Summary

This text sheds a new light on the origin of Latin humanist and poet from medieval Slavonia. Most authors so far agreed on the birthplace of Ianus Pannonius being Cesmica nearby Cazma. However, some historians believe he was either born in the village of Kesinci, near Djakovo, or in (now non-existing) settlement Kestenci, nearby the village Aljmas of today, at River Drava intake into Danube River.

Most recent theories link Janus Pannonius to the now-gone settlement Sredna of the then Krizevci county.

However, the author here offers some new solutions to this issue. The new theory of this author is, that the famous humanist, poet governor and bishop Ianus Pannonius actually originated from the village Komarnica in Podravina region.

The text provides research on two men, Mihael Vitez and Ivan Vitezic, presumably the brothers of Ianus Pannonius.

The research comes up with a logical proposition, that Ianus Pannonius be given another Croatian name along with Ivan Cesmicki - namely, Ivan Komarnicki (ie, of Komarnica).

The entire parentage or family name should, therefore, be Vitez Cesmicki (meaning, peers of Cesmica).

Due to relatively small number of historical resources and their ambiguity, the author, open for criticism of his arguments and hypotheses, invites further review of his theory.

Key words: origin, poet Ianus Pannonius, village Komarnica, family Vitez (peers), hypothesis.

Was Janus Pannonius (1434 - 1472) actually born in Komarnica, Podravina? New theory on his family and origins

Based on analysis of historical sources and so far published works, the author tries to confirm a hypothesis, that the famous humanist, poet, governor and bishop Ianus Pannonius was actually born in Komarnica, Podravina.
The famous humanist Ianus Pannonius, better known in literature as Ivan Cesmicki, was born 29 August, 1434. His father died 1440, when little Ivan was only 6 years old.1 After his father's death, he was raised and educated by his uncle, Ivan Vitez of Sredna (1405 - 1472). The grandfather of Ianus Pannonius (father of Ivan Vitez of Sredna) was a secretary of Ivan Hunjadi, governor of the Croato-Hungarian dual monarchy (1446 - 1452) and the father of future king Matija Korvin. At the age of 13, his uncle sent him to school in Italy, where he spent 11 years in Venice, Padua and elsewhere, but mostly in Ferrara, as the student of famous humanist and teacher of languages Guarino da Verona (Guarino Veronese, born 1374 - died 1460).

Having an excellent progress in his studies of Latin and Greek languages and literature, Ianus Pannonius at early age developed into a witty and productive writer and poet. His poetry, full of enthusiasm, beauty and harmony, was so gifted that it earned him a title of the greatest Latin poet of his time. After studies, he returned to his homeland, and thanks to his uncle, he held several positions, i.e. he was the dean of Varazdin church (in 1459 he became the bishop of Pecs).

He spent little time in his diocese, as the king Matija Korvin wanted him at the court in Budim, so he joined the royal household of many Croatian courtiers, led by Ivan Vitez of Sredna.

Following the king's wish, Ianus Pannonius joined the royal delegation in Rome, who went to pay respects to the Pope Paul II. and ask him to help the king in his war with the Turks.

In Italy Ianus Pannonius visited old friends and re-established broken ties. Further, he acquired a number of important Latin and Greek scripts, which gave him an impetus to pursue humanism sciences. In 1468 he was one of the courtiers of the king Matija Korvin, accompanying him in the war against the Czech king Podebrad.

In 1469 - 1470 Ianus Pannonius was a co-governor of »entire Slavonia«, jointly with Ivan Thuz. After that period, Croatian and Hungarian nobility started showing their dissatisfaction with the king's unrestricted rule. Both Ianus Pannonius and Ivan Vitez of Sredna joined rebellion with a push to overthrow the king and inaugurate a new king Kazimir, the son of the Polish king.

Ianus Pannonius escaped to a shelter in Medvedgrad, with Osvald Thuz, the bishop of Zagreb. He died there on 30 November, 1472. He was buried inside the friary church of Remete.

The poems of Ianus Pannonius were found by Stjepan Brodaric (Heresin around 1480 - Vacz 1539), who was studying in Padua; he copied them and tried to have them printed, without success.2

Ianus Pannonius and his origins have been a subject of many hypotheses and essays. The only unquestionable fact about him was his roots, originating from medieval Slavonia. In the work Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421 - 1498), »Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV«, being a collection of

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1 This is obvious in his poem »Death of Barbara«: the verse 158 describes how in year 1463 the mother of Ianus Pannonius had been a widow for 23 years. Source: Croatian Latinists - Ivan Cesmicki, edited by Darko Novakovic, published in Zagreb, 1994, 17.

biographies, Ianus Pannonius is referred to as of «nazionale schiavo». Ivan Vitez of Sredne, the uncle of Ianus Pannonius, had a friend, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who later became the Pope Pio II.

He claimed that both Ivan Vitez of Sredne, and his nephew Ianus Pannonius, were of Slav origins («horum tamen originem Slavonicam ferunt»).

Most authors agree on the birthpace of Ianus Pannonius, as the village Cesmica, nearby today’s town of Cazma.

However, there are some opinions that place him either to the village Kesinci, nearby Đakovo, or to the now-gone village of Kestenci, nearby today’s place of Aljmas, the intake of river Drava into Danube river.

Most recent research tie him down to the now-gone settlement Sredna in Krizevci county of that time, although some other options are also available.

It is widely believed that Ianus Pannonius belonged to the nobility family of Cesmicki, who had their estates in the region of the then county Krizevci.

On 18 March, 1459 the Pope Pio II (actually the famed E. S. Piccolomini), in his apostolic letter to Ivan Vitez of Sredna, mentions Ianus Pannonius several times. His refers to Ianus Pannonius as a nephew (nepos) of the letter recipient, also calling him Ivan Cesmicki. This is obvious from the following text: «... you cannot

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3 M. Kombol: Foreword: Ivan Cesmicki, Ianus Pannonius, Poems and epigrams, translated by N.Sop, Zagreb 1951, VIII - IX.
4 The following verses by Ianus Pannonius, written in his panegyric to his teacher Guarino da Verona are very interesting:
   «From that part of Slavonia I come from, from where gods/ and faith sent me over to you in my tender age/ the land where
   the fertile plough-fields are gently cut in half/ by the river Drava, just before it loses its name and waters into the mightier
   river of Danube». S.Teleki: Iani Pannonii Opusculorum pars altera, Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1784, 28, as per I. Mazuran:
   Where was poet Ianus Pannonius born?, Gazophylacium, 3 - 4, Zagreb 1994, 344; to some authors, these verses are a
   proof, that the poet Ianus Pannonius was born on Drava estuary into Danube; I Toth: Die Genealogie von Ianus
   Pannonius, Acta Literaria Academiae scientarum Hungaricae, vol.14, 3 - 4, Budapest 1972, 377 - 387; D. Svagelj:
   Slavonian literary communication, Osijek 1975, 9; the same location was accepted by I. Mazuran; Where was poet Ianus
   Pannonius born? 344 - 348; the author V. Bazant has a different opinion; see his works «Ivan Vitez and Ivan Cesmicki of
   Sredna, county of Krizevci» (today in Bjelovar county), Croatian kajkavski calendar 1996, Cakovec 1995, 171 - 173; same
5 Cesmica village was at the same time a medieval parish (or county), located east and south of Komarnica, in its vicinity.
Later it was annexed to Komarnica parish (or county). S. Pavivic: Cesmica, Croatian encyclopaedia 4, Zagreb, 1942, 287;
see also T. Radaus: Cesmicki, Croatian biographical lexicon, Zagreb, 1993, 56.
run and care for the church alone and do it all by yourself, not in spiritual, nor earthly matters; thus you
want the beloved son Ivan Cesneci (Johanem Chesmicze), a provost of the church of the diocese, a
doctor of law, your nephew of course, a suitable and experienced man, gifted with sciences, to help you
and be a part of this care as long as you live...«.6

From the legacy of the bishop Juan Carvajalo (1401 - 1470) and his estate, who was a papal legate
in Hungary and Germany, also an intermediary between the Pope Pio II, the king Matija Korvin, his
court and Ivan Vitez of Sredna, the following superscription was saved in his correspondence with the
Pope (a short letter dated 16 February, 1459). The following sentence bears an interesting fact: »As the
city of Pecs did not have a bishop then, we appointed our beloved son Ivan Cesinge as the bishop
there«.7

The author S. Marjanovic believes, that the mentioned letter of the Pope Pio II in the »search for lost
identity«, is not a sufficient evidence of Ianus Pannonius' origins. Marjanovic states that the nephew
(nepos) from the letter is obviously not Ianus Pannonius, but the poet's cousin, Ivan Cesnicki de
Chesnicze, Ioannes Vitez (Vitesius) Junior. Therefore, Ioannes Pannonius alter, at the same time in
Padua, in the shoes of a bishop, but not in Pecs, but in - among others - Srijem... The same author
believes that »the first correspondence reference to Ianus' family name (due to Latin-German orthogra-
phy, Croatian spelling of his last name was changed) is known to Carvajalo and in his opinion it is an
authentic one (strengthened by his validation in eschatology: Ita est. Jo(annes) Card(dinalis) S. Angeli
Legatus), must refer to him, neither to reiteration of his candidacy for a bishop in intervals, nor to Ivan
Vitez Jr (Cesmicki), of Kalocka diocese, the titled provost«.

In general, S. Marjanovic tried to prove that Ivan Cesmicki and Ianus Pannonius were two different
persons.8

By doing this, he opened a problem, which can be only dealt by renewed valorization of all availa-
blesources, and with a critical review of all previous writings on Ianus Pannonius. Getting into this
complex problem here would not have a point or a purpose.

Here, we are interested in possible origins Ianus Pannonius. Later on, we shall make a hypothesis,
that he actually was born into a Vitez family of Komarnica.

The Hungarian humanists of XVI Century, with the bishop Nikola Telgedi (Nicolaus Telgedinus)
among them, Szent-Ivanyi and Janos Zamboki (Ioanenes Sambucus) refer to the poet Ianus Pannonius
as »Vitesorum gente«, calling him Vitez.9

J. Hamm stressed out that another author, Baltazar Adam Krcelic, in collaboration with Hungarian
historians and Daniel Conides, wrote the work »Scriptores ex Regno Sclavoniae«, stating that Ianus
Pannonius belonged to »Nobilis Vitezorum familiae«; Pannonius' biography was titled as »Ioannes Vitez«.10

M. D. Birnbaum warned (based on Hamm's warnings) of new discoveries of the poet's manuscripts
in Sevilla, which are referred to by Hungarian scientists as the poet's work of Ivan Vitez, family relat-
ed to Ivan Vitez of Sredna from his father's side of family. The same author suggests, that it would be
best to refer to the poet as »Ianus Pannonius«.11

As for his family ties, the suggestion was that Ianus Pannonius was related to the nobility family
Vitez both from his father's and his mother's side.

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9 J. Koler, unknown, 4.
10 J. Hamm, Die Praesenz Ungarus in Nord-Italien zur Zeit Ianus Pannonius, Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientarum
11 M. D. Birnbaum: unknown, 18 - 19, notes 41.
Reviewing and analyzing different theories, S. Marjanovic wrote: «His nomen proprium the poet chose himself: Iohannes Vitez Pannonius. Therefore, Ivan - not Jan, Vitez - not Cesing(e) (Kesinac), Pannonius, not Ungarus. In this way the poet confirmed the two things: first, he did not discard the nobility name out of wantonnes- on the contrary, he was proud of it, as Pannonius apud Italos; second, as Ivan Vitez of Pannonia, he was his own witness».

Further to the mention of his name, in 1468 Ianus Pannonius (Ivan, the bishop of Pecs), and his brothers Mihael and Ivan are mentioned in relation to the estate Cesmica.

As a proof of Ianus having brothers, there is a poem to witness this, «Death of Barbara», written in 1463, where the poet in his verse 91 says «beside me she had two other children» - referring to older children, most probably male ones from Ianus Pannonius’ family; the verse 11 shows that Barbara died on 10 December, 1463; the notes 12, the editor mentioned Ivan (Ianus Pannonius) having two brothers, bother older than him, and a sister.

In the verse 120, there is a remark of «sorrowful daughter», obviously Ianus’ sister; the verse 135 says «poor sisters still unwed», thus Ianus Pannonius must have had several sisters.

If we know that family head, Petar, died in 1440, when Barbara was 37, in 1463 the mentioned unwed daughters must have been at least 23 years old. The fact, that Barbara did not have children with other men, is proven by the following verses 153 - 158: «An honest life you lived, of shiny significance, everyone you helped, the God you worshiped, and to husband truly you were faithful. A widow till the end of life, a proof is hard», a widow you remained, until the sun turned four times a five-year period, and plus three autumns.

These verses show, that the sisters in that time were of age for marriage. The role of mother and her relation to her daughters is obvious from verses 136 - 138: «Family still in need of your advice, who will teach the young of domestic chores? their gentle girlhood who will keep safe?» These references can be a good contribution to historical demography and knowledge of everyday life in this part of medieval Slavonia.

It is an interesting and relevant contribution to knowledge of family life in medieval Slavonia. The family of Ianus Pannonius had at least five surviving children. Giving birth is medieval times was hard and dangerous and the following verse 85 testifies to that: «...childbirth so difficult it might tear up the womb»; or the verse 82: «even though you lived twelve long five-year periods» showing his mother Barbara, born 1403 (since she died at the age of sixty; the expression «twelve long five-year terms» speaks of the age of 60, as a long life for medieval times. The verses 95 - 104 speak of Ianus Pannonius’ education: «as soon as I threaded a more stable walk, my tongue stopped breaking with baby talk, right away you took me to learning, and never let me be idle or lazy whatever you made on your weaving and spinning on me you spent and on my education as soon as I was introduced to reading and writing I surely made progress and proved myself worthy your brother then sent me to Auzonian regions, to further acquire the knowledge of poetry».

From the verses above, stated by the poet himself, we can see his first teacher was Barbara, his mother (who had to have at least an elementary education then). She taught him reading and writing. However, in there we see that she was doing weaving and spinning, and this income she made, she was spending on his son’s further education. It is not clear, whether she spent this money on his teachers or

12 S. Marjanovic, unknown, 112.
15 The same, 14 - 17.
on his books. If it was his tutors, was it his birthplace at the end of XV century having organized education? Or, was it individual scholars (priests?) who were the only ones to teach?

Mihael, obviously Ianus Pannonius’ brother, was recorded as the son of the late Petar "de Chemycz". His name is mentioned in the period 1475 - 1475 as the proprietor or the owner of Bochkafelde and Laztesin estates, giving the estates into collateral with Nikola Pozeski. Therefore, we could conclude that Ianus Pannonius’ father was named Petar. In some other records the brother of Ianus Pannonius is called Mihael Vitez; he later lived in Zagreb, where in 1483 at Kaptol diocese he served as a highly important preposite (the head of Kaptol) until his death in 1499. As soon as he became a preposite, he engaged in reorganizing the Kaptol. In 1487 Mihael interrupted his work at Kaptol, went to Italy (where he had been living occasionally before) and on 1 October, 1487 managed to pass the doctorate in canonic law in Padua bishop palace ("privatum examen et doctoratus in iure canonico") According to registers of Padua university, we find that master Mihael Ugrin, son of master Petar Vitez of Komarnica, a senior preposite and a dean of Zagreb church - »domini Michaelis Ungari, nati domini Petri Vitez de Kamarrcza, praepositi maioris et canonici ecclesiae Zagabriensis« - received his doctorate in canonic law.

When he returned from Italy, he worked on decoration and ornaments of Zagreb cathedral. In the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary he had an altar of St. Gervaise built, the very same where he was laid to rest in 1499.

A few years before his death, in 1492, Ivanis Korvin appointed »the preposite and the doctor Mihael«, along with some others, a judge in a civil case. Therefore, Mihael has the family name of Ugrin, indicating that he belongs to the Hungaro-Croatian dual monarchy; this is how students’ citizenships were determined in the registry of Padua university; besides, it was important to notice that his father was Petar Vitez of Komarnica, being the father of Ianus Pannonius at the same time. The very same peer Petar also used the family name Vitez, which - as we had proven - was quite common in Komarnica; however, he also signed his name as »de Chezmycz«, in the same manner as Ianus Pannonius, thus as Cesmicki.

It is possible, that this particular branch of Komarnica nobility, from the family line Vitez, and who held the estates Cesmica, also bore the name of Cesmicki. Since his well-known uncle Ivan Vitez of Sredna was also a member of the Vitez family branch, his sister - the mother of Ianus Pannonius - Barbara, must have also been a member of the same family branch.

19 Ivan Vitez of Sredna (1405 or 1408 - 1472) was a bishop of Ostrogon, a humanist, a mathematician and an astrologer. Although his origin and birthplace was discussed relatively often- sometimes lacking a critical viewpoint- we believe there is still a lot of ambiguity and blurred facts, that should be cleared out. He surely was a member of the wider branch of Komarnica family of Vitez. His father was a secretary of Ivan Hunjadi, the governor of the Croato-Hungarian monarchy (1446 - 1452), also the father of Matijas Korvin. Ivan studied in Vienna, Bologna and Padua, and later became the tutor and secretary of Matijas Korvin, but at the same time a main figure at his court; he was also the primate (archbishop) of Hungary and an excellent Latinist; he too was the one who initiated, organized and supported Korvin humanist circle; he founded an academy, a library of brevioraries, manuscripts and books in Budim, as well an university in Pozun (today’s Bratislava in Slovakia). In his late years of life he initiated the rebellion against the king Matijas Korvin in Croatia and Hungary; from extensive literature on him we can list the following M. Kurelac, Cultural and scientific work of Ivan Vitez of Sredna (1405 - 1472); Anthology of Historical institute of JAZU 12, Zagreb 1982, 21 - 34; M. Kurelac: Ivan Vitez of Sredna and his scientific circle in mid-fifteenth century; Anthology of the Fourth Symposium history of sciences Zagreb, Zagreb 1983, 55 - 62; R. Bogisic: Humanism in northern Croatia, Scientific institute Varazdin 2, Varazdin 1988, 411 - 429; M. Kurelac: Ivan Vitez of Sredna, the dean and curator of Zagreb, archbishop of Ostrogon and protector of Zagreb diocese in the times of king Matija Korvin; Zagreb archdiocese and Zagreb, 1094 - 1994, Zagreb 1995, 179 - 199.
If we consider the fact, that the second brother of Ianus Pannonius, Ivan, is referred to in historic sources as Ivan Vitezic of Komarnica (Johannes Wythezych de Kamarcza), from all the above mentioned facts we can make a hypothesis, that Ianus Pannonius too originated from Komarnica.

The entire parentage or family name should, therefore, be Vitez Cesmicki (meaning, peers of Cesmica).

It is clear, that all arguments and hypotheses listed here are subject to criticism. Indeed there is a possibility that the hypotheses will be rejected. Due to relatively small number of historical resources and their ambiguity, it is hard to get closer to truth with more certainty.

First verses of a poem by Ianus Pannonius "De vita et laudibus Guarini Veronensis" - excerpts from the book by V. Klaic: History of Croats, page 77;

Početak pjesme Janusa Panonniusa "De vita et laudibus Guarini Veronensis" (iz knjige V. Klaić: Povijest Hrvata, str. 77)

Let this be only just one try in efforts to get closer to resolving the mystery of Ianus Pannonius, his origins and those of his relatives.

Yet, when we talk of Ianus Pannonius, could he not have been also known as Ivan Komarnicki? Ivan Vitezic of Komarnica might match the previously mentioned brother of Ianus Pannonius, Ivan, who is referred to in 1468 as the one connected with Cesmica estates, if this hypothesis is viable at all. Ivan Vitezic is first mentioned in 1465 in Zagreb documents (taking a journey to the royal court, accompanied by two men, to lodge a complaint and claim non-receipt of canonic dues owed to him for the year 1464). Therefore, prior to this he must have become a dean of the Zagreb cathedral church. Ivan must have been given an important political task by the king, as he was out of the country, when his colleagues jumped at this opportunity and robbed him of his prebend, splitting it among themselves; the king got angry at them, yet they claimed they did it justly and according to their statutes; nevertheless, they had to revert their decision as the king ordered so declaring that all deans, including those in public service, are entitled to all income due to them.

MCZ II, 294.

Verses by Ianus Pannonius on his birth: "A poet I am, born by the deep waters of Drava" (I. Cesmicki, Poems and epigrams, Zagreb 1951, 221) might refer to Komarnica, which indeed was located nearby Drava river. The verses, telling of the poet originating from the part of Pannonia valley, where Drava river gently cuts the valley in half and loses its waters into Danube river, also do not contradict with the hypothesis that Komarnica indeed was his birthplace; the poet probably wanted to say he originated from the part of Pannonia, where Drava flows more steadily and more calmly approaching Danube river.
Ivan Vitezic is mentioned in documents as early as 1465. The very same year he received a doctorate in canon law by the Padua university.

Prior to his studies in Padua, he probably studied in Bologna too. Due to rebellion, led by his close relatives against the king Matijas Korvin, for a long time he was disfavored by the king. Two times he was re-appointed the bishop of Srijem (1482 - 1489; 1493 - 1498), and in the meantime a bishop of Vesprem (1489 - 1493). He also was appointed for the permanent tenure of Vesprem governor, the king's envoy and ambassador with the French court and with the Pope. In 1490 he was appointed to the post of Vienna archdiocese administrator.

Under the emperor Maximilian, in 1493 Ivan Vitezic was appointed the bishop of Vienna. He served both as the royal, and the emperor's great chancellor. By imperial decree, in 1498 on behalf of the Hungarian kingdom he entered a pact with Poles against Turks and Tatars. As a humanist, he participated in «Sodalitas literaria Hungarorum», first at Hungarian court of king Matijas Korvin, afterwards in Vienna, where he was giving public lectures from canon law at Vienna university. Along with Konrad Pickel Celtis he excelled as a member and the president of the society «Sodalitas literaria Danubiana». In his late years of life the king Vladislav II sent him as an envoy to the stronghold Valpovo. He died in 1499.

Another distinguished humanist from Budim circle and the king's favourite, Galeotto Marzio, dedicated a special chapter of his book «Commentarius elegans Matthiae Corvini (1485)» to him, his former student. Vitezic was also well known to Italian humanists.

Sažetak

Je li Janus Pannonius (1434. - 1472.) rodom iz Komarnice u Podravini?

Hrvoje Petrić


23 I. K. Tkalcic: Historic monuments of the free royal city Zagreb, Monumenta historica civilitatis Zagrabiae, (hereinafter MCZ), Zagreb, MCZ II, 294; MCZ III, 292; N. Klaic: Zagreb in medieval times, Zagreb 1982, 522
24 N. Klaic: Zagreb, unknown, 525.