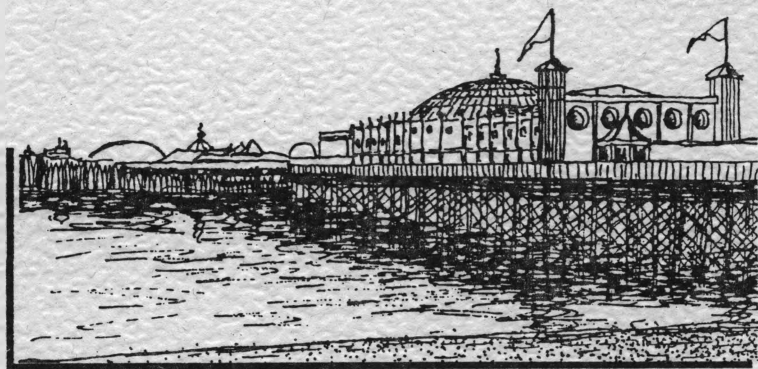


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FORMS OF IDENTITY

Definitions &
Changes



Attila József University
Szeged 1994

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The Concepts of Hungaria and Pannonia in the Age of the Renaissance

In the term "Hungarian Renaissance", the adjective "Hungarian" is far from being as unambiguous as other national labels in expressions such as "French", "Italian" or "English Renaissance". The territory of present day Hungary is totally different from that of old "Hungaria", which in fact broke up for the first time during the Renaissance. Moreover, the Hungaria of the Renaissance was not only the land of the Hungarians but the home of several ethnic groups and languages. This is the source of a great deal of confusion, which is characteristic of modern historiography but which is already evident in some uncertainties in contemporary consciousness, being further complicated by the changing national, territorial and ethnic names of the Carpathian Basin during the 16th century.

I do not wish to outline the juridical and political aspects of the problem, or the historical circumstances recorded in the laws and contracts of the period. This was accomplished by historical studies a long time ago, though there are still arguments on some points among historians of different countries. I am chiefly interested in the emergence and meaning of the concepts of the various national and territorial units and ethnic groups as viewed by individuals in the period. Naturally, we have to be very careful when we use data of this kind, as we cannot expect any consistency or unified usage of the name of a country or its people based on common consent. Nevertheless, in spite of overlapping and contradictory evidence, certain main lines can be drawn.

The question of exactly what constituted Hungaria and Pannonia attracted the attention of learned minds, both Hungarian and non-Hungarian, in the 15th and 16th centuries. Pietro Ransano in his *Epithoma rerum Hungararum* (1490) devotes to it a whole chapter entitled "Of the borders of Pannonia, also called Hungaria, according to its old and new

descriptions, and of the origins of the names of Pannonia and Hungaria".¹ The answers given by the writers of the Renaissance varied. Concerning the territory of Hungaria there are three versions. The concept of Hungaria, in geographical terms, is broadest in the work of Miklós Oláh, the author of the best and most detailed description of the country. In his *Hungaria*, written about 1536, he presents the two Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Valachia as parts of Hungary. He was probably prompted to do so by his Romanian descent on his father's side and his consequent Romanian sympathies, but in any case consistency required him to include in Hungaria the southern co-dominions of the Hungarian crown, i.e. Croatia and Bosnia, though he only stated this without adding a detailed description.² Oláh's peculiar opinion can be disregarded in our continuing discussion, for others did not regard those co-dominions, vassal or adjoining countries as parts of Hungaria.

The most common definition of Hungaria in the 15th and 16th centuries is best exemplified by the following passage from the *Geographia* of the excellent geographical writer Giovanni Antonio Magini (Venice, 1596): "The kingdom of Hungary today is the territory that includes Pannonia inferior by which [Ptolemaios] means Transdanubia and the area between the rivers Drava and Sava; the whole region of Iazigi and Metanastæ, which has been located by Ptolomeus between the Danube, the Tisza and the Sarmatian Mountains i.e. the Northern Carpathians; and the part of Dacia occupied by Transylvania."³ This is completely consistent with the description by Jacques Esprinard, a Huguenot traveller visiting Hungary in 1597: "Hungary is bounded in the north by the Carpathian Mountains, which separate her from Poland as well as Moldavia. In the south the River Sava, in the west Austria and Styria and in the east the River Olt are the borders, and this territory also includes Transylvania."⁴ Similar stereotyped descriptions of the borders and the territory were long

¹ Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*, ed. Petrus Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977; Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, SoN., II), 37.

² Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria — Athila*, eds. Colomannus Eperjessy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938; Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum).

³ Antonius Maginus, *Geographiae Cl. Ptolomaei* (Venetiis 1596), Pars secunda, f. 158r.

⁴ Leopold Chatenay, *Vie de Jacques Esprinard Rochelais et Journal de ses voyages au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1957), 163.

passed from one manual to another, showing that during the 15th and 16th centuries Europe identified Hungaria with the territory outlined above. The people of the country themselves, with their various languages, held the same opinion for a long time. However, by the second half of the 16th century a more restricted concept of Hungaria began to form, albeit slowly and gradually, and became generally accepted in the 17th century. This concept differs from that described above, in that it excludes Slavonia beyond the Drava and the historical Transylvania.

It is illuminating to see what the men of the Renaissance thought of the relationship between Hungaria and these two provinces of medieval Hungary, which had always had separate administrations.

Ransano, who has already been mentioned, refers to the area between the Drava and the Sava, which is named "Sclavonia" after its inhabitants, as part of Hungaria.⁵ Miklós Oláh treats it as "secunda pars Hungariæ" and calls it Sclavonia Hungarica.⁶ Croatia, beginning beyond the Sava and stretching as far as Italy, is separated from this territory, for example, in Magini's *Geographia*: "The southern river of Hungaria is the Sava, which parts her from Serbia and Croacia."⁷ Regardless of the fact that there were Croatians living north of the Sava, constitutional considerations were stronger in the minds of the period: Slavonia, bounded by the Sava and including Zagreb, was considered an inorganic part of Hungaria, whereas the region south of the Sava was regarded as a separate country in union with Hungaria, as is shown in the term "regnum nostrum Croatiæ", continuously used by Hungarian kings. While Croatia was always mentioned explicitly in the title of medieval Hungarian kings ("rex Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ ...") Sclavonia was never mentioned by name, since it was implied in Hungaria. Only gradually did Slavonia become a separate "regnum", which eventually formed an alliance, and finally united, with Croatia. This process is clearly reflected in the composition of the Hungarian and Croatian delegations to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. As "comes et orator Croatiæ", Wolfgangus de Frangepanibus represented the Croatian estates and delivered a speech promoting their interests, while Ladislaus de Macedonia gave an address, on behalf of a delegation of four, "pro Hungaris et Sclavis". The contemporary printed

⁵ Op. cit., 62.

⁶ Op. cit., 7: 16-17.

⁷ Op. cit., f. 158r.

version of the address lists all four members of this delegation, explaining that the "regnum Hungariæ" was represented by Ladislaus de Macedonia, bishop of Várad, and by Nicolaus "comes de Thurocz", magister curiæ, while the "regnum Sclavoniæ"⁸ was represented by Thomas Kamarius and Georgius Spiiczko. Thus Sclavonia already appears as a separate "regnum", albeit as yet in union with Hungaria. In accordance with this change Sclavonia became part of the titles of the Hungarian kings: the great Seal of Ferdinand I includes, among many others, the title "Rex Sclavoniæ".⁹

Consciousness of all this developed only little by little, and usage remained uncertain until the end of the 16th century. Bartholomeus Georgievich - who became famous for his account of Turkey and who rendered the text of the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Apostles' Creed "in the Slavonian language" in the appendix of his first book, published in Antwerp in 1544 - calls himself Hungarus on the title page of the same volume.¹⁰ Croatian students from Zagreb and other parts of historical Slavonia studying at universities abroad regarded themselves as being from Hungary and signed their names accordingly in the registers.¹¹ Two examples from Bologna are "Georgius de Varasino dioecesis Zagrabiensis in Ungaria" in 1558 and "Nicolaus de Senicis Zagrabiensis Ungarus" in 1577. I am deliberately citing data from Bologna as its university was particularly popular among Croatians, and it is no mere coincidence that the "Collegium Illyrico-Hungaricum" flourished there. The circumstances of the foundation of the Collegium best illuminate the changing concept of Hungaria in relation to Slavonia. The founder, Pál Szondy, who was simultaneously Great Provost of Esztergom and Zagreb, in his deed of foundation dated 1557, consistently refers to the institution as "Collegium

⁸ Károly Szabó, Árpád Hellebrant, *Régi magyar könyvtár* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1896), 3: Nos. 276, 289. (In the following this work will be abbreviated as RMK.) See also: *Orationes Ladislai de Macedonia*, ed. I. K. Horváth (Szeged, 1964), 20 (Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatæ. Acta antiqua et archæologica, VII).

⁹ Ignác Acsády, *Magyarország három részre oszlásának története (1526—1608)* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1897), 162—163, 663—664 (A magyar nemzet története. V).

¹⁰ RMK III: No 349. — See also Mrs. Zsigmond Ritoók, "Egy 16. századi vándor literator: Bartholomaeus Georgievits". In *Szomszédság és közösség. Délsláv—Magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok*, ed. Sztojan Vujicsics (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1972), 53—70.

¹¹ *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium, 1221—1864*, ed. Andreas Veress (Budapest: Academia Scientiarum Hungarica, 1941), 88, 97, 106, 108 (Monumenta Hungariæ Italica, III).

Hungaricum" or "Collegium Hungarorum", even though he had designed it for students coming "de Hungaria ac Sclavonia" and furthermore intended each of the two languages to be represented by half the student population. Thus the notion of Slavonia as part of Hungary was still in evidence, though the two territories were clearly recognised as speaking different languages. As Szondy entrusted the supervision of the Collegium to the Chapter of Zagreb, and Zagreb became the centre of Croatian - i.e. Illyrian - political life, the name of the institution was tacitly changed to Collegium Illyrico-Hungaricum.¹²

Let us now turn to the problem of the other territory which gradually dissociated itself from the concept of Hungaria, i.e. Transylvania. In the 15th century there was as yet no sign of the separation of Transylvania from Hungaria. Bertrandon de la Brocquière, travelling through Hungary in 1433, mentions the mountains of Transylvania as those that divide "Honguerie from Walachie", and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, in his *Cosmographia*, also regards Transylvania as part of Hungary.¹³ Students from Transylvania often name Hungary as their country of origin at registration. Ransano, in his survey, treats Transylvania simply as a county of Hungary.

In the first half of the 16th century the situation was more or less similar. In Miklós Oláh's *Hungaria*, Transylvania together with the whole large area from the Tisza to the Dniester is mentioned several times as forming the "fourth part" of Hungaria. However, it is apparent from his remarks about the town of Abrudbánya (today: Abrud, Rumania) at the western border of Transylvania that by that time the more restricted concept of Hungaria, which excludes Transylvania, was also in his mind. This town, as he puts it, is at "the place where the river Fehér Körös arrives in Hungaria from the mountains", i.e. Transylvania. In subsequent writings, for a considerable period, there are some definitions which treat Transylvania as obviously part of Hungary and others which identify it as a separate country.¹⁴

¹² Anton Mária Raffo, "Appunti sull'atto di fondazione del 'Collegio Ungarico' di Bologna", in *Venezia e Ungheria nel contesto del barocco europeo*, ed. Vittore Branca (Firenze: Olschki, 1979), 391-397.

¹³ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le voyage d'outremer* (Paris, 1892), 236; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolominei postea Pii II. papae *Opera geographica et historica* (Helmstadii, 1699), 219 sqq.

¹⁴ *Res litteraria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum, 1473-1600*, ed. Gedeon Borsa et alii (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971), No. 155.

However, to avoid misunderstanding it must be emphasised that the latter definitions of Transylvania as a separate country never refer to the realm of the later Princes of Transylvania, which included, in addition to the historical Transylvania, a part of Hungary in the restrictive sense. When John II, the elected king of Hungary whose kingdom included the eastern part of Hungaria in the original broader sense, was compelled to abdicate in 1570, his official title became "Princeps Transsylvaniæ et Partium Regni Hungariæ Dominus", in which the separate status of Transylvania within the region under his rule is already expressed in legal terms.¹⁵ Though nobody disputed that Transylvania belonged to the countries of the Hungarian crown, from that time it is more and more often mentioned as a *former* part of Hungary. The French ambassador Pierre Lescalopier, staying there in 1574, writes about Gyulafehérvár (today: Alba Julia, Rumania), the capital of the principality: "Everybody speaks the original language of the country, Hungarian, as Transylvania used to be a province of Hungary".¹⁶ Giovanni Francesco Baviera in his *Raguaglio di Transilvania*, written in 1594, states: "This province once used to be a part of the Hungarian kingdom."¹⁷

The change is well illustrated by the way Transylvanians themselves specify their place of origin. In 16th century registrations we find very few specifications of the kind quoted earlier, e.g. "in ecclesia Transilvana de Ungaria". The scholars most frequently style themselves "Transylvanus", a term of course also used earlier, especially by the Transylvanian Saxons. It is the motherland in the narrow sense that appears on the front page of their publications. In the second half of the 16th century even the Transylvanian Hungarians mostly call themselves Transylvanus, though they often use the term together with "Ungarus": István Gálffy, for example, appears in Padua as Transylvanus in 1578 and as Ungarus in 1579. In the early 17th century the Saxons begin to use the attribute "Saxo-Transylvanus" in order to be distinguished from the Transylvanian Hungarians: this is how the treatises of Franciscus Schimerus of Medgyes and Andreas Zieglerus of Brassó are published in Wittenberg in 1605 and 1606.

¹⁵ See Tibor Klaniczay, "La Transylvanie: naissance d'un nouvel état". *Etno-psychologie* [Le Havre] 32 (1977): 287–301.

¹⁶ Hungarian edition: *Pierre Lescalopier utazása Erdélybe (1574)*, eds. Kálmán Benda & Lajos Tardy (Budapest: Europa–Helikon, 1982), 71.

¹⁷ Giovanni Francesco Baviera, *Raguaglio di Transilvania* (1594), published in *Corvina*, N. S., III (1940): 692.

Thus by the end of the 16th century the concept of Hungaria in the narrow sense - i.e. excluding Slavonia, which became Croatian, and Transylvania, which was populated by Hungarians, Saxons and Romanians and governed by a Hungarian Prince - was being slowly but firmly established. The situation is well illustrated by the representation of students from Hungary at the University of Bologna. In the University Statutes published in 1561 we read, with reference to the constitution of the academic senate: "Ungaria habet unam vocem et unum consiliarium." It is interesting that in 1564 two senators - Ioannes Donitus Ungarus and Thomas Iordanus Ungarus - were elected "pro Ungaria" in spite of this regulation. Characteristically, one of them, originally called Donić, was a Croatian from Slavonia, while the other, Tamás Jordán, was a doctor of medicine from Transylvania who later became famous in Moravia: that is to say both of them were citizens of Hungaria in the broad sense only. However, in 1572 Matthias Varasdinus, living in the Collegium Ungarorum, is already elected senator "pro Illyria"; and in 1595 a handwritten entry in the official copy of the Statutes declares that henceforth Transylvanians, as distinct from Hungarians, will be entitled to an independent seat on the senate.¹⁸

The same is manifested on 16th century maps. Lazarus's memorable map of Hungary published in 1528 does not make any distinction in relation to Slavonia and Transylvania. On the other hand, the new maps drawn in the second half of the century, though vaguely and inaccurately, begin to distinguish them by different colours.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it is characteristic that under the Turkish rule those territories are never presented on the maps as being separate from Hungaria, but are treated as part of that country throughout the occupation. An instructive example is provided by the imperial legates heading for Constantinople via Hungary, who consistently waited till they reached Belgrade before noting in their travel reports that they were leaving Hungaria, even though they had been travelling through a region under unified Turkish rule for some considerable time.

All that has so far been said about Hungaria is partly complicated and partly illuminated by what can be established about the concept of Pannonia. Galeotto Marzio [Galeottus Marzius Nariensis] writes: "I have often heard from King Mathias that the historians of our time are wrong to

¹⁸ *Matricula et acta* ... 1941, cit. in note 11, pp. 100, 101, 105, 115.

¹⁹ *Lazarus secretarius, The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*, ed. Lajos Stegena (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982).

write the names of the regions and towns according to the ancient terminology". As Mathias had referred to the saying that Hungaria "includes the part of Pannonia and Dacia", he would have meant that it was inappropriate to use those ancient names instead of Hungaria.²⁰ The great king, in spite of his own enthusiasm for antiquity, disregarded the fashion, consistently calling himself "rex Hungariæ" in his inscriptions and documents, and giving evidence of an uncommon sense of reality as well as of correct historical knowledge. His contemporaries, in contrast, intoxicated by the greatness of ancient Rome, tried to wipe out the barbarous names even if this could only be achieved by force. In the case of Hungaria it was an obvious move to identify with Pannonia, which had the traditions of centuries behind it. From the time of King Peter to that of St. Ladislaus the inscription on the coins of 11th century Hungarian kings is constantly "Pannonia", and Saint Ladislaus's attack on Croatia was registered in Zara (today: Zadar, Croatia) in the words: "Pannoniorum rex Chroatiaë invadet regnum".²¹ In the early Hungarian chronicles — including that of Anonymus — "Pannonia" is always present in the sense of Hungary, but later on this usage was completely dropped by Hungarians. Its revival was actually due to Italian Humanists and not to Hungarians. The first Hungarian to apply this term to himself was probably the poet Janus Pannonius, who, in Ferrara about 1450, felt driven to replace the barbarous name of Johannes Sclavonus or Giovanni Unghero by something more decorous.

For some time, apart from the poems of Janus, it is hard to find any examples of the use of the term Pannonia. Even the humanist chancellor János Vitéz²² mentions it only once in a letter dated 1464, referring to the Sava as one of the rivers of Pannonia. In the same year, however, Antonio Costanzi from Fano, a former fellow-student of Janus in Ferrara, addresses Mathias as King of Pannonia in his exhortative poem. In contrast, Janus,

²⁰ Galeottus Martius Nariensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiæ*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1934), 25 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum).

²¹ Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története az Árpádok korában (1038—1301) (A magyar nemzet története, II.* Budapest: Athenaeum, 1896), 20, 60, 90, 110, 114, 116, 140, 680—684; György Györfly, "Die Nordwestgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung des 'ducatuſ Sclavoniae'", in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay* (Braga: Cruz, 1971), 299—300.

²² Johannes Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. Iván Boronkai (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980), 213 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, N. S., III).

answering on behalf of the king, calls his lord "Matthias, rex Hungarorum", in fidelity to the king's preference.²³

From the end of the 1460s, the term began to be applied extensively. Among others, the Carthusian monk from Ferrara who had been a soldier of Hunyadi, and had rocked the cradle of Matthias, calls himself Andreas Pannonius in his *Libellus de virtutibus* (1467), in an obvious attempt to follow Janus's example. It is worth noting the abundance of data from Ferrara and the fact that all the individuals concerned are connected to Janus. Thus he may have played a significant role in creating the cult of Pannonia.

Even later on it was primarily in the works of Italian humanists that the more distinguished term Pannonia stood for Hungaria. Thus Marsilio Ficino, Poliziano, Lodovico Carbo, Naldo Naldi, Ugolino Verino, Bartolomeo Fonzio and Brandolini Lippi address Matthias as "king of Pannonia" in each of their letters written, or their works dedicated, to him. Only Galeotto Marzio, in agreement with Matthias's own opinion, refrained from using the term throughout. On the other hand, it is remarkable that when the palatine Imre Szapolyai was buried in 1487 in Szepeshely the following inscription was engraved on his tomb: "Hic iacet ... Dominus Emericus Comes perpetuus Sepesiensis et palatinus regni Pannoniæ".²⁴ Subsequently, during the 16th century, every respectable Hungarian scholar was honoured by the name of Pannonius.

Thus humanist fashion brought the identification of Hungaria with Pannonia into general use. Ransano's description of Hungary begins with the words "That part of Europe now called Hungaria used to be named Pannonia",²⁵ and in Bonfini's Hungarian history the two terms appear as synonyms. Naturally, the humanists were no less aware than Matthias of the fact that the borders of Roman Pannonia were not identical with those of 15th century Hungary, but there were only a few who persisted in historical fidelity. One of these was Enea Silvio Piccolomini who, discussing Hungary in his *Cosmographia*, writes: "This country is called Pannonia

²³ *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, eds. Eugenius Abel & Stephanus Hegedűs (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1903), 110; *Jani Pannonii Opera, Latine et Hungarice*, ed. Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1972), 348.

²⁴ *Schallaburg '82. Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, eds. Tibor Klaniczay, Györgyi Török, Gottfried Stangler (Wien: Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, 1982), No. 836.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 54.

by some, as if the Hungarians had taken the place of the Pannonians: in reality neither can Hungaria fill the boundaries of Pannonia nor did the latter reach as far as Hungaria in our age."²⁶

Given all these complications, we cannot be surprised to find the Tiszántúl (the territory east of the river Tisza) or towns such as Sárospatak or Szeged located within Pannonia as a matter of course in the writings of the 16th century. Furthermore, all persons of note called themselves Pannonius regardless of what part of the country they came from: it is in this form that they appear on the title pages of their publications abroad and that they like to enter their names in the university registers.

As in the case of Janus, the initiator, any person originating from Slavonia was naturally labelled Pannonius, a notable example being Valentinus Cybeleius Varasdiensis, to whom we are indebted for the beautiful ode *Ad Pannoniam* (1509).²⁷ On the other hand, a person from Croatia would never have called himself Pannonius, as Croatia was not considered part of Hungaria, and, consequently, of Pannonia: this territory was identical with the classical Illyria, and accordingly its people were "Illyrici".

Since Hungaria in the broad sense included Transylvania, the terms Pannonia and Pannonius were anachronistically extended to Transylvania. However, the application of these names to Transylvania and the Transylvanians remained restricted not only because in the second half of the 16th century Transylvania began to be excluded from the conceptual sphere of Hungaria but, first and foremost, because of Transylvania's well-known ancient predecessor, Dacia. The humanists were fully aware that in their own age the territory of classical Dacia was divided into three separate parts, i.e. Moldavia, Valachia and Transylvania, and they usually described the last named as "that part of Dacia under Hungarian rule". Even earlier, in the second half of the 15th century, Nicholas Machinensis, bishop of Modrus, had stated in his work entitled *De bellis Gothorum* that "in our age the inner part of Dacia is called Transilvania, which is held by the Huns [i.e. the Hungarians] whereas the lower part stretching towards the

²⁶ Op. cit., 219.,cf. note 13.

²⁷ Valentinus Cybeleius Varasdiensis, *Opera*, ed. Maria Révész (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1939), 2-4 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum).

coast of the Black Sea belongs to the Valachians".²⁸ According to Georg Wernher, Transylvania is "cultissima pars" of Dacia, where Germans, Hungarians and Romanians live, "but where the power is in the hands of the Hungarians and for this reason the Transylvanians are also called Hungarians."²⁹ In other words, there was a concept of Pannonia which included a part of the former Dacia as a simple substitute for Hungaria.

Our examination of the concepts of Pannonia and Hungaria, though by no means exhaustive, leads us to the conclusion that in spite of political events and the fact that it was inhabited by several peoples, the country presented a historical and cultural unit in the consciousness of both its own population and the foreign observers arriving there in the 15th and 16th centuries. This is the country that was called "dulcis patria" by the Hungarian János Sylvester, and "patria nostra" by the Slavonian János Vitéz, who was partly or wholly of Croatian origin; the country that Miklós Oláh, son of a Romanian father, in his letter to Erasmus described as "mea Hungaria"; and the country that András Dudith, born in Buda in a family partly of Italian and partly of Dalmatian origin, styled "communis patria"³⁰ in a dedication to Oláh. The civilisation — i.e. the cultural, literary and artistic production — achieved by the sons of this common motherland called Hungaria or Pannonia is what can be called the Hungarian or Pannonian Renaissance.

Despite the fact that Hungarians represented a majority of the population in 15th—16th century Hungary, the Renaissance culture flourishing in this country was the common product of several peoples. The creators of the Hungarian Renaissance were not a single ethnic group speaking the same language but an ethnically mixed society belonging to the same country and subscribing to a common patriotism.³¹ In the framework of this unity, in the course of the 16th century, the Hungarians and

²⁸ Giovanni Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrusiense". *La Bibliofilia* 26 (1924-1925): 363.

²⁹ Op. cit., *ibid.*

³⁰ Ioannes Sylvester Pannonius, *Grammatica Hungaro-Latina* (1539). In *Corpus grammaticorum linguæ Hungaricæ veterum*, ed. Franciscus Toldy (Pesthini: Academia Scientiarum Hungarica, 1866), 6; Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P. S. Allen (Oxonii, 1941), 10: 72; *Matricula et acta...* 1915, op. cit., p. 189.

³¹ Cf. Tibor Klaniczay, "La nationalité des écrivains en Europe Centrale". *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 10 (1972): 585—594.

the other peoples of Hungary were gradually developing a linguistic and ethnic consciousness of their own, but it was to take a long time before this development began to endanger the cultural unity of Pannonia-Hungaria.