

## Martinus Thyrnavinus and the Republic of Letters: Some Remarks on the Sources of Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum ad Regni Hungariae Proceres* (1523)

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**M**artinus Thyrnavinus<sup>1</sup> belongs among the most prominent Neo-Latin authors of the Hungarian kingdom<sup>2</sup> in the Jagiellonian period (1490–1526). As indicated by his name, he probably originated from Trnava (Lat. Thyrnavia, Germ. Thyrnau),<sup>3</sup> south-western Slovakia, where the renowned humanist Joannes Sambucus (1531–1584) was born a few years later. Thyrnavinus's biographical data are scarce and only available for the period from 1505 to 1524. He is known to have been a friar of the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Pannonia (Mons Pannoniae, today Pannonhalma in Hungary) as early as 1505, then he appears again in 1514 as a student at the university of Cracow and two years later, in 1516, he studied law at Vienna. He is last mentioned as the former Abbot of the Mount of Pannonia Monastery

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<sup>1</sup> *Martin z Trnavy* in Slovak, *Nagyszombati Márton* in Hungarian.

<sup>2</sup> The Hungarian kingdom, or *Hungaria*, of the early modern period must not be confounded with present-day Hungary. The multiethnic kingdom in which Latin was the official language and a vehicle of culture and politics until 1844 comprised a much larger territory, including the whole of present-day Slovakia. The case of the Hungarian kingdom is analogous to that of early modern Belgium, very well characterized by Jozef Ijsewijn: "Since Belgium is now the English name of a much smaller kingdom, tremendous confusion is created by scholars and translators who render Latin 'Belgium/Belgicus' by English 'Belgium/Belgian'. So doing the meaning of many humanist texts becomes completely distorted, if not absolute nonsense" – *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Part I. Leuven: Leuven University 1990, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> There is also a municipality called Thyrnau in the district of Passau, Lower Bavaria (Niederbayern). The possibility of Thyrnavinus's origin in Thyrnau, Bavaria, is rendered improbable by the fact that Udalricus Fabri Rhetus referred to him as *vir Pannonicus*.

in a record dating to 1524.<sup>4</sup> Compared with other early 16th-century humanists coming from the territory of present-day Slovakia, such as *Andreas Jastrabinus* and *Ioannes Baptista Novosoliensis*, Martinus Thyrnavinus appears to have been a poet of considerable stature owing to the extent of his literary achievement. It is therefore striking how little attention thus far has been paid to this early 16th-century Neo-Latin poet by literary scholarship in Slovakia.<sup>5</sup>

Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum ad Regni Hungariae Proceres* (1523), a poem in three books consisting of a total of 911 elegiac distichs, has been preserved in a single copy now kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Its modern edition, without translation and commentary, was published in 1903.<sup>6</sup> The title page of the Copenhagen copy (see Fig. 1) contains the name of its owner, *magister Melchior Eysenhardt*, who also entered several marginal notes in the book. Though it has no imprint, the Hungarian historian of literature Rabán Gerézdi was able to determine on the basis of its internal signs that the volume was printed by Johann Syngrenius in Vienna sometime between 15 October and 23 November 1523.<sup>7</sup>

The poem came into being as a reaction to the imminent endangering of the country by the Turks who had seized Belgrade shortly before, in 1521, and were proceeding further northward. The historical topicality of Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum* is most graphically illustrated by the fact that he dedicated his poem to Ladislaus Zalkanus (1475–1526), Chancellor of King Louis II and future Archbishop of Esztergom (*Strigonium*) and Primate of Hungary, who fell in the fateful battle of Mohács less than three years later (29 August 1526). The Mohács catastrophe marked the beginning of what Thyrnavinus had foreshadowed in his appeal.

In 1958, Rabán Gerézdi regarded Thyrnavinus's composition as an unoriginal and epigonic piece of writing mainly on account of several quotations from Stephanus Taurinus's *Stauromachia* (1519) found in Thyrnavinus's text.<sup>8</sup> Recently, Farkas Gábor Kiss, following the findings of Gerézdi, has also adverted to the fact that 'parts' of the above mentioned dedication to Zalkanus were 'copied out' from the speech of the Buda humanist Johannes

<sup>4</sup> Rabán GERÉZDI: *Nagyszombati Márton*. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 62, nr. 2–3, 1958, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> The recently published history of Slovak literature by Stanislav ŠMATLÁK, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry I* (Bratislava 2002) does not even mention the name of Martinus Thyrnavinus.

<sup>6</sup> *Martini Thyrnavini opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres*. In: Jenő Ábel – István Hegedűs: *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*. Budapestini: Typis Victoris Hornyánszky 1903, pp. 217–270.

<sup>7</sup> GERÉZDI, *Nagyszombati Márton*, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 139.

Kresling delivered at the Viennese congress of 1515<sup>9</sup> which, in turn, imitated the dedication of the Bolognese humanist Filippo Beroaldo to Petrus Váradi, Bishop of Kalocsa, included in his 1499 edition of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.<sup>10</sup> Hence it might seem that Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum* is a mediocre compilation not worth much scholarly attention. However, when reading the text attentively, one finds out that such assessments are not very well founded. For instance, if we take a closer look at both Kresling's speech and Thyrnavinus's dedication, carefully comparing their wording, we actually learn that there are only a few collocations in the dedication borrowed from Kresling and these, I think, are such as do not in any way suggest Thyrnavinus's dependence on the latter. At best they prove that Thyrnavinus knew Kresling's text.

Furthermore, if we let ourselves be drawn into the rhythm of Thyrnavinus's verse, we can enjoy a truly remarkable poetic experience, which would not be the case if the author were a mere compiler. In fact, the poem is endowed with qualities that attest to the singular character of its author's poetic sentiment. His verses run very smoothly, with only a few elisions, and the author has a certain genius for evoking strong impressions by creating numerous variations of a single theme, thus making the effect of his poem similar to that of a fugue, to use this anachronistic comparison, or that of another musical composition. Immersed in reading Thyrnavinus's suggestive lines, one cannot help feeling an urge to call it a rhapsody.

An analysis of the poem's content is not the subject of the present contribution. Let it here suffice to say that Thyrnavinus depicts the horrors of the Turkish plunder in the first book, praises the virtues of the forefathers of the Hungarian nobility in the second, and calls on his contemporaries to imitate the noble conduct of their ancestors in the third. As regards his sources, classical Roman poetry is represented by quotes from Vergil, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan, Martial and Horace (ordered by frequency). His models from Late Antiquity include Lactantius, Venantius Fortunatus and Boethius.

<sup>9</sup> *Oratio nomine florentissimi Gymnasii ad Reverendissimum Patrem & Dominum Dominum Georgium Quinqueecclesiensium Episcopum, supremumque regni Vngariae Cancellarium pro aduentus sui gratulatione a Magistro Ioanne Kresling Budense (!) habita*. In: *Orationes Viennae Austriae ad Dium Maximilianum Caes. Aug. aliosque illustrissimos Principes, habitae in celeberrimo trium Regum ad Caes. conuentu. Anno. M.D.XV. Viennae Pannoniae: Hieronymus Vietor 1516.*

<sup>10</sup> Farkas Gábor KISS: *Constructing the Image of a Humanist Scholar. Latin Dedications in Hungary and the Use of Adages (1460–1625)*. In: Ignace Bossuyt – Nele Gabriëls – Dirk Sacré – Demmy Verbeke (eds.): *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*. *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* 28. Leuven: University Press 2008, p. 147.

Apart from these, particularly surprising is the number of the contemporary authors whose verses Thyrnavinus incorporated in his *Opusculum*. In addition to the already mentioned Stephanus Taurinus (1485–1519), he borrowed from Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1470–1533), Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471–1528), Joachim Vadian (c. 1484–1551),<sup>11</sup> Publio Fausto Andrelini (c. 1462–1518),<sup>12</sup> Valentinus Ecchius (1494–1556), and probably also from Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540). His humanist sources were no doubt more numerous and they may be detected by further research.

A quote from Vadian in Thyrnavinus's poem is especially interesting as it may confirm Gerézdi's hypothesis about the poet's being part of the Viennese erudite circle gathered around the Swiss humanist.<sup>13</sup> The possible connection of the Benedictine Abbot with Vadian is all the more interesting because Vadian's relations with Hungary have been, naturally, associated with the beginnings of the Hungarian Reformation.<sup>14</sup>

The aim of this essay is to consider Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres* as being embedded in the network of its early 16th-century literary relations. I would like to argue that the poetic appeal to take up arms against the Turkish threat sent out by Martinus Thyrnavinus is not to be regarded as an epigonic work, and I paradoxically want to do so by showing that his borrowings are by no means limited to Stephanus Taurinus alone but extend to a much wider circle of his humanist contemporaries. In what follows, I will adduce examples of three of his source authors, placing the text of Thyrnavinus and that of his source in parallel columns.

Let us start with Valentinus Ecchius, a Bavarian-born humanist living in Bardejov (Bartpha), north-eastern Slovakia, whose poetry is quoted at least in six places of Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum*. Thus far, borrowings from two Ecchius's poems, *De amicitiae et concordiae utilitate carmen* (1518) and *Supellectilium fasciculus* (1518), have been identified. A passage from *De amicitiae et concordiae utilitae* was used by Thyrnavinus, along with passages taken from Publio Fausto Andrelini and other poets, to depict the unfavourable consequences of lack of concord in society. The part based on Ecchius reads as follows:

<sup>11</sup> *De Vadianorum familiae insignibus a Sigismundo primo Romanorum Rege donatis ad Melchiorum Vadianum fratrem exegesis* (1515).

<sup>12</sup> *De eximiis laudibus theologorum praecipue Parhisiensium carmen* (1507).

<sup>13</sup> GERÉZDI, *Nagyszombati Márton*, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. BONORAND: *Joachim Vadians Beziehungen zu Ungarn*. Zwingliana. Beiträge zur Geschichte Zwinglis, der Reformation und des Protestantismus in der Schweiz 1969 (Band XIII, Heft 2), pp. 97–131.

*Thyrnavini Opusculum, Lib. III, v. 445–458:*

**Singula** compositam **servant animantia pacem,**

Et natura suo tramite cuncta regit.

**Vrsus ab ursino uix unquam leditur ungue,**

*Nec lupus infestat dente, uel ore, lupum.*<sup>15</sup>

**Et sua consociant hirsutos iura leones.**

Nec ruit in reliquam bestia sponte feram.

Sic elementa suum faciunt retinentque tenorem,

Perque uices lucent sydera clara suas.

Alternatque suos phœbe cum fratre meatus,

Quum dant temporibus lumina pulchra suis.

**Solus homo summi quem numinis ornat imago,**

**Et ratio cunctis extulit alta feris.**

**Hostili rapitur posita ratione tumultu,**

**Inque suam speciem sævit & ore furit.**

*V. Ecchii De amicitiae et concordiae utilitate carmen,*  
v. 10–20:<sup>16</sup>

**Singulaque** unanimum **seruant animantia pacem.**

Inque suam speciem – tanta est concordia cunctis –

Nulla creata ruunt, quantumuis seuus et atrox

**Vrsus ab ursino uix unquam leditur ungue**

**Atroceque lupum lupus infestare negatur**

**Et sua consociant Getulos iura leones.**

**Solus homo, summi quem numinis ornat imago**

**Et ratio cunctis animantibus extulit unum,**

**Hostili rapitur, posita ratione, tumultu**

**Inque suam speciem – tanta est uecordia – motu**

**Assiduo fertur dirarum more ferarum.**

It would be no doubt interesting to pay closer attention to the cases in which Thyrnavinus substituted a different word for Ecchius's original expression, especially when this substitution was not motivated by metrical reasons, as in the case of *unanimum – compositam* and *Getulos – hirsutos*, however such considerations are beyond the scope of the present essay.

Even more interesting is the way Thyrnavinus handled the text of the poem entitled *Supellectilium fasciculus*. It should be said by way of explanation that these verses, dedicated to the Hungarian magnate Alexius Thurzo (d. 1543), describe the furnishings of a nobleman's house, i.e. all that a man of high rank needs in order to enjoy a standard of living appropriate to his position. In the second book of *Opusculum*, 'the golden age' of the Hungarian Kingdom, i.e. the alleged material affluence and spiritual concord under the reign of the Holy Kings (11th c.) and King Matthias I Corvinus (1458–90), is contrasted to the situation of Thyrnavinus's times. Depicting the opulence of Corvinus's court at Buda, the poet sings thus:

*Thyrnavini Opusculum, Lib. II, v. 503–510*

Fulgebant etiam triclinia, magna supellex,

**Atque metalliferis uasa recisa typis.**

*V. Ecchii Supellectilium fasciculus*

**Atque metalliferis uasa recisa typis (143)**

<sup>15</sup> Italics are used to denote a paraphrase.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted according to the recent edition of this poem in Daniel ŠKOVIERA: *Valentinus Ecchius Lindaviensis: De reipublicae administratione dialogus, Epistola consolatoria, Epitaphia in Ioannem Thursonem Episcopum, De amicitiae et concordiae utilitate carmen* (Scrinium Latino-Slovacum). Trnava: Veda – Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 2006, pp. 110–112.

Pinguia preterea fumosæ <b>claustra popinæ</b> , In quibus affuerat <b>multus odore cibus</b> .	Hic ego discegridior subiturus <b>claustra popinæ</b> (59) Seruatur grato <b>multus odore cibus</b> (78)
<b>Multiplici</b> fuerant <b>cellaria plena liquore</b> , Insuper & uariis <b>dulcia uina cadis</b> .	<b>Multiplici</b> in primis <b>cellaria plena liquore</b> (116) Vt potem suauis <b>dulcia uina cado</b> (113)
<b>Vel quæ Creta parit, uel Chia, aut alta Veseni</b> <b>Arbusta aut Rheni saxea rura uagi.</b>	<b>Vel quæ Creta parit, uel Chia, aut alta Veseni</b> (118) <b>Arbusta aut Rheni saxea rura uagi.</b> (119)

The individual lines of this passage of *Opusculum* come from different places of Ecchius's poem (as indicated by the verse numbers in brackets). To a present-day reader, the amenities specified by Ecchius may seem rather modest in regard to a magnate's standard of living. It is therefore all the more surprising to encounter the same objects enumerated at the court of King Matthias in Thyrnavinus's account.

Another example of Thyrnavinus's use of *Supellectilium fasciculus* comes from the first book of *Opusculum*. Here, the author reproaches the leading men of Hungary for their inability to resist the Turkish aggression, in spite of their being provided with all necessary means for fighting:

*Thyrnavini Opusculum Lib. I, v. 219–224*

Non desunt uobis fustes curuæque secures,  
Non conti, **clypei**, terribilesque **tubæ**.  
Non **enses** ualidi, **balistæ** telaque sæua,  
Non **arcus** flexi, spicula cæca simul.  
**Loricæ** rigidæ, **cristæ**, **galeæque** comantes,  
Seu **miseros homines quæ cruciare solent**.

*V. Ecchii Supellectilium fasciculus, v. 149–152*

Hasta, **ensis**, **clipeus**, **galea**, & **lorica**, bipennis,  
Tela, pharetra, **arcus**, pila, sagitta, **tuba**,  
Bombarda, & cuspis, **cristæ**, **balistauque** gesa  
Et **miseros homines quæ cruciare solent**.

As can be seen in the right-hand column, a similar collection of weapons can be found in Ecchius's imaginary house as well, and both authors conclude the respective passages with the same pentameter. Whilst Ecchius jovially reminds his young wealthy friend that a nobleman's house must not lack an armoury, Thyrnavinus made use of this motif in a negative sense, forming an *ad hominem* argument in order to emphasise how unjustifiably inactive the Hungarian nobility were.

Another humanist whose works were familiar to Thyrnavinus is the German dramatist Jakob Locher (1471–1528). His *Poëmation de Lazaro mendico* (1510) elaborates on the gospel parable of the rich man and Lazarus, in which Locher presents the beggar as a prophet who warns the rich man of an unprosperous end unless he changes his way of life. Thyrnavinus included verses borrowed from Locher's *Poëmation* in two places of his *Opusculum*. Depicting the material misery of those who had lost everything in consequence of the Turkish plunder, he sent off a warning to the Hungarian nobility

who, relying too much on their material certainties, made light of the approaching danger:

*Thyrnavini Opusculum, Lib. I, v. 95–100*

Nobilitas generis nec clarum nomen auorum,  
 Nec prodest uirtus ingeniumue iuuat.  
 Incedunt nudi **rugas frons arida torvas**  
**Contraxit** nimium lumina fronte tument.  
**Pendula labra rigent fessos nec corporis artus**  
**Succus alit tepidus**, deficiente cibo.

*J. Locheri Poëmaton de Lazaro mendico, v. 39–43*

Iam tua canescunt: mi frater: tempora: crines  
 Sunt nivibus tincti: **rugas frons arida torvas**  
**Contraxit**: nasus gelido putrescit oleo.  
**Pendula labra rigent: fessos nec corporis artus**  
**Succus alit tepidus**: pes debilis usque labascit.

In Locher's poem, these words are employed by Lazarus the beggar to remind the old man of his age and approaching death. Thyrnavinus takes on himself the prophetic role of Lazarus and makes use of the impressive images in order to anticipate the calamity of the battle of Mohács.

Locher's verses are once more adopted by Thyrnavinus at the beginning of the third book of his *Opusculum* where he mourns over the lost times of great heroes who were able to show love for the land of their forefathers. But now, Thyrnavinus says, nobody cares for the common good, paying attention exclusively to their own momentary needs:

*Thyrnavini Opusculum, Lib. III, v. 13–42*

Actutum uanus **uitam colit hanc genialem**,  
**Delitiis fruitur, illecebrasque capit.**  
**Largifluas epulas subito, sapidosque palato**  
**Nidores struit, & pocula blanda locat.**  
 Hinc **exquisitos gustus, lancesque nitentes**  
**Comparat, atque nouam (fercula mille) gulam.**  
**Zinziber Eoo calidum mercatur ab Indo,**  
**Rugosumque piper, Cinnama rara simul.**  
 Congerit **hesperidum fuluos ex arbore fœtus,**  
**Et quidquid Libiæ fertilitatis habet.**  
 Possidet **impensis & medica poma superbis,**  
 Sic **Cilicum flores**, puniceumque **Crocum.**  
**Sumptibus immensis peregrinas invehit escas,**  
**Et uentris dulces luxuriantis opes.**  
 Acquirat dorcas, damas **sub rupe vagantes,**  
 Perdices, turdos, **Caprigerumque pecus.**  
 Sic igitur Cœnis elementa per omnia quærit,  
 Pisces, & uolucres, syluicolasque feras.  
 Mensa nitet dapibus nimium redimita superbis  
 Illius & grato multus odore cibus.  
 Non **patrii latices, nec nostris montibus uuæ**

*J. Locheri Poëmaton de Lazaro mendico, v. 9–38*

Maxima pars hominum **vitam colit hanc genialem**  
**Delitiis fruitur: illecebrasque capit.**  
 Hec quia **largifluas epulas: sapidosque palato**  
**Nidores struit: hec poclaque blanda locat.**  
 Hec **exquisitos gustus: lancesque nitentes**  
**Comparat: adque novam feracula mille gulam.**  
**Zinciber eoo calidum mercatur ab indo:**  
**Rugosumque piper: cinnama mittit arabs.**  
 Prestinat **hesperidum fuluos ex arbore fetus**  
**Et quidquid libye fertilitatis habet.**  
 Hec emit **impensis et medica poma superbis:**  
 Hec **cilicum flores** corytiumque **crocum.**  
**Sumptibus immensis peregrinas invehit escas:**  
**Et ventris dulces luxuriantis opes.**  
 Queritur in ponto rhombus: **sub rupe vagantes**  
 Captantur dame: **caprigerumque pecus**  
 Mittit ad hanc mensam phasianos insula cholchis  
 Mittit ad ingluuiem quelibet ora cibos.  
 Perdices turdos gallinas atque palumbes:  
 Teutonicas ganzas crassa culina petit.  
 Nam **patrii latices: haud nostris montibus vue**

**Sufficiunt natae, Cretica praeda iuuat.**  
**Massica vina placent, & Tergestina probantur.**  
**Extinguunt cupidam uixque phalerna sitim.**  
**Crescit luxuries rerum, perdenque uorago.**  
**Conturbat sensus,** debilitatque caput,  
 Hinc uarios miseris **languores artubus infert,**  
 Hinc uexat lentos tarda podagra pedes.  
 Sic ueniunt tristes morbi, turpisque senectus,  
 Sic subiti cineres, **corpora uasta necant.**

**Sufficiunt nate: cretica prela iuuant.**  
**Massica vina placent: et tergestina probantur:**  
**Extinguunt cupidam vixque falerna sitim.**  
**Crescit luxuries rerum: perdensque vorago:**  
**Conturbat sensus** atque libido salax.  
 At hec vita truces **languores artubus infert:**  
 Debilitat nervos: **corpora vasta necat.**  
 Tenditur in mortem: post mortem nulla voluptas:  
 Qui bibit et comedit, forte beatus erit.

Comprising thirty verses, this passage is the longest quotation to be found in Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum*. Locher's *Poëmation* concludes with a happy ending since the rich man called Michael, after Charon had shown him the dreads of the underworld, decided to give up all luxury to save himself from eternal tortures in hell. In like manner, Martinus Thyrnavinus admonishes the Hungarian elite that they should abandon their affluent way of life if they want to protect their earthly existence from the Turkish peril and save their souls from eternal damnation. For, as the poet says, those who betray their country because of material benefits do not deserve a better fate.

Finally, two places of Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum* contain quotations from Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1470–1533), the famous philosopher's nephew. The Benedictine humanist drew on Pico della Mirandola's *Staurostichon* (1503) in the first book of his composition while borrowing a passage from his poem *Votum pro salute coniugis* (1511) in the second. The 'golden age' of the Hungarian kingdom was, in Thyrnavinus's view, characterized by the bravery of the ancient heroes who were ready to undertake the most dangerous excursions to rescue their fatherland from its enemy:

*Thyrnavini Opusculum, Lib. II, v. 75–80*

**Pergere tentassent** furiata mente libenter,  
 Per freta, per terras, per scopulosque graues.  
**Per medias acies, rabidæque per ora Chimæræ,**  
 Per strictos enses, Martia tela, faces,  
**Per Thaurus patulis efflantes naribus ignes,**  
 Per Scythicosque sinus, saxea tecta, niues,  
**Et per Auernales (si phas est dicere) lucos,**  
 Scyronisque uias per uada cæca simul.

*I. F. Pici Mirandulae Votum pro salute coniugis,*  
*v. 31–33, 36–38, 40*

Quod si Cerneæ longinqua ad littora terræ  
**Pergere tentasses,** rapido per inhospita cursu  
 Te sequerer...  
 ...  
**Per medias acies, rabidæque per ora Chimæræ,**  
**Per thaurus patulis efflantes naribus ignes,**  
**Et per auernales (si fas est dicere) lucos**  
 ...  
 Te sequerer coniunx, sequerer dulcissima coniunx.

In his poem *Votum pro salute coniugis*, Pico della Mirandola sang of his sorrow for the death of his beloved wife, depicting with fierce emotion the extreme hardships he would not hesitate to endure if he only could snatch



her from the jaws of death. Twelve years later, Thyrnavinus used these love verses to describe the bravery and patriotism displayed in the past by the forefathers of the Hungarian nobility, thus chiding his contemporaries' degenerate conduct.

Let the adduced examples suffice to show that the poem of Martinus Thyrnavinus is interspersed with quotes from the works of several of his humanist contemporaries. Naturally, the following question arises in this connection: Can this Thyrnavinus's method of composing poetry be regarded as plagiarism? There are reasons that prevent us from assenting to this suggestion. For if Thyrnavinus was acquainted with the texts of the authors referred to above, it can be justly presumed that the potential readers of his poem were acquainted with them as well. He certainly could not have concealed his 'plagiarism' within a community of humanistically trained authors and recipients. Experience shows that the notions of authorship and originality cannot be applied to Neo-Latin texts in the same manner as they are applied to more recent texts originating from the time when the genius of the author came to be extolled and considered a foremost precondition of 'true literature'. The poem of Martinus Thyrnavinus is embedded in the network of Neo-Latin literature (naturally consisting of multiple historical layers) in which there are overlappings, not only abstract ones between ideas and images, but also material, textual ones. Therefore it will not be far from the truth to say that the idea of *res publica litteraria* literally becomes *materialized* in Martinus Thyrnavinus's *Opusculum ad Regni Hungariae Proceres*. His work reflects the existence of a local early 16th-century network of humanist authors.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> This contribution forms part of the project Nexus Slavorum Latini: Inter-Slavonic Relationships and Parallels as Mirrored in Neo-Latin Literature (VEGA 2/0047/16).

## Résumé

Martinus Thyrnavinus a *res publica litteraria*.  
K prameňom jeho básnickej skladby *Opusculum  
ad Regni Hungariae Proceres* (1523)

Svorad ZAVARSKÝ

Básnická skladba Martina Thyrnavina (Martina z Trnavy) z r. 1523 pozostávajúca z 911 elegických distích, ktorej originál sa zachoval v jedinom exemplári v Kráľovskej knižnici v Kodani, sa prekvapivo dosiaľ nestala predmetom bližšieho záujmu literárnych historikov na Slovensku. Maďarský literárny vedec R. Gerézdi ju r. 1958 na základe niekoľkých Thyrnavinových citátov z Taurinovej skladby *Stauromachia* (1519) označil za nepôvodné, epigónske dielo bez väčšej literárnej hodnoty. Cieľom príspevku je ukázať Thyrnavinovo *Opusculum* v objektívnejšom, čo v tomto prípade znamená aj v priaznivejšom svetle. Thyrnavinove súveké pramene, ktoré sa dosiaľ podarilo v jeho básni identifikovať (Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, Jakob Locher Philomusus, Joachim Vadian, Publio Fausto Andrelini, Valentinus Ecchius), jednoznačne svedčia o autorovej erudícii a kontaktoch v rámci vtedajšej literárne činnej komunity. Najmä citáty z básní domáceho humanistu Valentína Ecchia sú určite príjemným prekvapením. V príspevku sa ukazuje, že *Opusculum ad Regni Hungariae Proceres* nie je epigónskym dielom, ale svedectvom živej humanistickej komunity v našom regióne a zároveň Thyrnavinovho zapojenia sa doň.

**MARTINI THYR  
NAVINI OPVSCVLVM AD REGNI  
HVNGARIAE PROCERES.**

Vldrici Fabri Rheti carmen in illam belli contra Thurcas susci-  
piendi adhortationem, quam ad inelytos inferioris Pan-  
noniae proceres, uenerabilis frater Martinus Thyrnaui-  
nus uersibus impariter iūctis instituit, cōcinnauitq̃.

Magnanimi o proceres dubiis succutrite tebus,  
Inq̃ salutare tempore ferre manus  
Dormitum satis est, gelidos ex pectore somnos  
Excutite, & fortes iam uigilate uiri  
Ite sub occursum celetes, quia maximus hostis  
In uos quid grauius nescio morte parat  
En seruile iugum pressit quem Thurca Seythae  
Faucibus, ac nostris sauior instat agris:  
O mota, pigriciesq̃ ducum, qui rupibus olim  
Caucaseis latro non bene tutus erat  
Ille per Europam nullo prohibente uagatur  
Liber, & in totum sauit onile dei  
Ignibus infandis agros populatur, & urbes,  
Nec templis parcit, thuricremisq̃ focis.  
Omnia confundit leges, ac iura prophanis  
Quinetiam stupris nulla puella uacat.  
Est Asia dominus foedas modo Graecia leges  
Audit, & obsequitur Thrax, Getha, Dacus, Arabs.  
Egyptum domuit, sceptrumq̃ Sophicidos aula  
Quod reliquū est, an nos agmina Thurca mouet  
Plus nimio uobis uereor confiditis, E heu  
Pannonias pulsat limine Thurca fores.  
Haec cecinit uates, monstrant haec carmina stantis  
Martini proceres, Pannoniciq̃ uiti.

*M. Melchior Eysenbacher Verone  
28. Nouembris. 1523.*

Fig. 1. Martini Thyrnavini *Opusculum ad Regni Hungariae Proceres* (title page)  
Courtesy of the Royal Library, Copenhagen

