though their chronology is a bit more complex than this, I propose to order these layers around three periods: (1) 1688–1690: survey of the boundaries of the Syrmia (Szerémség, today Srem in Serbia) region and preliminary probe into the issues relevant to the creation of a Southern border between the Habsburgs and the Turks; (2) 1699–1701: border survey in the wake of the Karlowitz peace treaty and the attendant scientific and scholarly work; (3) 1708–1730: the decades spent in Bologna, the publication of *Danubius* and the preparation of *Stato militare* for publication.

The best information available with regards to the first period comes from a significantly later text dated 1721. Marsili intended this as an introduction to the catalogue of his own library of Oriental (Greek, Hebrew, Arab, Persian, Ruthenian and “Illyrian”) books which he originally wrote in Italian and later translated into Latin. The dedication starts out in a familiar way: “Before leaving my Patria and Italy, I would like to discharge two obligations of mine...”³⁴ The catalogue remained in a manuscript form,³⁴ but the text of the dedication was published both in its Italian and Latin versions a number of times, most recently in 1930.³⁵ Here Marsili appears to be inserting his political and diplomatic activities into an erudite narration. It seems that he accompanied the imperial troops out of sheer scientific curiosity: for instance, when writing about the siege of Buda, he described how he salvaged the remnants of the Corvina codices from the burning houses of the Jewish quarter, from the mosques and the corpse-littered streets. Understandably, the Italian Orientalists were mostly interested in his references to Persian and Arabic codices³⁶ while Hungarian researchers were curious about the fate of the Corvinus codi-

³³ Cf. STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 148–149.

³⁴ Josephus Simon ASSEMANNUS, *Index librorum Bibliothecae Marsiliana Graecorum, Latinorum, Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Turcicorum et Persicorum, nec non Ruthenico et Illirico sermone, tum manuscriptorum, tum impressorum* (BUB Ms 2951).

³⁵ The letter (*Lettera di prefazione a mons. ill.mo Passionei*, hereafter: *Lettera di prefazione*) is published by Albano SORBELLI, *Lettera-prefazione al catalogo dei manoscritti orientali*, in: *Scritti inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili raccolti e pubblicati nel II centenario dalla morte*, a cura del Comitato Marsiliano, Bologna, 1930, 167–186. (The text of the letter: 173–186.)

³⁶ Angelo Michele PIEMONTESE, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia*, Roma, 1989, 3–35.

ces.³⁷ Researchers of Southern Slavic cultures are yet to take notice, even though the text not only indicates that Marsili in the short time elapsed since the retaking of Belgrade and Nis in 1689 and 1690 had already embarked upon collecting “manuscripts and printed books in the Illyrian language” (“Libri stampati e Manoscritti in lingua Illirica”) but it also provides specific instructions regarding the fate of the material he collected but never published. His first idea was, he wrote, to publish a collection of sources to be called *Biblioteca de i Fragmenti della Storia Illirica dopo la decadenza massime dell’Impero Greco*. This undertaking was thwarted by the Turks’ reoccupation of the region. His fundamental intent was to compile a great historical databank on the Balkans (which he understood in a broad sense, as including Hungary and Transylvania as well). For this, he worked with indefatigable diligence, collecting material on the region’s history, culture, economy and geography, and enlarging and improving over the decades what was one of the best collection of maps in his day. It remains a question whether the *opus* had disappeared or was never completed. Given that the databank was to serve political purposes beyond the immediate scientific ends, a pertinent document can be found among the Bolognese Marsili papers, if under a different title. Volume 108 of the collection bears the title *Descrizione naturale, civile e militare delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico libri quattordici* which prepares information from around 1690 for publication, bearing a dedication “to the reader.” The 130-page long text appears fragmentary. Only 8 of the planned 14 books were completed, brief descriptions of Bulgaria, Serbia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Thrace and Transylvania—though promised by the author in the title and foreword, there is no description of Illyria and the tables of genealogy are also missing. However, Marsili himself provides the clue in note added on the inside cover, “This treatise on Mysia, Dacia and Illyria is to be redacted together with the volume containing the geographical descriptions of the Kingdom of Hungary, which contains the genealogical trees cited here”.³⁸ The volume in question is not hard to locate: it is manuscript volume 28, which presents the history of the Kingdom of Hungary, based on the works of Bonfini and Márton Szentiványi, followed by the histories of the Balkan countries under Hungary’s rule, based on the great Slav history of Mauro Orbini³⁹ but also utilising certain chronicle manuscripts discovered by Marsili in the monastery of Studenice in Serbia.⁴⁰ The genealogical tables and the associated texts present Dalmatian, Croatian and

³⁷ CSAPODI Csaba, *A budai királyi palotában 1686-ban talált kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek* (Codices and printed books found in the royal palace of Buda in 1686), Budapest, 1984.

³⁸ “Questo trattato delle Misie, Dacie ed Illirico deve essere conciliato con il volume della Geografia della Monarchia Ungara, dove sono gli Arbori Genealogici citati in questo”. BUB Ms 108.

³⁹ Mauro ORBINI, *Il Regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*, Pesaro, 1601. Cf. Giovanna BROGI BERCOFF, *Il «Regno deli Slavi» di Mauro Orbini e la storiografia europea del Cinquecento*, Ricerche slavistiche, 24–26(1977–1979), 119–156; Franjo ŠANJEK, *Povijesni pogledi Mavra Orbinija*, in: Mavro ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, prev. Snježana HUSIĆ, prir. Franjo ŠANJEK, Zagreb, 1999, 7–45.

⁴⁰ “Mihi circa hanc Nemaniorum Genealogiam duo potiores occurrerunt inter alios: unus videlicet Maurus Orbinus, Ragusaeus patria et abbas Melitensis, optimus antiquitatum scriptor Slavicarum, aliaque manuscripta perantiqua, quae dum in Servia castra sequebar Caesaris, mihi ibidem Studeniza inventa sunt in monaste-

Serbian dynasties, along with the Hungarian houses of rulers and the Transylvanian princes. The title—*Monarchia Ungarica in sua regna, principatus et ducatus divisa, nimirum: Hungariam veram, Bosnam, Serviam, Croatiam, Sclavoniam, Erzegovinam, Moldaviam, Valachiam, Transylvaniam, Banatum Temesvariensem, Bulgariam*—promises more than can be squeezed into 180 pages, but together with the previous (ly discussed) volume, we do have a monograph's worth of descriptions of the Central European region. To avoid misunderstandings, Marsili wrote, "This treatise, after combined with the treatise on Mysia, is to be printed."⁴¹ The two volumes, 108 and 28, combine to form a basic text which can be regarded as the seed from which his later scientific and political works sprung forth or rather some pliable material that will assume not only different shapes but different ideological cores as well, depending on what actual political situation the author wanted to adjust it to.

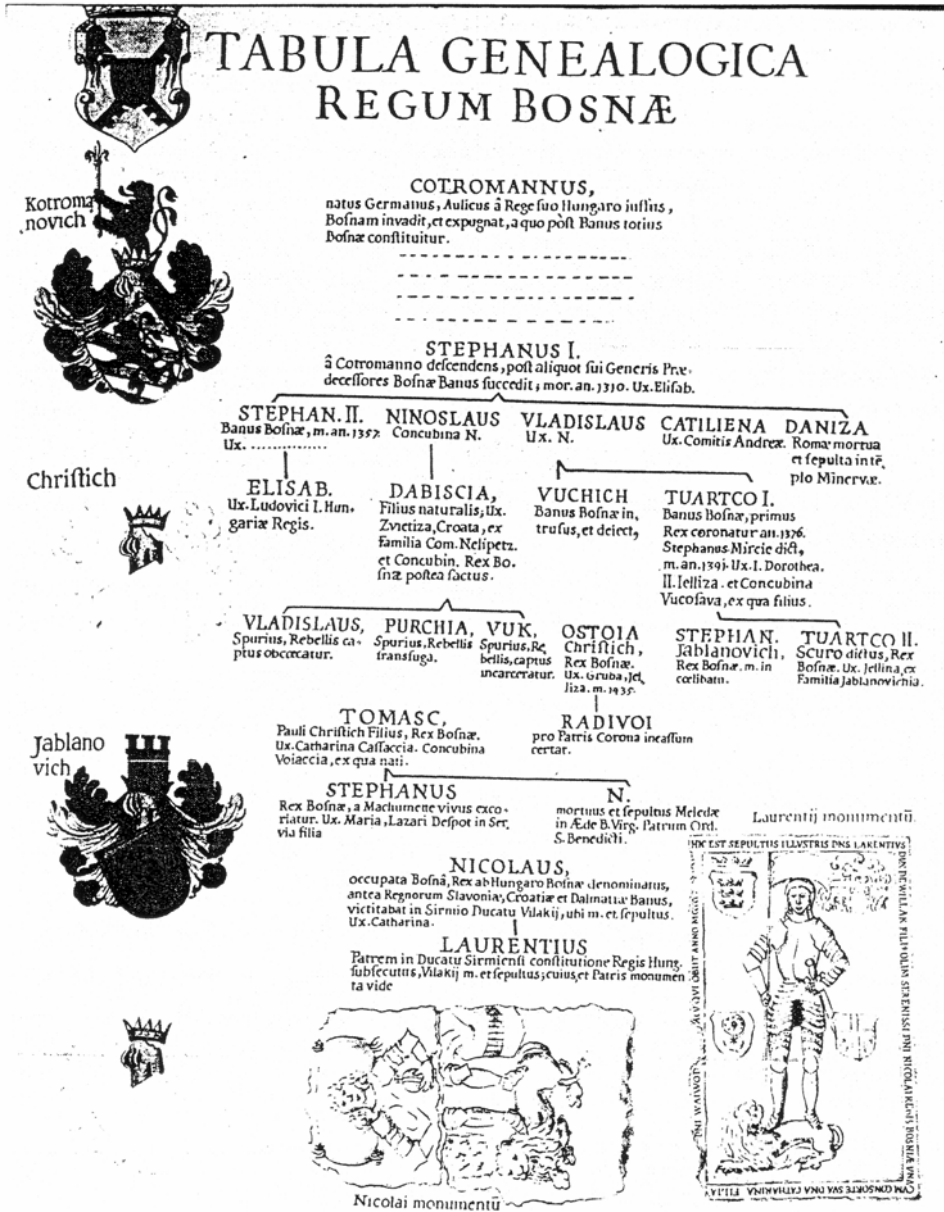
The former work, the *Descrittione*, looks at the region from a bird's eye view and describes the potential border areas of the Habsburg state from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. What he had in mind was a mountainous border region easily defensible against the Turks and toward the end of the treatise, he also devotes space to the defence of territories from the direction of Ukraine and Tartar-held lands.⁴² The bogging down of military campaigns in the early 1690s and temporary successes by the Turks resulted in the shifting of Marsili's attention to the Kingdom of Hungary proper. Of the Balkan countries, which he formerly regarded from a broad, imperial perspective, he retained interest only in those which in the past had some sort of legal connection with the Hungarian Crown, since historic claims could become bargaining chips in potential peace negotiations. As the text itself reveals, the *Monarchia Ungarica* is a product of the months immediately following the peace treaty of Karlowitz⁴³ and this is apparent from its hasty wording and the insertion of genealogies supplanting country descriptions and histories. Marsili turned the originally Italian text into Latin, since, as he said, he no longer targeted a select circle of statesmen as he did with the first work, but a wider, erudite, European audience, interested not only in the politics of the region but in other issues as well. Even though the two parts of the planned work were realized in two separate periods and in two different languages, they are very closely related—at least Marsili himself thought they could be amalgamated. It is probable that he intended to preface the first plan with a historical sketch of the origins and features of the Hungarian "rebellions"—there is an Italian-language treatment of the subject among his papers entitled *Memorie e introduzione*

rio..." BUB Ms 28, without pagination (*Ad tabulam genealogicam regum Nemaniorum apodixis*). On the collection of the monastery manuscripts, cf. *Lettera di prefazione*, 184.

⁴¹ "Questo trattato unito al Volume del Trattato delle Misie è compito per stamparsi". BUB Ms 28.

⁴² Endre Veress had earlier pointed out that the two works belonged together (VERESS 1906, *op. cit.*, 36–37). Brief summaries by STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 161–162, and by DEÁK 2004, *op. cit.*, 32–33, 37.

⁴³ Marsili drew a sketch of the headstone of Lawrence, son of the Bosnian King Nicholas, appointed by Mathias, which he found in Ilok (Újlak) in the Syrmia region in the course of his survey of the borders in the aftermath of the Karlowitz peace treaty. See in BUB Ms 28, without pagination (*Ad tabulam genealogicam regum Bosnae apodixis*).



The genealogy of the Bosnian kings, with autograph drawings of Marsili (BUB Ms 28)

all'istoria della ribellione d'Ungheria.⁴⁴ He must have liked the subject, because he prepared an expanded version of this, with Thököly in its focus, entitled *Epitome della ribellione d'Ungheria*.⁴⁵ His purpose with the presentation of the national characteristics and collective psycho-history of the rebellion-prone Hungarians must have been to legitimize the absolutist organisation of the territories already recaptured and yet to be recaptured from the Turks, the reduction of the traditional power of the aristocrats and the administrative efforts at modernising.⁴⁶ Plans for publication were scuttled not only by another war that engaged Marsili's energies and attention (1702, the War of the Spanish Succession) but also by the effects of an important encounter. In September 1699, the Croatian estates sent a local associate to assist Marsili and this associate radically changed the direction of the confident vision of the imperial border surveyor. Pavao Ritter Vitezović was born in the town of Senj on the Adriatic coast to Croatised German immigrants from Elsass. His ancestors were soldiers and administrators for the Habsburgs in a militarized border zone. He was perhaps the most important unifier of the Croatian language, a poet, a scholar, a printer, a historian, a visionary of greater Croatia, an intellectual with encyclopaedic learning who was delegated as an expert to the Karlowitz border survey committee and worked for two years as the most diligent colleague of Marsili.⁴⁷

*The Croatian Purgatory*⁴⁸

The first encounter between the two scholar-politicians came about through official channels. Marsili, commissioned to stake out the Habsburg–Turkish border, pitched camp at the first place of controversy—namely, by the river Una, where the situation of the “old” and “new” towns of Novi was discussed.⁴⁹ We know from his reports penned in

⁴⁴ BUB Ms 28.

⁴⁵ *Epitome della ribellione d'Ungheria con annesso il prodromo del protocollo de' moderni confini cesarei–ottomanni*, BUB Ms 70 (fasc. 10).

⁴⁶ For a description of the two historical compendia, see Zsuzsanna ROZSNYÓI, *Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e gli ungheresi: Alcune considerazioni sul Marsili storico*, in: «*Hungarica varietas*»: *Mediatori culturali tra Italia e Ungheria*, a cura di Adriano PAPO, Gizella NEMETH, Mariano del Friuli, 2002, 133–135.

⁴⁷ The primary monograph, used to this day, is Vjekoslav KLAIĆ, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića (1652–1713)*, Zagreb, 1914. See also Josip BRATULIĆ, *Oživjela Hrvatska u obzoru života i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića*, in: Pavao RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, *Oživjela Hrvatska*, preveo Zlatko PLEŠE, Zagreb, 1997, 7–40; as well as Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Vitezovića Hrvatska između stvarnosti i utopije*, Zagreb, 2002. On the cooperation between Marsili and Vitezović, see ID., *Performing National Identity: The Case of Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713)*, *National Identities*, 5(2003), 251–267.

⁴⁸ The expression was used by Marsili himself, in his 29 October, 1699 report to Emperor Leopold, “To leave Croatia one day will be like liberation from Purgatory...” (“L'uscire una di Croazia sarà liberarsi da un purgatorio...”). *Relazioni*, I, 221.

⁴⁹ The problem was that there were two towns called Novi on either banks of the river Una (the “old” and the “new” Novi) and both sides had claims for both—and the estates belonging to them, see STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 186–187.

the course of June that Marsili held talks with the Vice Ban of the Croats and high ranking officers of the border guard in the nearby Dubica.⁵⁰ The need to call in an expert might have emerged in these meetings and Vitezović might have been recommended for the job by Vice Ban Stjepan Jelačić who was assisting Marsili. In September, Jelačić was still (or again) in the vicinity of Novi and wrote to Marsili who had asked him to provide some historical information, “In the meantime, we summoned the gentleman Paulus Ritter who also happens to be the Vice Captain of Lika and Krbava counties and who made his departure yesterday or today. He will be bringing quite a few documents for your Excellency.”⁵¹

Ritter, who just joined Marsili, prepared with incredible speed a memorandum titled *Responsio ad postulata Aloysio Ferdinando Marsilio* which he presented to Marsili on September 25.⁵² Marsili asked two questions of his expert: the first pertaining to the statehood of Dalmatia, the second to the borders of Croatia. Why these two questions? When feelers were put out preparatory to the peace treaty in 1690, Marsili already noticed the doubtful legal status of the “Kingdom of Dalmatia” and complained to his Viennese mentor, Chancellor Kinsky, in a letter, saying that the borders of all the countries in the region had changed very often in the course of the centuries and historians had conflicting and often obscure opinions in these matters and documents and charters that would settle these uncertainties were hard to come by.⁵³ At the time the borders were being staked out in the aftermath of the peace treaty of Karlowitz, the issue of Dalmatia was already recognised as a delicate one (*delicata materia*) but interestingly not vis-à-vis the Turks but vis-à-vis the Venetians. The treaty of 1684 which created the Holy League against the Turks gave the rights to both the Venetians and the Habsburgs to reclaim their old territories and acquire new ones, but on one condition: “The territories captured in

⁵⁰ See the report dated 12 June, 1699: *Relazioni*, I, 82.

⁵¹ “Interim advocavimus Dominum Paulum Ritter, alias Vice Comitem illorum Comitatum Likae et Corbaviae, qui heri aut hodie omnimode se accinxit itineri. Venietque ad obsequia Excell[enti]ae V[est]rae cum nonnullis fundamentis.” BUB Ms 63 (*Lettere ricevute nella divisione de' Confini della Schiavonia e Croazia*), 141r, Stjepan Jelačić to Marsili, Novi, 14 September, 1699. Jelačić stay with Marsili's retinue until April 1700. I should point out that a separate treatment should be devoted to the organisation of Marsili's mission, the supply of his retinue, his relationship to the Croatian Council of the Orders (sabor), to Ban Ádám Batthyány, to Stjepan Seliščević, Bishop of Zagreb and to the Zagreb Chapter. Only one part of the relevant papers are located in Bologna (BUB Ms 63, 99r–216v), the other part is in Zagreb, Kaptolski i nadbiskupski arhiv: *Epistolae ad Episcopos Zagrabenses*, tom. XXVII, nr. 37, 82; tom. XXVIII, nr. 6, 13, 28, 30, 31, 34, 39, 45, 97; tom. XXIX, nr. 26; *Acta politica*, tom. VI, nr. 478, 480; Državni arhiv Hrvatske: *Acta commissionalia*, kut. I. fasc. 1. nr. 47. The rest of the relevant Parliamentary papers published: *Zaključci hrvatskog sabora*, II, 1693–1713, pripremili Josip BUTURAC et alii, Zagreb, 1958, 195–197, 212; and *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije*, I, 1689–1716, priredili Josip BARBIĆ et alii, Zagreb, 1985, 116, 118, 129, 134, 147, 151–152, 154, 155–156, 160, 162–163. A general overview of the modernisation efforts and the problem of the resistance of the orders: Jean BÉRENGER, *Resistenza dei ceti alle riforme dell'Impero 1680–1710*, in: *La dinamica statale austriaca 1680–1710*, ed. cit., 19–64.

⁵² BUB Ms 103, 27r–34r. The text in published form: VITEZOVIĆ 1997, *op. cit.*, 187–215. Its analysis: BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 85–87.

⁵³ In this undated letter, Marsili demonstrates his robust knowledge on the issue of Dalmatia and the Dalmatian border: BUB Ms 54 (*Manuscripti diversi*, VI), 701r–709r; a draft in autograph.

the war or recaptured lost territories belong to that side which had formerly possessed them.”⁵⁴ Thus the Venetian Republic could keep the territories it conquered of the Dalmatian Kingdom by force of arms. The Venetians jumped on the opportunity and greatly enlarged their Dalmatian estates, even going beyond the geographical borders of Dalmatia. On the basis of his personal experiences on the spot and out of political and commercial considerations, Marsili concluded that the Habsburg Empire cannot do without access to the sea and set about collecting information to be used in case a diplomatic solution was possible and most or all of the coastline stretching from Rijeka to Dubrovnik might be reclaimed from the Republic.⁵⁵ At this point, the interests and expectations of the imperial diplomat, Marsili, and those of the Croatian writer, Pavao Ritter Vitezović, interested in enlarging Croatian living space, coincided.

In September 1699, Marsili reported to the Emperor that the Venetians were unlawfully occupying the Adriatic coastline between the town of Senj and the mouth of the river Zermanja and also Lika-Krbava county inland, which, he said, used to be part of the Kingdom of Hungary therefore it belonged to Leopold. He knew that an extraordinary envoy was going to be dispatched from Venice to Vienna to settle the issue, whose work was aided by *uomini dotti* who were collecting material to demonstrate that the territory was part of “Dalmatia.” Thus, he recommended to Leopold to collect documents to support his own position before negotiations were opened. At this time, however, Marsili only went as far as saying that “All that the Republic of Venice conquered by force of arms in this present war sanctioned by the Holy Alliance outside the borders of Dalmatia should be returned to the Kingdom of Hungary.”⁵⁶ It was a problem whose resolution required an expert well-versed in local issues and the history of these territories. Ritter’s response to his queries fulfilled Marsili’s wildest expectations. According to the *Responsio*, Dalmatia was primarily a geographical concept and could not be regarded as a separate state, therefore the real question was the former location of the borders of the Kingdom of Croatia, which included Dalmatia. From this point on, the collaboration between the Croatian poet and the imperial envoy took the form of involved discussions and brainstorming sessions in the course of which one idea was tabled after the other and the subsequent reports and memoranda became an intricately entangled web of inter-textual connections. After the *Responsio*, Ritter hastily drew up two more memoranda. The one titled *Croatia* was devoted to his old dream of radically extending Croatia’s historical borders, but he tried to dress up his poetic inspiration in a cloak of historical arguments. He compared, he amended, he profusely cited a great number of sources—but all these

⁵⁴ “Bello acquisita, sive rehabita ex ablatis, pro jure quibus antea pertinebant Partibus cedent”. Jean DUMONT, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, VII/2, Amsterdam, 1731, 72.

⁵⁵ The Venetian reception of the conflict needs further research. Essential presentation: Kenneth M. SETTON, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1994, 389–415. Contemporary treatment, known to Marsili: Pietro GARZONI, *Istoria della repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega*, I, Venezia, 1707.

⁵⁶ “...restituatur Regno Ungariae quidquid per arma occupatum fuit a Venetis moderno bello iuxta fundamentum Sacri Federis, *extra Dalmatia*”. (My emphasis, S. B.) *Relazioni*, I, 182. (The full report, dated 11 September, 1699: *ibid.*, 167–182.)

spectacular efforts served a purpose with which the cited authors (especially the most-often quoted Giovanni Lucio) could hardly have agreed. With a grand gesture, Ritter “annexed” Serbia, Bosnia, Istria and Dalmatia and attached them to Croatia.⁵⁷ In his other treatise titled *Disertatio Regni Croatiae*, he used a leaner legalistic argument: since Dalmatia was but a geographical concept and never existed as a state (the Hungarian kings in their charters only used the term “Regnum Dalmatiae” out of their respect for antique Roman traditions) therefore Leopold in the treaty could only cede the *title* to the Republic. So until the Venetians came up with convincing proof, “they have to content themselves with the mere name of Dalmatia” and can have no claims to the territory itself.⁵⁸

It is hardly surprising that this thesis appeared in Marsili’s summary on Croatia submitted at the end of 1699: Dalmatia never existed as a state and belonged to Croatia as a territory, therefore it could be proven that the Venetians had no historical claims to it.⁵⁹ Marsili made preparations “to compose a document on the borders of Croatia common with Dalmatia” in which undertaking, “most experts say the best information is to be found in the archives of the Zrinyi family.”⁶⁰ The person he had in mind to search the archives must have been Vitezović.

So Vitezović commenced his research in the Zagreb archives and probably managed to track down charters in the Zrinyi archives. At least he came into possession of a bundle of charter copies and notes prepared in the *Archivum Chaktorniensis* by Marcus Forstall, court chaplain to the Croat Ban Miklós Zrinyi (Nikola Zrinski), when he was commissioned in 1663 to write the family’s history. Vitezović sent a copy of Forstall’s Zrinyi genealogy to Marsili⁶¹ and followed it up with other documents purported to provide Marsili with ammunition in his debate with the Venetians.⁶² Marsili was swept up in all

⁵⁷ BUB Ms 103, 35r–45r (treatise by Ritter Vitezović in autograph). The longer version of the title, found in the table of contents to the volume: *Croatiae erudita descriptio*. For a detailed analysis see BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 87–88. (Latin text published in the annex: 221–234.)

⁵⁸ “Regnum vero Dalmatiae quibus terminis circumscribi deberet, nusquam invenio; quod in solo nomine Provinciae a Romanis ita appellatae contentum, a Croatiae Ungariaeque Regibus honoris gratia Regni Croatiae titulo (uti etiam Ranae et Serbiae) adjunctum est. In nullis namque vel Rex, vel Banus praecise Dalmatiae, memoriae hactenus repertus nominatur: Slavonicorum proprie et proprie Maritimorum abundante Banorum memoria. Quare, in defectu meliorum de finibus Regni Dalmatiae probarum, Venetis (quibus, uti pro eodem praetense Regno proba incumbit) solo eatenus Dalmatiae nomine contentos esse, opus est.” *Disertatio Regni Croatiae*, BUB Ms 103, 130v–131r. Published in BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 259.

⁵⁹ *Relazioni*, I, 250. The entire report on Croatia: *ibid.*, 249–265.

⁶⁰ “...per terminare una scrittura dell’estensione de’ limiti della Croazia rispettivamente alla Dalmazia”; “...secondo le informazioni avute da uomini più esperti si può dar il capo di trovare qualche miglior lume nell’archivio della famiglia Sdrini”. *Ibid.*, II, 328.

⁶¹ Marcus FORSTALL, *Stemmatographia Mavortiae familiae comitum a Zrin*. The Bologna copy in Vitezović’s autograph: BUB Ms 103, 277–321. For details on the work: BENE Sándor, *Őskeresők: A Zrinyi-család-történet és műfaji háttere* (Hunting for ancestry: The genealogy of the Zrinyi family and the background of its genre), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 2003, 3–42.

⁶² The Vitezović–Marsili correspondence (BUB Ms 79) was published by BENE Sándor, *Pavao Ritter Vitezović levelei Luigi Ferdinando Marsilihoz, 1699–1700* (The letters of Pavao Ritter Vitezović to Luigi Ferdinando Marsili), in: *Croato–Hungarica: Uz 900 godina hrvatsko–mađarskih povijesnih veza—A horvát–*

the excitement and he accompanied his 8 May, 1700 dispatch with a research plan that was a veritable call to arms in a war of archives. He petitioned Leopold to secure access for his agents to the archives of the Croatian “Sabor,” the archives of the Zagreb Chapter, the archives in Vienna and help track down the lost documents of the Frangepan, Karlović and Zrínyi archives.⁶³ Marsili, yet again, mentioned the report he intended to write on the issue of the borders of Dalmatia. This, however, was never sent and only half of it was ever prepared.⁶⁴ It is probable that in the course of his work, Marsili decided on a change of tactics, realizing that compelling though Ritter’s “irrefutable” historical arguments may be, still, political realities only permitted claiming coastal territories north of Dalmatia’s borders so he delegated the preparation and submission of the grander plan to his Croatian colleague. The court’s reaction justified Marsili’s caution. The Habsburg bureaucrats gladly welcomed the arguments suitable to chip away at Venice’s territorial demands (submitted by Ritter to Chancellor Bucellini under the title *Regia Illyriorum Croatia*)⁶⁵ but they were much less receptive to the *Prodromus ad Croatiam redivivam*⁶⁶ with its bold political perspectives. Ultimately, the imperial commission granted to Ritter was not to justify Leopold’s title *Rex totius Croatiae* but to legitimize the historical claims of the Kingdom of Hungary to territories lying north of Dalmatia.⁶⁷

The presentation of this rather involved story was necessary to shed light on why Marsili never published the manuscripts began in 1690 and amended in 1699, even though they were prepared to go to print. Having studied the history of the region and having held discussions on the subject with Ritter, he understood that the two parts of the planned work could not be combined unproblematically. His initial thinking was that he could continue the *Monarchia Ungarica* and all he needed to do was to enlarge, on the basis of his new research and the material provided by Vitezović, the “Balkan chapters” he crafted rather hurriedly a few years before. Even the cover of the manuscript declared that the work must be continued (“adjungenda sunt quoque fragmenta quaeque genealogica familiarum Croaticarum”), but the more he continued writing, the more material he accumulated, the clearer it became to him that the two concepts were mutually exclu-

magyar történelmi kapcsolatok 900 éve alkalmából (On the 900 years of Croatian–Hungarian historical relations), eds. Milka JAUŠK-PINHAK, KISS Gy. Csaba, NYOMÁRKAY István, Zagreb, 2002, 167–179. The letter in which he mentions Forstall’s *Stemmatographia*: Zagreb, 4 March, 1700.

⁶³ Peilok sull’affare con i Veneti (annex to the report dated 8 May, 1700): *Relazioni*, II, 331–332.

⁶⁴ BUB Ms 70 (*Miscellanea per la Commissione dei confini*, IX): *Principio di notizie sulla Parte Marittima della Croazia*.

⁶⁵ The memoir titled *Regia Illyriorum Croatia sive Croatia rediviva* can be found in Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, R 3570. Brief presentation in BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 90–91.

⁶⁶ The document (which can of course be found in the Marsili fond in Bologna, too, BUB Ms 103, fasc. IV) has two modern bilingual editions with excellent commentaries: PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, *Oživljena Hrvatska*, prevela e priredila Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, Zagreb, 1997 (Biblioteka Latina & Graeca, 40), and VITEZOVIĆ, *Oživljena Hrvatska* 1997, *ed. cit.* (the text: 61–141).

⁶⁷ KLAJČ 1914, *op. cit.*, 164–166. Cf. also BERLÁSZ Jenő, *Pavao Ritter-Vitezović az illirizmus szülőatyja: Magyar–horvát viszony a 17–18. század fordulóján* (Pavao Ritter-Vitezović, the founding father of the Illyrism: Hungarian–Croatian relations at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries), *Századok*, 1986, 943–1002 (on the Viennese reception of the memoirs: 984–987).

sive. According to the first concept—which he initially and eventually supported—the House of Habsburg could legitimize its claims to territories reconquered from the Turks by the rights of the Crown of Hungary. The essence of the other concept was that instead of using the medieval rights of the Hungarian Crown to territories in the Balkans, the Emperor should incorporate into the state the Slavic territories already recaptured and yet to be recaptured in his capacity a king of *tota Croatia*.⁶⁸ By Slavic territories, Vitezović meant the Illyria of his dreams (Greater Croatia) which, in its boldest manifestation, would have incorporated Hungary itself. The historical “arguments” he later used to support this idea were based on an ingenious combination of genealogies: in his 1703 work, *Natales divo Ladislavo regi Slavoniae apostolo restituti*, he said, citing an alleged charter, that Saint Ladislaus was born in Gorica, Croatia, therefore the entire House of Árpád was of Croatian extraction, therefore Hungary was nothing but part of Northern Croatia (*Croatia septentrionalis*), a Slavic territory.⁶⁹ This would have provided ideological ammunition for the Viennese government to suppress the rebellious Hungarians, since it would have eliminated the legal basis for their anti-Habsburg resistance movements. This idea must have held a certain attraction for Marsili, not the least because it offered a broader framework for his political and scientific ambition than did the first concept based on the historic rights of the Hungarian Crown. However, his innate caution (and the interests the Habsburgs had in maintaining good relations with Venice) kept him

⁶⁸ On the concept of the “entire Croatia” in context of the contemporary historical and legal literature: BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 184–196. It is this author who postulates, for the first time in the literature, that the pan-Croatian or Illyrian nation-building nationalism formerly attributed to Vitezović is in essence nothing but a dialect of the language of absolutist reform ideology spoken by Marsili and others. In the present study I only touch upon the sources of the notion which I treat elsewhere in detail: especially the cooperation in the 1630s between the Bosnian bishop Ivan Mrnavić Tomko and Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, cf. BENE Sándor, *A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában: Pázmány Péter és a Szent István-hagyomány 17. századi fordulópontja* (The falsification of the “Sylvester-bull”: Péter Pázmány and the turning point of the Hungarian St Stephen tradition in the 17th century), in: „*Hol vagy István király?*” *A Szent István-hagyomány évszázadai* (Centuries of the St Stephen tradition), ed. BENE Sándor, Budapest, 2006, 89–124; or the Croatian–Hungarian patriotic tradition represented by Miklós Zrínyi and György Rátkay (cf. Sándor BENE, *Ideološke koncepcije o staleškoj državi zagrebačkoga kanonika*, in: Juraj RÁTKAY, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove Kraljevstava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*, Zagreb, 2001, 4–103). This latter was deserving of a *damnatio memoriae* in Vitezović’s eyes, so much so that he tried to erase it from Croatian historical memory, while 20th century literature, paradoxically, integrated it into the prehistory of Vitezović’s Illyrian/pre-Yugoslav ideology; see e. g. Giovanna BROGI BERCOFF, *La storiografia umanistica di Dalmazia e Croazia: modelli italiani e miti nazionali*, *Ricerche slavistiche*, 36(1989), 101–117.

⁶⁹ See SZÖRÉNYI László, *Paulus Ritter Szent László-életrajza* (The vita of St Ladislaus by Paulus Ritter), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1999, 416–448. (The Latin text of the treatise: 423–448.) The idea about the Croatian extraction of St Ladislaus, can be found first in a Vitezović paper passed on to Marsili: *Denominaciones montium, fluviorum, civitatumque et aliorum locorum, plerumque per Illyricum, eorumque ab antiquo differentiae et significata*, BUB Ms 103, 4r, where Vitezović writes: “Goricza: Parvum montem significat: et est nomen diversorum locorum in Illyrico. Goricia est arx una cum suo Comitatu in Croatia, ex qua S. Ladislavus Pannoniarum Rex oriundus.” (The same in *Croatiae erudita descriptio*: BUB Ms 103, 43v.) A manuscript of the *Denominaciones* can also be found in Zagreb: Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, IV. b. 57.

away from extremities and he only progressed as far as adopting the position of *duplex veritas*: as a politician and a diplomat serving the Habsburgs, he continued to think of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans as belonging under the legal administration of *Regnum Hungaricum*, but as a scholar, Vitezović's Illyria (or Croatia) project might have been more fertile a ground for him. During his border survey activities, he reheated the decade-old idea of *Fragmenta*, a publication of a great collection of Balkan source materials, and included a new "group of sources" among those to be explored. As he wrote in his 1721 report cited before, "In the course of my travels of the border regions I realised that a work containing many centuries of the history of Illyria could be compiled by producing a collection of old Illyrian songs, more precisely the old historical songs that one may hear sung by blind bards and the new songs they also produce. I have been greatly impressed by the graceful dexterity this nation demonstrated in this and by the fact that blind minstrels living near the borders, upon being advised of the debate between myself and the Turks, would week to week prepare these songs in their own poetic metres then come to sing them before my tents and the tents of the Turks, sometimes accompanying them by dancing. Cavaliere Ritter who versifies in both Latin and Illyrian has confirmed this conviction of mine, showing me a book containing a collection of historical songs, which describe many historical events which have been lost due to the lack of writers or preserved writings and are remembered solely by the blind bards who hand them down to their blind offspring. Now that the imperial troops captured most of Serbia and Wallachia, I can realise my plans to benefit of our modern literature and collect and publish all these fragments—especially those which bring us news of the countries which have been excluded for centuries from communicating with our learned nations."⁷⁰

The current location of the book, containing the historical songs and naïve epic fragments on which Vitezović was relying, remains unknown. Researching this would be an interesting task for literary historians, but for the purposes of the present research we must make do with the currently available documents, from which one significant conclusion can certainly be drawn. The second great layer of the Marsili papers, those produced

⁷⁰ "Nell'occasione prementoata dei miei viaggi Limitanei m'occorse d'imparare che era possibile unire una Storia dell'Ilirico da più secoli, unendo una Raccolta delle Canzoni, ò Cantilene illiriche antiche, che da Ciechi s'imparano, e d'altre nuove, che si compongono da loro, e di questa facilità naturale di tal Nazione ne restai persuaso, et che di settimana in settimana li Ciechi circonvicini a i Limiti informandosi de i Contrasti, e successi frà Turchi, e me facevano col loro metro composizioni in Ilirico, che venivano di poi a cantare avanti le mie Tende, e de' Turchi accompagnando tutto con suono, ed anche alle volte con Danze. Il Cavaliere Riter Poeta Latino, ed Ilirico mi confermò questa Verità, mostrandomi in un Libro una numerosissima Raccolta di tali Cantilene, che davano tante notizie istoriche, che per mancanza di scrittori, o della conservazione de scritti antichi s'erano perdute, e solo conservate per questo mezzo de Ciechi che le lasciarono a i successori privi della Vista. In ora che l'armi di Cesare hanno occupato una gran parte della Servia e Vallachia potrà essere ridotto a perfezione questo mio Abbozzo in vantaggio della nostra moderna Letteratura tutta intenta a raccogliere, e pubblicare sifatti fragmenti, e massime che ci danno notizie di paesi, che da più secoli sono stati senza commercio con le nostre Nazioni colte, ma per il decantato tenore impressoli da Turchi, veruno ardi nemeno pensarvi." *Lettera di prefazione*, 185–186. Marsili, writing about the rulers of Bosnia, makes a note of the significance of oral epics in the sustenance of historical memory in the Monarchia Ungarica: BUB Ms 28 (*Ad tabulam genealogicam regum Bosnae apodixis*), 27.

between 1699 and 1702, is constituted by a collection of “Illyrian” historical sources, primarily used by its compiler for political purposes (serving as informational databases for Marsili’s reports to Leopold as published by Raffaella Gherardi) though later he also intended to use them for scholarly purposes. By this time, people had learned of the partial results of his collecting efforts. Rather interestingly, the famous publisher of sources, the father of modern diplomacy, Jean Mabillon, as Marsili writes, “having learned that I am in possession of a number of charters issued by the rulers of the old Bosnia, turned to me with a request regarding these fragments, but his death deprived me of the distinction of having helped such a great scholar”.⁷¹ However, the material collected by Marsili was not lost and can be found today mostly in volume 103 of the Marsili papers in Bologna, under the title *Documenta rerum Croaticarum et Transylvanicarum*. The collection of sources is a mix of historical, ethnographical, onomastic, topographic, heraldic, genealogical and literary historical documents pertaining to Bosnia, Croatia and Transylvania, including copies of charters, treatises on legal history, hagiographies, explanations of antique ruins and inscriptions. Marsili is largely to be credited with editing the material. Among the authors we find Hungarians (Dávid Rozsnyai,⁷² Miklós Bethlen⁷³), Italians (Giacinto Peri),⁷⁴ Croats (Nikola Gothál,⁷⁵ Franjo Ladanji⁷⁶), Romanians (Constantin

⁷¹ “Il Padre Mabillon di chiarissima memoria sopra di tali miei narrati fragmenti fece una particolar istanza, avendo notizie che nelle mie Mani fossero più Diplomi degl’ Antichi Rè di Bosna, ma la sua morte mi tolse il merito di servire a così erudito soggetto”. *Lettera di prefazione*, 185.

⁷² The comprehensive historical work by Dávid Rozsnyai (1641–1718), “Turkish expert” to Prince Mihály Apafi, in the Marsili collection (translated into Latin by the author at the request of Marsili): Davidis ROSNAI Constantinopoli interpretis *Res tragicæ gestæ in plagis orientilibus, occidentalibus, meridionalibus, septentrionalibus a diebus Ferdinandi I Imp. et Sultani Bajezid, usque ad Leopoldum I et Mehemed IV Imperatorem, anno 1674, in Latinum versæ anno 1701. Co. L. F. Marsili porrectæ*, BUB Ms 103, 396–489.

⁷³ For the letters of Miklós Bethlen see JANKOVICS József, *Bethlen Miklós két levele Luigi Ferdinando Marsilihez* (Two letters by Miklós Bethlen to Luigi Ferdinando Marsili), in: *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv* (Studies in honour of Ágnes Várkonyi), ed. TUSOR Péter, Budapest, 1998, 428–431. Two copies of the political pamphlet on the state of Transylvania (*Moribunda Transylvaniae*) written by Bethlen can be found among the Marsili papers: BUB Ms 57 and 103. (They are not noted in the Frati catalogue, attention is called to them in JANKOVICS 1998, *op. cit.*, 428, and ROZSNYÓI 2002, *op. cit.*, 137.) Furthermore, I do not think it is impossible that the memorandum, which the Marsili papers contain without noting the proper authorship, titled *Probabile ac morale tertium expediens ac moderamen aulicum super statu Appafi et Transylvania circa Apafium* (BUB Ms 57, 142–159) is also by the Transylvanian chancellor. On Bethlen’s possible role in the transmission of the Latin–Hungarian–Romanian glossary in the Marsili collection (*Lexicon Latinum, Vallachicum et Hungaricum*, BUB Ms 116; published by Carlo TAGLIAVINI, *Il «Lexicon Marsilianum»: Dizionario latino–rumeno–ungherese del sec. XVII*, București, 1930) see NAGY Levente, *Bethlen Miklós „ezer vagy kétezer szavas” latin–magyar–román szójegyzéke* (The “two or three thousand words” glossary of Miklós Bethlen), *Magyar Nyelv*, 2000, 323–342.

⁷⁴ We know little of Giovanni Francesco Giacinto Peri outside the Marsili reference in the *Danubius*, styling him “a Captain of his Imperial Majesty” and calling him Domenico instead of Giovanni. Doubtless, Peri belonged to the imperial contingent at Marsili’s service during his border survey travels which included officers of the army who were well-trained, like him, to resolve scientific issues and problems. (Cf. *Danubius*, II, 75.) A long letter written by him to Marsili, preserved among the Bologna papers (Novi, 21 April, 1700: BUB Ms 103, 101r–102v), discusses on the one hand the extent of the diocese of Krbava (Corbavia), which, appearances to the contrary, notwithstanding, was not just a scholarly problem, since it provided arguments to be

Cantacuzino),⁷⁷ and Saxons (Valentin Frank von Frankenstein).⁷⁸ Most of the sources were copied or transcribed by Vitezović himself.⁷⁹ (The Dalmatia debate sketched out above can be reconstructed on the basis of his writings to be found here.) This joint collection of sources was later used by both Marsili and Vitezović—in fact the two probably mutually influenced and shaped each other’s research methods and scientific ideals.

The particular goal of the Croatian scholar was to organise and correct earlier historiographical tradition. His most prominent precursor and opponent was the Croatian Ivan Lučić (Giovanni Lucio, Joannes Lucius), the author of *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* which was published a few decades earlier and by and large indirectly served the interests of Venice.⁸⁰ In essence, Vitezović wanted to overwrite this work using the new sys-

used in the territorial negotiations with the Turks. On the other hand, it touches upon a political problem when it remarks that it would be difficult to secure the court’s acceptance of a concept of a Croatia which recognises no crown superior to it.

⁷⁵ Nikola Gothál de Gothálovecz (1687–1723) was a person of key importance for Marsili, for it was he who copied the charters in the Archives of the Zagreb Chapter which Vitezović used to support the claims of the *Disertatio regni Croatiae*. In his letters to the Imperial Commissioner, he provides important information regarding the dimensions of the dioceses (Zagreb, 26 February, 1700: BUB Ms 103, 97r–98r; Zagreb, 12 June, 1700: *ibid.*, 140r); these also show that Marsili was willing to subsidise the Illyrian studies of a certain number of students in his home town, no doubt in exchange for copies of necessary documents. Between 1693 and 1695, Gothál was the rector of the Illyrian–Hungarian College in Bologna, after 1700 a canon in Zagreb and episcopal vicar. (See Ljudevit IVANČAN, *Podatci o zagrebačkim kanonicima, 1193–1924*, II, 668–671; I thank the staff of the Nadbiskupski arhiv in Zagreb for providing me access to this valuable manuscript work.)

⁷⁶ Francisci LADANJI, *De gestis Banorum Regni Sclavoniae*, BUB Ms 103, 237–276, the first few pages are printed (cf. VERESS 1906, *op. cit.*, 34). Ladanji (Ladányi), in the service of the Draskovics family, prepared, besides his “Banology” (the other manuscript at Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, R 3249), a genealogy of the family as well (*Fructus honoris in arbore Illyrico Hungarica domus Draskovithianae*, 1675, Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, R 3572). On the author, see BENE 2001, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁷⁷ Constantin Cantacuzino, Wallachian boyar and historian, provided information, at Marsili’s request, on the Latin origins of the Romanians and the wildlife of Moldavia and Wallachia (*Catalogo dei Principi della Wallachia e della Moldavia*, BUB Ms 57, 191–201), accompanying letter (*ibid.*, 203–204) dated 4 March, 1694. Cf. VERESS 1906, *op. cit.*, 22. On his good relations to Cantacuzino: *Autobiografia*, 151; STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 113–114; and Ramiro ORTIZ, *Per la storia della cultura italiana in Rumania*, București, 1916, 187–194 (thanks to Levente Nagy for this last reference).

⁷⁸ NAGY (2000, *op. cit.*) thinks it possible that this Saxon Royal Magistrate collaborated in the collection of information on Transylvania.

⁷⁹ Apart from the already cited *Responsio, Croatia, Disertatio regni Croatiae, Prodrömus, Denominatio-nes*, and the copy of Forstall’s *Stemmatographia*, the following documents are in the autograph of the Croat scholar: *De Valachis, sive vlahis* (BUB Ms 103, 139r); *Authores qui de Illyrico et Croatia scripserunt* (*ibid.*, 14r–15v); *Notae de titulis regum Croatiae, Serbiae et Ungariae* (*ibid.*, 19r–20r); *Antiquae Romanor[um] inscriptiones, quae per Croatiam visuntur* (*ibid.*, 22r–23v; Zagreb copy: Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, III. d. 194); *Catalogus familiarum in libro insigniorum Illyricae nobilitatis comprehensarum* (*ibid.*, 132r–138r; drawings of coats of arms are attached to this in the volume).

⁸⁰ Joannes LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*, Amstelodami, 1666. See Miroslav KURE-LAC, *Ivan Lucić Lucius, otac hrvatske historiografije*, Zagreb, 1994. The upshot of decades of “wrestling” with Lucio was a voluminous bundle of refutations, in manuscript form, written by Vitezović: *Offuciae Joannis Lucii de Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae refutatae* (around 1706, Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, R 3454). On the relationship between the texts of the two scholars: BLAŽEVIĆ 2002, *op. cit.*, 130–134.

tem of political criteria described above. He envisioned producing a work which would have, on the one hand, provided a continuous narration of the stories of the medieval states formed on the territories of what the Classical period knew as Illyria and, on the other hand, provided a detailed geographical, demographic, genealogical and heraldic description of the region's towns, fortifications, origins of the noble families. His goal was to merge the great genealogical summaries popular in his day (such as Giovan Piero Crescenzi's *Corona della nobiltà d'Italia*)⁸¹ with the genre of scientific topography which he became familiar with while working with Schönleben, Valvasor⁸² and Marsili, who at the time was preparing to write his *Danubius*. Vitezović actually participated in the production of the monumental work on the settlements of Carinthia in the 1680s. To realize the *opus ingens*, he needed money and data—as early as 1696, he put out a public appeal in the form of a *prodromus* to finance the publication which bore the working title *De aris et focis Illyriorum*⁸³ but met with lukewarm reception. Of data, he received little, of money, none at all. His meeting with Marsili and their subsequent collaboration rekindled his hopes. By this time, he called the historical part *Croatia rediviva*, to which he wanted to attach a monumental Latin–Croatian and Croatian–Latin dictionary (*Lexicon Latino–Illyricum*). As it is well-known, he managed to get the *prodromus* he wrote for the *Croatia rediviva* into print in 1700 and in this, he included the 1696 appeal with some modifications. At the same time, as their correspondence shows, he also wanted to secure support from Marsili for the publication of his *Lexicon*.⁸⁴ Perhaps it has to do with the close collaboration between the two scholars that they both published in the same year, 1700, the “previews” to their *opus magnum*, both dedicated to Emperor Leopold I.

Marsili's great work, the *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus*, was actually published decades later. In this work, he naturally made use of the data accumulated in the *Documenta rerum*, especially with regards to names of localities and to Roman relics and inscriptions. It would be fascinating to study which political and which scientific aspects were preserved in this work of the original Illyria concept. By and large it is apparent that Marsili ultimately opted to use the political principles laid down in the *Monarchia Ungarica* for the scholarly organisation of the material and he even preserved the structure he used there (a brief historical introduction followed by a detailed analytical description). The first volume of the work opens by describing the history, geography and political institutions of the Kingdom of Hungary, since the Danube flows through it for most of its course. He lists, as “countries belonging to the Kingdom of Hungary,” Slavonia, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia (!), Bulgaria, Moldova, Wallachia and Bessaraby, while listing Tran-

⁸¹ On the work published in 1639 in Bologna: Roberto BIZZOCCHI, *Genealogie incredibili: Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*, Bologna, 1995, 19–21.

⁸² Johann Ludwig SCHÖNLEBEN, *Carniolia antiqua et nova sive annales sacroprophani*, Ljubljana, 1681; Johann Wechard VALVASOR, *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae antiquae et modernae completa*, Nürnberg, 1688. In the 1680s, Vitezović participated in the writing of the latter, monumental work on the settlements of Carinthia and penned one of the dedicatory poems in the introduction: *Ad Archiducalem Carinthiae Nympham*.

⁸³ The manuscript: Zagreb, Metropolitanski arhiv, MR–74.

⁸⁴ See mostly his letter dated 4 March, 1700, Vienna: BENE 2002, *op. cit.*, 175.

sylvania as one of its “provinces.” The Illyrian terminology borrowed from Vitezović shows up in the descriptions of the languages spoken by the peoples of the region: “The Rascians belong to the Slavic peoples, i.e. to the one that populates the entirety of Illyria, i.e. Dalmatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria and whose language show little dialectic differences compared to each other. These then [sc. the Rascians] also speak the Illyrian tongue.”⁸⁵

Acta pacis Carlovicensis

However, the issue here is not what kind of help is offered by the Marsili papers in Bologna to the analysis of the sources of the *Danubius* (though this is an important and partially unresolved one as well) but whether this grandiose heap of material should be regarded as a mere miscellany, a *Wunderkammer* left behind by a passionate collector? Could it be but a mishmash of the leftover building material and of the scaffolding that was taken down after the completion of the building of the *Danubius*, or could it still conceal works other than the ones mentioned above or at least unfinished efforts from the third creative phase? Well, what I have to say here may be surprising and even banal but it is something I have not encountered in the literature: in my opinion, the Work we are looking for is the Collection itself, or at least a large part of it.

If the foreword is to be believed, the publication of the *Danubius* was almost accidental.⁸⁶ In any case, though the monumental work was published in the 1720s, its inception belongs, in its entirety, to Marsili’s first and second creative period.⁸⁷ It is difficult to imagine that the count, while undertaking an important military task in defence of the Papal State against the Habsburgs⁸⁸ and being in continuous contact with the major public figures, politicians and scholarly associations of his day and attributing, as he did, a quasi-religious role to politics,⁸⁹ would have been content as a political writer to pen his own defence against the humiliation the Habsburg government dealt him and circulate it

⁸⁵ “Rasciani Nationis Slavae pars sunt; illius videlicet, quae totum Illyricum, Dalmatiam, Sclavoniam, Bosnam, Serviam, Bulgariamque occupat, Linguae tantum exigua quadam diversitate, seu potius Dialectorum varietate interpres. Hi quoue Linguam Illyricam habent.” *Danubius*, I, 25.

⁸⁶ Marsili was in London and Amsterdam on behalf of the Institution in Bologna, when, at the instigation of the Royal Society and the publishing company’s unsolicited approach, he dusted off the manuscript of the *Danubius*, which “lay neglected in the dark for 22 years.” *Ibid.*, *Dedication*.

⁸⁷ The idea for the *Danubius* was beginning to take a concrete form in Marsili’s mind during the idle winter months of 1689–1690, when he began “to collect all information pertaining to antique relics in the regions lying by the Danube.” (*Autobiografia*, 122). STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 82–86. attributes the conception of the *Danubius* to the inspiration of the relics of the Roman civilization and the history of the Roman Empire.

⁸⁸ Luigi SIMEONI, *Il Generale Marsili e la difesa dello Stato pontificio nel 1708–9*, in: *Memorie intorno a Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*, ed. cit., 91–144. Cf. STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 271–276.

⁸⁹ Even during his audience with the Pope (Clement XI), preparatory to the opening of the Institution, he mostly discussed politics: *Autobiografia*, 235–238.

to the monarchies of Europe.⁹⁰ Even after retiring from professional politics and working as a scholar in Bologna, he continued to worship his political ideals (order, happiness, justice, obedience, etc.). He wanted to publish all the documents accumulated during his diplomatic work after the Karlowitz peace treaty and the subsequent border survey in a series of source publications. In his thinking, such a work would have facilitated communications with the Muslims and expedited political, economic and diplomatic interactions with them.⁹¹ The title for the grandiose project was to be *Acta executionis pacis* and it was preparatory to the publication of this work that Marsili ordered the documents into volumes, separating it from other subjects, such as natural history. The first unit was to be volume 16 (titled *Acta pacis*, consisting of the documents of the peace treaty), to be later completed by the documents (vol. 55) of earlier efforts (1691) at peace and the plans and various background materials prepared by Marsili himself prior to the peace treaty (vol. 58). Among these latter documents we find the *Progetto del possibile commercio fra ambedue gl'imperii*,⁹² concerned with future ways of contact between the Turkish and Habsburg regions (already well noted by the literature) as well as the *Pro costruenda vallationis linea*⁹³ which described the system of Roman fortifications in the Sylvania region that was to be renovated to guard a region lacking natural defences. The second and much larger part, the “true” *Acta executionis pacis* was to comprise the entire documentation of the border negotiations in chronological order, complete with correspondences, envoy instructions, maps and the summary reports dispatched to the Emperor already published by Gherardi (vols. 59–66 and the miscellaneous vol. 70).

There is no doubt that the work would have been the most up-to-date in its day and predated the great source publication of Jean Du Mont, the *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens* which contained the documents of the Karlowitz peace treaty along with innumerable other contemporary documents. (Marsili, by the way, knew Du Mont personally and made certain documents available to him, so the idea of the *Acta pacis* was at least partly realized this way.)⁹⁴ The originality of the project was not only in its professional utility but also in its political intentions: as I pointed out earlier, Marsili felt that good commercial ties, peace and trust with the Ottoman Empire was essential for the modernisation of the Habsburg Empire and for the development of the Central European region. That is why he made it his task to familiarise his potential readers with the negotiating styles of the Muslims and the mechanisms of their political behaviour as thoroughly as he could. He prefaced the project with a dedication addressed to the Pope as the head of all Christendom and with a brief compendium detailing the history of the

⁹⁰ Luigi Ferdinando MARSILI, *Informazione sopra quanto gli è accaduto nell'affare della resa di Brissacco*, s. l., 1705. Detailed analysis: Renzo REGGIANI, *La riabilitazione militare*, in: *Memorie intorno a Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*, ed. cit., 57–90.

⁹¹ In his autobiography, he makes an unequivocal reference to the well-ordered status of the documents of the negotiations and the border survey: *Autobiografia*, 212.

⁹² BUB Ms 58, 35–58. For an analysis see GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 275–292.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 65–69.

⁹⁴ On their well-known status: STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 194–195.

region. This latter can be found among the Bologna papers both in Italian and in a cleaned-up Latin version that was prepared for publication: *Primo abbozzo del Compendio storico dell'Ungheria, per servire d'introduzione al trattato "Acta executionis pacis"* (vol. 117), and *Epitome historicum regni Hungariae, sive Prodrumus et Introductio ad "Acta executionis pacis Carlowicensis", ad Clementem XI. P. M.* (vol. 19) respectively.

This brief historical monograph is deserving of a thorough analysis on its own,⁹⁵ but here I will highlight only its most prominent characteristics. First of all, we need to note that the author intended the text as an apology as well. He emphasised his role both in the peace treaty negotiations and in the determination of the borders while making it obvious that besides his expertise, it was his unconditional loyalty to the Emperor which made him suitable for the task. The parts detailing the vicissitudes of the peace negotiations are very informative and the descriptions coming from a witness and a participant make it valuable as a source. The utilisation of antique military history—in this case the boundary construction techniques of the Roman Legions—in creating the new borders for the Habsburg empire is revelational. But even more important is the way the dual interpretative framework works. Marsili, on the one hand, traced the rebellions and aristocratic conspiracies in Hungary that had always hampered the struggle against the Turks, back to the Turkish War of 1663–1664, more precisely to the Peace of Vasvár from which the Hungarians were excluded instead of being consulted. At the same time, he attributed a special role to Miklós Zrínyi over against the aristocrats conspiring against Vienna. After devoting a lengthy analysis to his political ambitions and habits, he came to the conclusion that had Zrínyi lived, he would probably have found a way to pacify his compatriots and come to a compromise with the court in Vienna.⁹⁶ One of the reasons for this apparently surprising appreciation for the well-known rival of his admired Montecuccoli is that Marsili probably saw in the Croat Ban an early version of himself, somebody who was just as unjustly treated by the Court as himself.⁹⁷ Apart from personal feelings, the basic

⁹⁵ The *Primo abbozzo / Epitome historicum regni Hungariae, sive Prodrumus et Introductio* (hereafter: *Prodrumus*) demonstrates the shift in perspective compared to Marsili's earlier historical sketches (*Memorie e introduzione, Epitome della ribellione*) first pointed out ROZSNYÓI 2002, *op. cit.*, 135–137.

⁹⁶ "Praeterea si Nicolaus Zrinus diutius superstes fuisset, simultates inter Magnates Hungariae viguissent, Vienna vero laeta diutius tutam tranquillamque pacem agitavisset." *Prodrumus*, without pagination. (Marsili devotes special space to the learnedness of Zrínyi—"Enimvero Nicolaus gerebat alebatque ingentes spiritus dignos erecta, ac perpolita litteris indole, regiamque dignitatem anhelabat"—and attributes to him certain ambitions for the throne, but according to him, Zrínyi had designs not on the Hungarian but on the Polish crown and would surely have prevented his co-conspirators from turning to the Turks for help.)

⁹⁷ For all his distinction, Zrínyi lost his bid for the Palatineship against Wesselényi who enjoyed the support of the court in Vienna. Just like Marsili, who never received true recognition for his devoted labours, perhaps because of the suspicions of his peers (see *Autobiografia*, 212). The description merits citation: "Paulo ante [...] mortem obiit Nicolaus Zrinus vir et consilij magni, et virtutis, et generis, qui tamen non sine exulcerato erga Caesarem Aulam animo decesserat, propterea quia se licet bello, paceque clarum, et fortasse pro nimia virtute et apud externos favores susceptum, in Regij Palatini officio posthabuisset Francisco Veseleno, qui non tam obscuro genere, quam ingenio malo, pravoque adversus eum, a quo acceperat beneficia, fuit." *Prodrumus*, without pagination. On the contemporary structure of the Viennese court, its fractions and

concept of the work might also have influenced the opinion of Marsili, who, though contemptuous of the conspiracy against the legitimate ruler and any such betrayal, seems to have a great empathy for the Hungarian rebels, who, imprisoned by their passions and bad habits, made all the wrong decisions.

The other, broader interpretative framework for Hungarian history is the national character derived from the features of the Scythians and Attila's Huns. Here, Marsili displays a surprising even-handedness and I might even risk adding that given what happened to him (and to Hungary) his train of thought is no longer seamlessly compatible with the logic of *Einrichtungswerk* which made the reform of the Empire dependent on the complete subjugation of Hungary.⁹⁸ Even if his passages characterising the Hungarians cannot be understood as “the glorious praise of the Hungarian race” as an enthusiastic critic of his once wrote, it is without doubt that for all his loyalty to the Habsburgs, the author at this point acquires the authenticity that comes from forming autonomous opinions and a new, hitherto unused term pops up in his vocabulary: *libertas*, or more precisely, *libertatis amor*: “Since the people of Hungary are descended from the Scythians, it is little wonder that they are giants of the spirit to this day. Their glorious nation is distinguished by glorious deeds and illustrious victories. They are scrupulous in carrying out the orders of the ruler and respect the ruler and the laws as free men of the country. Love of liberty makes even the duller minds keener and positively fires the lofty souls that are pure on their own strength. Therefore the Hungarians, whose very nature loves change, glory and liberty, hold it in the highest esteem to earn the favour of their elected dignitaries and the majesty of the king. Because of this habit of theirs, they are inevitably troublesome and unjust to their neighbours—nay, they are often their own greatest enemies and prevent their own success. However, because the character and nature of a nation comes from its ancestors, from the climate of the land they inhabit, from the education they receive from their fathers and pass on, it is obviously a difficult, nay, well-nigh impossible task to change or reshape this nature. For the same reasons—even though nothing but calamities have been the lot of this nation—their fate has never changed them for the better. Therefore, if the historical books of this great nation are filled with all sorts of disaster, the attentive reader should be spurred by them on to searching out with even greater enthusiasm the glorious and great deeds of this noble nation.”⁹⁹

their internal rivalries, Hubert Ch. EHALT, *La Corte di Vienna tra Sei e Settecento*, Roma, 1984; on Marsili's inner circle GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 57–63.

⁹⁸ A very detailed analysis on the plans called *Einrichtung des Königreichs Hungarn*, see GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 215–271.

⁹⁹ “Cum igitur Hungariae incolae e Scytharum stirpe proficiscantur, minime mirum est, si ad hanc nostram memoriam ingentes spiritus gerant. Eorum siquidem genus gloriosum aequae ac facinorosa gloria fuisse constat, quippe quae victoriis illustrata sint. Ea demum valuit apud Hungaros disciplina, ut regis imperata facerent, legesque una cum rege veluti regni liberi membra servarent. Libertatis amor exacuit hebetiora quoque ingenia, multo magis erectas ac per se claras indoles excitat atque inflammat. Quippe Hungari suoapte ingenio novarum rerum at gloriae cupidi, libertatis tenaces, dignitatibus quae suffragiis deferuntur, atque adeo regis fascibus velificari pulcherrimum arbitrantur. Quibus certe moribus necesse fuit, ut finitimis essent iniurii atque molesti,

It is difficult to ignore the parallels and analogies that make themselves conspicuous at this point. Marsili's "Hungarians" bear a striking resemblance to the Patria he left behind, to the freedom-loving, rebellion-prone citizens of Bologna. The town which for centuries maintained a delicate power equilibrium between the papal Legate, the local aristocracy and the Bentivoglio family which rose out of the latter and managed the incessant conflicts with continuous compromises, was not called a "contractual republic" (*repubblica per contratto*)¹⁰⁰ for no reason. The power structure Marsili found in Hungary, this hardly comprehensible, intricate network of privileges and autonomies, could hardly be foreign to him. The novel aspect of the *Prodromus* is the empathy, the tone of understanding towards the Hungarians missing from his earlier works (like from *Relazione dello stato dell'Impero Romano-Germanico*¹⁰¹ which was in favour of discarding all forms of autonomy), the rejection of the Utopian rigor and its transformation into a civilizing discourse, the projection of the Roman past, with its network of roads and structure of borders, onto the entirety of the Central European region. This "project" of course, is not free of political motivations in the plans for the *Acta*, however, unlike in the case of the *Danubius*, these motivations are not dependent on the immediate interests of one given state, but are part of a grander perspective encompassing all of Europe. It is no accident that Marsili starts to "forgive" the Hungarians whom he earlier characterized as incorrigible rebels and enemies of progress, when his wrath prompted by the "wickedness" of his Patria also subsides. It must have been no mean feat to distance himself from the teachings of his former masters such as Raimundo Montecuccoli or Antonio Caraffa and discover a potential Europe reborn from the antiquity in Bologna or on the banks of the Danube. This Europe was in the training received by the youth of the nobility in the Bologna Institute, in the uniforms worn by the Papal troops defending Bologna (designed after the ancient Roman models),¹⁰² in the antique inscriptions unearthed in the Danube valley. I am not saying Marsili had gone all the way down this road, but the *Prodromus*

sibi vero etiam ad ampliores victorias tandem aliquando impedimento essent. Verumenimvero sicuti nationis omnis natura atque ingenium et ex eiusdem sanguine constat, et caelo regionum effingitur, et instituitur educatione quam a parentibus quisque nostrum hausit et expressit, ita plane difficile atque asperum factum est ipsam naturam mutare aut refingere. Eadem causa quamvis nequidquam illi genti minus, quam multitudo casuum defuit, nunquam tamen est factum ut ad saniora consilia ineunda impellerentur. Verum cum historiarum monumenta variis tantae nationis casibus plena sint: adeant illa curiosiores legentium animos, si diligentius generosae huius gentis egregia facinora perquirant." *Prodromus*, without pagination.

¹⁰⁰ See Angela DE BENEDICTIS: «...sendo le parte de' Bentivogli et confirmata et unita»: Per una storia del costituirsi dei rapporti di potere in una realtà della prima età moderna, in: «*Famiglia*» del principe e famiglia aristocratica, a cura di Cesare MOZZARELLI, Bologna, 1988, 437–469; ID., *Repubblica per contratto (Bologna: una città europea nello Stato della Chiesa)*, Bologna, 1995.

¹⁰¹ BUB Ms 96, fasc. A. In this he talked about the Hungarians, who were to be enslaved, expressing views even more severe than those of Raimondo Montecuccoli (GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 77–80). In his border survey reports he combines a hard-line, military approach with the more practicable, economy-oriented model of the *Einrichtungswerk* (GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 262–271).

¹⁰² STOYE 1994, *op. cit.*, 273. noticed and highlighted the significance of the fact that Marsili intended to equip, lead and dress the army to be set up for the defense of the Papal State on the model of the antique Roman Legions.

indicates he did make a start in this direction. At the end of the *Prodromus*, Marsili makes it clear that the work to be published is none other than the properly ordered collection of papers documenting the peace negotiations and the border surveys: “Thus, the conditions of the peace treaty relevant to the borders, necessitating the delegation of plenipotentiary envoys from both sides, the correspondence between Mohammedan and Christian statesmen, the lists of controversial topics and the descriptions of negotiations complete the work containing documents, which I have structured according to chronology and according to the places of their recording and dispatch. To all this I attached the sketches of the «improvised boundary markers» which had to be employed when we had no access to rocks, marble and great millstones.”¹⁰³

The emerging contours of the *Acta pacis* will then not simply add another unpublished item to the Marsili *opus* but will in a certain way, provide a perspective on the entirety of the collection and the organising principles of its structure. I think it is rather inevitable that it is the completeness of the Marsili papers and their organising principle which has remained hidden from so many scholars who were cherry-picking from the material, looking only for texts about their own national pasts and who in the process ultimately failed to see the forest for the trees. Hungarian scholars, for instance, went through the two volumes (19 and 117) inattentively, because, in my opinion, these sketchy texts (it takes 120 pages to get from the Huns of Attila to Leopold) offered no new information regarding our national history and not because they had not registered the manuscripts. Endre Veress, for instance, commented the Italian version this way: “Brief history of Hungary, written in Italian, introductory to his work about the peace treaty of Karlowitz. Insignificant. Rough copy.”¹⁰⁴ I think it is time to re-evaluate this entire attitude, as well as the criteria used to determine the order of priorities.

A plan for the publication of the Marsili papers

Let us suppose this will come about, since it has lately become very timely for the grand vision of Marsili’s last period about the division and cohabitation of Europe and the Muslim world to leave the silence of the archives. If it does come about, if the scholarly and financial conditions are met for the publication of the Marsili papers, then we can ask the question: should a modern source publication adhere to the original intentions of the author? The answer, in my opinion, is no. From the perspective of the history of science, a publication of much more than Marsili originally intended is justified. For

¹⁰³ “Articuli igitur actorum pacis ad limitationem spectantes et delegationem commissariorum et utrosque plenipotentiarios, mutuae epistolae inter tot Christianos ministros, atque Mahometanos, controversiarum tabulae, rerumque series integrum opus actorum perficient, quae ita disponam, ut suo singula quoque ordini ac tempori, quo lata sunt, locoque ubi confecta sunt et unde sunt missa, respondeant. His omnibus addo figuras limitaneorum signorum, quae tumultuaria dicimus, et quae adhibenda fuere, cum saxa, marmora, et molares lapides deessent...” *Prodromus*, without pagination.

¹⁰⁴ VERESS 1906, *op. cit.*, 37.

example, the collection of sources accumulated in the second creative period is a valuable material in its own right and it would be a shame to see it go to waste. Let us briefly review the plans that have been put forward so far. There have been three comprehensive plans to publish the part of the Marsili papers that are relevant to Central Europe.¹⁰⁵ The first was that of Endre Veress, who wanted to compile a volume of the Marsili papers in the late 1930s and early 1940s, to be titled *Acta Bononensia Hungarica*, but the outbreak of the war prevented him from proceeding. The material selected and transcribed by him can today be found at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences¹⁰⁶ and constitutes the basis for the recently proposed project of Levente Nagy, which intends to expand on the concept of Veress, who would have selected only the documents pertaining to Hungary and Transylvania. Nagy's plans call for a series of publication of sources, to be titled *Acta Marsiliana*, containing the widest possible spectrum of sources pertaining to the nations of the Carpathian basin. The first part would offer an ample selection from Marsili's correspondence with the ecclesiastical and political leaders of the region and with such bodies as the Transylvanian Gubernium or the Croatian Sabor, which would well demonstrate the resistance the traditional social structure of the orders put up against modernisation efforts. The second part would include Marsili's writings on history, geography, demography, linguistics, etc., shedding a multi-perspective light on the state of the Carpathian Basin in his day. Finally, the third part would comprise charters collected by Marsili and other authentic documents which are otherwise unknown to research.¹⁰⁷ The third plan which we may think of as comprehensive is that of Professor Hamdija Hajdarhodžić, who proposed in his book published in 1996 the publication, in five sections, of the Marsili papers pertaining to the Balkans in the broader sense. The first section was to contain the complete catalogue of the unpublished material as well as a selection of sources with emphasis of cartographic works. The other four sections would have republished, with new commentaries and illustrations from the Bologna and other archives, the four previously published Marsili texts (*La schiavitù del conte Marsigli; Autobiografia; Stato militare dell'Impero Ottomano; Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus*). As far as I am concerned, this last proposal sounds the most practicable to me, with the exception of the first section which contains points just as problematic as the plans of the two Hungarian scholars.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ It goes without saying that efforts at publishing the *Danubius* or the *Stato militare* are important (Antal András Deák, Mónika F. Molnár), but here I am only concerned with plans for the entire material. (At the same time, I should mention that during the early 1980s, Gyula Herceg spoke of the Hungarian translation of the *Autobiografia* with "ample commentaries detailing the scientific works of Marsili" as a done deal, even naming the publishers, Európa Könyvkiadó. I can't help wondering what has become of these plans? Gyula HERCEG, *L'autobiografia di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli e l'Ungheria*, in: *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo*, a cura di Béla KÖPECZI, Péter SÁRKÓZY, Budapest, 1982, 83.

¹⁰⁶ On Veress's plans for publication (*Acta Bononensia Hungarica: Miscellanea Hungarica e collectione comitis Ferdinandi Aloysii Marsigli*) see NAGY 2004, *op. cit.*, 208–209.

¹⁰⁷ On this plan, see F. MOLNÁR 2005, *op. cit.*, 45–46.

¹⁰⁸ Hamdija HAJDARHODŽIĆ, *Bosna, Hrvatska i Hercegovina u arhivskoj ostavštini grofa Luigija Ferdinanda Marsiglija*, in: *Bosna, Hrvatska, Hercegovina* 1996, *ed. cit.*, esp. 13–16.

The publication I recommend in the light of all the foregoing would have a tripartite division, under the collective Latin titles: *I. Projecta*, *II. Notitiae* and *III. Acta*.

The *Projecta* are the theoretical treatises deemed very important by Raffaella Gherardi,¹⁰⁹ concerned with the efficient administration of territories already recaptured or yet to be recaptured from the Turks and sketch out the idea of the operation of the central power. The papers to be published:

- *Proietto per formare un Gabinetto utile ad un Ministro di Stato*;¹¹⁰
- *Proietto d'un Gabinetto di libri e mappe*;¹¹¹
- *Proietto per formare una esatta libreria*.¹¹²

This would be augmented by a selection of documents from volume 58 (*Diversi progetti di pace fra li due imperi*) which, as we mentioned earlier, treats the specific issues of administration in the aftermath of the peace treaty.

The second part, *Notitiae*, would be subdivided into two further parts:

- The first part would contain the “basic texts” produced between 1690 and 1702, through editing volumes 108 and 28 together (*Descrizione naturale, civile e militare delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico; Monarchia Ungarica in sua regna, principatus et ducatus divisa*).

- The second part would present those documents that were produced in the course of the border survey and in collaboration with Vitezović—i.e. most of volume 103 (*Documenta rerum Croaticarum et Transylvanicarum*) of the Bologna Collection, texts pertaining to Croatia, Serbia and Transylvania—as well as writings of Vitezović already published elsewhere as they merit, in my opinion, republication—the *Epitome historicum regni Hungariae* from volume 19—or its Italian version, the *Compendio*, from volume 117—and finally the brief historical treatise in volume 70, the *Epitome della ribellione dell'Ungheria*.

The third part, *Acta*, would follow the original concept for the *Acta executionis pacis*. The subdivisions would be as follows:

- *Acta pacis Carlowicensis* (vol. 16).
- *Plenipotenza ed istruzione Cesarea per la commissione dei confini con i rescritti pure Cesarei riportati nel stabilimento de' medesimi*, 1699–1701 (this is contained in vol. 62 and its publication is imperative since Gherardi did not publish the replies Marsili received to his reports and dispatches to the Emperor).

- Correspondence—the most important selection criteria for the letters is a list of correspondence in volume 70, in which Marsili himself recorded the dates and senders of letters important from the perspective of the border survey. This might also be the place to publish the correspondence with the heads of the Venetian and Turkish delegations as well as missives written by Transylvanian and Croatian aristocrats, ecclesiastical dignitaries and government officials (mostly from vols. 63 and 64).

¹⁰⁹ GHERARDI 1980, *op. cit.*, 424–430; ID., *Introduzione*, in: *Relazioni*, I, 12–17.

¹¹⁰ BUB Ms 421.

¹¹¹ BUB Ms 90, fasc. C, 124–127.

¹¹² BUB Ms 85, fasc. G.

– Selection of maps—this would be based on the collection of maps in volume 66, which is a sort of “geographical diary” recorded in the course of the border negotiations (*Diaria geographica in itinere limitaneo collecta*).

Needless to say, this is but a suggestion, one in the series of suggestions made throughout the years, which could only be realised through a broad international cooperation, especially between Austrian, Turkish, Italian, Hungarian, Croatian and Romanian researchers. But I trust I have made some progress in executing the will of the learned polymath. As we read in the cited dedication: “All these [sc. Oriental manuscripts and books, S. B.] I have placed in this Institution in Bologna, under the protection of my Patria, along with many other manuscripts of mine and the Lord will see to it that others, who are more qualified in this than I am, will use them to good purposes—but let me be free of blame from you as well as from other lovers of science for having delayed their publication for so long, for I had been hindered in this world by well-known persecutions, received from the hands of He whom I had tried to serve.”¹¹³

If we were to run into trouble in fulfilling this pious wish, there is now a place to turn for help: the Bolognese, who hold the sciences and wise men in high esteem, re-exhumed Marsili’s head in 1950 yet again and placed it in the Dominican church of the city, though not for public display but for eternal rest. However, “naturam furca expellas, tamen usque recurret,” spies will be spies: they know the dreams that we’re dreaming of. I can’t help the feeling that he is watching us from his marble hiding place, curious to see what we end up making of his legacy.

Appendix

*Epitome historicum regni Hungariae, sive Prodromus et Introductio ad Acta executionis pacis Carlowicensis, ad Clementem XI. P. M.*¹¹⁴
[Dedication letter and preface]

Beatissime Pater!

Satis perspectum est orthodoxam religionem eiusque caput, quod perstat modo perstabitque semper in praeclare ordinata serie maximorum pontificum, acerbiorum hostem nunquam antea habuisse, quam idolorum cultum. Ille siquidem, cum Mosaicam Christianamque corrupisset legem, vehementer impulit Mahometum ad effutienda temere nova politica dogmata illecebrosa quidem, maximeque accomodata Orientalium animis: qui blanda ista corruptaque lege illecti, legislatorem scelestissimum prophetam ausi sunt nuncupare. Ille vero, utpote qui in omnibus rebus vaferrimus mortalium erat, non tam ad ampla constituenda imperia, quam ad Christianum deprimendum nomen, eiusmodi frau-

¹¹³ “...tutto depositato in questo Bolognese Istituto sotto la fede della mia Patria, come tanti altri manoscritti miei, de quali Dio ne farà fare quegli’usi che altri forse meglio di me sapranno: e nè VS Illma, nè qualunque altro erudito mi faccia reo di cossi lunga dilazione a metterli in pubblico, avendomelo impedito le mie tante assai note vessazioni sofferte nel Mondo per le Mani di chi cercai di servire”. *Lettera di prefazione*, 186.

¹¹⁴ BUB FM Ms 19, without pagination.

dolenta ac nova lege usus est. Eadem profecto via posteri sectatores eius ad incepta perficienda grassati sunt. Sed antecessores tui summi pontifices tam impios Turcarum impetus perfringere contenderunt, cum caelestes aequae ac terrenas opes elargirentur. Atque id in causa fuit, cur ipsi summi pontifices premiis quae pretiosus redemptoris nostri sanguis reliquit, excitarent Christi fideles, ipsoque inito inter Christianos principes foedere confirmarent. Quamquam enim tot auxiliis communiti Christiani aliquando victoriam retulerunt, hostes tamen ob insitam sibi superbiam vicisse se ac triumphasse gloriabantur. Verum enimvero inusitatum istam Turcarum superbiam anteacti saeculi postremis temporibus tandem aliquando afflixit atque compescuit gravissimum bellum illud, quod adversus eos administravimus. Quod quidem bellum sub Innocentii XI pontificatu ac Leopoldo primo imperatore ceptum continuatumque est, donec tam prospere illud, glorioseque Leopoldus ipse conficeret, ut suum imperium prorogaverit, opemque tulerit foederatis ad recuperandas plures provincias usurpatae ab Othomanis, qui ad se iure pertinere arbitrabantur, quidquid occupare libuisset. Quamobrem vehementer adeo perterriti fuerant Christiani, animosque desponderant, ut haud in magno discrimine ponerant quantascunque accipissent clades, dum longe sane acerbiores praestolarentur. Hinc factum est ut parati essent accipere qualemcumque pacem usurpatores maluissent. Innocentius ergo ac Leopoldus de tam formidolosis hostibus triumpharunt.

Tu vero Pater Beatissime, gerere dignitates cepisti sub tanto pontifice, qui quasi plane te praevidere destinatum a Deo esse unum ex successoribus suis, ad te praecipuam quae a secretis est dignitatem detulit, ut in procuranda tanta Ecclesiae gloria, consilium, studium operamque locares. Cum autem caeteri duo pontifices successores eius tam grande bonum Christianae religionis perficere exoptarent, purpura alter te exornare, alter vero apud se habere voluit, ut consiliis tuis pace belloque Christianam rempublicam sublevares, erigeres et confirmares.

Summo pontifici, quem supra memoravi, antecessori tuo perfrui licuit Carlovicensis congressus sancito foedere intra Christiani nominis gloriam, ut disceret Othoman potentia Christianorum virtutem atque consilia extimescere. Vix orthodoxae religionis supremus moderator nuncius fuisti, cum ratam firmamque pacem, nec non integram executionem illam vidisti, quae in articulis pacis praescripta fuit, ac secuta est Martii 5. anno 1701. Mortalium omnino nemo usque ad eam memoriam vel audivit, vel vidit unquam, quam in hac ultima pace Othomanum Imperium submitti certis limitibus, quoscumque caesar statueret, quamvis inducere illud ad dandam liberandamque fidem aequae arduum haberetur. In hoc volumine totam seriem actorum, quae inter utriusque imperii ac Venetae Reipublicae legatos confecta sunt, sanctis pedibus tuis Pater Beatissime subiicio, ac summa obsequia, qualia subditum, scriptoremque Catholicum decet, devoveo officiumque grati animi praesto erga memoriam Leopoldi, qui mihi tantum onus imposuit, quamvis parem animum afferre minime possem. Videbis plane in hoc volumine Pater Sanctissime, quod superest faciendum, et quam facile factu sit, quo videlicet in unum coeat, utrumque imperium in unam utraque Ecclesia coalescat. Maximum sane opus, quod praeter Christi vicarium nemo alius ullo modo moderari potest. Tu interim, Beatissime Pater, et ob aetatem adhuc vigentem, et ob summam rerum experientiam atque pruden-

tiam singularem a Deo forsitan destinatus es ad tantum opus auspicandum, posteaquam videlicet inter Christianos integra pax convenerit, quam vehementer adeo exoptas atque procuras. Haec tibi omina utpote quantacunque felicitate altiora precor ex animo atque precabor, quo ad vitam suppeditaverit, nunc vero ad sanctissimo pedes tuos venerabundus procumbo.

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Orbis aetas nullum aliud seculum superiore[m] gloriosius unquam iactaverit, quippequo cum pax honestissima inita confectaque sit, tum etiam Christianum nomen, quod tot labentibus annis Othomana tyrannide opprimebatur, tandem aliquando sublevatum sit, et ex ingentibus periculis ereptum ac restitutum. Optandum profecto esset, ut quae in hoc gravissimo Hungarico bello gesta sunt, ab aliquo rerum bene conscio disertoque perscriberentur, ut et posteritatis desiderio et Leopoldi caesaris gloriae consuleretur; haec tot fortissimorum ducum ratio haberetur, qui virtute animi atque prudentia bellum feliciter administrarunt, tum aliqua etiam illis, qui fortiter occubuerunt, gratia rependeretur; postremo militaris scientiae nova quaedam monumenta ad frangendos, si qui suboriantur, Turcarum impetus proderentur. Enimvero non sane pauci ab eo bello anni effluerunt, quo tempore plurimi, quibus res comperta erat, vel occubuerunt, vel consenuerunt, vel si qui adhuc vivunt, distrahuntur ad nova bella, quae Hungarico illi magnas offundunt tenebras, adeo ut facile verendum sit, ne inter inordinatas archivi caesarei chartas huius belli memoria deliteat, ventumque in oblivionem sit, nescio quonam fato magnarum rerum, quas obsolescere patiuntur homines. Profecto nonnulla de eo bello scripta proditaque sunt a Petro Garzono patritio Veneto, utpote quae ab expeditione Veneta seiungi minime possent, sapienter quidem et pro ea, qua natura praestat dicendi vi, etiam diserte, verum ea, quae scripsit a legatorum litteris accepit.

Quod si diutius vel per duo duntaxat lustra Viennae aula anteacta bella siluerit, intercidet plane tanti belli incorrupta memoria, quae si in lucem publicam proderetur, grande esset mortalibus allatura emolumentum. Non enim ita pax coaluit atque sancita est, quin plura contingerent, quae si ad omnem posteritatem transmitterentur, eandem facile erudirent, qua ratione (ut reliqua omittam) tam magnum faedus firmissimum ut in bello ita in pace ipsa constiterit, tum qua item ratione post ictam cum Turcis pacem, ita inter caesarem et Poloniae regem et rempublicam Venetam idem foedus redintegratum sit, ut quotiescumque Othomana aula aliquem ex foederatis bello peteret, mutuo se iidem protegerent, adeo ut Turcae ipsi faterentur eo foedere adversus suos ipsos conatus validissimum propugnaculum erectum fuisse. Verum ab huiusmodi incepto multa me retrahunt; ita illis opus absolvendum relinquam, qui instructiores quam ego sim, doctioresque hanc illustrem celebremque historiam aggrediantur. Tantum mihi de illius belli confectione deicendum sumo, de pace nempe Carlovicensi, quae totius belli fructus et perfectio fuit.

Igitur singula acta executionis pacis diligenter atque sincere a me confecta, et a Turcis caeterisque ministris, quibus exequendae pacis negotium erat, documento erunt posteris, quam arduum sit agere cum Othomano Imperio, quippequod prospera inflatur fortuna, ac

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turpiter adversa deprimitur. Quin etiam fluctuat Othomani imperatoris autoritas: Turcarum procerum volubiles animi et colere sultanum ac temere, et minari eidem, et assentari parati. Modo mancipiorum vilium ritu colunt imperatorem suum, modo e sublimi imperii fastigio praecipitem agunt in carcerem. Igitur in hoc rerum statu, in quo mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret, incertum est Othomano principi imperium adeo ut et subditi et multo magis exteri principes semper dubii sint de eo imperatore, quo cum acturi sunt. Rem ego exemplis, quae vidi, dum inter Turcas versarer, testari maxime vellem, nisi a proposito averterer. Sed harum rerum maxima documenta haec habeo, quod arduum semper fuit cum Turcis ager, utpote qui et mentiri semper et verum semper audire volunt. Ne semel quidem apud illos mentiaris caveto. Hoc enim habet vel unum duntaxat mendacium, ut veris quoque semper fidem adimat.

Antequam igitur in suos annos digeram acta, haud absurdum erit commemorare veteres illos Scythas recentium Hungarorum, qui modo sunt, parentes conditoresque Hungarici Regni: cuius amplitudinem carptim persequi inclinatus animus, clarae huius pacis specimen exhibiturus velut in quaedam tabella: quae luculenter ostendet quidquid acciderit, posteaquam Hungariae rex Ludovicus tertius [sic!] moriens reliquisset regnum sorori coniugi Ferdinandi primi imperatoris, ad quem legitime est translatum imperium suapte et fratris Caroli V. potentia Solimano formidolosum.

At Solimanus, quippe qui ingentis spiritus erat, oblatam ab Hungaris occasionem arripuit Hungariae potiundi, opera Hungarorum magis, quam suis viribus fretus, idemque ipse ingenio ferocem Hungaricam gentem ad perpetuam incitavit rebellionem, ex qua toties pax et bellum Austriacos inter et Othomanos coortum continuatumque est, ad nostram memoriam et legentibus compertum fuerit. Optimum est mihi visum disserere quibus artibus pacem Turcae tentaverint adhuc grassante bello antequam Carlovicensis pax fieret; postremo ostendere ut imperator Leopoldus prudentissimis ministris suis copiam fecerit tum disponendi caesareos fines iam Othomanis proximos, tum etiam moderandi ipsos ac dirigendi ad limitaneam normam, quam maiores eius Romani caesares tradidere.