

‘The Good and Honest Turk’

A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies

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‘But deliver us from evil’

‘Believe me, it is a greater pleasure to repay with good deeds and injustice suffered, rather than punish evil with evil. Take your freedom, take Constanze and be more humane than your father [...]’—this is how Selim pasha addresses Belmonte, the son of his ardent enemy in the closing scene of Mozart’s opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. ‘Nothing is as ugly as revenge [...]’, sing the freed prisoners, to the utmost anger of the fat, mean and bloodthirsty Osmin.¹ We know that the figure of the good and noble Turk, Selim pasha, who generously overcomes his prejudices and voluntarily forgives his enemies was formed by the composer himself in accordance with his Enlightenment ideals, and that it was Mozart himself who turned Osmin into a comic yet blood-curdlingly cruel figure to balance the pasha’s generosity.² We may say that Selim and Osmin demonstrate the light and the dark side of the European image of the Turk in a perfectly clear form.³

Light and shadow are inseparable—a fact that those studying the centuries-long struggle of Christianity and the Ottoman Empire often tend to forget. In the old and new literature exploring the image of the Turk, dark and light tones seem to alternate and never to find harmony: in the foreground is the fictitious or real figure of either the mean and cruel or good and noble Turk.⁴ The literary figure of the ‘pagan Turk’ conceived as the ‘natural enemy’ of Christianity and the ‘scourge of God’⁵ is lost in the distant past before the European appearance of the Ottomans and is woven into concepts of the Huns, the Tartars and the Hungarians. Jean Delumeau is right in saying that the West represented its own fears in the demonized Muslim enemy.⁶ This is how the enemy turned into the apocalyptic dragon identified with Satan: *draco rufus*.⁷

The other side of the coin, the legend of the ‘honest Turk’ (Voltaire’s ‘*bon musulman*’)⁸—in the form depicted by Paolo Giovio, Guillaume Postel and Jean Bodin,⁹ and then in the age of the Enlightenment¹⁰ by Voltaire, Lessing, Hume and Mozart—may also be traced back to the depths of the past.¹¹ It is related to the idea stemming from Origen that neither all the evil things in the world nor even Satan and hell can be considered everlasting, as God will destroy them on the last day, ‘when he restores all things’.¹² ‘*Sed libera nos a malo*’, thus prayed Christians, not knowing whether to look for evil in the outside world or in themselves. They could not decide whether final liberation was to be the destruction or the transformation and improvement of evil. ‘The whole creation carries the hope of liberty’, said Origen,¹³ and his faith was shared by many great men of the Renaissance

such as Pico della Mirandola, Erasmus and others.¹⁴ Renaissance itself—among many other things—was the rebirth of the desire for liberty. This ray of hope sometimes projected itself on the image Christians formed of the Turk.¹⁵

The second Rome

Travellers, ambassadors, writers, scientists, artists and polymaths interested in the world of the Orient—sixteenth-century intellectuals in the service of the Habsburgs promising to describe the Ottoman Empire in their works—were all aware of the sharp contrast between the European image of the Turk and theirs.¹⁶ They had different views of ‘Turkishness’,¹⁷ yet they basically treated their subject as an intellectual problem and tried to grasp it within Renaissance concepts.

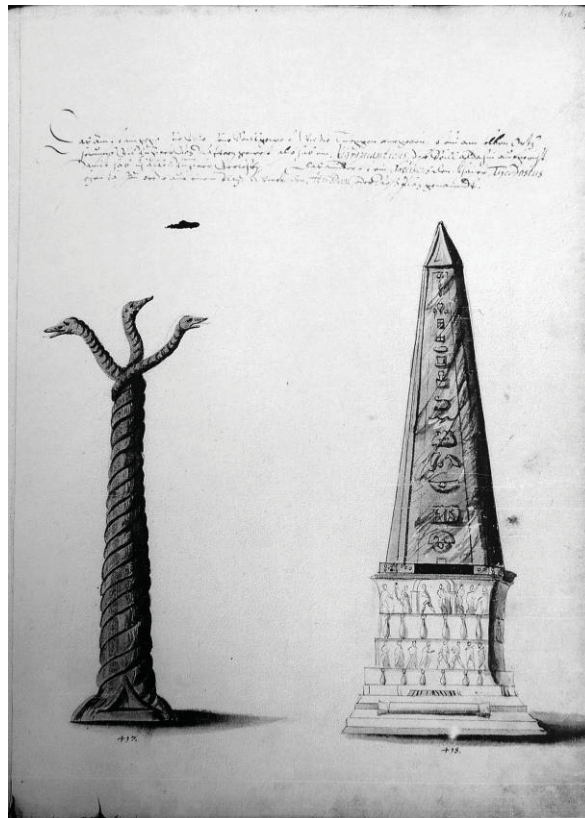


Fig. 1 The Serpentine Column and the Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople.

It is worthwhile examining the significance of the Habsburg peace delegation sent to Istanbul in 1553 from the point of view of the development of Oriental studies.¹⁸ The relationship between the Habsburgs and the Porte was extremely tense at the time; sultan Süleyman I could not forgive Ferdinand for the 1551 attack against Transylvania and the murdering of governor Frater Georgius (George Martinuzzi),¹⁹ with the result that in 1552 he launched a general attack against the kingdom of Hungary.²⁰ Peace negotiations came to a halt and the Habsburg ambassador Giovanni Maria Malvezzi was imprisoned by the Ottomans.²¹ The new delegates of Ferdinand I had been charged with a very difficult and multi-layered task: they were supposed to sign a peace agreement that

would leave Transylvania under Habsburg rule, and at the same time to seek political relations with the external enemies of the Sultan, primarily the Persians.²²

Researchers of the history of Ottoman and Habsburg diplomacy are usually amazed that Ferdinand's envoys carried out their delicate mission in such a way as to leave them plenty of time for scholarly and scientific research: they discovered and studied ancient architectural remains, explored the peoples of the Sultan's empire, and observed the flora and fauna of the landscape in front of them.²³ In reality, the profound interest of the ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire was not at all a side activity. On the contrary, the feverish search for antiquities expressed the essence of the mission, tellingly representing the aims for power—however far exceeding their current possibilities—of the Viennese court.



Fig. 2 Martino Rota: Antonius Verantius.

We know that the embassy was led by the best Humanist intellectuals of the time. Antal Verancsics (cr. Antun Vrančić, it. Antonio Veranzio; 1504–1573), the bishop of Pécs (Fünfkirchen), was a scholar with an original mind and a wide intellectual horizon.²⁴ A mere list of his discoveries and works would fill pages. We still treasure his uniquely rich collection of Hungarian historical sources—diaries, memoirs, memorandums, biographies, etc.: the so-called Verancsics Collection²⁵—, his abundant correspondence,²⁶ and high-quality historical essays.²⁷ As part of the embassy, he used Ptolemaios's map to find ancient ruins, copied Roman inscriptions, and collected Greek and Roman coins.²⁸ This is when he came into possession of a valuable Turkish manuscript, the so-called 'enlarged' version of the narrative of the Ottoman chronicler Mehmed Muhjí al-Dín. The author of this important source compiled anonymous Ottoman chronicles from the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire to his own era (until 1549). The manuscript later named after Verancsics (*Codex Verantianus*) became one of the main sources for European historians researching Ottoman history.²⁹

Another important role in the Istanbul embassy was played by Ferenc Zay, a brilliant Hungarian soldier who was captain of the Danube fleet. He was an educated man; his Hungarian military chronicle of the 1521 fall of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) is preserved in the Verancsics Collection.³⁰ Despite his many battles against the Turks, Zay was known to have excellent relations with them, which is precisely why he was selected for the Porte delegation.³¹ Another member of the mission was the Hungarian commissioner of the Fugger bank, Hans Dernschwam, who profoundly despised the Turks but studied the country's glorious past with holy devotion.³² Dernschwam possessed one of the richest libraries of the era,³³ and it was primarily due to him that the embassy got hold of such valuable manuscripts as the rare copies of Dioskorides's *Herbarium*³⁴ and Zónaras's *Annales*, which are now great treasures of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna.³⁵ The brilliant Hungarian humanist Joannes Belsius completed Dernschwam's famous travel diary with sketches of ancient monuments and inscriptions.³⁶

In 1555, Verancsics and his embassy were joined by one of the best diplomats of the time, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq from Flanders, whose delicate, readable and elegant *Turkish Letters*—the literary adaptation of the mission in question—introduced the Ottoman Empire and the Turks to Europe.³⁷ The other ornament of the delegation was Melchior Lorck, a Danish-German painter in Ferdinand's service.³⁸ His engravings and drawings of Ottoman subjects represent the same quality in the fine arts as Busbecq's book does—in line with the works of Montaigne and Justus Lipsius—in literature. Ferenc Zay, Verancsics and Busbecq were depicted by Lorck in a Renaissance series of portraits,³⁹ which is perfectly harmonious in elaboration and composition—expressing the intellectual togetherness of the members of the Ottoman mission with artistic means (see figs. 3–5). We may learn a lot by highlighting typical motives in the works of Lorck, Busbecq and Verancsics, motives that help explore the inner links of this shared world of thoughts.⁴⁰



Figs. 3–5 Melchior Lorck: The portraits of Antonius Verantius, Franciscus Zay and Augerius Busbequius.

In 1559, Melchior Lorck painted his self-portrait on the extremely precise and light panorama of Constantinople (fig. 6).⁴¹ The extract shows the painter standing on the banks of the Galata, painting the huge metropolis on the other side. We see an elegantly dressed, blond-haired, Western European young man, lethargically dipping his pen in an inkpot handed to him by a clearly symbolic

figure, a big ‘Turk’ wearing a turban. The meaning of the allegoric gesture is quite clear. Lorck interprets the panorama before him and himself getting lost in the landscape simultaneously. The artist—*antiquitatis studiosissimus*⁴²—spectacularly turns away from the Turk but at the same time accepts his help. He is *drawing* the mosques of the Ottoman capital (see figs. 7 and 9), Istanbul, but *sees* the aqueducts and columns of Constantinople, the ‘second Rome’. The archaicizing panorama of Istanbul was the intellectual recapturing of the Ottoman Empire.

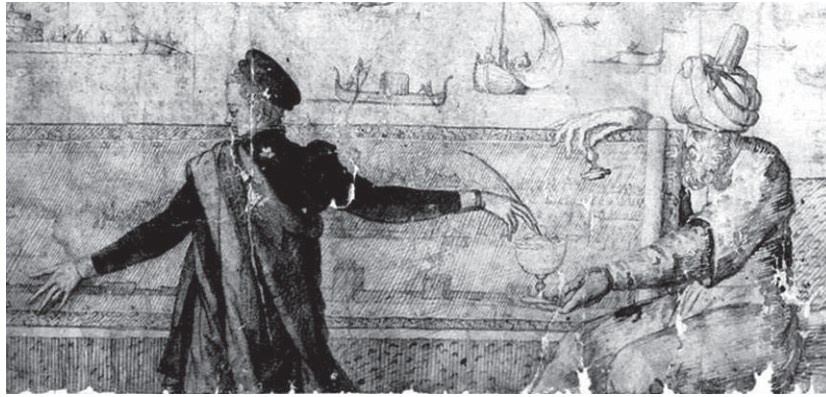


Fig. 6 Self-portrait of Melchior Lorck.

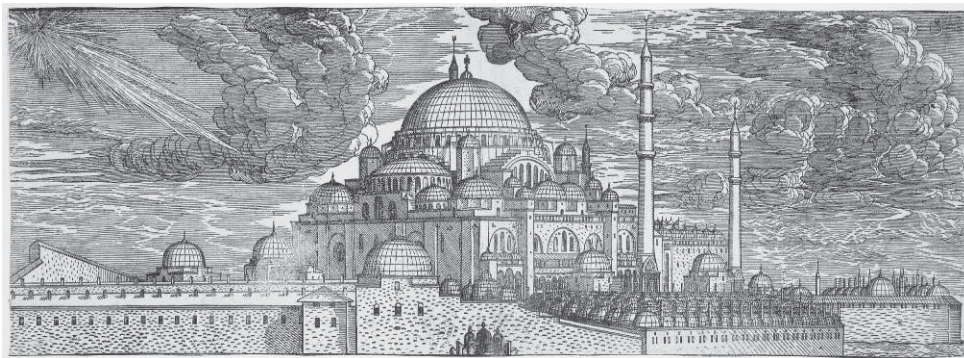


Fig. 7 Melchior Lorck: The Suleimanye in Istanbul.

Busbecq elaborated on the same thought in the closing chapter of the *Turkish Letters*, in the panegyric of Ferdinand I, written in the style of ancient royal mirrors. He compared his own king to Süleyman I. He used vivid colours to depict the immeasurable numerical superiority and power of the Ottoman emperor, against which Ferdinand—the stoic philosopher, the persevering and ingenious new Fabius Cunctator—could primarily rely on his morals and rationality, and these virtues indeed ensured him success:

Three things Solyman is said to set his heart on, namely to see the building of his mosque finished (which is indeed a costly and beautiful work),⁴³ by restoring the ancient aqueducts to give Constantinople an abundant supply of water, and to take Vienna. In two of these things his wishes have been accomplished, in the third he has been stopped and I hope will be stopped. Vienna he is wont to call by no other name than his disgrace and shame.⁴⁴

Busbecq thus saw the rivalry between Habsburgs and Ottomans not as the struggle of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ but as a trial between two differently structured ancient empires, Rome and Carthage.

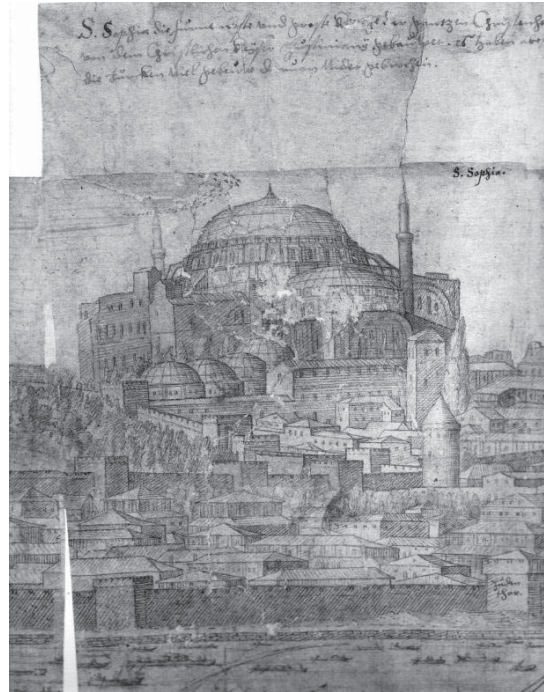
Fig. 8 The *Monumentum Ancyranum* in Ankara.

Fig. 9 Melchior Lorck: The Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.

When sultan Süleyman invited the Habsburg embassy to Amasya in Asia Minor in 1555, Verancsics, Dernschwam and Belsius, the delegation's secretary, discovered the most famous ancient inscription among the ruins of a sanctuary near Ankara, the political testament of Emperor Augustus, later to be known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (fig. 8).⁴⁵ Although the public was only informed about the findings through Busbecq's book—published almost two decades later—and he was the one to carry the glory, success had in reality been shared. Many scholars have studied the circumstances under which the findings were discovered. Here I would only like to emphasize that Augustus's inscription, apart from its historical significance, expressed the humanist aims of the ambassadors in a perfectly constructed form. As Busbecq says:

Here we saw a very beautiful inscription, containing a copy of the tablets in which Augustus gave a summary of his achievements. We made our people copy out as much as was legible. It is engraved on the marble walls of a building now ruinous and roofless, which formerly may have formed the official residence of the governor. As you enter the building one half of the inscription is on the right, and the other on the left. The top lines are nearly perfect; in the middle the gaps begin to present difficulties; the lowest lines are so mutilated with blows of clubs and axes as to be illegible. This is indeed a great literary loss, and one which scholars have much reason to regret; the more so as it is an ascertained fact that Ancyra was dedicated to Augustus as the common gift of Asia.⁴⁶

Let us focus on the last sentence of the quote. We know the *Monumentum Ancyranum* to be a basic document of the institution of the Roman *principatus*, and in this document Octavian seemingly defined himself as the reformer of Roman freedom and republic but in reality as the omnipotent *Augustus Caesar*, reconstructor of world order (*restitutor orbis*).⁴⁷ People in Vienna knew that the Ottoman sultan declared himself the heir of Byzantine rulers, in other words, emperor of the

Eastern Roman Empire.⁴⁸ Western and Eastern emperors were considered to be of the same rank. Augustus's testament—which was discovered in the Orient—represented the unity of the empire once ruled from the West. We can rest assured that Ferdinand I, the would-be emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, entirely agreed with this definition of the concept of emperorship.

Studia turcica

Peter Lambeck and Adam František Kollár, the scholarly seventeenth- and eighteenth-century librarians of the Viennese Hofbibliothek, already noted that the findings of the Verancsics delegation looking for Ottoman antiquities and the entire intellectual results of the embassy became an integral part of the imperial library and the scientific work supported by the court.⁴⁹ During the reign of Ferdinand I's heirs Maximilian II and Rudolph II, a new generation of humanists belonging to the Viennese circle turned to Oriental studies. Ottoman studies at the time owe the most to two competing foreign scholars, the Dutch Hugo Blotius⁵⁰ from Delft, the first *praefectus* of the Hofbibliothek, and Johannes Löwenklau,⁵¹ the Westphalian historian, both of whom were protégés of Lazarus von Schwendi.

In 1576, Blotius wrote his important *Turcica* catalogue entitled *Ex bibliotheca librorum et orationum de Turcis et contra Turcas scriptorum catalogus*. Research has shown that the scholarly librarian compiled his encyclopaedic work—an attempt to assemble and collect all works and knowledge on the Ottomans—with strong anti-Turkish intentions.⁵² In the preface addressed to Rudolph, Blotius talked about the practical uses of the collection, expressing his wish that his work might serve as an intellectual weapon in the hands of warriors fighting in the ultimate struggle against Turks. Researchers have often wondered why the irenic Blotius, who was against all religious conflict⁵³—and was himself a member of the mystic religious community called the Family of Love (*Familia Charitatis*)—spoke of the Ottoman question in such harsh tones.

There are several correct answers to this question. It is possible that Blotius simply wanted to please the new ruler, Rudolph, who was much more aggressive and violent than his predecessors. Another solution is that the librarian urged the emperor to lead a war against the Turks because he wanted to deter him from taking other aggressive steps—launching an armed Counter-Reformation against Protestants.

It is also possible, however, that Blotius's anti-Turkish feelings did not immediately stem from the topical political and religious aims of the collection but from the genre of the work, the encyclopaedic 'spirit' of the catalogue.⁵⁴ We know that while Blotius was editing *Turcica*, he had in mind the example of a library containing every single book in the world, encompassing science and culture as a whole—Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*.⁵⁵ The imaginary universal library was a model of the universe, served omniscience, and thus contained all branches of science, including the cultural treasures of the Muslim enemies of Christianity, as well as all the literature on the subject. The Baconian principle of *scientia est potestas* naturally existed long before Bacon.

Johannes Löwenklau wrote his famous Ottoman chronicles with highly similar ideas. Published between 1588 and 1591, his Latin and German historical works are to this day invaluable

and essential sources for those studying the history of the Ottoman Empire. The author traced the history of the Ottomans from the beginnings to his own time, wishing to write an authentic Ottoman history. He used all available genuine sources—the books of Guillaume Postel, Ogier Busbecq and Ottoman historians, and Antal Verancsics's above-mentioned Turkish codex among others.⁵⁶ Just like Blotius's *Turcica* catalogue, Löwenklau's Ottoman chronicles were encyclopaedic works, elaborated with the aim of *historia universalis*. Löwenklau's Latin-language Turkish chronicle published in 1591 (fig. 10) also served as intellectual ammunition for the European powers preparing to attack the Turks. The German historian was also a member of a Protestant spiritual community, the Moravian Brethren. He was a tolerant, gentle Humanist, but he nevertheless supported the imminent great anti-Ottoman war with all his heart, and a few years later ended his life in the fifteen-year war in Hungary, during the siege of Esztergom/Gran. In a dedication to the German prince-electors, Löwenklau summed up the primary aim of his work as follows:

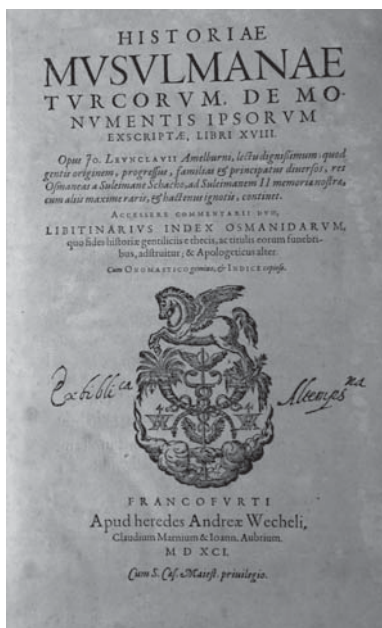


Fig. 10 Johannes Löwenklau's Ottoman Chronicles (1591).

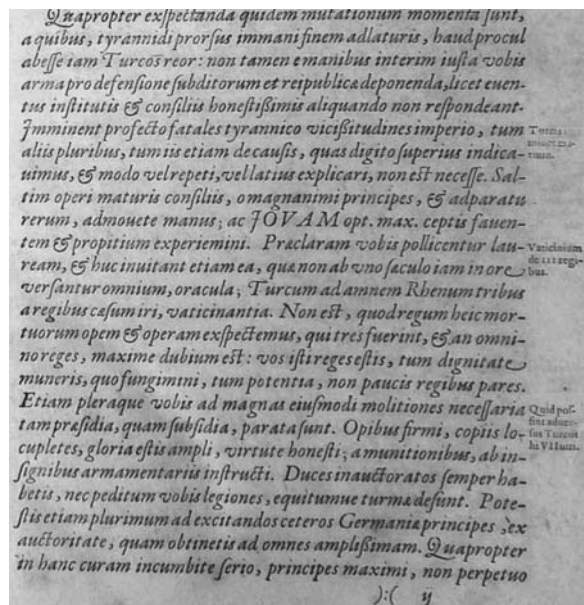


Fig. 11 Johannes Löwenklau: *Vaticinium de III regibus*.

The time of changes is soon to come, bringing the menacing *tyrannis* to an end. I think the Turks are not far from it [...]. O generous princes [...], you were promised beautiful laurel leaves a long time ago, this is what the prophecies cited by so many warn you of. The prophecies say that three kings will kill the Turkish king by the river Rhine (fig. 11). There is no reason to wait for the help and work of these three mortal kings, it is even doubtful whether they were kings at all. You are those kings, partially because of the dignity of the title you are wearing, partially because of the great power that few kings have. You now have protective weapons, great treasures and strong armies [...], you are supplied with excellent ammunition.⁵⁷

This confession-like prophecy was the intellectual programme of Löwenklau and other humanists interested in Ottoman studies, stemming from the almost apocalyptic, late Renaissance thinking of the end of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ While on one hand it urged the evolution of science and the encyclopaedic summing up of knowledge, on the other it announced the imminent end of

the world. Our contemporary thinking finds these two viewpoints incompatible, yet they contained no contradictions for Blotius and Löwenklau.

The scholars of the time of Ferdinand I were still hoping for the return of ancient Rome (*Roma instaurata*)⁵⁹ and they integrated the programme of the intellectual occupation and transformation of Turks into this belief in renewal. This idea was the very origin of the legend about the ‘good and honest Turk’. It seems that Löwenklau and his contemporaries did not count on the return of golden antiquity: on the contrary, they believed instead in the quick perfection of the world (*instauratio magna*) and the imminent end of history.⁶⁰ The prophecy the historian is referring to is evidently from Johannes Lichtenberger’s famous book of prophecies (Heidelberg, 1488, see fig. 12), which says that at the end of time the Turkish emperor is going to march to Cologne by the river Rhine, where he will lose his head.⁶¹ The words about the three kings refer to the relics of the patron saints of Cologne, the Magi relics which the author finds it unnecessary to believe in.⁶²

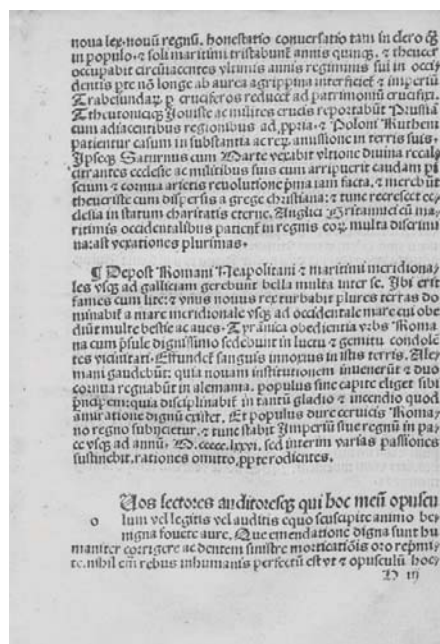


Fig. 12 Johannes Lichtenberger: *Prognosticatio* on the End of the Ottoman Empire.

The ‘time of changes’, the approaching universal *reformatio*—Lichtenberger uses the same word—will seize and transform everything and everyone. In Saint Paul’s words, often cited at the time: ‘Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all’ (Col. 3, 11)—that is, the Messiah. This rather pessimistic prophecy paradoxically envisioned a positive picture of the Turk: the Turkish will fall but we will fall with them. What would come next was not to be part of history any more.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1 Manuscript Löwenklau. Portraits of Turkish Emperors, Courtiers, Soldiers, and Towns, paper, 185 folios. Vienna, ÖNB, 8615, f. 142r.

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Figs. 6, 9 Melchior Lorck: Panorama of Istanbul, *Byzantium sive Costantineopolis*, 1559, paper, pen and ink. Leiden, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, cat. BPL 1758 sheets VI, XI.

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Fig. 8 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Ankara, Turkey.

Fig. 10 Johannes Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1591).

Fig. 11 Johannes Lichtenberger, *Prognosticatio* (Straßburg, after 31 December 1499), p. D iij r.

¹ ‘Glaube mir, es ist ein weit größeres Vergnügen, eine erlittene Ungerechtigkeit durch Großmut zu vergelten, als Schuld durch Schuld zu sühnen. Nimm deine Freiheit, nimm Konstanz und werde du menschlicher als dein Vater’ [...] ‘Nichts ist so häßlich wie die Rache’ (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, K 384, libretto Gottlieb Stephanie nach Christoph Friedrich Bretzner, N 21a; N 21b).

² Cairns 2006, pp. 69–92.

³ Jellinek 1994, pp. 163–64; Sutter Fichtner 2008, pp. 100–07.

⁴ Dimmock 2005, pp. 5–42.

⁵ Barnes 1988; Meyer Setton 1992; Andermann 2000; Ács 2000; Schmidt & Biggemann 2004, pp. 392–408.

⁶ Delumeau 1978, pp. 342–55.

⁷ Schlosser 1908, pp. 17, 19; Jardine & Brotton 2000, pp. 13–22; Brotton 2005.

⁸ ‘*Candide, en retournant dans sa métairie, fit de profondes réflexions sur le discours du Turc; il dit à Pangloss et à Martin: Ce lion vieillard me paraît s’être fait un sort bien préférable à celui des six rois avec qui nous avons eu l’honneur de souper.*’ (Voltaire, *Candide*, chapter 192).

⁹ Zimmermann 1995, pp. 121–122; Kuntz 1981, pp. 97–100; McCabe 2008, pp. 15–36, 58–64.

¹⁰ Jacob 1981.

¹¹ The topic of the ‘good and honest Turk’, which appears for instance in Lessing’s *Nathan the Wise*, Mozart’s *Il Seraglio* and Voltaire’s *Candide*, has a remarkable prehistory. On the historical and philosophical context of the anonymous treatise *De tribus impostoribus* (1598) see Niewöhner 1988; Assman 1997, pp. 93, 157, 238, 240, 249.

¹² Schmidt & Biggemann 2004, pp. 339–68.

¹³ Tzamalikos 2007, p. 320.

¹⁴ Panofsky 1960, pp. 18–21.

¹⁵ Coles 1968, pp. 145–58; MacLean 2005, pp. 1–28.

¹⁶ Faroqhi 2007, pp. 80–100; Ágoston 2007.

¹⁷ Dimmock 2005, pp. 20–25.

¹⁸ Miller 1808; Verancsics 1857–1875, vols. 3–4; Busbequius 1605; Busbecq 1881; Tardy 1983, pp. 110–20.

¹⁹ D’Ayala 1867; Papo 2009, Papo & Németh 2009.

²⁰ Centorio 1566.

²¹ ‘*Malveczius orator Turcicus incarceratur*’: Busbequius 1605, pp. 8–9.

²² Thallóczy 1885, pp. 76–106.

²³ Tardy 1983, pp. 121–7; Dernschwam 1984.

²⁴ Sörös 1898; Gyulai 2011.

²⁵ Bartoniek 1975, pp. 35–56.

²⁶ Verancsics 1857–1875, vols. 6–12.

²⁷ Verancsics 1857–1875, vol. 1., cf. Bartoniek 1975, pp. 37–39.

²⁸ Thallóczy 1885, p. 83.

²⁹ Ács 2011, p. 11.

³⁰ Zay 1980.

³¹ Thallóczy 1885, p. 72–75.

³² Babinger 1923, cf. Häberlein 2012.

³³ Berlász 1984.

³⁴ On the discovery and fate of the sixth-century illuminated manuscript called *Vienna Dioskorides* see Visser 2004.

³⁵ Dernschwam 1984, p. 51.

³⁶ Tardy-Moskovszky 1973, pp. 390–94; Tardy 1983, pp. 128–35.

³⁷ Busbequius 1605; Busbecq 1881; Martels 1994.

³⁸ Fischer-Bencard-Rasmussen 2009, vol. 1, pp. pp. 66–138 (biography), pp. 87–106 (Turkish sojourn).

³⁹ Mikó 2008, pp. 26–27; Fischer, Bencard & Rasmussen, vol. 5. (forthcoming), cat. nos. 1556,2; 1557, 1 and 1557,2; Gyulai 2011, pp. 129–30.

⁴⁰ Rogerson 2005.

⁴¹ Iuliano, p. 56; Westbrook, Dark & Meeuwen 2010, pp. 75–76.

⁴² Fischer, Bencard & Rasmussen 2009, vol. 1, p. 108. This self-designation is used for the first time on his engraved portrait of sultan Süleyman published in 1562. Ibidem, vol. 5 (forthcoming), cat. no. 1562, 1.

⁴³ ‘The Suleimanyeh, or mosque of Solyman, is the most glorious masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. It is built after the pattern of St. Sophia, and was intended to surpass it. As regards the regularity of the plan, the perfection of the individual parts, and the harmony of the whole, that intention appears to have been fully attained. It was begun in 1550 and finished in 1555.’ Note of the editors: Busbecq 1881, p. 410.

⁴⁴ Busbequius 1605, pp. 289–90.

⁴⁵ Tardy-Moskovszky 1973; Tardy 1983, pp. 128–35; Martels 1991.

⁴⁶ Busbequius 1605, p. 62; Busbecq 1881, p. 142–43.

⁴⁷ Mommsen 1883; Cooley 2009; cf. Darkó 1977, pp. 34–45.

⁴⁸ Jardine-Brotton 2000, pp. 23–47.

⁴⁹ Viskolcz 2008.

⁵⁰ Molino 2005; Molino 2011.

⁵¹ Ács 2011.

⁵² Cf. Louthan 2005, pp. 75–79.

⁵³ Molino 2005, pp. 284–298; Sebők 2007, pp. 302–332; Maurer 2011.

⁵⁴ Bredekamp 1995, pp. 30–36.

⁵⁵ Leu, Keller & Weidmann 2008; Molino 2012.

⁵⁶ Ács 2011.

⁵⁷ Leunclavius 1591, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Meyer Setton 1992; Green 2011.

⁵⁹ Biondo 2005.

⁶⁰ Ball 1975, 15–54.

⁶¹ Lichtenberger 1499, p. D iij r; Kurtze 1986.

⁶² Ács 2005.