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Michał Hanel from Lviv: the Physician and Legate of the Jagiellons







Michał Hanel ze Lwowa – lekarz i poseł Jagiellonów

ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to present the Michał Hanel's biography and the history of his social advancement. He was ennobled citizen of Lviv and medicine doctor who became the archpriest of Buda church and the provost of Esztergom as well as the personal doctor of Władysław II Jagiellon, the king of Hungary and Czech.

Hanel's career in court structures and church hierarchy is an example of strong relationships between Polish Kingdom, Hungarian Kingdom and Czech Kingdom under the rule of Jagiellonian dynasty and also an example of the possibilities of social and economic advancements in the first half of the 16th century. Hanel participated in the institution of dynasty marriages and as an envoy he carried classified messages between Buda and Krakow. As a longtime confessor and personal doctor of Władysław king, he became a figure salient for the current affairs in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Polish-Hungarian relations in the early decades of the 16th century.

The main aim of this article is to reconstruct the way in which Hanel advanced in social circles. The next step is to compare the said way to other examples of social advancement

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known to historiography. The results of my research are presented in the form of case study. Moreover, another, equally important aim of the study is to contribute to the debate on the division of estates in Europe in the Jagiellonian period. I hope that this article will serve to start investigation into the biography of Michał Hanel and the history of his family.

Key words: Hanel, Lviv, Bologna, diplomacy, dynasty of the Jagiellons, Władysław II, Zygmunt I, Zapolya, Hungary, Buda, medicine, Esztergom

1. THE LVIV BURGHER

While becoming familiar with the person and the activity of Michał from Lviv, it is surprising that no separate work has been written on the subject yet. He expressly belonged to the peculiarity of the time, which renders learning the mechanisms and dependencies influencing such elements of the then reality as diplomacy or the possible career paths in the states ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The terms 'at the turn' or 'boundary' seem to best describe the nature of the biography of Hanel. Not only did he live at the turn of the centuries, but also crossed the boundaries between the social strata and the borders between the states. Born in the Polish, the royal town of Lviv, Hanel found himself at the Hungarian court of Władysław II Jagiellon. Being the Doctor of Medicine, Hanel held the position of the personal physician of the king, and he carried out diplomatic missions as well. The research on the biography of such a person involves both the analysis of the relations between the social strata of the late Middle Ages and of the early Modern era, and investigating the formation and functioning of the social elite. Moreover, it includes pondering on the mechanisms of the then diplomacy. It is thus certainly worth looking into the most widely recognised activities undertaken by Hanel, i.e. his positions of the Jagiellons' physician and legate, even if only for the initial reconnaissance¹.

It may be assumed that Michał Hanel was born into the affluent burgher class family, who descended from German countries or Silesia, and whose members belonged to elite of Lviv as early as since the beginning of the 15th century. Józef Skoczek, in his study concerning Lviv burghers, suggested that the Hanel family² originated from the old Szeler family of Lviv who

¹ The research which preceded this article was not based on a query conducted in the Hungary and Vienna archives. Thus, the subject of life and the activities of Michał Hanel may not be viewed as closed. It is likely that the international research could result in the discovery of numerous intriguing facts concerning the person in question.

² The discrepancy between the written forms of the surname of Michał from Lviv and his family proved problematic while working on this study. The sources and research

together with such families as the Szolc, the Korniakt, the Kampian or the Stancel contributed to the magnificence of the city and influenced the patrician stratum³. The term 'Hanel' initially used as a nickname was to be a short form of the German name of Hans (John), which enjoyed popularity in the family of Szeler. In the course of time, the form of 'Hanel' displaced the original name and became commonly identified with the family of 'Hanel'⁴.

It is assumed that the first 'Hanel' who achieved success both political and financial was the father of Michał – Bartłomiej, the son of Jan Szeler⁵. He belonged to the group of notable citizens of the town in the 1470s and the 1480s. The high position which Bartłomiej enjoyed within the town's community should not be doubted as the preserved source material proves his engagement in the political life of Lviv. In the year 1474, he was elected the lay judge by the town council for the first time. Hearing the civil cases of the town's citizens and solving the conflicts between them were among his duties⁶. It may be supposed that his activity as the lay judge and on the magistrate board received positive reviews from the citizens since as early as in the year 1477, he was elected for the position of the councillor in office whose task was to actively participate in the town council's sessions and the decisions they took⁷. Hanel held the office of the councillor throughout his whole life. He was elected the councillor in office nine times within the time span of 15 years. As he took decisions concerning the current affairs of the town, he also participated in the election process of the mayors, however, he never became one⁸.

studies include the following forms: *Hanel*, *Hanelowie*, *Hanlowie*, *Hammel*, *Havel*, *Hanek*, *Hammel*, *Hamelowi*. The entries pertaining to Michał directly contain the form of Hanel, which I have thus adopted to be a suitable one for the purpose of the discussed subject.

³ J. Skoczek, *Studia nad patrycjatem lwowskim wieków średnich*, 'Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny' 1929, 7, 5, p. 25; W. Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1902, pp. 67–69.

⁴ J. Skoczek, *Studia*, p. 26.

⁵ It is assumed that the Bartłomiej was first who have used new name, the oldest city financial registers (see: *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta Lwowa 1404–1414*, ed. A. Czołowski, Lwów 1892; *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta 1414–1426*, ed. idem, Lwów 1905.) as well as the city registers (see: *Najstarsza księga miejska 1382–1389*, ed. idem, Lwów 1892; *Księga ławnicza miejska 1441–1448*, ed. idem, Lwów 1921) lack any mention on the Hanel family, or register of grants of the town's rights (see: *Album civium Leopoliensium. Rejestry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1388–1783*, ed. A. Janeczek, Poznań–Warszawa 2005).

⁶ *Urzednicy miasta Lwowa w XIII-XVIII*, in: *Spisy urzedników miejskich z obszaru dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Śląska i Pomorza Zachodniego*, vol. 7, *Ziemie Ruskie*, no. 1, Lwów, ed. M. Kapral, Toruń 2008, p. 203 [hereinafter: *Urzednicy*].

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 76–81.

Being the member of the municipal authorities, Bartłomiej Hanel participated in the social and political life of Lviv⁹. The sources confirm multiple trade transactions which he entered into while pursuing his merchant profession¹⁰. He, like many others, had years-long litigations with his debtors and was included in the panel of witnesses of the consistory court¹¹. Taking into consideration the abovementioned facts, it may be presumed that Bartłomiej Hanel enjoyed a favourable opinion among the citizens and a significant standing. Furthermore, 150 years after his death, he was mentioned by Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz, an outstanding representative of the Polish Baroque and dedicated citizen of Lviv as the founder of burgher settlement Wola Hanłowa, in his work on the most exquisite burghers¹². There are some premises concerning the characterization of Hanel and the reasons as to why he was elected to be a member of the town authorities. The researchers believe that until the end of the 15th century the members of the town council had been elected on the basis of their personality traits and the values they represented¹³. Regrettably, the confirmation of such exquisite character attributes is impossible to be found in the source material apart from the glorifying titles, such as *famatus*, *honorabilis*. It seems probable that Hanel married the burgher whose name was Urszula at the turn of the 1460s and 1470s. Her activity may be tracked to the years after the death of her husband when she was involved in disputes with the debtors and creditors of Bartłomiej¹⁴. Bartłomiej probably died between March and November of 1492 and he is supposed to have been of good health since he was elected for the office of councillor of Lviv on 22 February¹⁵.

⁹ Bartłomiej Hanel was the witness present signed on some significant deeds for the town of Lviv, e.g. the document of 24 July 1486 confirming the grant of land belonging to the town for Paweł Goldberg to establish there a new settlement, or the act of 18 August 1485 on laying down appeal procedure for the burghers of Lviv against the disputes with the local archbishop, see: *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowskie*, vol. 19, ed. X. Liske, Lwów 1906, p. 481; *ibidem*, vol. 4, eds. O. Pietruski, X. Liske, Lwów 1873, p. 140.

¹⁰ *Acta officii consistorialis Leopoliensis antiquissima*, vol. 1, ed. W. Rolny, Lwów 1927, p. 278

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 118.

¹² J.B. Zimorowicz, *Viri illustres civitatis Leopoliensis*, in: *Józefa Bartłomieja Zimorowicza pisma do dziejów Lwowa odnoszące się*, ed. K. Heck, Lwów 1899, p. 299. However, it seems that Zimorowicz mistakenly cited the year 1495 as the date of the establishment of Wola Hanłowa by Bartłomiej since as early as 26 November 1492, the wife of Hanel, Urszula, was addressed the widow, see: *Acta officii consistorialis Leopoliensis antiquissima*, vol. 2, ed. W. Rolny, Lwów 1930, p. 229.

¹³ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miasta i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 146–147.

¹⁴ *Acta officii*, vol. 2, pp. 287, 423.

¹⁵ Hanel's activity in February 1492 is confirmed by the document dated 2 February on establishing the guild of coopers in Lviv in accordance with the decision of the councillors

The issue of the Hanel's offspring appears to be something of a mystery. On 26 November 1492, in front of the consistory court in Lviv, pending was the action on the execution of the testament of Bartłomiej¹⁶. His wife Urszula and son Michał were the only successors, however we know other family members: Bartłomiej, Marcin, Zofia, Dorota and Dorota¹⁷. The other offspring may have been underage or did not participate in the legal action due to unknown reasons. Other Hanel's family members lived in Lviv which is confirmed by the fact that Mikołaj Śmieszkowic, the doctor of medicine and Lviv burgher, married Urszula, the daughter of Marcin Hamela, in the year 1559¹⁸. The similarity of the surname and the connections with Lviv suggest that there were more members of Hanel family in the years contemporary to Michał¹⁹.

There was at least one more Hanel family connected with Buczacz. Stanisław Hanel, probably an affluent merchant, was the member of the town council of Buczacz in the early 16th century²⁰. He, together with his sister Barbara, was mentioned in the source material of 26 April 1497 as present during the succession proceedings regarding the deceased Andrzej Ostrowiecki²¹. Extended research may present some answers to questions on family relationship between the above-mentioned Hanel and on the contribution of the family to the development of both Lviv and Buczacz. However, it currently remains a stipulation.

2. LVIV, KRAKOW, BOLOGNA

The exact date of birth of Michał Hanel seems difficult to determine. Available references point to the turn of the 1460s and the 1470s as the date and Lviv as the place of birth²². Being the scion of an affluent burgher,

including Bartłomiej (see: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [hereinafter: AGAD], Metryka Koronna, Księga Wpisów [hereinafter: MKKW], ref. no. MK 17, p. 88), and by the above-mentioned renewed election for the office of councillor, *Urzednicy*, p. 80.

¹⁶ *Acta officii*, vol. 2, pp. 228–229.

¹⁷ J. Skoczek, *Studia*, p. 26.

¹⁸ H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Kraków 1935, pp. 361–362. It may be assumed that the same Marcin Hanel, later the Lviv councillor, was in Krakow on 13 July 1521 where he applied to confirm the document granting the estate Hołowsko to the town of Lviv issued by the King Ladislas II, see: AGAD, MKKW, ref. no. MK 37, p. 205; *Urzednicy*, p. 208.

¹⁹ O. Hul, *Elita władzy miasta Lwowa w XVI wieku*, 'Res Historica' 2013, 35, pp. 55–57.

²⁰ *Acta officii*, vol. 2, p. 442.

²¹ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 15, ed. X. Liske, Lwów 1891, p. 283.

²² The first reference concerning Michał Hanel is the matriculation entry of 1486 in the records of Krakow University. The researchers assume that the average age of the students

Michał could have pursued two career paths. The first of them would have been the continuation of the family's economic and political activity in the town. In the case of Lviv, this solution seemed attractive. The town belonged to the four richest towns in the Kingdom of Poland. Hence, the patrician stratum of significant importance within the whole country was present there and maintained trade relations with both Western and Eastern Europe²³. Its members entered into marital relations with the neighbouring gentry families, they rented table lands pawned by the king²⁴. This caused them to exceed the strictly urban area of activity²⁵.

An alternative to this approach was the church career. However, it was not as promising for the people of burgher descent as for those of gentry stratum. Under the Jedlnieńsko-Krakowski privilege issued by Władysław Jagiełło, high offices and positions within the church could have been held only by the members of the gentry. It may be assumed that the chance of ennoblement by becoming a priest seemed slim if realistic at all. However, suitable education enabled achieving high position within the church structure.

Michał's parents, probably aware of the situation, invested in the education of the son. It is impossible to conclude whether their reason was the facilitation of the son's church career or the overall awareness of the benefits derived from good education. No facts are known about the first stages of Hanel's education. He probably attended the Lviv cathedral school, which had fallen under the jurisdiction of the town council in 1444, thus attaining the lay-church character. The school was the centre of Lviv culture and science, which guaranteed the educational basics for the youths from the town and its environs. Due to its special character, the school prepared its students both to pursue careers within the church and outside of it as it provided them with general intellectual background, especially crucial for the affluent burghers and gentry. The students received the rudiments in the so called seven liberal arts as well as in theology²⁶. J. Skoczek, who dedicated a separate study to the school, emphasized its level of professionalism and universal respect for her subscribers²⁷. Hence

contemporary to Hanel to start university education was 14–16 years of age. Thus a simple calculation allows for determination of the presumed date of Hanel's birth.

²³ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 412–418.

²⁴ The interesting instance of burger-gentry marriages in Lviv presents the marriage of Dobiesław from Sprowa, the Castellan of Przemyśl and the member of the Odrowąż clan, one of the most powerful at the time, and Anna Schroppówna, the Lviv burgher, see: C. Michalski, *Odrowąż Dobiesław z Żurawicy*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereinafter: PSB], vol. 23, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 545.

²⁵ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²⁶ J. Skoczek, *Dzieje lwowskiej szkoły katedralnej*, Lwów 1929, pp. 63–66.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

it can be assumed that if Hanel had studied at of Lviv school, he obtained the suitable level of education to enable him to continue it at the university.

In the winter term of 1486/1487 when Jan Baruchowski held the office of rector of Krakow University for the third time, the son of Bartłomiej from Lviv was among the matriculated students. Hanel was entered into the university register after having paid the entrance fee of 4 *groszy*²⁸, which emphasizes the good financial situation of the family. Hanel started his studies at the same year as Marcin from Olkusz the Younger, who later became the professor of Astronomy and Theology. It is impossible to determine whether they established close relations, however, the similarities between the careers they both pursued are apparent²⁹. Hanel acquired his knowledge in accordance with the then accepted standards. In December of 1489, on the day of St. Lucia, Hanel took his examination before the Dean Jan from Głogów the Older and he obtained the title of *Baccalaureate of Arts*³⁰. It is known that he continued his higher education at the University of Krakow. At the beginning of 1492, having taken the examination before the Dean Jan of Oświęcim, the Doctor and Maciej of Kobylany, the Professor of Theology and the Vice-Chancellor of the University, he was awarded the title of *Master of Liberal Arts*³¹. It is interesting to point out that Adam of Łowicz, the Doctor of Medicine and the later personal doctor of the three consecutive kings, Jan Olbracht, Aleksander and Sigismund I Jagiellon, obtained his Master's degree at the same time³².

²⁸ *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508*, vol. 1, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek, I. Siekierska, Kraków 2004, p. 459.

²⁹ Marcin Biem, similarly to Hanel, descended from an affluent burger family. The family of Biem came from Wieluń, where they accumulated their fortune on mining enterprises. Marcin was matriculated at Krakow University during the winter term of 1486/1487, and he was awarded the title of *Baccalaureate* in December 1488. The Master's degree was obtained by him at the beginning of 1491, which initiated his scientific career at Krakow University, see: A. Birkenmajer, *Biem Marcin*, in: *PSB*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 68.

³⁰ *Najstarsza księga promocji Wydziału Stuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1402–1541*, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek, I. Skierska, Warszawa 2011, p. 252.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 255.

³² Adam Bochynia, known as Adam of Łowicz. Henryk Barycz thought he was the burgher from the vicinity of Łowicz. The estimation of his initial financial status seems difficult to determine. It is known he had been entered into the register of Krakow University in the year of 1486. He obtained the title of the *baccalaureate* in 1488 and the title of the *Master of Liberal Arts* in 1492. Apart from his activity as a scientist at Krakow University, he held the post of a secretary in the royal chancery. According to Barycz, Adam obtained the title of the Doctor in Italy and after he returned, he became the personal doctor of the king Aleksander Jagiellon. However, he still continued his lecturer's career at the University of Krakow where he lectured at the faculty of Medicine; he also took the office of the rector, see: H. Barycz, *Adam z Bochynia*, in: *PSB*, vol. 1, Kraków 1935, pp. 20–21.

Hanel's Krakow studying period coincided with the thrive of Krakow University. Systematic divergence from the medieval scholastic doctrine for the benefit of renaissance humanism certainly influenced the students' philosophy of life. The social significance and recognition of the profession of a doctor as well as the doctors themselves increased. They became the members of kings' and baronial households. Being well-paid and respected by their grantors, not only did they attend to their health but also to their overall physical and intellectual condition. The doctors attained the role of propagators of new renaissance trends which placed science and knowledge over the faith and old beliefs. Education in the field of medicine facilitated social advancement and crossing the barriers originating from social background. Hence it should not be surprising that an ambitious and educated in accordance with modern trends young man opted for pursuing such career path. However, the available source material does not allow for any in-depth analysis of his individual course of study to be presented³³. In Jan Fijałek's opinion, in the years 1493–1494 Hanel served also as a university teacher, lecturing on the works of Aristotle in Krakow³⁴. Having come into contact with the academic world, the citizen of Lviv may have wanted to continue his medical studies and gain experience outside his home academy as well.

The choice of Italy, especially of Bologna, to continue Hanel's education should not spring any surprise. The study of Krakow doctors' biographies allows for discovery of their inclination for Italian universities. The doctor Jan from Reguły studied there in 1475. Maciej Miechowita undertook a truly Italian peregrination and according to Henryk Barycz, Adam from Bochynia was no exception. Nicolas Copernicus studied medicine at the university in Bologna for one year³⁵. This trend continued for some time, which is confirmed by the studies of Jan and Łukasz Noskowski and Mikołaj Wieliczka. The abovementioned examples prove that people of different social strata chose Bolognese university to continue their education there and be awarded titles entitling them to pursue their professions. The modern approach towards medicine and the appearance of new scientific trends strengthened the tendency. Galen's findings, until then binding, were challenged and updated, especially with introduction of autopsy to the medical practice. While studying in Bologna, Hanel could have met such lecturers as Andrea Crescimbeni, Morandi Nestore, Nicola Savi or Giovanni Garzoni, who apart from theoretical medicine linked with liberal arts and philosophy, emphasized its practical dimension

³³ *Idem, Historia*, pp. 210–212.

³⁴ Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie, ref. no. 4891, p. 15.

³⁵ K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Toruń 2012, pp. 113–115.

basing on anatomical research³⁶. However, the available source material does not allow for providing a detailed description of Hanel's course of study, and of his relations with the lecturers or the particular fields of interests within medicine.

It may be assumed that Hanel followed the scientific track typical of the abovementioned graduates of the Krakow school. He graduated from the University in Bologna on 19 December 1498 and was awarded the title of the Doctor of Medicine³⁷. The entry in the records titled *Libri Segreti del Collegio Medico* proves the fact. However, there is no information available on the circumstances of Hanel's graduation or its witnesses. Some facts may be determined on the basis of the standard procedures applicable at the University of Bologna. The person wishing to take the examination should have been officially introduced to the dean to be informed on the questions they would have to answer and then to pay the set fee. After the completion of the formal procedure, the actual examination took place followed by the vote on granting the title. In the case of favourable outcome, the whole examination process was completed with the formal act of promotion³⁸. The doctorate in medicine allowed its holder the possibility to practice the profession. The certificate obtained from the University of Bologna undoubtedly facilitated the enterprise as it was recognized and respected in the whole Europe³⁹.

3. AT THE COURT IN BUDA

The circumstances of Michał Hanel's appearance at the court of King Władysław II Jagiellon remain unknown. It may be presupposed that during his studies in Bologna, he became acquainted with the people whose careers were linked with kings' courts⁴⁰. It may be assumed that he had

³⁶ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa na tle medycyny odrodzenia*, in: *Maciej z Miechowa 1457–1523. Historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki*, ed. H. Barycza, Wrocław 1960, pp. 169–176.

³⁷ S. Windakiewicz, *Informacja o aktach Uniwersytetu Bolońskiego*, 'Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce' 1892, 7, p. 140.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 132, 139.

³⁹ The lack of source material does not allow for describing the level and the scope of medical expertise of Michał Hanel; studies providing general knowledge on the subject include *Historia medycyny*, ed. T. Brzeziński, 3rd edition, Warszawa 2014, and *Dzieje medycyny w Polsce*, ed. W. Noszczyk, vol. 1, *Od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1914*, Warszawa 2015.

⁴⁰ Numerous graduates from Italian medical faculties contemporary to Hanel pursued their careers at courts, universities or within the church hierarchy. Adam from Bochynia was involved in the royal chancery and when he was awarded university titles, he received the position and the title of the professor at Krakow University, see: H. Barycz, *Adam z Bochynia*, in:

been ordained with lower holy orders while he was in Poland. The title of *reverendus*, which customarily applied to the clergy, seems to prove this assumption. The years of 1498–1506 seem elusive in terms of his biography, however, they appear to be of fundamental significance for his career. At that time, Hanel built his position among those surrounding King Władysław eventually becoming his personal physician (*Phizici Sereniss imiprincipis domini Wladislai Dei gratia Hungariae et Bohemie etc. regis*). He could have become the member of the king's court either directly after graduating from Bologna University or indirectly by means of being the member of the court of Prince Sigismund first, who had been staying at his brother's until 1499⁴¹. Hanel's relations with the younger Jagiellon are shown in the accounts of the prince's court kept by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki and recently published by Petr Kozák. Under the date of August 3, 1505, there is an interesting record: *'Item ad mandata domini principis sacerdoti doctori Havel, qui per hoc tempus, dum dominus princeps fuerat Bude, missas semper legebat ante dominum principem, dedi III flor'*⁴². If it was fact that Hanel was a regular envoy to Prince Zygmunt during his stay in Buda, it cannot be ruled out that it was through Jagiellon that he found himself at the Hungarian court of King Władysław.

We know that Hanel was not a physician at the court of Prince Zygmunt. Hanel was absent both in Silesia and in Głogów, where the prince moved together with his court. The first steady position of Hanel's seems to be at the court of King Władysław. Service alongside the monarch also resulted in

PSB, vol. 1, Kraków 1935, pp. 20–21. Maciej from Błonie held the position of the Rector of the All Saints School [Szkoly Wszystkich Świętych] in Krakow after he graduated from the University. Then he studied in Italy and after he returned, he remained in the service of King Aleksander only to become the court doctor of King Sigismund I after the death of the former. He also held numerous church positions including the position of the Poznań Canon, Pułtusk Provost, Warszawa, Łowicz and Krakow Canons; he also obtained the parishes in Sieradz, Poznań and Zator, see: M. Zwiercan, *Maciej z Błonia*, in: PSB, vol. 19, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1974, pp. 13–14. Maciej from Michów, called Miechowita, pursued a distinguished university career holding the office of Rector of Krakow Univeristy seven times and being the member of the Krakow cathedral chapter, see: L. Hajdukiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa*, in: PSB, vol. 19, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1974, pp. 28–32. The brothers of Noskowski, Doctors of Medicine, pursued their careers by Primate Jan Łaski. Jan held the office of the primate's court doctor only then to become the professor of Krakow Academy. His brother Łukasz, the graduate of Bologna University, followed in his footsteps becoming the personal doctor of King Sigismund I, see: J. Bieniarzówna, *Noskowski Jan*; eadem, *Noskowski Łukasz*, in: PSB, vol. 23, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, pp. 224–226.

⁴¹ The description of the court of Sigismund Jagellon in Buda is included in the works by A. Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warszawa 1893 and by A. Diveky, *Królewicz Zygmunt na dworze Władysława II*, in: *Medievalia. W 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 355–374.

⁴² *Účty dvora prince Zikmunda Jagellonského vévody hlohovského a opavského, nejvyššího hejtmána Slezska a Lužic, z let (1493) 1500–1507*, ed. P. Kozák, Praha 2014, s. 482.

a promotion in church structures. He succeeded in becoming the Archpresbyter of the Church of Our Lady of Buda. Certainly, there was a reason for locating the first benefice in the capital city in the vicinity of the king's court. According to Hungarian researcher Józef Fógel, Hanel was included among the closest people of King Władysław II fairly promptly. Holding the office of the personal doctor of the king and his confessor, he enjoyed an easy access to the king and his many secrets and undoubtedly he could have influenced the king's decisions⁴³.

The role of the king's physician, whose health was far from satisfactory, seemed more significant. In this case, an important issue were problems with identifying the diseases the ruler suffered from. The health of the sovereign was the topic of debates held by doctors invited to Buda numerous times. One of such debates was described by Piotr Tomicki, the legate to Buda at the time, in his letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. In April 1510, he wrote: 'I wrote to the King about the illness of the King of Hungary which befell him recently. All doctors thought it was of the lithiasis origin, however, doctor Hanel, the Arch presbyter of the Buda church, was the only one who claimed it was the gripping pains'⁴⁴. The physical condition of the Hungarian king exerted substantial impact on his politics. At the beginning of 1504, when he suffered from a serious illness, the party related to Jan Zapolya taking advantage of the situation and linking Jagiellon's childlessness with his deteriorating health condition adopted the law excluding foreigners from succeeding to the crown of St. Stephen⁴⁵. The king's health deteriorated substantially after the death of his wife Anna in August 1506. The presence of the court physician and a personally attached person seemed immensely significant. That is why Michał Hanel assumed high importance, even though his influence was not formal⁴⁶.

4. ENNOBLEMENT

Half a year before the death of Queen Anna, Hanel received a special distinction, whose circumstances, as far as preserved sources allow it,

⁴³ J. Fógel, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)*, Budapest 1913, p. 53.

⁴⁴ 'Scripsi regie M[aiesta]ti egritudine huius regie M[aiesta]tis, qua paulo ante correpta erat: omnes medici asseverabant fuisse egritudinem ex calculo: solus doctro Havel, archipresbyter Budensis, asseveravit fuisse dolorem colicum'. *Acta Tomiciana* [hereinafter: AT], vol. 1, ed. T. Działyński, Poznań 1852, no. XLV, p. 69.

⁴⁵ The serious health condition of Władysław is confirmed by the fact that Maciej from Miechów, known for his knowledge and expertise in medicine, was asked by Prince Sigismund to travel to Buda, see: L. Hajdukiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ M. Duczmal, *Jagiellonowie. Leksykon biograficzny*, Kraków 1996, pp. 451–456.

should be presented. The university, court, and church careers which were pursued by the graduates of medical faculties prove that the example of Hanel was not exceptional. However, one striking moment in his biography leads to uncertainty. The copy of the ennoblement act of Michał Hanel dated 14 February 1506 entered into the Crown Register was preserved until nowadays. The act is directly related to the clan adoption performed by Jakub Odrowąż Szydłowiecki, the Crown Vice-Treasurer and close courtier of King Alexander Jagiellon for the benefit of Michał Hanel⁴⁷. If the elevation to the nobility had taken place within the environs of Władysław II Jagiellończyk, the circumstances would seem clear. In this case, the fact of receiving ennoblement from the hands of the Polish monarch and the connection with the coat of arms of one of the most powerful families in the Crown has raised some ambiguities.

The ennoblement act itself provides few answers to these questions. The entry was probably made on the basis of the common chancery form and thus it includes more panegyric information than substantial details. We are only informed that Jakub Szydłowiecki, the Crown Vice-Treasurer and the Staroste of Łęczyca and Sandomierz, on behalf of his clan and in accordance with the King's request adopts Michał from Lviv enabling him access to the coat of arms of Szydłowiecki-Odrowąż. The reasons for such ennoblement was, apart from the King's request, Hanel's outstanding expertise in medicine, his personal dignity and righteousness⁴⁸. The ennoblement act of Hanel does not differ in scope from other acts issued during the reign of Aleksander Jagiellon and his successors. However, more details are available on the ceremony itself. It took place during the General Sejm session in Lublin which was held from January to March 1506⁴⁹. Numerous officials of high rank who gathered for the session served as the witnesses to the ennoblement act and they included Maciej Drzewicki, the Bishop of Przemyśl and the Crown Vice-Chancellor, Jarosław from Łask, the Governor of Łęczyca, Prandota from Trzciana, the Governor of Rawsk, Jakub Sieklucki, the Castellan of Wojnice, Andrzej from Radziejów, the Castellan of Sochaczew and, last but not least, Jan from Łask, the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland⁵⁰. However, it is not clear whether Michał Hanel appeared in Lublin in person and whether the ennoblement act was proceeded with the ceremony of the conferment of the coat of arms. It is regrettably impossible to determine any details apart

⁴⁷ AGAD, MKKW, ref. no. MK 21, p. 344.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ W. Konopczyński, *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493–1793*, Kraków 1948, p. 7.

⁵⁰ AGAD, MKKW, ref. no. MK 21, p. 344.

from the fact of its public announcement. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the doctor's from Lviv ennoblement was common.

Hence the question on the reasons for ennoblement of Hanel and for his acceptance into the Odrowąż clan remains unanswered. The possible explanation may be found in the overall political context. Both the available source material and the literature on the subject present Hanel as the dedicated supporter of the Hungarian family of Zapolya and of the so-called national party cooperating with the family. The time of the intense activity of the Hungarian family was perceived in the years 1501–1506 when the oldest son of Stefan Zapolya, Jan, committed to marry the daughter of Władysław II and thus become the important successor to the throne in the absence of a natural one. All his exertions, which reminded more of the coup d'état than demarche, did not provoke an open hostility towards the family of Zapolya on the part of the King. The possible conflict was mitigated by the many-years' friendship that Prince Sigismund maintained with the owners of Trenczyn, when he visited their estate numerous times while his stay in Hungary⁵¹. Such meetings served as the natural circumstances for entering into relations between the courtiers of the Prince and the associates of the Zapolya family. Hence it is not surprising that Jakub, the younger brother of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, the Steward of the prince's court, became acquainted with the family. According to various researchers, it was at that time that the Prince entered into relationship with Barbara, the daughter of Stefan Zapolya, the powerful magnate and palatine of Hungary and Princess Jadwiga, the Silesian Piast. The first matrimonial plans connecting the Jagiellons and the Zapolyas could have been drawn⁵² at that time. It may not be excluded that the influential Lviv doctor of King Władysław could have been approached and befriended for that purpose by Trenczyn's owner. The available source material does not allow for a true inspirer of the promotion to be determined. One may not exclude the person of Hanel himself from the endeavours to obtain ennoblement.

Although the hypothesis presented above is based mainly on the assumptions stemming from the observation of the events that followed,

⁵¹ A. Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warszawa 1893, pp. 219–232, the researcher confirmed the stay of Sigismund Jagiellon in Trenczyn on the following days: 7 XII 1501; 13 IX, 28 XI 1502 and 10 X 1505.

⁵² S.A. Sroka, *Jadwiga Zapolya. Piastówna śląska na Węgrzech w dobie panowania Jagiellonów*, Kraków 2005, pp. 26–27; M. Rekettés, *Małżeństwo króla Zygmunta I z Barbarą Zápolówną*, in: *Stosunki polityczne i kulturalne polsko-węgierskie za Władysława Jagiellończyka*, ed. M. Rekettés, Wrocław 1999, pp. 103–109; B. Przybyszewski, *Barbara Zapolya. Królowa Polski 1512–1515*, Łańcut 2000, pp. 22–25.

it is worth considering the fact that Michał Hanel had been ennobled by Aleksander Jagiellon while still being in the service of his older brother. Furthermore, Hanel did not provide any prior service for the benefit of the Polish King⁵³. The ennoblement policy of Aleksander seems also fairly informative as he granted the privilege only to 14 persons during his short reign. The four promotions were typical, as they occurred as a symbol of the recognition of service rendered to the king and they concerned three captains of horse⁵⁴ and one servant⁵⁵. Four consecutive ennoblements concerned the family of Czapela who were adopted to the clan of Jan and Jarosław Łaski⁵⁶. Two clan adoptions were executed by the family of Lubrański⁵⁷ and one by the family of Służewski. The case of Jakub from Brzeziny was of the grants of *indygenat* character due to the Princess Anna Mazowiecka's favouritism as he served as her Vice-Chancellor. The similar procedure applied to Stanisław, the Vice-Staroste of Grodno, who was adopted to the clan of Wilczek by the brothers Barnard, the Archbishop and Derśław, the Vice-Chamberlain of Lviv of Poraj coat of arms⁵⁸. When contrasted with the above-mentioned ennoblements, in the case of Hanel, who had no relations with the court of Aleksander or his Kingdom, the external favouritism to him, probably from the courts of Władysław or Sigismund Jagiellon was of material importance. The last element to support such assumption may be shown by the fact that Hanel did not undertake his extended activity until after King Aleksander had died and Hanel assumed the position of a diplomat.

5. DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY

The ennoblement opened a new chapter in Hanel's life and it might have influenced his prestige and importance at the Hungarian court. Apart from attending to the King's health, he conducted legate missions on behalf of the King. The first legation, confirmed in the sources, concerned the birth of the son of Władysław, Louis, in July 1506. He announced the

⁵³ Michał Hanel does not appear, even episodically among doctors or medical service at the court of Aleksander Jagiellończyk. J. Skibniewska, *Dwór królewski Aleksandra Jagiellończyka w latach 1501–1506*, Lublin 2015, pp. 554–556.

⁵⁴ *Album armorum nobelium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII*, ed. B. Trelińska, Lublin 2001, pp. 57, 59.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

⁵⁶ H. Barycz, *Czapel Mikołaj*, in: PSB, vol. 4, Kraków 1938, pp. 331–332.

⁵⁷ *Album armorum*, p. 60.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 57–58.

excellent news to Prince Sigismund Jagiellon in Głogów and was awarded 10 florins on 13 July 1506⁵⁹. The source material on the scope and the nature of the mission is not available, however. However, it may be assumed that the birth of Louis was not the only reason for the legation of Hanel since the two royal brothers preserved a strong relationship and the health condition of king Aleksander was deteriorating

Generally, the rest of Hanel's life may be observed from the perspective of his service for King Władysław II, however, more details could be provided on the condition of the research in the Hungarian archives having been conducted. In 1510, he spent time in Visegrad together with the royal court, and that time was the commencement of his political activity. Piotr Tomicki, the secretary to Sigismund I and Włocławek canon, conducted his legation there from April to July of the same year. The two clergymen certainly entered into some relation at that time. It is known that Tomicki valued Hanel's medical expertise, which is proved by the above-mentioned letter written to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, and Tomicki may have perceived Hanel as a potential partner for the dynastic politics of the Jagiellons⁶⁰. The search for allies appeared necessary due to numerous matters of the issue between the two kingdoms. The primary concern regarded maintaining mutual attitude towards the Turkish problem, which was endangered by drawing the two states into the crusade which had been under preparation. The unresolved issue of Polish-Moldavian truce with Władysław II as the mediator remained a current problem then. All these, as well as other minor matters, required a favourable stand on the part of King Władysław, who acted in accordance with the advice presented to him by his pro-Habsburg advisers numerous times⁶¹.

In the diplomatic sphere of activity, Hanel appeared for the first time during the arrangement of the first marriage of Sigismund Jagiellon. The marriage of the Polish King and the daughter of Hungarian magnate and the Silesian Piast Princess was entered into during complicated political conditions, thus different interpretations were forwarded by the researchers who analysed the subject. I believe that Krzysztof Baczkowski presented the most accurate political context of the whole matter describing

⁵⁹ A. Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warszawa 1893, p. 247; L. Finkel, *Elekcyja Zygmunta*, Kraków 1910, p. 132.

⁶⁰ AT, vol. 1, no. XLV, p. 69.

⁶¹ K. Baczkowski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie w latach 1507–1510*, in: *Cracovia, Polonia, Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. W. Bukowskiego, Kraków 1995, pp. 576–578.

its importance and multiple dimensions⁶². The basic problem of conducting Polish-Hungarian politics, which was of fundamental significance for the Jagiellon dynasty, were the internal divisions in the Kingdom of St. Stephen and vulnerability of Władysław II. Before the Hungarian election of Władysław to the throne, the people divided themselves into the supporters of close relations with the Habsburgs and those who were anti-German, the so-called national party. The first party was headed by western magnates and the clergy accompanied with George Szatmari, the Chancellor and the Bishop of five churches and the most faithful ally of Austria. The second faction was led by the powerful family of Zapolya, who attempted to prevent the Habsburgs from overtaking the Hungarian throne by means of entering into the diplomatic, family and maintaining economic relations with the members of the magnates and other royal families⁶³.

Pro-Habsburg faction exerted more and more influence on the politics of the royal house and Władysław himself acted according to the suggestions. From the perspective of Krakow, the situation grew complicated, especially in such substantial matters as the conflict with the Teutonic Order. The brothers, who used to act in concert, started to pursue separate politics in many spheres, especially in the case of Moldavia, Prussia and the relations with Austria⁶⁴. The purpose of the marriage of Sigismund I and Barbara Zapolya was to challenge the domination of the pro-Habsburg faction and to open the sphere of influence on the internal politics of Hungary.

The appearance of Władysław II in Wroclaw in the spring of 1511 initiated the talks on the marriage. Sigismund, who was unwilling to meet his brother in person, sent Piotr Tomicki with a mission. Being a secretary experienced in Hungarian missions, Tomicki arrived in Wroclaw on 25 March. The Hungarian historian Engel János Keresztély presented a detailed account of the activities undertaken by Tomicki for the first time in 1813. Tomicki took advantage of the fact that there were no allies of the Habsburgs present at the time, especially the Bishop Szatmari, and suggested Jagiellon in a private conversation that King Sigismund would like to marry a suitable woman from Hungary so as to form closer relations between the countries. The legate asked Władysław on behalf of his King for advice concerning the right choice. Michał Hanel was to be the second pillar of the scheming. Having been informed on all the details, Hanel's

⁶² K. Baczkowski, *Zjazd wiedeński 1515. Geneza, przebieg i znaczenie*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 71–83.

⁶³ S.A. Sroka, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–30.

⁶⁴ A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, *Biskup Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535). Kariera polityczna i kościelna*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 106–120.

task was to persuade King Władysław to point to Barbara Zapolya as the suitable candidate for the wife of the Polish King. The proposal could have been easily justified. Firstly, Barbara was the descendant of the Silesian Piasts and her uncle Kazimierz, the Prince of Cieszyn, had maintained friendly relations with the house of Jagiellons. Furthermore, Barbara's mother and brothers were part of the elite of the Hungarian magnates⁶⁵. There was also a more emotional reason for the marriage, namely, the mother-like attachment which the deceased Queen Anna had expressed for Barbara when she was her lady-in-waiting. All these motives were to ground Władysław's positive attitude with regard to the appropriateness of Barbara as the suitable candidate for marriage. The Polish party aimed at the situation when it would be the King of Hungary who would put forward the suggestion to his brother, which would result in, apart from depriving the pro-Habsburg party of their reasons, a mutual undertaking of the two brothers. The scheme was realized as Tomicki and Hanel had devised it and thus King Władysław II sent his legation to Krakow to persuade the Polish King to marry Barbara⁶⁶.

The analysis presented by the Hungarian researcher was not challenged by other scholars who acknowledge the provided interpretation of events to be the most feasible⁶⁷. It appears that K. Baczkowski was the only historian among the others who analysed the issue thoroughly and he approved of the only after having contrasted the activity of Tomicki with the confidential talks between Sigismund and the Zapolyas – at some point their occurring was unknown to numerous researchers⁶⁸. The outcome of Tomicki's and Hanel's activities was the legation sent to Krakow in October. Bernard Wapowski in his chronicles depicted the events as follows, 'King Sigismund wasted the whole summer and part of autumn as he spent it in Brześć by the Bug River fearing the incursion of the Turkish Khan. He returned to Krakow on the last but one day of October where he hosted the legates of King Władysław: Kazimierz, the Cieszyn Prince, and Hanel, the Provost of Budzyń, who after protracted negotiations over the conditions of the marriage of King Sigismund, promised the King the hand of Barbara, the daughter of the deceased Stefan, the *Župan* of Szepes, the maiden of impeccable beauty'⁶⁹. Ludwik Decjusz in his work

⁶⁵ S.A. Sroka, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–25.

⁶⁶ J.C. Engel, *Geschichtedes Ungarischen Reichs*, vol. 3, Wien 1813, pp. 151–152.

⁶⁷ M. Duczmal, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁶⁸ K. Baczkowski, *Zjazd*, pp. 83–85.

⁶⁹ 'Sigismundus Rex posteaquam in Breste ad Bugum amnem Caesaris Tauricani obsides expectando, aestatem totam et magnam autumnum partem absempsisset, penultima Octobris Cracoviam rediit, quod ad eum a Vladislao Ungariae rege eodemque fratre legati

titled *De Sigismundi Regis temporibus liber*, written about a decade after the actual events took place, included a similar description⁷⁰.

It seems the chroniclers presented the account of the events faithfully. It is the fact that Michał Hanel and Kazimierz, the Prince of Cieszyn, arrived in Krakow at the end of October. The aim of the confidential legation was to persuade King Sigismund to marry Barbara. However, the decision itself had been taken earlier and the legates were to negotiate the conditions of the marriage articles, the determination of the dowry and rules and rights applicable to the succession. The family of the fiancé including Jadwiga, the Cieszyn Princess, Jan Zapolya, Transylvania Governor, and Jerzy, the *Župan* of Szepes, were represented by Kazimierz, the Prince of Cieszyn while Michał Hanel acted on behalf of King Władysław and his task was to acknowledge the concluded contract. The dowry of Barbara was determined at the amount of 100 thousand florins. In return for the marriage settlement she relinquished her rights to the family estate for the benefit of her brothers and she renounced any future rights to the Hungarian throne. The final marriage articles were accepted on 2 December 1511 in Krakow⁷¹.

After the conclusion of the agreement and the signing of the marriage articles, the legation ceased to be of confidential character. In order to hinder any attempts to counteract the undertakings of Sigismund and the Zapolyas, the King dispatched the letters informing Polish magnates as well as to George Szatmari, the ally of the Habsburgs on the whole arrangement. In his letter to the bishop of Five Churches, the King justified his actions on the grounds of the unity of the Hungarian nation and his positive emotions towards the Kingdom of his brother. He furthermore ensured the recipient that Michał Hanel, who was to return to Buda, would present a detailed account of the events⁷². Hence, for the arch presbyter the matter was still in progress. The complicated task that awaited him was to show the whole affair in as favourable light as possible both to the allies of the Habsburgs and to the King himself. The situation was considered complex as King Władysław, having been coerced by the allies of Szatmari, sent letters to his brother to persuade him to change his decision.

venere, Casimirus Tesinensis Duc, et Michael Hanel, Parachus Budensis, qui post multos huius tractatus super connubio Sigismundi Regis habitos, Barbaram spectatissimae formae virginem, Stephani olim Scepusiensis Comitibus filiam, et in matrymonium desponderunt'. *Kroniki Bernarda Wapowskiego z Radochonic (1480–1535)*, ed. D.J. Szujski, Kraków 1874, pp. 105–106.

⁷⁰ *Decius Jodocus Ludovicus, De Sigismundi Regis temporibus liber, 1521*, ed. W. Czermak, *Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich*, no. 39, Kraków 1901, pp. 49–51.

⁷¹ AGAD, MKKW, ref. no. MK 25, p. 84; ref. no. MK 26, p. 63.

⁷² AT, vol. 2, no. II, pp. 3–4.

However, the matrimonial undertakings of Sigismund I were not influenced by the appeals. On 5 December 1511, the King presented the issue of the marriage to the Senate and indicated multiple benefits it would bring to the Kingdom of Poland and he sent the official legation to Trenczyn. The legates of the King succeeded in their mission and they arrived in Łobzowo, where the King was waiting for his fiancée, as early as 6 February accompanied with a sumptuous entourage. The ceremonial nuptials and the coronation were held on 8 February 1512 in Krakow to successfully conclude the mutual diplomatic undertaking⁷³. The necessity of the marriage and the true reasons of Sigismund I were the subject of the letter of 6 April 1512 he drafted to his brother through Piotr Tomicki in which he stated that he had acted with the view to strengthen the position of Władysław in Hungary and to renew cooperation between the two Kingdoms. Sigismund also mentioned the significant role of Hanel in the whole enterprise and he recommended him to his brother⁷⁴.

During the negotiations of the marriage of Sigismund I, Hanel was granted the second church benefice. Apart from the office of the Arch presbyter of the Church of Our Lady in Buda (called Matthias Church today), he obtained the provostry of St. Stephen in Esztergom. Therefore, he joined the church chapter as the prelate. According to Ferenca Kollányi, Hanel assumed the office in the year 1512⁷⁵. However, the source material I am acquainted with allows me to determine the exact date of the event, which instead occurred in fall at the end of the year 1511⁷⁶. The cathedral in Esztergom, which was the seat of the archbishop and the primate of the Hungary, must have been the promotion prospect among the local church hierarchy. Being the Prelate of the church chapter, Hanel enjoyed the possibility to influence the activity of the archdiocese. It seems, however, that he treated both benefices as the means of financial support rather than the promotion prospects within the church hierarchy. His engagement in spiritual matters still remains an open research issue.

Hanel's activity did not limit itself to finalizing marriage articles of Barbara and Sigismund. He had been involved in another marriage scheme, that of Elżbieta Jagiellon. The youngest daughter of King Kazimierz had been the object of diplomatic exertions and endeavours which were to result in a favourable marriage for the dynasty. The changing list of candidates to the hand of Elżbieta allows for the analysis of the alterations

⁷³ *Decius*, pp. 49–51.

⁷⁴ AT, vol. 2, no. XLV, p. 56.

⁷⁵ F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900*, Esztergom 1900, p. 128.

⁷⁶ AT, vol. 2, p. 4.

in the political objectives of the Jagiellons. The most significant candidates included the Hohenzollerns, Bogdan, the Hospodar of Moldavia, German princes, and the Emperor Maximilian Habsburg in 1510. The possibility for such an important marriage agreement opened up when the wife of Habsburg, Bianca Maria Sforza, died in December 1510. The Emperor's legates, hosted at the court in Buda in autumn the following year, discussed the possible marriage among other subjects⁷⁷.

The information on the plan to connect the house of the Jagiellons with the Zapolyas triggered an immediate reaction on the part of Maximilian, who sent his legate, Jan Cuspinian, to Krakow at the end of 1511. The legate was supposedly to offer the marriage between the Emperor and Elzbieta on condition that Sigismund married a candidate named by the Emperor. However, the Polish-Hungarian project was so advanced that Sigismund could not have agreed to the proposal. The refusal decidedly precluded the possibility of marriage of Elzbieta and Maximilian. Nonetheless, the attempts to carry out the plan were undertaken in autumn of 1512. At that time Władysław II sent to the Holy Roman Emperor his envoy Jan of Międzyrzecz (Joannes de Meseritz). After his return, Michał Hanel was sent to Krakow in October 1512 to give a report on Jan of Międzyrzecz's mission to the Polish monarch. What seems interesting is the fact that Hanel did not conduct an official mission, his legations were ordinarily of confidential character. Thus the nature of his activity also applied to the time when he passed on the information concerning the possible marriage of Elzbieta and Maximilian between the brothers since he was being advised on 'the most secretive things'⁷⁸.

Despite the influence from the side of diplomacy, the marriage of Elzbieta and Maximilian did not come to fruition and the prospect of giving away the King's sister faded away yet another time. Another such opportunity appeared at the assembly of Jagiellons in Pressburg. Taking advantage of good relations with the Jagiellons, Prince Frederick of Legnica, the friend of Władysław and Sigismund, an ally in matters concerning Silesia, succeeded in receiving approval of his attempt to marry Elzbieta⁷⁹. The royal brothers had taken the decision to finalize the matter, especially that Elzbieta herself claimed in her letter to Zygmunt that 'perceiving God's and her brothers' will in the marriage, she agrees to it'. The wedding ceremony was held in November 1515 in Wrocław⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ M. Duczmal, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–190.

⁷⁸ AT, vol. 2, no. CXXX, p. 132.

⁷⁹ W. Pociecha, *Fryderyk II*, in: PSB, vol. 7, Kraków 1948–1958, p. 161.

⁸⁰ Z. Wdowiszewski, *Elżbieta Jagiellonka*, in: PSB, vol. 7, Kraków 1948–1958, pp. 264–265.

The complex relations with the Habsburgs and internal parties in the Kingdoms of Jagiellons required the participation of numerous legates and diplomats. Janusz Pajewski provided the description of their activities conducted in the years 1516–1526 in his work from 1930⁸¹. However, the years preceding the well-analysed Congress of Vienna of 1515 seem particularly engaging. It was the time of the increased activity of legates between Buda and Krakow resulting from the peasants' uprising occurring in Hungary and subsequential changes to the political attitude of some of the officials of high rank in the Kingdom. The outstanding victory of Konstanty Ostrogski over the Muscovites at Orsza in September 1514 which resulted in the breakoff of the anti-Polish alliance of the Emperor Maximilian, the Prince of Moscow Wasyl III and the Grand Master Albrecht Hohenzollern and was followed by the initiation of the international campaign aimed at accusing Vienna of supporting schismatics from the east, which worked against the catholic Poland, culminated in changing the extreme politics of the Habsburgs towards the Kingdom of Poland. The emperor also lost his allies at the court of Władysław II. George Szatmari, disgruntled with his unfulfilled hopes for church promotion in the Habsburgs states, ceased to conduct his hitherto activity for the benefit of Austria. The successful campaign of Jan Zapolya against mutinous Hungarian peasants earned him the increase in the support for his family and political party. Sigismund undertook some moves to rebuild the Jagiellonian unanimity by dispatching the legations to Buda which were openly contradicting the Habsburgs and their allies at the court of Władysław. Moreover, he sent letters from Vilnius to his supporters in Hungary to ask them to convince the King in favour of the Polish reasons of State⁸². Michał Hanel was among the recipients of Sigismund's letters which included information on current affairs conducted in Rome and the request to continue the activity undertaken by the Castellan Krzysztof Szydłowiecki at the court in Buda. Sigismund requested Hanel to pass the letters on to the Primate of Hungary and to the Bishop Szatmari⁸³.

The anti-Habsburg politics of Sigismund and his legates as well as numerous Hungarian noblemen resulted in a considerable reluctance to the envisaged meeting of the Habsburgs and the Jagiellons, especially that the

⁸¹ J. Pajewski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie i niebezpieczeństwo tureckie w latach 1516–1526*, Warszawa 1930 *passim*.

⁸² The Hungarian recipients of the letters by Sigismund I written in the late autumn in Wilno included Tamás Bakócz, the Primate of Hungary, Władysław II, Jerzy Szátmari, the Bishop of five churches and the Chancellor of Hungary, and Michał Hanel, AT, vol. 3, no(s). CCLXXIV–CCLXXVII, pp. 223–226.

⁸³ AT, vol. 3, no. CCXXVII, pp. 225–226.

negotiations were to concern the future of Hungary mainly. The original venue of the consultation was to be Pressburg (the present Bratislava). The informal capital city of the upper Hungary was located in the close vicinity of Vienna and as such was dominated by the magnates supporting the Emperor. The court of Władysław, with the view to strengthen his position during the negotiations with the Habsburgs, suggested that the meeting occurred in Buda where the allies of Maximilian were decidedly weaker. To achieve this aim, King Sigismund I should have been persuaded to support the idea and Michał Hanel was charged with the task to travel to Krakow in May 1515. His legation was confidential character as both parties were apprehensive of the possible revelation of the planned undertaking at Vienna court⁸⁴. Apart from passing on secret information between Buda and Krakow, Hanel's involvement in Vienna events of 1515 cannot be confirmed in the source material. Being a personal physician of King Władysław II, Hanel could have participated in the meeting of the kings, however, he could not have played the role of a diplomat as there is no mention of it in the source material, which is substantial and in detail shows the course of the reunion⁸⁵.

However, Hanel's involvement in the matters concerning the Jagiellons remained unimpaired. Promotion awarded to the doctor from Lviv based on the trust of the Jagiellons proves it. He remained unexposed and he performed confidential missions, however, it is impossible to determine the salary Hanel received for his service, apart from the abovementioned church benefices. It seems surprising that while being a trusted servant of King Sigismund I, he did not hold any church offices in the Kingdom of Poland or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to which he was entitled as the ennobled burgher. Hence it seems obscure as to why he vied with his old-time ally Piotr Tomicki for the office of the Bishop of Przemyśl.

Forwarding Hanel as the potential candidate for the office of the Bishop vacated by Maciej Drzewicki was attributed to Jan Zapolya or Princess Jadwiga, the mother of Queen Barbara⁸⁶. Simultaneously, Piotr Tomicki, a distinguished diplomat, the Royal Secretary, the Canon and Prelate of several church chapters, applied for the vacancy. Having compared the two candidates, one may draw a clear conclusion that – Michał Hanel was – used for political strives. What is even more interesting, in this case the competition

⁸⁴ AT, vol. 3, no. CDLXIX, p. 340.

⁸⁵ K. Baczkowski, *Zjazd*, pp. 243–250.

⁸⁶ Wincenty Przerębski, the Bishop of Włocławek died on 20 Septemeber 1513. As it was customary, the death of a church or lay official of high rank initiated a series of promotions and reshuffling within the hierarchy. Maciej Drzewicki, the Grand Royal Chancellor and Przemyśl Bishop, was promoted to the vacant Bishop See In Włocławek on 11 October and thus vacated the Bishop See of Przemyśl.

regarded the political parties in Hungary. Tomicki took advantage of the long-standing rapport with the local high officials, and through the mediation of Krakow Bishop, Jan Konarski, obtained letters to King Sigismund recommending him for the office of the Bishop See of Przemyśl and the office of the Royal Vice-Chancellor which had become vacant, as Maciej Drzewiecki returned Krzysztof Szydłowiecki the bigger seal. The royal secretary was supported by both King Władysław II himself⁸⁷ and George Szatmari, who was an ally of the Habsburgs at the time. The available source material fails to give unambiguous answer to the question concerning the reasons and circumstances of juxtaposing the candidacy of Michał Hanel with Tomicki's. It may be assumed that the Zapolyas grew anxious about the relation between Tomicki and Szatmari and thus counteracted the extended influence of Habsburg's allies in the Polish Senate. I believe Anna Odrzywolska-Kidawa, who described the events, failed to put forward a fundamental question concerning the reasons why Tomicki did not seek the support of the 'national party'. It seems a fundamental issue as Tomicki's prior activities do not provide any evidence to position him as the ally of the Habsburgs. Furthermore, his protégé and close relative Andrzej Krzycki held the office of the secretary of Queen Barbara⁸⁸.

It may have happened that the pro-Habsburg party, which was still in the position of power in Buda, attempted to gain Tomicki's support for their politics. If so, the candidacy of Michał Hanel would be the counterweight for the German influence. The inner details of the strife of the two candidates were described in the letter by Andrzej Krzycki to his uncle where he commented on King Władysław's indecisiveness concerning the matter, and on the pressure the Zapolyas and Cieszyn Prince Kazimierz and especially Queen Barbara exerted on King Sigismund I. He even envisaged the alliance of numerous magnates in order to block the candidacy of Tomicki. However, Tomicki enjoyed the support of influential friends in the Kingdom of Poland itself as he was supported by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, a friend of the King, and Krakow Bishop Jan Konarski. Krzycki's letter provides the information that the King also favoured the candidate, however, due to Zapolya's letter and Queen Barbara's attitude, he did not make the final decision yet⁸⁹. It seems odd that both candidates strove to be nominated for the office of the bishop while being in Hungary and they both acted through multiple intermediaries. Tomicki's willingness to obtain the office of the bishop

⁸⁷ A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 125–140.

⁸⁹ AT, vol. 2, no. CCCLXX, pp. 271–273.

was notable in contrast to the attitude of Hanel, who seemed passive. Finally, the office of the bishop of Przemyśl and that of the vice-chancellor were granted to Tomicki. It may be assumed that the outcome did not produce any animosities between Hanel and the court of Sigismund as Hanel continued to pursue his diplomatic missions to Krakow.

Post factum, though, after a relatively short period of time, Stanisław Górski, the compiler of the collection of acts by Tomicki, claimed that 'Michał Hanel, Budzyń Arch presbyter and Esztrgom Provost, the doctor of King Władysław attempted to obtain the office of Przemyśl Bishop See from King Sigismund acting through intermediary of Transylvania Governor Jan from Trenczyn and Queen Barbara, however, the King denied his application as he could not have granted Hanel the office King Władysław earlier asked for on behalf of Tomicki and furthermore, it was impossible to dismiss the personal doctor of King Władysław'⁹⁰.

It appears that Hanel enjoyed the most significant importance at the Hungarian court while being a royal doctor. Despite the lack of unambiguous premises, it may be presupposed that was the reason for the career path of Bolognese doctor. It seems proved by the fact that Michał Hanel disappeared from the source material after the death of King Władysław in 1516. The only entry displaying his diplomatic activity originates from the year 1518 when King Sigismund through his legation to the General Sejm of the Kingdom of Hungary presented the letters recommending Michal Hanel to Hungarian officials⁹¹. Such enigmatic mention of the name of Michał from Lviv does not allow for arriving at any definite conclusion concerning the circumstances when he would need the protection of Hungarian noblemen. It is supposed that Michał Hanel died soon after the events. The entry placed on the plaque commemorating the provosts of Esztrgom which used to be on display in the church provided such presupposition. Michal Hanel was listed there in 1519 for the last time⁹². The same assumption about the death of Hanel was made by Ferenc Kollányi who indicated the period of Hanel's term in office as the member of the church chapter to be the years 1512–1519⁹³.

⁹⁰ 'Michael Havell, Budensis archipresbyter et prepositus Strigoniensis, medicus regis Vladislai, perivit a Sigismundo, Rege, er per suas literas et per intercessiones Joannis, palatyni Transilvanie de Threnczin, et regie Barbare episcopatum Premisliensem; sed rex recusavit, se non posse ei jam dare, cum rex Vladislaus iam prius pro Tomicio petiverit et quod non licebar medio eb egroto rege Vladislao discedere etc.'. AT, vol. 2, p. 270.

⁹¹ AT, vol. 4, no. CCCXXIII, p. 263.

⁹² *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio*, ed. J. Nep. Máthes, Strigonii 1827, pp. 23–24.

⁹³ F. Kollányi, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

The person of Michał Hanel, ennobled citizen of Lviv, the doctor of medicine of the University of Bologna, the court doctor of the king of Bohemia and Hungary Władysław II Jagiellon, the Arch presbyter of the church of Our Lady in Buda and the Provost of the Church of St. Stephen in Esztergom certainly deserves the permanent entry in historiography. His surprising career does not only picture the close relations between the Kingdoms of the Jagiellons but also the mentality of the people living at the turn of the 15th and the 16th centuries who were capable of acting across the social strata. Hopefully, future thorough research will uncover more source material and will provide answers to numerous research questions to complete the biography of Hanel and of those surrounding him.

(translated by Magdalena Kardys)

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STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł jest próbą prezentacji postaci i awansu społecznego Michała Hanela, nobilitowanego obywatela Lwowa, doktora medycyny Uniwersytetu Bolońskiego, nadwornego lekarza króla Czech i Węgier Władysława II Jagiellończyka, a także archiprezbitera kościoła NMP w Budzie i prepozyta kościoła św. Stefana w Ostrzyhomiu.

Kariera Michała Hanela w strukturach dworskich i hierarchii kościelnej jest przykładem silnych związków między królestwami Polski, Czech i Węgier pod panowaniem dynastii Jagiellonów oraz możliwych ścieżek awansu społecznego i majątkowego na przełomie XV i XVI w. Działając ponad granicami królestw brał czynny udział w polityce dynastycznej Jagiellonów. Jako poseł i dyplomata uczestniczył w kreowaniu królewskich mariaży oraz przekazywał poufne informacje między dworami w Budzie i Krakowie. Pełniąc wieloletnią funkcję osobistego lekarza i spowiednika króla Władysława II Jagiellończyka stał się postacią o niemałym znaczeniu dla bieżącej polityki Królestwa Węgier oraz relacji polsko-węgierskich w pierwszych dekadach XVI w.

Celem prezentowanego artykułu jest odtworzenie na podstawie rozproszonych i niejednoznacznych źródeł drogi awansu Michała Hanela, a następnie porównanie jej z rozpoznanymi już w historiografii przykładami awansu międzystanowego i przedstawienie wypracowanych wniosków w postaci dość powszechnego ‘studium przypadku’. Równorzędnym celem moich rozważań jest także dyskusja z popularnymi tezami dotyczącymi hermetycznego podziału stanowego w Europie Jagiellonów.

Słowa kluczowe: Hanel, Lwów, Bolonia, dyplomacja, Jagiellonowie, Władysław II, Zygmunt I, Zapolya, Węgry, Buda, medycyna, Ostrzyhom

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