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SUMMARY

NICOLAUS OLAHUS: THE HISTORIAN

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Introduction

Nicolaus Olahus and his works was one of the special subjects of the Romanian historiography since the early twentieth century. The interest for studying this subject crossed several stages. At the beginning of the twentieth century Romanian historians regarded this subject with uncertainty and skeptical caution, an attitude which gave way to authentic interest from a new generation of historians from Cluj, who overcame the hesitations of the previous generation and engaged in what was regarded as an effort for the recovery of the history of Romanians who made history in unusual or non-Romanian milieus. The interar period contributions belonging to Ioan Lupaș and Ștefan Bezdechi were fundamental for the addition of this theme in the Romanian historiography. Starting from the seventh decade the number of studies focused on limited aspects of this subject continued to appear almost with some regularity. In the study of Nicolaus Olahus' biography and works, the Romanian historians have made use of the documentary contributions offered in his writing. A relatively important number of works were stimulated by the debates concerning the origin of this humanist. Romanian historians have considered his writings for illuminating various aspects of political, social and cultural history; however, seldom these investigations have discussed the essential question of evaluation and contextualization of his historical writing. Thus, the history of Romanians in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, the relations between the Romanian lands and Hungary, ethnic sensibilities, European political relations, Christian-Ottoman relations, Habsburg-Transylvanian relations, Reformation and Counter-Reformation are subjects which intersect this theme. The special case of Olahus a non-Hungarian by origin, who served with loyalty the political idea of the kingdom of Hungary, as well as his historical and geographical writing or his correspondence offer a rich documentary and thematic material which explains the high number of works dealing with limited aspects concerning this subject. The multiple possibilities of valorization of the subject elucidate partially the lack of monographs dedicated to the exploration of some dimensions of this humanist. If there were preoccupations for investigating Olahus' activity as diplomat or as European, or for an approach from the literary history of his poetic works, his historical writing has not been analyzed and assessed before. Although *Hungaria* was known to Romanian historians, they usually were content to extract and comment those sections of his works which referred or talked about Romania or Transylvania.

The sources and research method

The main goal of this thesis was the examination of the historical-geographical work entitled *Hungaria*, whose direct analysis was never done

before in the Romanian historiography. A secondary aim was to gather the data concerning the biography and career of Olahus based on available sources which had not been satisfactorily employed before. The previous research focused on “privileged” facets of his activities or writings, as his relation with Erasmus of Rotterdam, for example. Certainly, this connection was significant for the validation of Olahus among his contemporaries, however to insist exclusively on this aspect is unjustly curtailing the polyvalent and vast profile of the humanist. The thorough examination of his letters, which was accomplished during this research, was aimed at revealing less known aspects concerning the preoccupation of this humanist of Romanian origin. The general purpose of this work was to examine the historical writing of Olahus and to understand the context, the motivation, the subject matter and method used by this humanist in the composition of his works.

Our approach aimed to examine and assess Olahus as historian by analyzing both, his main historical work, *Hungaria*, and the milieu in which he wrote this, the historical, political, and intellectual context of the writing. We aimed at examining thoroughly the published primary sources, in Latin, or where possible, in translation. The intention required an adequate research plan.

For analysis we have used the recent bilingual edition entitled *Ungaria. Atila* (Hungary. Atila), published by Gyöngyvér Antal. This work was analyzed from the perspective of structure, composition, form, subject matter and method as well as from that of its relation to the Hungarian chronicle tradition. Although incomparable as form, dimensions and subject matter, *Compendiarium suae aetatis chronicon*, published for the first time in the first half of the eighteenth century, was useful mostly for the writing of the chapter dealing with the life and career of this humanist.

For the examination of the context of his historical writing we used as primary sources Olahus’ letters, published in 1875 by Arnold Ipolyi. The study of the collection of letters dating from 1527-1538, allows to penetrate deeper into the conditions of activity of this intellectual who kept a wide correspondence with a large array of persons, ranging from humanists employed as chancelors or secretaries, to princes and prelates or various lay servants. Given his position as secretary of the widowed queen Mary, sister of Emperor Charles V, and of King Ferdinand I of Habsburg, Olahus obtained access to the political and diplomatic network of communications made up by humanists and secretaries of European princes. The importance of the epistolary genre as a historical source was justly noticed by Corneliu Albu and I. Firu, who have selected and translated in Romanian a number of these letters. Based on the information preserved in this type of sources, we were enabled to reconstitute fairly well the itinerary of Olahus between 1527-38, the time when *Hungaria* was written; we have also identified the circle of humanists and partners of epistolary exchange, the problems or major issues in their letters and the intellectual or political preoccupations of this humanist.

The topics of the epistles written by Olahus were diverse, however in some of these writings he confessed to his friends the issues which concerned him. These informations have helped us identify the main goal of his political aspiration: the mobilization of military support for rescuing the kingdom of Hungary, at that time already in a process of dissolution under the pressure of Ottomans, and due to inner strife and the crisis generated by the dispute between Habsburgs and the former voivode of Transylvania, John Szápolyai for the Hungarian crown. This aim, spelled by Olahus, was the fundamental aspiration which determined the sense of some of his diplomatic strivings and which was reflected and gave substance of his historical writing. This was the period when he decided to write and to circulate among his friends *Hungaria*. However, in spite of several positive feed-backs from his readers, he did not publish the work soon. Actually, its second half, the biography of Atila, appeared in print in 1568, and the whole book was published in complete form only in the eighteenth century. Modern scholarly editions of the work appeared in Hungary, in 1934 and in Hungarian translation in 1977 and 1984.

This work was known to Romanian historians who extracted and employed the informations presented by Olahus, especially in the case of geographical or autobiographical descriptions of Moldova, Wallachia, and Transylvania and their population. Because the work is historical-geographical and the historical parts of it are concerned with the glorification of the hero Atila and the narration of Hunnic pre-history, the lack of incentives for Romanian historians in the examination of the full content of the work is somewhat justified. This investigation had to overcome the self-imposed limits of the previous research and to approach *Hungaria* thoroughly, as concerns the aim, method, and composition. The analysis of the structure of the work and the information included in it raised the question of the relation between the historical writing of Olahus and the previous historical tradition which the author referred to under the ambiguous name *Chronicon hungaricum*. Several chronicles were written, copied and transmitted in the kingdom of Hungary between thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For the identification of the internal source based on which Olahus build his historical work, we had to apply a comparative examination of the structure and information offered by the works of Simon of Kéza (*Gesta Hungarorum*), *Cronicon pictum Vindobonensis*, and Ioannes de Turocz (*Chronica Hungarorum*).

Today it is generally known that the so-called Hunnic gesta was the creation of Simon de Kéza, who wrote for propaganda purposes an ingenious historical fiction destined for the promotion of a positive image of King Ladislaus IV the Cuman in Italy. This so-called Hunnic gesta, in fact the prologue and the first part of *Gesta Hungarorum* had built with with ingenuity a respectable past for Hungarians who were no longer presented as a people descending from Hunns, but identical with them. The fact that the chronicles of fourteenth century *Cronicon pictum*, *Cronicon Budense* and in the second half of fifteenth

century *Cronica Hungarorum* by John of Thurocz have copied whole excerpts or followed closely the narrative structure created by Kézai made more difficult the task of identifying the direct source of information referred to by Olahus. At the end of this investigation we have identified elements which suggest strongly that the chronicle of Thurocz was the direct source used by Olahus in describing the Hunnic history. This identification was necessary because it helps to distinguish to what extent Olahus' work depended on the chronicle tradition and what were his original additions. The sources mentioned by Olahus in his work were multiple, however he gave the *Chronicon hungaricum* a favorite place among his references. We have also consulted for comparison purposes the external sources, the historical works mentioned by him in order to assess the assertions of the Hungarian chronicle.

In order to contextualize the historical work of Olahus it was necessary to widen the scope of the investigation towards the political, cultural, and religious milieus of his age. In this respect our contribution is based on the relevant secondary literature. Building on this literature we have attempted to present the main coordinates of the international relations of Europe in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, the first manifestations of Reformation in Germany, the emergence of humanists and their opposition to the scholastics, and the humanist attitudes towards the Ottoman threat and crusade projects. This political and cultural framework forms the background on which the activity of Olahus in 1527-1540 was projected and needs to be understood. We have focused mainly on his activity during this period because it was the time when he wrote his historical work and because his later career and contribution to the consolidation of the Roman-Catholic Church during the Reformation or his measures in favor of the development of education are nowadays pretty well known from previous scholarly works. This thesis consists of five chapters, an annexed text containing the writing *Compendiarium suum aetatis Chronicon*, and the final bibliography.

Chapter I. Nicolaus Olahus. Historiographical aspects

This chapter presents the evolution of the historiographical approaches of this subject in the Romanian historiography. This subject was already discussed in a few works by the Hungarian historians, in the nineteenth century, while the Romanian historians were still hesitating to approach this subject. Nicolae Iorga, for example, expressed in one of his works his reticent attitude, declaring that the biography and works of Olahus represented a subject of second importance. The main reason of his hesitation was the fact that Olahus, although Romanian by origin, was active largely in a Hungarian milieu. In contrast to this position, in the 1930s the historian Ioan Lupaș and the classicist Ștefan Bezdechi from Cluj published several studies and articles on the biography and selected aspects from the writings of the humanist, within a

project aimed at the recovery of the history of Romanians who lived and were active in non-Romanian milieus. There several articles and one book have outlined the main subjects treated by later debates and historical investigations such as the question of Olahus' origin, the kinship ties between Olahus family and the ruling dynasty of Wallachia (Dănești or Drăculești, both descending from Basarab), the description of Transylvania, the commentaries about Romanians or the literary virtues of his poetic. During the first two decades after the Second World War the subject was almost abandoned, until 1965, when Corneliu Albu reopened the subject by writing about the presence of Olahus in the Low Countries. In 1968, at the commemoration of 500 years from his death, Anul 1968, al comemorării a 400 de ani de la dispariția umanistului, occasioned the appearance of a number of studies and articles by Maria Holban, Alexandru Tonk, Andrei Kovács, Corneliu Albu, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu. In the same year appeared the volume *Nicolaus Olahus (Nicolae Românul) (1493-1568). Texte alese* (Nicolaus Olahus (Nicolaus the Romanian) (1493-1568), edited by I. S. Firu and Corneliu Albu. Six years later, Corneliu Albu valorized the epistolary sources preserved from this humanist in the volume *Nicolaus Olahus. Corespondență cu umaniști batavi și flamanzi* (Nicolaus Olahus. Correspondence with Batavian and Flemish humanists). After 1974 the contributions from the Romanian historiography focused on smaller aspects of the biography and writings of Olahus. Since 1990, an intensification of the concentration given to this subject is noticeable. Among the authors who dealt with the subject were Alexandru Tonk, Iacob Mârza, and especially Pompiliu Teodor, who suggested the need of examining Olahus in his study entitled „Nicolaus Olahus – Istoric umanist” (Nicolaus Olahus- humanist historian). Maria Capoianu, translator of Olahus' writings, published in 1974 by Corneliu Albu, has published in late 1990s two works, *Nicolaus Olahus Europeanul* (Nicolaus Olahus the European) and another work containing translations in Romanian. Concomitantly, in Jassy appeared the bilingual edition of *Hungaria*, published by Gyöngyvér Antal. A few studies and one monograph were also published in early 2000 by Cristinei Neagu, who focused on the literary aspects pertaining to Olahus writings.

This short presentation was focused on the evolution of the subject in the Romanian historiography. It must be added that this subject is not exclusively a Romanian one. Since Olahus was active in Hungary and in the northern parts of the former kingdom, which corresponds to modern Slovakia, Hungarian and Slovak historians have also written on this subject. In case of the Hungarian historiography, it is remarkable that the first modern critical editions of the writings of Olahus were published in the years 1934 and 1938 by László Juhász, Jozsef Főgel ad Kálmán Epperiessy. These wrtings were translated in Hungarian in 1977 by Péter Kulcsár and Margit Kulcsár, and in 1984. In 1990, István Fodor published an important work dealing with an unknown manuscript of *Hungaria* discovered in Köln. Also recently, another Hungarian scholar,

András Zoltán, has dealt with the Polish and Belarussian translations of the second book of *Hungaria*, entitled *Atila*. In the Slovak historiography, in this respect, a remarkable achievement was the monograph of Vojtech Bucko, entitled *Mikuláš Oláh a jeho doba* (Nicolaus Olahus and his time).

Chapter II. The political, religious and intellectual context of Europe between late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century

The second chapter was dedicated to the presentation of the main coordinates of the international relations in fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, the rivalry between France and the Habsburgs, the effects of this enmity in Italy and generally in Europe, and in the relations between the Christian and Ottoman world. This chapter is also presenting the main manifestations of the early Reformation in the German space and their consequences for the European balance. The emergence, development, and the relations between the humanists and scholasticists are discussed in conjunction with the involvement of humanists in anti-Ottoman crusade projects promoted by some of them. All these aspects influenced and defined the political, intellectual, and religious context in which Olahus was active and which reverberated in his writings.

Chapter III. Nicolaus Olahus. Biography, career (1493-1568)

This chapter is structured in three sections treating aspects concerning the origin and the genealogy of Olahus based on the informations offered in his works, his education, and his activity in the service of the House of Habsburg. Nicolaus Olahus was the son of Stoian (later, he took the name Stephen), a member of the ruling dynasty of Wallachia, who took refuge in Hungary during the rule of Dracula (possibly the first rule of Vlad Țepeș, 1456-1462). According to Olahus, Stoian's father was a certain Manzilla of Argeș, who was married to Marina, daughter of John Hunyadi. Stoian went to Hungary when his branch of the family fell prey to the persecutions of Dracula and established himself in Sibiu where he married a local woman, Barbara Huszár. Stoian served King Matthias Corvinus in the army and was appointed royal judge in Sibiu (Szeben, Hermannstadt) and at Orăștie (Szászváros, Broos). The position of royal judge in the later town from southern Transylvania became a sort of hereditary office in the family of Olahus. Nicolaus Olahus was born at Sibiu in 1493, in 1505 he went to the episcopal school from Oradea (Nagyvárad, Grossvardein) and in 1510 he acceded in the royal court at Buda as page. He chose an ecclesiastic career and became canon of Pécs, Esztergom and archdeacon of Komárom. On March 16 1526 he was appointed secretary and adviser of King Louis II of Hungary. After the disastrous defeat of the royal army at Mohács, he accompanied the widow queen as secretary and confessor in exile. In 1531-1539, he lived mainly in Brussels, the place where he wrote

Hungaria. In 1539 he came at the household of King Ferdinand I of Habsburg, and in 1542 he was appointed royal chancellor and bishop of Zagreb. In 1548, a he was appointed bishop of Eger, in 1553 he became arch-bishop of Esztergom and from 1562 he was appointed regent. He died in 1568 in Trnava where he was buried.

Capitolul IV. Nicolaus Olahus' works

This chapter was dedicated to the description of Olahus' writings and begins with a succinct presentation of *Hungaria* followed by a brief report on the other works of this humanist. The poems and other writings of Olahus are not the object of this research we have limited our analysis to the historical writings. One of the main directions of this investigation envisioned the exploration and interpretation of Olahus' correspondence. Since the letters exchanged by Olahus with various individuals offer a rich amount of information the systematic analysis of this source material was attempted. In this section we have discussed the circle of friends and partners of the epistolary exchange as well as the major themes occurring in the letters during Olahus' sojourn in the Low Countries. The topics varied from diplomatic and political aspects to literary subjects and writings of other humanists. There is a direct connection between *Hungaria* and his assertions in various letters concerning the relations between Christian princes, the Ottoman threat, and not least, the fate of Hungary. These recurrent ideas present in the letters coincide with affirmations made in his historical writing, *Hungaria*. As a secretary of queen Mary, Olahus had diplomatic contacts which reached the chancelleries of royal or princely households of Europe. These were the sources from which he learnt news about the European political projects or actions. His possibility of influencing major political decisions between 1531-1538 was minor, but his interest and wish to influence diplomatically the launching of a anti-Ottoman crusade is evident from his letters. In this chapter we have included three case studies prepared during the doctoral research concerning Olahus' relations with diplomats as Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus and Camilus Gilinus and with Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Chapter V. The subject matter of the historical work of Nicolaus Olahus

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the composition, structure, subject matter, and motivation of *Hungaria*. In assessing this work we have made use of all the information available concerning the general context and the aim of this writing. The analysis of the work itself provided fundamental data for its characterization.

Hungaria, written up to 1536, is composed of two parts entitled: "*Nicolai Olahi Hungariae Liber I. Origines Scytharum et Chorographica*

descriptio Regni Hungariae”, and “*Hungariae liber II. Atila sive de initiis Atilani per Panonias Imperii et rebus bello ab eodem gestis.*” The first part, consisting in 19 chapters, begins with three chapters presenting the Schythian origin of the Hunns. The analysis of these three chapters led to the identification of the direct source of information used by Olahus in the construction of his narrative which most plausibly was *Chronica Hungarorum* by John Thuroczy. Olahus followed with fidelity this historical fiction composed by magister Simon of Kéza in 1280s and later inserted integrally or partially in the works of fourteenth and fifteenth century chroniclers of Hungary. As we said, Olahus remained faithful to this narrative in following the same row of events concerning the origin and migration of Hunns. He interrupted his historical narration abruptly in the moment when the Hunns were on the point of settling in Pannonia. When describing this moment Thuroczy inserted in his narrative a brief description of the fertile and rich Pannonia. Olahus conflated this description in 16 chapters giving a detailed and elegant geographical, presentation of the kingdom of Hungary before getting back at the same narrative thread in the second part of his work. In his geographical description Olahus split Hungary according to the major rivers, Danube, Drava, Sava, and Tisza, describing first the central part of the kingdom with Buda, Székesfehérvár, Visegrád, the Rákos field, both as beautiful places with representative buildings, but also for their role as symbols in the constitutional organization of Hungary (as royal residences, place for crowning, place of election of king and palatine, and place of protection of the royal crown) (reședință regală, loc de încoronare, loc de alegere a regelui și palatinului, locul de păstrare al coroanei regale). Then he described each region with its cities, and main settlements giving special attention to the presence of castles and fortified places. The eastern part of the kingdom, named “Hungary beyond the Tisza” (*Hungaria Transstibiscana*) comprised a huge territory stretching east til the Dniester river. He started the description of this part of the kingdom with Wallachia and Moldova, mentioning their military potential and the relations of The description of Transylvania followed and one common element of the presentation was the military importance of the province, also seen as a natural stronghold inhabited by four different and warlike peoples. The geographical continued with the regions bordering Transylvania in the west, going from Maramureș and Nyir towards the Banat. In the end of the geographical description Olahus attached two chapters focused on the economic potential of Hungary describing the fertility of soil, richness in pastures and domestic and wild animals, the wines, fishing, and the mineral resources consisting in gold, silver, copper, iron, salt. The second part, continued the traditional narrative of the deeds of Hunns during Attila. In this section, although the order of events was following Kézai’s and Thuroczy’s pattern, Olahus borrowed the manner of ancient historians conferring to his narrative vividness through fictional discourses attributed to his characters (Attila, Aetius, the monk, pope Leo). He

followed the same order of episodes in almost identical succession, as at Kézai and Thuroczi: entering of Hunns in Pannonia, battle Tarnok valley, battle of Tolna, election of Attila as king, the first campaign in the West; the battle Catalaunic fields, the march through Toulouse, the razing of Reims and the martyrdom of Nicasius; martyrdom of St. Ursula and the 11.000 virgins in Cologne, the return in Pannonia, the killing of Buda, the siege of Aquileia; the meeting with pope Leo and the avoidance of plundering Rome; Attila's end, the departure of Hunns in Scythia, the Szeklers stay in the Carpathian mountains. In conclusion, Olahus was largely faithful to the narrative tradition of the Hungarian chronicles, but achieved a more vivid narrative by using discourses and inner monologues and through the emphasis on dramatic by using rethorical devices. It is significant that in the discourses attributed to his characters he inserted messages directly connected to contemporary concerns. A case in point is the discourse of the monk who predicted the defeat of Attila in his confrontation with Aetius. At Thuroczi this discourse is brief and served the role of explaining the epithet of *flagellum Dei*. Olahus conflated this discourse in order to emphasize the role of Attila as instrument of the divine wrath and then to detail the sins of Christians punished by God through Attila. In the words of the monk, there was criticism of the corrupted courtly and political culture of Olahus age. Olahus deplored in his letters the lack of anti-Ottoman action from princes, caught in their own rivalities, one of the key reasons of the Ottoman advances in Hungary.

Nicolaus Olahus, a humanist appreciated for his literary skills and for his elegant writing, a sincere patriot concerned about the survival of the Kingdom of Hungary, employed not only diplomatic means in order to determine the inclusion of Hungary in a program of liberation of the Christian world, but he also produced a historical and geographical work, treating a subject of ancient history, according to the taste of the age and meant to trigger sympathy for the kingdom. In this work, Olahus drew upon the chronicle tradition of Hungary, the myths of Scythian-Hunnic origin, ancient authors such as Pompeius Trogus, Ptolemy, Jordanes, or humanist historians like Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, Marcus Coccius Sabellicus, Callimachus, and most probably the saints' lives. As a continuation of Kézai's aim, he also sought to promote the image of a venerable origin for the Hungarian people, equal and even superior to the authentic peoples of Antiquity, and through Attila's military successes, even superior to the Roman people, as pope Leo affirmed in the fictional discourse attributed to him. Olahus sought to promote the idea of the exceptional military value of Hungarians based on their ancient deeds under Attila. While the historical part of his work emphasized the values and ancientness and military prowess of a historical people, the geographical description was meant to display the military potential of Hungary of his days and also its rich economic resources which needed to be rescued from falling into Ottoman hands. He chose this form of writing a propaganda type of work in

order to contribute to the effort of mobilization of Western Christianity in an ample anti-Ottoman effort which could restore the borders of the kingdom of Hungary as these were before 1526.

His historical and geographical work is to be understood within his militant activity envisioning the salvation of Christendom and the kingdom of Hungary, both of which being at that moment endangered by a mighty Ottoman power. He served and supported the political actions of Emperor Charles V and of King Ferdinand I of Habsburg in his quality as personal secretary of queen Mary, as ambassador or negotiator of their interests, as tutor of the offspring of King Ferdinand I and as god-father of the youngest daughter of the same king. Olahus' attachment for the princes of the Habsburg dynasty and the filo-Habsburg Hungarian party is justified in *Hungaria* through the affirmation of a tradition of collaboration between Germans and Hungarians in the time of Attila. Olahus trusted that Emperor Charles V, would be the hero capable of achieving the goals of Christendom, which included the salvation of the Hungarian kingdom.

His work was written in humanist manner, according to the expectations of the intellectual milieu of his age, through the use of an elevated language, borrowing classical models of elegant descriptions of exceptional characters, capable to deliver Ciceronian discourses. In his historical narrative he inserted the mythical material of the medieval Hungarian historiography in a new shape, adapted to the sensibilities and tastes of his contemporaries. Olahus chose the Antiquity for projecting his historical narration in order to project the history of Hungary into the favorite epoch of humanists, the age which offered the models for literature and written culture. The possession of a venerable ancient past was a concern of German humanists who were also interested in the redrawing of the established cultural hierarchies if not the elevation of their ancestors to a stature equal to that of Rome. Nobility of peoples was still depending of the criterium of antiquity of origin.

The contents of *Hungaria* as well as its subject matter and motivation are convergent with the other indices concerning the activity and preoccupations of its author as concluded through the examination of his correspondence. As secretary of queen Mary he had access to the intimate mechanisms of decision making in the interational relations of the age. His correspondence, consisting of circa 600 letters, reveals his involvement in the problems of the Empire at the time of a worrying growth of the Ottoman might. His political option was that of saving the kingdom through its integration in the holdings of the House of Habsburg. This option was in direct opposition with that adopted by some of his friends and Transylvanian correspondents, who sided with John Szápolyai.

From the examination of the letters result questions which future research should attempt to resolve. From the letters preserved it is obvious that not all Olahus' letters were preserved in his epistolary collection published by Arnold Ipolyi. Thus, some of the letters he sent to his friends might have

survived in archives or libraries preserving sixteenth century materials in Europe. The identification of these letters requires an impressive effort of documentation which might bring new data concerning the biography and activities of Olahus.

In this research project we have attempted to answer questions regarding the work *Hungaria* and its relations to the historiographical models of the age, its structure, contents, method, subject matter, and motivation. As concerns the sources employed by Olahus we have succeeded to identify the most plausible source that he called *Chronicon hungaricum*. This was an important question which raised the subsequent issue raised by the transmission of Kézai's model into later narratives. This would have required to delve into the medieval Hungarian historiography. We are aware that Hungarian historians such as Elemer Mályusz, who spent a lot of time on the exegesis of Thuróczy's work, might have already answered this question. We have not had time to look at this aspect.

At the end of this research focused on Nicolaus Olahus as historian, it is necessary to mention the directions in which the research on his historical writing might continue. During this investigation we examined several aspects concerning the filiation of ideas and historical argumentation employed by Olahus which allowed us to identify a number of his sources. By doing this, we realized that this type of investigation is in fact similar to the methodology of investigation specific to a critical edition. Such a scholarly instrument would be highly useful in order to further explain complex aspects concerning the method, the sources and the context of writing of *Hungaria*. However, the methodology, questionnaire, and resources necessary to achieve this represent an entirely different project which could not be part of this thesis.

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