

GÁBOR KECSKEMÉTI

A HARDLY-KNOWN 16TH-CENTURY HUMANIST:
PAULUS ROSA OF KÖRMÖCBÁNYA

A significant portion of old Hungarian literature and culture consists of reception of ideas absorbed at various Western-European universities and in humanistic intellectual centres. A constant difficulty of literary historical and philological research in Hungary is that in order to present intellectual directions and aspirations in a subtle manner one must investigate the intellectual overview of those Western-European centres that provide the point of reference, the background, and the possibility for those views to be expounded in Hungary. I am going to demonstrate these difficulties in my paper by one single example. Moreover, it is not a humanist who left a rich oeuvre behind, but an author of Hungarian origin who has only one known work.

One single item in the retrospective bibliography of printed matters by Hungarian authors and an entry in the biggest encyclopaedia of Hungarian writers by József Szinnyei, an entry that include one piece of data that is—as we will see—incorrect: this is all that has been known so far about the 16th-century Hungarian writer Paulus Rosa. No modern scholar has attempted to sketch his intellectual portrait yet.

From the consistent form of his name we know that he was born in Körmöcbánya of Upper Hungary (in Latin Cremnicium, in German Kremnitz, today Kremnica in Slovakia). Biographical data shown below imply that he must have been born some time in the mid-1540s; however, there is no further information on this. One source calls him Hungarus, but most of the recently unearthed data call him Pannonius, and his autograph name entry uses this form, too. This shows—as observed by Tibor Klaniczay¹—that his mother-tongue was not Hungarian—he came from a German-speaking middle-class family of the mining town. However, we can probably assume some knowledge of Hungarian.

Book inventories of the mining towns of Upper Hungary have already been explored, published, even discussed in a monograph,² so we have quite extensive general knowl-

¹ KLANICZAY Tibor, *Hungaria és Pannonia a reneszánsz korban* (Hungaria and Pannonia in the Renaissance age), in: KLANICZAY Tibor, *Stilus, nemzet és civilizáció*, eds. KLANICZAY Gábor, KŐSZEGHY Péter, Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2001 (Régi Magyar Könyvtár: Tanulmányok, 4), 70–92, 85–86.

² *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak, III. A bányavárosok olvasmányai (Besztercebánya, Körmöcbánya, Selmechánya) 1533–1750* (Hungarian private libraries, III, Books of the mining towns), eds. Viliam ČIČAJ, KEVEHÁZI Katalin, MONOK István, VISKOLCZ Noémi, Budapest–Szeged, OSZK–Scriptum Rt., 2003 (Adattár, 13/3); Viliam ČIČAJ, *Bányavárosi könyvkultúra a XVI–XVIII. században (Besztercebánya, Körmöcbánya, Selmechánya)* (Book-culture of the Upper Hungarian mining towns in the 16th–18th centuries), transl. AW TALA Zsuzsa, eds. MONOK István, CSÁS ZTVAY Tünde, Szeged, Scriptum Kft., 1993 (Olvasmánytörténeti Dolgozatok, 4) (hereafter: ČIČAJ 1985/1993).

edge of the intellectual life and book-culture of Körmöcbánya. However, the number of book inventories from this town in the 16th century is only nine. Most of these—apart from a larger private collection—are of small private libraries. We know nothing of the institutional libraries of the town in the 16th century, except that they must have been in existence, because a Vienna university professor left part of his books to the town library of Körmöcbánya already in 1473.³

Rosa, presumably, began his studies in his hometown, Körmöcbánya. The sources provide good information on the rectors and school affairs of Körmöcbánya. Between November 1551 and 1553, the rector was Johann Sommer,⁴ who—in contrast with earlier suggestions in the literature—is not identical with the anti-Trinitarian thinker in Transylvania later. It is not impossible that he was the first teacher of Paulus Rosa. Marcus Fritsche of Vienna was invited to fill the position in 1553. He offered to recruit assistant teachers in the imperial town, should there be a shortage.⁵ This aspect of the intellectual interaction between the mining town and Vienna has relevance to Rosa's biography, too, even though Fritsche's stay in Körmöcbánya proved to be fairly short. Between 1555 and 1561, Leonhard Tievesch—invited from Hodrusbánya (today Banská Hodruša in Slovakia)—led the school. A sign of his skill is that helping chamber clerks in interpreting Latin files was also his assignment. He also had to raise funds for the reconstruction of the school after its destruction in a fire in 1560. From the early sixties until his death in 1582, Tievesch worked as town clerk, then as mayor.⁶ The last schoolmaster Rosa might have had a chance to meet was Georg Grünfelder, who had come from Wartenburg, and headed the school between 1561 and 1565. He travelled to Brieg in 1565 to be ordained, and then worked as a priest of Slovakian people.⁷ When Leonhard Staudenherz⁸ joined the school, Rosa was already pursuing his university studies. Staudenherz was headmaster from 1565 to 1576, and later worked for the town as clerk and councillor until his death in 1592.

We know the rules and regulations of the school of the nearby Besztercebánya (today Banská Bystrica in Slovakia), introduced in 1567, and recorded in 1574, by Rector Abraham Schremmel, who had come from Strasbourg. We also know the teaching material of the Selmecebánya (today Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia) school from 1587. Both show which original works of classical authors the students—who already knew Latin

³ ČIČAJ 1985/1993, *op. cit.*, 119.

⁴ HLATKY József, SCHRÖDER Károly, *A körmöczbányai középiskola története a XVI-ik századtól a jelen korig* (History of Körmöcbánya secondary school from the 16th century to the present age), Budapest, Nagy Sándor, 1895 (hereafter: HLATKY–SCHRÖDER 1895), 25; Pavol KRIŽKO, *Kremnické školstvo v rokach 1527–1674*, Bratislava, Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1975 (hereafter: KRIŽKO 1975), 35.

⁵ HLATKY–SCHRÖDER 1895, *op. cit.*, 25; KRIŽKO 1975, *op. cit.*, 35–36.

⁶ HLATKY–SCHRÖDER 1895, *op. cit.*, 25–27; KRIŽKO 1975, *op. cit.*, 37–45.

⁷ HLATKY–SCHRÖDER 1895, *op. cit.*, 27. Johann Adam Hoffstetter is mentioned in the sources as conrector between 1559 and 1565, cf. FRANKL [FRAKNÓI] Vilmos, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században* (Home and foreign schooling in the 16th century), Budapest, Eggenberger, 1873 (hereafter: FRAKNÓI 1873), 116–119.

⁸ HLATKY–SCHRÖDER 1895, *op. cit.*, 27–30; KRIŽKO 1975, *op. cit.*, 45–52.

syntax—were to read, besides textbooks written in the 16th century. In Besztercebánya, reading material for the higher classes includes, after Cato, Cicero, and Virgil, Greek authors: works of Aesop, Lucian, Demosthenes (“orationes [...] Olynthiaca”), Hesiod, and the first two books of Homer’s *Iliad*. They came to know an oration of Isocrates (*Ad Demonicum*) earlier in Latin translation, and seniors read it in original Greek. In Selmecbánya, Cato, Cicero, Terence, and Virgil were studied for years. In the last year Homer or some other Greek author (“vel alius graecus autor”) was also included. In preparation for this, one year earlier, Aesop was read in parallel with learning the fundamentals of Greek grammar.⁹ Even though all these data are more recent than Rosa’s studying years, they need to be valued, because we have less data concerning the teaching material of the school in Körmöcbánya, a smaller town having 1500 inhabitants at the time. We have some information about the state of the Körmöcbánya school around the time of Rosa’s birth in relation to the schooling of the sons of regent of palatine Ferenc Révay. The two elder sons, Mihály and János began school in 1538 in Besztercebánya and continued in Selmecbánya in the spring of 1539. From the autumn of the same year they studied in Bártfa (today Bardejov in Slovakia) under the guidance of Rector Leonhard Stöckel, together with their younger brother Lőrinc. In February 1544 they moved to Körmöcbánya for two months. The youngest brother, Ferenc joined them. They continued their studies in the school there under the guidance of Gaspar Teschler.¹⁰ In the morning hours, they practised Latin and Greek grammar, and then they read Virgil. In the afternoon they were immersed in works of Cicero and Terence. A letter by Ferenc Révay written on the 5th of April to his mother shows that they followed the same curriculum as the rest of the students, and that they were satisfied with the teaching: “Az oscola mester bizon eleg yol tanythia a giermekeket es mynket is.” (“The schoolmaster teaches children including us fairly well.”)¹¹ And, in a letter to his father in Latin,¹² he demonstrates his erudition by expressing his respect for the father and his intention to follow in his footsteps through the words of Virgilian Euander concerning Aeneas to his son Pallas (*Aen.* VIII, 515–517). Mihály Révay, being satisfied with the teaching here, sent his own sons to the Körmöcbánya school for seven years in the 1570s.¹³ We know the rules and regu-

⁹ MÉSZÁROS István, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis”* (Sixteenth-century town schools in Hungary and “studia humanitatis”), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1981 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 11) (hereafter: MÉSZÁROS 1981b), 84–86, 169–173, and 89–92, 181–183.

¹⁰ From the autumn of 1544 they studied in Bártfa again, but this time an outstanding Greek scholar, Zsigmond Gyalui Torda tutored them privately, too, and the three elder sons set off to Padua on a study trip in early 1546 under his leadership. Cf. FRANKL [FRAKNÓI] Vilmos, *Révai Ferencz nádori helytartó fiainak hazai és külföldi iskolázatása 1538–1555* (Home and foreign schooling of the sons of regent of palatine Ferenc Révay), Pest, Eggenberger, 1873 (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből, 2) (hereafter: FRAKNÓI 1873a); MÉSZÁROS 1981b, *op. cit.*, 99–100.

¹¹ FRAKNÓI 1873a, *op. cit.*, 41.

¹² FRAKNÓI 1873a, *op. cit.*, 40.

¹³ FRAKNÓI 1873, *op. cit.*, 116–119. Péter Révay must have been among the children for some time, although only Bártfa and Igló (today Spišská Nová Ves in Slovakia) are mentioned usually as locations of his early school years (based on the funeral speech about him in Latin, printed in 1623); cf. ECKHARDT Sándor, *Magyar szónokképzés a XVI. századi Strasszburghban* (Hungarian orators trained at Strasbourg in the 16th

lations of the Körmöcbánya school only from the mid-1600s (1649). In this, there are no Greek authors mentioned by name, only Latin ones: Cicero, Ovid, Terence, Virgil. However, acquiring knowledge of Greek grammar on higher-and-higher level was part of the curriculum from the earliest grammatical class until the highest level.¹⁴

Analogies of data about schools of the neighbouring mining towns and data about Körmöcbánya itself both imply a thorough humanistic training. It is quite possible that this included learning the basics of Greek language. And, if conditions were similar to the one complained of by Körmöcbánya rector Franciscus Polleranus in 1538, and there was a choice between humanistic studies at the Latin school and a more practical education in the mother-tongue by the German town clerk not authorised to teach,¹⁵ in light of his later career, we can have very little doubt about which path the young Rosa took.

The biggest biographical encyclopaedia of Hungarian writers provides one single piece of information about him: that he was a student at the Basel University. This is probably wrong and comes from the print shop where his only work was printed. His name never appears among students of the University of Basel.¹⁶ We can, however, get more accurate information concerning biographical facts and his intellectual connections even from the offering of his printed work. Some other sources have surprises in store. First of all, it must be clarified that Rosa's known work was born out of connections with the Augsburg circle of Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), not with Basel.

Wolf, who had a youth full of vicissitudes,¹⁷ came from Oettingen, north-east of Nördlingen, on the bank of the Wörnitz. His father was an office clerk. After his first couple of years at school in Nördlingen, he was a student of Sebald Heyden (1499–1561) in 1527–1530 in Nuremberg. Heyden became rector at the St. Sebald school of his hometown in 1525. It was probably he who implanted a passionate commitment to Greek language in Wolf, since he gave high importance to the teaching of Greek grammar and works of Lucian, Hesiod and Epictetus as reading material.¹⁸ But Wolf could not yet

century), Budapest, 1944, 10; BÓNIS György, *Révay Péter* (Péter Révay), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1981 (Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek, 104), 7–8.

¹⁴ MÉSZÁROS István, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996–1777 között* (History of the schooling in Hungary between 996–1777), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1981 (hereafter: MÉSZÁROS 1981a), 360–361.

¹⁵ MÉSZÁROS 1981a, *op. cit.*, 170–171. The rector from 1606 also complained about unauthorised teachers, the bell ringer and the Slovakian cantor: *ibid.*, 361.

¹⁶ ZSINDELY István, *A bázeli egyetem anyakönyvéből* (From the register of the Basel University), Sárospataki Füzetek, 4(1860), 154–165; VERZÁR Frigyes, *A bázeli egyetemen tanult magyarok névsora* (Check-list of the Hungarian students of Basel University), Debreceni Szemle, 5(1931), 315–323.

¹⁷ See his memoirs: Hieronymus WOLF, *Die Lebensbeschreibung von H. Wolff (1516–1580) aus Oettingen, geschrieben von ihm selbst an seinen Verleger und Freund Johannes Oporinus in Basel*, Oettingen, J. Röttger, 1980; *Der Vater des deutschen Byzantinistik: Das Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Hans-Georg BECK, München, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie, 1984. Cf. Melchior ADAM, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum, qui seculo superiori, et quod excurrit, philosophicis ac humanioribus literis clari floruerunt*, Frankfurt am Main–Heidelberg, 1615 (hereafter: ADAM 1615), 304–308; G. C. MEZGER, in: ADB 43, 755–757.

¹⁸ On a copy of a Greek Epictetus edition, which was thoroughly annotated in Heyden's school in 1553: W. SALGÓ Ágnes, *Adalékok Sebald Heyden munkásságához és Thordai János Epiktétosz fordításához* (Contribu-

meet the expectations due to his young age. Five sad years followed, in which he worked as a copyist and educated himself, which made him a target of ridicule. It was during these years that he could, with great difficulties, buy his first Greek–Latin dictionary. He became a Greek scholar expressing himself with perfect fluency both in speech and in writing in the late thirties, partly in Tübingen, where humanistic studies were regarded highly important, partly under the personal guidance of Melanchthon in Wittenberg. After more tribulations—during which he took the position of Rector in Mühlhausen, Thuringia on the recommendation of Melanchthon, and this became the richness of King Midas for him—his friend in Basel, Johannes Oporinus (1506–1568) coaxed him into translation of all the surviving works of Isocrates first, then of Demosthenes. Both were published in the print shop of Oporinus in Basel: the first edition of Isocrates in 1548, the first version of Demosthenes in 1549, in five volumes. This edition already included the Demosthenes-scholia of rhetor Ulpian. Later Wolf complemented the compilation with further texts, e.g. he included orations by Aeschines that disputed Demosthenes. Meanwhile, he managed to find a job in Augsburg. He was the secretary and librarian of the Fugger house in 1551.¹⁹ In 1557, he became rector of the “Gelehrtenschule” founded in the building of the St. Anna Carmelite cloister in 1531. The town library, created from the collection of the former Augustine monastery in 1537, moved to its own building in 1564, also belonged under the rector. Wolf published the catalogue of its Greek manuscripts in 1575.²⁰ A few years after Wolf entered his office, the pedagogical work at the secondary school in Augsburg was regarded highly all over Europe. Wolf would have been welcome to teach in Altdorf, Königsberg, Lausanne, and Strasbourg,²¹ but he remained in Augsburg until his death. Besides his teaching he had time to deeper philological studies.

The philologist, director of the Augsburg gymnasium, in the early 1570s prepared the fourth version of Demosthenes’ speeches for publication. The work was published in six volumes by Hervagius in Basel in 1572. (Wolf’s old friend, Oporinus was already dead by that time.) It was during this work that he had the idea of producing a *gnomologia* (gnomology)—a collection of sample sentences based on the text as an aid in learning of the language, in Greek stylistics and rhetoric. The first edition of his Isocrates-translation in 1548 already had such a supplement. The first specimen of the Demosthenes-gnomology appeared in 1569. The two antique authors had very different works in size. While the Isocrates-gnomology extended to 54 pages in the first edition, a similar supplement to the *corpus* of Demosthenes finally filled five volumes, altogether almost fif-

tions to the works of Sebald Heyden and to the translation of Epictetus by János Thordai), Magyar Könyvszemle, 116(2000), 266–283.

¹⁹ About him as a librarian: Paul LEHMANN, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), I, 1956; II, 1960 (Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, 12, 15) (hereafter: LEHMANN 1956), passim.

²⁰ Albert Szenci Molnár visited this library on 9 April, 1605: SZENCI MOLNÁR Albert *Naplója* (Journal-book), ed. SZABÓ András, Budapest, Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2003 (Historia Litteraria, 13) (hereafter: SZENCI MOLNÁR 2003), 80, 150.

²¹ Johann Thomas Freige, for example, became rector in Altdorf in 1576 on Wolf’s recommendation.

teen hundred pages. These were not produced all by Wolf himself. He involved his students in the work, and supervised and checked them. The procedure might have been this: Wolf went through the orations one-by-one and selected the Greek excerpts, noted Greek headwords above them and his students worked on the Latin translations, utilising, of course, the solutions of their master. All the five bilingual volumes were also published by Hervagius in 1570, with Greek and Latin indices of headwords. The front cover offered them as useful aids in mastering the elegant abundance of the Greek language and the knowledge of things. The students involved in the work were given permission to produce the dedications.

The young collaborator who worked on the first volume was Johann Ludwig Hauwenreuter (1548–1618) the son of Sebald Hauwenreuter (1508–1589), a physician-professor of Strasbourg. Hauwenreuter Sr. and Wolf were old intimate friends. Sebald Hauwenreuter, born in Nuremberg, had had a chance to prove himself as a professor of ethics and dialectic in Tübingen in the second half of the 1530s. Wolf was exactly one decade younger, and had studied with him at that time.²² Hauwenreuter acquired medical doctorate in 1539 and moved to Strasbourg in 1540. Wolf prepared his translation of Isocrates in 1547 in Strasbourg staying in Hauwenreuter's house. He was so enthusiastic and worked under such conditions that he finished twelve pages of Greek text in one day.²³ His friend, Sebald was busy with different activities and due to these Johann Ludwig Hauwenreuter was born at the time when Wolf's first Isocrates-edition appeared, on 1 August, 1548.²⁴ After all this it is not surprising that later the young man stayed with his paternal friend Wolf at his house at the age of 21 in 1569, during the time he spent in Augsburg. There he came under the influence of his host's philological enthusiasm. Wolf dedicated the 1569 edition of his scholium for Cicero's *Laelius* to him. Wolf's inspiring work had its effect upon him. The younger Hauwenreuter, who was professor of philosophy from 1573 and of medicine from 1585 in Strasbourg, liked similar tasks all his life: he published a compilation by the title *Adagia classica* in Strasbourg already in 1573, he abstracted a Greek–Latin compendium from Aristotle's physics and prepared the *flores*-collection of Jacques Bouchereau compiled from Aristotle's works for publication.²⁵

²² ADB 11, 44.

²³ ISOCRATES, *Ἄπαντα Graeco-Latinus, postremo recognitus*, Hieronymo WOLFIO interprete, cum eiusdem argumentis, marginum annotationibus, vita auctoris et indice accurato, Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum, 1548, 1553, 1558; 1567, I–II; 1570, 1571, 1582, 1584, 1587, 1590, 1594 (hereafter: ISOCRATES 1548/1567), II, 1355–1356. Undisturbed working conditions must have been precious for Wolf who lacked these when he was young.

²⁴ This juicy formulation may be inappropriate, since the weak and sickly Wolf never had the chance to enjoy similar happiness of family life. He lived a bachelor life and died without descendants. This biographical fact was recently used to give a typological description of the way of life of humanist scholars seen as a 16th-century extension of the model of the Middle Ages, which was based on celibacy: Gadi ALGAZI, *Food for Thought: Hieronymus Wolf Grapples with the Scholarly Habitus*, in: *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf DEKKER, Hilversum, Verloren, 2002, 21–44.

²⁵ Rodolphus Goclenius included one of his psychological writings—as well as one by Péter Laskai Csókás—in his collection *Psychologia*, which was published three times in Marburg in the 1590s. Albert Szenci

A dedication from the young Hauwenreuter to his father dated from 5 December, 1569, Strasbourg—1628 years after exposition of the plot of Catilina—sheds light on the enthusiastic students' attitude towards the meaning and purpose of their work. The dedication begins with a medical metaphor: just as knowledge of the inner tiny parts of the organism is essential in healing, similarly, when dealing with text, it must be decomposed into small (grammatical, linguistic), and bigger (rhetorical and dialectical) parts and these must be analysed one-by-one. Scholars have produced linguistic rules by this process; dictionaries listing individual words and phraseologies classifying syntactic units, phrases of the spoken language grew out of this work. (Here *Phraseologia Isocratis* by Michael Neander is named.²⁶) Collection and classification of complete sentences gives a gnomology. This latter one has its part in moral education as well. Works of Demosthenes provide excellent material, both as linguistic and as moralistic examples, for theologians, lawyers, statesmen, physicians and teachers in their preparation for their vocations. If such people, because of their studies, haven't got enough time to read the complete oeuvre, they can find the most precious parts in this compendium. Hauwenreuter had decided earlier to expand his collection of loci communes from everything he would read. When he was staying with Wolf, he had the opportunity to participate in the joint effort of preparing the Demosthenes-gnomology. He reveals that Andreas Iociscus (Jokisch), teacher of ethics at the Strasbourg school, also joined in this work. He collected sentences from works of Greek and Latin orators, philosophers, poets, and historians.

Three further volumes of the Demosthenes-gnomology were prepared for press by Balthasar Imbricius (Ziegler) Regiocurianus Francus, a nineteen-year-old student and helper of Wolf. He dated his dedications for these volumes in March and April, 1569, in Augsburg. He has no other known work.

The fifth volume²⁷ is similar to the previous ones in its structure and contains Demosthenes-scholia of Ulpian, and Demosthenes-arguments of Ulpian and Libanius. The Latin versions were prepared by Paulus Rosa Cremnicus. The book containing approx. 350 octavo pages left the print shop in March, 1570. The young man dated the dedication on 15 October, 1569, in Augsburg. It is addressed to scholar of law Georg Muschler (Muslerus), professor of the Vienna University. It tells us that Rosa accompanied Muschler's son on his study trip to Augsburg, and when the latter returned home, he

Molnár, a friend of Goclenius, certainly read it. Szenci Molnár was recommended to become alumnus of the Collegium Wilhelmiticum in Strasbourg by Hauwenreuter and others in 1593; cf. SZENCI MOLNÁR 2003, *op. cit.*, 56, 110; *Régi magyar költők tára: XVII. század*, 6, SZENCI MOLNÁR Albert *Költői művei* (Poetical works), ed. STOLL Béla, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971 (hereafter: SZENCI MOLNÁR 1971), 457; SZENCI MOLNÁR Albert *Válogatott művei* (Selected works), ed. VÁSÁRHELYI Judit, Budapest, Magvető, 1976 (hereafter: SZENCI MOLNÁR 1595–1630/1976), 170. On 13th July, 1596, Hauwenreuter certificated that Szenci Molnár had attended his lectures on physics and ethics, cf. SZENCI MOLNÁR Albert *Naplója, levelezése és irományai* (Journal-book, correspondence, and documents), ed. DÉZSI Lajos, Budapest, 1898, 420.

²⁶ The phraseology of Neander (1525–1595) was published by Oporinus around 1555 and in 1558.

²⁷ *Gnomologiae DEMOSTHENICAE Graecolatinae, tomus quintus et ultimus. VLPANI rhetoris obseruationes oratoriae ex XVIII. quas is enarrauit, Demosthenis orationibus, Pavlo ROSA Cremnicio, Pannonio, interprete. Vna cum Indice gemino*, Basileae, 1570.

stayed with Wolf. The dedication gives him the opportunity to express his gratitude to the Vienna professor for his earlier support. Muschler is not unknown to Wolf either: he has memories of Muschler's brother, Johann.

Rosa's dedication keeps a low profile. It says that since Georg Muschler himself has been studying and teaching rhetorical precepts, a work containing abstracts of Demosthenes must have little value for him, even with Rosa's rhetorical comments. The translation "observationes quasdam oratorias contineat: quam tu artem iam per multos annos in incluta Viennensi Academia, et sede Caesarea profiteris: hoc tibi munusculum, etsi minime necessarium, non ingratum tamen fore putavi." Rosa says that he started translating Greek texts compiled by Wolf to Latin in order to practise the language. In the beginning, he nearly gave up, because he found that his knowledge of Greek, a language he had come to like not long before, is very modest: "quam curta mihi esset suppellex in re litteraria, ac praecipue in Graecis literis". Still, with the help of his teacher, seeing the usefulness of the exercises, he took pleasure in the work. When, somewhat later, he needed to become tutor of patrician youngsters, and this used up nearly all his time, he almost put the work aside. He never thought of the possibility that his work might ever be worth of publishing, and Wolf corrected, polished, and adorned the text before sending it to the press.

A copy of the Basel edition of Wolf's Isocrates-volume from 1567 is in my possession.²⁸ More precisely, it is the first volume of the two, which contains two groups of orations (*Classis paraenetica*, *Classis suasionum*), and an index of names and subjects for both volumes. On the inner side of the front cover the owner is named: "Paulus Rosa Crennecianus Pannonius. Anno salutis nostrae 1569". Above this is the Greek motto of the owner, a plural version of a fragment of the Psalms from the *Septuaginta*: καθάρισόν ἡμᾶς, ὦ κύριε, ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν (cf. Psalms 50,4: ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου καθάρισόν με—"cleanse me from my sin"). The original leather binding of the volume proves that it belonged to Rosa. The beautiful, humanistic, relief printed binding shows profiles of Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon. In the centre there are the initials P. R. C. and the year 1569. The book belonged to Matthias Hussar in 1702 and to Martinus Husarik in 1703. The latter was "minor parvista" at the time, so he probably didn't know what he had in his hands. He decorated the inside of the back cover with a pen drawing depicting a savage "kuruc" (anti-Habsburg) warrior. The volume was finally listed in the catalogue of the Jesuit college in Gyöngyös in 1703. I acquired it from private owner.

We can be certain that the young man of Upper Hungary used this volume in Augsburg while working on the Demosthenes-gnomology, or just prior to that. I think it is possible that he got this edition of the other renowned Greek orator, which was published two years earlier, as a gift from Wolf himself. Unfortunately, we do not have the title page of this copy. It began with a dedication to Maximilian II by Wolf already in 1703. This is serious loss—it is not impossible that Wolf honoured his student and would-be working partner with words of dedication.

²⁸ ISOCRATES 1548/1567, *op. cit.*

In the book, some hand-written marginal notes accompany Wolf's dedication to Maximilian II. On the first few pages of *Ad Demonicum de officiis (Paraenesis)*, there is a mass of notes both in the Greek and the Latin text written in brown ink, in dense, tiny letters. They are difficult or almost impossible to read. These are notes by Rosa on understanding the Greek text and finding an adequate Latin translation, and reflect a keen philological interest. There are some marginal notes attached to the arguments of *Archidamus* and the text of *De pace*; apart from these, further pages of the print are almost perfectly clean. Some lines are underlined and some initials are painted in green by somebody. (As for the latter, I suspect it was Martinus Husarik, who wrote his name into the book on several places. Sometimes he took pleasure in the loops of his initials, at other places in the square letter forms.)

We have space only for presenting some of the inscriptions—sometimes paraphrases, sometimes linguistic interpretations, sometimes factual explanations—written by Rosa on the pages of *Ad Demonicum*. At certain places he just made something more precise: he expanded Wolf's marginal note, and added that the beginning of section 15 does not discuss modestia in general but “modestia in risu et sermone”; he also made the Latin translation clearer by noting that laughter is “vulgo stultitiae nota habetur”. He reinforced the admonition of Isocrates—that proper physical exercise is needed for maintaining health, not for increasing physical power (14)—with a similar locus of Hippocrates. How Hipponicus, father of Demonicus viewed material wealth is described by a gnomic sentence in the original, that provides much food for thought (10); in Wolf's Latin translation: “neque pecuniam supra modum amavit, sed et bonis suis usus est ut mortalis, et rem familiarem curavit ut immortalis.” Rosa first searched for a parallel to the Greek word ὑπάρχοντα ‘material wealth’, and cited the first Olynthiac speech of Demosthenes (14,6). To shed light on the content of the whole locus, he copied an entire epigram (four lines) by Lucian.²⁹ His notes disappear exactly where the work (18) starts to discuss eruditio, which Wolf highlighted in a marginal note. Eruditio is a virtue Rosa himself seems to have possessed. We cannot know his opinion on the gnome that says “Solius enim sapientiae possessio est immortalis” anymore. And on the page the upper half of which he annotated, a passage starts that emphasises the importance of study trips (19): “Ne te pigeat longam ire viam ad eos, qui se aliquid utile docturos profitentur. Cum enim mercatores, rei familiaris augendae gratia, tanta maria transmittant: turpe fuerit adolescentens, excolendi ingenii causa, nec terrestre iter velle suscipere.” Rosa, who took the trouble of a study trip to Augsburg, could easily apply this advice to himself.

All the more because in Augsburg it was not only Wolf he had the chance to meet. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) lived in the town between January 1569 and September 1570, who built a large quadrant there for his astronomical observations and studied alchemy at the same time. We know it from Brahe himself from two decades later³⁰ that he met

²⁹ Piece X,26. of *Anthologia Palatina*. Rosa may have known it from some other Greek anthology, not the Pfalz collection of inciting epigrams.

³⁰ Anthony GRAFTON, *John Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983 (Warburg Studies), 216; Nicholas JARDINE, Alain SEGONDS, *A Challenge to the Reader: Ramus*

Petrus Ramus (1515–1572)—who was seeking an academic position in Germany unsuccessfully³¹—in Augsburg in 1570. It was Wolf who arranged the encounter,³² so Rosa, too, had the opportunity to meet both the Dane and the Frenchman.

The only modern scholar deeply familiar with the Demosthenes-gnomology³³ says that involving three students in his philological work shows what an eminent educator Wolf was, just as the fact that he let them write the dedications. This gave them the chance to fulfil the need for pride of young people. Wolf's virtues as educator and philologist attracted young people to Augsburg from Strasbourg, from the area of the Thuringian border and from Vienna even if there was no university there. In the case of Hungary, however, we cannot speak about a large number of people attracted: Vilmos Fraknói knew about the Augsburg peregrination of only one student, Thomas Grundl of Lőcse (today Levoča in Slovakia), and that took place in 1581, after Wolf's death.³⁴ In the data con-

on Astrologia without Hypotheses, in: *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, eds. Mordechai FEINGOLD, Joseph S. FREEDMAN, Wolfgang ROTHER, Basel, Schwabe, 2001 (Schwabe Philosophica, 1), 248–266, 255–256.

³¹ George HUPPERT, *Petrus Ramus: The Humanist as Philosopher*, Chicago, University of Illinois, 2002, 214.

³² Victor THOREN, *The Lord of Uraniborg: A Biography of Tycho Brahe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, 35.

³³ Frank HIERONYMUS, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen: Ausstellung, Basel–Berlin–Mainz, 1992–1993*, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1992 (Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 15), item no. 231.

³⁴ FRAKNÓI 1873, *op. cit.*, 202. It is also true, of course, that Fraknói knew only one of those Hungarians who studied in Rostock in the 16th century (FRAKNÓI 1873, *op. cit.*, 283), while systematic data collection changed this number to 22 by now, and the one single journey mentioned by Fraknói had to be re-dated to 1606 (Karl-Heinz JÜGELT, *Die ungarländischen Studenten an der Universität Rostock*, in: *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon: A III. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson [Szeged, 1991. augusztus 12–16.] elhangzott előadások* [Old and new peregrination: Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary], eds. BÉKÉSI Imre, JANKOVICS József, KÓSA László, NYERGES Judit, Budapest–Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság–Scriptum Kft., 1993, I–III [hereafter: BÉKÉSI–JANKOVICS–KÓSA–NYERGES 1993], II, 565–588).—Wolf's poem on Szigetvár, Gyula, and the insensibility of Germany was printed at the end of a representative collection, dedicated to the honour of Miklós Zrínyi, in Wittenberg in 1587. The poem was transmitted to the editor, Petrus Albinus of Wittenberg, from the anthology on German history edited by Simon Schardius (1574), there is no reason to suppose intermediation by some student of Wolf. Cf. *De Sigetho Hungariae propugnaculo (Zrínyi-album)*, Wittenberg, 1587; in facsimile, eds. KŐSZEGHY Péter, SZABÓ András, Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézete–Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987 (Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, 15), O4v–P2v, 22–23; IMRE Mihály, „Magyarország panasza”: *A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII. század irodalmában* (The Querela Hungariae topos in the literature of the 16th–17th centuries), Debrecen, Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1995 (Csokonai Universitas Könyvtár: Bibliotheca Studiorum Litterarium, 5), 93. Still in the lifetime of Wolf, in September 1580, his successor, Georg Henisch inscribed an entry in the album amicorum of Gergely Stansith Horváth in Augsburg: RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY Ágnes, *Nympha super ripam Danubii*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 87(1983), 67–74; *id.*, in: RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY Ágnes, „Nympha super ripam Danubii”: *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (Studies on the Hungarian culture of the 15th–16th centuries), Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2002 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 28), 87–102, 87.

cerning early modern study trips of young Transylvanians, there is no trace of one single visit in Augsburg.³⁵

This is exactly why it might be significant that in Körmöcbánya, even before his studies in Vienna, Rosa could meet a person who made frequent visits to Augsburg and might have known Wolf personally. Hans Dernschwam (1494–1568), whose connections in Augsburg and among humanists in Germany are still largely uncovered,³⁶ functioned as factor of the Fugger company in Besztercebánya for many years. Earlier literature assumed that his rich humanistic library was kept in the Thurzó–Fugger House in Besztercebánya until his death, and it must have been open for educated citizens of the town to some extent.³⁷ Since liquidation of the company in 1548 brought the official connection between Dernschwam and the Fuggers to an end, this point of view seems hardly tenable. The library was probably in Cseszte (today Častá in Slovakia), near Pozsony (today Bratislava in Slovakia), which served as Dernschwam’s new home already in 1552, when the owner made a detailed inventory and took more valuable items to Murány (today Muráň in Slovakia) for safekeeping.³⁸ Lajos Tardy assumes that Dernschwam, who returned from Constantinople in 1555, didn’t spend his last years in Cseszte but in the mining towns. He says, everything seems to indicate that Dernschwam lived in Körmöcbánya, because official documents in Vienna between 1558 and 1567 mention him with the title “chief master of gold exchange”. He tried to recommend his cousin to the mint in Körmöcbánya in 1566.³⁹ If Tardy is right, then it is not impossible that Rosa knew the old Dernschwam when he set out for Vienna. Anyway, Dernschwam’s library had copies of Wolf’s editions of Demosthenes and Isocrates. (The latter was the first edition from 1548.)⁴⁰

And, when Wolf’s personal and intellectual connections in Hungary are at stake, it brings another idea to one’s mind. János Baranyai Decsi defended his dissertation, *Synopsis philosophiae* in Strasbourg in 1591 at Hauwenreuter, former student of Wolf.⁴¹

³⁵ SZABÓ Miklós, TONK Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521–1700* (University studies of Transylvanians in the early modern age), Szeged, 1992 (Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum, 4).

³⁶ BERLÁSZ Jenő, *Johann Dernschwam könyvtára* (The library of Johann Dernschwam) (hereafter: BERLÁSZ 1964/1984), in: *A Dernschwam-könyvtár: Egy magyarországi humanista könyvjegyzéke* (The Dernschwam library: Book inventory of a Hungarian humanist), eds. BERLÁSZ Jenő, KEVEHÁZI Katalin, MONOK István, Szeged, 1984 (Adattár, 12) (hereafter: BERLÁSZ–KEVEHÁZI–MONOK 1984), 299–340, 310–311.

³⁷ BERLÁSZ 1964/1984, *op. cit.*, in: BERLÁSZ–KEVEHÁZI–MONOK 1984, *op. cit.*, 312.

³⁸ TARDY Lajos, *Egy éles szemű, hideg szívű krónikás a 16. századból* (A sharp-sighted and cold-hearted 16th century recorder) (hereafter: TARDY 1984), in: HANS DERNSCHWAM, *Erdély – Besztercebánya – Törökországi útinapló* (Transylvania – Besztercebánya – Itinerary on Turkey), ed., transl. TARDY Lajos, Budapest, Európa, 1984 (Bibliotheca Historica) (hereafter: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984), 5–73, 47.

³⁹ TARDY 1984, *op. cit.*, in: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984, *op. cit.*, 55–56.

⁴⁰ BERLÁSZ–KEVEHÁZI–MONOK 1984, *op. cit.*, 10, 11 (nos. 15/6757, 23/6765).

⁴¹ The author of the dissertation was Baranyai Decsi. A review of the work: Zoltán ROKAY, *Die Synopsis des János Baranyai Decsi* (hereafter: ROKAY 2004), in: „*Igniculi sapientiae*”. *János-Baranyai-Decsi-Festschrift: Symposium und Ausstellung zum 400. Jahrestag des Erscheinens der Adagia von János Baranyai Decsi in der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek, 1998*, Hrsg. Gábor BARNA, Ágnes STEMLER, Vilmos VOIGT, Budapest, OSZK–Osiris Kiadó, 2004 (Libri de Libris) (hereafter: BARNA–STEMLER–VOIGT 2004), 95–103.

There has been a long-term quest going on in Hungarian literature for the incentives of this eminent Hungarian humanist that raised his interest in idioms and proverbs and led him to supplement *Adagia* of Erasmus with a Hungarian version. There are several recent references to Hauwenreuter's possible influence.⁴² Wolf and his possible influence transmitted by Hauwenreuter have never been brought up. The third level of gnomology above lexical units and phraseology, however, might provide the suitable framework for a humanistic interest in adages. A similarity between adage and gnome is clearly seen when we compare what Baranyai Decsi wrote about adage in 1598⁴³ with the ideas of Hauwenreuter about gnome from 1569: they attribute equal rhetorical and ethical significance to their material; they recommend identical ways of usage for the same social groups and professions.⁴⁴

Connections to the Vienna University are no less interesting. It was only recently that data on Hungarian students who entered university in Vienna in the two and a half centuries after 1526 have been reviewed. The name of Paulus Rosa appears indeed: he was listed as "Hungarus" on 12 January, 1565, during rectorship of medical doctor Andreas Dadius, who was from Brabant and had arrived from the University of Leuven.⁴⁵ Entries near his do not indicate any fellow-travellers or fellow-students. Two Moravian noblemen, and a Moravian and a Silesian student were registered the same day. In the previous year, 1564, only seven Hungarian students were registered, all in the first semester. In 1565, Rosa is the first registered student from Hungary. There are 26 others later in the same year, but the nearest two are from 13 and 20 of February. Where these were from is unknown. On the 2nd of March appear two other young men, one from Sopron, the other from Brassó (today Braşov in Romania). Most other entries are from the period after the next rector, doctor of philosophy Georgius Sedlmair entered office on 14 April. These are not dated precisely. Places that can be identified as places of origin of these students are Pozsony, Ruszt (today Rust in Austria), Sopron, Pest, Eger (?), Balogiványi (today Ivanice in Slovakia), Igló, Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia), and Gyula. Before 1565, it was in 1550 that students from Körmöcbánya entered the university. One of them was none other than the cousin of Hans Dernschwam, "Henricus Dirnshuman Cremnizen-

⁴² Gyula PACZOLAY, *János Baranyai Decsi and His Adagia*, in: BARNA–STEMLER–VOIGT 2004, *op. cit.*, 31–65, 32; György GÖMÖRI, *International Contacts of János Baranyai Decsi*, in: BARNA–STEMLER–VOIGT 2004, *op. cit.*, 84–94, 90–92; ROKAY 2004, *op. cit.*, in: BARNA–STEMLER–VOIGT 2004, *op. cit.*, 100–101.

⁴³ BARANYAI DECSI János, *A kegyes olvasónak, az Adagiumok ajánlásaként (1598)* (Preface to the *Adagia*), transl. CSONKA Ferenc, in: *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták* (Janus Pannonius – Anthology of Hungarian humanists), ed. KLANICZAY Tibor, Budapest, Szépirodalmi, 1982 (Magyar Remekírók) (hereafter: KLANICZAY 1982), 810–818.

⁴⁴ Another acquaintance of Hauwenreuter in Strasbourg, Szenci Molnár quoted Wolf's Suidas-translation once only: SZENCI MOLNÁR 1971, *op. cit.*, 493; SZENCI MOLNÁR 1595–1630/1976, *op. cit.*, 373.

⁴⁵ *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, III, 1518/II–1579/II*, Bearb. Franz GALL, Willy SZAIVERT, Wien–Köln–Graz, Böhlau, 1971, I–II (Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, I. Abteilung) (hereafter: GALL–SZAIVERT 1971), 138; KISSNÉ BOGNÁR Krisztina, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben 1526–1789* (Hungarian students at schools in Vienna), Budapest, ELTE Levéltára, 2004 (Magyarországi Diákok Egyetemjárása az Újkorban, 13) (hereafter: KISSNÉ BOGNÁR 2004), 69, no. 424.

sis”,⁴⁶ who, as is mentioned above, would be recommended to the mint of Körmöcbánya later. There were three persons from Körmöcbánya after Rosa, all in 1568; the next piece of data is from 1583. Not much can be inferred from all this, except, that Rosa might have met his three compatriots in 1568 in Vienna. We cannot know if he had any role in bringing them to Vienna.

We have more information on Rosa’s connection to the professors. The addressee of his dedication, Georg Muschler, who was of Swabian origin, was one of the seven foreign professors who got chairs at the Vienna University when Ferdinand pressed for its reorganisation in a deep crisis. He immatriculated in the winter semester of 1540/41 in Vienna as “art. mag. Lipsensis utr. jur. doctor”. He was rector of the university’s secondary school, the Stephansschule for two decades. He is the rector of the university three times, in the summer semesters of 1549 and 1553, and in the winter semester in 1563/64. He appears these times in the register of students as “magister [...] de facultate artistica” and as “artium ac philosophiae doctor”.⁴⁷ He professed dialectics, was elected to dean of the faculty six times (1545, 1548, 1549, 1553, 1558, 1564), and procurator of the natio Rhenensis three times (1554, 1561, 1567). He followed principles of the Protestant faith and was a close friend of the Lutheran court priest of the crown prince, Archduke Maximilian. He also served as tutor of the crown prince’s children.⁴⁸ There is only one known work from him in print, a funeral oration from 1555.

He had only one son, Benedictus Muslerus, who appears in the university register during his second and third rectorship, too, among members of natio Austriaca.⁴⁹ The son might have been beginner of the secondary school in 1553, and senior secondary school

⁴⁶ GALL–SZAIVERT 1971, *op. cit.*, 90; KISSNÉ BOGNÁR 2004, *op. cit.*, 63, no. 271.

⁴⁷ GALL–SZAIVERT 1971, *op. cit.*, 66, 85, 98, 133. His doctorate mentioned in connection with his immatriculation may be a posterior addition. Another source from 1563 proves that after his election to rectorship, Muschler “ob merita doctrinae gratis creatus est J. V. D.” See note below.

⁴⁸ JÖCHER–ADELUNG V, 246; Joseph Ritter von ASCHBACH, *Die Wiener Universität und ihre Gelehrten 1520 bis 1565*, Wien, Alfred Hölder, 1888 (Geschichte der Wiener Universität, 3), 49–54, 238–240, 283. Hungarian literature has been repeating data of Aschbach hitherto. János Balázs held that Muschler became magister of the Faculty of Arts in 1545; BALÁZS János, *Sylvester János és kora* (János Sylvester and his age), Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1958 (hereafter: BALÁZS 1958), 331, 334. Tibor Schulek writes that Muschler taught dialectics for 22 years and was rector of the chapter’s Latin school for some time; SCHULEK Tibor, *Bornemisza Péter 1535–1584: A XVI. századi magyar művelődés és lelkeség történetéből* (Péter Bornemisza: From the history of the 16th century Hungarian culture and spirituality), Sopron–Budapest–Győr, Keresztyén Igazság, 1939 (A Keresztyén Igazság Könyvtára) (hereafter: SCHULEK 1939), 15. Rosa’s dedication alludes to his long career as a teacher of rhetoric—most probably in the secondary school—on the one hand; on the other hand, he is referred to as a scholar of law. According to Aschbach, his juristic doctorate did not conjugate with advancement at the Faculty of Law. The last fact about Muschler registered by Aschbach is his procuratorship in 1567. Rosa’s dedication adds two more years to this straight away.—Lately: Kurt MÜHLBERGER, *Ferdinand I. als Neugestalter der Universität Wien: „...das Generalstudium, gleichsam eine hervorragende Pflanzstätte zur Verbreitung der Religion und zur richtigen Führung des Staates...”*, in: *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, Hrsg. W. SEIPEL, Wien–Milano, 2003, 265–275; ALMÁSI Gábor, *A respublica litteraria és a császári udvar a 16. század második felében* (The republic of letters and the imperial court in the second part of the 16th century), *Aetas*, 20(2005)/3, 5–37.

⁴⁹ GALL–SZAIVERT 1971, *op. cit.*, 98, 133.

student or freshman at the faculty of arts in 1563. The idea that he should travel to Augsburg accompanied by Rosa might have come from an old friendship: Georg Muschler was born as younger son of the local shoemaker in Oettingen, the same place where Wolf was born as son of an office clerk. They might have been of similar age (we do not know the year of birth of Muschler). The relationship was a living one for Wolf, too. Rosa's dedication mentions the fact that Wolf remembered Muschler's brother, too. The elder brother Johann Muschler (1502–1555) was a student of Petrus Mosellanus (1493–1524), professor of Greek at the Leipzig University.⁵⁰ His funeral speech given for Mosellanus in 1524 was printed afterwards. He obtained magister degree at the University of Leipzig and became rector of the local Nikolaischule around 1523⁵¹ as well as professor of the university, rector in 1530 and dean of the faculty of arts in 1532. Later he began to study law and earned his doctorate in 1535. Later he studied more law in Padua and established connections with humanists all over North-Italy. He spent his last years back in Leipzig.⁵² He had four sons: Martinus, Sebastianus, Johannes, and Hieronimus. Their rector uncle invited them to Vienna on the summer of 1549 and entered their names into the university register as members of the natio Rhenensis.⁵³ The elder brother Johann Muschler—beyond his educational writings,⁵⁴ university speeches and correspondence with Melanchthon—is known mainly for his German translations of Lucian and Terence, which appeared in the 1530s in Nuremberg. Wolf must have known these well, since he returned to the scene of his student years in Nuremberg in 1539, already as a colleague of Heyden, and several times afterwards.⁵⁵

The younger brother, Georg Muschler, who taught in Vienna, worked together at the university with Hungarian humanist János Sylvester, a follower of Erasmus, for more than a decade. Sylvester was a professor of Hebrew, later of Greek and history. They must have been aware of each other with Hans Dernschwam: Cseszte is located near Vienna and its owner had the possibility to be well-informed about life in Vienna.⁵⁶ Muschler, on the other hand, enters the name “Marcus Dirnschwam Brixensis Boemus” as the first student belonging to the Ungarica natio during his second rectorship.⁵⁷ He is none other than the other cousin and later heir of Hans Dernschwam. The Vienna court

⁵⁰ BALÁZS 1958, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁵¹ About his predecessor, Christoph Hegendorff (1500–1540) see: Franz BIERLAIRE, *Les « Dialogi pueriles » de Christophe Hegendorff*, in: *Acta conventus neo-Latini Turonensis: Troisième congrès international d'études néo-latines, Tours, Université François Rabelais, 6–10 septembre 1976*, éd. Jean-Claude MARGOLIN, Paris, J. Vrin, 1980, I–II (De Pétrarque à Descartes, 38), 389–401.

⁵² JÖCHER–ADELUNG V, 261–262.

⁵³ GALL–SZAIVERT 1971, *op. cit.*, 87.

⁵⁴ He considered an elementary school that used the mother tongue harmful in regard to teaching Latin later, cf. BALASSA Brunó, *A latintanítás története: Neveléstörténeti forrástanulmány* (The history of teaching Latin), Budapest, Sárkány nyomda, 1930, 89.

⁵⁵ Anyway, Johann Muschler was in contact with the Fuggers, too. He dedicated one of his publications from Venice, 1538 to them; LEHMANN 1956, *op. cit.*, I, 47–48.

⁵⁶ TARDY 1984, *op. cit.*, in: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984, *op. cit.*, 48.

⁵⁷ GALL–SZAIVERT 1971, *op. cit.*, 101.

transferred the price of the Dernschwam-library to him in 1569.⁵⁸ Péter Bornemisza, who translated *Electra* of Sophocles to Hungarian, might have been among assumed Hungarian students of Muschler.⁵⁹ Bornemisza's adaptation is usually traced back to the Sophocles-seminary of Georg Tanner (1520–c. 1584), another professor in Vienna, while Tanner's encouragement is traced back to Melanchthon's lectures on *Electra* in 1545 and to the Sophocles-translations of his student Vitus Winshemius in Latin prose, published in 1546.⁶⁰ The idea of an adaptation to the mother-tongue did not arise, while a possible example for Bornemisza for adapting antique drama to a native language might have been Georg Muschler's brother, Johann.

A thorough investigation of the data throws light on another very interesting connection of Paulus Rosa besides his meeting Muschler and Wolf. During the time when Justus Lipsius was professor at the Jena University between 1572 and 1574, there was only one Hungarian student at the university. (There were not many earlier or later either: there are two names in the annals in 1569, one in 1571, and two in 1575.)⁶¹ This one student who entered the university during honorary rectorship of Saxonian prince John William and vice-rectorship of professor of medicine Johann Schröter, in the winter semester of 1573—the sole Hungarian among 228 who immatriculated—however, is none other than Paulus Rosa Cremonianus Pannonius!⁶² I don't think it is by pure chance that he appeared just there just then when Hungarian students rarely visited the place in those times. I believe he tried to find connection to Lipsius. There is no trace of contact between Lipsius and those in Augsburg at this time.⁶³ But the fact that Lipsius had visited

⁵⁸ TARDY 1984, *op. cit.*, in: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984, *op. cit.*, 56.

⁵⁹ SCHULEK 1939, *op. cit.*, 15. In spite of these connections, Muschler has no trace in the synthesis discussing connections of Hungarian and Viennese humanists: KLIMES Péter, *Bécs és a magyar humanizmus* (Vienna and the Hungarian humanism), Budapest, Élet Rt., 1934 (Palaestra Calasanctiana, 5).

⁶⁰ BORZSÁK István, *Az antikvitás XVI. századi képe (Bornemisza-tanulmányok)* (16th century view of antiquity: Studies on Péter Bornemisza), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1960 (hereafter: BORZSÁK 1960), 124, 129. Melanchthon's lecture announcement: SZABÓ András, *Adalék Bornemisza Péter Életrájának háttéréhez* (Contribution to the background of Péter Bornemisza's *Electra*), in: *Csonka Ferenc 80. születése napjára* (In honour of Ferenc Csonka for his 80th anniversary), ed. TAMÁS Zsuzsanna, Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 1996, 19. Tanner taught Demosthenes as well from 1557 on, but now we only know about an edition of Aeschines and Demosthenes from before Wolf's translation that was in his possession, probably already during his studies in Wittenberg. During his professor years he made notes in this; cf. BORZSÁK 1960, *op. cit.*, 129–130.

⁶¹ Among these Hungarians there is a remarkable number of people from Körmöcbánya: after those two who immatriculated in 1564, one from 1569 and both from 1575 were fellow townsmen of Rosa. Another fellow-student from Körmöcbánya followed in 1582.

⁶² MOKOS Gyula, *Magyarországi tanulók a jénai egyetemen* (Hungarian students at the Jena University), Budapest, 1890 (Magyarországi Tanulók Külföldön, 1).

⁶³ Wolf does not appear at all in the inventory of pen-mates of Lipsius, cf. Alois GERLO, Hendrik D. L. VERVLLET, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564–1606*, Anvers, Éditions scientifiques Érasme, 1968. Marcus Welser (1558–1614) of Augsburg tried to contact Lipsius after the publication of the Augsburg collection of inscriptions (1590), and it can be tied to Welser's—a Roman Catholic who lived in a town with a Protestant majority—existential self-definition beyond his philological interests; cf. Jan PAPY, *Lipsius and Marcus Welser: The Antiquarian's Life as via media*, Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 68(1998), 173–190.

Vienna on his way back home from Italy towards his first university chair might have helped Rosa. Friends of Rosa in Vienna might have called his attention to the young professor.

We might even assume that János Zsámboky (Sambucus) played a role in this: the working relationship between him and Lipsius that was established in Vienna is well-known. This led to the dedication to Zsámboky in the famous Tacitus-edition of Lipsius from 1574. At the same time, it was not only Tanner among Viennese professors with whom Zsámboky had a friendly relationship. They listened to Melanchthon's lectures on Sophocles together, and were together in Strasbourg in 1551.⁶⁴ Zsámboky greeted Tanner with an emblem in the first (1564) edition of his volume of emblems,⁶⁵ but in the second and later editions of *Emblemata* he dedicated an emblem to Muschler, too.⁶⁶

The emblem dedicated to Wolf can be found in all editions of the *Emblemata*.⁶⁷ Zsámboky met Wolf in Paris in 1551, where Wolf accompanied one of his students. They attended the same humanistic society, the circle of Petrus Ramus and Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565).⁶⁸ We know a letter from Zsámboky to Wolf from December 1560, in which the former recommends a young man, Karl Uthenhoven (1536–1600), who had translated Nonnos to Latin, to the Augsburg rector: “de unguibus leonem possis agnoscere”.⁶⁹ In the early sixties, Zsámboky was tutor and companion of Jakob Fugger in

⁶⁴ TÉGLÁSY Imre, *A nyelv- és irodalomszemlélet kezdetei Magyarországon Sylvester Jánostól Zsámboky Jánosig* (Beginnings of linguistics and literary theory in Hungary from János Sylvester to János Zsámboky), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1988 (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 15) (hereafter: TÉGLÁSY 1988), 79. Zsámboky immatriculated in Wittenberg on 29 July, 1545, and stayed in Strasbourg from the autumn of 1549 or from 1550. Attempts for compiling a Zsámboky-itinerary: Hans GERSTINGER, *Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler* (hereafter: GERSTINGER 1926), in: *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien zur Feier des 200jährigen Bestehens des Gebäudes*, Wien, Verlag d. Österr. Staatsdruckerei, 1926, 251–400, 288–290; Anton VANTUCH, *Ján Sambucus: Život a dielo renesančného učenca*, Bratislava, 1975 (Dejiny vied a techniky); TÉGLÁSY Imre, *A bujdosó Magyarország (Johannes Sambucus)* (Peregrinating Hungary: On Johannes Sambucus), in: BÉKÉSI–JANKOVICS–KÓSA–NYERGES 1993, *op. cit.*, II, 645–654.

⁶⁵ The emblem depicting the Trojan horse, titled “Pro ignotis sumere laborem”: Ioannes SAMBUCUS, *Emblemata, cum aliquot novis antiqui operis*, Antwerpen, 1564; in facsimile, eds. VARJAS Béla, August BUCK, Budapest, 1982 (Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, 11) (hereafter: ZSÁMBOKY 1564/1982), 189–190. A legal manuscript got from Tanner's library to Zsámboky in 1582; cf. GERSTINGER 1926, *op. cit.*, 345, 362.

⁶⁶ About the newer dedications: Arnoud VISSER, “Do Not Think It Was out of Ambition”: *The Social Functions of Dedications in the Emblems of Joannes Sambucus*, in: *Republic of Letters, Humanism, Humanities: Selected Papers of the Workshop Held at the Collegium Budapest in Cooperation with NIAS between November 25 and 28, 1999*, ed. Marcell SEBŐK, Budapest, Collegium Budapest, Institute for Advanced Study, 2005 (Workshop Series, 15), 125–140.

⁶⁷ The emblem titled “Fortuna Duce” shows the choice between two boxes, one filled with lead, the other with gold (ZSÁMBOKY 1564/1982, *op. cit.*, 26).

⁶⁸ Without reference to Wolf: TÉGLÁSY 1988, *op. cit.*, 67–70.

⁶⁹ *Die Briefe des Johannes SAMBUCUS (ZSÁMBOKY) 1554–1584*, Hrsg. Hans GERSTINGER; *Anhang: Die Sambucusbriefe im Kreisarchiv von Trnava*, Hrsg. Anton VANTUCH, Graz–Wien–Köln, Böhlau, 1968 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–Historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte, 255) (hereafter: ZSÁMBOKY 1968), 51–54. On Uthenhoven: ADAM 1615, *op. cit.*, 443–446. Greek text of Zsámboky's Nonnos-manuscript—the editio princeps!—was published in 1569; VARGA László, *Sámbooky (Sambucus)*

Padua.⁷⁰ He returned, after 22 years of peregrination, to Vienna directly from Augsburg in 1564,⁷¹ so we can naturally assume his further personal meetings with Wolf. After Zsámboky settled in Vienna, they had a correspondence. Zsámboky reported to Zwinger in 1568 that Wolf had written to him about the library of Oporinus who had died not long before: Wolf had not known what had happened to it.⁷² Zsámboky sent a four-line mourning poem about Wolf in Greek to Joachim Camerarius Jr. in Nuremberg in 1581.⁷³ He must have known about Wolf's philological activities before they met, because after he joined the Ingolstadt school in June 1548, his teacher of rhetoric, who proofread his translation of Xenophon,⁷⁴ was Veit Amerbach, who wrote a greeting poem for the first edition of the Isocrates-translation by Wolf. This edition and the next one from 1553 were there in Zsámboky's library. He also owned the Basel volumes of Wolf's Demosthenes-edition from 1553.⁷⁵ Thus it is not impossible that the young man, who was selected to be praeceptor of the younger Muschler and was preparing to visit Wolf was introduced to Wolf's old friend Zsámboky while still in Vienna, even if the youngster from Körmöcbánya didn't have great achievements (lion claws) to tell to the rector of Augsburg. Later Zsámboky could orientate Rosa towards Lipsius through either Wolf or Muschler. In any case, the information about Rosa visiting Jena is worth further investigation and consideration.

After all this, there is no reason to be surprised when we find the name of Paulus Rosa appearing on the pages of the books of Martin Crusius (1526–1607) of Tübingen indicating interest in modern Greek political history, language, and culture. From *Turco graeciae libri octo* (1584) it is quite clear—even if we are not going to discuss this in this framework—that Crusius was in permanent contact with both Wolf in Augsburg and Muschler in Vienna. After Wolf's death he became the number one authority on Greek in Europe, who was also a central figure in discovering Modern Greek culture through contacts with the Turkish Empire.

János filológiai munkássága (Philological works of János Zsámboky), Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis, 1(1965), 77–103 (hereafter: VARGA L. 1965), 94–95, 97.

⁷⁰ TÉGLÁSY Imre, *Conrad Gesner és magyar barátai* (Conrad Gesner and his Hungarian friends), Orvostörténeti Közlemények, 109–112(1985), 195–210 (hereafter: TÉGLÁSY 1985), 203. The dedication of *De imitatione Ciceroniana* is also addressed to the youngster. Conrad Gessner, to whom one of the earliest known letters of Zsámboky is addressed, also worked for the Fuggers as home tutor in Augsburg earlier (TÉGLÁSY 1985, *op. cit.*, 202–206).

⁷¹ He dated one of his letters from Augsburg on 13 April, 1564. One month later, however, he dedicated a book in Vienna; GERSTINGER 1926, *op. cit.*, 276. Zsámboky knew the Fugger library, too, even though he valued manuscript rarities of his own bibliotheca more highly; cf. KLANICZAY 1982, *op. cit.*, 760.

⁷² ZSÁMBOKY 1968, *op. cit.*, 93.

⁷³ ZSÁMBOKY 1968, *op. cit.*, 260.

⁷⁴ VARGA L. 1965, *op. cit.*, 83–84. Zsámboky's translations of Lucian might have been prepared around this time. They are preceded by a poem of dedication by a former teacher of Wolf, Heyden. Cf. VARGA L. 1965, *op. cit.*, 82–83.

⁷⁵ GULYÁS Pál, *A Zsámboky-könyvtár katalógusa (1587) (1941)* (The catalogue of the library of Zsámboky), ed. MONOK István, Szeged, Scriptum Kft., 1992 (Adattár, 12/2), nos. 1778, 970, and 929–930, 1782.

Crusius published, in the third book of the work, text of permission for a trip to the Holy Land in 1561. In the notes he compiled a list of those pilgrims to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai who had written about their experiences. From the century 1479–1581 he names nine travellers. The last one is Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622) of Württemberg, who arrived to Constantinople as a member of an imperial delegation in 1578. On his way back between March and November 1581 he left the delegation and visited Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Tripoli.⁷⁶ Crusius, after describing Schweigger's trip, notes that there had been more journeys like that not long before. He lists some of these. Franciscus Billerbecus Pomeranus returned from his journey in 1581–82—on the way back he travelled with “Stephano Naio Ungaro, imp. nostri legato”!—with a letter addressed to David Chytraeus from Alexandria. Rupertus Lentulus a Dorndorff, student of Crusius in Memmingen some 27 years earlier, told about his adventures to his former teacher in Tübingen in April 1583. Another such traveller was Joannes Jacobus Breuningus (Hans Jakob Breuning von Buchenbach, 1552–1616), whose father Wolfgang was a legal adviser in Speyer. The son studied in Nuremberg, Tübingen (where his cousins lived), Wittenberg, France, England, and Italy, and then travelled to Byzantium by sea, and reached many remote places from there. He travelled in simple clothes and relatively safely, even though he didn't even have a passport from the Sultan. Crusius had the opportunity to review Breuning's *album amicorum*, which Eusebius Stetter, “Anatolicae apud nos Scholae moderator”, sent him in May 1583.⁷⁷ Crusius cited five entries from this album. These were made in Constantinople in 1579, and salute the traveller who is about to set about to the Holy Land and wish him good luck. The fourth of these says: “Salus tua, Domine, protegat me. Nobiliss. D. Ioanni Iacobo Breuningo, iter Hierosolymam facienti, amicitiae et memoriae ergo haec ascripsit utque ei suscepta peregrinatio felicissime cedat: ex animo precatus est, Paulus Rosa Pannonius, I. V. Licentius. Constantinopoli VI. idus Iulij.”⁷⁸

The other four entries are no less interesting. The authors are: Ioachimus a Sintzen-dorff etc., Sac. Caesariae M. etc. consiliarius aulicus Imperij, nec non Orator in curia O.; Vuenceslaus Budouuetz a Budouua etc., Oratoris Caesariei, apud Turcarum Principem

⁷⁶ Crusius, adhering to the restriction “quorum historiam uidi” (231), gives the data of all manuscripts or editions known to him, only in the case of Schweigger he does not refer to the manuscript. This is significant, because it is well-known that Schweigger's travel report was published three decades after the trip only, and there is great uncertainty about the time when it had been written and about its possible influence prior to its publication; cf. NÉMETH S. Katalin, *Salomon Schweigger útleirásának magyar vonatkozásai* (Hungarian relations of the travelogue of Salomon Schweigger), in: *Tarnai Andor-émlékkönyv* (Studies to the memory of Andor Tarnai), ed. KECSKEMÉTI Gábor, Budapest, Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1996 (Historia Litteraria, 2), 189–200.

⁷⁷ I know nothing about Stetter.

⁷⁸ Martin CRUSIUS, *Tyrco Graeciae libri octo... quibus Graecorum statvs svb Imperio Turcico in politia et ecclesia, oeconomia et scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usque tempora luculenter describitur*, Basileae, 1584, 235. To the biblical motto, cf. Psalms 68,30: “ego autem pauper et dolens salus tua Deus suscipiet me”. There are only two occurrences of the form “protegat” in *Vulgata*: Numbers 14,14; Psalms 19,2.

aulae magister; Bartholomaeus Pezzen, iuris utriusque Doctor; Rosa; Solomon Sueigker Sultzensis. Except for one, they are all dated from the 10th of July; the one from Pezzen is from one day later. This is a familiar list, the list of imperial envoys in Constantinople.

Breuning himself, who was briefly introduced by Crusius, published his experiences of his trip made in 1579 in German much later, in 1612. The work is organised around the five sea trips he made which took him first to Constantinople, then to Egypt, the Holy Land, and Marseille. He stayed in Constantinople after the first trip, exactly between 22 May and 22 July, 1579.⁷⁹ After detailed description of the city, the story of how the album entries had been made is inserted in chapter 20, where he lists relics from Antiquity. As is usual with contemporary travellers, he describes the five obelisks. In describing the second one he says, the residence of the Habsburg ambassador is next to the ancient red column, the Columna Porphyriana.⁸⁰ Usually the following people have their meals at the ambassador's table: the major-domo, "deß gleichen beyde Herren Räfte und Secretarij, als Bartholomaeus Pezzen, beyder Rechten Doctor/ und Paulus Rosa, der Rechten Licenciat", the court preacher and four interpreters, three of which are Greek, one is German (Melchior von Tierberg, by his Turkish name Ali or Elias).⁸¹ Breuning boasts that he and his travel-mate entered the orator's house freely, who often treated them to lunch, lent one of his interpreters or janissaries every now and then, and helped them in many other ways. Five album entries respond to this kind hospitality. They appear in Breuning, too, with only very slight differences to Crusius.⁸² Later, the text lists imperial ambassadors in the 16th century,⁸³ and goes on to describe the monolithic obelisk with hieroglyphs, the column with Greek epigrams, and the "columna serpentina" as ancient sights of the city.⁸⁴

So the situation is quite clear: we see Rosa again on the embassy staff. Joachim von Sinzendorf replaced David Ungnad in 1578, and was Habsburg imperial ambassador (orator) until 1581 at the Sultan's court. The Czech gentleman who made the following entry was Václav Budovec z Budova (Wenzeslaus Budwiz, 1551–1621), his major-domo. The young man had studied in Wittenberg during the years 1569–1571, when Rosa had been studying in Augsburg. He travelled around in England, The Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, France, and Italy in the seventies. During his stay in Constantinople, he learned to speak Turkish, Persian, and Arab. After his return home, he too would publish his travel report in Latin (joining the club of famous Czech humanist writers who

⁷⁹ Hanss Jacob BREUNING von und zu Buchenbach, *Orientalische Reyss*, Strassburg, 1612 (hereafter: BREUNING 1612), 44, 103.

⁸⁰ Description of the column from 1608: Maximilian BRANDSTETTER, *Utazás Konstantinápolyba 1608–1609* (Travel to Constantinople), ed. Karl NEHRING, transl. TÓTH L. Béla, Budapest, Littera Nova, 2001 (Kronosz Könyvek, 6), 89.

⁸¹ BREUNING 1612, *op. cit.*, 76.

⁸² BREUNING 1612, *op. cit.*, 77. Except for orthographical ones, there are only two significant differences in the entry of Rosa: instead of "iter Hierosolymam facienti" Breuning writes "Hierosolymam proficiscenti", and instead of "ascripsit" he gives "scripsit".

⁸³ BREUNING 1612, *op. cit.*, 78.

⁸⁴ BREUNING 1612, *op. cit.*, 78–79.

visited the Holy Land: Martin Kabátník, Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova, Kryštof Harant z Polžic, later Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic). In 1614, he published a refutation of the Koran—accomplished already by 1593—in Czech language.⁸⁵ He knew Beza and stood up for his Calvinist faith in a debate against Matthias Hoe von Hoenegg. He played an important role in Maiestas Rudolphina of 1609, which guaranteed the rights of Protestants in Bohemia. A hexastichon greeting him was published by Johannes Bocatius in 1612.⁸⁶ After the White Mountain Battle, Budovec was decapitated on the Old Town Square in Prague as one of the leaders of the war of independence. He is one of the twenty seven Czech martyrs, and even nowadays appears at the place of his execution with his long grey beard at dawn of every 21st of July to proceed silently to the Týn church to receive the sacraments under both species.⁸⁷

A completely different fate would await the secretary of the embassy in Constantinople. It has already been known that the secretary of the highest rank of Sinzendorf was Bartholomaeus Pezzen of Tyrolese origin. It has also been known that he served the next two orators Friedrich Freiherr von Preiner (1581–1583) and Paul Freiherr von Eitzing (1583–1587) in the same position. After Eitzing's death in Constantinople, Pezzen reached the apex of his career in 1587: he became first orator, and served as such until 1591. At that time he returned, and earned Hungarian indigenity in 1596.⁸⁸ He was one of the three members of Emperor Rudolph's delegation to Transylvania in 1598, which arranged the resignation of Zsigmond Báthory as prince of Transylvania.⁸⁹ It was then that he got the manuscript of a historical work by Johannes Michael Brutus that had been written in the environment of István Báthory. Pezzen got the manuscript from Demeter Naprágyi and took it with him to Vienna.⁹⁰ He died as an imperial councillor in 1605. His successor in Turkey, Friedrich von Krekwitz was the last orator before the fifteen-

⁸⁵ *Starší Česká literatura*, red. Josef HRABÁK, Praha, Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1959 (Dějiny České literatury, 1), 347; Jaroslav VLČEK, *Dějiny České literatury*, Praha, Státní Nakladatelství Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění, 1960, 450–457; HANKÓ B. Ludmilla, HEÉ Veronika, *A cseh irodalom története a kezdetektől napjainkig* (History of the Czech literature from the beginnings to nowadays), Budapest, Magyarországi Eszperantó Szövetség, 2003, 100.

⁸⁶ Ioannes BOCATIUS, *Opera quae exstant omnia*, ed. Franciscus CSONKA, I–II, *Poetica*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; III, *Prosaica*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum: Series nova, XII/1–3), II, 685.

⁸⁷ Alois JIRÁSEK, *Régi cseh mondák* (Old Czech legends), transl. ZÁDOR András, Bratislava, Csehszlovákiai Magyar Könyvkiadó, 1954, 193.

⁸⁸ NAGY Iván, *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* (Families of Hungary with their arms and genealogical tables), Pest, I–XII, 1857–1865; Pótlék-kötet, 1868 (hereafter: NAGY I. 1857–1868), IX, 287.

⁸⁹ BARANYAI DECSI János *Magyar históriája (1592–1598)* (History of Hungary), transl. KULCSÁR Péter, Budapest, Európa–Helikon, 1982 (Bibliotheca Historica), 360; SZAMOSKÓZY István, *Erdély története (1598–1599, 1603)* (History of Transylvania), transl. BORZSÁK István, Budapest, Európa, 1981 (Pro Memoria), 71.

⁹⁰ BARTONIEK Emma, *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* (Chapters from the Hungarian historiography of the 16th–17th centuries), ed. RITÓÓK Zsigmondné, Budapest, 1975, 252, 494.

year war. It was in 1608 that a new delegation went from Vienna to Constantinople headed by Adam Freiherr von Herberstein internuncius and his adjunct János Rimay.⁹¹

When Sinzendorf arrived to Constantinople he had only one secretary: Pezzen. Stephan Gerlach, who had been living in Constantinople since 1573 in ambassador Ungnad's environment wrote a diary. In this he lists forty names of the new delegation (he does not name eight servants and coachmen). Among these only Pezzen (in Gerlach's version Betz) holds secretarius title.⁹² However, when the replaced delegation is accompanied on their way home by members of the new one in early June 1578, among the escorts we find—besides Secretary Pezzen, Major-domo Budovec, and Preacher Schweigger—Secretary Ambrosius Schmeisser.⁹³ This Schmeisser had already stayed in Constantinople quite long before the arrival of Sinzendorf: he was on the staff of Ungnad's embassy,⁹⁴ a permanent figure in Gerlach's diary, who often told about old happenings in Vienna to the writer of the diary.⁹⁵ On 24 December, 1577 Gerlach records that Sinzendorf kindly greeted him and Schmeisser through a letter from Budovec.⁹⁶ It is clear then that Sinzendorf adopted his predecessor's secretary in the first half of 1578, and Schmeisser continued his service with him as second secretary. However, Rosa has no trace in Gerlach, so he did not show up in the ambassador's environment in Constantinople before June 1578.

Arrangements of Sinzendorf's embassy are reported by Pastor Salomon Schweigger.⁹⁷ The descriptions of meals at the ambassador's table are very similar to those given by Breuning (they could even serve as sources for the latter). The only difference is that the

⁹¹ Data on ambassadors of the Habsburg Empire in Turkey are based on the following compilation: *Ungnád Dávid konstantinápolyi utazásai* (Constantinople travels of David Ungnad), transl. KOVÁCS József László, notes by FENYVESI László, KOVÁCS József László, Budapest, Szépirodalmi, 1986 (Magyar Ritkaságok) (hereafter: ÖMICH–SCHLENITZ–GERLACH 1986), 339–351.

⁹² Stephan GERLACH, *Tage-Buch der von zweien Glorwürdigsten Römischen Kaysern Maximiliano und Rudolpho, ... an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch ... Hn. David Ungnad ... glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaftt*, Frankfurt am Main, 1674 (hereafter: GERLACH 1674), 426–427.

⁹³ GERLACH 1674, *op. cit.*, 506; ÖMICH–SCHLENITZ–GERLACH 1986, *op. cit.*, 242.

⁹⁴ He was a member of the delegation that set out with Ungnad in 1573, even if another member, Johann von Schlenitz does not list him among members of the delegation: ÖMICH–SCHLENITZ–GERLACH 1986, *op. cit.*, 60–61. Gerlach's diary, however, shows that the "youngster" with the other secretary Wolf Simich mentioned by Schlenitz was him: ÖMICH–SCHLENITZ–GERLACH 1986, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁹⁵ For instance GERLACH 1674, *op. cit.*, 400, 405, 409.

⁹⁶ GERLACH 1674, *op. cit.*, 424.

⁹⁷ First published in 1608. I had access to an edition from 1664: Salomon SCHWEIGGER, *Gezweyte neue nutzliche und anmuthige Reiss-Beschreibung, die Erste nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Darinnen die Eigenschafft der Länder, Flüsse, Städte ... Gebäude, Kunststücke, Antiquitäten etc ... Insonderheit die jetzige eigentliche Form und Gestalt des H. Grabs, der Stadt Jerusalem und anderer H. Oerter ... beschrieben. Auch welcher Gestalt in Gesandtschaftten, die Röm. Kais. Mayest. durch ihre Legaten den Türckischen Ottomanischen Hof und Porta visitiren ... Des Türckischen Reichs Gubernation, Policey, Hofhaltung etc ... in 3 unterschiedliche Bücher abgefasset, auch mit 100 schönen Figuren geziert*, Nürnberg, 1664 (hereafter: SCHWEIGER 1608/1664).

two secretaries are named as Schmeisser and Pezzen (Petz).⁹⁸ Schweigger knows about the latter's career later, and he lists the coming and going residents of the 16th century.⁹⁹ If I was reading carefully, he does not mention Rosa either. Of course, his description reports about the early period of the delegation's life in Constantinople. At the beginning of the second book he discusses briefly some more important events, but then he focuses more on describing customs of the Turks and Constantinople in detail, and the third book is devoted entirely to his travels he made with three companions in 1581. In his travel report he did not attempt to follow events of Constantinople life or politics like Gerlach, the journal-writer of the previous delegation did.

Still, Schweigger, too, certainly knew Rosa. In 1582, Martin Crusius published his poem that saluted Schweigger in Greek and Latin. He attached entries of the album amicorum of Schweigger, too. Numerous eastern acquaintances wrote salutations for this album, a bailo from Venice, one of the Greek interpreters (Crusius criticised his Greek style in a note), and some others. Secretary Schmeisser made an entry in 1579. The following entry is from 1580: "15 ΙςΧς 80. Salus tua, Deus, protegat me. Paulus Rosa, Pannonius, I. C. φιλίας καὶ μνήμης χάριν scribebat haec, ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Ασίας, ἐν ἱερῷ του σωτήρος ἡμῶν. Die palmarum."¹⁰⁰ So Rosa's motto was entered into Schweigger's album on the Sunday before Easter in the year of 1580, that is, on the 27th of March. It happened on the other side of the Bosphorus, on Asian land, in Calchedon. Rosa calls himself a scholar of law, and his usual words of explanation for the entry are translated into Greek.¹⁰¹

Although he has no trace in the embassy documents before the first half of 1578, from Breuning's data it is certain that Rosa filled the position of second secretary of Sinzendorf in July 1579. How and when he got to Constantinople, I don't know. He did not travel with the entourage of the orator either in 1573 or in 1577. When Ungnad set off, he was studying in Jena anyway. From 1574 to 1577 and in 1579, several imperial inter-nuncii visited Constantinople—Rosa might have been a member of one of these delegations.¹⁰²

When Sinzendorf returned in 1581, Rosa, like the other secretary Pezzen, remained in Constantinople. We know this from the album amicorum of Adam Kollonitz, which is kept in the National Széchényi Library (Budapest). This Adam is probably the son of

⁹⁸ SCHWEIGGER 1608/1664, *op. cit.*, 54. Schweigger gives extra information to Breuning: he gives the names of the three Greek interpreters, their places of residence, and the level of their knowledge of languages. In his travelogue, a wood carving shows the embassy building and its location in the town (*ibid.*, 52, 102).

⁹⁹ SCHWEIGGER 1608/1664, *op. cit.*, 65.

¹⁰⁰ Martin CRUSIUS, *Solomoni Schweigkero Sultzensi, qui Constantinopoli in Aula legati Imp. Rom. aliquot annos ecclesiasta fuit... gratulatio*, Strassburg, 1582, D1v.

¹⁰¹ In a strict sense, this is the only written evidence today that shows that Rosa reached Asia even though it could happen several times. We do not know whether spume on the Bosphorus had the same purging effect on him as on Tamás Borsos in 1613; cf. BORSOS Tamás, *Vásárhelytől a Fényes Portáig: Emlékiratok, levelek* (Memoirs, letters), ed. KOCZIÁNY László, Bucharest, Kriterion, 1972², 71.

¹⁰² Another fellow-townsmen of Rosa from Körmöcbánya, Paulus Rubigallus also visited Constantinople as a diplomat decades before Rosa: in 1540.

Ferdinand Kollonitz (†1574), a descendant of the family's Styrian branch, one of those who received baron rank in 1588 and who died in 1612.¹⁰³ He was younger cousin of Johann Bartholomaeus, captain of Eger. He himself was captain in Szádvár; one of his sons, Georg was captain in Eger, the other, Siegfried, cavalry captain in Esztergom.¹⁰⁴ He maintained his album between 1581 and 1598 in Constantinople, Vienna, Eger, and Kassa. The little book, bound in leather in Turkey, was in the possession of his son Otto Gottfried in 1642. In this album amicorum, several familiar names appear among entries made in Constantinople. From among travellers referred to by Crusius, the following people made their entries: Billerbeck in 1581, Dorndorff in 1582, Ambassador Sinzendorf and Major-domo Budovec in 1581, Schmeisser in 1582, Pezzen in 1583 (on 4 November). And we come across a familiar motto dated Constantinople, 7 October, 1583: "15 ΙCXC 83. Salus tua DOMINE protegat me. Paulus Rosa I. V. Licentiatu amiciciae et memoriae causa scribebat. Constantinopolj 7. Octobris."¹⁰⁵

Pezzen rose to become the top-rank official of the embassy in the eighties. However, we do not hear about his fellow-secretary, Paulus Rosa again. Breuning, his one-time acquaintance would not have any new information on him in 1612. When he wrote about those who made entries in 1579, he noted about Pezzen that "Der eine Raht und Secretarius, so nachmals in Anno 1587. auff etliche Jahr selbsten in der Person/ wegen seiner grossen erfarenheit/ für einen Legaten und oratorem alhero verordnet". While he included in his list of ambassadors not only Pezzen but the diplomat who replaced him, too, all he could say about Rosa introducing his entry was: "Der ander Raht und Secretarius schrieb zur gedechtnuß: ..."

It seems that Paulus Rosa doubtlessly worked in Constantinople as an official in diplomatic service. He did not make a career and wasn't promoted. There is no way to know whether it was the desire for such achievements that made him enter service at the embassy. But I think we can point out a reason which may be decisive or partial. Employment at the embassy enabled the youngster to take a journey to the east that he obviously didn't have the sources to finance. And the journey to the east might have had humanistic significance for him.

There is another example for a person who had connection in Augsburg, and whose travel to Turkey from Hungary served humanistic objectives. Hans Dernschwam joined the delegation of the Habsburg Empire to Constantinople and Asia Minor in 1553–1555. He returned with profit from a humanistic point of view: he managed to purchase the codex of Joannes Zonaras Byzantine historian. The codex landed in the Fugger library in Augsburg.¹⁰⁶ Anton Fugger financed publication of the text by Oporinus in Basel in 1557. It was published together with Wolf's Latin translation that underlined the merit of

¹⁰³ Georg Seyfried Kolonitz (†1599) too had a son named Adam in the Austrian branch of the family, but we know nothing more about him. Data: WURZBACH 12, 358, and genealogical tables between pages 364–365.

¹⁰⁴ NAGY I. 1857–1868, *op. cit.*, VI, 301–307.

¹⁰⁵ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Budapest), Oct. Lat. 451, f. 110.

¹⁰⁶ BERLÁSZ 1964/1984, *op. cit.*, in: BERLÁSZ–KEVEHÁZI–MONOK 1984, *op. cit.*, 311.

Dernschwam and quoted his note written on the manuscript.¹⁰⁷ It was this publication that made Wolf the father of German byzantology: among 16th century humanists he was the first to use the word “Byzantium”, calling the attention of his contemporaries to a new area of research, the possibility of a new discipline.¹⁰⁸

Nothing excludes the assumption that Paulus Rosa could have been guided by similar objectives, even if he didn't have much in his possession as former factor of the Fuggers, so he couldn't embark on the journey at his own expense. This youngster of Upper Hungary, whose interest in old Greek language and literature, as we have seen, awakened in Augsburg, put the scholarly reasoning of Wolf, the father of byzantology, and of Crusius, the apostle of philhellenism, into practice. He took admonitions to collect Greek manuscripts, and to discover Greek culture trampled down by the Turks seriously. While the sickly Wolf enjoyed the quiet of his years in Augsburg and Crusius never left Tübingen, Rosa set off to do fieldwork of humanities on location. Thus it is not impossible, that the example of Dernschwam motivated him, and that he embarked on his journey to the east in the hope of similar philological achievement.

Which means, that—in addition to Vienna, Augsburg, and Jena—we need to keep an open eye towards the East, especially connections of Augsburg and of Tübingen with the Turkish Empire, if we want to expose in proper perspective fragments of the life and intellectual orientation of even one Hungarian humanist of the 16th century.

¹⁰⁷ HERMANN Zsuzsanna, *Hans Dernschwam könyvei között* (Hans Dernschwam among his books), *A Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyve*, 4(1968), 167–177, 167; TARDY 1984, *op. cit.*, in: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984, *op. cit.*, 52, 66. Dernschwam's copy of the print: BERLÁSZ–KEVEHÁZI–MONOK 1984, *op. cit.*, 127 (no. 327/7065). On more recent readers of the copy in Vienna: TARDY 1984, *op. cit.*, in: DERNSCHWAM 1528–1563/1984, *op. cit.*, 65.

¹⁰⁸ This fact made the organisers of an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2004 choose the year 1557 as a borderline between two eras; cf. Sharon E. J. GERSTEL, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (The Aesthetics of Orthodox Faith)*, *Art Bulletin*, 87(2005)/2, 331–341.