Ad Cannas Pannonias: Omens and Memories of the Battle of Mohács (1526)

Bratislava, 20 – 21 October 2026

ABSTRACTS

Gábor BRADÁCS (Budapest)

„*Ex morte Ludovici regis*" – Die Schlacht von Mohács (1526) als Erinnerungsort in habsburgischen Kaiserserien und genealogischen Narrativen

Der Beitrag untersucht, wie die Schlacht von Mohács (1526) in der frühneuzeitlichen habsburgischen Erinnerungskultur nicht primär als historisches Ereignis erzählt, sondern durch genealogische und serielle Darstellungsformen dynastisch interpretiert wurde. Im Zentrum stehen sogenannte *Kaiserserien* und genealogische Darstellungen der Habsburgerdynastie, die seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in neo-lateinischer Panegyrik, epigrammatischen Herrscherreihen sowie in Bild-Text-Zyklen verbreitet waren.

Anhand ausgewählter Beispiele – insbesondere der ungarischen Königsserien von Johannes Sambucus und Johannes Sommer sowie verschiedener habsburgischer Kaiserserien – wird gezeigt, dass Mohács häufig nicht explizit thematisiert wird. Stattdessen erscheint die Schlacht implizit als dynastischer Wendepunkt innerhalb einer neu geordneten Herrscherabfolge. Der Tod König Ludwigs II. von Ungarn und Böhmen (1516–1526) fungiert als Abschluss einer historischen Reihe, während König Ferdinand I. (1526–1564) als legitimer Nachfolger in eine kontinuierliche habsburgische Sukzession eingebettet wird.

Zugleich verbinden diese Serien genealogische Legitimation mit einer ausgeprägten antiosmanischen Rhetorik, in der die Habsburger als Verteidiger der Christenheit und als dynastische Ordnungsmacht im östlichen Europa erscheinen. Kaiserserien, genealogische Tafeln und Porträtzyklen wirken damit als Medien dynastischer Erinnerung, in denen Mohács weniger als Katastrophe erzählt, sondern vielmehr als Ausgangspunkt einer neuen habsburgischen Herrschaftsordnung interpretiert wird.

Der Beitrag argumentiert daher, dass Mohács im habsburgischen genealogischen Gedächtnis vor allem als struktureller Referenzpunkt erscheint, der durch serielle Formen dynastischer Repräsentation stabilisiert und legitimiert wird.

Lukas EBERT (Vienna)

Inauditum non esse tibi. Die Modellierung der Osmanen in der lateinischen Literatur im Umfeld der Höfe Maximilians I. und Ferdinand I. (1486 bis 1533)

Der im Umfeld Ferdinands I. agierende Humanist Caspar Velius ließ in seiner 1531 erschienenen Querela Austriae die personifizierten österreichischen Erblande einen Hilferuf in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit den Osmanen formulieren. In dem nach Art eines antiken Heroidenbriefs stilisierten Gedicht heißt es, dieosmanische Bedrohung sei *inauditum non*, also

wohlbekannt. Dies trifft insofern zu, als die Osmanen bereits in der lateinischen Literatur am Hof von Ferdinands Großvater Maximilian I. begegneten. Vor diesem Hintergrund fragt der Beitrag, ob die politische Disruption nach Mohács auch in der lateinischen Literatur zu einer Zäsur wurde. Untersucht wird dazu das Auftreten der Osmanen in lateinischen Reden und enkomiastischer Dichtung im Umfeld der Habsburger Maximilian I. und Ferdinand I. Als Untersuchungszeitraum dienen die Jahre zwischen Maximilians Krönung 1486 und Ferdinands Waffenstillstand mit den Osmanen 1533, analysiert werden Frequenz, Modellierungen und Funktionalisierungen osmanischer Auftritte. Da sich die im höfischen Kontext entstandenen lateinischen Texte in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen der Anpassung an literarische Traditionen und der zeitgenössischen Instrumentalisierung befanden, soll dabei insbesondere der Einfluss literarischer Konventionen auf die Darstellung der Osmanen beleuchtet werden. Ziel ist es, sich der Bedeutung von Mohács in der zeitgenössischen Literatur narratologisch zu nähern und das Verständnis des Türkendiskurses der humanistischen Elite zu verfeinern.

Inauditum non esse tibi: The Modelling of the Ottomans in Latin Literature in the Milieu of the Courts of Maximilian I and Ferdinand I, 1486–1533

In his *Querela Austriae*, published in 1531, the humanist Caspar Velius, who was active in the circle of Ferdinand I, has the personified Austrian hereditary lands issue a plea for assistance in their conflict with the Ottomans. In this poem, which is styled after the model of an ancient Heroides epistle, the Ottoman threat is described as *inauditum non*—that is, as something well known. This is accurate insofar as the Ottomans had already appeared in Latin literature produced at the court of Ferdinand's grandfather, Maximilian I. Against this background, the article asks whether the political disruption following Mohács also constituted a caesura in Latin literature. To this end, it examines the appearance of the Ottomans in Latin oratory and encomiastic poetry associated with the Habsburg rulers Maximilian I and Ferdinand I. The period under consideration extends from Maximilian's coronation in 1486 to Ferdinand's truce with the Ottomans in 1533. The analysis focuses on the frequency, modes of representation, and functionalisation of Ottoman appearances. Since the Latin texts produced in a courtly context stood at the intersection of adaptation to literary traditions and contemporary political instrumentalisation, particular attention is paid to the influence of literary conventions on the representation of the Ottomans. The aim is to approach the significance of Mohács in contemporary literature from a narratological perspective and to refine our understanding of the Turkish discourse among the humanist elite.

Borislav GRGIN (Zagreb)

Cladis Croatica and *Cladis Hungarica*: The Battles of Krbava (Corbavia) and Mohács in Croatian and Hungarian History and Traditions

The 1493 Battle of Krbava Field holds for Croatians a symbolic role comparable to the Battle of Mohács in Hungarian memory. This paper compares the impact of both defeats on Croatian and Hungarian history and examines how contemporary narrative sources shaped their interpretations. It asks how medieval Croatian society responded to the aftermath of Krbava and whether that response influenced differing political and military strategies among Hungarian, Slavonian, and Croatian elites before and after Mohács. I argue that although Mohács had far greater and longer-lasting consequences for the Kingdom of Saint Stephen,

Krbava prompted Croatian society to adapt more quickly to Ottoman pressures. As a result, Croatians coped better—by 1526—with the altered military, economic, and political realities caused by the Ottomans. Conversely, Hungarian preparations for Mohács remained rooted in medieval practices and failed to sufficiently incorporate Croatian lessons from the preceding decades, repeating the errors that doomed Ban Derenčin at Krbava Field three decades earlier.

Michael GRÜNBART (Münster)

Ottoman Omina? Aspects of political prognostication in Greek sources of the 15th century

Following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Ottoman rule spread rapidly across southern and eastern Europe. Efforts were made to find ways to counter and deal with this threat. Interestingly, the so-called 'Oracula Leonis', a collection of short prophetic texts from the Middle Byzantine period, were reinterpreted and adapted to apply to the Ottoman sultans. At the same time, information of all kinds was gathered. Of specific significance is Laonikos Chalkokondyles, who wrote his history (*Apodeixis historion*) in the 1460s, focusing in particular on the rise of the Ottoman Empire. His detailed digressions and cultural-historical asides shed light on the rising power on the Golden Horn. In my lecture, I will examine the function of signs and prophecies that were interpreted politically. Interpretations of unusual events – often imbued with prophetic significance – have long been established in historiographical sources. Of particular interest here is how signs, omens and prophecies were treated at the Sultan's court and how these might have influenced the ruler's actions. The article examines the reasons why Laonikos incorporated such prophetic signs into his narrative: whether this represented a literary-historiographical convention – in comparison to the Byzantine court – or served to emphasise the 'otherness' of the Ottomans.

Márton Pál IVÁNYI (Budapest)

"Finis Hungariae?" Ottoman Hungary and the Imagological Afterlife of the Turkish Conquest in Contemporary Hungarian Literature

The Ottoman conquest of Hungary has enjoyed an unusually persistent literary afterlife. Images of the Ottoman era and the frontier have long oscillated between the memory of national catastrophe and more ambivalent representations of *coexistencia*, cultural proximity, and shared social experience. Current presentation examines the contemporary transformations of this imagological legacy through works by János Háy, István Szilágyi, László Darvasi, Zsolt Láng, Tamás Pataki, Viktor Horváth and Tamás Wodianer-Nemessuri. Taking the recurrent conjunction of "sword and handshake" as its point of departure, the paper asks what remains, in contemporary Hungarian historical fiction, of the Ottoman as a constitutive Other. Particular attention is paid to the persistence of the *Finis Hungariae* paradigm—the conquest imagined as civilizational rupture and national catastrophe—and to narrative strategies that destabilise it through shifts of perspective, alternative antagonisms, cultural entanglement, and the humanisation of the former enemy. In doing so, the paper revisits a useful but necessarily provisional heuristic: that, as Ottoman power receded and the geopolitical threat diminished, the confrontational register of Hungarian frontier Orientalism gradually became more receptive to accommodation and reconciliation. Rather than confirming a linear progression from hostility to sympathy, however, contemporary fiction exposes the qualifications,

reversals, and anachronistic afterlives of this tendency, revealing Ottoman Hungary as a remarkably durable site for renegotiating Hungarian historical identity.

István KÁDAS (Budapest)

The Royal Tax Before the Battle of Mohács

In the beginning of the 16th century, the Kingdom of Hungary lacked sufficient resources to maintain its long border fortress system, and the defense of the kingdom consumed significant costs. The Turkish threat made necessary the frequent levy of the "extraordinary" tax. Following the reform of military taxation in 1498, the treasury shared the royal tax with the magnates and the counties, who got half of the tax to equip and maintain a banner. During the reign of Louis II, attempts were made to change this system in 1518 and 1521, but later the previous practice was reinstated. At the 1525 Diet of Hatvan, a royal tax of 1 florin was proposed, which had to be paid by St. Martin's Day of that year. However, it appears that tax revenue was coming in slowly, and at the St. George's Day Diet of 1526, it was criticized that not even half had been collected, so payment was ordered again. In my presentation, I would like to discuss this 1525 tax collection in the shadow of the increasing Turkish threat which led to the Battle of Mohács.

Özgür KOLÇAK (İstanbul)

A Barbarian Army from the East? Military Acculturation and Ottoman Military Technology at the Battle of Mohács

Modern western historiography is generally biased toward portraying early Ottoman armies as savage forces, deeply imbued with a steppe warrior-like fervor and cruelty, while failing to account for the military and social transformations the Ottoman society went through over centuries of settlement in Anatolia and the Balkans. In this depiction, Ottomans are presented largely as horsemen ravaging hostile territories through swift raids and encircling their opponents with light cavalry maneuvers on the battlefield. An exception to this picture is the janissaries with their legendary reputation as musket-bearing infantry. They, however, as being of slavery origin, do not fundamentally alter the broader image attributed to Ottoman armies by Christian observers. This, I argue, constitutes a recurring stereotype that does not align with historical accuracy. A closer examination of Ottoman fighting units at the battle of Mohács and their armament will testify to the fact that, in the early decades of the 16th century, the Ottoman army had much in common with the Christian armies it encountered in Eastern Europe.

Júlia PAPP (Budapest)

DE GALLIS AD CANNAS: A Commemorative Medal of Louis II and the Battle of Mohács

The reverse side of a commemorative medal honoring Louis II and the Battle of Mohács depicts an antique-style battle scene with the inscription DE GALLIS AD CANNAS. The source of the fragmentary inscription and the composition was a medal commemorating the triumph of Gonzalo Fernández de Aguilar, the victorious commander of the battle between the Spanish

and French armies in 1503 at Cerignola (not far from ancient Cannae). The model for the battle scene on the Aguilar medal was a plaquette titled *Coriolanus in Battle Before Rome*, created around 1500. From contemporary accounts (Johannes Cuspinianus) to the 19th century, the Battle of Mohács was frequently compared to the Battle of Cannae. This analogy could have also played a role in the medal's commissioner choosing this motif, and this scene also appears on the medal commemorating the Czech Stephan Schlick, who fought and died alongside Louis II at the Battle of Mohács. The composition was also very popular in the first half of the 16th century, appearing on numerous artworks (the cover of a Philostratus volume, the pommel of Aguilar's sword, in a prayer book, Hans Burgkmair's painting titled *The Battle of Cannae*, Henry II's ornate shield etc.) and medals commemorating other historical figures (Charles V, Francis I). We cannot therefore rule out the possibility that the commemorative medal depicting the Battle of Mohács was simply made by adopting this popular scene.

Silvija PISK (Zagreb)

Migrations toward Burgenland: Moslavina and the Estates of the Erdödy Family

Slavonia had been exposed to frequent Ottoman incursions since the mid-fifteenth century. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Ottoman threat had become a constant, and after the Battle of Mohács the situation grew increasingly difficult. Consequently, the first half of the sixteenth century was marked by individual and organized migrations of the population. Particularly noteworthy were the systematic and organized resettlements of people to Hungary. These migrations were carried out primarily by noble families such as the Nádasdy family, the Batthyány family, and the Erdödy family, all of whom possessed estates both within the endangered Kingdom of Slavonia and in western Hungary.Population transfers initiated by the nobility most likely took place with the support of the ruler. However, there are also opinions suggesting that these noble families relocated people not solely because of the Ottoman danger, but also due to the shortage of peasants labour on their Hungarian estates.
As a case study for this topic will be examined the example of medieval Moslavina and the noble Erdödy family, which held estates in Slavonia and Hungary. Namely, Petar Erdödy organized the resettlement of peasants from his Moslavina and Kutina estates to his holdings in Hungary along the Pinka River, especially to Rotenturm and Eberau. However, Ottoman pressure was not the sole factor influencing demographic change and migration processes. Internal conflicts among the nobility following the election of Ferdinand I also played a significant role. This paper will therefore examine the Moslavina region prior to its demographic decline, identify the principal causes underlying these demographic transformations, and analyse the migration processes themselves.

Raško RAMADANSKI (Bečej)

The Kevi Coin Hoard Revisited

The collection of the Museum in Senta, Serbia, contains a large XV and XVI century silver coin hoard. This large cache was discovered decades ago by a local farmer in the countryside near the contemporary settlement of Kevi and it originally amounted for circa 4.000 coins. However, the Museum acquired 2.493 pieces in 1973, weighing over 1.5 kg of fine silver. The rest of the

material was scattered among locals and private collectors. In fact, farmers and "treasure hunters" have been recovering silver coins from this area since the 19th century hence why this place's name means "Coin Well" in Hungarian (*Pénzeskut*). Actually, it would be most correct to associate this hoard with medieval Tornjoš in the Čik river valley, although older works preferred connecting this find with contemporary Kevi, near Senta, and Gunaroš, near Bačka Topola. The earliest issues are two remarkable soldos of Aquileian Patriarch Lodovico di Teck (1412-1420) but most of the hoard consists out of denars and obols of Hungarian-Czech kings Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), Vladislav II Jagiellon (1490-1516) and Louis II Jagiellon (1516-1526). These coins were mostly issued by the mint in Kremnica but also in Baia Mare, Buda and Košice. The coins in the Museum collection are dated until the year 1520. However, a denar associated with this hoard, but from a private collection, was minted in 1526. At this point it would seem obvious that this coin hoard can be connected with the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and the ensuing Ottoman conquest of Hungary. However, immediately after the outcome of the decisive battle, a Serbian officer by the name of Jovan Nenad, mustered the Serbs of the region in an attempt to reestablish an independent Serbian state. He appointed himself ruler and chose Subotica as his seat, albeit short lived. By mid-1527 Jovan Nenad met his tragic demise in Tornjoš. He and what was left of his court and army, including his treasurer Subota Vrlić, were retreating after failed operations in Szeged. When he was murdered by the agents of John Zápolya, his followers must have made an escape and could have decided to stash the bulk of their money on the way. These circumstances can maybe prompt us to identify a regional, later phase in the Mohács coin hoard horizon. In any case, recent research has provided several important corrections of earlier works as well as new and more accurate information regarding the topography of the find and additional data on the original size and contents of the hoard. To this day, this find remains the largest documented coin hoard of the Mohács horizon in modern Serbia.

Krešimir REGAN (Zagreb)

The Zapolja Fortress as the Ancestral Seat of the Ruling Dynasty in the Context of Medieval Residential-Defensive Architecture of the Sava-Drava Interfluve

The Zapolja fortress, after which the Hungarian-Croatian ruling dynasty was named, was located at the site called Gradina, a few hundred meters south of today's Zagreb-Lipovac highway and 2 km southwest of the Church of St. Nicholas. It was built on an estate first mentioned in 1258 as being in the hands of the noble lineage of Ban Borić. At the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, the noble family and later ruling dynasty of Zapolja took control of it in an unknown manner and built a fortress on it. It fell under Ottoman rule before 1537 and was subsequently abandoned.

Judging by the cadastral survey of the fortress from 1857 and the aerial orthophoto from 1968, it was a medium-sized complex consisting of a fortified core and at least one fortified outer bailey (suburbium). The core itself was a fortress with an irregular octagonal layout measuring 45 m x 45 m, built of brick and surrounded by a double defensive moat. On the northern and eastern sides, a fortified outer bailey with an elongated oval layout adjoined the core, which was also additionally protected by a defensive moat.

Although due to the lack of archaeological excavations we do not have explicit confirmation of the appearance of the Zapolja fortress, according to current knowledge of its layout, we can assume that it belonged to a small group of fortresses with a central polygonal

plan. During the 14th and 15th centuries, such fortresses were built by magnates in the Hungarian-Croatian area, modeled after ruling residences. In Latin sources, such residential-defensive complexes appear equally under the names *castrum* (fortified town) and *castellum* (castle/fort), while contemporary Hungarian castle studies (burgology) treat them as a subgroup of castles. Depending on their area of origin, they are referred to in scientific literature as Central European castles, castle-castles of the Central European type, fortified palace-castles (Ger. *Burgschloss*), and fortified palaces or fortified castles (Hung. *várpalota*).

Ludovica SASSO (Dresden)

The unsung battle: Why Italian Türkenlieder ignored Mohács and how the Danubian Borderlands processed the void

The Battle of Mohács (1526) received limited attention in Italian Neo-Latin Türkenlieder compared to other Ottoman crises. This silence could be structural: Italian humanism acted as a major codifier of a specific anti-Ottoman rhetoric centered above all on the discordia populorum. This topos – the idea that Christian disunity and internal disorders, rather than Ottoman strength, were the cause of every defeat – provided a ready-made conceptual vocabulary that allowed Western intellectuals to process expansion without fully privileging specific military contingencies. This paper examines how this Italian-codified framework was received, adapted, and strategically refunctionalized in the Danubian sphere. Taking Michael Verancius' *Querelae Hungariae* (1528) as a case study, the research demonstrates that Italian-rooted humanist rhetoric was not merely a literary ornament, but a functional 'conceptual infrastructure'. Building upon Verancius' extensive training in the Italian intellectual milieu, this paper argues that he did not merely adopt a trope, but specifically repurposed the Italian paradigm to navigate the political rupture and the identitary crisis left by Mohács. Verancius, serving at the court of János Szapolyai, mobilized these tools to provide the necessary moral legitimacy for paradoxical political choices, such as a strategic accommodation with the Ottomans. By framing the Habsburgs as the primary source of *discordia*, Verancius used Italian rhetorical models to justify survival strategies that would be more readily articulable within a prestigious humanist framework embedded in dominant European political-moral discourse.

Robert SKENDEROVIĆ (Zagreb)

The Slavonian Nobility in the Aftermath of the Battle of Mohács – between loyalty and struggle to survive 1527–1535

After the outbreak of open conflict with the supporters of John Zápolya, Ferdinand I Habsburg decided to pursue a strategy of low-intensity warfare toward the Slavonian nobility while keeping channels of negotiation permanently open. The ultimate objective of this strategy was to attract Zápolya's Slavonian supporters to his own side.

The key figures in this strategy were Bishop of Zagreb Simon Erdődy and his relative Peter Erdődy, who from the beginning of 1527 were the most prominent representatives of the pro-Zápolya faction in Slavonia. Although the two men effectively served as the leaders of Zápolya's party in Slavonia, Ferdinand I correctly concluded that, under certain conditions, they would be willing to support him. From 1530 Peter and Bishop Simon engaged in intensive

negotiations concerning their possible defection. In one of his letters Peter clearly articulated the central principle guiding his actions: he wished to preserve his estates and sought the political option most likely to guarantee their survival. For Bishop Simon Erdődy, the events of 1532 were particularly sobering. In that year, Ottoman military forces devastated Slavonia, burning numerous villages and carrying thousands of inhabitants into captivity.

During this period, Ferdinand I simultaneously negotiated with Simon and Peter while, on the other hand, his supporters continued to engage them in armed conflict on the ground - most notably Ludovicus Pekry and John Kaštelanović. However, Ferdinand I approved of these military actions only to the extent necessary to demonstrate to Slavonia's pro-Zápolya faction that they had no realistic prospect of victory.

Ferdinand's success in winning over the Slavonian nobility points to a profound transformation in the relationship between Slavonia and Hungary in the aftermath of the Battle of Mohács, a trend that would grow ever more evident in the years that followed.

Philipp STENZIG (Münster)

Framing Matthias Corvinus: Wie der „Erbe Attilas" das Abendland gegen die Türken verteidigt

Die ungarischen Geschichtsschreiber des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, etwa Antonio Bonfini, Thuróczy János und Oláh Miklós, stellen die Magyaren als Nachfahren der Hunnen dar – so verorten sie ihren Bericht vor dem Hintergrund bekannter Antikendiskurse und bieten einen Interpretationsrahmen für das gegenwärtige Geschehen. Wieso gerade ihre Eigenschaft als Erben Attilas die ungarischen Könige allerdings dazu qualifizieren sollte, das Abendland als *antemurale christianitatis* (so Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1455 vor Calixtus III.) gegen die Türken zu verteidigen, ist nicht evident. Dennoch greifen die ungarischen Gesandten am Papsthof (etwa Vetési László 1475 vor Sixtus IV.) das Hunnen-Narrativ auf und präsentieren in ihren Huldigungsreden besonders Hunyádi Mátyás in der Tradition Attilas als gehorsamen Sohn der Kirche – so wie einst schon der Hunnenfürst Papst Leo I. gehorcht hatte, als er ihn aufforderte, Rom zu verschonen, werde Mátyás es nicht versäumen, die in ihn gesetzten Hoffnungen zu erfüllen. Vor und nach der Schlacht von Mohács sollten die ungarischen Gesandten im Reich dann ihrerseits an diese als bekannt vorausgesetzte Erzählung anknüpfen – davon künden die Reden des Macedóniai László auf dem Nürnberger Reichstag von 1522, umittelbar nach dem Fall von Belgrad, mit dem Widmungsgedicht für den Palatin Báthory István und den Wojewoden Szapolyai János, und später vor Kaiser Karl V., im Jahre 1530; offensichtlich hatte dieses Framing Erfolg, denn die übrigen Reichstagsteilnehmer, namentlich der päpstliche Gesandte Francesco Chieregati, sollten sich darauf beziehen.

Viktor TUČEK (Budapest)

Reconsidering the "Myth" of the Late Arrival of the Bohemian Forces at the Battle of Mohács

The Battle of Mohács occupies a central place in Hungarian cultural memory as both a historical watershed, symbolizing the collapse of the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. While the battle from Hungarian perspective has been extensively studied, the role of the forces of the Czech Crownlands—Bohemian, Moravian, Silesian, and Lusatian troops—has received surprisingly little scholarly attention in either Hungarian or Czech historiography.

This presentation examines the participation and perceived role of Czech forces at Mohács through a comparative analysis of Hungarian and Czech primary sources. Contemporary Czech narratives often portray the Czech contingents as loyal allies whose efforts were undermined by the premature actions of the Hungarian leadership, whereas Hungarian accounts frequently dismiss the expected reinforcements as untrustworthy. These conflicting interpretations raise important methodological questions regarding the construction of historical memory and the reliability of narrative sources.

By combining source criticism with prosopographical analysis, this presentation reconstructs the actions of key dignitaries and evaluates the actual military contribution of the Czech Crownlands to King Louis II's campaign. Furthermore, the comparative examination of the transmission and interdependence of sources helps identify the origins of particular narratives and assess their historical credibility.

Megan K. WILLIAMS (Groningen)

The Voivoda Vanishes: Mapping the Aftermath of Mohács in Central European Atlases

The 1526 Battle of Mohács which ushered in the contested reign of former vaivoda János I Szapolyai (r.1526-40) was given a prominent place in the earliest printed map of the Hungarian kingdom, the 1528 *Tabula Hungariae*. However, the regnal tables and maps which appeared in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Central European histories and historical school atlases largely skipped over the complicated political situation and civil wars which marked Szapolyai's reign. The years 1526-40 were typically collapsed into maps showing a tripartite Hungary already divided into differently-colored and firmly-demarcated Habsburg and Ottoman zones "after 1526" or "1526-1686". In one such, Hungary was labelled merely "Estates that made trouble for the Habsburgs".

Similarly, in accompanying European regnal tables Szapolyai tended, at best, to be labeled as "Gegenkönig"; in the most widely-disseminated tables his reign was elided entirely. Such atlases and tables illustrate, often far more compellingly than their accompanying texts, the elision of the immediate post-Mohács period 1526-1540 from the European historical imagination. This paper examines both how such school maps were produced and disseminated, as well as their extraordinary visual power to shape European historical imaginations of Mohács and its consequences.

Ad Cannas Pannonias: predzvesť a pamäť bitky pri Moháči (1526)

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ABSTRAKTY

Michal DUCHOŇ (Bratislava)

Pár postrehov o vojenskej revolúcií na území pomoháčskeho Slovenska

Cieľom príspevku je poukázanie na uhorské špecifiká, ktoré priniesla do vojenstva situácia po moháčskej bitke. Faktický rozpad stredovekého uhorského štátu, začlenenie krajiny do konglomerátu krajín, ktorým vládli Habsburgovci priniesol aj vo vedení vojenských operácií nové aspekty. Ide najmä o zvýšený počet zahraničných žoldnierov z nemeckých a španielskych oblastí, zavádzanie súdobých trendov, ako je ústup ťažkej jazdy a nárast významu pechoty na bojiskách. Oproti tomu stáli tradičné spôsoby boja proti Osmanom, ktoré sa osvedčili v bojoch na hraniciach. Bolo to vedenie tzv. „malej vojny“ a význam ľahkej jazdy, ktorá sa v uhorskom priestore preferovala. Preto sa budeme zákonite pýtať, či môžeme hovoriť o prejavoch „vojenskej revolúcie,“ s ktorou sa stretávame v Európe aj v domácom prostredí už práve v 16. storočí. Zaujíma nás, do akej miery bol priestor Uhorska miestom prijatia inovácií v európskom vojenstve, alebo tu vývoj mal svoje vlastné špecifiká.

Tomáš HOMOĽA (Bratislava)

Protiosmanská rétorika v Uhorskom kráľovstve v druhej polovici 15. storočia

Výboje Osmanskej ríše v juhovýchodnej Európe v priebehu 15. storočia a predovšetkým dobytie Konštantínopolu v roku 1453 vyvolávali v európskych krajinách obavy, že Osmani budú schopní podmaniť si aj zvyšok kresťanskej Európy. Kontinuálna expanzia Osmanskej ríše znamenala aj pre Uhorské kráľovstvo akútne ohrozenie teritoriálnej integrity krajiny. Otázka ochrany vlastného územia pred narastajúcim tlakom Osmanov sa preto stala akútnym problémom politiky uhorských panovníkov a vnímanie neustálej osmanskej hrozby bolo prítomné v spoločnosti. Príspevok je zameraný na protiosmanskú rétoriku používanú na dvore Mateja Korvína v druhej polovici 15. storočia, sleduje spôsoby ako toto nebezpečenstvo reflektoval uhorský panovník, ako vnímal a prezentoval samotných Osmanov. Dôraz kladiem na obraz, ktorý o moslimských dobyvateľoch Matej vytváral a akú rolu prisudzoval sebe a Uhorskému kráľovstvu v boji proti nim. V príspevku sa zaoberám aj spôsobom komunikácie kráľa, ako žiadal o podporu svojich vojenských ťažení u pápežov a panovníkov iných európskych krajín. Okrem toho sa, zameriavam sa aj na dobovú kronikársku spisbu, ktorá vo veľkej miere reflektovala problematiku osmanskej expanzie a vytvárala obraz o „nepriateľských Turkoch.“

Zameriavam sa pritom na rozličné výrazové prostriedky, argumenty a analógie, ktoré kronikári používali pri vytváraní predstáv o Osmanoch.

Tünde LENGYELOVÁ (Bratislava)

Reflexia osmanskej prítomnosti v dielach uhorských humanistov

Už niekoľko desaťročí pred osudnou bitkou pri Moháči dostávala vzdelaná uhorská spoločnosť informácie o Osmanskej ríši a jej ambíciách preniknúť do Európy. Po tom, ako sa tieto plány stali realitou, našli obavy z ich prítomnosti, ale neraz aj priame poznatky z kontaktov s „Turkom" odraz v korešpondencii a vďaka kníhtlači aj v literárnych prácach a traktátoch uhorských humanistov. Len niekoľkí z nich mali osobné skúsenosti s osmanskou prítomnosťou, väčšina z nich sa uspokojila sprostredkovanými informáciami. Príspevok sa pokúsi podať obraz o tom, ktoré udalosti týchto vzdelancov najviac zaujali, z akých hľadísk ich hodnotili, s akými zdrojmi informácií disponovali, aké boli ich kontakty, ktoré ovplyvňovali ich názory. Sledovať budeme aj obsah a formu aktivizačných výziev smerom k obyvateľom.

Miroslav KAMENICKÝ (Bratislava)

Vplyv bitky pri Moháči na peregrináciu študentov zo Slovenska na zahraničné univerzity

Bitka pri Moháči, odohrávajúca sa 29. augusta 1526, patrí medzi najzásadnejšie udalosti stredoeurópskych dejín. Porážka uhorského vojska Osmanskou ríšou a smrť kráľa Ľudovíta II. znamenali nielen koniec stredovekého Uhorska, ale aj začiatok hlbokých politických, spoločenských a kultúrnych premien. Tieto zmeny sa výrazne dotkli aj územia dnešného Slovenska, ktoré sa stalo jadrom tzv. kráľovského Uhorska pod vládou Habsburgovcov. Jedným z menej nápadných, no významných dôsledkov tejto udalosti bol aj vplyv na vzdelanosť a peregrináciu študentov, teda ich odchody na zahraničné univerzity.

Kým v stredoveku peregrinácia študentov smerovala najmä na univerzity v Krakove, Viedni a Prahe (Paríž, Bologna, Padova predstavovali len malé počty študentov zo Slovenska), po roku 1526 sa situácia mení. Pribudla najmä univerzita vo Wittenbergu a ďalšie protestantské univerzity, ako aj katolícke jezuitské kolégium v Ríme (Collegium Germanicum – Hungaricum). Boli tu aj teritoriálne rozdiely. Kým v rokoch 1526 – 1600 študovalo vo Wittenbergu z Bratislavskej stolice 23 študentov, tak napríklad v tomže období zo Šarišskej stolice to bolo až 50 študentov. Boli medzi nimi budúce významné osobnosti, napr. z Bratislavskej stolice rodák z Trnavy Ján Sambucus, rodák zo Senca Albert Szenczi Molnár, zo Šarišskej stolice Leonars Stöckel. Príspevok podrobnejšie zhodnotí rôzne aspekty vplyvu Moháču na predmetnú peregrináciu. Konkrétne osudy študentov ukazujú, že peregrinácia bola kľúčovým prvkom intelektuálneho života v období po Moháči. Formovala sa tu nová generácia vzdelancov. Títo jednotlivci následne ovplyvnili kultúrny, náboženský a spoločenský vývoj regiónu, čím potvrdzujú, že aj v čase krízy môže vzdelanie zohrávať zásadnú úlohu.

Veronika KUCHARSKÁ (Bratislava)

Medzi dvoma kráľmi
Reflexia zápasu o uhorskú korunu po roku 1526 v korešpondencii uhorských humanistov

Vývoj udalostí v Uhorskom kráľovstve po bitke pri Moháči, ktorá zásadne preformátovala mocenské pomery v krajine a otvorila spor o uhorskú korunu medzi Jánom Zápoľským a Ferdinandom Habsburským, viedol k hlbokému rozdeleniu uhorskej spoločnosti. Charakteristickým javom tohto obdobia bol aj fenomén „prebehlíkov", keď sa z prívržencov korunovaných kráľov zo dňa na deň stali ich odporcovia a naopak. Nevyhli sa mu ani doboví vzdelanci. Príspevok sa zameriava na korešpondenciu troch významných uhorských humanistov, cirkevných hodnostárov a diplomatov – Štefana Brodariča, Antona Vrančiča a Mikuláša Oláha – ktorí patrili do najužších okruhov oboch panovníkov a aktívne sa podieľali na dianí pomoháčskeho obdobia. Analýza ich korešpondencie ukazuje, že si veľmi dobre uvedomovali zložitosť dobovej situácie, ktorá jednotlivcov stavala pred náročné politické ale i morálne rozhodnutia. V ich listoch sa preto odrážajú nielen správy o aktuálnych politických udalostiach a ich vlastné interpretácie, ale aj osobné úvahy, postoje, pochybnosti a vnútorné dilemy spojené s otázkami lojality, politického pragmatizmu a zodpovednosti voči krajine. Korešpondencia uhorských humanistov tak predstavuje významný prameň nielen k politickému a spoločenskému dianiu v pomoháčskom Uhorskom kráľovstve, ale aj k bližšiemu pochopeniu intelektuálneho prostredia a myslenia humanistických elít prvej polovice 16. storočia.

Imrich NAGY – Monika NAGYOVÁ (Banská Bystrica)

Kirchenhistorien z Banskej Bystrice ako prameň k lokálnej recepcii protiosmanských vojen po Moháči

Banskobystrické *Kirchenhistorien* patria k menej využívaným prameňom k dejinám ranonovovekého Uhorska. Hoci ich základný obsah už v 90. rokoch 20. storočia analyzoval Igor Graus, kronikárskym záznamom o udalostiach protiosmanských vojen pripísal z hľadiska faktografickej výpovednosti iba „takmer nulovú informačnú hodnotu". Príspevok sa k tomuto hodnoteniu vracia z inej perspektívy: nebude sledovať len to, či zápisy prinášajú nové údaje k politicko-vojenským dejinám, ale predovšetkým to, čo prezrádzajú o recepcii osmanskej hrozby, o cirkulácii správ a o formovaní mestskej pamäti v slobodnom kráľovskom banskom meste po Moháči.

Analýza sa sústredí na výber, formulácie a interpretačné rámce záznamov, v ktorých sa udalosti dlhého protiosmanského konfliktu premietli do obzorov banskobystrickej mestskej komunity. Zaujímať nás bude, ktoré udalosti kronikár považoval za hodné zaznamenania a akým spôsobom sa „veľké" vojenské dejiny pretvárali na lokálnu skúsenosť ohrozenia, očakávania a pamäti. *Kirchenhistorien* tak nebudeme čítať ako kroniku vojenských operácií, ale ako svedectvo o protitureckom diskurze a pomoháčskej historickej imaginácii v prostredí stredoslovenského banského mesta.

Pavol MALINIAK (Banská Bystrica)

Latrones multa facere poterunt
Nepokoje v banských mestách a účasť miestnej šľachty v bitke pri Moháči

Vzbura baníkov v Banskej Bystrici a okolí na prelome júla a augusta 1526 tvorila často preceňovanú súčasť slovenských dejín v závere stredoveku. Ozbrojené vystúpenie baníkov do značnej miery umožnil odchod väčšiny bojaschopných šľachticov k Moháču. Na potlačení

nepokojov sa preto paradoxne podieľali aj sedliaci a iní poddaní. Referát sa pokúša nájsť odpoveď, čo týmto udalostiam predchádzalo: urýchlená mobilizácia šľachty, rekvirácie klenotov v mestských aj kláštorných kostoloch, prítomnosť rôznych mocenských zoskupení? O náročnom rozhodovaní šľachticov s väzbami k banským mestám i vzbúreným baníkom vypovedá postava tekovského župana Františka Dóciho. Jeho účasť v bitke pri Moháči je naďalej otázna. Ďalšiu kategóriu predstavovali priamo doložení aktívni účastníci bitky, ku ktorým patril kráľovský koniarnik Marek Horvát z Dúbravice. Za špecifických možno napokon označiť údajných účastníkov, zachytených neskoršou tradíciou. Patril k nim úradník na hrade Ľupča Gregor Selecký. Spätne tak dochádzalo k legitimizovaniu jeho pôsobenia (práve počas nepokojov vyvolaných baníkmi) a k zdôrazňovaniu starobylosti rodu.

Vladimír SEGEŠ (Bratislava)

Vojenské aspekty priebehu bitky pri Moháči. Čo videl a nevidel Štefan Brodarič

Jediným súdobým obsiahlejším naračným prameňom k bitke pri Moháči v roku 1526 je spis *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohatz verissima descriptio,* čiže Pravdivý opis vojny Uhrov proti Turkom pri Moháči. Jeho autorom je priamy účastník bitky, sriemsky biskup a uhorský kancelár Štefan Brodarič. Ako člen najužšieho kráľovho kruhu sprevádzal Ľudovíta II. Jagelovského na výprave proti Osmanom z Budína až na moháčske bojisko, kde takmer do poslednej chvíle stál pri kráľovi, ktorý sa v druhej fáze bitky náhle v bojovej vrave kdesi stratil a – ako sa neskôr ukázalo – na úteku zahynul. Pod zdrvujúcim náporom osmanského vojska sa aj Brodarič spolu s chaotickým ústupom kresťanského vojska vydal na útek a ako jeden z mála uhorských prelátov a veľmožov, ktorí bojovali pri Moháči 29. augusta 1526, prežil katastrofálnu moháčsku porážku.

Jeho spis bol aj je doposiaľ hlavným východiskom pre viaceré generácie historikov pri analýze a interpretácii dramatických okolností najvýznamnejšej udalosti uhorských stredovekých vojenských dejín. Vychádzajúc z výsledkov doterajšieho historického bádania a na základe komparácie s ďalšími súdobými prameňmi sa pokúsime načrtnúť priebeh moháčskej bitky.

Štefan SZALMA (Bratislava)

Hlas práva v Osmanskej ríši – Ebussuud Efendi a jeho fetvy

Şeyhülislâm Mehmed Ebussuud Efendi bol hanafijský učenec a jedna z najvýznamnejších osobností Osmanskej ríše 16. storočia. Bol blízkym spolupracovníkom sultána Sulejmana I. a preslávil sa predovšetkým ako istanbulský mufti a hlavný mufti ríše. Sultána sprevádzal aj na vojenských ťaženiach do Ostrihomu a Budína. Po dobytí Budína viedol v meste prvú piatkovú modlitbu a zachovali sa aj jeho vyjadrenia týkajúce sa Uhorska.

Počas svojho života vydal veľké množstvo fetiev, ktoré sa dotýkali takmer všetkých oblastí života v Osmanskej ríši. Tie, ktoré získali sultánske schválenie, sa stali normatívnym vzorom pre osmanských sudcov (kádiov) a muftiov aj v nasledujúcom storočí. Úvodná časť prednášky sa zameria na pôsobenie Ebussuuda Efendiho, pričom osobitná pozornosť bude venovaná jeho úlohe v uhorskom prostredí. Druhá časť prednášky poukáže na potenciál jeho fetiev ako prameňa k výskumu každodenného života v Osmanskej ríši, s osobitným dôrazom na problematiku otrokov, zajatcov a konverzie.

Stanislav VALÁŠEK (Olomouc)

Z popela a prachu nový život vzejde : Počátky sedmihradského knížectví

Pád Bělehradu v r. 1521 a následná bitva u Moháče o pět let později představovaly přelomové události, jejichž důsledky pocítilo nejen bezprostřední okolí či přímí účastníci, ale i nezanedbatelná část tehdejšího křesťanského světa. Skon uherského krále Ludvíka II. Jagellonského bez legitimního potomka a následné 44 let trvající dvojvládí přispěly k rozkladu územní celistvosti Uherského království, k níž nutno podotknout napomohla i poměrně pasivní politika Ludvíkova otce Vladislava II. Jagellonského a Matyáše Korvína v oblastech osmanského nebezpečí, přičemž starší ze signatářů olomoucké dohody z r. 1479 upřednostňoval jiné politické cíle reflektující osobní ambice. Zmíněné dvojvládí představující výsledek dvou voleb uherských králů v r. 1526 a následná neústupnost obou zvolených vládců Uher mezi l. 1526–1538 napomohla k tříštění vojenského a ekonomického potenciálu Uherského království a následnému vzniku Budínského ejáletu. Tato faktická anexe části Uherského království nepředstavovala jediný výsledek politické fragmentace Uher, jelikož o necelých 30 let později došlo mezi potomky Ferdinanda I. Habsburského a Jana Zápolského k ujednání dohod, jež položily legitimní základ nového územního celku – Sedmihradského knížectví. Územního celku vybudovaného na ruinách mateřské země, který na rozdíl od několika další pokusů souvisejících s uprázdněním uherského trůnu po bitvě u Moháče setrval na evropské geopolitické šachovnici téměř dvě staletí. Tento příspěvek popisuje poměrně trnitou cestu zrodu Sedmihradského knížectví.

From the ashes and dust new life will arise: The origin of the Principality of Transylvania

The fall of Belgrade in 1521 and the subsequent Battle of Mohács five years later were turning points whose consequences were felt not only by the immediate surroundings or direct participants, but also by a significant part of the Christian world at that time. The death of the Hungarian king Louis II. Jagiellon without a legitimate descendant and the subsequent 44-year period of dual rule contributed to the disintegration of the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Hungary, which was also helped by the relatively passive policy of Louis' father Vladislav II. Jagiellon and Matthias Corvinus in the areas of Ottoman danger. Notably, the older of the signatories of the Olomouc Agreement from 1479 preferred other political goals reflecting personal ambitions. The aforementioned dual rule, which was the result of two elections of two Hungarian kings in 1526 and the subsequent intransigence of both elected rulers of Hungary between 1526 and 1538, contributed to the fragmentation of the military and economic potential of the Kingdom of Hungary and the subsequent emergence of the Budin Eyalet. This *de facto* annexation of part of the Kingdom of Hungary was not the only result of the political fragmentation of Hungary, as less than thirty years later, agreements were reached between the descendants of Ferdinand I of Habsburg and Jan Zápolský, which laid the legitimate foundation for a new territorial entity – the Principality of Transylvania. A territorial entity built on the ruins of the mother–country, which, unlike several other attempts related to the vacancy of the Hungarian throne after the Battle of Mohács, remained on the European geopolitical chessboard for almost two centuries. This contribution describes the relatively thorny path of the birth of the Principality of Transylvania.

Marek VAŘEKA (Hodonín)

Ekonomické aspekty osmanských válek na Moravě v průběhu 16. století

Economic aspects of the Ottoman wars in Moravia during the 16th century

Within Central Europe, Moravia, as a distinct country in the union of lands of the Bohemian Crown, had its own specific exposed position on the border with Hungary. Moravia had played an important economic role in the ongoing wars with the Ottomans since the mid-15th century. This important role gained even greater importance after the lost Battle of Mohács in 1526 and the death of the Moravian Margrave Louis Jagiellon. The rise of the Habsburgs led to greater military efforts by all countries under their rule. Moravia was very exposed, as it was not directly affected militarily, but provided important agricultural raw materials and weapons for the imperial armies, which fought practically continuously until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.