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A personality of the humanist scholar and mining expert Hans Dernschwam (1494 – 1568/69) combined a major travelling appetite and a significant observation talent. His travelogue to the countries of Asia Minor from 1553 – 1555 has attracted also the attention of historians out of Europe. A thorough historiographical analysis of his work, however, still struggles with insufficient knowledge of Dernschwam's actual biographical data. This paper focuses on the period of Hans Dernschwam's life which is connected with the Červený Kameň (Slovakia, Vöörskő/Bibersburg/Rothenstein) estate in the western parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and small town of Častá (Slovakia, Cseszte/Schattmannsdorf). A contextual analysis of the economic administration sources from the Červený Kameň estate from the 1530s – 1550s, stored in the Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archive) in Bratislava, shows that Dernschwam's handwritten note in Stöffler's ephemerides on the real estate purchase in Častá in 1538 cannot be interpreted along F. Babinger's line, namely as an unambiguous reference to a deed performed by the author of the note himself. Yes, Hans might have spent the autumn 1539 in the region below the Červený Kameň castle, but most probably, he may have stayed in the household of one of his brothers: either Matheus or Balthasar. When Matheus died in 1545 without an heir, Hans inherited his property. Although Anton Fugger's letter from 16 August 1548, confirming the exemption of Hans Dernschwam's property in Častá, does not specifically locate nor describe this property, when taking into consideration fortunes of Matheus's family, the author of this paper takes the liberty of identifying this property with a house of Hans's brother. At the end of the 1540s, after having served the Fugger family for many years, Hans moved from his Banská Bystrica home to a more peaceful environment in the area below the Little Carpathians. It is quite probable that it was in his new home in Častá, where he commenced to catalogue his extensive book collection. As Dernschwam's property had a new owner at least from 1554 onwards and since later Červený Kameň estate sources do not confirm Hans's presence in Častá, he must have returned back to Banská Bystrica, once he had come back from his travels in Asia Minor. Thus, he must have spent last years of his life in Lower Hungarian mining region.

**Keywords:** Hans Dernschwam; Fugger; Červený Kameň castle estate; small town of Častá; Slovak National Archive in Bratislava;

**BENKOVÁ, Eva. Hans Dernschwam (\*1494 – †1568/1569) medzi Augsburgom a Banskou Bystricou: Príspevok k Dernschwamovej prítomnosti na panstve Červený Kameň v Uhorskom kráľovstve. In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 2024, roč. 28, č. 1, s. 90-105, ISSN 1338-7219, DOI: 10.17846/SHN.2024.28.1.90-105.**

V humanistickom vzdelancovi a montánnom odborníkovi Hansovi Dernschwamovi (1494 – 1568/69) sa snúbil veľký cestovateľský apetít s pozorovateľským talentom. Predovšetkým jeho cestopis do maloázijských krajín z rokov 1553 – 1555 oslovil a oslovuje i mimoeurópsku historickú obec. Solídna historiografická analýza jeho diela ale stráda na nedostatočnej znalosti biografie autora. Táto štúdia sa sústre na životnú etapu Hansa Dernschwama spojenú so západouhorským panstvom Červený Kameň a zemepanským mestečkom Častá. Kontextuálna analýza písomností hospodárskej správy Červenokamenského panstva z 30. – 50. rokov 16. storočia uložených v Slovenskom národnom archíve ukázala, že rukopisnú poznámku Hansa Dernschwama v Stöflerových efemeridách o kúpe nehnuteľnosti v Častej v roku 1538 nemožno, ako to poňal F. Babinger, jednoznačne chápať ako odkaz na skutok samotného pisateľa. Jeseň v roku 1539 Hans síce strávil pod hradom Červený Kameň, ale prebýval najskôr v domácnosti niektorého zo svojich tu žijúcich bratov, Matúša alebo Baltazára. Keď Matúš v roku 1545 zomrel bez dedičov, práve jeho usadlosť sa dostala do Hansových rúk. List Antona Fuggera zo 16. augusta roku 1548 potvrdzujúci oslobodenie častianskeho majetku Hansa Dernschwama síce situovanie či bližší opis nehnuteľnosti v Častej neuvádza, osudy Matúšovej rodiny ho autorke dovolili stotožniť s bratovým domom. Koncom 40. rokov 16. storočia sa Hans po dlhých rokoch v službe u Fuggerovcov presunul zo svojho domu v Banskej Bystrici do pokojnejšieho prostredia podmalokarpatského regiónu. Vo svojom častianskom dome sa zrejme v roku 1552 podujal aj na katalogizáciu svojej rozsiahlej knižničnej zbierky. Pretože minimálne od roku 1554 mal dernschwamovský statok nového majiteľa a neskôršie pramene červenokamenskej proveniencie nedosvedčujú Hansovu prítomnosť v Častej, ten sa po dobrodružstve v Malej Ázii najskôr vrátil do svojho sídla v Banskej Bystrici a v hornouhorskej banskej oblasti prežil ostatné roky svojho života.

**Kľúčové slová:** Hans Dernschwam; Fugger; panstvo Červený Kameň; zemepanské mestečko Častá; Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave;

Hans Dernschwam (\*1494 – †1568/1569) – a scholar, mining expert, diplomat, merchant, bibliophile. Thanks to an authentic and empirical format of his work, Dernschwam represents a valuable source of knowledge concerning Central European and Eurasian regions in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The diary of his journey to Istanbul and Asia Minor in 1553 – 1555, published fully for the first time by Franz Babinger in 1923<sup>2</sup>, is of particular interest as this work has

<sup>1</sup> Researchers' interest in Dernschwam is emphasised mainly by: REDDING, Wolfgang (ed.). *Reise zum Erzfeind der Christenheit: Der Humanist Hans Dernschwam in der Türkei, 1553 – 1555*. Pfaffenweiler, 1990; THOMAS, David – CHESWORTH, John (eds.). *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 7 Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500 – 1600)*. Leiden; Boston, 2015, pp. 344-349; BRTÁŇOVÁ, Erika. Od dokumentárnosti k beletrizácii. Obraz Balkánu v staršej slovenskej literatúre [From documentary to fiction. The picture of the Balkans in early Slovak literature]. In *Slovenská literatúra*, 2018, vol. 65, no. 5, pp. 332-351.

<sup>2</sup> In 1553, at his own expense, Dernschwam joined the Habsburg legation sent by Ferdinand I to Süleyman. The embassy traveled from Wien to Istanbul. Dernschwam's travelogue was first published in fragments by a German geographer Heinrich Kieper as early as in 1887, however, it was Franz Babinger in 1923 who first published the diary in the full extent to make this work

been generating inspiring research topics for historians across the globe: from Tókjó (Japan), Istanbul (Turkey), Debrecen (Hungary), Banská Bystrica (Slovakia) or Wien (Austria), to Pisa (Italy) or Frankfurt am Main (Germany), and London (Great Britain) to Los Angeles (USA).<sup>3</sup> Dernschwam's locally-oriented works about salt mines in Transylvania from 1528,<sup>4</sup> his journey to Slavonia

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popular. KIEPERT, Hans H. Dernschwam's orientalische Reise 1553 – 1555 aus Handschriften im Auszuge mitgeteilt. Braunschweig, Separatabdruck aus dem „Globus“, Band LII, 1887; BABINGER, Franz ed. Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55). München; Leipzig, 1923. Apart from two re-editions from 1986 and 2014, a transcription into modern standard German was published by the Duncker & Humblot publishing house in 2012. HATTENHAUER, Hans – BAKE, Uwe (eds.). Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich: Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553 – 1555 von Hans Dernschwam mit einem Epigraphischen Anhang von Patrick Breternitz und Werner Eck. Frankfurt am Main; New York, 2012. A selection of the Dernschwam's travelogue in Slovak was published in: MINÁRIK, Jozef (ed.). Putovanie po súši a mori: Zo slovenskej cestopisnej literatúry 16. – 18. storočia [Itineration by sea and land. From the Slovak travel literature of the 16th-18th century]. Bratislava, 1975, pp. 8-36 and also DVORÁK, Pavel (ed.). Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VII. [Sources for the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks VII.]. Bratislava, 2005, pp. 52-59; KALHOTKOVÁ, Eva. Hans Dernschwam a jeho dielo "Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/1555)" [Hans Dernschwam and his work "Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/1555)"]. In *Acta Historica Neosoliensia*, 2008, vol. 11, pp. 94-111.

<sup>3</sup> A representative sample includes: SUZUKI, Hirokazu. Some Aspects of Descriptions of the Turks in 16th Century Hungary: Rubigallus and Dernschwam. In *Mediterrán és Balkán Fórum*, 2013, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 2-30; VARLIK, Nükhet. New Science and Old Sources: Why the Ottoman Experience of Plague Matters. In GREEN, Monica H. (ed.). *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*. Kalamazoo; Bradford, 2015, p. 212, 215; LABAREE, Robert. European Travelers on Music of the East: Religion, Musical Works, and the Otherness of the Ottomans. In *The Musical Quarterly*, 2019, vol. 102, no. 4, p. 411; ŞERMET KARABELA, Sevim. Hans Dernschwam'ın İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü'nde Amasya'da Osmanlı Kültürel Dokusu ve İnsan Algısı [In Hans Dernschwam's "Travel diary to Istanbul and Anatolia" Ottoman cultural texture and human perception in Amasya]. In *Çeşm-i cihan: tarih – kültür ve sanat araştırmaları e – dergisi*, 2017, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 62-71; BIRNBAUM, Marianna D. The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire. In *Südost-Forschungen*, 1991, vol. 50, pp. 119-144; ČIČAJ, Viliam. Ján Dernschwam a jeho knižnica [Hans Dernschwam and his library]. In *Spravodaj Banského výskumu Prievdza*, 1994, vol. 34, no. 3-4, pp. 110-114; RATKOŠ, Peter (ed.). *Dokumenty k baníckemu povstaniu na Slovensku 1525 – 1526* [Documents on the Mining Towns' Uprising in Slovakia (1525 – 1526)]. Bratislava, 1957, pp. 453-473; FRIMMOVÁ, Eva. Rok 1515 v premenách času (na pozadí Bartoliniho diela *Odeporicon*) [The Year 1515 in Time's Changes (In the Light of Richard Bartolini's *Odeporicon*)]. Bratislava, 2015, p. 72, 129, 130; KOTVAN, Imrich – FRIMMOVÁ, Eva (eds.). *Incunábuly zo slovenských knižníc v zahraničných inštitúciách* [Incunabules from the Slovak Libraries in the Institutions Abroad]. Martin, 1996, no. 84; ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin. Fuggerovský faktor Ján Dernschwam o banskobystrickom baníctve a predmoháčskej kríze v Uhorsku [Factor of the Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, on Mining in Banská Bystrica and Crisis in Hungary before the Battle of Mohács]. In *LUKAČKA, Ján* (ed.). *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VII.* [Sources for the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks VII.]. Bratislava, 2004, pp. 300-306.

<sup>4</sup> STRIEDER, Jakob. Ein Bericht des Fuggerschen Faktors Hans Dernschwam über den Siebenbürgener Salzbergbau um 1528. In *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1933, vol. 13, no. 3-4, pp. 260-290; KALHOTKOVÁ, Eva. Správa Hansa Dernschwama o soľných baniach v Sedmohradsku [Hans Dernschwam's report of salt mining in Transylvania]. In *HOMOLOVÁ, Eva – KOŽIAK, Rastislav – VÍŤAZKOVÁ, Denisa – HALAJ, Róbert* (eds.). *Mladá veda 2009: Historické vedy, filozofia*

in 1540<sup>5</sup> and a description of the so-called “Mitterhaus” in Banská Bystrica from the 1560s<sup>6</sup> are supplemented by a manuscript of his collection of epigraphical inscriptions from the area of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the existing intensified research, his biography still is incomplete. This study addresses an issue of Hans Dernschwam’s stay at the Červený Kameň castle estate and in the small town (oppidum) of Častá (Slovakia, Schattmannsdorf) in the 1530s – 1550s. At that time, Dernschwam’s employers, the family of Fugger, owned these estates, located in the County of Bratislava (Slovakia, Pressburg or Pozsony). Anton Fugger (1493 – 1560), the head of the family business empire at that time, was a tradesman and banker of an international reputation; he was also a renowned businessman in the field of mining industry. The author aims to examine whether there are any traces left in Červený Kameň economic administration registers, which would shed some light on Dernschwam’s presence at the estate. These registers are currently stored in two archival fonds “Rod Pálfi – Panstvo Červený Kameň 1” and “Rod Pálfi – Ústredný pálfiovský archív, oddiel Panstvo Červený Kameň” in the Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archive). Should such traces be discovered, then the author aims to analyse whether the material obtained contains any direct evidence or only certain clues which would fit in a context of already known features of Dernschwam’s business travels as well as his potential settling down in Častá.<sup>8</sup>

Franz Babinger is to be attributed with the most thorough probe into Dernschwam’s life. This German scholar researched for years Fugger archives in Dillingen (Germany). Not only thanks to his collegial and friendly contacts in Austria, he was able to constantly update the knowledge on Dernschwam’s biography and itinerary. Subsequently, he presented his findings in several studies

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a etika [Young Science 2009: Historical Sciences, Philosophy and Ethics]. Banská Bystrica, 2009, pp. 26-33.

<sup>5</sup> PÖLNITZ, Götz Freiherr von. Anton Fugger. 2. Band. 1536 – 1548. Teil I: 1536 – 1543. Tübingen, 1963, pp. 131-134, 472.

<sup>6</sup> BUZA, János. Der Quellenwert der Memoiren von Hans Dernschwam und die Zeit ihrer Entstehung (1563 – 1568). In Ungarn – Jahrbuch: Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Hungarologie 30, 2011, vol. 2009 – 2010, pp. 159-167; KALHOTKOVÁ, Eva. Zabudnuté úvodné stránky Dernschwamovho diela „Opis Stredného domu v Banskej Bystrici“ [The forgotten introductory pages of Dernschwam’s work „Description of the Middle House in Banská Bystrica“]. In Acta Historica Neosoliensia, 2009, vol. 12, pp. 443-454.

<sup>7</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Wien [Austrian National Library in Vienna] (hereinafter referred to as ÖNB), Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken [Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books], DERNSCHWAM von Hradiczin, Hans. Inscriptiones romanae e lapidibus in territoriis Hungariae et Transsylvaniae a. 1520 – 1530 collectae. n. p. [Online], 1500, manuscript, signature (hereinafter referred to as sign.) Cod. 13821 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_5384118&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5384118&order=1&view=SINGLE)>.

<sup>8</sup> ŽUDEJ, Juraj. Panstvo Červený Kameň I. (1287) 1536 – 1913. Inventár [The Red Stone Castle estate I. (1287) 1536 – 1913. Inventory]. Bratislava, 1969, pp. 15-19; Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave [Slovak National Archive in Bratislava] (hereinafter referred to as SNA), fund Rod Pálfi – Ústredný pálfiovský archív [The family Pálfi – Central archive of the Pálfi Family] (hereinafter referred to as ÚPA), Elenchus realis quod archivi centralis excelsae familiae celsissimi d. principis et d. d. comitum Pálffy ab Erdőd acta et litteralia instrumenta dominium Vöröskeő, respicientia, per Andream Eördögh, no. 4.



but only in 1923, he finally published the findings in the introductory chapter to the edition of Dernschwam's travelogue.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Dernschwam's biography was commented in detail by Ján Kühndel,<sup>10</sup> Lajos Tardy in an introductory study to the edition of Hungarian translations of Dernschwam's works;<sup>11</sup> and also by Peter Kalus.<sup>12</sup>

After having finished his study at the universities in Wien and Leipzig (Germany), Dernschwam spent the year 1513 at the research stay in Roma (Italy).<sup>13</sup> He started his career as a secretary of Hieronymus Balba who was in the services of Vladislav II Jagiełło at his court in Buda (Hungary), and was also a provost in Bratislava. After four years (1514 – 1517),<sup>14</sup> he continued in his clerk career in the service of the Thurzo family. First a master of the Thurzo mint in Baia Mare (Romania), he subsequently became the main treasurer in Fugger's factory in Buda. The 1526 sources refer to Dernschwam as a factor (agent) of the copper works in Banská Bystrica where he actually settled down at the end of the 1520s.<sup>15</sup> He obtained further experience in salt mines in Transylvania. When he asked the Fuggers to be dismissed in 1549, they maybe lost a stable employee with outstanding managerial and diplomatic skills, yet Dernschwam still remained very loyal to the family and discreet as far as their affairs were concerned. At the turn of the 1540s and 1550s, Dernschwams settled in Častá. However, his adventurous nature did not allow him to linger on one place. Thus, he set off across the Balkans to İstanbul and neighbouring Asia Minor regions in the first half of the 1550s. Dernschwam also invested loads of time in establishing his extensive library which was later, after his death, bought by the Court Library in Wien.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> BABINGER, Franz. Hans Dernschwam, ein Kleinasienforscher des 16. Jahrhunderts. In *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie*, 1913, vol. 35 (1912 – 1913), pp. 535-546; BABINGER, Franz. Zur Lebensgeschichte H. Dernschwams, eines Kleinasienforschers des XVI. Jahrhunderts. In *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie*, 1914, vol. 36 (1913 – 1914), pp. 133-135; BABINGER, Franz. Neue Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte Hans Dernschwams, eines Kleinasienforschers des XVI. Jahrhunderts. In *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie*, 1915, vol. 37 (1914 – 1915), pp. 37-38; BABINGER, Franz. Hans Dernschwam's Leben und Wirken (1494 – 1568). In BABINGER, Hans (ed.). *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*. München; Leipzig, Siebentes Heft, 1923, pp. XIV-XXXVI.

<sup>10</sup> KÜHNDEL, Ján. Ján Dernschwam, vzdelaný faktor Fuggerovcov na Slovensku (1494 – 1567) [Ján Dernschwam, learned factor of the Fuggers in Slovakia (1494 – 1567)]. In *Historické štúdie*, 1955, vol. 1, pp. 168-187.

<sup>11</sup> TARDY, Lajos. Egy éles szemű, hideg szívű krónikás a 16. századból [A sharp-eyed, cold-hearted chronicler from 16th century]. In TARDY, Lajos (ed.). *Hans Dernschwam. Erdély, Besztercebánya, Törökországi útinapló* [Diary of Travels in Transylvania, Besztercebánya and the Ottoman Empire]. Budapest, 1984, pp. 5-73.

<sup>12</sup> KALUS, Peter. *Die Fugger in der Slowakei*. Augsburg, 1999, pp. 283-284.

<sup>13</sup> HÄBERLEIN, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg*. Charlottesville; London, 2012, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> Hans left a handwritten note about the years of his service at Balba. ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, BALBI, Girolamo. *Opusculum epigrammaton* [Online]. Wien, 1494, p. 22v, sign. 25. H. 89 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_7961736&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7961736&order=1&view=SINGLE)>.

<sup>15</sup> VLACHOVIČ, Jozef. *Slovenská meď v 16. a 17. storočí* [Slovak copper in the 16th and 17th centuries]. Bratislava, 1964, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> BERLÁSZ, Jenő (ed.). *Die Bibliothek Dernschwam: Bücherinventar eines Humanisten in Ungarn*. Szeged, 1984, p. 7.

Dernschwam spent his later years in the Kingdom of Hungary, probably in mining towns in the Lower Hungary (modern Central Slovakia).

As far as the Častá period of Dernschwam's life is concerned, literature (so since the publication of the Babinger's works) maintains rather a traditionalistic view. This might be mainly due to the fact that authors have not necessarily needed to specify Dernschwam's biographic data exactly when addressing their own research questions; they simply went with the data collected by F. Babinger which is, however, a basis missing any archival sources from Červený Kameň. At this point, a brief summary of up-to-date theses related to Dernschwam's relationship to Častá, shall be outlined. According to F. Babinger, Hans Dernschwam bought a real estate in Častá from a certain Peter Haug on 13 April 1538; in September, he got married in the nearby town of Trnava (Slovakia). Babinger based this conclusion on Dernschwam's own hand-written notes on the margins of the ephemerides by Johann Stöfler, published in 1532.<sup>17</sup> Babinger had no specific knowledge concerning Dernschwam's residence after 1549; however, he presumed that Dernschwam might have returned to his property in Častá at the end of the 1540s. Although Dernschwam undoubtedly possessed a major observation talent, he must have spent a significant amount of time in this area. Only thanks to a close encounter with the region below the Little Carpathians and around Trnava, he was able to liken the local nature to more remote countries, as mentioned in his travel diaries (from years 1553 – 1555).<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, on the basis of accounts in the registry of Court Chamber and Lower Austrian Chamber in Wien as well as other sources, Babinger maintained that once Dernschwam had returned from the Orient, he settled in mining towns in the Lower Hungary (modern Central Slovakia). Besides, Babinger did not discuss any issues related to Dernschwam's death or a place of his burial.<sup>19</sup>

Babinger's work was followed by Ján Kühndel in 1955. He was already aware of the Červený Kameň estate sources (in particular, the urbarium from 1543). Thus, he was able to elaborate what might have been going on with the above-mentioned property in Častá: Hans allegedly left it to his younger brother Matheus, while ensuring that the estate was exempted from feudal duties.<sup>20</sup> The same information was published in the same year also by Ovídius Faust, who also elaborated a suggestion that Dernschwam may have not only died in Častá, but also been buried in a local church. He also wrote that Dernschwam lived in Banská Bystrica in 1526 – 1545. However, he stated elsewhere that once Dernschwam had

<sup>17</sup> ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, STÖFFLER, Johannes. *Ephemeridum opus, a capite anni 1532 in alios 20 proxime subsequentes: ad veterum imitationem elaboratum* [Online]. Venetijs, 1532, sign. 72. V. 32 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ184402805](https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ184402805)>.

<sup>18</sup> BABINGER, Hans Dernschwam's Leben und Wirken (1494 – 1568), p. XXIII; RÖMER, Claudia. Zu Hans Dernschwams Betrachtungen über Gartenbau und Landwirtschaft bei den Osmanen (1553 und 1555). In *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 2010, vol. 100, *Orientalische Landschaften*, p. 160.

<sup>19</sup> BABINGER, Hans Dernschwam's Leben und Wirken (1494 – 1568), pp. XX-XXX.

<sup>20</sup> KÜHNDEL, Ján Dernschwam, vzdelaný faktor Fuggerovcov na Slovensku (1494 – 1567), pp. 174-175.

bought his Častá property, he stayed living there until his death in 1567, looking after his library. Although Faust first presented his claims as facts, he later admitted that the Častá parish registers of deaths were actually preserved only from the period after 1639.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1980s, Lajos Tardy also confirmed the purchase of Častá property. He maintained that Dernschwam found in Častá ideal living conditions once he had left his employment at the Fugger family. On the other hand, he viewed rather critically the presumption that Dernschwam could have spent his last years at the Červený Kameň castle estate. According to Tardy, Dernschwam lived in the Heptapolitana towns from 1555.<sup>22</sup> Gábor Kecskeméti supposed that Dernschwam kept in Častá, his new home from 1552, also his unique library (which he catalogued in 1552).<sup>23</sup> János Buza, referring to L. Tardy, claimed beyond any doubt that Dernschwam died in 1568 in Kremnica (Slovakia).<sup>24</sup> The most recent works show a tendency to interpret a place of Dernschwam's passing away more cautiously. Therefore, the authors (obviously with no interest to delve into the topic more) limit themselves to a statement that Dernschwam died in the Kingdom of Hungary, or date his death to 1568 or 1569.<sup>25</sup>

### **Hans Dernschwam in Archival Sources of the Červený Kameň Estate Administration**

On the geopolitical map of Early modern Europe, the Červený Kameň estate possessed a strategically exposed location near Bratislava, the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, and Wien, the seat of the Holy Roman emperor and the centre of the Habsburg monarchy. Thanks to the Danube as a communication connection and macro-regional transport infrastructure, organically incorporated in the European road network; both cities were aptly interconnected with Augsburg (Germany) – Fugger's mining business headquarters – and a frequent destination of Dernschwam's business trips. With the whole complex of mining, processing and metallurgical facilities, the factory/trading post in Banská Bystrica was really far from the South German headquarters as well as other mining sites in Carinthia and Tyrol – at least 600 kilometres as the crow flies. Naturally, Dernschwam

<sup>21</sup> FAUST, Prvý muzeológ a zberateľ starožitností na Slovensku, p. 27, 28, 30. The information provided on Dernschwam by Ján Kühndel and Ovídius Faust were also further used by BORECKÁ, Eva. Killyho kúria v Častej [Killy Mansion in Častá]. In *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 2010, vol. 59, no. 4, p. 8, 9, 11.

<sup>22</sup> TARDY, Egy éves szemű, hideg szívé krónikás a 16. századból, p. 34, 48, 56.

<sup>23</sup> KECSKEMÉTI, Gábor. A hardly-known 16th-century humanist: Paulus Rosa of Körmöcbánya. In *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 2006, vol. 3, p. 75; KECSKEMÉTI, Gábor. Egy alig ismert 16. századi humanista: a körmöcbányai Paulus Rosa [A hardly-known 16th-century humanist: Paulus Rosa of Körmöcbánya]. In *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 2007, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 639-664.

<sup>24</sup> BUZA, János. A Dunába vetett vonópad: Adalék a Mohács előtti Magyarország pénzveréséhez [The draw bench thrown into the Danube on minting in Hungary before 1526]. In *Történelmi Szemle*, 2015, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 291.

<sup>25</sup> FOUQUET, Johannes. Die Antike am Wegesrand. Der Humanist und Fuggerfaktor Hans Dernschwam auf einer Reise ins innere Kleinasien. In FOUQUER, Johannes – HERZOG, Sarah – MEESE, Karin – WITTENBERG, Tim (eds.). *Argonautica: Festschrift für Reinhard Stupperich*. Marsberg; Padberg, 2019, Boreas Beiheft 12, p. 325.

needed to travel frequently between individual trading posts and other facilities, and participate efficiently in the demanding process of logistics of the Fugger empire. He also had to synchronize all his activities as a Fuggers' delegate at diplomatic negotiations in Buda, Praha (Czech Republic), Wien, or Augsburg. Thus, it seems to have been rather logical to settle down somewhere in the countryside on the Western Hungarian estates of his employees.

A closer interconnection between Dernschwam and the Červený Kameň castle estate is first revealed by his own handwritten notes from 1538. At that time, new owners of the estate commenced a transformation of the castle into a modern renaissance fortress; they also initiated economic revitalization and consolidation of an unfavourable social and demographic situation at the estate.<sup>26</sup> Dernschwam noted down in Stöffler's astronomic charts, in a cell for 13 and 14 April 1538: "bought a homestead in Častá from Peter Haug for 510 Floreni and two pieces of dress".<sup>27</sup> Dernschwam used the ephemerides, falling under the period of 1532 – 1551, mostly to write down significant family events as well as notes, related to his business trips. Apart from the content, formal analysis of these notes is important as well, since it can substantially complicate the interpretation of individual entries. When noting down his own activities, Dernschwam quite often used to omit the subject and write only a verb in the first person singular. It is by no means an absolute rule, but on the margins, he usually personalized both family life information and contemporary developments in the Kingdom of Hungary or, at least, phrased such information relatively clearly (even for a reader not particularly well-oriented). However, the above-mentioned note from April does not feature these characteristics – which made F. Babinger consider whether the interpretation of this fragment had or had not been correct.

Besides, the Červený Kameň urbarium from 1543 also questions the possibility of H. Dernschwam having bought the estate in the small town of Častá. Economic administration records were conducted in a perfectionist manner at the times of the Fuggers: the records were also being thoroughly and constantly updated and supplemented by estate employees via in-field checks on a regular basis. Page 20 of the urbarium refers to the estate n. 57 as follows: "Matheus Dornschwam hat ain ganntzen hof, ain hofwissen, 4 erkaufften wissen, alls vom Petter Haugenn kauft, noch 5 weingarten 2/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4<sup>28</sup> den hat herr Anthoni Fugger

<sup>26</sup> ŽUDEĽ, Juraj. *Fuggerovci na Červenom Kameni 1535 – 1583* [The Fuggers at the Red Stone Castle estate 1535 – 1583]. Bratislava, 1991, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> "kaufft von Peter Haug. zw Schadmanstorff sein gut per 510 f. vnd 2 klaidt" ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, STÖFFLER, *Ephemeridum opus* [Online], p. 267, sign. 72. V. 32 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ184402805](https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ184402805)>.

<sup>28</sup> Ownership of four out of five vineyards is confirmed also by the "Weingarten Buech" which was being kept at the Červený Kameň from 1543. As this register states, Matheus had a vineyard at the size of 1/4 in the appellation "Voggelsinger" within the Častá territory; another vineyard at the size of 1/4 in the appellation "Mitterschidung" in Dolné Orešany (according to an additional entry from 1550, this property had an owner out of the Dernschwam family) and two other vineyards one at the size of 1/4 and the second at the size of 2/4 in the appellation "Mitter Schidung" within the vineyard territory of Dubová. The sources suggest that during his life, Matheus actually did something only with the last of the mentioned vineyards. SNA, fund Pan-



vmb seines pruders Hanßen Dornschwams willen, sein lebenlanng freyung bewilligt aller dienst von hauß vnnd weingarten.”<sup>29</sup> Thus the urbarium entry states that the homestead with all the pertaining facilities (a meadow by the house, a meadow in the rural zone, and 5 vineyards) was bought from Peter Haug by Hans’s brother Matheus Dernschwam. In addition, thanks to Hans’ intervention on brother’s behalf at Anton Fugger, the estate was exempt from all the feudal duties (literally “service from a house and vineyards”). Matheus’ and Hans’s brother Balthasar settled nearby, however, his homestead was given by a castle prefect (at the unspecified time) to the use to Leopold Irdinger from the Austrian valley of Wachau above the town of Krems an der Donau.<sup>30</sup>

The urbarium says nothing on Hans Dernschwam’s possession in Častá (or in another part of the castle estate) in 1543. Furthermore, the urbarium does not register Hans Dernschwam as a former owner of any of registered homesteads. Thus, there seem to be several possibilities how to interpret the sources. Firstly, the handwritten note by Dernschwam in the ephemerides in 1538 could have been incomplete on purpose; and it is the urbarium that provides trustworthy evidence. On the other hand, both brothers could have invested in the real estate purchase together; or it could have been Hans only – and estate clerks recorded an imprecise version of the information. Or it could have happened differently – the Dernschwam brothers just did not share their private agreements with the estate management.

One of Hans’s oldest entries in the ephemerides actually confuses the circumstances around his living in Častá even more. On 26 April 1533, he wrote down “Mattes zw dem Sch”, which could have indicated Matheus’s arrival to Častá (Sch. = Schattmannsdorf), Matheus’s presence in Častá in general or Hans’s visit at his brother’s place. However, German language word order rules exclude the second option, which is, in addition, highly questionable due to following information, namely “Dobrawicz” written on 24 April.<sup>31</sup> With the highest probability, Hans Dernschwam must have been in Dúbravica near Banská Bystrica on 24 April, thus more than 200 kilometres away from Častá. Matheus (and possibly also Balthasar) could have come to the region below the Little Carpathians as early as in 1533 when Červený Kameň was owned by the Thurzos, former business partners of the Fuggers and also former employees of his brother Hans.<sup>32</sup>

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stvo Červený Kameň 1 [Červený Kameň Estate] (hereinafter referred to as ČK 1), no. 26, b. 9, fol. 10v, 34, 67, 67v.

<sup>29</sup> SNA, ČK 1, no. 24, b. 8, p. 20; MARSINA, Richard – KUŠÍK, Michal (eds.). *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku I. (XVI. storočie)* [Urbairiums of feudal estates in Slovakia]. Bratislava, 1959, p. 78.

<sup>30</sup> Balthasar is also mentioned in entries of the cash book from March 1539 and April 1540 respectively, when he supposedly received some cash from the castle estate. SNA, ČK 1, no. 24, b. 8, p. 19; no. 28, b. 10, pp. 456-457.

<sup>31</sup> ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, STÖFFLER, Ephemeridum opus [Online], p. 115, sign. 72. V. 32 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ184402805](https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ184402805)>.

<sup>32</sup> TIBENSKÝ, Martin. *Červenokamenské panstvo v stredoveku* [The Red Stone Castle estate in the Middle Ages]. Trnava; Kraków, 2011, p. 93.

Additional entries in the urbarium also show that from 1554 onwards there was somebody else in charge of Matheus Dernschwam's homestead.<sup>33</sup> As further sources show, this estate was most probably bought from Hans Dernschwam by Valtin Miller. When Miller died, his widow kept the homestead and also stayed living there together with a Gregor Kornfierer (probably her new husband). The act of sale and purchase must have, naturally, taken place via some intermediary as Hans had already joined a Habsburg diplomatic mission to the Ottoman court a year earlier.

On a basis of other information from the family chronicle, I dare to present a hypothesis that Hans Dernschwam may have acted as a seller of the homestead originally belonging to his brother. According to his Hans' entries, Matheus married on 30 November 1539, in Trnava. His son Gregor was born on 13 March 1545; however, he died on 9 December, the same year, in Častá.<sup>34</sup> Anton Fugger also mentioned that Matheus had passed away, namely in his letter to the provisor of Červený Kameň castle from 20 January 1546.<sup>35</sup> The sources mention neither Matheus's son nor wife; at least not directly.<sup>36</sup> However, the entry from 1543 in the book of vineyards concerning Dernschwam's vineyards in the territory of the small town of Dolné Orešany (Slovakia, Windisch Nussdorf) suggests that Matheus's wife could have been a daughter of a certain Bartolomej "Schneider".<sup>37</sup> Another entry in the book of vineyards states that Matheus died without heirs ("erbloß").<sup>38</sup> I might not know anything more specific on a tragedy that must have taken place in Matheus's family, but this short note suggests that Hans could have actually inherited the property.

On 16 August 1548, Anton Fugger confirmed the feudal duties exemption for a (further unspecified) homestead in Častá belonging to Hans Dernschwam.<sup>39</sup> As he wrote in his letter: "Ich Anthonÿ Fugger bekehenn hiemit für mich, vnd weÿland meines lieben brueders Raÿmund Fuggers seeligen gelassne Söne, vnd

<sup>33</sup> "1554 Valtin Miller sein hausfraw hat den Gregor Kornfierer genomen das haus aber hat Valtin Miller kauft der hat erben verlassen den gehort solch haus zue zinst d. 40." SNA, ČK 1, no. 24, b. 8, p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, STÖFFLER, Ephemeridum opus [Online], p. 309, 475, 493, sign. 72. V. 32 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ184402805](https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ184402805)>.

<sup>35</sup> Anton Fugger wrote down: "Hab vernomen der Matheus Dornschwam vnnd Petter Wenthe auch mit tod sein abgangen. Got well Inen gnedig sein." SNA, ČK 1, no. 20, b. 6, sign. 20/30.

<sup>36</sup> Matheus Dernschwam appears in the estate accounting registers from 1540 and 1541, when paying his dues to the estate. SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10, p. 35, 42.

<sup>37</sup> "Mathes Dornschwam hat diß Jars von wege seins weibs von Bartusch Schneider ererbt." SNA, ČK 1, no. 26, b. 9, fol. 34.

<sup>38</sup> The Dernschwam family property sale must have been orchestrated by Červený Kameň employees on behalf of their Fugger masters. Such development is suggested by the following entry in the book of vineyards. "Mathes Dornschwam, weingart, hat freihait. Dießen weingartt hatt Valtin Milner von den herrn gekauft nach den der Mathes Dornschwam erbloß gestorben. Neu hatt in sein Sohn Christoff Milner." SNA, ČK 1, no. 26, b. 9, fol. 10.

<sup>39</sup> SNA, ÚPA, A. IV, L. V, F. III, no. 3, fol. 11. SNA, ČK 1, no. 1, b. 1, fol. 485. A photocopy of this copy was published in BENKOVÁ, Eva. Rod Kelio v Častej [The family Kelio in Častá]. In *Historia Nova* 9 [Online]. Bratislava, 2015, p. 31 [cit. 2023-03-05]. Available on the Internet: <[https://fphil.uniba.sk/fileadmin/fif/katedry\\_pracoviska/ksd/h/Hino9b.pdf](https://fphil.uniba.sk/fileadmin/fif/katedry_pracoviska/ksd/h/Hino9b.pdf)>.

thuekhundt meinglich dass ich dem erborn Hansen Dorenschwamb vnd von weg seiner vns Fuggern lang gethonen getrewen vnd vleissigen dienste, seinen hoff, sampt desselben zugehör zu Schadmanssdorff inn vnnser der Fugger herrschafft Biberspurge gelegen, gefreÿet, zugesagt vnd bewilliget hab. Ehne auch dass hiemit wissentlich, vnd in Krafft diss brieffs nemlich der gestalt. Dass er hauss dornschwamb, so lang wir fugger den zehenden vom Bischoff vom Gran bestandsweiss haben, desselben neunten, innmassen ich ihme dornschwamb bissher auss gutem willn vergunstiget vnd zugelassen hab, zuraichen vnuerbunden sein, doch soll ersonsten in andernfählen, der herrschafft gehorsamb, dienstbahr vnd gewertig sein, wie der enden der gebrauch ist, getreulich ohne geferdte. Mit vhrkhundt diss briefs, hab ich mein innsigel zu endt der geschrifft hinfür getruekht, vnd mich mit eigner hand vnder schrieben. Geschehen zu Ausspurge d. 16 tag Augusti anno 1548."

Although the letter does not allow to locate the homestead within the Častá town area more specifically, the context suggests that it is to be identified with Matheus's property. The sources may be silent in this respect, however, it seems rather improbable that Hans had not visited Častá before 1548 or during his brother's life in general. As it has been suggested above, Červený Kameň may have appeared as a convenient location — and at the times of the Ottoman threat also a safe travelling stop. Besides, the estate was located sufficiently far from Hans's workplace in Banská Bystrica, which could have acted as a stress-relieving factor in the life of an ageing man. In this respect, it is important to point out that although the Fuggers terminated the rent of the copper works in Banská Bystrica in 1546, Dornschwam was for the following two years involved in their escalated conflict with the Lower Austrian Chamber over company's assets.<sup>40</sup> In such a busy period, the Little Carpathian region must have offered to Hans comfortable conditions for his leisure or nature observation; nearby Trnava provided benefits of urban culture. As the estate had been exempt a year before Dornschwam actually left Fuggers' company (although a real initiator of the exemption is unknown), it suggests that the receiver of these advantages must have been planning on moving to western areas of the Kingdom of Hungary. Besides, Dornschwam's reminiscences of local fauna and flora in his travelogue disclose that his stay below the Červený Kameň castle could not have been a brief episode only.

Moreover, Hans's presence at the Červený Kameň castle estate is confirmed beyond any doubt by the book of vineyards which in short states that Hans sold in 1551 a vineyard at the size of 1/4 in the "Kolgraben" appellation in the inner area of Dubová (Slovakia, Wernersdorf or Dombó) to Ján Geselber.<sup>41</sup> This vineyard was not a part of Matheus's original property; it had been owned by a certain Štefan Pidmer from Budmerice (Slovakia) when the vineyards register first started at the estate in 1543. However, the second part of the entry is rather surprising as it refers to selling of some other vineyards, house and a mill in Doľany

<sup>40</sup> VLACHOVIČ, Slovenská meď v 16. a 17. storočí, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> "Steffan Pidmer von Pomeritz. 1551 hat Hannß Dornschwam obstenden weingartten den hern Jan Geselber sampt andern auch dem hauß vnd mil zue Ottental verkaufft." SNA, ČK 1, no. 26, b. 9, fol. 60v.

(Slovakia, Ottenthal), a village next to Častá. Sources no longer say more about the vineyards and the house, but Hans mill certainly inherited from his brother Matheus. Namely, in the urbarium from 1543 it is written that Matheus bought the mill in Doľany from Petr Haugen in 1537.<sup>42</sup> However, the issue of property in Doľany still requires more or less open due to the absence of other written mentions.

Statements of O. Faust and G. Kecskeméti on Dernschwam library having been located in Častá fit in the above-mentioned context.<sup>43</sup> Should I build on an assumption that Dernschwam had been planning to settle down in Častá permanently, he must have wished to have his book collection at his disposal; thus, he must also have catalogued the library in Častá.<sup>44</sup> However, it is questionable, who looked after the valuable library during his journeys in Asia Minor. Besides, current state of research does not provide us with any conclusive clues on whether he could have returned from his expedition in 1555 back to Červený Kameň castle estate or not. Therefore, a story of his last years spent in his residence at the estate, still very much “alive” in the context of the Slovak historiography, is more of a fabrication than the actual history.<sup>45</sup> In 1554, the Milner family was already living at Dernschwams’ homestead, which suggests that Hans must have planned in advance how to proceed with his movable as well as immovable property. This is also indicated by the sale of some property in 1551.

Quite understandably, there is more information left concerning Dernschwam’s professional career than concerning his private life. This is also the case of all the economic administration documentation from Červený Kameň. As far as the accounting records from Červený Kameň are concerned, there is only one cash book left from the times when Hans was employed by the Fuggers, namely the cash book from 1539 – 1542 (“Rechnung auff Bibersburg gehalten angefangen

<sup>42</sup> MARSINA – KUŠÍK, Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku, p. 144.

<sup>43</sup> FAUST, Prvý muzeológ a zberateľ starožitností na Slovensku, 29; KECSKEMÉTI, Egy alig ismert 16. századi humanista, p. 650.

<sup>44</sup> BERLÁSZ, Jenő. Dernschwam János könyvtára: A hazai humanizmus történetéhez [The Library of János Dernschwam: To the history of Hungarian humanism]. In Magyar Könyvszemle, 1963, vol. 79, no. 4, p. 309, 315.

<sup>45</sup> Dernschwams are impossible to trace in church registers of births and deaths of parishes in Častá or Trnava, as these registers have not been preserved for the sixteenth century. SARMÁNYOVÁ, Jana. Cirkevné matriky na Slovensku zo 16. – 19. storočia [The church records in Slovakia from 16th – 19th century]. Bratislava, 1991, p. 60, 364. Nor do the Roman Catholic Church visitations at the Častá parish provide any information that would shed any light on whether Hans Dernschwam could have been buried in the local Roman Catholic church of St. Emericus, as is supposed by O. Faust. SNA, Filmothéka SNA [Microfilm library], Kanonické vizitácie fár Trnavského vikariátu vykonané bratislavským archidiakonom Imrichom Čáky v roku 1731 v Bratislavskom archidiakonáte na základe rozhodnutia ostrihomského arcibiskupa Imricha Esterháziho, Dištrikt Pezinok, Fara Častá, microfilm no. 105; Kanonické vizitácie fár Trnavského vikariátu vykonané bratislavským kanonikom Gašparom Helmutom v Bratislavskom archidiakonáte v roku 1781 na základe rozhodnutia ostrihomského arcibiskupa Jozefa Baňaniho, Dištrikt Pezinok, Fara Častá, microfilm no. 107. BENKOVÁ, Rod Kelio v Častej, 12. Besides, preserved municipal books from Častá reflect only the affairs after 1589. Štátny archív v Bratislave, [State Archive in Bratislava], pobočka Modra [Modra Branch], fond Mestečko Častá [The small town Častá], no. 14.

11. Marczÿ des 1539 Jar piß auff 4 September des 1542 Jares").<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, Hans is quite a frequent character in this book, especially in records for the year 1539.<sup>47</sup> For instance, he acted as Fuggers' agent in several financial transactions. He was actually involved from the very first money transfer recorded in the book, specifically the one between Wien and Červený Kameň in 1539.<sup>48</sup> Besides, he is mentioned in several entries under the item of expenses (in 1539 – 1542), intended for overhead costs of Fuggers' enterprise in Banská Bystrica.<sup>49</sup> It is thus highly improbable that he would not be visiting Červený Kameň in 1539 – 1542, while tending to his business agenda. However, his personal presence at the estate can be fully confirmed by a source only at the end of the 1530s: on 2 September 1539, 28 Hungarian floreni were paid for Dernschwam and his two associates for wine and fish from Budmerice.<sup>50</sup> Dernschwam's stay at the Červený Kameň estate in autumn 1539 is further confirmed by an account from 20 October of the same year. At Hans's order, ("aus bevelln Hannß Durnschwam") the estate provided his brother Matheus with a loan of 33 Hungarian floreni.<sup>51</sup> Such a loan provision to a subject by the estate was no exceptional occurrence: there were tens of similar financial operations yearly. However, it is quite obvious that Hans maintained close contacts with Červený Kameň administration representatives and thus was able to present a request in favour of his brother.

## Conclusion

More than a century after first papers on Hans Dernschwam were published by F. Babinger, Slovak historiography introduces findings concerning life of this distinguished Central European humanist which have been until now either unknown or unpublished. If some of the historians have only presumed that he might have settled at the estate in the western part of the Kingdom of Hungary after a strenuous rent liquidation of the copper works in Banská Bystrica as well as his voluntary dismissal from Anton Fugger's company in 1549, the contextual analysis of relevant archival documents related to the economic administration of the Červený Kameň castle estate from the 1530s – 1550s proved their former hypotheses to be correct. However, many circumstances of Dernschwam's stay in the area below the Little Carpathians remain unanswered. The major challenges to future historical research revolve around the problems of location of Dernschwam's book collection, social-cultural and social-economic aspects of Dernschwam's life at the Červený Kameň castle estate or motivation Hans's brothers Matheus and Balthasar to settle down in Častá.

<sup>46</sup> SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10.

<sup>47</sup> The cash book provides his name in a following form: "Durnschwam/Durnschwam".

<sup>48</sup> SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10, p. 1, 2.

<sup>49</sup> For instance, it refers to covering the expenses for correspondence delivery. SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10, p. 200, 203, 204, 207.

<sup>50</sup> SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10, p. 213.

<sup>51</sup> SNA, ČK 1, no. 28, b. 10, p. 456.



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