

## The Poems of Nicasius Ellebodius

Áron Orbán 

Department Of Cultural Heritage Sciences, University of Tokaj-Hegyalja, 7 Eötvös Street, 3950 Sárospatak, Hungary; [orbanaron@gmail.com](mailto:orbanaron@gmail.com)

Ádám Szabó 

Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1 Arany János Street, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary; [szabo.adam.agoston@gmail.com](mailto:szabo.adam.agoston@gmail.com)

Received 2 December 2022 | Accepted 30 March 2023 | Published online 24 August 2023

**Abstract.** This study explores the surviving poetry of Nicasius Ellebodius (1535–1577). While his great philological achievements of this Flemish humanist are well known, his lesser works, including his poems, have received much less scholarly attention. At the present state of research, nine poems of his are extant today, both Latin and Greek pieces, which make up altogether around 230 lines. Beyond their literary and aesthetical value, these occasional poems throw light on various aspects of Ellebodius’s life and personality, his attitude to possible and actual patrons, his relationship with humanist friends. There survived poems from various stages of his life, from his Roman (mid-1550s), Paduan (1560s) and Pozsony periods (1570s). We provide a critical edition of all these poems (only two were edited in previous scholarship), and make decisive steps in exploring their context.

**Keywords:** Nicasius Ellebodius, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Henry II of France, Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor), Gabriele Falloppio, Georg Purkircher, Girolama Colonna, Carolus Clusius, Neo-latin poetry, Renaissance humanism

Nicasius Ellebodius (Nicaise Helbault, 1535–1577) is considered one of the best philologists of late sixteenth-century Europe: his main works are editions or paraphrases of classical, mainly Greek texts—especially the Aristotelian corpus—, and earlier scholarly generations have focused principally on this aspect of Ellebodius’s oeuvre. No less interesting, however, is Ellebodius himself as a person; an active member of the Republic of Letters of his time. The Flemish humanist also wrote orations, poems, prose paratexts, and last but not least, letters:<sup>1</sup> these lesser works

---

1 For an overview of Ellebodius’s life and works, as well as a bibliography, see Áron Orbán’s detailed encyclopedia article: “Ellebodius, Nicasius,” in *Companion to Humanism in East Central Europe, vol. 1: Hungarian Humanism*, ed. Farkas Gábor Kiss (prospective appearance: Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

of his allow us to catch glimpses of his personality, his habits of mind, and his own forms of expression in the framework of various literary genres; moreover, these texts throw light on the network of men of letters to which he belonged at various stages of life. Some brief overviews have already been written about Ellebodus's life and connections, but these aspects have only received closer scholarly attention in the last two decades. A publication of his correspondence is currently being developed: more than two hundred pieces of his correspondence are known and will be published with ample notes and introduction in the near future.<sup>2</sup>

According to the present state of research, nine poems of his have survived, partly in manuscript form and partly in early modern editions. Only two of the poems appear in the modern edition (without commentary),<sup>3</sup> and only a lesser part of them are discussed, peripherally, in scholarly literature: a string of poems in Ellebodus's notebook has been briefly reviewed by Tibor Klaniczay, who called attention to the notebook itself in an article,<sup>4</sup> and a Greek dedicatory tetrastich on by Ellebodus has been discussed in a recent study.<sup>5</sup> The present article provides a critical edition of all poems by Ellebodus known so far and takes the first steps towards revealing their context and inherent values. These poems can be categorised as occasional poetry, and their overall significance cannot be compared to the great scholarly achievements of the Flemish philologist, like the Latin paraphrase and commentary of Aristotle's *Poetics* or the translations of two comedies of Aristophanes. Still, we have at our disposal around 230 lines of Latin and Greek poetry, which forms an integral part of the humanist's oeuvre. The surviving *opuscula* allow us to sharpen our image of Ellebodus as a humanist of his age and to learn more about his aesthetic orientation.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the poems also serve—similarly to the letters—as puzzle pieces in the vivid and colourful picture of the late sixteenth-century *respublica litteraria*—at least those specific elite milieus to which Ellebodus

---

2 This correspondence has been under editing in the framework of an NKFIH (National Research, Development and Innovation Office) fellowship by Zsuzsa Kovács, Ádám Szabó and Áron Orbán since December 2019. Thanks to Zsuzsa Kovács for calling our attention to the epitaph on Gabriele Falloppio (Chapter II. 1) and for several other pieces of advice related to this study.

3 See below, Chapter II. 1 and II. 4. The existence of the other poems edited in this study was already indicated by scholars (see the literature in the notes on the respective poems below), but they have not analysed the texts.

4 Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodus Casletanus."

5 See below, Chapter II. 5

6 We hope that our edition also lays the ground for an aesthetic assessment of Ellebodus's poetry: the various metrical forms, the *topoi* and rhetorical figures that are applied, the rhetorical strategies and the occasions which Ellebodus chose to perpetuate in verse—to mention only a few literary aspects—can all be taken into account in such analyses.

belonged in Rome, Padua, and Pozsony (today's Bratislava), which consisted of humanists and patrons from a number of nations (mainly Italy, Hungary, and the Low Countries). This study is intended to represent a decisive step in the exploration of Ellebodius's poetry, providing a critical edition and at least minimal context for the poems; we hope to lay the ground for further contextualisation and aesthetic evaluation in future scholarship. In the transcription of the poems, we follow modern standards.<sup>7</sup>

### I. A string of poems in Ellebodius's notebook

The first pieces of Ellebodius's surviving poetry come from his Roman period. He was in Rome from the spring of 1554,<sup>8</sup> and after gaining admission to the Collegium Germanicum, studied there from March 1555 to September 1556. It was most probably Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a leading minister of Charles V (or someone in his environment), who called the attention of Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, protector of the Collegium, to the young Ellebodius.

Two manuscripts have remained from Ellebodius' schoolyears; today, both are in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, inserted in larger volumes.<sup>9</sup> He produced the first manuscript, with the signature H 55, during his studies in Leuven and Rome,<sup>10</sup> while the latter (I 159) was used only in Rome. It is the former which contains the poems. Its title was given by Ellebodius himself: *Collectanea quae in exteris et longinquis regionibus quaesivi et conscripsi*. Thus, it is a document of various contents, a student's notebook written in his own hand, only for himself. The notes in the manuscript cover all the subjects taught at the faculty of arts at that time: arithmetic, astronomy, theology, ethics, epigraphy and so on. The most significant part of the notes is about classical languages and literature: these were the main subjects in the curriculum and the focus of Ellebodius's studies as well.<sup>11</sup> However, some of the contents of the notebook seem to have been written down in the interval between his studies in Leuven and Rome.

7 We modernise the orthography (for instance, i–j, u–v) and punctuation where needed. In the critical notes, we use standard abbreviations.

8 Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus," 89.

9 Cod. Ambr. H 55 inf., 57–136 and Cod. Ambr. I 159 inf., 55–168. The volumes were compiled in the seventeenth century by the librarians of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. See Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus," Note 7.

10 Actually, there is a note in this manuscript which was written even later. In this, Ellebodius provides the dates of his arrival in Rome, the beginning and end of his studies at the *Collegium Germanicum*, and his arrival in Vienna in 1556 (Cod. Ambr. H 55 inf., 76v).

11 Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus," 87–88.

In the middle of the manuscript, between a short excursus about ancient measures of longitude and some copies of classical writings, there is a group of Ellebodius' poems.<sup>12</sup> It consists of four pieces, three written in Latin and one in Greek. A dedication can be read in place of a title: *Reverendissimo ac Illustrissimo Domino Rodolpho Pio Cardinali a Carpo, Nicasius Casletanus*. Rodolpho Pio da Carpi was a highly influential dignitary; no wonder the young Flemishman had high hopes concerning him. As one of the six members of the cardinal committee that presided over the Collegium Germanicum,<sup>13</sup> Carpi took part in the administration of the institute and was also famous for his library and patronage.<sup>14</sup> He had close ties to Ignatius of Loyola and to Charles V himself, who appointed him vice protector of the "German States".<sup>15</sup> Charles V, to whom Carpi also addressed political discourse,<sup>16</sup> is the protagonist in Ellebodius's string of poems, too.

### 1. The opening poem

A six-distich epigram opens the string of poems dedicated to Carpi. However, the addressee is not the cardinal himself, but a certain Fredericus, a *medicus* who was well versed in literature; at least Ellebodius applies the usual humanist topos to him too. No more information can be found about this person, but Fredericus was certainly a man trusted by Carpi (perhaps his personal physician because the Flemish student wanted him to be a mediator between Ellebodius and the cardinal). He asks Fredericus to show his string of poems—if he considers them good enough—to Carpi to win his benevolence and support for Ellebodius's studies. Well-known topoi of humanist poetry are interwoven here with complaints about his (apparently real) situation: he has to serve and does not have time for studying, he even had to write this poem at night,<sup>17</sup> so he really needs help from a generous patron. In the end, Ellebodius promises to write a laudation to Fredericus himself as well, provided the physician can get the support of the cardinal. In the manuscript, another hand has marked two verses in the poem and reformulated them under the original poem. This must have been done by a friend of Ellebodius, who tried to help the Flemish student by making suggestions. Ellebodius, however, deleted these lines, rejecting the proposal.

12 Cod. Ambr. H 55 inf., 84r–87r.

13 See Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom*, 13.

14 Capanni, *Rodolfo Pio da Carpi*, 47.

15 Capanni, *Rodolfo Pio da Carpi*, 18–19.

16 See Capanni, *Rodolfo Pio da Carpi*, 21.

17 Writing poems at night is also a frequent topos for humanists, but does not exclude that E. told the truth here.

Based on the content of the poem and the dating of the following two, we can assume that this work was written at the beginning of Ellebodius' stay in Rome in 1554. Maybe a friend or a benevolent dignitary persuaded him to write and send poems to Carpi and other people in the cardinal's surroundings to win the attention and favour of the protector of the Collegium Germanicum. It is highly probable that Ellebodius sent a clean copy of the string of poems to Fredericus and thus to Carpi. What is certain is that he entered the Collegium Germanicum the following year, so—with or without the help of the poem—he achieved his goal.

*Reverendissimo ac Illustrissimo Domino Rodolpho Cardinali a Carpo  
Nicasius Casletanus  
Excellentissimo ac Magnifico domino domino Frederico medico expertissimo*

Ms.: Milan, Bibl. Ambr., H 55 inf., ff. 84r-7r

Accipe quaeso tuam cupientia carmina limam, quaeque rudis nobis nostra Thalia dedit.	
Servio, nec studiis sunt libera tempora nostris, pervigil in media carmina nocte cano.	
Haec lege iudicioque tuo si forte placebunt, in doctas veniant praesulis illa manus.	5
Versibus hisce meis haec praemia sola petuntur, ut possim caepta Palladis ire via.	
Turpiter ingenium faeda rubigine nostrum inficitur cultu mente carente suo. {1}	10
Ipse tuas alio celebrabo carmine laudes, si melior rebus fulserit aura meis.	

{1} *Alia manu inseritur pro versibus 9–10 Ingeniumque situ foedaque rubigine nostrum / inficitur cultu deficiente suo, sed postea E. delevit.*

## 2. Invectives against the French king

Next come the central poems in the string: the first one is in Latin, written in distichs, the other in Greek, written in iambic trimeter. Both have the same subject: according to their title, they are dedicated to the *Gallus*, i.e., the king of France, Henry II, but this is not a real dedication, but rather an invective. Ellebodius targets the French king, who had been warring against the Emperor, Charles V, in the so-called Italian wars. Exploiting the ambiguity of the word *gallus* (which means

both “Frenchman” and “cock”), he describes Henry II as an arrogant and silly cock who dares to challenge a mighty eagle, the heraldic animal of the emperor.

The Flemish student refers to current events in the war, which makes it possible to approximately date the poems—and thus the whole string of poems—to the late summer or early autumn of 1554. First, he mentions the defeat of Pietro Strozzi, an Italian general. Strozzi commanded the forces of Siena, a French ally, in the fight against Florence, which was supported by Charles V. Then, on August 2, 1554, there was a battle at Marciano that the Florentine army won decisively.<sup>18</sup> Ellebodus mentions military operations in his homeland, Flanders, as well, which probably refers to the French campaign in the summer of 1554. A French army invaded the province in June. The soldiers plundered the territory and occupied some fortresses, but the emperor reacted slowly and avoided any serious confrontation for a long time. Probably this is why the sentence *Carolus stertit* (“Charles is snoring”) was created by those dissatisfied with the emperor’s activity. Ellebodus quotes this saying many times in the poem, so it had to be widespread in Rome. Finally, on August 13, Charles V attacked the French army to save a besieged castle, Renty. The result was a minor French victory, but the commanders were informed about the defeat on the Italian frontier, so they decided to lift the siege of Renty and finish the campaign. This turn of events made it possible for Charles V to proclaim success.<sup>19</sup>

While referring to these two battles, Ellebodus scorns the French king and glorifies the emperor. The author’s motives were certainly not only patriotic sympathy for his attacked homeland but also the intention to show loyalty to the emperor. As seen above, Carpi was a well-known supporter of the German cause in Rome, so these poems might have earned his attention and benevolence, especially the Greek one, which—beyond its political content—shows a good command of Greek language and literature; such a solid knowledge of Greek was unusual at such a young age (Ellebodus was only nineteen years old). There is a correction in the first poem made by the same hand as in the previous one. In this case, Ellebodus did not delete it, so he may have accepted the suggestion.

*Ad Gallum*<sup>20</sup>

Tolle graves fastus, animi depone furorem,  
 et flectas cristas, Galle superbe, tuas.  
 Gallus es, ales iners, nil cristam praeter et unguis,  
 parvaque ius regni terminat ora tui.

18 Mallett and Shaw, *The Italian Wars*, 257–64.

19 Rickard, *Battle of Renty*.

20 Henry II, King of France (r. 1547–1559).

Cum quoque sis aquila longe tu viribus impar, vis tamen hanc summo sollicitare polo.	5
Potasti Galli <sup>21</sup> nimium sitibundus in undis, inde tibi nomen provenit, inde furor.	
Deprime, dum ius est, nimium temeraria caepta, ne toties tanti paenituisse velis.	10
Qui decus imperii captas furialibus armis, quin tua ne pereat Galle corona vide.	
An tibi dant animos obliquae cornua Lunae, et studeat rebus quod modo Turca tuis? <sup>22</sup>	
Oppida cuncta tuo credis cessura furori, quod primo faciles experiare deos?	15
Data lege nihil toto manet orbe ligatum, omnia fert dubia sors malefida rota.	
Utque diem Titan revehit, vaga Luna tenebras, sic homini varias fata dedere vires.	20
Carolus Austriaco stertit de sanguine Caesar, stertit, at hoc melius nullus in orbe videt.	
Sic quondam Fabius stertebat Maximus, atque stertendo rerum reddita summa fuit. <sup>23</sup>	
Stertit quo lepores perhibentur stertere somno, stertit, sed vigili lumine cuncta notat.	25
Multa tenet fateor verborum opprobria Caesar, illa sed in magnum versa fuere decus.	
Naufragus aequoreis fuerat subversus in undis, cum rigidos saevo Marte petebat Afros. <sup>24</sup>	30
Talia Geldronum populus iactabat, at inde Caesaris experta est Geldria victa manus. <sup>25</sup>	
Tu quoque, ni veterum fallant oracula vatum, Debebis Caroli mite subire iugum.	

21 The Gallus River in Galatia. It was believed that those who drank its water would go mad (see Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXI. 5).

22 France had been in an alliance with the Ottoman Empire since 1536. They often coordinated military action against the Habsburgs.

23 Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (c. 280–203 BC), a Roman general in the Second Punic War who received the nickname Cunctator because of his delaying tactics.

24 In 1535, Charles V. led a campaign to Africa and conquered Tunis.

25 After the Third Guelders War (1538–1543), in the Treaty of Venlo, William of Jülich was forced to cede his territories, the Duchy of Guelders and the County of Zutphen, to Charles V.

Et nisi te moneant Francisci exempla parentis, <sup>26</sup>	35
conteret omne tuum Caesaris ira robur.{1}	
Fallor? An innocui noscunt ventura poetae,	
sive ea sunt terra, sive gerenda mari?	
Haec dum vaticinor, Flandrorum missus ab oris,	
aurea qui referat nuncia cursor adest.	40
Flandrica dum Gallus vastat temerarius arva,	
infelix Flandro caesus ab hoste fuit.	
Is quoque quem vane laudabat Italia Strozzus, <sup>27</sup>	
dicitur infamem corripuisse fugam, <sup>28</sup>	
qui modo Caesarea, si vera est fama, cohorte	45
cingitur et victas mox dabit ille manus.	
Inque caput Galli totas Germania vires	
concitat, et saevus Flander in arma ruit.	
Quin etiam toto seiunctos orbe Batavos	
per mare ducturos bellica signa ferunt.	50
Parte ferox alia densis Hispania castris	
Gallorum magnas depopulatur opes.	
Nam Deus iniustis poenas aliquando rependit,	
quas male quaesivit, nunc male perdat opes.	
Ah, quam multa manent Gallum discrimina rerum!	55
In poenas credo vix satis unus erit.	
Plaudite, Caesarei, laetos agitate triumphos,	
maestaque iam laetis solvite corda iocis.	
Ducite faelices per compita, ducite ludos,	
timpana laeta sonent, tibia, plectra, lyrae.	60
Qui prius ibat ovans Gallus plaudentibus alis,	
ultrices aquilae sensit adesse manus,	
armaque nil prosunt illi socialia Turcae,	
nam movet avitis bella nefanda diis.	
Galle retro propera, resonantia Caesaris arma	65
audio, Galle cave, sta, fuge, Caesar adest!	

{1} conteret ... robur] *a. m. sublin. ac add. in marg.:* crede feres regni maxima damna tui.

26 King Francis, father of Henry II, was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia in 1525.

27 Pietro Strozzi.

28 After the battle of Marciano, Strozzi was forced to flee, but he avoided being captured.



## Τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Νικησάτω νῦν ἡ χαρὰ τὴν {1} ἀνίαν  
 ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μέγιστον ὀρχεῖσθε πάνυ.  
 Ὑμεῖς δ' {2} ἐτοῖμως ὡσὶν οὖσιν ὀρθίοις  
 ἐνωτίσασθε {3} τῶν ἐφερμηνευμάτων.  
 Τὴν συγκρότησιν τῆς μάχης καὶ τὸν μᾶλον 5  
 λέγω {4} τοῦ ἀγριοποῦ ἀλεκτρυόνος,<sup>29</sup>  
 πλείστον δὲ καιρὸν ἀνθυπηγωνισμένου.  
 Τέθνηκεν ἡ τάλαινα θήρα τῷ μύθῳ  
 καὶ πρὸς βάθῃ πέπτωκεν Αἰδωνέως.  
 Πέτρου φεύγοντος Στρώζου<sup>30</sup> τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. 10  
 Οὕτως {5} πρὶν ἡμῖν δυσμενῆ κατακράτος  
 ἄσπονδον, ἀμείλικτον, ἡγριωμένον  
 ὄλεσεν {6} τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοπεδία.  
 Ζώοις ἀλύπως, εὐθαλῶς, εὐκαρδίως  
 ἐς λυκάβαντας μήπω πεπληρωμένους, 15  
 ὅσπερ ἂν ἔλθῃς Ἄγγελος {7} ποθουμένων,  
 καὶ τὸν φόνον {8} πρῶφηνας ἡμῖν τοῦ φθόρου  
 ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πᾶν ποθούμενον τέλος  
 εἰληφὸς {9} ἄρτι καὶ καλῶς ἡνυσμένον.

{1} *post* τὴν] 1 *litteram E. del.* {2} *post* δ'] 1 *litteram E. del.* {3} ἐνωτίσασθε] *E. ω ins. in marg.* {4} *post* λέγω] 2 *litteras E. del.* {5} Οὕτως] Ούτως *ms.* {6} ὄλεσεν] ὀλεσεν *ms.* {7} Ἄγγελος] Ἀγγελος *ms.* {8} *post* φόνον] 1 *litteram E. del.* {9} εἰληφὸς] εἰληφὸς *ms.* The text of the poem is based on Theodore Prodromus: *Catamyomachia*, 356–84.

## 3. The concluding poem

Although the addressee of the last poem in the string is Charles V, only its beginning concerns the emperor. Ellebodius apologises to him for his modest poetic achievements: his poverty and young age do not allow his talent to blossom or for him to compose in more prestigious genres. In the 26-distich poem, we can in fact read, packed with commonplaces, a description of the Flemish student's situation in Rome, interwoven with praise for Cardinal Carpi, in whom he lays his hope. The poet expresses his confidence that the celestial powers, the gods and stars, will

29 I. e. Henry II, king of France.

30 Pietro Strozzi.

favour his path, and in the second half of the poem (from line 27), we arrive at praise for the cardinal.<sup>31</sup> Ellebodus adapts a number of well-known panegyric topoi to the real person of Carpi: the cardinal's name (Pius) already mirrors his character; he has virtuous ancestors; the family's probity contrasts with others' avarice and arrogance; for his virtues, the cardinal will earn eternal fame; finally, the poet promises, in due order, to sing the praise of the prospective patron. Behind the topoi that run throughout the entire poem—from the modesty topos through the theme of the errant Ulysses to the commonplaces of praise for the patron—one can clearly see how Ellebodus intends to impress Carpi by contrasting the limits posed by his poverty with his promising talent.

Noteworthy are the additions of the benevolent corrector familiar to us from the previous poems. In addition, this reviewer of the poems, who seems to have known both Ellebodus's situation and the Carpi family well, inserted distichs referring to other praiseworthy characteristics of the cardinal (his generosity as patron, after line 30) and his uncle (Alberto's *scientia*, after line 38),<sup>32</sup> and on the other hand, to Ellebodus's hard service<sup>33</sup> (after line 4). Apparently, these concrete references were meant to enhance the impression on Carpi of the poor but talented Flemish student.

*Ad Carolum Caesarem*

Carole da veniam nec{1} torvo despice vultu  
     Exiguus elegis si tua facta canam.  
 Namque mei studii cursum remoratur egestas  
     nec numero vitae bis duo lustra meae. {2}  
 Ingenio poteram superas volitare per auras,                         5  
     Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret  
 Si me sors vellet fatis melioribus uti  
     Parcaque det vitae stamina longa meae.

---

31 Tibor Klaniczay assumed that with line 15, at the beginning of folio 87<sup>r</sup>, a new poem begins (Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodus Casletanus," 88–89). However, lines 15–18 logically continue the previous argumentation in lines 11–14: the celestials are not deaf to the prayers of the pious mortal—Ulysses, too, finally arrived home. Formal features do not support the assumption either: there is no title or any change in style that would indicate the beginning of a different poem.

32 "Albertus" must be the uncle of Cardinal Alberto III Pio da Carpi.

33 Here, the insertion by Ellebodus's corrector ("Altera fert lapidem gestat manus altera pennam, / Ut me penna levat, sic grave mergit onus") is based on the epigram at no. 121 of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1531): "Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas: / Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. / Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces, / Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret." In light of this, the insertion should not be taken in a literal sense as a reference to actual stones that Ellebodus would have worked with.

Tunc ego non parvis elegis, humilique Camena Sed tua Mantoo <sup>34</sup> carmine gesta canam.	10
Nec tam dura meam moderantur sidera vitam Quin alia sperem conditione frui. Scilicet aspiciunt caelestia numina terras Nec spernunt dura supplicis aure preces.	
Multa vafer fuerat discrimina passus Ulysses Dum ferat aequoreas per duo lustra vias.	15
Attamen undosi post tanta pericula ponti Ignotus patriae redditus ille fuit. Atque ego post duros aerumnososque labores Sentio mutatos in mea fata deos	20
Me miserum primo, patriaque bonisque carentem Suscepit tectis inclita Roma suis. Nullus erat tota qui me cognosceret urbe, Quique daret vitae commoda, nullus erat.	
Ni deus ex alto me respexisset Olympo Vel fame debueram vel periisse siti.	25
Tu quoque Cardinea redimite Rodolphe corona Es factus rebus portus et aura meis. Stemmata iactantes sileant famosa {3} parentum, Tu superas animi nobilitate genus. {4}	30
Unica purpurei laus diceris esse senatus Et magnus sedis Pontificalis honor. Maxima tu miseris solus solatia praestas Sic quadrant rebus nomina facta suis	
Diceris esse Pius patrio cognomine, magnos Tu virtute tuos sic imitaris avos.	35
Fortunas alii capiunt duntaxat avitas Haeredem patriae tu probitatis agis {5}	
Quaerat avarus opes et nomina sanguine miles Omina defendas nominis ipse tui.	40
Sic eris insigni notus super aethera fama Et laudem a memori posteritate {6} feres. Carmine plura forent nostro dicenda, tacebo Materia vires exuperante meas.	
Sed nos nulla tuae capient oblivia laudis Sive premamus humum, sive premamur humo.	45

---

34 Reference to Virgil, born near Mantua.

Sique meis dederit studiis fortuna quietem  
 Noscetur toto nomen in orbe tuum.  
 Nunc mea si bona sunt hilari cape carmina vultu,  
 Sin mala, Lethaeis iniiciantur aquis. 50  
 Me miserum, sacri quondam viguere poetae  
 Sed modo nos vates turba profana sumus.

{1} *prae nec] unum vocabulum E. del.* {2} *nec... meae] a. m. sublin. ac add. in marg.:* Altera fert lapidem gestat manus altera pennam, / Ut me penna levat, sic grave mergit onus. {3} *famosa] E. corr. ex praeclara* {4} *post tu... genus a. m. add. in infimo folio:* Nam tua gorgoneo maduerunt labra liquore, / Inde faves doctis docte Rodolphe curis, / Et tua pierides cinxerunt tempora lauro / Et Charites plena dona dedere manu. {5} *post Haeredem... agis a. m. add. in infimo folio:* Quas fugit Alberti miranda scientia terras? / Crede mihi, mutuo clauditur illa polo. {6} *posteritate] E. corr. ex posteritat†...†*

## II. Ellebodius's further poems

### 1. An epitaph on the death of Gabriele Falloppio

Gabriele Falloppio (or Falloppia), professor at the chair of anatomy and surgery in Padua and a key figure in the development of anatomy in the sixteenth century, passed away on October 9, 1562. Jan Zamoyski, who had made a magnificent career as a politician and became Grand Chancellor and Great Hetman of the Polish Crown by the end of the century, studied in Padua between 1561 and 1564 and issued a funeral oration commemorating his beloved master. As was usual, versed epitaphs accompanied the oration in the publication, and one was composed by Ellebodius. Although Ellebodius, who arrived in Padua in November 1561, only studied medicine later (in the second half of the century), he most probably saw and heard Falloppio, a most popular professor at the university. About the relationship between Ellebodius and Falloppio or Zamoyski, respectively, neither the poem nor the surviving correspondence provides us with further clues.

The epitaph is in iambic meters reminiscent of Horace's epodes<sup>35</sup> and uses the common topoi of classical-humanist literature. Falloppio is, among other things, praised as the protégé of Apollo (line 4): while the invocation of Apollo is most usual in poetry, here the god's mention also indicates Falloppio's medical profession, which is otherwise not directly referred to in the poem. The organising idea of the epitaph is that even if poems and orations cannot bring a dead man back to

35 Trimetrum iambicum cum dimetro (Archilochio). This is the meter of the first ten epodes of Horace.

life, they can perpetuate the memory of his glory and merit. His fame reached all nations, including the Sarmatae (Poles) in the far north (line 21): in the other half of the poem, Ellebodius connects the commemoration of Falloppio with the laudation of Zamoyski, who is such a talented man that his funeral oration alone can secure immortal glory for the Italian scholar.

*Nicasii Ellebodii Casletani Flandri, In obitum Gabrielis Falloppii*

Edition: Jan Zamoyski, *Oratio habita Patavii in funere ... Gabrielis Falloppii. IIII Id. Oct. MDLXII* (Padua: I. Ulmus, 1562), 8v-9r.

Modern edition: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*. Vol. 1, 1553–1579, ed. Waclaw Sobieski (Warsaw: Druk P. Laskauera i S-KI, 1904), 395.

Nam cur Faloppi musa tristibus mea Te prosequat {1} cantibus?	
Decus Faloppi maximum gentis tuae, Et cura magna Apollinis?	
Nulla recludi fata possunt carmine, Nec vota vanae imagini	5
Levem reducant spiritum, circumluit Quem pallidus semel lacus. <sup>36</sup>	
At ut necessitas quod attulit, tibi Avara mors adimerit:	10
Delere nomen gloriamque, et invidiae Oblivioni tradere	
Non quibit unquam. Vivet illud in libris Et omnium memoria,	
Dum litteras, artesque dum pulcherrimas Tractabit humanum genus.	15
An tam remota longe ab urbibus Italis Gens ulla terras incolit,	
Laudum tuarum quae vacet praeconio, Et nomen haud colat tuum?	20
En ultimis e Sarmatis, scientiae, et Virtutis insignis bonis,	
Et stirpe natus iuvenis ex amplissima, Os explicat suum tibi, et	

36 Reference to the Underworld.

Oratione quam repente protulit                    25  
     Quidem, sed ea facundia  
 Et arte facta gloriae servit tuae,  
     Ut si deessent cetera  
 Ad nominis certam memoriam tibi  
     Semperque victurum decus,                    30  
 Haec una vectum celsa supra sidera  
     Te redderet Diis parem.

{1} prosequat] *manus incognita correxit* prosequatur

## 2. A poem celebrating Georg Purkircher's doctorate in medicine

After Ellebodius began his studies in Padua, he became acquainted with students from Hungary, too; one of them was Georg Purkircher (c. 1535–1577), who came from a German burgher family in Pozsony, and who by 1563 had already composed several pieces of humanist poetry.<sup>37</sup> Later, after Ellebodius moved to Pozsony, his friendship with Purkircher deepened: both were in some way humanists who worked as physicians in that city. The fact that Purkircher graduated as a doctor of medicine in Padua is known from a booklet issued on this occasion on December 21, 1563. The five-folio edition, entitled *Lusus poetici*, includes eight epigrams by his friends and comrades,<sup>38</sup> which apparently have not been investigated by Purkircher's or his friends' modern biographers.<sup>39</sup> Since Purkircher was both physician and poet, it is no wonder that the poems are centred around the symbolism of initiation by Apollo (god of poetry and medicine, among others) and the muses, a topical theme in humanist poetry.

Ellebodius's 34-line poem, written in similar iambic meters as the 1562 epitaph,<sup>40</sup> stages Purkircher crowned with laurel by Apollo and donated a lyre by the muses; due to his manifold wisdom and merit, Purkircher ascends to heaven and eternal glory. Noteworthy is the way Ellebodius pictures Purkircher's knowledge: he masters not only the art of healing but can also reveal all the hidden causes in nature and

37 For instance, on the coronation of Maximilian as king of Hungary. On the life and works of Purkircher, see Áron Orbán's detailed encyclopaedia entry: Orbán, "Purkircher, Georg."

38 Guilelmus Bernhartus Behmus, Bertrand Diemar (two poems), Nicasius Ellebodius, Dionysius Puklerus, Paulus Kerzius (Kyr), Elias Corvinus, and Michaelos Sophianos.

39 Purkircher's two biographers did not have access to the edition; they just mentioned it together with the fact of the graduation. See Kneifel, *Purkircher György*, 38–39; Okál, "Život a dielo bratislavského humanistu," 20. So did Endre Veress earlier, see Veress, ed., *Matricula et acta*. The only surviving copy of the edition is now in Sárospatak, Library of the Reformed College.

40 Trimetrum iambicum cum dimetro (Archilochio).

penetrate all secrets of the world (lines 11–18). This is, on the one hand, the well-known classical-humanist topos of the wise man or inspired poet who learns the *rerum causas*, the secret causes of all things; on the other hand, it may also hint at the parallels between microcosm and macrocosm cherished by many doctors and “philosophers” of the time, who saw the study of medicine as instrumental to the study of nature. This comprehensive concept of theoretical medicine, explicitly echoed by Ellebodius in some of his letters, should be valued in the light of Ellebodius’s later study of medicine in Padua in the second half of the 1560s.<sup>41</sup> Beyond Purkircher’s wisdom, the eulogy made by Ellebodius extends to Padua and Italy as the “mother of erudition”: while naturally a commonplace, this is also in line with Ellebodius’s personal experience, who had ample occasion for studies and learned conversations in Pinelli’s circle.

*In Doctoratum Georgii Purkircheri Pisoniensis*<sup>42</sup>

Edition: *Lusus poetici ad Georgium Purkircherum Pisoniensem, laurea in arte medica donatum*. Padua, G. Perchacinus, December 21, 1563, f. 2v–3r.

O quae tenetis verticem Parnassiae	
Rupis: Poëtae Lesbium	
Aptate vestro barbitum Georgio,	
Vestro Poëtae, tempora	
Apollo cuius dextera cinxit sua	5
Semper virente laurea,	
Cum plauderetis ipsae, et versibus bona	
Effunderetis omina.	
Nec vero vestra distulerunt irrita	
Venti procaces carmina.	10
Progressus ingens, maximarumque artium	
Perceptio constans, meam	
Orationem vanitate liberat.	
Natura nostris sensibus	
Nil tam removet, ulla vel solertia	15
Inventa sunt mortalium,	
Quae non labore, cura, diligentia,	
Quaesita comprehenderit.	

41 On Ellebodius and medicine, see Orbán, “Nicasius Ellebodius,” 16–20.

42 Piso is the mythical founder of Pozsony. Purkircher someti,mes called himself *Pisoniensis*: see Okál, “Martin Rakovský,” 155.

Prae caeteris, caussas nocentes corpore  
 Dedit fugare languido 20  
 Phoebus, Phoebique proles Aesculapius.  
 Concursus hoc mirantium  
 Testatur, et iste candidissimus dies  
 Donans laborum praemia.  
 At te Georgi convenit doctissime 25  
 Gaudere commodis tuis.  
 Te mater eruditionis Itala  
 Beata tellus suspicit,  
 Et urbs telluris ista lumen Italiae  
 Fundata prisco Antenore.<sup>43</sup> 30  
 Te plebe virtus segregatum ignobili,  
 Te magnus ardor ingenii{1},  
 Te singularis artium scientia  
 Ad alta tollit sidera.

{1} ingenii] ingeni *in ed.*

### 3. An epigram in praise of Girolama Colonna

In late 1567 or early 1568 (still in his Paduan period), Ellebodus wrote a three-distich epigram in praise of Girolama Colonna, the daughter of Ascanio Colonna (1498–1557, Grand Constable of Naples) and Giovanna d’Aragona. The Colonna were a prominent family of the papal nobility; Marcantonio II Colonna (1535–1584), for instance, took part in the above-mentioned Italian war on the imperial side; he was commander during the campaign against the pro-French Siena (1553–54). In 1568, Ottavio Sammarco (ca. 1540–?) edited a volume of poems in praise of Girolama, both vernacular and Latin, and included Ellebodus’s epigram. Ottavio—the son of Fabrizio Sammarco, the famous Neapolitan jurist—corresponded with Paolo Manuzio, and it may have been through Manuzio (Ellebodus’s acquaintance since the early 1560s) that Ellebodus and Sammarco came into contact. Manuzio mentions in his letter of 31 January 1568 to Ellebodus that Sammarco sends thanks for the epigram.<sup>44</sup> In 1614, the epigram reappeared in an anthology of poems from the Low Countries.<sup>45</sup> The poem itself involves topical praise of Girolama’s beauty

43 Antenore is the mythical founder of Padua (already found in the *Aeneid*).

44 Paolo Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri IIX*, 453: *De epigrammate Sammarcus agit gratias...*

45 The existence of this poem of Ellebodus in the 1614 edition was already indicated by Wagner, *Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodus*, 26.



based on the myth of Paris's judgment, the rivalry between the three classical goddesses concerning who would be chosen as the most beautiful. Naturally, Girolama's beauty surpasses that of all three deities.

*In laudem Hieronymae Columnae*

Edition: *Il tempio della divina signora donna Geronima Colonna d'Aragona*, ed. Ottavio Sammarco (Padua: L. Pasquati, 1568), 8r in the part of the Latin epigrams; *Delitiae C. poetarum Belgicorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium, altera pars, collectore Ranutio Ghero*, Vol. II (Frankfurt a. M.: N. Hofmann et al., 1614), 220.

Cum tria pastoris coelestia numina formam  
 Idaei arbitrio supposuere suam:  
 Addita tunc si illis, Hieronyma, quarta fuisses,  
 Dixisset cunctis sensibus attonitus:  
 Quamvis mortalis, Divas Hieronyma vincis.  
 Quidquid habent illae, nempe, Columna, tuum est.

#### 4. A poem celebrating the return of the Habsburg archdukes from Spain (1571)

This poem has been preserved in a manuscript containing the poems of Miklós Istvánffy, humanist and statesman, friend of Ellebodus;<sup>46</sup> it is included in the modern edition of Istvánffy's *Carmina*. Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, sons of Maximilian II, were educated in Spain at the court of Philip II. For various reasons, they intended to return to their father's court, and King Philip gave them leave.<sup>47</sup> They set sail from Barcelona on 18 July 1571 and arrived in Vienna (by ship) on 23 August 1571; at many stations of their journey, they were ceremonially received by local dignitaries.<sup>48</sup> Ellebodus had arrived in Pozsony in May of the same year, and his patron, István Radéczy, was a key supporter of Habsburg rule in the Kingdom of Hungary as a lieutenant, royal councillor, president of the Hungarian chamber and bishop of Várad (today's Oradea); thus Ellebodus had good reason to hail the

46 Istvánffy's recording of Ellebodus's poem certainly has to do with the intention of the Flemish humanist's environment to keep his memory alive and preserve his oeuvre: the poem was written down after the epitaph for Ellebodus (fol. 67v). See also the case of Ellebodus's Greek tetrastichon (II. 5.): it was in August 1577, shortly after Ellebodus's death, that Clusius mentioned in a letter to Joachim Camerarius the fact that his friend and compatriot had written a Greek dedicatory tetrastichon for his "Spanish flora".

47 See Almási, "Educating the Christian Prince," 23.

48 Mayer-Löwenschwerdt, *Der Aufenthalt der Erzherzoge Rudolf*, 40.

Habsburg archdukes. The 16-line poem, composed in Fourth Asclepiad stanzas,<sup>49</sup> eulogises the archdukes who stand fast amidst turbulent times and shine like stars above the stormy sea; “Quassa Pannonia”—that is, Hungary torn apart, invaded and threatened by the Turks—will greatly benefit from their prospective rule.

*Archiducibus Rudolpho et Ernesto ex Hispania reversis.* 1571

Ms.: MTAK (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), M. irod. írók, 4-r. 241/11

Modern edition: Nicolaus Istvánffy, *Carmina*, ed. József Holub and László Juhász (Leipzig, 1935), 53.

Quales per mare turgidum  
 Iactatis rapido turbine navitis  
 Multa vix domiti prece  
 Affulgent gemini lucida sidera,

Tales rebus in asperis  
 Illuxere diis rite faventibus  
 Fratres Austriaci duo  
 Quassae Pannoniae certa salus suae.

Nam sic flagitat indoles,  
 Sic a Caesaribus ducta potentibus  
 Virtus et genus inclytum,  
 Velox fama tulit quod super aethera.

At laetare bonis tuis,  
 Felix Pannonia, atque, ut tibi principes  
 Servent incolumes tuos,  
 Urgeto superos assidua prece.

## 5. A Greek tetrastichon for Carolus Clusius’s *Spanish flora*

Carolus Clusius (Charles de l’Écluse, 1526–1609), the famous naturalist and one of the central figures of the *respublica litteraria* in Central Europe in the 1570s and 1580s, knew Ellebodium, his compatriot, since at least the beginning of his Viennese

<sup>49</sup> The Fourth Asclepiad stanza consists of the following lines: Glyconic + minor Asclepiad + Glyconic + minor Asclepiad.

period (from late 1573).<sup>50</sup> Among the dedicatory poems of Clusius's *Rariorum plantarum historia*,<sup>51</sup> which was, in fact, the first volume of his *Opera Omnia*, one can find a Greek tetrastichon with the signature Νικάσιος ὁ Ελληβόδιος. This may seem curious, given that the *Rariorum plantarum historia* appeared in 1601, while Ellebodus died in 1577. The reason has already been unravelled elsewhere;<sup>52</sup> here, it will suffice to summarise the solution in a nutshell. From certain letters of Clusius to his Nuremberg friend, Joachim Camerarius the Younger, Ellebodus seems to have dropped in at Plantin during his journey to Flanders in 1575<sup>53</sup> in regard to the matter of the appearance of Clusius's work about the flora of the Iberian Peninsula, usually abbreviated as the *Spanish flora*.<sup>54</sup> In a letter to Camerarius from 1577, Clusius speaks about a poem by Ellebodus: "The late Nicasius Ellebodus, a man of excellent memory, had written a Greek tetrastichon. I sent this to Plantin when he received the first part of my book; it was not published either."<sup>55</sup> The book must have been the *Spanish flora* and the tetrastichon the same as in the 1601 edition. Since Clusius sent the manuscript of his book in 1574, the tetrastichon must have also been composed around that time as a dedicatory epigram in praise of the book. When the *Spanish flora* finally appeared in 1576, it did not contain any dedicatory epigrams. Ellebodus's tetrastichon, however, found its way into the 1601 edition since its general topic—the praise of Clusius as a botanist—fitted the 1601 edition no less than the *Spanish flora*. The epigram applies the topical idea of the scholar who throws light on hidden secrets of nature: the innumerable beautiful and useful plant species that Gaia, Mother Earth produced, had been hidden in the dark, but Clusius uncovered them on paper for the whole world. The author plays on a theme which recurs in several Clusius-related dedicatory poems: that the plants were hidden, closed—in Latin: *clusus*—to the public, but *Clusius* revealed them. Ellebodus's elegant verses represent both a nice remembrance of his friendship and cooperation with Clusius and a tribute to the really valuable work—either the *Spanish flora*, the first botanical work written on the flora of a specific region of Europe, or the *Rariorum plantarum*

50 For the close relationship of Ellebodus and Clusius, see Áron Orbán, "Clusius, Ellebodus and Purkircher."

51 *Rariorum plantarum historia*... (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1601).

52 See Orbán, "Clusius, Ellebodus and Purkircher," subchapter "Ellebodus's contribution to Clusius's *Spanish flora*."

53 Ellebodus went to Flanders basically to visit his parents; the journey lasted from July to October 1575.

54 *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatarum Historia* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1576).

55 August 20, 1577: "Scripserat tetrastichon graecum Dominus Nicasius Ellebodus piae memoriae. Id misi Plantino cum priorem libri mei partem acciperet; nec id expressum est": Hunger, *Charles de l'Escluse*. Wagner, *Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodus*, 21 knew about this reference by Clusius but thought that the tetrastichon was lost.

*historia*, which was by far the most detailed botanical work about European flora that had been produced thus far.

[Without title]

Edition: Carolus Clusius, *Rariorum plantarum historia...* (Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1601), p. 9.

Μύρια μὲν βλαστῶν πραμμήτωρ γὰι' ἀνίησιν  
 Εἶδεα, τῶν πέλει' ἀνθρώποις μεγ' ἄκος τε καὶ ἦδος:  
 Ταῦτα δὲ νυκτὶ τοπρὶν κεκαλυμμένα, νῦν πολυῦδμων  
 Κλούσιος ἀτρεκέως γραπταῖς σελίδεσσι φαεῖνει.  
 Νικάσιος ὁ Ἐλλεβόδιος

### III. Lost poems

Considering Ellebodus's wide humanist network that already existed in the Paduan period, he certainly composed more poems than those that survive today, at least occasional poems.<sup>56</sup> Let us highlight here one group of examples: we know of at least two poems of Ellebodus related to Richard White (Ricardus Vitus, 1539–1611), the great English humanist who belonged to the Paduan circle of friends in the 1560s. On the one hand, Ellebodus composed an epitaph on the death of Michael Sophianos, his beloved Greek master and friend in Padua. After Sophianos died in the summer of 1565, a number of his friends commemorated him in epitaphs, some of which have survived in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.<sup>57</sup> Richard White addressed a poem of praise to Ellebodus, in which he refers to the Flemish humanist's epitaph on Sophianos as a poem worthy of the excellent deceased Grecist.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, White refers in another of his works to poem(s) by Ellebodus written to White himself. In his notes to his oration *De Eloquentia et Cicerone*, White expounds on the issue of the names of classical gods, quoting several verses by classical poets, and at one point, a line by Ellebodus comes to his mind, which he quotes in Latin translation. In Padua, he said that Ellebodus wrote to him *alia carmina Graeca, quae Latina sunt*, “*Deo iuvante, livor ut nihil potest; sic non*

56 As seen above (Chapter I. 1 and 3), Ellebodus promised in his 1554 string of poems further laudatory works if he received a patron's support; although these are topical promises, it is possible that he fulfilled them at least in part.

57 N156 sup.; see Meschini, *Michele Sofianòs*, 24–28.

58 F. 63r: “...Extinctum merito carmine fleveris / Antiquae effigiem Graeciae, et indole / Perfecta iuvenem. Laudibus his enim / Nil Victorius adiicit” [Pietro Vettori].

*iuvante, nequidquam labor potest*”.<sup>59</sup> Half a page later,<sup>60</sup> he quotes another line from Ellebodus in Latin: ...*subiecit hunc versum Graece, qui Latinus est, “Quaeque statim monstrat, quos fructus proferet arbor”*. From the context of the nouns *carmen* and *versus*, both must mean “lines” from a poem, which may be one and the same poem written to White. Interestingly, he quotes both passages in Latin, but these, too, have poetic meter: the first are two iambic trimeters, the second a hexameter. White probably composed Latin translations of the Greek lines, even in a *Notae* part of a prose work of his, but it cannot be excluded that the Latin translation originally belonged to the Greek poem (the practice was not unusual at that time), and White was quoting from that.

## Conclusion

Above, we have reviewed all the known poems of Ellebodus. This is a meagre corpus, and considering the character of the works and the personality of the Flemish humanist, it might be considered unlikely that he wrote many more poems, especially different ones such as epic poems. His correspondence and other works suggest quite the opposite: Ellebodus was a philologist, did not esteem himself a poet, and did not want such glory. His remaining poems actually corroborate this profile: they are occasional pieces and do not reveal any poetic ambition. They do not reveal great originality either but mirror Ellebodus’s great erudition.

Concerning the occasions, Ellebodus wrote the string of poems at the beginning of his career to obtain a patron (the string contains longer pieces as well); his later poems were seldom written at his own initiative; the Flemish humanist usually joined in an undertaking and added a short poem to a collection which aimed to celebrate a friend or a person of high status. Participating in such joint enterprises was—so to speak—a requirement for a member of the *res publica litteraria*. As for panegyrics to patrons or their relatives, in the sixteenth century, it was almost a duty for a humanist to complete such pieces, but Ellebodus did not really have the nature for this. Even in the letters, he usually avoided figures of speech and preferred to express his friendly emotions openly and sincerely. He did not want to make an aulic career through powerful patrons either; he was satisfied with a quiet place and honest income that would allow him to do his philological work effectively. Thus, he wrote panegyric-type poems to patrons or their relatives only to the extent that was necessary: a string of poems at the beginning of his career and two short poems in later periods.

59 White, *Ricardi Viti Basinstochii Orationes*, 79. The context of the line is the possible relationship between the name *Jupiter, Iovis* and the verb *iuvare*.

60 White, *Ricardi Viti Basinstochii Orationes*, 80: *Sed ad rem praesentem quod attinet, Ellebodus, ut de bono successu spem, credo, non malam conciperem, subiecit hunc versum Graece...*

On the other hand, Ellebodus' poems show his quite good linguistic skills: the Flemish humanist was an expert in classical Latin and Greek, had a great vocabulary, and knew classical meters as well. He possessed the know-how of humanist poetry; he applied a great number of well-known humanist topoi in his poems.

In sum, it can be said that Ellebodus' poetry, despite its meagerness (or because of it), corroborates what we knew about his erudition and personality. He was a talented humanist and a skilled philologist with a great network of connections, but also an anti-poseur and anti-aulic figure who expressed his emotions towards his friends without using copious figures of speech and was unwilling to constantly seek the grace of powerful men. In some cases, the poems reveal some concrete details about Ellebodus' life and career, adding new data to our knowledge. In the above overview, we have only provided one edition and the basic context of the surviving poems. We hope that future scholarship will exploit these poems in the research of issues of a larger scale, be these issues of biography, humanist networks, patronage, or literary-historical and aesthetic assessment.

## Sources

Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan)

Cod. Ambr. H 55 inf.

Cod. Ambr. I 159 inf.

Clusius, Carolus. *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatarum Historia*. Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1576.

Clusius, Carolus. *Rariorum plantarum historia*. Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1601.

Istvánffy, Nicolaus. *Carmina*, edited by József Holub and László Juhász. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935.

Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest)

M. irod. írók, 4-r. 241/11.

*Lusus poetici ad Georgium Purkircherum Pisoniensem, laurea in arte medica donatum*. Padua: G. Perchacinus, 1563.

Sammarco, Ottavio, ed. *Il tempio della divina signora donna Geronima Colonna d'Aragona*. Padua: L. Pasquati, 1568.

Sobieski, Waclaw, ed. *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego. Vol. 1, 1553–1579*. Warsaw: Druk P. Laskauera i S-KI, 1904.

Zamoyski, Jan. *Oratio habita Patavii in funere [...] Gabrielis Falloppii. IIII Id. Oct. MDLXII*. Padua: I. Ulmus, 1562.

White, Richard. *Ricardi Viti Basinstochii Orationes*. Arras: G. Riverius, 1596.

## Literature

- Almási, Gábor. “Educating the Christian Prince for Learning and Peace. The Cases of Archdukes Rudolf and Ernst in Spain (1564–1571).” *Central European Cultures* 1, no. 1 (2021): 2–43. <https://doi.org/10.47075/CEC.2021-1.01>
- Capanni, Fabrizio. *Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500–1564): diplomatico cardinale collezionista: appunti bio-bibliografici*. Meldola: Accademia degli imperfetti di Meldola, 2001.
- Hunger, Friedrich W. T. *Charles de l’Escluse (Carolus Clusius), Nederlandsch kruidkundige 1526–1609*, Vol. 2. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1942.
- Kneifel, Mária. *Purkircher György*. Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda, 1942.
- Manuzio, Paolo. *Epistolarum libri IIX*. Venice: A. Manuzio, 1569.
- Meschini, Anna. *Michele Sofianòs*. Studi Bizantini e Neogreci 12. Padua: Liviana Editrice, 1981.
- Okál, Miroslav. “Martin Rakovský und die Humanisten seiner Zeit.” *Zborník filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského Graecolatina et Orientalia* 9–10 (1979): 113–63.
- Okál, Miroslav. “Život a dielo bratislavského humanistu Juraja Purkirchera” [The Life and Work of G. P., Humanist in Pozsony]. *Biografické Štúdie* 11 (1984): 7–43.
- Orbán, Áron. “Clusius, Ellebodius and Purkircher: a cross-section of humanist-naturalist cultural exchange between Vienna and Pozsony.” *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 8 (2023): 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1163/24055069-08010001>
- Orbán, Áron. “Nicasius Ellebodius and the »otium litterarum«: The vicissitudes of a Flemish humanist in Pozsony (1571–77).” *East Central Europe* 48, no. 1 (2021): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.30965/18763308-48010009>
- Orbán, Áron. “Ellebodius, Nicasius.” In *Companion to Humanism in East Central Europe, vol. 1: Hungarian Humanism*, edited by Farkas Gábor Kiss, prospective appearance. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023.
- Orbán, Áron. “Purkircher, Georg.” In *Companion to Humanism in East Central Europe, vol. 1: Hungarian Humanism*, edited by Farkas Gábor Kiss, prospective appearance. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023.
- Klanciczay, Tibor. “Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus leuveni és római tanulmányai.” [N. E. Casletanus’s studies in Leuven and Rome]. In *Pallas magyar ivadékai*, edited by Livia Mátis, 86–95. Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1985.
- Mallett, Michael and Christine Shaw. *The Italian Wars 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*. London–New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Mayer-Löwenschwerdt, Erwin. *Der Aufenthalt der Erzherzoge Rudolf und Ernst in Spanien 1564–1571*. Wien und Leipzig: Höhler–Pichler–Tempesky, 1927.

- Meschini, Anna. *Michele Sofianòs*. Studi Bizantini e Neogreci 12. Padua: Liviana Editrice, 1981.
- Rickard, J. *Battle of Renty, August 13, 1554*. [http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles\\_renty.html](http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles_renty.html), last accessed: 28 July 2023.
- Schmidt, Peter. *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker. Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552–1914)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984.
- Veress, Endre, ed. *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatis Italiae studentium, Vol. 1, Padova: 1264–1864*. Fontes rerum Hungaricarum 1. Kolozsvár (Cluj Napoca): Stephaneum Nyomda, 1915.
- Wagner, Dieter. *Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodius (†1577) und zu seinen "Notae" zu den aristotelischen Magna Moralia*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1973.

