



Attila Bárány

## **A Humanist Diplomat in Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century Hungary: Hieronymus Balbus**

### **Abstract**

The article investigates new sources, Western European, mainly English diplomatic reports – several being so far unknown for Hungarian scholarship, or, if known, not examined in this regard – e.g. held at the British Library Manuscript Collection to shed light on Hungarian-Ottoman relations at the eve of the fall of the “shield of Christendom”, Belgrade in 1521. The article follows the mission of Hieronymus Balbus, an Italian at the diplomatic personnel of Jagiellonian Hungary, in 1521 to the Habsburg, Tudor and Valois courts. Balbus’s diplomatic workings – through the embassy to the Emperor (Charles V in Worms and Brussels), a peace conference at Calais and Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII, King of England – has not been adequately seen in Hungarian historiography, and some of his letters and political activity ranging from Bruges, Worms, Calais, London and Cologne has not so far been mapped, yet new insights can be given for the understanding of Louis II’s diplomatic efforts during the stress of the siege and loss of Belgrade in 1521. The investigation is largely based on Balbus’s dispatches – which has not survived in Hungarian archival material but were preserved in the reports of English envoys of his activity, to the maker of Tudor policy, Chancellor Wolsey. The correspondence of Balbus provides valuable information on the administration of Louis II, about its relationship with the Turks and the Emperor. The leaders of Hungarian diplomacy did not lack astuteness and “had a clear picture” about the international power relations. The government experimented with alternatives, provided they did not receive any aid from the Habsburgs: they were willing to go as far as making an alliance with not only the English, but even with the Emperor’s enemies, the Valois. In 1521, despite the powerful Habsburg dominance, Hungarian foreign politics did have some room to manoeuvre.

*Keywords:* Humanist diplomacy; Hungarian foreign policy; Hieronymus Balbus / Girolamo Balbi; Jagiellonians; Louis II (1516-26), King of Hungary; siege of Belgrade, 1521; Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Lord Chancellor of England; Charles V Habsburg,

Emperor / King of Germany (1519/30-1556); Henry VIII, King of England (1509-1547); Ottomans; Tudors; British Library

Several Western European archival and manuscript sources are available to learn about Hungarian diplomacy in the 1520s, yet they have not really been in the focus of research. The present paper investigates the activities of a diplomat of King Louis II in 1521 who was also an illustrious humanist and wrote significant literary works and political pamphlets.

The most important mission of Hieronymus Balbus is the one which set out for the West directly after the Turkish attack of 1521. The sources concerning the provost's mission to Germany, the Low Countries, Calais and England, most of which survived in England, provide insight into Hungary's foreign policy. Balbus negotiated in various places: at the Emperor's court, in Calais, which was at that time under English control, where the French ambassadors were negotiating, and also with Chancellor Thomas Wolsey.

Girolamo Balbi (Hieronymus Balbus), the provost of Pozsony (present-day Bratislava) was an important factor of Hungarian diplomacy in the Jagiellon-era.<sup>1</sup> He was a renowned humanist, a descendant of an illustrious patrician family from Venice. He studied at various universities in Rome, Padua and Paris. During his university studies he got acquainted with John Vitéz junior and this is probably how he got to Hungary. Between 1498 and 1504 he was a canon in Veszprém and later he was the tutor of King Louis II (1516-26). Presumably in 1508 he became a canon in Eger; in 1513 he was appointed canon cantor of Pécs, and later the provost of Vác.<sup>2</sup> In 1514 Miklós Sánkfalvi Zele, the provost of Pozsony, exchanged his position with Ferenc Szeremlényi, who was provost of Transylvania, which he later exchanged for Balbus's position as provost of Vác and Eger. Later Szeremlényi returned to his position as provost of Transylvania and this is how Balbus became the provost of Pozsony from 1515 until 1522.<sup>3</sup>

He showed a strong interest in the history and rulers of Hungary: already during his studies at the University of Paris he wrote a work in which he praised King Matthias (*Carmen de laudibus bellicis regis Pannoniae*, 1488-90).<sup>4</sup> His connection with István Werbőczy/Verbőci, would-be Palatine is confirmed by the fact that his carmen can be found at the end of the first printed edition of his codex, the *Tripartitum*. In this poem, he places the author at the side of the two most eminent Greek

lawmakers, Lycurgus and Solon. He believed that after a period of legal uncertainty in “ferox Panonia” this work would calm the Scythian morals of the followers of Mars.<sup>5</sup>

He got into the court of King Vladislaus II of Hungary (1490-1516) very early; first he was a royal secretary,<sup>6</sup> then in 1510 he worked as an *aulicus*, later as a privy councillor.<sup>7</sup> He carried out several diplomatic missions. In 1512, he helped to put across the deal concerning the marriage of Barbara Szapolyai/Zápolya.<sup>8</sup> He also helped to organize the royal meeting held in Vienna in 1515; on one occasion he visited Maximilian as an ambassador of both Sigismund I Jagiellon, King of Poland and Vladislaus in order to prepare the details of the negotiations.<sup>9</sup> (The Emperor even sent a message via Balbus). After 1518-19, he participated in various missions to Poland, for example in 1518 he was present at the marriage between Sigismund and Bona Sforza.<sup>10</sup>

Balbus did not maintain a bad relationship with the Habsburgs either. His relationship with Emperor Maximilian went back to 1493, when the Emperor invited him to teach at the University of Vienna. He was not even ashamed to “smuggle” the verses of his earlier carmen in which he praised Matthias into his poems about the Habsburg monarch.<sup>11</sup> After the Emperor also came to know his services at the Congress of Vienna in 1515, he promised him a position in St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna, presumably due to the recommendation of György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs.<sup>12</sup> Although he did not receive this position, he attempted to obtain a benefice in Austria again, but at this time with little success.

His diplomatic career held forth much more success. In August 1520 he visited the Emperor to negotiate concerning the marriage of Anne Jagiellon with Archprince Ferdinand.<sup>13</sup> In October he was present at the coronation of Charles V in Aachen,<sup>14</sup> while in November he was among those who handed over the bride and was also present at the signing of the marriage contract of the Jagiellon Princess.<sup>15</sup> (This was confirmed by an English imperial ambassador as well.<sup>16</sup>) On 11 December he was present at the *per procuram* engagement of Ferdinand and Anne of Jagiellon and that of Mary Habsburg, Queen of Hungary and Louis II.<sup>17</sup>

Balbus received his first important mission in the spring of 1521 when, together with István Werbőczy,<sup>18</sup> he was sent to the Reichstag at Worms. He visited the Emperor at the beginning of the year as well. In September 1521 the provost of Pozsony reminded Charles V in Antwerp that earlier he visited “themperor being at Colayne with he with his college [fellow-ambassador].”<sup>19</sup> This can be dated to the beginning of the year, sometime

before the Diet of Worms and after his visit to Aachen.<sup>20</sup> In one of my studies I investigated what information Balbus's embassy provided about the mission of the Turkish ambassador sent in 1520-21, or in other words about the so-called "proposal of Suleiman". We presume that he stayed in the Empire almost as a permanent ambassador. (According to Köblös he did not return home between Aachen and Innsbruck.<sup>21</sup>) A royal instruction issued on 21 May also confirms this, namely that in the spring of 1521 they negotiated about the royal marriage in various locations almost continuously, since the letter calls upon the ambassadors to continue their work in Cologne and Worms concerning the marriage.<sup>22</sup>

Balbus visited Cologne on another occasion even earlier: the Tudors' imperial ambassador, Tommaso Spinelli met him even before Charles V was crowned in Aachen, on 20 October 1520. Spinelli reported that the Hungarian envoys vehemently urged for contracting the marriage.<sup>23</sup> (Spinelli was present at the Reichstag from January 1521 until the end of April where he met Balbus again<sup>24</sup>).

At the meeting in Cologne in early 1521, Balbus reported that a Turkish ambassador arrived at the Hungarian court "to declare the dethe of the Turk father [Selim I] of this modern [Suleiman I]". Since "the truce betwene them was expired" the new sultan, Suleiman "sent to them [...] ambassador for to proroge and conferme the olde truce",<sup>25</sup> [...] to whome, regarding the great preiudice that might thereby ensue to the remenant of Cristendome, was given no m[uch?] of answe".<sup>26</sup> The Turkish ambassador was "but enterteined [...] with faire wordes".<sup>27</sup> This was done "to learn whether the Pope, the Emperor and other Christian princes could provide aid", as Hungary is unable to prevail.

On 14 February 1521, after the meeting in Cologne, Balbus was ordered to attend the Diet of Worms. He was the permanent imperial ambassador of Louis II, since while he arrived on 24 March, the other Hungarian envoys entered the council-chamber of the Reichstag in early April.<sup>28</sup> His speech delivered on 3 April survived, and was even published.<sup>29</sup> He emphasizes that Hungary, weakened by 150 years of heroic fighting, will not be able to carry on any longer and cannot resist without foreign support.<sup>30</sup> The Turks are arming themselves and attempt to attack the country. Due to the quarrels of the princes even losing Rome has to be feared.<sup>31</sup> This tries to appeal to the vanity of the Germans. "The true, so to say ancient German strength is long gone. You are not the kind of Germans any more either, who reached the level of the Romans in terms of military glory, or perhaps even outperformed them."<sup>32</sup> "What

could be more shameful than serving the Turks?”<sup>33</sup> In case the Germans do not resist now, they will only be able to stop the heathen in their own country. The protection of Christendom falls on them. Balbus even wrote an epigram to Charles V, encouraging him to save Christendom from the sect of Mohamed.<sup>34</sup> However, this all did not lead to any result: for the misfortune of the Hungarian delegates, Luther arrived at Worms exactly on the same day when Charles was working on his answer.<sup>35</sup> Suddenly their case became the least of the Emperor’s concerns: in his reply, he did not even mention foreign aid, he encouraged the Christian princes in general at most.

After the Hungarian delegates set off from the Reichstag on 20 April 1521, Louis II empowered Balbus for another task: he was to “take to the end” the negotiations concerning the marriage of Ferdinand and Anne of Jagiellon.<sup>36</sup> In Worms Balbus even negotiated with Ferdinand about the marriage.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that the envoys went even to the court of the Archprince. (According to some Venetian source they met with him in Flanders.<sup>38</sup>) Eventually, they must have agreed upon contracting the marriage because on 17 April Charles V promised Balbus a benefice as a “reward”.<sup>39</sup> The wedding of Ferdinand and Anne took place on 25-26 May 1521.<sup>40</sup> Balbus was probably also present at the wedding.

The provost arrived home in June, however, a few weeks later the king assigned another mission on him. As a preparation for the mission, Louis II addressed a letter to Henry VIII in which he depicted the dangers of the Turkish advance, gave a detailed description of the Turks’ manoeuvres and especially the plans concerning the occupation of Buda.<sup>41</sup> The Sultan’s aim is the annexation of Hungary, seeing that Christendom cannot provide help due to the quarrel between the French king and the Emperor. The Turks were already busy laying siege to Belgrade when on 7 August Louis sent another letter from the camp at Tétény, at this time to Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, asking for his mediation in making peace between the great European powers, praising his ability in peace-making.<sup>42</sup> He charged Balbus with this commission, one of his most trusted, internal supporters, his tutor in whom he trusted since his childhood and saw him as a second father, who was his loyal and honest adviser in the affairs of state. He asked the Cardinal to listen to what Balbus says as if the king himself would speak “from his own heart”.<sup>43</sup> (For that matter, Balbus had been in England before and could have had English connections.<sup>44</sup>)

The king had planned it earlier to employ Balbus to act as his ambassador. A few days earlier, Sigismund recommended the provost to the Emperor and talked about his mission as a done deal. What is more, he empowered him for another task in his name as well.<sup>45</sup> In a letter written by Balbus to the imperial chancellor, Mercurio Gattinara, Balbus confirmed that he represents Sigismund as well, since the “calamity” afflicts Poland too, and if it does not get any support, it will also perish.<sup>46</sup>

Mary Habsburg also embraced the mission and interceded with Charles V on behalf of the provost.<sup>47</sup> The queen practically regarded Balbus as her own envoy, and he even received an empowerment from her to pay a visit to her brother the Emperor, saying that he does everything personally for her.<sup>48</sup> She reminded her brother that Hungary is not only the “protecting shield of Christendom”, but also the protector of the countries of Charles and their brother, Ferdinand.<sup>49</sup> According to the succession treaty signed with the Hungarian Royal Dynasty, it is their “eternal duty” that “their dynasty” should provide protection for the kingdom.<sup>50</sup> He can trust Balbus, he provides authentic information, and he is “wise and experienced” and rendered many services to their dynasty, especially in case of the royal weddings.<sup>51</sup> He carries the letter of a “great bishop”,<sup>52</sup> who is presumably Chancellor György Szatmári.<sup>53</sup> Gattinara also confirms that Balbus brings a letter from the queen as well which he will send further to Charles.<sup>54</sup> We also have another letter sent by Balbus to Gattinara, which was written before his leave.<sup>55</sup> According to this, he was also absolutely authorized to make agreements and alliances with “other” monarchs in the name of the Hungarian king. Provided he could agree with them, he would also record the size of the forces the princes would promise to raise, how many cavalry and infantrymen they can put on the field.<sup>56</sup>

Although the oration Balbus delivered before Charles V on 1 September 1521 in Antwerp did not survive,<sup>57</sup> the English ambassadors, Richard Wingfield and Tommaso Spinelli passed it on in their reports sent to Chancellor Wolsey.<sup>58</sup> I gave an account of this in a separate study,<sup>59</sup> here I only summarize the details of fundamental importance.

Balbus must have reached the Low Countries in August. The ambassador, “a Venytian borne and reputed of a singular lernyng”, gave an account of the circumstances in Hungary.<sup>60</sup> He wished “the Emperor would make his intention known”, because the country “is unable to endure without foreign aid and protection against the Turks”. “[The country] does not have money”, “does not have infantrymen, reinforcements and munitions of war”, “they have nothing else but a large number

of light cavalry”; “there is not sufficient military service” and “compared to the army of their enemies, the country’s military force” “has almost dwindled to nothing since the death of King Matthias”. Although Belgrade is “a strong castelle and metely well furnyshed that [...] hold yet and shall resist being succured and if suche place be lost, [...] all the realme shalbe lost.”<sup>61</sup> What is more, “also that betwene Belgrado and Buda ben diverse places [castles]”.<sup>62</sup> The decisive momentum is that they will be “able to resist in case be furnished”, by saying this he must have had in mind to imply that a quick aid can still be beneficial.

The ambassador also uses the trump-card of the Habsburg-Jagiellon succession treaty of 1515. He also emphasizes that Charles is obliged to give assistance due to “the mutual family ties between them”, “which was formed not long ago between his Master, the King and his [the Emperor’s] brother, Ferdinand”. He also mentioned that he was instructed to make contracts and alliances with the Pope and other princes as well.<sup>63</sup> (He was indeed empowered to travel to Rome too.<sup>64</sup>) He was waiting for the Emperor’s decision for a long time because he was postponing his answer. The ambassador’s patience was coming to an end; this could have been the reason why other plans were put in force. It is possible that he made the decision to pay a visit to the French king as well already at that time. This option came up over and over again until December (see below). It could have been in the Hungarian schemes that they would turn to the Valois. Balbus also mentions that he was consigned “with other matiers” as well which he did not concretize; only mentioned that later “he wolde shewe more largely”.<sup>65</sup> The Emperor could have been afraid that the Hungarian ambassador would travel to France, and the Valois would embrace the issue of the Cross.<sup>66</sup>

The Hungarian government would have been willing to try to make capital even by casting the blame on Venice: the ambassador was also commissioned to uncover “those that have incyted ... the Turkes against his maister”.<sup>67</sup> He obviously had Venice in mind. And if it had been necessary, Balbus would have been willing to negotiate even about an anti-Venetian alliance

Nevertheless, the Emperor answered that he can promise to “do all in his power” to convince the estates to “care for the Hungarians in some way”, and “provide remedy to their problems”. Nevertheless, he let the ambassador know that “he myght not assist the kyng his good brother”.<sup>68</sup>

Balbus was to turn towards England because of the Emperor’s reluctance. The ambassador could not have expected much from the

Emperor, it was in vain to “hold out a carrot to him” by offering the renewal of the succession treaty. When negotiating with the English envoys it was mentioned that Balbus was authorized to make an alliance with England as well.<sup>69</sup> He gave an account of this in his oration delivered before Pope Clement VII in 1529.<sup>70</sup> The provost told the English commissioners that he would be very happy if “[Wolsey] would intervene in his issue without delay”, and would even meet him, “for the urgent necessitie he hath to go to Rome”.<sup>71</sup> To this the English envoys answered that he “will meet” with the Chancellor too, as “he will come thitherward” (from Calais).<sup>72</sup>

However, the news arriving a few days later ruined these plans. On 10 September Wolsey’s envoys reported that “the Turks have taken Belgrade, which towne was the [e]ntre of Hongre of situation and of strengist served above all others for the conservation and defence of the realme on that side”.<sup>73</sup> Although it may have seemed that the fall of Belgrade could compel the Emperor as well to consider his standpoint, Balbus’s determination to go directly to England only strengthened: “he is determyned to resorte unto your grace [Wolsey] and to procede towards the Kynge, as shalbe most expedient for his charges, with yor grace best counsell”.<sup>74</sup> Venice’s ambassador to the Emperor, Gasparo Contarini wrote to the Signoria already one day earlier that the Hungarian ambassador staying at the Emperor decided to travel to Calais and will turn directly to Wolsey.<sup>75</sup>

At this point the most important fact for England was that the Empire is not in any direct danger yet, Ferdinand can ensure the protection of both Hungary and his own territories. The news arriving on 10 September also revealed that the Archduke mustered 3,000 infantrymen and would pay them to serve for three months.<sup>76</sup> The fall of Belgrade had not had such an effect in high politics, yet which would have forced English politics to react quickly. As the allies of the Emperor, the Tudors were waging war against King Francis I at this time, and the Chancellor was mostly interested in whether the Emperor would engage in the matter and provide aid to Hungary instead of going forward with the French war. Wolsey was busy organizing a peace conference which was planned to take place in Calais in the autumn.

During September the English ambassadors met Balbus several times who at this point “shoved us to have playne power and charge towarde the ffrenche Kyng anf to require and persuade hym for the wele of Cristendome truce or peax with themperors consent”. The English envoys

ensured the ambassador right away that “by your grace[‘s] [Wolsey’s] direccion he wolde knowe what way is best for hym counsailyng hym, to folowe yor advise in ene thyng”.<sup>77</sup> He should not by accident go to the Valois now. On 13 September they negotiated again in Brussels, “at the quarters of the English”, and reported that the ambassador is “determenyd to have” set forth to Calais to Wolsey.<sup>78</sup> Balbus declared that “he wyll not fayle to folowe yor graces advis” in every matter.<sup>79</sup> It was his king’s command to follow the Lord Commander’s instruction, whatever he does.<sup>80</sup>

Due to his illness, however, the Cardinal did not see Louis II’s ambassador. Nevertheless, Balbus wished to be in constant contact with the Chancellor, and for this end he asked him to appoint a chaplain, who would always be with him, and through him he could directly get information, and Wolsey could send word to him “whenever he wishes”. However, Wolsey did not react for weeks, therefore Balbus only set out to the conference at the end of September.<sup>81</sup> The *Chronicle of Calais* does even know that “the chauncellor of Hungarye” himself came to the town. However, it could be right in the fact that the ambassador eagerly wanted to negotiate with all the participants of the conference.<sup>82</sup>

The ambassador was also aware that before coming to any decision with the Chancellor, he has to visit “the kyngs highnes”, but the English ensured him, that “the whyche shall also nothyng determynet in your graces [Wolsey’s] absens”.<sup>83</sup> Therefore it also became clear that he has to travel to England. He was prepared for this, since the ambassador has “havyng so in charge to doo as shall appere by a lettre of the kyng hys maisters owne hand directyd unto the same” (to treat with Henry VIII as well).<sup>84</sup>

According to the report of the English envoys written on 13 September, the letters of the Archbishop of Esztergom and that of others had by that time arrived to the Hungarian envoy’s hands.<sup>85</sup> The English diplomats usually attached an abstract of such letters (as *ex litteris*) for Wolsey, but now these cannot be found beside the reports. Therefore, we do not know what they wrote. The envoys only said in laconic style that “all is ther [in Hungary] in grete danger”.<sup>86</sup> (There is an intelligence from 1521 which includes extracts from the letters of Louis II’s “ministers” – as the catalogue of the British Library put it – for example those of György Szatmári. The main subject is the fall of Belgrade as well.<sup>87</sup>)

Still in the middle of September and in light of the latest news, Balbus tried to find out what the Emperor thinks in this completely changed

situation.<sup>88</sup> However, he could not be admitted to the presence of Charles. Eventually, he decided not to wait for the Emperor – Charles was preoccupied with the French war at the border of Namur and Hainaut. Even the English ambassadors found it strange that Charles did not react to the “grievances of Hungary”, since his dominions were in its vicinity as well, and got close to the Ottomans. Yet he “maye convenientlye gett assistens then any other”.<sup>89</sup> However, the Turkish invasion did not keep the Emperor’s mind occupied.<sup>90</sup> His letter written to Wolsey on 11 September did not discuss anything else but the war against the French.<sup>91</sup> Although he did order his territories bordering Hungary to provide aid, “infantrymen, guns and arms”, but stated that “it would be foolish” to “sacrifice and lose” his own forces on this altar.<sup>92</sup>

The English also saw that the events which took place on the battlefield did not flatter the Emperor with much success, therefore by mediating for peace Wolsey could help Charles out and could pull him out of the conflict. The Chancellor also came to the conclusion that the Turkish victory could shift the parties occupied in the fight towards peace, and as the scale which keeps the balance, England could pose as a peace-building factor. England possessed the required means for this: the Tudors regularly received “Turkish” news through the knights of Saint John of Rhodes, Venice and Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik).<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless, the fall of Belgrade, although only a week after the news had arrived, forced Charles V to take steps. However, all he did was that he wrote to Wolsey,<sup>94</sup> and drew his attention to the Hungarian ambassador, moreover, he asked Henry VIII as well to aid the defence against the Ottomans, since they will “soon subdue the rest of” Hungary.<sup>95</sup> The Emperor resented that, having him sidestepped, Wolsey can pose in the role of a kind of saviour and can welcome the envoy of Louis II in front of the French at Calais, due to which such a peace treaty can be made which is more favourable for the Valois. However, he did not want to become an obstacle for Christendom. On the other hand, he did not wish either that England, under the banner of the cause of Christendom, would leave the Habsburgs alone in the fight against the French. Nevertheless, in September the Habsburg could not have known how far the Turks would push forward towards the Empire, and therefore the Emperor believed that with the Ottomans in his back he is even more dependent upon the Tudors and was at Wolsey’s disposal in all matters. The Cardinal directed the flow of negotiations at Calais at his own pleasure, since the Hungarian ambassador, who could provide him first-hand information, was “near at

hand". Therefore, he presented the "Turkish issue" in Calais to his own liking.

The Lord "Cardinall honorably entertained [Balbus] duryng his abode in Calayce".<sup>96</sup> Balbus negotiated "honestly" with the Cardinal, who, for the time being, declared that Henry VIII can only help, if the princes make peace.<sup>97</sup> The French also learnt about Balbus's arrival at Calais and were aware of the situation and the importance of Belgrade, the fallen "key".<sup>98</sup> However, Wolsey "did not let Balbus go". On 29 September and on 1 October the Turkish question was discussed according to Wolsey's designs.<sup>99</sup> He delivered a grand speech in favour of peace, referring to the fresh information received from Balbus. The Turks "prepare to devour and swallow Christendom", and Hungary, "the solid and strong palladium of Christendom" („ferme et fort bolovart de ladicte chrestienté") "was attacked by them like a starving lion", and "want to get hold of it all". Concerning the aid, he offers the help of the English king. But if there is no cooperation, it is to be feared that the whole country will be lost. For this end he will visit the French king as well.<sup>100</sup>

Chancellor Gattinara also replied Wolsey.<sup>101</sup> He pronounced that the Emperor would gladly provide aid to Hungary, the key of Christendom, "the good and strong castles of which were taken by the Turks", provided he was not tied up and held back by the war. He also referred to the fact Balbus emphasized in his speech, namely that the Turks violated the existing peace and contract.<sup>102</sup> Gattinara and the Emperor's other commissioner in Calais, Bernardo de Mesa, Bishop of Badajoz, gave an account of the discussion of the Turkish issue.<sup>103</sup> They confirmed that the Hungarian king "asks for the help of the English king".<sup>104</sup> However, Gattinara had a good opinion of the ambassador who worked very enthusiastically. He even asked the Emperor to finally reply him, as he had promised back in Worms, and "answer his letters". According to this, Balbus wrote to the Emperor even from Calais, still believing in his assistance. Gattinara also praised how much great service Balbus did for the Habsburgs, reminding Charles of the marriage of Anne and Ferdinand. If for no other reason but at least he [Charles] "should think about the queen", and the services the ambassador had been doing for her.<sup>105</sup>

The Emperor only started to learn how great the danger was in late September after receiving the reports of his envoy, Andrea dal Burgo: the Turks "were victorious and gained strength".<sup>106</sup> He could not have known yet whether the Turks would get going further towards Buda, or perhaps towards the Empire. Even in the middle of October the Venetians reported

about great military preparations.<sup>107</sup> The Sultan, as it was believed at that time, was facing the Hungarian forces on the other side of the Sava River. England's ambassador to Rome reported that the Turks were preparing against Italy.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps at that time there could have been a chance for Charles V to be willing to make peace. He even declared that "we will provide help against the infidel".<sup>109</sup> He even tried to convince the Pope to contribute to "push back the Turks".<sup>110</sup> He declared that he will approve of the peace initiated by the Cardinal.<sup>111</sup>

Nevertheless, it was in vain for the participants to expect more concrete steps from the Emperor, as he was not willing to take any, so Wolsey also decided to wait and see. Although he welcomed Balbus, for the time being he did not give a "real" answer. The French-Habsburg fights went on; there was no progress towards a reconciliation. Even Wolsey could only hope to have an armistice.<sup>112</sup> In this stalemate Balbus could not go to England either. What he gathered from England in the meantime was only that Henry was very apologetic for the fall of Belgrade. On the other hand, he urged Wolsey to return home as he also wished to discuss the Turkish matter with him.<sup>113</sup>

The Hungarian ambassador still believed that the Emperor would indeed take steps in order to make peace. He returned and followed Charles for two months between Brussels and Oudenaarde.<sup>114</sup> On 16 October Wolsey discussed the Hungarian question again at the conference, but waited to learn the standpoint of the French and that of the Habsburgs.<sup>115</sup> The French king only made his stand known in late October.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, it could also have been on the agenda that the Hungarian ambassador would turn to the French king as well, since the Emperor was informed by his envoy in Rome that according to the Hungarian envoys to the Holy See, Hungary asked for the assistance of France as well.<sup>117</sup> However, for the time being Francis was sticking to his impractical conditions.

Only one solution remained at Calais, namely that the opposing parties would sign an armistice.<sup>118</sup> In late October, when fresh news arrived from Hungary,<sup>119</sup> Wolsey made another attempt to move the Emperor and the French king towards a peace treaty.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, Henry increasingly wanted to call back his Chancellor.<sup>121</sup> However, Francis remained adamant.<sup>122</sup> It seemed the Emperor had to back down: in October the French advanced, crossed the Scheldt and were threatening Tournai. The imperial forces were compelled to retreat. Theoretically, the Emperor would have been inclined to sign an armistice, but his vanity did not

allow him to take concrete steps in this direction. He hoped the fortune of war would turn. However, at Valenciennes on 22 October Francis pushed his forces back. The French moved forward along the Spanish border as well; it seemed there was no hope for an armistice.<sup>123</sup> Wolsey also became fatigued of trying to make peace.<sup>124</sup>

Even at this point, Balbus did not give up; he negotiated with the Emperor several times, also because he received new information from Hungary.<sup>125</sup> He let Charles know “that at Buda all thastats of the realme shallbe shortly assemble for to counsaill” and “themperor woll not ... promise to make to the kyng [...] assistance”, they “shallbe compelled to make som truce with the Turks howbeit if thempeor woll consent to them a portion of the ayde granted by thastats of almayne, which unto the ... ambassador saith they wolle aggreable, in that case the kyng of hungria shall doo or conclude nothing wythoute themperors consent [...] the ambassador intendeth to come into Englund.” The diet summoned for the middle of November did not discuss the question of the peace treaty; instead it made sanguine preparations to continue the war. Balbus resided in the Low Countries and persistently hoped to receive the Emperor’s “favourable answer”. He declared that he would go to England, only if he received an answer from Charles concerning this matter.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, he mentioned again that it is indeed the Emperor, the obstacle of the Crusader campaign, against whom he will make an alliance with the most Christian king. Balbus did it very cleverly already in Worms and presented that they received a promise from the French king concerning the aid.<sup>127</sup>

The Emperor was mainly concerned by the French deployment along the borders of Castile as they were threatening to break in. The war on the border of the Low Countries also became increasingly inconvenient for him. Nevertheless, he did not accept the peace offer since in the meantime his fortune in the war turned to his advantage. His ally, the Pope took Milan on 19 November and the Imperial forces captured Tournai in early December.<sup>128</sup> Yet it was a stalemate again and little hope remained that the conference would end successfully.<sup>129</sup>

On 21 November the Hungarian issue was discussed again: presumably Balbus also decided to travel to Calais again. But no solution was found at this time either; therefore, he returned from the port and also negotiated with the Emperor’s councillors. Now, that it seemed certain that there will not be a peace with the French, he was again curious to find out the Emperor’s standpoint. According to the Venetian envoy, Balbus

was disappointed again because the Emperor did not do more either than appointing a committee to discuss the Turkish issue.<sup>130</sup> According to the latest news Charles V received, a large part of Hungary was destroyed by the Turks,<sup>131</sup> but despite this even the committee could not suggest more than including Hungary in their agreement with Henry VIII and the Pope. This was confirmed by the memorandum issued by the English monarch and the Emperor,<sup>132</sup> and indeed, according to the draft created on 24 November, they intended to include Hungary as well in the new alliance.<sup>133</sup> Charles stated that Hungary and Poland will also have a place in the new league.<sup>134</sup> “His [Balbus’s] commyng was for ayde as men sayd against the Frenche kyng”, which we can also interpret as Hungary was willing to enter an anti-French alliance in exchange for an aid.<sup>135</sup>

Balbus received nothing more from the Emperor than words. Charles was not willing to do more than asking Wolsey to mediate in the case of Hungary before the King of England.<sup>136</sup> This is why the provost went to Calais again in late November 1521, and now he put all his hopes in the English once and for all and planned to travel to England. The Chancellor’s peace proposal failed and on 27 November he sailed back to Dover. A few days later the parties finalized the agreement of Calais.<sup>137</sup> England signed a contract with the Habsburgs and committed herself to send a declaration of war to the Valois until March 1523.<sup>138</sup> The Cardinal could only achieve that the Valois and the Habsburgs agree to continue the negotiations in England.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, perhaps Balbus could still have put his hope into this when he himself crossed the English Channel too. Balbus could have been positive as well because the Chancellor did not abandon the idea of inviting the French king to England in December to hold a summit.<sup>140</sup> Although he did not succeed in putting this across, he continued his work in the next spring.<sup>141</sup>

England could make even more capital of the issue of the anti-Turkish alliance. Wolsey could make it seem as if he only could provide help to Hungary. This stood him in good stead, because when Leo X died on 1 December he made it clear that he intended to put forward his candidature for the Papacy.<sup>142</sup> His “message” to the cardinals was the following: only he can embrace the issue of the fight against the heathen and can bring peace to Europe.<sup>143</sup> Balbus’s mission was hindered by the fact that the importance of the Turkish issue was dwarfed by the conclave. Nevertheless, the ambassador worked on tirelessly. On 6 December before the news of the Pope’s death reached England and after Balbus arrived at England,

Wolsey already informed Charles V that he wanted to involve Hungary and Poland in an anti-French league.<sup>144</sup>

We do not know exactly whether the Hungarian ambassador met Henry VIII.<sup>145</sup> He must have followed the Cardinal's entourage all the way to the king, since Henry welcomed Wolsey in Bletchingley right away.<sup>146</sup> An "instrument" of the Cotton Collection, a later "reminder" or warrant about a non-existent, probably lost or destroyed document proves that Balbus negotiated with the king as well: there was an agreement between Henry VIII and the King of Hungary stating that the former would provide an aid which was enough to raise a contingent of 3,000 soldiers.<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know any more. We do not even know in which sub-collection the document to which f. 113 refers was – in the "B. IX." sub-collection Nero f. 113 is a completely different document from Cologne.

It is an entirely different matter that after the news of the Pope's death reached England, the provost was aware of the fact that the conclave became the main issue. His letters suggest that he had little chance to treat with the leaders of the English government. He wrote grimly that between Christmas and Epiphany he has even less chance to negotiate with anyone.

An interesting source sheds light upon how the diplomat took every chance available to reach his goals. He wrote a letter to Wolsey, presumably in early December, already from England. Henry VIII was receptive of an anti-Turkish campaign which entailed Christian glory and immortal knightly grandeur. The letter was a smart bait; it reported on the preparations for a Hungarian counter-attack, probably intended to appeal to the king's vanity. Balbus insisted that the money, if provided now without any delay, would not flow into a bottomless sack, since the king is about to launch a campaign. They cannot wait any longer, if we do not act now, not only Belgrade, but also the heart of Hungary would be lost.

In Rome the Pope was informed even before the fall of Belgrade that "the king set off to relieve Belgrade and the Turkish sultan was forced to retreat 20 miles".<sup>148</sup> The English ambassador to the Curia heard in early October that Louis "will launch a new campaign soon".<sup>149</sup> The Holy Father sent 30 thousand golden florins indeed.<sup>150</sup> On 4 October the English ambassador to the Emperor was informed by the Hungarian ambassador that "the Turks retreated from Belgrade", which is acceptable, since on 15 October Suleiman did set off to return home,<sup>151</sup> but the infor-

mation spread by Balbus stating that “the Turke with hit grete loss is withdrawing from Belgrado” is strongly disputable.<sup>152</sup>

In the letter in question the ambassador provides the Chancellor with fresh news.<sup>153</sup> The Turks “were forced to retreat by the pestilence which broke out in their army and by the cold of the north”, however we “fight for our religion” with unbroken “spirit. The king’s army did not fall back but followed the traces of the retreating Turks.” They cannot wait to join battle with them again. “We are resolved to push forward all the way to Constantinople.” But for this end the money of the Christian princes is needed.<sup>154</sup> Such overreaching allocations were not uncommon from Balbus at all: in his speech delivered before the Reichstag in 1521 he stated that if the Empire provides financial aid, the Christians can move forward all the way to Constantinople, and the Germans can get hold of the city.<sup>155</sup> To have a clear picture of the issue, let us give an outline what happened in the autumn of 1521 to see whether any detail of Balbus’s report is credible.

Although the national army which was organized in the late summer of 1521 could not relieve Belgrade, a possible clash was in the air, since Suleiman was in his camp until mid-September, and so was Louis II until the end of the month. István Bátori of Ecsed, the Palatine concentrated his forces in August at Pétervárad (present-day Petrovaradin).<sup>156</sup> On 13 September Voivode János Szapolyai/Zápolya, leaving his forces behind at Vanna, met the King and Bátori at Bába.<sup>157</sup> On 18 September he travelled on to the army which set up a camp at Mohács to ask for instructions concerning further actions.<sup>158</sup> It did not appear that the king and the main leaders would have left the country to its fate, and before mid-September it could not have been clear whether the Sultan was willing to meet in battle. The meetings at Bába and Mohács decided to launch a campaign to retake their lands at once.<sup>159</sup> The king called for another armed assembly at Újlak (present-day Ilok) on 6 October.<sup>160</sup> However, an epidemic broke out and the king did not wish to take part in the campaign any more.<sup>161</sup> It is possible that news about these preparations had reached the West before the epidemic broke out. This is why the foreign ambassadors wrote about a Hungarian pursuit. Louis moved to Pécs, the diet was held off. The army disbanded and returned home.<sup>162</sup> Szapolyai and Bátori organized the protection of Szerém/Syrmia and Petrovaradin against the Turkish units left behind.<sup>163</sup> The Voivode originally wanted to winter out there to prevent the incursions of the bey of Belgrade; perhaps Balbus meant his actions when he talked about the beginning of a new

campaign.<sup>164</sup> The fact itself that the country was preparing for a campaign was realistic, since the Turks proposed a campaign against Wallachia and Transylvania. They could invade the country at any time.<sup>165</sup> Already at the end of the year, Szapolyai ordered his troops to be ready and also received money to recruit 1500 mercenaries and to prepare his castles.<sup>166</sup> Already in October, Louis II ordered him to assist the pro-Christian forces in Wallachia.<sup>167</sup> The Venetians reported about a new Turkish invasion as early as 30 October.<sup>168</sup> At the end of the year, Louis informed the Polish king that he is afraid of an attack against Buda.<sup>169</sup> In January Burgo reported on further Turkish raids.<sup>170</sup> Although Szapolyai went to war in Wallachia,<sup>171</sup> the royal campaign was not put on the agenda as Louis II was preparing to travel to Bohemia.<sup>172</sup>

In this regard, Balbus's letter mentioned above does not provide any veritable information. However, we must not saddle every unrealistic information on Balbus. The whole Hungarian political leadership worked on convincing the Westerners that the king did not give up hope, they should just send the aid. This is probably why even the well-informed Grand Master of Rhodes reported on 20 September upon a victory achieved against the Turks.<sup>173</sup>

According to the Bishop of Badajoz, the ambassador of Charles V to England, the Archbishop of York ensured Balbus about his support, but also made it clear that he can only help him, if Francis I is defeated by joint effort, allied with the Habsburgs, or if the Valois are willing to back out and make peace. He suggested that Louis should enter into a league with England, the Pope and the Emperor against France. The provost promised to inform his monarch about this.<sup>174</sup> Wolsey, being overly confident, even sent Balbus to the Bishop of Badajoz to already start formulating the articles of the future agreement.<sup>175</sup> The Bishop rejected this, saying he does not have authorization to do so.

Badajoz informed Charles about Wolsey's proposal. The Emperor asked him to investigate what kind of alliance the Cardinal is going to sign with the Jagiellons, whether it is really his plan to bypass the Habsburgs when needed to win the Jagiellons' support against France, and in exchange for this he would offer them help against the Turks. On the whole, Charles agreed with Wolsey, and he himself set up a condition that he would assist the Hungarians if they did join the anti-French league. This way "it would be easier to launch a campaign against the heathen".<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, the Emperor had a knowledge of Wolsey's own agreement and asked his ambassador to inform him about

everything that passes between the Chancellor and the ambassador, and asked for the copies of the letters they exchanged and also for the copies of Balbus's other letters.<sup>177</sup> When Bernardo de Mesa met Balbus he asked him whether there is willingness in Hungary or in Poland to enter the league. Balbus interpreted Wolsey's answer as a rejection, since he offered an anti-French league in the midst of the fight against the Turks. His reaction must also have been that without Louis II's initial authorization he cannot take a stand. Wolsey could not have thought that this had any realistic chance; he rather wanted to play for time and learn the truth about the military situation in Hungary, whether the Turks are really attacking again. When they do so, the Habsburgs cannot act against France with such vehemence. For the time being, Wolsey was only interested in the Turkish issue to this extent. He was cautious; for the present, he did not use the Crusade as a trump card, not even on account of the conclave. After all, the Hungarians' plea for aid did have an effect on English politics, even if it was only the fact that now the Turkish issue could increasingly be utilized in high politics. Wolsey also realized how much the issue of the Cross could help their politics. Henry VIII did also declare that he will be the most committed leader of the cause of the Cross.<sup>178</sup>

Balbus's last letter related to his stay in England was written already on his way home in Dover on 26 December 1521.<sup>179</sup> He met a courier of the Hungarian and Polish king who was taking a message to Henry VIII and based on the latest news from home he turned to Wolsey again. (Unfortunately, the courier's letter is not available, although it would be interesting to know what Louis II could have written again in December to England. He could have given information about their planned attack on the Turks in Wallachia. In accordance with this, the Emperor also received fresh news from Hungary on 17 December.<sup>180</sup>) Balbus asked the Cardinal that he and Henry should turn to Charles and Ferdinand again. But he still did not know whether the Chancellor would really take steps.<sup>181</sup> The ambassador was disappointed, he continuously took pains to secure foreign aid, now he was in utter despair and did not know what to do. The country sank into a forlorn situation, by living off its own resources it could not protect itself. The Turks were preparing to attack with all their Asian and European forces, but the country is completely abandoned. Even in this situation, Balbus sees Wolsey as the saviour, asks him to mediate for peace. He praises his unique wisdom, trying to have an effect on his vanity.<sup>182</sup> However, all in all the final message of his

letter is that he did not receive an ensuring answer from neither the Chancellor, nor Henry VIII and it seems he will not get any. He almost entirely abandons all hope that Hungary can be relieved.

On 22 January, the Venetian ambassador to Brussels reported that the Hungarian ambassador was on his way back: he confirms that Balbus could not secure any aid, and although the Empire promised some help, half of the forces that had been voted for in Worms, but there had not so far been any trace of these.<sup>183</sup> The English envoys to the Empire gave a similar report.<sup>184</sup> In February the Signoria's ambassador to London also reported that Wolsey did only promise to have Hungary embraced in the league.<sup>185</sup>

Both the Emperor and Wolsey were worried that the provost will travel to Paris as well and Francis I will make the best of the situation and embrace Louis II. Even before the Turkish campaign, the Valois monarch sent ambassadors to Louis and tried to feel out his stand regarding Charles V.<sup>186</sup> (They approached Sigismund as well; in 1520 a Polish envoy went to Paris.<sup>187</sup>) On 19 November 1521 Chancellor Du Prat reported that the Hungarian ambassador's "letters and figures" concerning the Turkish devastation reached him and stated that a friendship with Hungary would be very useful, and that he could even provide aid.<sup>188</sup> Balbus could get to know the Valois standpoint in Calais. However, as long as the conference was held, the idea of travelling to France did not arise. The failure of his mission in England created an entirely different situation.

The provost's letter written in Dover reveals that he was beset by doubts, not knowing whether to find the enemies of his allies. Nevertheless, he had to take this chance as well, since his monarch authorized him to turn also to the French king for aid. However, for the time being, he did not go through with this plan, but only because he learned from the Imperial ambassador in the harbour that the French king was not in Paris. True to say, he personally did not have high hopes on the negotiations with the French king; he believed he was just wasting his time.<sup>189</sup>

The fact that the ambassador could go to France still made England and the Habsburgs anxious, since Balbus, residing in the Low Countries, remained very close for weeks in early 1522. Wolsey was even willing to rely on spies to see out the ambassador's correspondence. The English succeeded in getting an insight into his letters, but they did not contain anything they thought they would, but rather confirmed the opposite of what they feared.<sup>190</sup> The Tudor spies were following the Hungarian am-

bassador for a long time; they tried to learn with whom and about what he negotiated, to whom he wrote. This is how important Louis II's ambassador was for England's powerful Chancellor.

It has been suggested in literature that Balbus returned home at the end of 1521 and then, fearing the Turks, he left the country.<sup>191</sup> This originates from Knauz who, however, does not support his statement, nor does he explain why.<sup>192</sup> In January and February 1522, Balbus was in the Low Countries.<sup>193</sup> It is possible that he left Hungary during the year, but not at all because he was afraid of the Turks. Köblös also states that he left in 1521, but as "the memoirs of Miklós Oláh testify", he leased out his provostry to Ferenc Szélői Acél.<sup>194</sup> We have indeed a memoir from Oláh, and Knauz could have taken this as the basis for his statement.<sup>195</sup> Ábel also goes back to the same source, he also believed that Balbus left "out of fear".<sup>196</sup> Not even his present-day biographer knows exactly when and for how long he was in Hungary. In 1522 he appears as the Bishop of Gurk, which seems to confirm that the Habsburgs made benefit of his diplomatic experience.<sup>197</sup> He obviously reported about his journey to King Louis and presumably also to Szatmári, but the next time he appears is on 23 July 1522: he is serving Ferdinand in Wiener Neustadt by presiding a court in Lower Austria.

In February 1522, after the report of Balbus arrived, Louis II wrote a letter to the King of England. The Imperial ambassador to London reported that he "forwarded those letters from Hungary" which were entrusted to him by Charles V to Henry VIII.<sup>198</sup> The Hungarian king must have turned to the Emperor again at the same time, because Charles V declared that "he promised the King of Hungary that the aid will be rendered to help Hungary and the Empire".<sup>199</sup> At this time he also tried to come to an arrangement with the French, since on 26 February 1522 he dispatched a commission to his envoy in England with this content.<sup>200</sup> Even if his intention regarding the peace was not tangible, news about the Turkish advance, or that Hungary would come to an agreement with the Valois behind his back, had some effect on him. Thus, even if the country did not profit much from Balbus's mission, at least it achieved that the hostile parties got one step closer to make peace.

The correspondence of Hieronymus Balbus provides valuable information on the administration of Louis II, about its relationship with the Turks and the Emperor. The leaders of Hungarian diplomacy did not lack astuteness and "had a clear picture" about the international power relations. They also judge well the role of the English Chancellor. The

government experienced with alternatives, provided they did not receive any aid from the Habsburgs: they were willing to go as far as making an alliance with not only the English, but even with the Emperor's enemies, the Valois. In 1521, despite the powerful Habsburg dominance, Hungarian foreign politics did have some room to manoeuvre. But in case no other foreign aid can be expected from the West, only the Habsburgs will remain. The provost, as none of the great powers were willing to provide tangible support, was forced to suggest that the succession treaties signed with the Habsburgs should be put in force already during the lifetime of Louis II, so that they would also participate in the defence.

*Notes*

- <sup>1</sup> Concerning his life see: Rill, 'Balbi,' 370-374.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 1.; Ortway, *Pozsony*, III. 225-227.; Flood, *Poets Laureate*, I. 109-111.; Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség*, 180-259.; Ábel, *Magyarországi*, 32-74.; Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség*, 320-321.
- <sup>2</sup> C. Tóth, 'Az egri káptalan', 52.; Knauz, *Balbi*, ff. 118-133.; Idem, *Balbi Jeromos*, 5-27., 81-106., 161-183., 242-261., 321-352., 386-419., 481-502.; Hermann, *Egy humanista*, 225-244.; Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan*, 23., 321-323.; Köblös, *Az egyházi közélet*, 444-445., 466.; Fedeles, '„Quod tales omnes,”', 40., 47., 53.
- <sup>3</sup> Arch. 61-62.
- <sup>4</sup> *Balbi de laudibus bellicis regis pannonie carmen*, III. 1568. s. a.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 183-85.; *Pannonia királyának hadi dicsőségéről*: Hegedüs, 'Hieronymus Balbus', 150-155.
- <sup>5</sup> „Legifer et Spartae templa Lycurgos habet.  
Utque Solone suo dociles laetantur athenae  
Sic laudes refert Pannonis ora tuas.”: *De legibus Hungariae*. [Stephanus Verböczy] *Tripartitum*; Horváth, *Irodalmi*, 219-220.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 220-21.; Balbi, *Opera*, I. 237-238.
- <sup>6</sup> *Monumenta rusticorum*, n. 104.; Kubinyi, 'A királyi,' 5-6.
- <sup>7</sup> Kubinyi, 'A királyi', 9. Royal aulicus: 1510: DF 247 538.; "secretarius consiliarius nostri": DL 105 256.
- <sup>8</sup> Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 26.
- <sup>9</sup> Cuspinianus, 'Napló', VII.; VIII. §. The Emperor sent an answer with the envoy: *De itinere Regis Poloniae*, 176., 178.
- <sup>10</sup> AT V. n. 54.; 23 April 1520: AT V. n. 204.; Fógel, *II. Lajos*, 102.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 31.
- <sup>11</sup> Hegedüs, *Hieronymus Balbus*, 151., 154.
- <sup>12</sup> Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 27.
- <sup>13</sup> DL 103 135.

- <sup>14</sup> Balbi, *Opera*, II. 551.; Knauz, *Balbi*, 97.; Ábel, *Magyarországi*, 36.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 32.
- <sup>15</sup> 7 November 1521.: DF 258 381 (copy). Spekner, 'Die Geschichte', 44.
- <sup>16</sup> BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. XX f. 166r; L&P III/2. n. 1043.
- <sup>17</sup> Ortway, *Pozsony*, III. 226.; Ábel, *Magyarországi*, 36.
- <sup>18</sup> Kubinyi, 'Werböczy', 79.
- <sup>19</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>20</sup> In one of my studies I investigated what kind of information Balbus provided in the course of his mission as an ambassador concerning the so-called "proposal of Suleiman", the mission of the Turkish ambassador sent in 1520-21. Bárány, 'Adalékok', 21-38.
- <sup>21</sup> Katona, *Historia critica*, Tom. XII. Ordine XIX. 196-208.; Knauz, *Balbi*, 97.
- <sup>22</sup> DL 38 070.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 592.
- <sup>23</sup> "Thambassadors of Hongre incessantly make instaunce for the accomplyshment of theyr mariage with suche hygh wordes [...] that were at Coloyne for to com to the coronacion.": TNA SP 1/21 f. 112.; L&P III/1. n. 1029.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, II. 24-25.
- <sup>24</sup> BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. XX f. 196r., 224r.
- <sup>25</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII. f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Sanuto, XXX. 135.; Török, 'A mohácsi vész', 152.; Martin, *II. Lajos*, 11.; To the margrave of Mantua: DRTA DRTA II. 838.
- <sup>29</sup> Knauz, *Balbi*, 98.; Ortway, *Pozsony*, III. 226-27.
- <sup>30</sup> DRTA II. 758.; Balbi, *Oratio in imperiali conventu Bormaciensi*, I. 145.; Balbi, *Opera*, I. 547-61.; Katona, *Historia critica*, XIX. 242-63.; Pray, *Annales*, I. 46-52.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 541-65.; Berzeviczy, 'Magyarország', 452-456.
- <sup>31</sup> Balbi, *Opera*, I. 552.; Hopp, 'Az „antemurale”', 60.
- <sup>32</sup> Balbi, *Opera*, I. 552.; Fraknói, 'Werböczy', 466.
- <sup>33</sup> "[...] quid enim foedus, quid abominabilius dici potest, quam Christianos Turcis servire?": Balbi, *Opera*, I. 550.; Katona, *Historia critica*, XIX. 247.
- <sup>34</sup> "Nonne satis saevit Mahometi secta nefandi? Nonne satis Scythico tartarus orbe nocens? Hoc derat? nostras in viscera vertere vires?": *Divo Carolo Caesari Semper Augusto*: Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 544.
- <sup>35</sup> Martin, *II. Lajos*, 22-23.
- <sup>36</sup> DL 38 070.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 592.
- <sup>37</sup> Martin, *II. Lajos*, 18.
- <sup>38</sup> "[...] e partito [...] Balbi preposito, [...] e jurisconsulto e anderá accompagnar don Ferando in Fiandra": Sanuto, XXX. 376.
- <sup>39</sup> *Die Reichsregisterbücher Kaiser Karls V.*, n. 1151.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 35.; Köblös, *Az egyházi*, 445.
- <sup>40</sup> E. Kovács, 'Ferdinánd', 26.; Zombori, 'Hatalom', 9.
- <sup>41</sup> "[...] ad Budam ubi nobis Regia est capiendam properabit": BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 80r.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, 62-65.; L&P III/1. n. 1376. It is not to be

found among the copies about the Vespasian MS in the MNL – DF 293 354. Partially published: *Documente* II/3. n. 254.; *Szerbia*, n. 457.

<sup>42</sup> “[...]ad consilium et arbitrium [...] Dominationis Vestrae referet, omnibus in rebus ejus fidei demandatis opera, favore, auctoritate, et iussione [...] Dominationis Vestrae uteretur.”: BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 73r. It can be found in the DF, but can scarcely be used, the document was halfway folded in when the picture was taken. DF 293 354. p. 39.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, I. 65-67.; L&P III/2. n. 1476.; partially cited by Ortway, dated 8 August: Ortway, *Pozsony*, III. 227.

<sup>43</sup> “[...] ut optimum amicum diligere sed ut tutorem et prope parentem alterum, [...] teneram et pubescentem nostram aetatem summa cum fiducia. Elegimus ex consiliarijs nostris [...] oratorem quem nobis semper sincerissimum que sumus experti, et quo olim preceptore solertissimo, [...] nostrarum rerum consultore ac ministro fidissimo usi sumus, eique tantum confidimus. [...] Rogamus [...] Paternitatem Vestram ut cuicquid nunc in persona nostra pertractabit eadem ita accipiat ac si totum ex ore et precordiis nostris emanarent”. BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 73r.

<sup>44</sup> He left Paris in 1492 or in 1493. Allen, ‘Hieronymous’, 427.; He was accused of sodomy and escaped from the inquiry. The epistle of the offended: Andrelini, *De fuga Balbi*; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 290-91. Retzer, Knauz and Ábel do not agree that he ever travelled to England. Retzer, *Nachrichten*, 12.; Knauz, *Balbi*, 19-20.; Ábel, *Magyarországi*, 33.; His stay in England is confirmed by Botlik, *VIII. Henrik*, 48.; and Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 18., 39.

<sup>45</sup> Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 67.

<sup>46</sup> DF 276 723.; Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70.

<sup>47</sup> Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70.; *Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie*, 1. n. 2.; Busch, *Drei Jahre*, 172.

<sup>48</sup> “[...] j’ay ordonne messire Jheromme vous dire de ma part [...] et tout ce que lui ferais de par moi”: Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70.; *Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie*, n. 2.

<sup>49</sup> “[...] qui est le bolleuart de toute la chrestienmete, et particuliers de voz royaulmes et nostre frère”. Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> “[...] je vous supplie, que a toutte diligence a vous possible vouloir ayder le roy et cestuy royaulme, lesquels perpetuellement et a tousiours serons tenus et oblige a vous et a nostre maison.” Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> “[...] est en bonne auctoritate, [...] ung homme bien experimete at saige [...] qu’il est ytalian [...] les grans seruices, comme vous scaues, qu’il a faiz au commenchement et perfection du mariage de moy et de ma belle seur, et aultres affaires de nostre maison, car il c’est tres bien employe [...] en mes affaires”. Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “[...] et le roy et son conseil l’ont assuree par lettres patentes d’une grosse eueshe”. Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Their relationship was confidential, Szatmári trained him for diplomacy. Tóth-Szabó, *Szatmári*, 296. Balbus called him his Lord. Hermann, *Egy humanista*, 229.; Kubinyi, ‘A királyi’, 5-6. Szatmári refers to him his private secretary: Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség*, 232.

- <sup>54</sup> “[...] l’ambassador de Hongrie [...] m’a aussy baille unne lectre de la reyne de Hongherie, vostre seur, que je vous envoye toute close”. Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 114.
- <sup>55</sup> DF 276 723.; Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70. Mary’s above-mentioned letter also mentions him. “en la charge qu’il porte par devers vous”. Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70.; *Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie*, 1. n. 2.
- <sup>56</sup> “[...] apud Caes. maiestatem, quam regem Angliae, [...] pro ope regno Hungarie ferenda totius viribus laborandum. [...] contra hostes fidei coniunctis viribus arma suscipiantur. [...] ad pactiones et federa nomine regis Hungariae apud alios principes devenero, eumque inseram et astringam. Habeoque ipsius obligandi plenam facultatem. [...] declarem quantum equitatus et peditatus aliaque ad bellum oportuna sit in medium collaturus, et ad ipsum nomine procuratio astringam.”: DF 276 723.; Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 70.
- <sup>57</sup> From 15 July 1521 in Antwerp, at the end of August in Bruges, then in Antwerp again. Russell, ‘The Search’, 177. On 2 September he was already in Brussels: HHStA Staatenabteilungen B. Ausserdeutsche Staaten, Schweiz 1. Gruppe Fasc. 6/3. f. 38r-38v.: *Politische Korrespondenz*, n. 105084. [<http://karl-v.bsz-bw.de/rech/itinerar.htm> – 4 October 2018]; TNA SP 1/23 p. 40.; L&P III/2. n. 1537.
- <sup>58</sup> Unattended. BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII. ff. 69r-72v. Regest: L&P Henry VIII. III/2. n. 1532. 631-33.
- <sup>59</sup> Bárány, ‘Követjelentés’, II. 483-494.
- <sup>60</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B VII. f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> “[...] in charge to entre [...] with the pope and other princes into any treatie and amitie.” Ibid.
- <sup>64</sup> “[...] apud pontificem pro ope regno Hungarie ferenda totius viribus laborandum.” Mon. Habs. I/2. n. 235.
- <sup>65</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B VII. f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>66</sup> In his oration written to Clement VII in 1529 he confirms that he was authorized to make an alliance with France: “facta simul spe, fore ut Franciscus [...] Franciae [rex] foederi accedat”: *Balbi Episcopi Gurcensis Oratio habita coram Clemente VII*, f. 79 r.; Balbi, *Opera*, I. 577-643.; Retzer, *Nachrichten*, 95.; Balbi, *Opera*, I. lii.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 568-78.
- <sup>67</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B VII. f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> “[...] he hath in comission to resorte to the kynge hyghness not ounley for to demonstre[t] their adversities and dissire assistance but also to renew the ancien confederations”. Ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> Balbi, *Oratio habita coram Clemente VII*, = Balbi, *Opera*, I. 582.; Retzer, *Nachrichten*, 95.; Retzer, *De vita*, lii.
- <sup>71</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B VII. f. 69r-72v.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>73</sup> TNA SP 1/23 p. 50.; L&P III/2. n. 1561.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, II. 25-28.

- <sup>74</sup> “[...] make all possible instaunce for the resolucion of themperor towching thassistance he loked to have”: Ibid.
- <sup>75</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 331.
- <sup>76</sup> “Don fferdinando had sent to the kyng his master 3000 fotemen paid and provided for thre moneths wages”: TNA SP 1/23 p. 50.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> “[...] determenyd to have shortlye resorted unto your grace [...] shall approche intendyth to be at Calles”: TNA SP 1/23 p. 55.; L&P III/2. n. 1570.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, II. 32-36., Botlik, *VIII. Henrik*, 49. Wolsey arrived at Calais on 2 August, then he negotiated in Bruges as well after 20 August, then after 29 August he resided there until 24 November. Rymer, *Foedera*, XIII. 749-750.; *Négociations diplomatiques*, II. n. 153.; Mattingly, ‘An Early Non-aggression’, 20.
- <sup>79</sup> TNA SP 1/23 p. 55.; L&P III/2. n. 1570.
- <sup>80</sup> “[...] hath [...] commandment [...] from his master, to be ordered in all his charge the advice and counsaill of your grace”: BL MS Cotton Galba B. VIII f. 77r.
- <sup>81</sup> “[...] dissired [...] to appoint som chaipayne or other such persounys of your grace by this he myght be contynually addressed to your presence”: Ibid.
- <sup>82</sup> “[...] to speke to the great counsell.” *The chronicle of Calais*, 31.
- <sup>83</sup> “[...] he supposyd yor grace byfore ye wolde take any resolucion wt hym, wyll have hym to go to the kyngs highnes, the whyche shall also nothyng determynt in your graces absens”: BL MS Cotton Galba B. VIII f. 77r.
- <sup>84</sup> TNA SP 1/23 f. 55.; L&P III/2. n. 1570.
- <sup>85</sup> The elected Archbishop of Esztergom at the time was György Szatmári.
- <sup>86</sup> TNA SP 1/23 p. 55.
- <sup>87</sup> “[...] Turcas capta Nandoralba”: BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 26r-27r.
- <sup>88</sup> TNA SP 1/23 p. 55.; L&P III/2. n. 1570.
- <sup>89</sup> “[...] themperor [...] prochayneth of hys dominions of Allmayne unto the realme of Hongarye [...] maye convenientlye gett assistens then any other”: Ibid.
- <sup>90</sup> The correspondence between Gattinara, Badajoz and the Emperor. *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 76-80., 82-88., 90-101.
- <sup>91</sup> *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 89.
- <sup>92</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 27.
- <sup>93</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. 206., 272., 282., 304.; Sanuto, XXX. 208., XXXI. 181., XXXI. 239-40.
- <sup>94</sup> TNA SP 1/23 p. 58.; L&P III/2. n. 1586.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, 627.
- <sup>97</sup> “[...] l’ambassadeur de Hongrye deuers le legat, et eut icelluy ambassadeur audience en noz presencez et d’aucuns de conseil d’Angleterre. Et combien que par lesdits ambassadeurs et legat ayent este dites plusieurs belles et honnestes parolles [...] le roy de Hongrie aura petite ayde du roy d’Angleterre separement sans les aultres grandz princes de la chrestientte”: *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 109.
- <sup>98</sup> According to Du Prat’s secretary: “[...] arriva à Calais ung ambassadeur du Roy de Hongrie, lequel venoit par devers les princes chrestiens pour demander secours pour

ledict Roy de Hongrie, [...] contre le Turc, qui peu de temps auparavant avoit prins la ville de Bellegrade, qui est la clef dudict royaume de Hongrie”: *Journal de Jean Barrillon*, II. 265.

<sup>99</sup> Russell, ‘The Search’, 182.; Busch, *Drei Jahre*, 172.

<sup>100</sup> “[...] le Turc, ne dort, mais comme lyon affamé s’est mis sus pour engloutir et dévorer ladite chrestienté, [...] est desjà y est entré, et invahi, [...] le royaume de Ungrie, y a prins á force aucuns des principaulx chasteaulx et forteresses, menassant e prendre et occuper toute la reste qu’il pourra faire, si par le secours et ayde des autres princes chrestiens n’y est résisté, comme il m’a esté ce jourd’huy dit par l’ambassadeur du roy de Ungrie [...] je désiré, [...] voyre me transporteray en ma personne devers le roy très-chrestien.” *Papiers d’État de Granvelle*, I. n. 33.; L&P III/2. n. 1816.

<sup>101</sup> *Papiers d’État de Granvelle*, I. 211.

<sup>102</sup> “[...] qu’icelly commung ennemy, violant les traictez et convenances qu’il avoit fait naguères avec l’ambassadeur deu roy d’Hongrie, s’est levé contre le royaume dudict Ungrie, et y a já prins et gagné certains bons et fors chasteaulx, en ce temps que ledict empereur, ailleurs empesché et occupé, ne peut bonnement, comme il voudroit, assister et vailler secours audict roy”: *Papiers d’État de Granvelle*, I. 212.

<sup>103</sup> *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 111.

<sup>104</sup> “[...] pour requerir l’ayde et assitance dudit roy d’Angleterre”: *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> “[...] pour ce que scauez ce que luy promistes a Vormes, et les lectres que vous luy baillastes [...] et qu’il a beaucoup seruy en ces mariaiges, et est homme pour vous bien servir encoures, et que je le treve plein de bon zele, que M. le legat icy l’extime et en tient bon compte [...] et en faisant responce a ses lectres luy escripre, que, tant pour l’amour de la reyne, [...] que pour le services qu’il ha faictz et esperez et aussy pour ses vertuz le aurez tout jour pour recomandé”: *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 114.

<sup>106</sup> “[...] le Turc gagne et se fortifie contre la chrestiente”: *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 112.; L&P III/2. n. 1616.

<sup>107</sup> Óváry, I. n. 1150.

<sup>108</sup> *CSP Spain*, II. n. 285.; 350-352., 364.

<sup>109</sup> “[...] nous desirons le repos de toute la chrestiente, afin d’avoir meilleur moyen d’assister le roy de Hongrie contre les Turcz”: *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 112.; L&P III/2. n. 1616.

<sup>110</sup> “[...] reboutement des Turcs infidelles qui sont en Hongrie”: *Mon. Habs.* II/1. n. 115.; L&P III/2. n. 1620.

<sup>111</sup> BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. IV f. 177r.; L&P III/2. n. 1640.

<sup>112</sup> L&P III/2. n. 1605., Russell, ‘The Search,’ 185.

<sup>113</sup> “[...] the prosperose successe off the turkes in takynge Belgrado, is verraye displeasant to the Kyngis Hyghnesse”: BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 124r.; *State Papers*, I. 74.; L&P III/2. n. 1680.

<sup>114</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII. f. 154v.; L&P III/2. n. 1799.; Botlik, *VIII. Henrik*, 50.

<sup>115</sup> *Négociations diplomatiques*, II. n. 153.; *Journal de Jean Barrillon*, II. 283-284.

<sup>116</sup> *Journal de Jean Barrillon*, II. 300.

<sup>117</sup> *CSP Spain*, II. n. 356.

- <sup>118</sup> Russell, 'Search,' 184.
- <sup>119</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 350.
- <sup>120</sup> "[...] the greate dangier that may ensue to cristendom [...] the victorie of the Thurk and the imminent p[eril] [...] realm of hungary is to be remembred." To the French king: BL Cotton MS Caligula D. VIII f. 123r.; L&P III/1. n. 1696.
- <sup>121</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 45r.; *State Papers*, I. 76.; L&P III/2. n. 1709.; BL Cotton MS Caligula D. VIII f. 145r., *State Papers*, I. 82.; L&P III/2. n. 1762.
- <sup>122</sup> L&P III/2. n. 1698-1699., 1702., 1707-1709.
- <sup>123</sup> Russell, *Peacemaking*, 121.
- <sup>124</sup> Harvey, *Wolsey*, 128.
- <sup>125</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 156r.; L&P III/2. n. 1800.
- <sup>126</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>127</sup> Martin, *II. Lajos*, 19.
- <sup>128</sup> Creighton, *Wolsey*, 134.
- <sup>129</sup> Fletcher, *Wolsey*, 76.
- <sup>130</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 366.; Busch, *Drei Jahre*, 172.
- <sup>131</sup> Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 143.
- <sup>132</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 153r.; Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 144.; L&P II/2. n. 1796.
- <sup>133</sup> TNA Exchequer E 30/866.; SP 1/23 p. 139.; BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. IV f. 204v.; L&P III/2. n. 1802.; Wryth, *An account*, 383-398. 394.
- <sup>134</sup> *CSP Spain*, II. n. 377.
- <sup>135</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, 627.
- <sup>136</sup> "[...] vouloir avoir [...] le Roy dangleterre mon bon frere les affaires dudit Roy de Hongrie pour recommandez": BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 154v.; L&P III/2. n. 1799.
- <sup>137</sup> Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 146.; Gwyn, 'Wolsey's Foreign Policy,' 769.; *A Chronicle of Calais*, 31.; Fletcher, *Wolsey*, 77.
- <sup>138</sup> TNA E 30/866.; Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 144.
- <sup>139</sup> *Journal de Jean Barrillon*, II. 326.; *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, I. 239-41.; *State Papers*, I. 90.; L&P III/2. n. 1762.; *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 371.; Creighton, *Wolsey*, 133.
- <sup>140</sup> L&P III/2. n. 2036., 2139.
- <sup>141</sup> L&P III/2. n. 1946., 2129.
- <sup>142</sup> Chambers, 'Wolsey', 21.; Wilkie, *The cardinal protectors*, 86.
- <sup>143</sup> BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. IV. f. 102r-106v., 121r-24v, 137r-39r., 141r-44v.
- <sup>144</sup> "[...] legat a propose de attirer en nostre lighe les roys de Hongrie, Polloine": Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 150.; L&P III/2. n. 1838.
- <sup>145</sup> On his travel to England: Fedeles, *A pécsi*, n. 23.; Köblös, *Az egyházi*, 444. Balbus travelled to England between 28 November and 2 December.
- <sup>146</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, 628.; Russell, 'The Search,' 189.
- <sup>147</sup> BL Cotton MS Nero B. IX f. 79r.: "Ongaria 13. H. 8. Instrumentum Regis Ungariae ad tractandum cum H. 8. pro auxilio 3000 homm armator. contra Turcam. Dat 1521 fol. 113": The original was not found by Simonyi either. Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, I. 78. I did not find any other document related to f. 113.

- <sup>148</sup> *Consistorialia*, n. 26.
- <sup>149</sup> “[...] Kynge off Hungarye intendith to make a jorney with the Turke shortlye.”: BL Cotton MS Vitellius B. IV f. 18r.; Ellis, *Original letters*, I. n. 99.; L&P III/2. n. 1654.
- <sup>150</sup> Nanni, *Epistolae ad principes*, I. n. 707.
- <sup>151</sup> Sanuto, XXXII. 21.; *Szerbia*, n. 476.
- <sup>152</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII f. 121r.; L&P III/2. n. 1632.
- <sup>153</sup> BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 49r. It is not registered in the L&P and it is not published elsewhere either.
- <sup>154</sup> “[...] Tyrannus Turcarum una cum copiis ac impedimentis Constantinopolim remeare, [...] pestis in eius exercitu magnopere seniat. [...] et vis frigoris ibi sub septemtrione acrius ac tempestivius insurgens ad mutanda castra eum impellat [...] Sub Turci autem recessu Rex Hungarie cum eius universo exercitu quem instructum iam habet Danubiam traiecit. [...] Reliquus exercitus instructus accinctusque vestigia hostis abeuntis insequitur. [...] Quod si fiat de victoria nostris, non valde dubitant, vel si omnino detrectaret, certamen ei vicissim longe maiora damna inferri que passi fuerimus. Estque nostris fixum et constitutum etiam usque ad Constantinopolim progredi, et de summa rerum pro fide ac religione dimicare”. Ibid.
- <sup>155</sup> “[...] tu, maxime Caesar, vosque bellicose Germaniae proceres, opem mature feratis, non tam de recuperanda Constantinopoli sit ulterius sperandum”: Balbi, *Opera*, I. 549.
- <sup>156</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda’, 453.; *Documenta ad historiam familiae Bátori*, I. n. 255.
- <sup>157</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda,’ 453.; In the camp: DL 25 632.; To Bátori: DL 23 584.; *Szerbia*, n. 477.
- <sup>158</sup> Szakály *A mohácsi*, 17., *Nándorfehérvár 1521*, 150.; C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda’, 453.
- <sup>159</sup> AT V. n. 435.; *Szerbia*, n. 475.; C. Tóth, ‘A királyi,’ 83.; C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda,’ 453.
- <sup>160</sup> C. Tóth, ‘A királyi pár’, 83.
- <sup>161</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Szapolyai’, 991.
- <sup>162</sup> DL 23 587.; *Szerbia*, n. 476.; Pálosfalvi, *Nikápolytól*, 189.
- <sup>163</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda’, 454.; Idem, ‘A királyi,’ 83.
- <sup>164</sup> Wenzel, ‘Sanuto’, 253.; C. Tóth, ‘Szapolyai,’ 991.
- <sup>165</sup> 10 November: *Documente VIII* n. 76.; Dec. 2.: Ibid. n. 74.
- <sup>166</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda’, 454.; *Helytartói oklt.* n. 11.
- <sup>167</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Szapolyai,’ 988.; *Documente XV/1*, n. 254.; DF 245 796., *Documente II/3*. n. 275.
- <sup>168</sup> *Documente VIII*. n. 78.
- <sup>169</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Szapolyai,’ 988.; AT V. n. 441.
- <sup>170</sup> DF 276 011.; *Helytartói oklt.*, n. 1.
- <sup>171</sup> C. Tóth, ‘Egy legenda, 455.
- <sup>172</sup> *Helytartói oklt.*, n. 2.; C. Tóth, ‘A királyi,’ 86.
- <sup>173</sup> TNA SP 1/23 f. 62r.; L&P III/2. n. 1596. 664.
- <sup>174</sup> “Orator [...] fuit cum cardinale, qui satis eperte dixit ei, non esse tempus faciendi contra Turcos, nisi prius debelletur Gallorum rex, ne expeditio fiat contra infideles

- [...] monuit oratorem ut nomine regum suorum vellet inire [...] unum fedus contra Gallos [...] orator facile concessit”: Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 151.; L&P III/2. n. 1858.
- <sup>175</sup> “[...] misitque eum dictus cardinalis ad me, nescio ob quam causam, ut simul conciperemus aliquos articulos pro dicto federe”: Ibid.
- <sup>176</sup> “[...] plus facilement fere l’expedition contre les infideles”: Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 159.; L&P III/2. n. 1887.
- <sup>177</sup> Mon. Habs., II/1 n. 165.; L&P III/2. n. 1905.
- <sup>178</sup> Mon. Habs. II/1. n. 162.; L&P III/2. n. 1892.; Bradford, *Correspondence*, 26.
- <sup>179</sup> BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 64r.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, I. 67-69.; L&P III/2. n. 1900.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 594.; Ortway incorrectly dates it to 20 August. Ortway, *Pozsony*, III. 227.
- <sup>180</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 377.
- <sup>181</sup> BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 64r.
- <sup>182</sup> “[...] tabellarius cum literis a Rege Hungariae et rursus aliis a Rege Poloniae ad me datis, summa rerum Hungaricarum haec erat. Regnum illud ad extremam desperationem redactum propriis opibus nec ad exiguum temporis aut defendi aut sustineri posse, Thurcum autem primo adventante vere cum omnibus copiis ex Asia et Europa conflatis iam non fines sed viscera et praecordia Hungariae invasurum. [...] haec illud accedit quod video [...] Dominationem Vestram pro sua singulari sapientia et [...] pietate eo omnes conatus accionesque convertere ut induciis inter Caesarem et Gallum interpositis, [...] nec video cur si tadeo mihi illius Principis congressus fugiendus, cum quo forte paulo post aliqua concordia et pacificacio inibitur”: uo.
- <sup>183</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 395.
- <sup>184</sup> BL Cotton MS Galba B. VII 227r.; L&P III/2. n. 1978.
- <sup>185</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 403.; Sanuto, XXXIII. 45.
- <sup>186</sup> Bourilly, ‘Antonio Rincon’, 65.; Salles, ‘Un traite’, 49.; BnF MS Français 2971. f. 96.; and f. 188.
- <sup>187</sup> AT V. n. 199.; Ursu, *La Politique*, 21.
- <sup>188</sup> “[...] j’ay veu ce que vous m’avez escript en chiffres et entendu ce que l’ambassadeur de Hongrie vous a dit, que sont toutes bonnes choses et avez très bien fait d’avoir prins avec luy amitié, car j’espère qu’elle prouffitera et que on se pourra ayder de luy”: *Journal Jean de Barrillon*, II. 326.
- <sup>189</sup> “[...] quae res ad alias rationes meas accumulatur ut animo ambigam sit ne mihi ad Caesarem iter per Galliam faciendum nec ne, utrique trahor diverse, nam si negligam Legationem Gallicam non satisfaciam illius Principes mandatis, a quo iussus sum implorandi auxilii gracia, eque Gallum ut Caesaream et maiestatem Regis Angliae adire, [...] His conscriptis appulit orator Caesaris, ex quo accepi Regem Galliarum degere ultra Pariseos et adhuc ut fertur remotius profecturum, unde deliberavi itinere Gallico dilato [...]” BL Cotton MS Vespasian F. I f. 64r.; Simonyi, *Okmánytár*, I. 68.
- <sup>190</sup> “[...] nothyng that way wrytten to the ambassador of ungrya, and by him, of such contete as was thought whereunto and alleged the answer made by the ambassador veryfied the contrarye”: BL Cotton MS Galba B. VIII 227r.; L&P III/2. n. 1978.
- <sup>191</sup> Fedeles, *A pécsi*, 322.

<sup>192</sup> Knauz, *Balbi*, 417.

<sup>193</sup> *Calendar Venice*, III. n. 395., 405.

<sup>194</sup> Köblös, *Az egyházi*, 444., 454. Acél only took it in lease in 1523 and Balbus is still addressed as provost in 1526. Arch. 62.; Knauz, *Balbi*, 182.

<sup>195</sup> DF 228 274; Köblös, *Az egyházi*, 467.; Knauz, *Balbi*, 348-49.

<sup>196</sup> Ábel, *Magyarországi*, 37.

<sup>197</sup> *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, I. n. 18.; Sommer, *Balbus*, I. 39.

<sup>198</sup> *CSP Spain*, Suppl., II. 74. Neither the originals, nor their copies survived.

<sup>199</sup> *CSP Spain*, Suppl., II. 77.

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