

'THE SCYTHIAN–SARMATIAN WEDDING' AND THE EPITHALAMION OF MICHAEL VERANCIUS (1539) *

G y ö r g y P a l o t á s

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On 2 March 1539 the Hungarian king János Szapolyai (1487–1540) married Princess Isabella Jagiełło of Poland (1519–1559). A number of wedding poems (*epithalamia*) were written for this event, by poets such as Stanislaus Glandinus, Stanislaus Kleryka, Sebastianus Marschevius, Venceslaus Schamotuliensis, etc. The Croatian (and Hungarian) humanist Michael Verancius also wrote an epithalamion for the occasion. In the first part of the paper a brief historical overview of the royal wedding in Cracow and in Buda is given, followed by a brief description of the genre of epithalamion. Since Verancius' poem has come down to us in two versions, printed and manuscript, the second part of the paper examines and compares these two versions. At the end of the paper a critical edition of the poem is published.

Key words: Michael Verancius, János Szapolyai, wedding poem (epithalamion), rhetoric, generic composition

1. Historical background

Since 1537, it had been frequently suggested by the Szapolyai faction that it would be advisable to contract a marital union between the royal house of Hungary and one of the other European dynasties. Thus a plan was devised for

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King John to marry Isabella Jagiełło.¹ Wolfgang de Bethlen² and Nicolas Isthvanfi³ reported that the king of Hungary accepted the proposed marriage after he had been convinced of it by lengthy persuasion inspired by his counsellors (e.g. chancellor Stephanus de Werbőcz).⁴ Wolfgang de Bethlen stated that Stephanus Brodericus, the Bishop of Vác, and Stephanus de Werbőcz led the delegation for the proposal. The illustrious delegation may have set off from Buda after New Year's Day, and they arrived in Cracow on 15 January 1539.⁵ The marriage settlement was concluded on 29 January.⁶ A symbolic wedding was organised in the Cracovian palace's throne room on 31 January 1539, and a wedding party also took place.⁷ Following this, the Hungarian mounted combatants presented – in their ancient manner – a magnificent melee and a jousting tournament in the spacious castle yard.⁸ Isabella departed for Hungary on 2 February, accompanied by Petrus de Perenius, Stephanus Drueth de Homonna, and Stephanus Brodericus.⁹ The leader of the

¹ Endre Vértes, *Izabella királyné (1519–1559)*, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Budapest, 1901, 25; Pál Szontágh, »Fejedelemasszonyok – asszonyfejedelmek. Izabella Kazimira, Mária Krisztierna és Brandenburgi Katalin uralkodása az erdélyi fejedelemségen«, *Confessio*, 25 (2001), 2, 106–107.

² Wolfgang de Bethlen, *Historia de rebus Transsylvaniae*, editio secunda, t. I, Typis Martini Hochmeister, Cibinii, 1782, 274–275: *Quamquam vero partim aetatis flexu, nempe annum iam agens 52. partim quod adversa valetudine saepius tentaretur, abhorreret a nuptiis, precibus tamen procerum Pannoniae coelitatum abrumpere suadentium ad ineundum coniugium urgebatur: quo delicatissima sobole ex illustri connubio suscepta, ceu preciosissima sanguinis gemma, tum regnum Pannoniae novo splendore augeret, tum domus Szapolyaianae orbitate illius iamiam extinguae (cum et frater eius in Mohásiana clade sine haerede occubuerit) antiquum nobilitate nomen renovaret, [...] Itaque eo inductus est, ut post tot exantlatos labores et diversos inconstantis fortunae toleratos casus, parta quiete, Sigismundi primi Poloniae regis filiam in matrimonium expeteret.*

³ This can be read in his historical work: Nicolas Istvánffy, *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*, liber XIII, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1622, 223: *consilia suorum et potissimum Stephani Verbecii, cui multum tribuebat, sequutus, caelitatum abrumpere decrevit, et animum ad nuptias ducendamque coniugem applicuit.*

⁴ Teréz Oroni, »Principissa. Fejedelmi feleségek Erdélyben«, *Rubicon*, 4 (2008), 72. Paolo Giovio da Como (1483–1552) also emphasized this. Paolo Giovio da Como, *Delle istorie del suo tempo* (tomo secondo), appresso Giovan Maria Bonelli, in Venetia, 1560, II, 531.

⁵ E. Vértes, *op. cit.* (1), 29; P. Szontágh, *op. cit.* (1), 106; T. Oroni, *op. cit.* (4), 72.

⁶ *Libri Legationum* vol. VI, fol. 67v–72v; for the manuscript, see BCzart. sign. 56, fol. 475–484.

⁷ E. Vértes, *op. cit.* (1), 31; W. Bethlen, *op. cit.* (2), 276–283.

⁸ A Transylvanian chronicler noted this event, see »Album Oltardianum«, *Deutsche Fundgruben zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, ed. Jenő Trauschenfels, Kronstadt, 1860, 16.

⁹ N. Istvánffy, *op. cit.* (3), 223: *Qui cum in proximo esset, Ioannes ad deducendam sponsam legatos misit, eundem Brodericum ac Petrum Perenium et Stephanum Homon-*

Polish soldiers was Petrus Opaliński and the head of the delegation was Stanislaus Tarło, the Bishop of Przemyśl. They arrived at Csepel Island from the direction of Kassa (Slovakian Košice) on 19 February. King John I received the Polish princess personally. From there, they travelled to Buda. The wedding and the coronation took place in Székesfehérvár on 2 March 1539.¹⁰ Pál Váradi, the Archbishop of Esztergom, presided at the coronation ceremony and marriage celebration. The official wedding party was held in Buda on 3 March. There Antonius Verancius (1504–1573), the Provost of Óbuda and royal secretary, gave his acquaintances the epithalamion written by his younger brother, Michael Verancius (1513/14?–1571).¹¹ Although many poets wrote *epithalamia* for the wedding of John and Isabella, only Michael Verancius reports to us on the journey of the delegation and the ceremony in Poland in more detail.¹²

2. The genre of the epithalamion

Humanist literature flourished in Poland between 1470 and 1543. Many works were composed in accordance with the rules of ancient literary genres and were in various ways influenced by the classical heritage.¹³ Several ancient and medieval poetic examples¹⁴ as well as a number of rhetorical treatises¹⁵ were available for the

niam cognomine Drugetum, iique eam e Polonia Cassoviam, atque illinc Budam magnifico apparatu et luxu deduxerunt, Budaeque tridui quiete sumpta, Albam contenderunt, qua in urbe Ioannes eorum adventum expectabat; eo consilio, ut una cum nuptiis coronatio quoque novae nuptiae simul perageretur.

¹⁰ E. V e r e s s, *op. cit.* (1), 44–50; P. S z o n t á g h, *op. cit.* (1), 106; T. O b o r n i, *op. cit.* (4), 72.

¹¹ E. V e r e s s, *op. cit.* (1), 53. Endre Veress reproduced the front page of this rare printed booklet in facsimile.

¹² Noémi P e t n e k i, »Brodarics István alakja a lengyel forráskiadványokban«, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 110 (2006), 1–2, 195.

¹³ For the *epithalamia* written in Poland in the sixteenth century, see, for example, Michał B e r g m a n, *Polsko-Łacińskie epithalamijum*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, 1928, 185–205; Maria C y t o w s k a, »Nowe uwagi o humanistycznym epithalamium«, *Meander*, 15 (1960), 535–547; Mieczysław B r o ż e k, *Szesnastowieczne epithalamia Łacińskie w Polsce*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków, 1999.

¹⁴ For ancient Greek authors, see Hom. *Il.* 18,491–496; 24,57–62; Sapph. *frag.* 104–117; Theocr. *Id.* 18; Anacreon, Stesichorus, Pindar, etc.; for the Romans, see Catull. c. 61; 62; 64; Stat. *Silv.* 1,2; Aus. *Cento nuptialis*; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epithalamium Ruricio et Iberiae dictum* and Claudian. *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae*, etc. This genre also appeared in Early Christian and early medieval literature; see Dracontius, *Epithalamium in fratribus dictum*; Ennodius, *Epithalamium dictum Maximo V.S.*; Venantius Fortunatus, *De domno Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina*, etc. These poetic models were followed by modern authors such as Julius Caesar Scaliger, Jacopo Sannazaro, and Edmund Spenser, etc.

¹⁵ Primarily the rhetorical works of the members of the younger generation of sophists, such as pseudo-Dionysius, Menander Rhetor, Chorikios of Gaza and, in particular, Himerios. See ps.-Dionysius, *Technē rhētorikē*, 2; *Methodos gamēliōn*, 4; *Methodos epithalamiou*;

early modern authors who wanted to imitate the genre of the wedding poem (gr. ἐπιθαλάμιον, lat. *epithalamium*).¹⁶ At the same time, the epithalamion reflected the current wedding customs and a definite occasion for which it was written.¹⁷ The genre evolved from the ludicrous rural songs connected with the Greek and Roman wedding ceremonies. The word ἐπιθαλάμιον was first used in Alexandrian Hellenistic poetry. Later the epithalamion lost its lyric quality and became a species of rhetorical panegyric.¹⁸ The Roman model of the wedding poem was widespread in Neo-Latin and vernacular poetry in the period of Renaissance and Baroque.¹⁹ Such occasional poems multiplied in the conditions of the aristocratic patronage in the early modern period.²⁰ It is therefore no wonder that several poets presented their wedding poems to the royal court in the Cracovian palace's throne room on 31 January 1539. The poems of Stanislaus Glandinus (Aichler, 1519/1520–1585),²¹ Stanislaus Kleryka (Gąsiorek, 1504–1562),²² Sebastianus Marschevius (Marszewski, ?–1545),²³ Venceslaus Schamotuliensis (Szamotulski, c. 1520–c.

Men. Rh., *Peri epideiktikōn*, tract. 2, 13; *Peri epithalamiou*, 14. and *Peri kateunastikou*; Himerios' wedding speech, the *Oratio*, 1, and Chor. *Orationes nuptiales*, 5–6. Cf. Arthur L. W h e e l e r, »Tradition in the Epithalamium«, *The American Journal of Philology*, 51 (1930), 205–223; Sabine H o r s t m a n n, *Das Epithalamium in der Lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike*, K. G. Saur Verlag GmbH, München–Leipzig, 2004, 14–18.

¹⁶ The *epithalamium* (Latin form of Greek ἐπιθαλάμιον from ἐπί ‘upon’ and θάλαμος ‘nuptial chamber’), or *hymenaios* is a specific poem written for the bride on the way to her marital chamber; see Emmet A. R o b b i n s, »Hymenaios«, *Der Neue Pauly*, eds. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, vol. 5, J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart–Weimar, 1998, 784–787; M. B e r g m a n, *op. cit.* (13), 1–8; M. B r o ż e k, *op. cit.* (13), 11–17; S. H o r s t - m a n n, *op. cit.* (15), 14–18.

¹⁷ A. W h e e l e r, *op. cit.* (15), 206.

¹⁸ E. Faye W i l s o n, »Pastoral and Epithalamion in Latin Literature«, *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 35; A. W h e e l e r, *op. cit.* (15), 210.

¹⁹ See, for instance W. Leonard G r a n t, »New Forms of Neo-Latin Pastoral«, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4 (1957), 71–100; Anthony F. D ' E l i a, »Marriage, Sexual Pleasure, and Learned Brides in the Wedding Orations of Fifteenth-Century Italy«, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55 (2002), 379–433; F. W i l s o n, *op. cit.* (18), 35–57.

²⁰ Cf. Thomas D e v e n y, »Poets and Patrons: Literary Adulation in the Epithalamium of the Spanish Golden Age«, *South Atlantic Review*, 53 (1988), 21–37.

²¹ Stanislaus G l a n d i n u s, *Epithalamium Isabellae, florentissimae filiae serenissimi regis Poloniae Sigismundi, ad serenissimum maritum Ioannem Hungariae regem proficiscentis*, Hieronymus Vietor, Kraków, 1539. – Karol E s t r e i c h e r, [Bibliografia Polska] *Polnische Bibliographie*, t. XII, Kraków, 1891–1908, p. 79. Dedication to the Samuel Maciejowski (1499–1550), Bishop of Chełm. Today this wedding poem can be found in Cracow, see BCzart. sign. 250/II.

²² Stanislaus K l e r y k a, *Na weselie królewny Izabelle*, przez Jeronimá Wietora lata, Kraków, 1539. – K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XIX, p. 296. Today it is kept in Cracow, see BCzart. sign. 850/II.

²³ Sebastianus M a r s c h e v i u s, *Epithalamion in nuptiis serenissimi domini Iohannis regis Hungariae etc. et serenissimae virginis Isabellae filiae divi Sigismundi primi*,

1560),²⁴ an unknown author,²⁵ and Michael Verancius were most likely recited at that time.²⁶ Besides this, the congratulatory epistle of Jacobus Ferdinandus Bariensis (1539?–1543?) is also known.²⁷

3. The relation of the two variant readings of Verancius' poem²⁸

The *epithalamion* of Michael Verancius has come down to us in two different forms: as a printed edition and as a manuscript. The library of Biblioteka Czartoryska, Teka Naruszewicza (BCzart) in Cracow has the printed version. For this paper I consulted it from copies in the archive of microfilms of Biblioteka Narodowa (BN) in Warsaw. The title on the frontispiece of the Cracovian printed version of Verancius' work is *Epithalamion Serenissimi Ioannis Hungariae regis et Isabellae reginae per Michaelem Wrantium Dalmatam M D XXXIX*. The crowned coat of arms of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Bohemia adorns the frontispiece (**Fig. 1**). According to the colophon, the book was produced by Hieronymus Vietor's press in Cracow in 1539. Its size is 4° and it comprises six folios (the font is Renaissance

invicti regis Poloniae, Kraków, 1539. – K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XXII, p. 191. For printed work, see BCzart. *sign.* 314/I.

²⁴ Venceslaus S c h a m o t u l i e n s i s, *In nuptiis regis Ioannis et Isabellae*, in officina Ungleriana, Cracoviae, 26 January 1539. Today the work is lost (but perhaps it lurks in some library). – K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XXX, p. 202. Veress also refers to the title of this poem, see E. V e r e s s, *op. cit.* (1), 36.

²⁵ [I z a b e l l a], *Pieśń o małżeństwie królewny Izabelli*, Hieronymus Vietor, Kraków, on 25 December 1539, see K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XVIII, p. 704.

²⁶ Previously, a similar poetic competition had been announced on the occasion of the wedding of Sigismund I and Borbála Szapolyai in Cracow on 8 February 1512. Besides the best Polish poets of the age (e.g. Joannes Dantiscus, Paulus Ioannes de Crosno, Andreas Cri cius), foreigners (Laurentius Corvinus, Georgius Logus, Eobanus Hessus) took part in this competition where the poets competed with each other with their Latin *epithalamia*. Their wedding poems appeared in print in Cracow during February 1512. See Éva Gyulai, »Carmina in arma Zapolyana. Címerversek Szapolyai Borbála lengyel királyné (1512) és Szapolyai János Zsigmond választott király (1567) címeréről«, *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica*, szerk. Enikő Csukovits, Miskolc 2004, 63. For the texts of these works, see M. Brożek, *op. cit.* (13), 60–141.

²⁷ Jacobus Ferdinandus B a r i e n s i s, *De foelici connubio serenissimi Ungariae regis Ioannis et serenissimae Isabellae [...] epistola*, Mathias Scharffenberg, Kraków, 1539. – K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XII, p. 373–374; see BKórn. *sign.* Cim. Qu. 2379.

²⁸ For the text analysis of Verancius' wedding poem (intertextual connections, narrative structure, etc), as well as its references to the Graeco-Roman literary tradition and its place in the humanist literature, see György Palotás, »Az 1539-es krakkói 'nászdalverseny'«, *Corollarium*, t. 1, főszerk. Ibolya Tar, Szeged, 2013, 6–19.

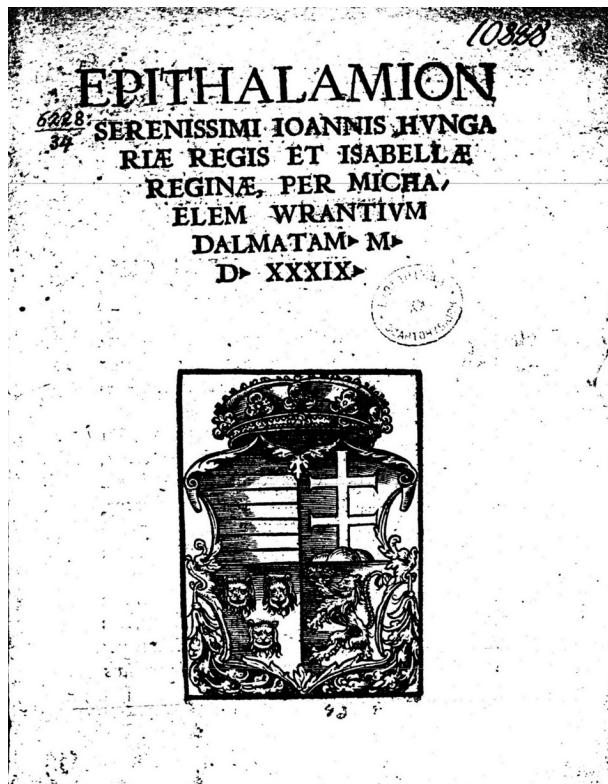


Fig. 1. The frontispiece of the printed edition of Verancius' poem
(BCzart. sign. XVI. 260/II)

Antiqua) with 187 hexameters.²⁹ The poem is preceded by a prose dedication of Antonius Verancius to bishop Stanislaus Tarło (thirty-five lines) (**Fig. 2**).

The manuscript version is found in a collection of Latin poems entitled *Praeludia Michaleis [!] Verantii*, which is kept in the National Széchényi Library (OSZK) in Budapest.³⁰ Besides the epithalamion – here entitled *Ioannis Hungariae regis nuptiae* (**Fig. 3**) – the volume contains several unpublished works of Michael Verancius; none of them were written by his hand. The epithalamion comprises six folios and consists of 216 hexameters; it doesn't have the dedicatory epistle of Antonius Verancius. In 1830, the codex belonged to the personal library of Miklós Jankovich.

²⁹ Károly Szabó, Árpád Helembra and, *Magyar szerzőktől kiiföldön 1480–1711. megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványok*, t. 1, Budapest, 1896, 100; *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, t. IV, Kraków, 1879, p. 36; K. Streicher, *op. cit.* (21), t. XXXIII, p. 352.

³⁰ OSZK sign. Quart. Lat. 776, folio 1r–6v, in sixteenth century.

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO STA:
nislao Tarloni Episcopo Premislien, Cons. Sacra
Regiae Maiestatis Polonie &c. domino suo
obseruantissimo. Ant. Verancius Transil
vaniensis. & veteris Budae Prepositus Re
gni Hungariae Secretarius natus

MICHAEL FRATER MEVS CHA
rissimus, quem scripsisset hoc de Serenissimo Io
anne Rege, & Isabella Regina Augustissima nupti
ale carmen, veritus forsitan non satis pro dignita
te tantorum Principum, neq; pro magnitudine tan
te celebritatis cecinisse, supprimere statuerat. Ego
& si (q; aliena curem) impudentiae accusabor, ut po
te ad id officij non requisitus, pati tamen nunquam
possum, vt n, quorum opera Principum meorum,
aut res gestae, aut memoria posteritati, quamuis etia
exili voce cōmemorantur, in lucem non referentur,
præsertim vero, ne hic frater meus hac indigna in
genuo viro verecundia aspergeretur, quum & fortu
na audaces iuuat, & ipsi etiam Dñ salsa pauperum
mola ac rusticorum lacte, tum coli, tum augeri se se
existimat. Clam igitur ipsum carmen sustuli, tibi q;
in signum meæ assiduæ obseruantiae, qui & integri
tate & eloquentia, eruditione q; singulari prædictus

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Fig. 2. Dedication of Antonius Verancius to Stanislaus Tarło
in the printed edition (BCzart. sign. XVI. 260/II)

30

CIoannis Hungarie Regis Nuptie?

Cui iam securus rex regni poterit,
 T altag. Iannae, nō trahita sceptra temerat
 P inenit: videns etiam tuum consipere spectans
 R egalis trahamus, placido sic munimur' fatus.
 Siccus bellorum strigitus, insaniaq. amantis
 P relia semper agam. squalusq. renouere semper
 C agnomento acies? alio me flittor' curas?
 N ec pectus lajave' iocis? nec posvere' finem
 T ot desudatis quindeg. laboribus ultum?
 A ut si regnum, nūc ferri et sanguinis' males
 S tane' neguit: saltem granibus felicia rebus
 M isere', et quanto' licet, del' cogeri' fata
 I n melius, q̄tq. animi' pertusa' dicare.
 T alia non tristi' secū, aut mente' volentat
 M agnanimus princeps: sensit iam saucia dñi
 I gne' cupidinos, quidam promittere blandiu'
 P etiora: et q̄tmo' traxit suspiria corde?
 Q ualia ut castam possent flexisse dimissa.
 E rgo alacris primos praeconū' inbet vnde'q. adesse?

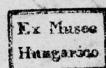


Fig. 3. Manuscript of Michael Verancius' poem (not his autograph)
(OSZK sign. Quart. Lat. 776, fol. 1r)

A number of differences can be noticed between the two variants of the poem. They can be explained by several reasons. It seems obvious that Michael Verancius attended the events in Cracow and the poetic competition there.³¹ While the printed version was published in Cracow at the beginning of 1539, the manuscript is undated. It probably postdates the printed version, which can be concluded from the differences in the content of the two variants. After Verancius got acquainted with the poems of his fellow-poets, he made some alterations and interpolations in his own text. He most likely read the poem of Marschevius³² about the tournament, which inspired him to extend his own description of it between lines 109 and 127. Reading the works of other poets, he inserted seven bucolic lines (30–36) which describe the howling winds and the continual variation of years. Verancius surely travelled to Hungary with the delegation of Isabella; this is confirmed by the interpolation containing the precise geographical indication (*gelidi sinuosa volumina Popruth*) in line 70, as well as by the description of crossing the Danube and the magnificent welcome in Buda (lines 190–196). Thus the main differences in the two versions consist of interpolations and supplements. Those extending to the whole lines are the following: omissions from the manuscript (133–134 and 151–152), interpolations in the manuscript (1–4, 10, 30–33, 35–36, 70, 173, 190–196), and more detailed descriptions in the manuscript (109–118, 120–127, 144–147). In some cases only a word was changed (quite often by using a synonym) or the sentence structure was altered, for example in lines 11, 20, 66, 68, 174, 205–206 and 213–214, etc.

4. Principles of this edition

The basic text for this edition of Michael Verantius' epithalamion is the manuscript copy from OSZK. The differences between the two versions are given in the footnotes. In the publication of Verantius' text the conventions of classical Latin orthography have been adopted and the punctuation has been modernised. All abbreviations have been resolved without indication. The footnotes are exclusively philological in nature, except for the proper names.

³¹ Antonius Verancius wrote a letter to Michael in Buda on 18 February 1539. His brother's place of residence is not mentioned in this letter, but he emphasizes that he would like to inform Michael of the events in Hungary and Transylvania during his absence. See *Monumenta Hungariae Historica Scriptores* seria II, t. IX; Antal V e r a n c s i c s, *Összes munkái*, t. VI, eds. László Szalay, Gusztáv Wenzel, Pest, 1860, nr. I. (hereafter MHHS): *his de rebus ac tumultibus Hungariae et Transsylvaniae multa, donec tu in Italiam et in Gallias exurris, memoraverim.*

³² Sebastianus M a r s c h e v i u s, *De ludis equestribus, quos exhibuerunt Hungari in nuptiis Serenissimae Virginis Isabella etc*, Hieronymus Vietor, in Cracow on 28 January 1539. – K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.* (21), t. XXII, p. 191. For the singular copy, see BKórn. sign. Cim. 2205.

5. The Texts

5.1. Dedicatory letter of Antonius Verancius to Stanislaus Tarło, Bishop of Przemyśl

Cracow, at the beginning of 1539³³

Printed version: BN E. XXXIII. 352, (mf. 2207) from the BCzart. *sign.* XVI. 260/II.

Antonius Verancius recommends the work of his brother to bishop Stanislaus Tarło. Michael intended to narrate the wedding of King John I and Isabella Jagiełło in accordance with their dignity. As a patron of literature, Antonius supports the poets so that the stories of John's reign do not fall into the obscurity of oblivion. Fortuna favours the bold, hence he sends his brother's wedding poem in private to Tarło so that he might give an opinion on it with his singular honesty, eloquence and erudition.

Reverendissimo domino Stanislao Tarloni,³⁴ episcopo Premisiensi, consiliario Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Poloniae etc., domino suo observantissimo, Antonius Wrancius, Transsilvaniensis et veteris Budae praepositus, regni Hungariae secretarius natus.

Michael, frater meus carissimus, cum scripsisset hoc de Serenissimo Ioanne rege et Isabella regina Augustissima nuptiale carmen, veritus forsitan non satis pro dignitate tantorum principum neque pro magnitudine tantae celebritatis cecinisse, supprimere statuerat. Ego etsi (quod aliena curem) impudentiae accusabor, utpote ad id officii non requisitus, pati tamen numquam possum ut ii, quorum opera principum meorum aut res gestae aut memoria posteritati quamvis etiam exili voce commendantur, in lucem non referantur,³⁵ praesertim vero ne hic frater meus hac indigna ingenuo viro verecundiaaspergeretur, cum et fortuna audaces iuvat, et ipsi etiam dii salsa pauperum mola ac rusticorum lacte tum coli, tum augeri sese existimant. Clam igitur ipsum carmen sustuli tibique in signum meae assiduae

³³ Only the year is on the printed version. The dedication and the following wedding poem were most likely published – in a narrow sense – between 15 January (the Hungarian delegation's arrival in Cracow) and 2 February (Isabella's departure for Hungary).

³⁴ Stanislaus Tarło (1480–1544) was the Bishop of Przemyśl between 1537 and 1544, and secretary of King Sigismund I, see *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi...*, ed. Conradus Eubel, t. III, Monasterium, 1923, 279. He is a known humanist poet. He wrote a poem entitled *De bello Pruthenico* about the war of Albrecht Hohenzollern, see Przemysław Pytlak, *Tajemnice archiwum parafialnego w Końskowoli*, TODK Fara Końskowolska, Końskowola, 2009, 16. Antonius Verancius wrote several letters to him at the end of 1530s, when Tarło was head of the Polish delegation which accompanied Isabella to Hungary with Petrus Opaliński. Opaliński was castellan of Gnézen and marshal of the younger Polish king. Cf. the letter of Antonius Verancius on 29 November 1539, see MHHS t. VI, nr. XXVII; E. Verves, *op. cit.* (1), 39.

³⁵ referantur: referentur BCzart

observantiae, qui et integritate et eloquentia eruditio neque singulari praeditus es ac me tanta benevolentia prosequeris quantam eisdem hactenus minime promeritus sim, dedico. Quod alioqui meo licet nomine nuncuparent, animo tamen utriusque Wrancii velim acceptum iri. Ceterum si in te colendo venerandoque tam repente nimis audax visus fortasse fuero, ingenio tuo candidissimo ac tuae erga omnes bonos humanitati imputabis, qui non solum ad amandum se facundia homines allicis, verum etiam praesentiae gratia devincis. Vale.

5.2. [Michael Verancius:] *Ioannis Hungariae regis nuptiae*
 [sine loco], [at the beginning of 1539?]³⁶

Manuscript: OSZK, Budapest, *sign. Quart. Lat. 776*, folio 1r–6v

Printed version: BN E. XXXIII. 352, (mf. 2207) from the BCzart. *sign. XVI. 260/II*

After John was officially recognized in his kingdom, he starts thinking about the marriage. The time for peace has come after countless wars. Ferdinand I (Germanus) entered into an alliance with King John in order to be able to attack the common enemy, namely the Turks. Delegates go to Sigismund I the Old of Poland to ask for the hand of the Polish princess Isabella Jagiełło for the Hungarian king. Three Hungarian noblemen guide the prestigious delegation, followed by a numerous and rich cortège of young people. There is a feast and entertainment at the royal court in Cracow. A Hungarian chivalric contest and a tournament of knights are organized on the second day. Then the marriage settlement is concluded. The Polish king takes farewell of his beloved daughter with a heavy heart. He desires a long and lucky life for her. Isabella departs for Hungary. Crossing the Carpathians, she arrives in Buda. The Hungarian nobility welcomes her at the palace and wishes her all the best. They remind her of the former greatness of the Scythians whose ancestry dominated the whole of Asia a long time ago. Neither the Macedonians, nor the Romans were able to conquer them. Not a humble and weak, but a most brave and strong race will stem from the 'Sarmatian-Scythian league'. Their successors will have one goal: restraining the wild Turks and extending the country's borders.

Cum iam securus rerum regnique potiti,
 factaque Ioannes,³⁷ non tradita sceptr'a teneret,
 Pannoniae viduos etiam nunc compare spectans
 regales thalamos placido sic murmure fatur:³⁸

³⁶ Neither the date, nor the place is marked in the manuscript version. The interpolation of the welcome in Buda (between lines 190–199) probably denotes the modification of the printed version after 19 February 1539.

³⁷ A diaeresis can be found over the character *o*. Similarly in lines 90 and 99.

³⁸ Cum iam murmure fatur. *om. BCzart*

5

‘Siccine bellorum strepitus insanaque Martis
 proelia³⁹ semper agam? Saevasque revolvore⁴⁰ semper
 cagar mente acies? Alio nec flectere⁴¹ curas?
 Nec pectus laxare iocis? Nec ponere finem
 tot desudatis quandoque laboribus ullum?
 Aut si regnorum, nisi ferro et sanguine moles⁴²
 stare nequit:⁴³ saltem gravibus felicia rebus
 miscere, et quantum liceat vel cogere fata
 in melius, laetisque animum pectusque⁴⁴ dicare.’⁴⁵

10

Talia non tristi secum⁴⁶ dum mente volutat
 magnanimus⁴⁷ princeps, sensit iam saucia dudum
 igne Cupidineo quiddam promittere blandum
 pectora, et ex imo traxit suspiria corde,⁴⁸
 qualia vel castam possent flexisse Dianam.⁴⁹
 Ergo alacris primos procerum iubet undique adesse,
 iiisque haustos gestit depromere pectoris ignes⁵⁰
 atque ita: ‘Si quicquam saevi durive laboris
 invicti tulimus, testis mihi conscientia mens est.
 Vester amor patriaeque simul sufferre peringens
 hortata est pietas. Vobis donasse labores
 haud piget, ac⁵¹ nunc iam per⁵² tot discrimina nostrum
 obiectasse caput laetor, pacemque per⁵³ arma
 obtinuisse⁵⁴ iuvat. Nec vos Germanus,⁵⁵ ut ante,
 asper in arma ciet, socias sed iungere vires,

15

20

25

³⁹ proelia: praelia *BCzart*

⁴⁰ revolvore: reducere *BCzart*

⁴¹ flectere: vertere *BCzart*

⁴² Aut si ... sanguine moles *om. BCzart*

⁴³ stare nequit: Incipiam? aut *BCzart*

⁴⁴ pectusque: mentemque *BCzart*

⁴⁵ dicare: dicarem *BCzart*

⁴⁶ non tristi secum: nuper Ioannes *BCzart*

⁴⁷ magnanimus: Pannoniae

⁴⁸ corde: sensim *BCzart*

⁴⁹ Qualia vel ... Dianam: Qualia vel Triviae possent inflectere mentem *BCzart*

⁵⁰ iiisque haustos ... ignes: pectoris, ac teneras gestit depromere curas *BCzart*

⁵¹ ac: et *BCzart*

⁵² per: post *BCzart*

⁵³ per: post *BCzart*

⁵⁴ obtinuisse: invenisse *BCzart*

⁵⁵ Germanus: vicinus *BCzart*, viz. Ferdinand I (1503–1564) was Holy Roman Emperor from 1556, king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526, and king of Croatia from 1527 until his death.

<p>communemque vocat detrudere finibus⁵⁶ hostem. Quis velit aeternis semper se involvere bellis, et curis tenuare brevis solacia vitae? Sed neque perpetuum Boreas sibi vindicat annum, et Zephiro quandoque vices Euroque relinquit.⁵⁷ Quod superest igitur, quod non labor abstulit aevi,⁵⁸ id sibi iam tandem suavis ferat omne voluptas, nec sinat incassum fugientes currere soles.⁵⁹ Sumite gaudentes⁶⁰ animos! Fortuna secundis servatos voluit⁶¹ mala tot, tot vincere casus. Dulce est, si patriae defensae viximus aegre: vivere iam liceat nobis, iam solvere curas. En⁶² ego regales taedas, regalia iungam connubia, ac populos iubeo gaudere per omnem Hungariam, et mecum laetis incumbere rebus! Vos⁶³ mihi Sarmatici praecelsa palatia regni atque arces caelo aequatas, quas Istula⁶⁴ flavo, divisorum sedes miratus, flumine lambit, quaerite, ubi magni natarum maxima regis Sismundi⁶⁵ servat thalamos Isabella pudicos. Illa quidem dudum nobis⁶⁶ sua gaudia servat, illa dabit sobolem vobis per⁶⁷ secula, reges magnanimos, illam sceptris adiungere nostris⁶⁸ munus erit vestrum celebrique inducere pompa! Ut merita est regis coniunx, generosaque⁶⁹ regis progenies veniet fatis Isabella secundis, nec regnis invita volet succedere nostris.⁷⁰</p>	30 35 40 45 50 55 60
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⁵⁶ detrudere finibus: vexare umoribus *BCzart*

⁵⁷ Quis velit ... Euroque relinquit. *om. BCzart*

⁵⁸ Quod superest ... aevi: At nunc quod superest fugitivi cernitis aevi. BCzart

⁵⁹ id sibi ... currere soles. *om.* *BCzart*

⁶⁰ gaudentes: iam laetos *BCzart*

⁶¹ voluit: velint *BCzart*

⁶² en: ecce *BCzart*

⁶³ vos: nunc *BCzart*

⁶⁴ The proper noun Istula refers to the river Vistula in Poland.

⁶⁵ Sigismund I of Poland (1467–1548) of the Jagiellon dynasty reigned as king of Poland and also as the Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1506 until 1548.

⁶⁶ dudum nobis; nobis olim *BCzart*

⁶⁷ per: post BCzart

⁶⁸ Illam sceptris adjungere nostris: Illam nostris adjungere sceptris BCzart

⁶⁹ generosaque: formosaque *BCzart*

⁷⁰ nostris: avorum *BCzart*

At⁷¹ proceres faustas dudum componere taedas
 exoptant laudantque novos in principe amores,
 iamque sibi tali vinclo subsidere bella,
 et pacem et fessis promittunt foedera regnis.⁷² 60
 Protinus ex omni numero, qui principis aulae
 prima tenent, tres regna viri⁷³ petiere Polona.
 Illos agminibus comitum stipata iuventus
 nobilis Hungariae volucres insidere⁷⁴ docta
 quadrupedes cursuque breves⁷⁵ convertere gyros
 subsequitur. Rutilans ardescit purpura⁷⁶ et albo
 instratae incedunt acies fulvoque metallo.⁷⁷ 65

Tandem Pannonios⁷⁸ emensi passibus agros,
 nubiferas superant Alpes pinusque virentes⁷⁹
 frigoribus mediis viduataque vitibus arva
 Sarmatiae et gelidi sinuosa volumina Popruth.⁸⁰ 70
 Iamque propinquabant, ubi pulchra Cracovia turres
 explicat, et mediis circumdata clauditur undis,
 cum subito e speculis conspexit regia pubes
 Pannonios iuvenes campis se effundere totis.
 Fit clamor, laeti plaudunt, et nuntius aulam
 pervolat, atque acies atque exoptata⁸¹ videri
 agmina, quae regis⁸² veniant abducere natam,⁸³
 ii⁸⁴ tristes, hilares alii variataque miscent
 gaudia maestitiamque simul vanumque dolorem.
 Sed postquam placidas implevit nuntius aures
 reginae, videntque procos Isabella propinquos, 75
 80

⁷¹ at: iam *BCzart*

⁷² regnis: regni *BCzart*

⁷³ Viz. Petrus de Perenius (1502–1548), Stephanus Brodericus (c. 1480–1539), and Stephanus de Werbőcz (1458/1460–1541)

⁷⁴ insidere: concendere *BCzart*

⁷⁵ breves: levi *BCzart*

⁷⁶ purpura: purpur *BCzart*

⁷⁷ instratae incedunt ... metallo: Spendescunt [!] acies passim, fulvoque metallo *BCzart*

⁷⁸ Pannonios: Pannonicos *BCzart*

⁷⁹ nubiferas superant ... virentes: Per gelidas superant alpes pinctaque vicina *BCzart*

⁸⁰ Sarmatiae et ... Popruth *om.* *BCzart*. The Popruth is the River Poprad in Southern Poland.

⁸¹ exoptata: expectata *BCzart*

⁸² regis: divam *BCzart*

⁸³ natam: nostram *BCzart*

⁸⁴ II: Hi *BCzart*

virgineo primum castus pudor ore cucurrit,
purpureusque simul niveos color imbuīt⁸⁵ artus.
Verum ubi cui⁸⁶ regno, quali regina marito
iungitur expendit, lacrimis immota parentum
et studiis immota piis optata videre
tempora taedorum gaudet castamque⁸⁷ sub alto
pectore laetitiam simulat. Si quando per aures
sponsi nomen iit, tacito succenditur igni.
Nomen Ioannis repetitque libensque revolvit
saepius, inque illo sensus persaepe morantur. 90
Iamque lares patrios, queis⁸⁸ pulchra adoleverat aetas,
posthabet agnotae tantum de nomine Budae.
Non oculos retinet properantibus Istula lymphis,
Danubium⁸⁹ cunctis praefert labentibus undis, 95
Danubium sulcare⁹⁰ cupid. Iamque horrida bellis
Pannonia est secura magis, nil Sarmata mitis,
nil patris fratrisve⁹¹ movent tutissima regna:
omnia Ioanni postponit diva marito.
Ne patriam, ne, virgo, lares contemne paternos;
felix, quae tales producit patria nymphas, 100
quaequae dedit nobis totus quod concinat orbis
mireturque deas arctoo nascier orbe.
Nec⁹² minus illa tamen felix, quae talia dona
accipit, et laetis fruitur cumulata⁹³ diebus. 105
Quid memorem structas epulas, quo regia luxu
tecta fremunt? Genio indulgent et pocula vertunt:
exhausti nihil est, poscenti nulla negantur
laetitiae fomenta, viros vix sustinet aula.
Illa dies epulis levibusque dicata choreis, 110
postera ludorum est et duro tradita Marti.
Hic iuvenum formosa cohors gentisque Polonae
atque aulae decus eximium fulgentibus armis
sublimis volitans hastae certamina poscit.

⁸⁵ imbuīt: occupat *BCzart*

⁸⁶ cui: quo *BCzart*

⁸⁷ castamque: puramque *BCzart*

⁸⁸ queis: quae is *BCzart*

⁸⁹ The proper noun Danubium means the Danube, see in line 96. Its other name is Istrum in line 190.

⁹⁰ sulcare: superare *BCzart*

⁹¹ patris, fratrisve: frater, fratrique *BCzart*

⁹² nec: non *BCzart*

⁹³ cumulata: tumulata *BCzart*

Inter quos sublimis equo, magna arma ferendo,	115
Augustus princeps ⁹⁴ galea processit aperta,	
formosus, viridi dignus regnare iuventa	
audacesque vocans iuvenes in bella coaevos ⁹⁵	
conspicuus campum metuenda circuit ⁹⁶ hasta.	
Hic quidam conferre pedem male robore fisus,	120
atque ausus trifido Sismundi se opponere ferro, ⁹⁷	
everso deiectus equo, resupinus arenas	
sparsit, ut ingentem sonitum daret aula ruinae. ⁹⁸	
Invictum plausu populus regemque salutat	
Augustum. Gaudet victor, spectansque sororem	125
praemia digna petit. Verum illi concita vano	
corda metu pavitant. Post pulsum laeta timorem ⁹⁹	
demittit, sertum gemmis auroque decorum,	
victoremque suo designat munere fratrem.	
Parte alia campis Scythico de more tremendus	130
Pannon adest aliudque fremit, tela altera ¹⁰⁰ vibrat,	
atque alias infert acies. Celer advolat, idem	
vix conspectus abit, pariter ¹⁰¹ fit multus ¹⁰² ubique. ¹⁰³	
Tantus amor pernicis ¹⁰⁴ equi, non aereus umbo,	
non agiles artus armorum pondera tardant, ¹⁰⁵	135
loricaeve graves, ¹⁰⁶ toto sed corpore nudi	
concurrunt hastis, clipeis a pectore tantum	

⁹⁴ The only son of Sigismund I the Old. Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572) was king of Poland from 1548 and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

⁹⁵ viros vix ... bella coaevos: graves quin summere ludos / Gradivumque iocis addis, et ludere Martem / Bellonaque iubes, viridi Sismunde iuventa / integer, et solido consortas robore vires. / Hic magno subinxus equo magna arma ferens. *BCzart*

⁹⁶ circuit: circuis *BCzart*

⁹⁷ Versus claudicat. Coniecerim: ausus Sismundi trifido se opponere ferro,

⁹⁸ Prince Ilia (Elias) Ostrogski (1510–1539) fell from his horse and suffered internal injuries in the tournament of knights. He died a few months later, see N. P e t n e k i, *op. cit.* (12), 196.

⁹⁹ Hic quidam ... laeta timorem: Cunctantesque vocas iuvenes in bella eo quos / et gaudes victis, et praemia digna sororis / expectas. Ast illa metu iam libera vano *BCzart*

¹⁰⁰ altera: alia *BCzart*

¹⁰¹ pariter: pariterque *BCzart*

¹⁰² multus: tumultus *BCzart*

¹⁰³ post ubique *BCzart* Fatigatque graves armorum pondere turmas add.

¹⁰⁴ pernicis: fugacis *BCzart*

¹⁰⁵ armorum pondera tardant: defendit ferrea vestis *BCzart*

¹⁰⁶ loricaeve graves: ferreus aut carcer *BCzart*

protensi, gladiisque ruunt in vulnera¹⁰⁷ curvis.¹⁰⁸
 Ergo adsunt avidi¹⁰⁹ laudis, quos gloria tangit
 et quos nobilitas dignos censebat¹¹⁰ arena. 140
 Nec mora; flammatis¹¹¹ passim¹¹² concurritur hastis,
 horrendum fragor exoritur caelumque remugit.
 Cum iuvenes sensim veros sentire calores
 bellandi studio occipiunt ac pectore vanos
 excutiunt ludos, infesti seria miscent¹¹³ 145
 proelia, nec vano spargentes sanguine terram
 intrepidi puerile vocant sine sanguine bellum¹¹⁴
 reginamque volunt iam tum vidisse cruris
 Pannonios numquam parcus. Certamine tali
 horrescit populus. Mirantur fortia bello
 pectora, quae ludis etiam per¹¹⁵ vulnera gaudent.¹¹⁶ 150
 At regina suos consurgens iam vocat esse
 Pannonios, laudat vires animosque viriles
 et, compressa iras, victores¹¹⁷ laeta coronat.
 Iamque dies aderat, qua missis¹¹⁸ vertere cursus¹¹⁹ 155
 in patriam, qua tempus erat mandata referre.
 Conveniunt proceres longaevi ad limina regis
 Sismundi, poscuntque moras nec nectere perget¹²⁰
 ulterius, redeant tandem¹²¹ cum coniuge pacta
 principis, et gratos nolit¹²² differre hymenaeos. 160
 Ille licet pactam dederat firmataque starent
 pacta fide, illacrimat tamen: et pia et ultima natae

¹⁰⁷ vulnera: bella *BCzart*¹⁰⁸ curvis: recurvis *BCzart*¹⁰⁹ avidi: iuvenes *BCzart*¹¹⁰ censebat: ea censem *BCzart*¹¹¹ flammatis: flammati *BCzart*¹¹² passim: coeunt *BCzart*¹¹³ bellandi studio ... miscent: bellandi studio occipiunt, et pectore ludos / excutiunt sensim vanos, iam seria miscent *BCzart*¹¹⁴ proelia, nec ... bellum: praelia, iam vero profundunt sanguie [!] vultus *BCzart*¹¹⁵ per: post *BCzart*¹¹⁶ post gaudent *BCzart* Quid patriae fecisset amor, cogitare relinquunt add.¹¹⁷ victores: victorem *BCzart*¹¹⁸ missis: nostris *BCzart*¹¹⁹ cursus: cursum *BCzart*¹²⁰ perget: velit *BCzart*¹²¹ tandem: iam *BCzart*¹²² et gratos nolit: optatos nec eat *BCzart*

cura senem tangit, veluti nec mittere posset,
nec retinere velit. Tandem sic pauca profatur:¹²³
 ‘I, felix, felixque tuo sociare marito,
nata, precor, thalamisque habitet concordia vestris.
Ambobusque simul centum regnare per annos
dent superi, tribuant¹²⁴ sobolem longosque nepotes.
O mihi si totidem proferrent numina messes,¹²⁵
quod¹²⁶ satis esse queat¹²⁷ parvum vidisse nepotem
et matrem te, nata,¹²⁸ novam, tum claudere demum
morte diem, et longae componere membra¹²⁹ quieti!
Felici et longo functus non deprecor aevo.’¹³⁰
Sic ait, ac fessis¹³¹ circumdat colla lacertis
maerentis natae, lacrimans vix¹³² deinde resolvens
amplexus tremulos,¹³³ cupientem passus abire est.

Et iam Pannioniam vulgarat fama per omnem
non procul a regni dominam¹³⁴ iam finibus esse
et superasse nives, quas vertice¹³⁵ Carpatus alto¹³⁶
excitat, atque suas vestigia ferre per urbes.
Exultant omnes, omniisque ex parte feruntur.
Nec pars ulla viget regni, non angulus ullus,
quo non fit plausus, quo non venit obvia turba.
Quin etiam longo procedunt ordine matres
Hungariaeque nurus,¹³⁷ quas altis curribus ingens
turba puellarum sequitur. Formosa videri
corpora, sed longe superat formosior omnes

¹²³ According to Wolfgang de Bethlen, the Polish royal chancellor Samuel Maciejowski gave a congratulatory speech on the symbolic wedding on 31 January 1539, see W. B e t h l e n, *op. cit.* (2), 278–281; cf. E. V e r e s s, *op. cit.* (1), 34; T. O b o r n i, *op. cit.* (4), 72. Samuel Maciejowski (c. 1499–1550) was chancellor, Bishop of Chełm from 1539, Bishop of Płock from 1542 and finally Bishop of Cracow from 1546 until his death.

¹²⁴ tribuant: tribuat *BCzart*

¹²⁵ messes: menses *BCzart*

¹²⁶ quod: quot *BCzart*

¹²⁷ queat: queant *BCzart*

¹²⁸ nata: natam *BCzart*

¹²⁹ componere membra: membra committere *BCzart*

¹³⁰ Felici et ... aevo *om. BCzart*

¹³¹ Sic ait, ac fessis: Non piget, ac tremulis *BCzart*

¹³² Lacrimans vix: Lacrimas tum *BCzart*

¹³³ tremulos: longos *BCzart*

¹³⁴ regni dominam: nostris proceres *BCzart*

¹³⁵ quas vertice: dominam, quas *BCzart*

¹³⁶ alto: asper *BCzart*

¹³⁷ nurus: mirus *BCzart*

regina. Ac dubium est, formane an moribus esset
admiranda magis, pariterque excellit utroque.

Sed cum iam sparsum ratibus superaverat Istrum
admoratque pedem regalibus omne fausto
liminibus, stantes miratur nubibus arces,
inclusasque trabes arvo, pavimenta, fenestras
multiplicesque domos amplisque palatia valvis,
accedunt proceres felicia cuncta precantes,
et dominam flexi reverenti voce salutant.¹³⁸

'Salve, Sarmatici proles dignissima regis,¹³⁹
Pannonici regina soli, felixque penates
ingredere antiquos, quibus ingens¹⁴⁰ sceptra tenebat
Romani imperii quondam Sismundus¹⁴¹ et acer¹⁴²
Matthias,¹⁴³ toto qui gestis notus in orbe est,¹⁴⁴
et Ladislavus¹⁴⁵ patruus. Tibi debita regna,
non aliena petis: gentilem sume coronam,
et Maria¹⁴⁶ regnes felicior et Beatrice!¹⁴⁷

Nec te, diva, genus Scythicum moresque recentes
Hunnorum moveant, certe et tua Sarmata gens est,¹⁴⁸
quamvis ampla vigint etiam nunc regna Scytharum,
ut fama est, Asiae semper dominantia magnae.

Nec potuere armis infringi aut viribus ullis,
nec Macedo quondam gentem tentare ferocem,
nec Romana queunt Scythicum dare bella triumphum.

¹³⁸ Sed cum ... voce salutant *om. BCzart*

¹³⁹ Sarmatici proles dignissima regis: Sarmaticis merito praelata puellis *BCzart*

¹⁴⁰ antiquos, quibus ingens: antiquosque is magnus *BCzart*

¹⁴¹ Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368–1437) was king of Hungary and Croatia from 1387, king of Bohemia from 1419, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1433 until his death.

¹⁴² acer: ingens *BCzart*

¹⁴³ Matthias Corvinus (Hungarian Hunyadi Mátyás) (1443–1490), was king of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 until his death.

¹⁴⁴ gestis notus in orbe est: sparsit nomen in orbe *BCzart*

¹⁴⁵ Vladislaus II (1456–1516), also known as Ladislaus Jagiełło, was king of Bohemia from 1471 and king of Hungary and Croatia from 1490 until his death in 1516.

¹⁴⁶ Very likely Maria Anjou (1370–1395) who was queen of Hungary between 1382–1395. Sigismund of Luxemburg married her in 1385.

¹⁴⁷ Isabella, who was brought up in Wawel, was Italian (thanks to being brought up by her mother, Bona Sforza) rather than Polish. Thus she followed Beatrice's example (wife of Matthias Corvinus) when she was married to János Szapolyai and moved to Buda at the age of twenty. See Szabolcs Ö. B. a r l a y, *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról*, Gondolat, Budapest, 1986, 57.

¹⁴⁸ Nec te ... gens est: Non te, quod Scythica duramur origine diva / commoveat quicquam, certe et tua Sarmata gens est. *BCzart*

Et te de Scythico prognatos sanguine reges
poscimus: iis dabitur saevos compescere Turcas,¹⁴⁹
et patriae arctatos cupient¹⁵⁰ extendere fines.
Non humile aut molle dabit fugiensve laborum
Sarmaticum Scythicumque genus, sed fortia cuncta.'

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G y ö r g y P a l o t á s

»SKITSKO-SARMATSKO VJENČANJE« I EPITALAMIJ
MIHOVILA VRANČIĆA IZ 1539.

Ugarski kralj Ivan Zapolja (1487–1540) oženio je 2. ožujka 1539. poljsku princezu Izabelu Jagelović (1519–1559). U čast tog događaja napisano je više svadbenih pjesma (*epithalamia*), kojima su autori Stanislaus Glandinus, Stanislaus Kleryka, Sebastianus Marschevius, Venceslaus Schamotuliensis i dr. I hrvatski humanist Mihovil Vrančić (1513/14?–1571) ispjevao je za tu prigodu svoj epitalamij. U prvom dijelu rada daje se sažeti povijesni osvrt na kraljevsko vjenčanje u Krakovu i Budimu; nakon toga slijedi kratak generički opis epitalamija. Budući da je Vrančićeva pjesma sačuvana u dvije inačice, rukopisnoj i tiskanoj, u drugom se dijelu rada te dvije inačice analiziraju i uspoređuju. Na kraju se objavljuje kritičko izdanje pjesme.

Ključne riječi: Mihovil Vrančić, Ivan Zapolja, svadbena pjesma (epitalamij), retorika, žanrovsко pisanje

¹⁴⁹ iis dabitur saevos compescere Turcas.; ii noscent hostem detrudere regno *BCzart*

¹⁵⁰ arctatos cupient: cupient afflictæ *BCzart*