

„Inter arma silent musae” – Muses are silent in war, meaning the continuous wars of the 16-17th centuries did not favour education, the blooming of culture – is it really the case? The book, searching for possible answers, examines the literacy of the country’s decision-makers, and gives the answer, highlighting that members of the aristocratic families – the Istvánffys, the Zrínyis, the Bánffys, the Nádasdys, the Esterházys and others – have acquired similar education to contemporary European nobility. Being literate helped them take responsibility for the support of churches operating on their holdings, establish schools, printing houses, libraries, and offer examples of civilized life, cultural tastes and entertainment in their courtyards. They made decisions with history and politics in mind, encouraging the reunification of the country (the Hungarian Kingdom), looking for a potential ally. Because even back then they couldn’t do it alone.

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István Monok | The Cultural Horizon of Aristocrats in the Hungarian Kingdom

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The Cultural Horizon of Aristocrats in the Hungarian Kingdom

Their Libraries and Erudition
in the 16th and 17th Centuries

Verflechtungen und Interferenzen
Studien zu den Literaturen und Kulturen im zentraleuropäischen Raum

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Verflechtungen und Interferenzen. Studien zu den Literaturen und Kulturen im zentraleuropäischen Raum

Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Müller-Funk und Andrea Seidler

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Der zentraleuropäische Raum, der insbesondere die Länder auf dem einstigen Territorium der Habsburger Monarchie umfasst, ist bis heute durch Kleinteiligkeit und enge Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den jeweiligen Literaturen und Kulturen geprägt. Insbesondere in seiner kulturgeschichtlichen Tiefendimension überschreitet er die Homogenität nationaler Räume. Bis heute sind in vielen literarischen und filmischen Werken der ungarischen, österreichischen, post-jugoslawischen, tschechischen und slowakischen, der rumänischen, ukrainischen und polnischen Literatur Spuren von Heterogenität und Plurikulturalität auffindbar.

Die Begriffe „Verflechtungen“ und „Interferenzen“ beschreiben grenzüberschreitende Überlappungen und Bezüge zwischen den verschiedenen Literaturen dieses Raumes, und zwar in einem doppelten Sinn: Zum einen übersteigen viele historische und gegenwärtige Werke den engen nationalen Bezugsrahmen, zum anderen aber sind die in der Reihe geplanten Studien in ihrer methodischen Ausrichtung selbst grenzüberschreitend, transnational und zuweilen auch transdisziplinär orientiert. Die Reihe dokumentiert hungarologische Forschungen an der Universität Wien, aber auch Forschungen jener Netzwerke, die sich grenzüberschreitend und komparatistisch mit den Literaturen eines von Konvergenz und Konflikt geprägten symbolischen Raumes beschäftigen.

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The Cultural Horizon of Aristocrats in the Hungarian Kingdom

Their Libraries and Erudition
in the 16th and 17th Centuries

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Preface

„Parler de livres et non de textes”¹
(„Talking about books and not the text”) – this is book history

In most studies in the history of our country one does not know what the term “Hungarian” means in the title. In this case one must interpret it in the context of Early Modern Hungarian history. “Hungary” here means the Hungarian Kingdom although with the Istvánffy and the Mikulich Libraries we have entered Varasd County in the Croatian Kingdom. The Croatian Kingdom, however, belonged to the Hungarian Crown while keeping its political autonomy as part of the pact. The present study, on the other hand, will not touch upon the aristocratic libraries of the Principality of Transylvania and no documents are known concerning aristocratic libraries in the *Partium Regni Hungariae* from the period in question.

When deciding on the structure of the present study I had the idea to divide it into three parts, one would have been on “Croatia”, another one would have focused on “Western Hungary” while the third one would have been devoted to “Upper Hungary”. I decided to drop this structure but would like to mention this possible grouping here in the preface.

In general, I strongly disagree when Hungarian researchers leave out, from historical research, the area, which today belongs to Croatia. Regions which now are situated in Slovakia or Romania but were formerly Hungarian such as *Partium*, Transylvania or the Temes region cannot be disregarded. It is, however, questionable whether Dalmatian magnates should be included in this study since Dalmatian aristocrats lived in a fundamentally different cultural and educational context. On the other hand, the education, religious practices and readings of the nobility in Slavonia as well as Varasd and Zagreb Counties did not differ from those of the Catholic nobility in the Western part of the Hungarian Kingdom.² In the early modern period the nobles in Slavonia and Varasd and Zagreb Counties were, in general, bilingual (Croatian and Hungarian), knew Latin, the language of the parliaments (both Croatian and Hungarian). Many of them studied in Graz or Vienna, therefore speaking German was common among them. Due to the proximity to Venice, the bilingual (Croatian and Italian) nature of the Dalmatian nobility, the frequent commercial contacts and marriages speaking Italian was more than just sporadic. The Zrinyis of the 17th century represented a link between the Croatian and the Hungarian culture for their contemporaries and for researchers to-

day. They were recognized as authority figures and a bilingual noble circle formed in their households who spoke both Croatian and Hungarian and were interested in books.³ The same is true of the other magnates in the region, the Keglevich, the Both family, the Gyulays, the Frangepáns, the Erdődy family or the Draskovichs, etc. Most of them had lands and residences in Hungary and many of them also owned houses at the seaside.⁴

The question whether one could study the reading culture of the Hungarian and the Croatian nobility together stays purely theoretical due to the Ottoman conquest. No library is known from Slavonia from the early modern period although Croatian literature claims that a pasha from Buda may have taken to Valpó Castle (Valpovo) a part of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*.⁵ There are, however, a few known documents from Counties Varsasd and Zagreb based on which one can describe the education and culture of the nobility who lived in the region. It is not an exaggeration to say that researchers in cultural history studying noble families in Croatia are not spoilt by numerous sources. Some sporadic data, however, are telling. The Draskovich family library is such a case in the history of libraries in the region. Their name crops up several times but no one has found the 17th century catalogue of the family library yet. They must have had a rather important collection since they had ordered a printed *ex libris* around 1635⁶ when the title of Count was accorded to them. They inherited a part of Miklós Istvánffy's library and generous donations came also from several family members when they were promoted as church officials. The Gyulay family that rose to prominence in the 16th century and gained lands in Croatia must have possessed a similarly rich library. Their printed *ex libris* survived from the beginning of the 18th century only⁷ but knowing how rich they were and what family connections they had it is highly probable that they had a book collection. We can list all the noble families where one or two books survived from this period but let us concentrate on the ones where we have sufficient information to judge the type of erudition they possessed.

I have often asked myself the question whether talking about Western Hungary as such makes sense. Is there a phenomenon within the territory of the Counties Zala, Vas, Sopron, Moson, Győr, Veszprém, unoccupied by the Osman Turks, which distinguishes this region from Upper Hungary or *Partium* or Transylvania? Western Hungary does differ in its cultural setup from these two latter ones,⁸ but one should be able to make a clear distinction between Western Hungary and Upper Hungary or rather the area what is now the Western part of Slovakia. The University of Miskolc



Ex libris of the Gyulay Family, 18th century

held a conference on this issue where the differences were analysed from various aspects starting out with the names used in the early modern period until the 20th century.⁹

It was common that the majority of the population, especially Serbians, Croats and Hungarians, fled the invading Ottoman Turks and moved North.¹⁰ This is when the rich families of Szeged appeared in Nagyszombat, Pozsony, Kassa, or Nagyvárad and other towns and this is when a considerable number of Croatian villagers moved to the Counties of Zala, Vas, Sopron and Moson. Church officials, often titular bishops, had their residences in Nagyszombat or Pozsony while the parliamentary sessions were mainly held in Pozsony. In the second half of the 16th century large numbers of Protestants moved into the same area from the Habsburg patrimonial lands (*Habsburgische Erblände*) and later during the Thirty-Year War from Silesia, Bohemia, Württemberg, Palatinat, Bavaria or even Vienna (Hernals). Townsfolk went mainly to Sopron, Ruszt or Kőszeg while ministers stayed at the lands of the local Protestant land owning magnates.¹¹ The immigrants whose mother tongue was Czech, settled down in areas inhabited by Slovaks in the Counties of North Nyitra, Trencsén, Turóc, Árva, Liptó, Szepes, or Sáros while the Habans moved as far as Transylvania and settled down wherever the landowner aristocrat made provisions for them. Therefore, this area was very complex in terms of ethnic composition, language and religion. This, however, does not make

a sharp difference between Western and Upper Hungary. There are notable differences in the organization of their Protestant churches.¹² The Calvinist church did not spread in the Western part of Upper Hungary or in the Northern counties since the Hungarian population remained mainly Catholic while most of the Slovaks were Lutheran. In Western Hungary, due to the stance taken by the magnates who supported the churches, the separation from the Lutherans was a slower process.¹³ Prior to the Synod in Csepreg in 1591 this separation did not take place. Támás Balásfi addressed the faithful of both denominations in his book entitled *The School in Csepreg (Csepregi iskola)* written in 1616,¹⁴ which may refer to the fact that then the orientation of the school was not yet determined entirely. There is a clear difference though in the religious practices of the German population.¹⁵ In Upper Hungary Germans lived mainly in towns and formed Lutheran communities. Most of the Germans living in Western Hungary, on the other hand, inhabited villages while in towns, especially in Kőszeg, there was a characteristic assimilation process going on.¹⁶ The peasants of landed aristocracy living in Western Hungary as well as the different levels of nobles there were Germans, Hungarians or Croats¹⁷ while in the Northern counties these were Slovaks or Hungarian. The family relations of the nobility were not geographical in nature. One can see this by looking at the genealogical maps of aristocracy on the new website;¹⁸ every observation may be relevant for the families mentioned in this book since everyone was related to everyone.

Therefore, the area North of the Danube within the Hungarian Kingdom and the regions in the East North of the territories held by the Ottoman Turks do not yield clear-cut demarcation lines between different cultural regions.¹⁹ During the two centuries in question this classification may have differed from one period to the next. A considerable number of nobles and wealthy burgesses moved there to escape the Turks. Their cultural heritage and institutions enriched this region, which the Slovak government in its cultural policy has been promoting as *Memoria Slovaca* (and not *Memoria Slovaciae*).²⁰ This is not to say that we would like to adhere to the typology used by the Protestant, especially Calvinist church historians (where Catholic was equal to “labanc” (emperor related), Lutheran was identified with “German” while Calvinist meant “Hungarian”)²¹ but it is for sure that Hungarians were in majority in congregations West and North of Tisza (*Cistibiscan* diocese) and East of Tisza (*Transtibiscan* diocese – including *Partium*) while the Reformed Church of Transdanubia (*Transdanubian* diocese) was less present in the regions North of the Danube. The Northern counties were almost exclusively inhabited by Slovaks who

were either Lutheran or Catholic. The Calvinist Slovaks represented only a minuscule congregation while town dwellers were mainly Germans and Lutherans. The Hungarians and Slovaks along the line of Pozsony – Nagyszombat – Nyitra – Kassa remained mainly Catholic. It does not, however, mean that for a time there was not a strong Calvinist congregation in Nagyszombat or that Kassa itself was not Protestant.²² Aristocracy and the gentry following their example were diverse in its confessional nature, going through conversion at the middle of the 16th century and in the 1630s and 1650s. Let me refer here to the fact that magnates in this period took charge of churches, sponsored church and cultural institutions and schools. Looking at the genealogy of aristocratic families one can see that they were almost entirely interrelated.

One should mention here that unfortunately, documents which would allow us to detail the reading history of every aristocratic family did not survive. One example for this is the Erdődys de Monyorókerék. There are several publications mentioned in the Retrospective Hungarian National Bibliography, which came out thanks to the patronage of this family. We are also aware of the studies several of their members had but no inventory of their books is known. The Count Listi family is a similar example. We have managed to identify a few books by generations, which belonged to their book collection in Köpcsény.²³

We know of the library in the Regéc Castle where there was a separate library on the second floor.²⁴ Regéc became Menyhért Alaghy's († 1630) possession in 1611 after the death of Ferenc Mágocsy. Alaghy had his residence in the castle until his death and his widow, Anna Erdődy stayed there until 1633. We do not know who had installed the library, we do not have its inventory of books, but it did exist. We also know that the Drugeth family had important book collections since a few books survived with their *supralibros* and hand-written possessor marks but not enough to be able to characterize the library or even to identify similarities with the book collections of other families. The Gvadányis received the title of a Polish Count in 1686, at the end of the period studied here and a year later the title was naturalized in Hungary. To mark their rise in prestige they had an *ex libris* printed.²⁵ This means that they had a library we do not know anything about. The Ghillányis, who were awarded the Baron title in 1688, were a similar case.²⁶ We are far from satisfied with the available sources with families where there are only very short inventories such as the Czobors or the Forgách family. In some cases, we have some data about a book collection of one of the branches of the family only like the Balassi collection (1739), which is, for the present study, also from a

rather late generation. The tableau depicted above of the libraries of the aristocracy of this period is, therefore, fragmented. However, the general impression we get of book history in this epoch is rather characteristic.

The present study is a kind of summary of the thirty-year long research at the Old Hungarian Department of the Humanities Faculty of the József Attila University of Szeged, led by Bálint Keserű, during which all the available sources were explored and published. These decades brought us close to the establishment of a *Corpus catalogorum inventariorumque librorum* in the Hungarian Kingdom in the early modern period.²⁷ A lot of sacrifices have been made so that this basic research in humanities could be completed. We made do without recording all the relevant information as far as cultural history goes of the inventories we held in our hands, which is also the biggest shortfall of our project. True, we looked for an expert if we found an inventory of musical instruments, paintings or jewellery. Other researchers, on their turn, approached us when they found a new inventory of books. But when we recorded the tiniest data in book history we disregarded other equally vital details in art, music, architecture or cultural history and heritage in general, therefore we have only memories of the larger context of these books. We did not study material culture in its entirety but were only interested in the existence of books. Due to the number of archival documents studied we would need 60 more years so that we have a fuller picture based on the documents. The situation is, however, far from hopeless since other researchers have studied court culture as well. Interdisciplinary work is easier in a team the best example of which is the journal *Századok*, which dedicated an entire issue to the Nádasdy family.²⁸ In the present study let me focus on libraries and books (reading material I hope) while everything else is but a comment or a complementary element.

No matter how easy it seems to decide who is an aristocrat it was anything but simple in Hungary in the early modern period. We are far from having databases where we could search which member of which family was an aristocrat, or where a branch of this or that family had their main residence during which period. Often one cannot decide where the books were held because the heading of the inventory is missing. Literature and legal practice often differ in their judgements as to who was an aristocrat and who wasn't. I myself accept the data provided by the team of historians headed by Katalin Péter which have been posted on the <http://archivum.piar.hu/arisztochrata/> website. The other useful portal (<http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/hungary.html>) was based on the finding of Iván Nagy of

the 19th century where literary tradition was also mixed in, therefore its data needs checking. Strange situations occur regarding which family is aristocratic. It looks easy, there are barons and counts and a few princes as well as other officials but most of these titles were not hereditary, therefore one must be careful which generation or which branch of the family can be considered aristocratic and to what extent. Literature calls Palatine István Illésházy a count although he was never awarded the title (at least he was an aristocrat). At the end of the 17th century it was an important factor when titles were accorded whether the person in question was a Catholic or not. The best example for this is the Szirmay family since István who reconverted to Catholicism became a count while the Lutheran Miklós and András were not elevated to the aristocrats' level. From the point of book history this is noteworthy since we can describe the family accurately when we are discussing the education and culture of the gentry. Pál Ráday, the chancellor of Ferenc Rákóczi II never became an aristocrat although everyone would think he was.

I must note here that I have not worked on genealogy. Beside the webpages mentioned above I used Iván Nagy's classical book²⁹ as well as the monographies written at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries about aristocratic families.

It is also confusing when describing the book culture of a family when the books are known of only those members of the family who became high clergy. In the present study we are not concerned in detail with the erudition of the aristocrats who were church officials although they are mentioned. We have different problems with this in each period. The library of Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom, was not inherited by the church. Therefore, his heirs if they had been aristocrats would be mentioned in this summary. On the other hand, the book collection of Ferenc Forgách was not inherited by his family so the data concerning his library should belong to the study of the libraries of high clergy. The library inventory of Baron György Majthényi, lists the books he inherited from László Majthényi, Bishop of Szerém, Provost of Eger and Ság who resigned from these posts at the end of his life. His book collection should, no doubt be included in both the study of aristocracy and the one on high clergy.

Apart from the book inventories, considerable data could come from the hand-written notes and dedications in the surviving books. Dedications in general referred to the patronage of a family or a person but it is likely that the patron who financed the publication of the book received at least one copy; therefore it was potential reading material for him. These two groups of data will not be considered in detail here and we shall not discuss every book of each family, but we will refer to the nature and extent of patronage and to the quantity of the books and their contents. Due to the nature of in-

ternational book history research, the picture one could gain from possessor notes in books for the books owned by a family is different from one period to the other. The incunabula available today and the books published in the 16th century can be considered as relatively well researched.³⁰ This means that most of these books have been in the hands of researchers, their description is complete and include their provenience as well. Similar description of books that came out in the 17th century was, however, sporadic.³¹ The nature and the size of patronage in book history can be traced well based on the dedications of printed books. The volumes of the Retrospective Hungarian National Bibliography (RMK, RMNy) record this while RMNy also presents the history of each publication.³² A study focusing on book dedications was written by Pál Gulyás during World War II but all books in cultural history consider dedications as their source of data.³³

In this study I refer to the handbooks of book history on rare occasions only when they have a special meaning for our topic. It does not mean disrespect for the authorities of Béla Ivanyi,³⁴ Pál Gulyás's,³⁵ Máté Kovács,³⁶ Jenő Berlász,³⁷ Csaba Csapodi,³⁸ Gábor Kelecsényi,³⁹ Edit Madas⁴⁰ but this study is overloaded with notes already. I also do not refer to the publications of data, which came out in the Data Collection Series in Szeged. In the volumes from 11 to 20 (all in all 25 volumes) all inventory like sources were published. We shall make an exception only when a commentary on the contents of the inventory was also included in the section in question.

Court and Book Culture in Noble Households in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries – Avenues for Interpretation

Nobility in Hungary in the early modern age evoke in many people the stereotype of backwardness and lack of education. In Western countries this is due to the picture Hungarians have had since the Hungarian Conquest but especially since the genre of table of nations (*Völkertafel*) appeared.⁴¹ The general impression of the fierce and cruel fighters who gorge on food and drink has not changed much since then even if Hungary took up Christianity, formed similar church institutions to those of Western Europe, organized its state and by the end of the 15th century grew to be a major player in European politics. The 16th and 17th centuries not only worked against the power position of the country leaving only a subordinate position open but left minimal financial resources available for the operation of its state, church and cultural institutions. What is more, the country became military campaign grounds several times during this period that physically destroyed these institutions which, fault of unified central power, were re-built by local church or secular leaders who gave them different substance and changing religious faith.⁴²

Not only Westerners have had a negative opinion of the erudition of the aristocracy and their entourage. Hungarian literature also created a dual picture. If someone is studying illiteracy or lack of schooling they find abundant evidence for the backward nature of Hungary.⁴³ These papers describe Hungary without any comparative context although in a comparative analysis there may not just be negative facts dominating the scene. The other approach is reading culture, studying libraries and the history of schools where researchers can see the positive aspects of phenomena. Comparative analyses are more common in this field but setting aside Western European facts, Hungary is again in a more backward position.⁴⁴ In the present study we aim at including both sides, illiteracy and erudition although the intention is to present erudition and its contents.

In general, let me draw attention to *two basic phenomena*. One is the state of the income of nobility in Hungary and Transylvania and in connection with this the strata they formed. Landowners in Transylvania were in a disadvantageous situation due to their geographical position which determined their economical and agricultural capabilities. Besides, the fertile valleys of the rivers leading into Seklerland, Királyföld (*Fundus Regius* or *Königsboden*), or Transylvania were more often hit by raiders than the

regions in Western or Upper Hungary. The social structure of the Seklers were fundamentally different from that of the population in Hungary and they were in general poorer. An average Sekler cannot be considered gentry financially or from the point of reading culture of library history.⁴⁵ One should not oversimplify the picture though. The majority of the chancellors in Transylvania in the 16th century were erudite although in the 17th century the number graduating from a university abroad diminished both among them and among their councillors.⁴⁶ The financial situation therefore is not the only factor to be considered when studying erudition. The changed opportunities for schooling and the problems in the operation of the educational institutions – let us not forget about the destructions caused by the Fifteen-Year War (1591–1606) and the campaigns after 1658 had a fundamental effect on the education and culture of even aristocracy.

The other phenomenon which made a detrimental influence on the reading culture of nobility (and the whole society) in the period in question was the small scale of local paper⁴⁷ and book production⁴⁸ as well as the total lack of book trade.⁴⁹ This was not simply an acquisition problem for libraries. It meant that the erudition of aristocracy was entirely dependent on the taste of the households as well as the financial interest of the book sellers. At a conference in October, 2008 the art and cultural product market in Venice was analysed in a complex manner to see what changes in taste the book trade,⁵⁰ the collection of paintings and sculptures, theatre life and concerts showed in the early modern period. In other words the change in taste, and not the desire to satisfy contemporary art critics, altered creation itself.⁵¹ Hungary was very far from this. Even so if in the middle of the 17th century collection came into fashion and the thought to establish a museum surfaced. And the aristocrats of Western Hungary (especially the Nádasdys, and later the Batthyánys and the Esterházy family) employed not only the engineers, builders, painters, sculptors, musicians or etchers who happened to travel to the Carpathian Basin. The cultural image of their residences was planned. Household regulations changed in this direction.⁵² One cannot, however, state that the Nádasdy residence in Sárvár⁵³ or the Batthyány household in Németújvár⁵⁴ were like this in the 16th century. This was not a common phenomenon then in Western Europe either. But the residences of Ádám Batthyány (Németújvár, Szalónak) may well be.⁵⁵ Ferenc Nádasdy's centre in Pottendorff,⁵⁶ his cultural activities as well as Palatine Pál Esterházy and his entourage's were approaching this Western European model.⁵⁷ The Esterházy family managed to create the institutional framework

(gardens, a theatre, an opera, a treasury, a museum and a library) and court life equal to the European cultural centres in the second half of the 18th century.⁵⁸ We believe that the Nádasdys would have succeeded doing this earlier if the head of the family had not been sentenced to death in 1671 for conspiracy against the emperor and if his estates had not been confiscated which broke the family.

The structure of the household and the finances of its institutions were basically dependent on the wealth of the family. It is not by chance that the Nádasdys, their wealth united with those of the Kanizsais, managed to lead the creation of Hungarian cultural institutions in the 16th century⁵⁹ or the Pálffy family after marrying a Fugger or the Thurzó family or the Mikulich, the Istvánffys, and the Zrínyis in Croatia could follow their example. It was also very important which generation of a family resided in an aristocratic, ducal or royal court wealthier than his which would have set an example for him. Aristocrats living near Vienna had better opportunities than the aristocrats whose lands were in the Eastern part of the country. One should not, however, draw hasty conclusions for the households of the aristocrats in Transylvania (or aristocrats by tradition). A considerable part of the *peregrinatio academica* of aristocrats at the turn of the 16th and 17th century was made by the Kornis⁶⁰ and the Bethlens⁶¹ of Transylvania. On the other hand, it is also true that until the end of the 17th century only Hungarian examples are known for „cavaliers tours” (Ádám Batthyány and his sons (Kristóf and Pál),⁶² István Nádasdy,⁶³ or Zsigmond Széchenyi⁶⁴). Since Transylvania was not a part of the Habsburg Empire naturally fewer aristocrats from Transylvania visited or stayed at the royal courts. Let us remember, however, that sources for Transylvanian households until the middle of the 17th century are missing.⁶⁵ What we know is from oral sources. The dominance of the prince’s court and wealth was a drawback for the other aristocrats. On the other hand, the prince’s court set an example and offer a cultural program for them. When comparing the households of the aristocrats in Hungary and Transylvania one must bear in mind that the aristocrats and especially the Protestant aristocrats were forced to use more of their meager resources to finance the culture and education of their environment than the contemporary Hungarian aristocrats.⁶⁶ This remained often the case until the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century.⁶⁷

The first element of the insitutional system at a residence was to organize education within the household. They employed a praeceptor to teach the disciplines although the representative of the church the aristocrats supported (a priest, a minister, or a monk from a religious order)

may have taken charge of a part of the curriculum as well.⁶⁸ This does not mean that the family did not finance parochial schools since the villages left to themselves would not have been able to provide all the conditions for elementary education (especially not a building suitable for a school). The other elements of education were informal and practical such as teaching husbandry, management of the estate, taking part in political life on the local, regional and maybe national level (very rarely internationally), acquiring connections, military skills (organising and leading military troops), the customs of the nations (especially the Austrians, the German and the Ottoman Turks), table manners, personal hygiene, courtship and dancing, etc. The ladies of the household learnt similar skills in a different framework.⁶⁹ The next step of educating an aristocrat or a noble young man was to organize a study tour abroad.⁷⁰ A trip like that was a unique opportunity to acquire and select books. The question here is to what extent, from what sources and in what way did they use books for this.⁷¹ We cannot assume that the nobility in Hungary studied the theory how to educate nobles when they established the means to educate the next generation or the members of their entourage. We do not see in their inventories books by Jean-Antoine de Baïf, François de la Noue or Antoine de Pluviel which had a deep influence on the schools of nobles such as the *Académie d'équitation* in Anger, *Académie des exercices* of Sedan, or even Richelieu or the Jesuits when they founded the *Académie Royale de Paris* or the *Collège Royale à la Flèche*. The nobility in Hungary did not have a first hand knowledge of the schools for noble young men in Germany or Denmark. The first such schools such as the *Adelschule* in Heidelberg (1593), the *Collegium illustre* in Tübingen (1594), the *Mauritianum* in Kassel (1596), the *Ritterakademie* in Sorö (1623) were all based on the French educational theories. Jakob Rathgeb translated into German François de la Noue's books as well as Pierre de La Primaudaye's *Academia Gallica* (the favourite reading of Maurice I, the Learned, Elector of Hessen). Georg Engelhardt von Löhneysen's books (*Della Cavalleria* and *Aulico Politica*) written in German and published in innumerable editions were in fact compilations based on La Noue's concepts (Johann Casimir before founding the *Adelschule* in Heidelberg consulted La Noue in person several times). During the 17th century several *Ritterakademie* vagy *Kriegsakademie* were established in the German speaking territories.⁷² In Italy the educational material of riding schools were enlarged with knowledge they deemed necessary for nobility, although the first *Accademia Reale* which followed the French model in its curriculum was founded in Turin only in 1678. We should add here that apart from the Jesuits, the Benedictines also opened

schools for young noblemen in Ettal, Kremsmünster, Saar/Mähren while the Piarists had a similar school in Warsaw.

The nobility in Hungary did not encounter these ideas, at least they did not read the above mentioned books and authors. The knowledge they deemed important, however, were represented by the authors of moral philosophy or political theory. Let us not forget that Catarinus Dulcis led the first reform of the *Mauritianum* in Kassel around 1602 which later in 1618 became *Collegium Mauritianum Adelphinum*. Christoph Besold who was as popular in Hungary as Dulcis was an ardent supporter of the cooperation in mutual courses between the University of Tübingen and the school for the nobility. That is the idea of *res publica emendata* was known from readings in moral philosophy or political theory. Hungarian nobles could meet the idea of *educatio publica* in books like these which championed the idea that nobles should not be educated in separate schools and they should do their studies with the rest of intelligentsia in the same higher educational institutions. This is how they encountered the idea of *bibliotheca publica* and the understanding of its usefulness. These ideas were present in Seneca⁷³ or Petrarch's⁷⁴ writings as well as several other scholars. Let me mention here only Guilhelmus Peraldus whose book can be considered a popular reading in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries. The theologian and Dominican monk, Guilhelmus Peraldus, who later became the Bishop of Lyon, in the sixth chapter of his *Summa virtutum ac vitiorum* referred to Hieronymus and wrote *De superbia librorum*.⁷⁵ These thoughts were present also in the political theories of the state of the 16th century where they were discussed as important and not negligible issues for rulers and aristocrats. By the middle of the century they distinguished between *nobilitas generis* and *nobilitas literata*.⁷⁶ They also added that they did not serve *res publica* if only they themselves became erudite and well-read, but they also had to make the members of *res publica* learned.⁷⁷ To achieve this end, said Christoph Besold,⁷⁸ they had to participate in the life of *publica institutio* and choose the path of *publica disciplina* for their own education.⁷⁹

Their knowledge in education or how to rule was basically acquired from history books. It is very difficult to differentiate between moral philosophy and mirrors of princes or the moralizing chapters of historical epics. Knowledge of history therefore should always be considered as very important in our analyses.⁸⁰

Similarly to education, agricultural knowledge or management skills were not acquired from books. Not even bailiffs learnt these from books although the appearance of György Perneszith with the Nádasdys,⁸¹ Tamás

Debreczeni with the Rákóczi⁸² or Peter Borberek Alvinczi with the Apaffi family⁸³ show the formation of economical intellectuals. In France Colbert had a book written about management of estates for nobility but neither Claude Irson's *Méthode pour bien dresser toutes sortes de comptes*⁸⁴ nor Gilles André de La Roque's *Traité de la noblesse*⁸⁵ could be read in Hungary. Certain pieces of political theory, however, which Hungarian nobles read, included general economic elements.⁸⁶ Noble families in Hungary in general had books. Each family member had personal books to different extent. Besides school books, these were catechesis, books for daily religious practice and a few personal readings. We know of almost all aristocrats having a household library even if their inventories or catalogues of this period did not survive. Usually bills, notes made by their bailiff or inventories of an inheritance shed light to some parts of the library. Some books survived from many libraries but from the 16th and 17th centuries we know of hardly any families whose library would be known from its contemporary inventories and the majority of whose books can still be leafed through. Such exceptional cases are the libraries of Miklós Zrínyi, Palatine Pál Esterházy, and to a lesser degree Lord Chief Justice Ferenc Nádasdy.⁸⁷ The library of an aristocrat was a book collection to be used by the household. Even when the library was intended to become a bibliophilic collection (as was the case with the Esterházy library in Kismarton) the books about building fountains in the garden could be used by the builders who may have recommended Esterházy to buy them.⁸⁸ Apart from the Esterházy library and the Nádasdy book collection in Pottendorf, all other libraries were pragmatic satisfying the needs of the whole household.

There were some special characteristics of acquiring books. Interested aristocrats or gentry found no book shops in Hungary. The offer of book binders was rather poor and usually included books used in daily religious practice or school books. We know of a few merchants in Upper Hungary and in Transylvania who traded in books but these targeted townsfolk.⁸⁹ The agents of the foreign publishers (mainly in Vienna, the Southern part of Germany and Northern Italy), even if they tried to establish a firm contact with aristocrats in Hungary, were interested in selling the books of their own publishing house and had no rivals. It is worth mentioning here the connection between the Batthyánys and the Parisian Huguenot André Wechel who fled to Frankfurt and his sons-in-law, Jean Marne and Jean Aubry as well as their descendents.⁹⁰ Another interesting fact is that Palatine Ferenc Nádasdy was planning to open a bookshop in Vienna with the Moretus family from Antwerpen.⁹¹ Prince Pál Esterházy corresponded with Jan Blaeu. The students funded by the aristocrats worked well as

agents to acquire books for the library of their landlords. However, their tastes and their studies and the type of readings they were interested in made an influence on the libraries of their patrons.

Aristocrats had other opportunities to choose their own books. Obviously during travelling when they visited a city famous for its trade they could leaf through the books in the local book shops and could find publications they would never have heard of if they had not been there in person. We could list here many examples. The most well-known of these are the trips Boldizsár Batthyány, Miklós Zrínyi, or Ferenc Nádasdy had which had a decisive effect on their taste in book collection. A special form of travelling was when someone fought in military campaigns abroad as an officer in the army of the emperor. On these occasions they may have been able to visit a town and to acquire books there (e.g.: Ádám Czobor or György Csáky).⁹² Another opportunity to select books would have been for magnates when they bought an entire inheritance. There are, however, only indirect evidence for such acquisitions when the aristocrat meant to help financially the illiterate or literate but poor widows. An example for this could be the acquisition of the books of bailiff István Jóna by the Zrínyi family library⁹³ or the purchase of the library of the Physician Máté Csanaki by the Rákóczi family.⁹⁴ There is an inventory of the books which were in two copies in Sárospatak, therefore these extra copies were sent to Transylvania to the school of the Prince or in Gyulafehérvár. When buying up an entire inheritance, the aristocrat purchased not just one or two books but many without selecting them.

The list of recommended books sent to the household by a book merchant did not allow the magnates to leaf through the books but allowed them to have a personal influence on the thematic constitution of their library. The major drawback with this acquisition was that the merchant could impose his financial interests since he would not have recommended a publication of a higher quality in a given topic if his own publishing house or the one he worked for came out with a publication of his own in this theme. Book fair catalogues (Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig). which became popular from the end of the 16th century provided a better option. However, there is evidence of magnates owning one of these catalogues only in a few cases. It must have been Jean Aubry, the Huguenot printer and refugee André Wechel's son-in-law, who sent the catalogue of the Book fair in Frankfurt to Boldizsár Batthyány which we still have.⁹⁵ The documents, which prove the relationship between Ferenc Nádasdy, who was executed in 1671, and Balthasar Moretus were discovered and summed up in a monography on Nádasdy by Noémi Viskolcz. The count

had the catalogue of the publishing house in Antwerp and even lent it to György Lippay, Archbishop of Esztergom.⁹⁶ At the beginning of the 18th century Pál Ráday selected the books he wanted to buy from the catalogue of the Leipzig Book Fair.⁹⁷ All this does not mean that others did not know or use this channel as well.

Most often, however it was the bailiffs who purchased the books the members of the family asked for or the pieces they deemed interesting on their shopping trips. The aristocrats indicated the topic: buy me a history book or one on the newly discovered continents or an album presenting emperors. The person making the purchase decided on the spot what his employer might have had in mind. We have traces of such purchase from the 16th century. The correspondence of György Perneszi,⁹⁸ or that of the Csányis⁹⁹ prove the above mentioned reasoning and the Zrínyi household seems a similar case.¹⁰⁰ Bailiffs did not travel far. From Western Hungary and from the Western part of Upper Hungary the employees of landlords went mainly to Vienna or Graz, from the North to Cracow while the bailiffs of the landlords in Croatia traveled primarily to Venice. All printing centres nearby were Catholic, therefore books on Protestant religion, theology or church organisation could not be acquired this way. For them it was mainly the students they financed to go and study abroad who did the book purchase. Many album notes, diary entries or missile letters bear witness to acquisitions of this kind.¹⁰¹ On diplomatic missions one of the jobs was also to buy books and travelling merchants could also be asked to purchase books. Students studying abroad often trusted the books they bought for their patrons to these travelling merchants so that they would take them home.

Maintaining, financing and developing institutions such as a printing shop, a library, a school or a garden was also the job of aristocrats. This may have benefited the library as well. An author whose book was published due to the financial help of his patron or the printer of the book may have considered his duty to offer at least one copy of the book to their patrons. When outlining the library of an aristocrat one should not forget about the books dedicated to him as well as to the members of his family. The same way one should also consider the books published by the travelling printer the magnate in question offered residence to when sketching the cultural horizon the aristocrat had.

Besides providing tutoring to young people in the household, magnates played an active part in maintaining schools on their lands. Often the school building belonged to them as well. They funded the talented young people to study in secondary schools in Hungary and to go on study tours

abroad. Landlords made sure that there were teachers at school. They also developed the school library, donated or purchased or left books to the school. In 1588 Imre Forgách left to the Lutheran school in Trencsén his books he thought were useful there.¹⁰² Boldizsár Batthyány had a particular way of helping the Protestant school in Némétújvár, shown by the notes written in the surviving volumes.¹⁰³ He donated the books the local St. Augustine's monastery had had to the Protestant school. The books were used and read by the teachers and the ministers of the village as well as the household. The majority of the manuscripts were, however, used for book binding in the second half of the 16th century and this is how Gedeon Borsa can talk about "the Némétújvár style binding".¹⁰⁴ Boldizsár Batthyány also donated the books he was less interested in, the ones mainly on theology, to the school on several occasions although his possessor mark and sometimes other indication of him using these books such as notes written in the books were there. Boldizsár and his son, Ferenc often invited ministers and teachers who were refugees and offered them shelter. They may have offered the landlord their books or the landlord may have helped them by buying their books for the school.¹⁰⁵ There are a lot of examples from later generations. Ádám Batthyány gave the formerly Protestant school to the Franciscans¹⁰⁶ and supported Catholic schools such as Pál Pálffy's in Malacka¹⁰⁷ or the Rákóczi's in Sárospatak.¹⁰⁸

The question, however, imposes here: to what extent do the books the magnates donated to school libraries or monasteries belong to the cultural horizon of the aristocrats in question. They must have known what school books contained and read the books concerning the daily practice of their religion. We cannot, however be certain that they read the sermons in the books they helped publish. On the other hand, they heard these sermons at the ministers' service and also from the conversations they had with the ministers or the priests. Aristocrats knew the books written by the authors of the Antiquity which were purchased abroad and taught at school as well as the collections of maxims. History books were very important for them, they knew the authors of the books on theology, they were aware of their line of thinking from sermons, conversations or religious debates. So they did know what they were donating. When studying the readings of lower strata in society one should take into consideration oral teaching.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, departing information in words was even more important with aristocrats since they had the opportunity to complement their knowledge in an efficient way by experts such as teachers, ministers, scholars or other aristocrats.

When assessing the cultural and scientific knowledge a magnate had

one should consider the whole intellectual atmosphere of his household which was mostly based on erudition acquired through books. A traveller from Brugge described his visit at the Batthyány House in Pozsony and wrote that one of Ádám's sons (Kristóf or Pál) presented to him Hungarian culture and customs by playing the violin and dancing a Hungarian dance with his mother. By doing this the young aristocrat showed the visitor a part of his culture and education. He took it for granted that the visitor from Brugge might be interested in Hungarian specialties and knew that customs in the Low Countries were different.¹¹⁰ We of course do not know what this young man may have known of Brugge and its neighbourhood. He must have discussed the differences with his guest and if he did he must have had some knowledge about them either from books or from talking to someone who read about it or even visited the Low Countries. Therefore I do not consider it in vain to review the books and readings of the employees of their court who were in general noble men. The employees could at times use the landlord's library and it is not impossible that the landlord could use some of their books. The up-to-date education György Perneszi had characterized the openness and modernity of the Nádasdy household in Sárvár.¹¹¹ The same goes for Tamás Debreceni whose economical knowledge influenced the Rákóczi household¹¹² while Péter Alvinczi of Borberek's the Apaffis'.¹¹³ We are especially lucky if there is information on the books the household priest or the minister had even if their books did not remain there. The erudition of the Beythes enriched both the Bánffy and the Batthyáns.¹¹⁴ It occurred too that a priest left his library to the landlord who supported him as was the case with Francesco Orsolini who bequeathed his books to Pál Esterházy.¹¹⁵

Cases when books were mutually shared in a noble household should be paid special attention to since it proves that they acquired knowledge together and had conversations about books in a conscious way. It is hard to imagine that a magnate would not participate in these discussions.¹¹⁶ The best example for these conversations, as in many other issues concerning culture, is the Batthyány household in Németújvár and Boldizsár Batthyány himself. In his residence the members of the Beythe family created an active circle focusing on theology and sharing books while Boldizsár himself was also a member of the Humanists in Pozsony as was the Botanist Carolus Clusius of his household too.¹¹⁷ We should devote a separate study to the question that the majority of these circles were active at the residences of high clergy although a few aristocrats can also be named besides the Batthyáns such as the society around Zsigmond Kor-

nis in Transylvania¹¹⁸ and with the Listis¹¹⁹ who inherited a lot of excellent Humanist books from their relatives, the Oláhs.

The majority of the inventories we have does not distinguish between the books of the head of the family and the personal readings of the rest of the family. Sometimes they do. Sometimes one can even trace what kind of readings there were according to age. It is especially true for school books. This way one can compare the curricula of the Pálffy children from Upper Hungary¹²⁰ with those of the magnate Miklós Bethlen¹²¹ and the gentry Zsigmond Rétyi.¹²² In principle, there could not have been a lot of difference since the curriculum in schools at the same level did not allow a lot of differences. On the other hand, if the family employed a praepceptor as was the case with the Pálffy family then one can argue that these aristocratic young men could study the unabridged version of the antique authors as was the case with the school edition (*pro usu delfini*), therefore they could complement their knowledge with non-school readings.

The female members of the aristocratic families were also readers.¹²³ At least they were offered an education partly based on books. It could have been about fashion¹²⁴ and how to dress since we know of books on fashion from the 16th century. A special library created for a lady, however, is known only from the 18th century.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, it is important to pay attention to data mentioning instances when women possessed books. It may have been due to an inventory made for an inheritance on the female side of the family or one prepared to list the possessions of a widow including the books of the family. The books of Borbála Telegdi¹²⁶ or Borbála Batthyány¹²⁷ were surely listed as possessions while the readings of Judit Veér¹²⁸ or Anna Bornemisza¹²⁹ could very well be characterized by their inventories.¹³⁰

In the last decades the historical study of the magnates' libraries was, on one hand, linked with presenting the history of bibliophilia¹³¹ and, on the other hand, focused on the question to what extent the owner of the book may have read the books he collected.¹³² The history of the libraries should be connected with the history of the collections of rarities, museums¹³³ and taste.¹³⁴ The books in the aristocratic households in Hungary, as we could see, served quite simply as readings for the family. Therefore, one should separate the books with special care to see which books were most probably used by the magnate himself. There are cases when this can be determined with good probability. Boldizsár Batthyány's book bills mainly show his own readings.¹³⁵ It is not by chance that items on these book list figure among the books of the Protestant schools only ex-

ceptionally. Personal diaries and correspondence from the point of view of readings mentioned there are of special importance.¹³⁶

In connection with the above we should add here that there is a general bias when writing about the Hungarian reception of intellectual trends in the early modern period. One source for this prejudice comes from the fact that it is always more interesting to study books and oeuvres from any given period which are mentioned in the *Short History of Philosophy and Human Thinking*, books which were outstanding or non-conform in the period, whose authors were attacked and not valued but which proved to have a lasting influence. This attitude was reinforced after World War II when a topic in the history of the Middle Ages or the early modern period could be studied which was judged “progressive” or “anti-feudalistic”. All these trends could be termed as pre-enlightenment. The tableau, however, was colourful ranging from the experiments in dialectic logic of Nicolaus Cusanus through the entire Reformation, and especially the Anti-Trinitarianism to the Philosophic Rationalism or the scientific scepticism. Therefore, each data which proved the Hungarian occurrence of an author who could be termed as “progressive” in the above sense got over-analyzed and overvalued in the context of its period.

The effort to comply with a research topic which became fashionable in Western Europe or the United States of America lead to the same result. The fashionable theory in question was not judged valid after the careful study of all the sources available but data were searched to prove the theory. When a book appeared once or twice in the readings it was termed especially note-worthy or a determining factor when it was merely interesting.¹³⁷ There must have been books on Rosicrucianism in Hungary at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries but these cannot be considered as evidence for “Rosicrucian renaissance”. In the 16th and 17th centuries as statistical analysis of the readings clearly show, very few people read the books of the authors we consider today as the pioneers of thinking since erudition in Hungary was formed by the books, published in big quantities, of the second or third-rate authors which reached Hungary. These were books by Catholic or Lutheran theologians or those of the Reformed Church. There were Rosicrucian books and Weigelian tracts in the neighbourhood of the Batthyány family but it does not mean that the minister at the household knew what books these were. Even if he knew the landlord could only hear it from him if the author was “dangerous”, was right or is a heretic. It is therefore very important to know the probable acquisition of the book because otherwise we might overvalue isolated or accidental phenomena. Most probably Ferenc Batthyány had no idea what

Weigelism meant because his books arrived in his household with Johann Jacob Knaus and it was him who donated them to the school.¹³⁸ It is probable that Knaus had to leave Württemberg because of his non-conformist way of thinking. On the other hand, most probably Boldizsár Batthyány knew who Jean Bodin was and chose his book intentionally.¹³⁹ This can be judged and considered probably due to the inventory of his books because no writing of his is known which would prove that he knew Bodin. Therefore, I consider Dóra Bobory's enthusiastic interpretation of this household as the beginning of Paracelsian thinking in Hungary exaggerated.¹⁴⁰

When forming an interpretation one should always bear in mind that reading, taking care of the affairs of the church active on their land or understanding exactly what the church disputes were about, did not constitute the main activity for magnates or the gentry. There were always exceptions but I do not believe that György Thurzó besides his activities to acquire lands, to win at legal procedures or to work as a Palatine had the time to get to know the details of the disputes between Wittenbergian orthodoxy and late Philippism as could be said based on the books of his library.¹⁴¹ We have no idea how thoroughly he read through those books if he read them at all but his erudition in this matter is undisputable. In this respect it is instructive to read the parallel studies of Mihály Balázs and Ildikó Horn on Transylvanian Unitarism or the Unitarian nobility.¹⁴²

Unfortunately there are few families where their books can be analysed through several generations. The few cases we can find, however, indicate that one should be careful when creating an interpretation. Can we follow conversion through the change of the books? How open or limited is a family member? Let me bring only two examples in the introduction. The Rákóczi library in Sárospatak must have been fantastically modern, open, confessionally complex and secular to a sufficient degree. Surviving writings of György Rákóczi and Zsuzsanna Lorántffy do not correspond to this picture. Katalin Péter argued that Zsigmond Rákóczi who corresponded with Johannes Amos Comenius, the Czech educational reformer and religious leader who died young, played a big part in modernizing the library.¹⁴³ It may be true but György Rákóczi took the books of his brother, the Catholic Pál to Sárospatak when he became the guardian of his deceased brother's children.¹⁴⁴ The second example is the Esterházy library in Kismarton.¹⁴⁵ If we list the books which were there until the death of Pál in 1713 then the library clearly had a Protestant profile. However, studying the books and their hand-written notes explains the phenomenon: these were the books of Protestant ministers who worked on the Esterházy estates when Esterházy converted to Catholicism. We do not

know what way these books came to the possession of Miklós Esterházy or one of his sons but they kept many of Pál Ceglédi,¹⁴⁶ or János Kanizsai Pálfi's books¹⁴⁷ as well as volumes from the collection of István Beythe (maybe through the first two ministers) and from the library of the Protestant school in Némethújvár.¹⁴⁸ If we only had the book inventory available it would be tempting to overestimate this phenomenon. It is, however, commendable that the Esterházy family kept the books.

In the first paragraphs of the introduction I mentioned that the the functions at the households changed in time. Lacking the example and the cultural organizational force provided by a royal court aristocratic households had to play a considerably more important role even during times of religious conversions. One should bear in mind the fact that Catholic hierarchy was reinstalled only by the second half of the 17th century to the extent that high clergy centres and the institutions of the reinforced states could in part take over these jobs. When the church undertook to manage these institutions it did not necessarily meant that magnates did not have to bear the financial burden any longer; at least they were exempt from the day-to-day handling of these jobs.

It would make an interesting topic for research which religious order magnates chose to run the diverse cultural organisational tasks such as providing services as secular clergy, operating a school, or supervising a printing shop and if they decided to entrust another religious order with the job, as was the case with the Nádasdy family and the Servites or with the Esterházy family and first the Jesuits and later the Franciscans, what their reason was. From this aspect the situation of the magnets in the Western part of Hungary and in Transylvania differed and in general the situation of the Protestant and the Catholic aristocratic families were different. After the "decade of grief", the Protestant churches needed a direct, day-to-day help for at least a century. In Transylvania the institution of the Chief Consistory gave aristocrats certain jobs.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, when comparing the household libraries one must always bear in mind these differences.

As a summary of the introduction let us say that, when one studies the history of the libraries and reading habits of the Hungarian magnates one should take into consideration the fact that in the Carpathian Basin no collection of books could be established, equivalent in richness, modernity of the intellectual trends represented in the library and the influence the collection exercised, to the ones the German prince-electors or the European rulers had. On the other hand, the reading culture of certain members of the Hungarian aristocracy could be compared to that of the

contemporary European counts and we shall come back to this later in this study. It is important to emphasize too that the politicians who felt responsible for Hungary, which took up a considerable part of the nobility, could not just form a life style or establish a collection to satisfy their own tastes. They had limited possibility for buying books. Publication within Hungary was very little while there was hardly any book trade. A few book merchants from Upper Hungary and Transylvania are known who dealt with books too among other things and targeted townsfolk mainly. The agents of foreign publishing houses, even if they established regular contacts with Hungarian magnets, were trying to sell the books published by their own firms and had no competition. The students studying abroad on funding received from an aristocrat acquired books for the library of their patron. However, their studies, tastes and erudition had an influence on the collection of their patron.

An aristocrat in Hungary did not form his library to suit his own taste only. The same way aristocratic families when they established their household they did not do it to suit a contemporary model, although there are some examples for this too,¹⁵⁰ but to be able to play the role as a church organizer, a patron of a school and its alumni by making their family library in part available for the scholars, teachers, ministers and students who lived closeby. They had to take over this role from the royal court after the defeat in Mohács and in Transylvania after the prince's court and collections were destroyed. This, however, does not mean that the books of an aristocrat's library were not different from the collection of another library or that the interest of the owner and founder was completely disregarded in his library. In the 16th and 17th centuries no private libraries can be listed which would have performed a representational function (that was to become common in the 18th century in a mansion or a country residence). This is true for these two centuries even if there are examples when the library was designed with stylish furniture, the books were bound in uniform binding while each volume was marked with a super *ex libris* and a professional librarian was hired when the library was rearranged. We have data of call numbers and book catalogues even in private collections beside having thematic sections (*ordo*) within the library for each topic.¹⁵¹

The Sources of Book Culture of the Nobility

Literacy in all the countries is primarily connected to recording possessions and making use of these possessions. One could assume that for the nobility who were members of the political elite we have unlimited sources of information on these documents¹⁵² (although the survival of these documents may not be evident.) even if illiteracy was quite common among smallholders and gentry who did not have the means to hire clerks or bailiffs. It is especially true in Transylvania where the majority of the Seklers had financial difficulties in their daily living.¹⁵³ A researcher of illiteracy could mention people from among the gentry or the landowning aristocracy who could not read or write.¹⁵⁴ One should be careful though since having a clerk for an aristocrat was part of his stature and he may not have signed his name only because he did not know how to write a letter himself but also because it was not *comme il faut* to correspond in their own handwriting. On the other hand, one should be careful not to overestimate the isolated data concerning erudition because the cultural profile of Hungarian nobility would be distorted.

The most important sources of reading history are inventories made for various reasons. Drawing up a list of the earthly possessions of a noble man, however, primarily included and was limited to lands; movable properties, books among others, were far less common to itemize them one by one, especially compared to jewels, arms, furniture or luxurious robes, since they were less valuable. In general, we have very few sources detailing the purchases gentry or aristocrats made because documents about these were culled and disposed of from the 18th century on. Detailed inventories disappeared even for the inheritance of commoners as customarily the full draft which was drawn up at the venue was thrown away and the final version including only the sum of the possessions of each heir was kept (in Latin: *maculatorium - purum*). Luckily for the researchers of reading history, Hungarian nobility had a penchant for litigation, therefore a lot of inventories prepared for litigation exist. Families considered books as valuable assets for the organization of the cultural life of their court. Hand-written notes in surviving old books provide valuable information concerning the establishment of the collection and the reading habits of nobility. Catalogues were rarely made of the books in a private library in the early modern period. The most fundamental reason for this is the fact that there were not many libraries which were big enough to need such a tool (a catalogue) to find a volume. The owner of the li-

brary and his staff found their way among the several hundred, or rarely one or two thousand books without a catalogue. To prepare a catalogue they would have needed an expert who knew the collection as well as the system of contemporary science and was practical enough to find the book the most economical place in the given space while providing easy access (someone who would have numbered the books, would have left space for new books in the given discipline, respecting size and thematic order on the shelves). This person could have been called a librarian.¹⁵⁵ To order a catalogue assumes a high degree of intent in book collection. The fact that a few catalogues were prepared indicates the beginning of bibliophilism in Hungary.¹⁵⁶ In most cases, however, the owner hired a clerk to make an inventory (a document with the heading “catalogue”) of all his books. These inventories mainly survived in family archives and were included in public archives only after the death of the owner in case of litigation. For this type of “catalogue” let me bring two examples here. One is the inventory of the books of István Csáky in Szepesvár in 1671.¹⁵⁷ The collection which numbered almost 300 volumes had a thematic classification (*theologi, juridici, medici, historici et politici, philosophi, miscellani, scholars*) at the time. The other example is the book inventory of György Berényi from 1690¹⁵⁸ where the books were listed in alphabetic order (sometimes according to the title, sometimes according to the author’s first name or last name). Let us mention here that there is not always a clear-cut line between a “catalogue” and an *unofficial book list prepared for various reasons as part of the inventory of all the possessions of the owner*. The book list prepared in Sárospatak of the 168 books of Ferenc Rákóczi II¹⁵⁹ cannot be considered a catalogue since this is a simple list of the books as they came into the hand of the clerk. However, the reason why the list was prepared must have been the same as with the two former cases.

We have documents concerning rearranging a library. This took place in the Biccse household of György Thurzó where the inventory was prepared when the room allocated for the library was installed.¹⁶⁰ The inventory was prepared by Samuel Hamel, secretary of the household. This fitted the career development of the aristocrat.¹⁶¹ It seems that the Palatine considered important to acquire the books necessary not just for his daily activities but knew that a separate library had a representational function as well.¹⁶² He had his possessor mark installed in his books at the time of acquisition and when he was awarded a new title these possessor marks were later corrected. He had his library rearranged between 1610 and 1611. His intention indicated the need for a catalogue although in the surviving books and inventories there were no call-numbers. We do not

know why Hamel did not complete his job or if he did why we have only the *Index geminus*.¹⁶³

On the other hand, we know of no inventory for Miklós Istvánffy's library. The call-numbers of the surviving copies prove that he had an ordered library which must have had a catalogue otherwise the call-numbers made no sense.¹⁶⁴ That library may not have served a representational role but was the scholarly tool of the owner. The surviving books are, without exception, historical books and copies of printed volumes which he needed to write his book on Hungarian history.¹⁶⁵ His library was a bibliophilic collection, thematically selective. One could classify it as a scholarly library (*Gelehrtenbibliothek*), but we know so little of this collection that it makes no sense to argue about this.

The poet Miklós Zrínyi took part in arranging his library although this was the job of Mark Forstall, in charge of writing the family chronicle. We have no information whether at the time of this rearrangement new furniture for the library was ordered. But it certainly happened in 1662 at the time Zrínyi prepared his will. The classification of the books was modern and showed the type of erudition Zrínyi had. The books were numbered which allows us to follow the order of the library (the physical order of the books). The catalogue, however, is incomplete and shows the call-numbers of the volumes only rarely.¹⁶⁶

Undoubtedly, the two largest book collections of the early modern period in Hungary were the Nádasdy library in Pottendorf and the Esterházy library in Fraknó. No catalogues survived. The inventories prepared as appendices of the confiscation order of Ferenc Nádasdy are quite revealing of his library. It is unlikely that at the time of confiscation thematic classifications would have been worked out and books for the Emperor's library and the volumes to be sent to the Servites in Loreto would have been selected later. The parts starting with *Ex classe...* of the inventory listing the books to be transported to Vienna indicate an ordered library.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, no call-number can be seen in the surviving books of Ferenc Nádasdy which would satisfy the criteria of a catalogue and would facilitate the search for the volume or indicate the existence of a catalogue of some kind. No call-number can be seen in the books of the Esterházy library in Kismarton or the ones which are in Moscow.¹⁶⁸ The call-numbers you can find were the ones that were applied at the end of the 18th and during the 19th centuries most probably at the time when the volumes from different residences were all transported to the library in Kismarton to create one book collection.¹⁶⁹ Archival sources such as Sebastian Ferdinand Dobner's notes¹⁷⁰ on the geographical and hydro-

graphical books of the library and the inventory prepared in 1756 listing the books which were given to the Franciscans in Kismarton from the Fraknó book collection,¹⁷¹ however, indicate that the Esterházy library was ordered in the early modern period.

I have mentioned earlier that the institutions of book trade were established belatedly. When reviewing the potential sources of the reading history of nobility we must return to this issue. *Auction catalogues of private collections* provide excellent documents in Western Europe. The first library auctions we know of in Hungary took place in Debrecen in 1751.¹⁷² The first printed auction catalogue was from Nagyszeben and was prepared for the auction of the Bánffy library.¹⁷³ These, however, are beyond the scope of the present study.

Inventories prepared for the probate court were prepared by officials for several reasons. Sometimes the family requested one of their employees or an official person at one of the chambers or a notary to draft the inventory to avoid later litigation. The actual reason why the inventory was to be official varies from case to case. Let me mention in the introduction two examples. After the battle of Léva where István Koháry, Lord Lieutenant of County Hont, General-Captain of Bányavidék died, his possessions in the Castle of Fülek were inventoried by his own men upon the request of the deceased's widow. The short inventory, of course, listed only the books Koháry kept with him at the place of his service.¹⁷⁴ Count Miklós Pázmány who died in Líšeň Moravia in 1667 left his books along with his other possessions to the Jesuits of Olomouc. These possessions were inventoried officially to facilitate the probate.¹⁷⁵ There are cases when we do not know whether the inventory was placed in the archives of official authorities because of the litigation or simply to secure the document. Ferenc Révay, Royal Councillor, Lord Lieutenant of County Turóc died in 1651. The inventory of his books survived in the family archives¹⁷⁶ while a copy was made for the *Conventus Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Virginis de Thurocz* (they may have been the ones who prepared the inventory).¹⁷⁷

If children became orphans a guardian was appointed to secure their wealth and to arrange their education. It was customary to prepare very thorough inventories of the possessions and assets the orphans had so that the guardian could not abuse of the right of disposal. Despite this we know very few orphan's books from these inventories. Among movables, books did not seem to be the ones most protected. To administer the estates of an orphan in the most conscientious way was mandatory for everyone. Therefore, when Ferenc Máriássy transported, from Makovica to the Ducal Treasury in Sárospatak, the possessions of Pál Rákóczi's orphans (László

and Mária), the guardian justified the action at the Gyulafehérvár residence of György Rákóczi I. Among these possessions there were books.¹⁷⁸

In a *will or testament*, the testator, expressed their wishes as to how their property is to be distributed at death. Inventories listed personal and real property which was appended to the testament if the itemized list was too long to be included in the will. The will or testament was prepared before the death; therefore, its appendix cannot be considered a probate inventory of assets. An appendix like this was the inventory and catalogue prepared for the library of Miklós Zrínyi.¹⁷⁹

A confiscation order is one of the darkest events in the life of a family. To the immense joy of a reading historian an itemized list of the confiscated property was drawn up on such occasions. Sándor Mikulich was found guilty in 1657 of raping young unmarried women. His assets were confiscated, among other his exceptionally big library in the Castle of Belec. Most such cases were due to political events and the turning of the wheel of fortune.¹⁸⁰ After the Wesselényi Conspiracy, the Thököly uprising and Rákóczi's War of Independence the properties of many noble families were seized. On the other hand, the news of their libraries and readings survived *aere perennius* and can be known.¹⁸¹

Litigation so characteristic of Hungarian nobility also yields information for us. Inventories were made in great number during legal procedures concerning *contentious property and debts*. Sometimes a legal procedure helps identify a book list which does not include the owner's name or a date. The adventurous life of Ádám Zsigmond Forgách came to an end at the military camp of Zsigmond Rákóczi near Brünn. Forgách was supposedly poisoned because he was raising the people against Rákóczi. His widow, Borbála Batthyány sued Ádám Forgách, the deceased's brother and the legal procedure went on until her death in 1680. Not long after the death of Ádám Zsigmond Forgách his books in the Castle of Szalánc were inventoried¹⁸² and the items in the inventory are in the most part identical with the undated book list therefore the document found in the archives of the Batthyány family could be identified.¹⁸³

Sometimes one can find interesting data about a magnate's collection in the inventory of the institution's library they supported provided that the donation had been recorded in some way. This could be a separate book list recording the donation, as was the one listing the books Imre Forgách gave to the Lutheran school of Trencsén in 1588,¹⁸⁴ or it could take the form of a separate shelf named after the donor. Parts of the library at the Secondary School of the Reformed Church in Székelyudvarhely were named *Theca Bethleniana* and *Theca Apafiana* after their patrons.¹⁸⁵ No one from the nobility is

known who had borrowed a book from a public library and this act had been recorded but there were instances when they had borrowed a book from a magnate's private library. Elek Bethlen borrowed books and manuscripts from Mihály Teleki¹⁸⁶ when he was writing his book on history.¹⁸⁷

One can encounter a booklist among *personal documents*. András Szirmay's readings (1707) are known from his diary¹⁸⁸ entries while Pál Teleki was *corresponding* with his alumnus, János Técsi and this is how he learnt what books Técsi could purchase (1698).¹⁸⁹ Some examples are known of *notes* recording the act of *lending* someone a book¹⁹⁰ or *sending the books for binding*.¹⁹¹ Pál Ráday made notes of a book fair catalogue from Leipzig and prepared a list of what books he meant to buy (1729).¹⁹² Pál Teleki recorded the *title and the price of the books he bought* during his trips in 1697¹⁹³ and we also know an inventory of *books to be sold* from the Teleki library in 1735.¹⁹⁴ Among other things, *book bills* can also be considered a source indicating the readings of the nobility in the early modern period. The books of Boldizsár Batthyány in part known from this source.¹⁹⁵

Among the *inventories listing the possessions of an owner recorded by non-official persons* several book lists survived but as was indicated earlier it is difficult to distinguish them from the catalogues of collections numbering a few hundred books. A list can be considered a catalogue if the books are listed thematically or alphabetically. If they are not ordered, then the book list in question can be classified as „*an inventory for various purposes*”. When writing about „catalogues” we mentioned the inventory prepared at the library of Ferenc Rákóczi II in Sárospatak as an example for this and the document with the heading of „*Elenchus Bibliothecae Comitum Pauli Balassa*” from 1739¹⁹⁶ are also of this type.

Special attention is accorded to the inventories the owner himself prepared which were a rare hobby among noblemen. We can encounter a case like this when a magnate retired or was forced to withdraw from public life and spent his time arranging his affairs. An example for this could be Ferenc Bónis who prepared a book list of the books he kept in his house in Kassa in 1665¹⁹⁷ or András Szirmay's inventory from 1707.¹⁹⁸ Another typical case was when an aristocrat decided to write a book and therefore arranged his library to help him with this work. An example for this was András Dobai Székely who translated Cicero and recorded the titles of his books in his mansion in County Szepes in 1666.¹⁹⁹

When someone wants to evaluate the erudition of nobility, *non-inventory sources of reading history* could also be beneficial. Magnates could relate their experiences in letters (like István Illésházy)²⁰⁰ and contemporary writers could mention libraries (ranging from the Corvinas to the anec-

dotes of Dienes Hermányi about Mihály Teleki's passion for collecting²⁰¹). Quotes from authors who were magnates or nobles have never been analysed systematically although literature concerning Bálint Balassi, István Ecsedi Báthory or Miklós Zrínyi mentioned several times that these authors quoted from books which did not figure on their booklist or there is no knowing whether some of them possessed books. Besides studying quotations, there is also the question of source analysis. For example, Henrik Fodor summed up the complete literature Istvánffy used and added new conclusions when analysing the sources of Istvánffy's *Historia*.²⁰² Zrínyi's ideas were discussed in numerous articles independent from his books or completed by data which could be gained from this source. The most thorough analysis is that of Emil Hargittay who found quotations from 110 authors in István Csáky's book entitled *Politica philosophiai Okoskodás-szerint való rendes életnek példája* (the example of a decent life led according to political-philosophical thinking)

When cataloguing books that we still have, several former libraries of magnates or nobles have appeared and still appear. Possessor marks reveal their owners. Numerous articles detail the reading habits of well-known personalities such as Miklós Zrínyi since he used to write *marginalia in his books*,²⁰³ underline words or react to the sections he read in different ways. *Printed ex libris* is also a similar source of information. For some it is a graphic design, a piece of history, for us it shows the need to express the owner's bibliophilism besides expressing the fact that the owner possessed the books. If a possessor mark was printed it meant that the owner had sufficient number of books to be considered a library. It is worth noting that among the owners of these printed *ex libris* there are hardly any whose book inventory we are aware of. Before 1720 the following noble families had printed *ex libris*:²⁰⁴

- Pál Balassa, before 1705 (he has a book list)
- Count Bethlen (de Bethlen) the coat of arms of the count line, after 1697 (a fragmentary book list)
- Count Czobor (de Czoborszentmihály) family, after 1652
- the Draskovich family, after 1635
- Prince Esterházy family, after 1687
- Pál Esterházy, 1687–1704 (he had a book inventory)
- the Forgách family, Count line, after 1675
- the Ghillány family, Baron line, after 1688
- Count Sándor Gvadányi, after 1686
- Count Gyulay family, after 1701
- the Heinzely family, after 1659
- the Horváth (Szentgyörgyi) family, after 1631

Miklós Istvánffy, 1575
 the Izdenczy family, 17th century
 Ferenc Nádasdy, 1646 (several *ex libris*)
 Count Zrínyi family, 17th century
 Miklós Zrínyi, 1646, 1652 (he had a book inventory)



Ex libris of the Zrínyi Family, 16th century

It is worth noting that besides magnates, some gentry' families also considered it important to mark their collection with a printed *ex libris* (Heinzely, Horváth, Izdenczy).²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, there are few book collections that survived almost entirely. If the books exist and can be leafed through and if there is an old *call-number* in them then we can make an estimate as to how big the library must have been (the libraries of Miklós Zrínyi and Miklós Istvánffy were mentioned above in this regard). Often *fragmented data* appear during archival research, unrelated to studies on book history, which complement the picture gained from the systematic study of the sources. In our series on Book History Databank (*Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, vols 11–20.) these pieces of information are added to the rest of the data.

At the end of the introductory section on source typology let me emphasize that the best way to form the basis of an analysis in reading history one should work with all types of sources. A good example for this is the reconstruction of the above mentioned Zrínyi library or that of Boldizsár Batthyány's collection of books.

The Royal Court – the Court of the Prince of Transylvania

The lack of a royal court in the early modern period was a determining factor in Hungarian history and it had a huge impact on the development of the cultural institutions. The decentralization could have been advantageous but it was unable to exert its beneficial influence due to the constant warfare and the insufficient economic power of the country and its leading families. Even if the estates of the Rákóczi family were larger than those of the Duke of Berry or the Prince of Orange or the Bourbons before ascending to the throne, the lands of the Rákóczis were dispersed from Fogaras to Szepes County, therefore a concentrated economic power could not be felt even in peace, let alone during wars.

Until the lost battle near Mohács (1526) the role model of the royal court had an influence in Hungary in determining changes in the civilization and culture. Historical research during the last two decades re-evaluated the importance of court culture from the Anjou period and its aspects concerning literature, art and culture as well as book history. Monumental exhibitions played an important part in this re-evaluation. Fontevraud²⁰⁶ enlarged the picture the exhibition on King Louis the Great²⁰⁷ and Agnes Kurcz²⁰⁸ had drawn about Hungary in the 14th century. The King Sigismund period was almost entirely re-evaluated by the exhibition held at the Museum of Fine Arts²⁰⁹ and questioned Csaba Csapodi's approach that was very negative in terms of book history.²¹⁰ The big exhibitions held in 1990,²¹¹ 2002²¹² and 2008²¹³ enriched the picture depicting the Hunyadi era in Schallaburg.²¹⁴ Lately Árpád Mikó raised the issue of re-evaluating the Jagiełło period²¹⁵ although the monography of Péter Kulcsár already formulated this need.²¹⁶ The GWZO in Leipzig (*Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa*) formed a research group for the study of the Jagiełło period.²¹⁷ At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries several magnates and high priests had a household which radiated a cultural atmosphere towards those surrounding them and which transmitted the example set by the royal court. A group of magnates kept a connection with the Humanists in Vienna, corresponded with Erasmus and Aldus Manutius.²¹⁸ When reviewing the patrons of the books published and sold by printers in Buda one can see the active role played by Hungarian magnates and high priests in providing books for the country.²¹⁹ The development in the erudition and culture of the lesser clergy and the secular intelligentsia,²²⁰ the appearance of the Humanist type schools and

the change in the curricula at parish schools and in secondary education are phenomena yet to be studied.²²¹ These, however, indicate that more had been lost in the battle of Mohács than we thought.

It seems to make no sense talking about the role in book history played by the royal court in the early modern period. However, it is undeniable that the afterlife of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* and the fact that the issue stayed on the agenda shows the influence of the non-existent royal court. The question for us here is not when King Mathias' library was destroyed or if there was a considerable number of remaining books in Buda during the Ottoman rule but the real issue is whether anyone had any information on the state of King Mathias' book collection since there were several attempts to acquire these books. By the end of the 18th century the *Bibliotheca Corvina* figured high on the Hungarian national agenda (and has stayed there ever since) as György Aranka put it: „What is often said proverbially is the following: King Mathias is dead and our hope for national scholarly endeavours passed away with him. This ruler whose mind was greater than his birth right would have had it, started to build a royal library in Great Hungary; which all fell to prey. What remained did not become a part of a national collection. It would be time to find the dusty and insect bitten volumes, each one of them a piece of the hidden treasury of our country, to bring to light and to gather together for the benefit of our home country and it would be time to set up a Hungarian library and other types of regular libraries.”²²² The *Bibliotheca Corvina* in the 18th century became a national issue to prove the existence of Hungarian national culture independent from the Habsburgs.²²³ In the 16th and 17th centuries, however, gathering the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* could have been the symbol of who would be able to unite the country.²²⁴ Even if we do not accept Csaba Csapodi's standpoint on the afterlife of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* one could still follow the periodization Csapodi set up in the history of Mathias' library.²²⁵

Klára Zolnai²²⁶ like Csapodi determined four periods in the 16th and 17th centuries: the phase of destruction after the Ottomans took Buda; the period in the last third of the 16th century when a considerable number of corvinas were reported to be in Buda; the efforts in the first half of the 17th century to recover the books; and the period after the Ottoman Turks were expelled when the remaining books were examined. For us here the first three periods are important to see how the Hungarian nobility took their stance in these questions.

We have several narrative sources which survived (Ursinus Velinus, Miklós Oláh, Martin Brenner, Johannes Alexander Brassicanus etc.).

These sources described the destruction of the library not without using dramatic turns of Humanist rhetoric.²²⁷ The basic viewpoint in these writings was the mourning of the manuscripts and the aspiration to publish as many texts of the codices as possible as soon as possible making use of printing. Martin Brenner from Beszterce published the first three tenths of Antonio Bonfini's Hungarian history with support received from Pál Istvánffy.²²⁸ Brenner also came out with Brandolinus Lippus' tract dedicated to King Mathias and Queen Beatrice thanks to the donation of Miklós Gerendi, Bishop in Transylvania.²²⁹ In the dedication of both books Brenner set Mathias as an example and asked for discipline and perseverance to stop the discord so that the country could be freed from Ottoman rule.

In the second period at the end of the 16th century there were more and more sources which indicated that King Mathias' library or a considerable number of codices may have remained in Buda (David Ungnad, Stefan Gerlach, Salomon Schweiger, Reinold Libenau etc).²³⁰

István Szamosközy's writing is among these documents which Csapodi did not know at the time he wrote his book.²³¹ In his *ars historica*, Szamosközy compared methodologically the pieces written about Hungarian history by Antonio Bonfini and Giovanni Michaele Bruto. With his paper, Szamosközy aimed to convince Prince Zsigmond Báthory to publish in printed format Bruto's manuscript, otherwise it might easily get lost or destroyed and future generations cannot learn from it.²³² It is worth noting that the representative of late Humanism, Szamosközy and János Baranyai Decsi encouraged the prince to take up arms against the Ottoman Turks.²³³ For this they needed the example of King Mathias and the Hunyadis. It is worth noting the fact that these pieces survived in a colligation of manuscripts Miklós Istvánffy had ordered when he was writing his history of Hungary.²³⁴

The third period includes the first two decades of the 17th century in which period we know that several attempts were made to acquire the corvinas from Buda, the ones taken away by the Ottoman Turks and the ones that had been taken away from Buda by others. An outstanding corvina is Pietro Ransano's codex on Hungarian history the manuscript of which was given as a gift to Tamás Bakócz.²³⁵ In the second half of the 16th century it was published in printing in Nagyszombat²³⁶ then it was owned first by Péter Révay and from 1612 on by Palatine György Thurzó who rearranged his library in 1611. Thurzó used his library as a piece of power representation following the model of King Mathias.²³⁷ Several of his books, including the Ransanus codex, were acquired by Gáspár Illésházy and were later bought from the Dubnic library of the Illésházy family by Miklós Jankovich.²³⁸



Ex libris of the Illésházy Family, 16th century

Austrian Count and General Michael Rudolf Altham,²³⁹ was an envoy of Emperor Mathias II at the court of the Ottoman Empire and at the court of Prince c Bethlen in Transylvania. The count wrote to the pope on April 8th, 1618 and asked him to offer the Ottoman the Turkish books in the princely court of Tuscany in exchange for the *Bibliotheca Corvina*.²⁴⁰ Several other letters attest to the fact that both the pope and the Jesuit order made efforts to obtain the books.²⁴¹

It is known in Hungarian literature that both Gábor Bethlen and later György Rákóczi I made several attempts to acquire the books from Buda²⁴² and so did Mihály Apafi I who managed to get one volume.²⁴³ Both Bethlen and György Rákóczi I included the King Mathias cult in their cultural policy²⁴⁴ and enriching the Library of the Principality in Gyulafehérvár with Matthias Corvinus' books would have been the apotheosis of these efforts as well as the representation of the Transylvanian Principality as the agent to re-create the formerly unified medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Mihály Apafi could only enlarge his own library with this one Corvina²⁴⁵ since the Book Collection of the Principality perished in 1658.

The history of the library of the court of the Principality in Gyulafehérvár was short, hardly a century and not well-known.²⁴⁶ Queen Isabella Sforza, King János Szapolyai's wife must have taken books with herself from the royal library in Buda since the Leon Battista Alberti-corvina got to Olomüic from the Zápolya Library.²⁴⁷

The princes of Transylvania took great care to enrich the principality's library. Prince János Zsigmond Szapolyai in the 1560s had *supralibros* installed in his books. In 1563 he had acquired the books of Menyhárt Balassa's secretary, Józsa Bódog while the books of the medieval library of Nagyvárád, which either belonged to the Order of St. Augustine or to Márton Hacza, also enriched his collection.²⁴⁸ Among his books the only surviving volumes are a book by Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, one by Commines,²⁴⁹ as well as a dedicated copy of Petrus Ramus who politely declined the offer to teach at a planned college in Szászsebes.²⁵⁰

István Báthory temporarily collected the books in Várad at his princely court for the Jesuit school in Kolozsvár. Jakó drew attention to the fact that the books which got to Győr with Demeter Náprágyi belonged in part to the Library of the Principality, among other items the collections of Pál Gyulai who was executed in 1594.²⁵¹

We can safely state that the auction inventory of the Library of Prince András Báthory listed books which had never been in Transylvania. The collections of 207 books were sold at an auction in Heilsberg in 1608.²⁵²

All the Transylvanian chancellors of the 16th century (Mihály Csáky, Ferenc Forgách, Imre Sulyok, Farkas Kovacsóczy, István Jósika),²⁵³ were university graduates and a considerable number of fiscal officials were also well-educated. The execution of the members of the conspiracy against Zsigmond Báthory in 1594 was a turning point in this respect.²⁵⁴ The scholars living near the princely court at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries such as István Szamosközy or János Baranyai Decsi would not have been able to write their books without using a rich book collection. We mentioned the note Szamosközy made about the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. In that writing in 1598 Szamosközy listed critical text editions,²⁵⁵ so not during his study abroad trip, but while he was writing his book in Gyulafehérvár. On the other hand, he also reported the barbarian destruction of the library of the principality during an uprising against Prince Zsigmond Báthory's shuttlecock policy.²⁵⁶ Therefore, Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, had to start from scratch when he founded the library of the court. It was not in vain since the notes to the Curtius translations prepared by Pál Háportoni Forró were not made in Háporton, but in Gyulafehérvár where the author spent quite a long time while writing it. The authors and editions he mentioned indicate a rich library at hand.²⁵⁷ Forró in his dedication addressed to the prince wrote about the library when praising Prince Bethlen for being a patron to scholars and academics ardently helping humanities. "Your Majesty showed his love for these when he founded a library full of wise books at his siege

in Gyulafehérvár by which your Majesty followed the praise worthy role model of King Mathias.”²⁵⁸ Gábor Bethlen is known to have carried books with him when he left his capital. István Milotai Nyilas wrote about his memories in the following way: „he is carrying on carts with him a good selection of books like a small library which he reads. He is very ambitious with his nice library in Gyulafehérvár and is involved in acquiring books and publishing books, which are dedicated to him, at his Majesty’s own costs.”²⁵⁹ From among the epic sources, let us cite here the story of János Szalárdi: „He set up a library with beautiful books in different disciplines for the College that he established at the costs of many thousands Thalers. One of the clergymen was entrusted with taking care of the library. When a scholar needs a book in the records the librarian lends it and diligently collects it in due course with no damage to the book. In return, the librarian has a salary to compensate for his work.”²⁶⁰ Let us add here, that Gábor Bethlen, during his military campaigns, confiscated books too and took them to the capital of his principality. He was aware of the power of the printed word and therefore ordered Nicolaus Mollerus in 1621 to move from Nagyszombat to Kassa so that he did not only print Catholic tracts. When returning from this military campaign he established a print shop in the capital of the Transylvanian Principality first with mixed letter types (Mollerus used Nagyszombat and Kassa letters), and then new letter types introduced by Márton Meszléni from Kolozsvár and from 1628 on by Jacob Effmurd from Silesia. This print shop became the most important officina of Transylvania in the 17th century; its publications must have enriched the Library of the Principality.²⁶¹

Five books out of Gábor Bethlen’s library are known to have survived.²⁶² His love of books, and his clear-cut cultural policy – he meant to establish a court culture in the Hungarian language and therefore created all the cultural institutions such as a school, a library and a printing shop, needed for this – were well-known among his contemporaries and later historians. Looking at the contents of the five surviving books it is no surprise that the prince read them. These were Abraham Ortelius’ geographical book, Antonio Guevara’s mirror for princes, two copies of the funeral oration for his wife’s funeral and the book written by Péter Alvinczi, the preacher from Kassa, dedicated to Bethlen. Three of these five volumes are bound with the prince’s own special binding and with his *superlibros*. His seconde wife, Catherine of Brandenburg, had made also bindings in high quality.²⁶³ We know of one of his other books, namely a Bible, which he gave as a present to Palatine Miklós Esterházy.²⁶⁴

The relationship of the library of the *Collegium Academicum*,²⁶⁵ the sec-

ondary school of the Reformed Church founded by Gábor Bethlen to the Library of the Transylvanian Principality has not been clarified yet. Zsigmond Jakó in his ground-breaking study argued that the prince opened his own library for the school. He based this claim on the fact that school regulations mentioned the library only after 1656. He assumed that the separation of the two libraries must have taken place in 1653.²⁶⁶

More is known of the library of György Rákóczi I. More will be said of his family collection in Sárospatak later but similarly to his great predecessor he also took great care of the Library of the Principality in Gyulaféhérvár.²⁶⁷ When in 1638 he purchased Máté Csanaki's (1595–1636) books that had remained in Gdańsk he took them to Sárospatak. However, 104 volumes, the ones which had copies in Sárospatak, were sent to Transylvania.²⁶⁸ Presumably these books were sent to Gyulaféhérvár and enriched the collection there with volumes on editions of the church fathers' writings, but mainly with medical books as well as volumes on chemistry and occult philosophy.

In 1658 the court in Gyulaféhérvár shared the fate of that of Buda in 1526 and later in 1541. The role of the prince's court in organising cultural and educational life was taken over by the magnates households. A fragment of either the Library of the Principality or that of the *Collegium Academicum* of the Reformed Church was saved and taken to Nagyszében. These books were incorporated into the library of the newly-founded College of Nagyenyed in 1662²⁶⁹ along with the books of Isaac Basire (1607–1676).²⁷⁰ Basire, King Charles I's court preacher, fled to Transylvania from England following the king's execution. In his memories with some exaggeration he mentioned the peril of 20000 volumes in Gyulaféhérvár.²⁷¹ The names of the different library sections in the Nagyenyed College mention Basirius (*Theca Basirii*)²⁷² but do not mention the other books from Gyulaféhérvár.

One of the political aims of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian King was to unite the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule and to occupy the whole territory.²⁷³ Acquiring the relics important for the Hungarian states²⁷⁴ such as the remaining volumes of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* would have been a symbol that he was the only one capable of expelling the Ottoman Turks from the country and not the Hungarian states or the Prince of Transylvania no matter how much support this latter would have received from Protestants.²⁷⁵ The treaty of Vasvár could also be seen as a gesture for the Ottomans. Leopold may have thought that in return his envoys could inspect the remaining corvinas in Buda. Peter Lambeck, cited by many, suggested in his diary of 1666²⁷⁶ neither the

princes of Transylvania nor the Jesuits knew what exactly they wanted to acquire so they must have seen only printed documents in bad state and unilluminated paper codices. From the point of view of our present study it makes no difference though since what matters for us now is the fact that they were intending to get any remaining documents or books. Also, the fact that the remaining volumes of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* enriched the Emperor's collection became part of the positive image Europe had of the reconquest of Buda. Julius Pflugk's inventory of the remaining books was published as early as 1688: *Epistola ad Vitum a Seckendorf praeter fata Bibliothecae Budensis, librorum quoque ultima expugnatione repertorum catalogum exhibens*.²⁷⁷ Probably not all books were transported to Vienna since those involved in the retake of Buda, for example Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, may have taken some books home.²⁷⁸

Several plans were designed to modernize the administration, economy and cultural life of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania incorporated into the Habsburg Empire. The Hungarian states had ideas and among the magnates Pál Esterházy especially was keen on doing this job. He became disillusioned because his efforts were to some degree ignored; therefore he created his own cultural policy. This met the ideas of both the Catholic and the Protestants aristocrats to the extent that the population of the country needed the re-establishment of cultural and educational institutions with the active participation of the churches. One of the fundamental elements of this institution system was to have libraries. Except for the aristocracy the knowledge of the population of the country was limited to what they learned in school. Therefore, institutions and their libraries acquired a more prominent role than in Western Europe. The king's and the magnates' role as a model in education and culture was very much in need, although too different degree in different parts of the country.²⁷⁹

Hungarian research in cultural history is yet to provide a detailed study of the influence of the royal courts in Vienna²⁸⁰ and in Prague (in absence of a Hungarian royal court) played on the culture, education and book collection habits and patronage of especially the aristocracy around the royal courts and the nobility holding offices.

At court these magnates and nobles met the aristocrats of other parts of Europe and the court was the venue where they built their network. The influence of the Polish court is also to be studied.²⁸¹

Hungarian aristocrats also paid attention to the diets in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Austria and even participated there in person. Most recent research raised the issue of connections of this kind for example

the groups focusing on all the cultural components of the baroque court in Hungary, at the University of České Budějovice, at the University of Leipzig and the basic research at the National Archives of Vienna.

Libraries of Aristocrats

The Istvánffy Library in Vinica and Paukovec

The Istvánffys of County Baranya started to rise as officials in the Jagiello era.²⁸² István Istvánffy († 1517) was King Louis II's Master of the Household, an educated man who married the lawyer Nicolas Dombai's daughter. His son, Pál Istvánffy († 1553) went on a study tour in Padova and later studied humanities and law in Bologna. His Humanist connections are known.²⁸³ Martin Brenner published the first parts of Antonio Bonfini's Hungarian history under his patronage.²⁸⁴ The Bonfini manuscript he acquired was later used by János Zsámboky when he was preparing the 1568 edition in Basel.²⁸⁵ Pál Istvánffy is remembered in Hungarian literature for his epic poems.²⁸⁶ He was on János Szapolyai's side, participated at his wedding in Székesfehérvár when Szapolyai married Isabella, the daughter of the Polish king (Sigismund I the Old) and Bona Sforza. Pál Istvánffy married twice, both times from aristocratic families. His first wife was from the Garay family while the second one, Hedvig, Iván Gyulay's daughter who was a citizen of Croatia from 1502 on. Pál Istvánffy acquired the Castle of Vinica through Hedvig Gyulay. The family moved from County Baranya²⁸⁷ to Kisasszonyfalva in Vas County to flee the Ottoman Turks. This is where *Miklós Istvánffy* (1538–1615) was born from Pál's second marriage.²⁸⁸ Miklós Istvánffy rose fast thanks to his talent and patrons. In 1569 he became royal councillor, secretary of the Hungarian Chancellery (1569–1581),²⁸⁹ in 1582 both his brother (István) and him became barons and Miklós was appointed as Palatinal Governor of Hungary. Miklós held the office of Royal Master of the Household between 1587 and 1608, from then on until his death he was Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. He travelled to Poland as an envoy of Emperor Rudolf II and was a royal commissioner in Transylvania when Zsigmond Báthory resigned as Prince of Transylvania in favour of the Habsburgs.

Miklós Istvánffy also married someone from an ancient Croatian aristocratic family when he led Erzsébet Bajnai Both, granddaughter of Viceroy (*banus Croatiae*) András Both to the altar. However, Miklós spent longer periods in Croatia only when he was old. *His library was in Vinica*, a castle South West from Varasd but there are reasons to believe that *he had a household in Paukovec* that was closer to Zagreb as well. We do not know anything about his father's books,²⁹⁰ Miklós must have inherited them. The young Miklós owed his thorough education to several outstanding

Humanists. He started his career at Archbishop Pál Várday's household and then became the secretary of Archbishop Miklós Oláh until Oláh's death.²⁹¹ He studied in Padova between 1552 and 1556 under Oláh's patronage. This is where he met and became friends with János Zsámboky. He was predestined to become a historian. When returning home, Miklós kept his foreign connections alive and was a member of the Ellebodus Humanist circle in Pozsony. Its members more strictly speaking were Miklós Oláh, István Radéczy, Nicasius Ellebodus, Miklós Istvánffy Miklós and Georg Purkircher but occasionally Boldizsár Batthyány and the botanist Carolus Clusius from the Low Countries visiting Batthyány were also involved.²⁹² It is curiosities in reading history that by studying this circle we can also do research in the history of the shared use of books.²⁹³ The possessor note *et amicorum*²⁹⁴ indicates this shared use of books. Istvánffy could have met Zsámboky and other Hungarian lords and intellectuals of Humanist interest in Vienna²⁹⁵ as well as András Kecskés who hosted a Humanist circle and inherited a part of Archbishop Miklós Oláh's books.²⁹⁶

It is unknown where Miklós Istvánffy kept his books during his active political career. It may have been in Vinica or Paukovec²⁹⁷ where he wrote his master piece about Hungarian history. It is more of a problem, however, that we know only a fragment of his library. In his ground-breaking study published in 1959, Jenő Berlász wrote the historiography of Miklós Istvánffy's book collection, reviewed all the books of the library known until then, hypothesized about possible volumes of the book collection and measured the pros and cons of possible venues for the library.²⁹⁸ Berlász pointed out the fact that in the surviving manuscript rolls (historical sources, rare printed papers and copies of ancient Greek authors) there are „shelf marks”. According to these shelf marks the folio-sized manuscripts were held at the 180 and 190 range. He emphasized the fact that behind these shelf marks there must have been an ordered and well-kept library containing several hundred volumes. The recently identified books proved that he was right.

The shelf mark appears on the prints we know of and the highest one is 2320(!). There are several shelf mark in the range of 500 and 2000 which means that the Vinica/Paukovec book collection was twice as big as the Mikulich library in Belec and two or three times larger than the Zrínyi Library in Csáktornya.

Györgyné Pajkossy started to publish complementary information in 1970 and mentioned Istvánffy's Hieronymus Cardanus volume.²⁹⁹ When Jenő Berlász added new information to his own article³⁰⁰ he could only present the manuscript in the Archives of the Academy in Zagreb.³⁰¹ He

also published new data concerning the history of this library. Berlász raised the question whether the Hilarius Corvina of the Croatian National Library³⁰² may have belonged to the Istvánffys before it got to the Draskovich family and later to its present place at the Croatian National Library. This is very important for the present study since if it is true what we wrote regarding the afterlife of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* in the previous chapter then we have found another piece of evidence for Pál Istvánffy or his son, Miklós' conscious cultural policy. A strong king who would lead the fight against the Ottoman was the ideal for the circle of nobles we mentioned in the introduction as well as for the Prince of Transylvania in this period.

Jenő Berlász presented in detail the possible ways of spreading the books of the Istvánffy library were scattered and his hypotheses were all justified. Vitruvius Pollio's fundamental book on architecture found its way from the library of the Hungarian historian (Istvánffy) to the library of County Arad with a possible detour in Upper Hungary since the Arad County Public Education Association bought it at the beginning of the 19th century there as well as the Csákys' Library.³⁰³ Another of his books, Nicolaus Reusner's Turkish text book was found in Zagreb in the Zrínyi library.³⁰⁴ In his first study published in 1959 Jenő Berlász enumerated the Humanist network Istvánffy had and he pointed out that Istvánffy must have received or bought the books written by these authors. He also mentioned the correspondence Istvánffy had with Carolus Clusius from whom he requested books.³⁰⁵

We have mentioned above his connection with the Humanist circle in Pozsony and the fact that Boldizsár Batthyány belonged to the same circle. Németújvár was on Istvánffy's way going home to Vinica. The book the magnate gave as a gift to István Beythe, Batthyány's pastor in 1570 was unknown in the Istvánffy literature until recently. It was Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus' book written to expose the cruelties committed by the Spanish inquisition,³⁰⁶ which became the main source for Gáspár Heltai's book entitled "*Háló*" (*Network*).³⁰⁷ The book survived in a colligation prepared by Beythe but the other writings in it are not from the Istvánffys.³⁰⁸ István Beythe wrote on the cover page of the Gonsalvius book the following: „*Magnificus dominus Nicolaus Istwanfy in signum amicitiae dono dedit 1570. Sapien. Cap. 5. Tunc stabuit justus in magna constantia, aduersus eos qui se angustiauerunt etc.*”. The University Library of Budapest holds the book he was given by Boldizsár Batthyány. It is Philippe de Mornay's (Mornaues) *De veritate religionis christianae religionis liber...*, a pamphlet which the historian acquired in 1586 as he wrote on the recto of the flyleaf: *Magnificus*

*Dominus Balthasar de Batthian Magister Dapiferorum Nicolao Isthuanfi dono dedit Januarii 1586.*³⁰⁹

Klára Boross published this data too in her ground-breaking study cited above in which she characterized the reading habits of the Humanist circle in Pozsony.³¹⁰ She proved in detail and based on data the paths the books took, as presents and as pieces of heirloom. Klára Boross accepted Mrs. Pajkossy's view that the Nicasius Ellebodium books which were taken from the Jesuits in Sopron to the library in the capital had originally been from the Istvánffy Library. They are marked with a shelf mark in Istvánffy's characteristic handwriting. The research is not over yet since Gábor Farkas, when arranging the old books of the University Library, found new volumes which also belonged to the Istvánffy Library. Mrs. Pajkossy listed several authors in whose books she either saw Istvánffy's notes or his well-known *supralibros* on the book binding.³¹¹

One should pay attention to the fact that Miklós Istvánffy had his books bound in a uniform manner and therefore can be considered as a bibliophilic book collector. On the binding his coat of arms is surrounded by a note referring to the highest office he held: *Nicolaus Isthvanfi de Kisaz-zonfalwa Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque Maiestatis Consiliarius ac Regni Hungariae propalatinus*. Thus, all the books which feature this *subralibros* on their binding were acquired after 1582. The fact that Istvánffy ordered an *ex libris* earlier in 1575 indicate that he regularly and in a conscious manner enlarged his library. The writing around it is the following: NICOLAVS ISTHVANFFII S. CAES. M | SECRETARIVS | AETATIS SVAE XXXVI | ANNO DOMINI M.D.LXXV.³¹² Istvánffy proved to be bibliophilic when he considered it important to write a note himself into the book he received as a present from Boldizsár Batthyány in which he recorded that the book was a gift. A part of the almost fifty books of his library that have been identified so far remained bound by the publisher and apart from the shelf number there are few instances when there is a possessor mark.

It would naturally be difficult to depict the profile of a library which numbered several thousand volumes. It would equally be hard to characterize the owner's readings and education. From this point of view, it is lucky that only fifty book titles of the collection are known. Jenő Berlász assumed that Istvánffy must have had a copy of all the important writings concerning Hungarian history in his library. The same way he must have acquired the major *Turcica* literature as well. He copied or ordered to be copied certain prints which indicates the difficulty in purchasing books. The fact that for example he copied himself Claude de Lagrange (Claudius Grangeus Biturigus) rare book entitled *De bello Melitensi a Solimano Turcar-*



Ex libris of Miklós Istvánffy, 1575

*um principe gesto...*³¹³ while staying in Gyulafehérvár shows how rich the Library of the Principality must have been. It is important to point out, based on the study of the Istvánffy Library as well as the Mikulich and later Zrínyi book collection that at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries' interest grew for French writers in History and Political Theory. It is because the number of the European peace plans concerning the Ottoman grew at that time as well as the possibility for cooperation with the Habsburgs. I believe that Péter Pázmány's efforts to convert Hungary to Catholicism and make Hungarians side with the Habsburgs would not have been so successful without this climate in which there seemed to be a way for the unification of the country. Among the few books we know Istvánffy had there are Richard Dinoth's *Adversaria historica*,³¹⁴ Michel Hurault's book on the state of France (Michel Hurault was an ardent sup-

porter of Henry IV of France and the writer of anti-Spanish pamphlets)³¹⁵ and *Annalium et historiae Francorum... scriptores* published by Jean Aubry³¹⁶ who had excellent connections in Hungary. Istvánffy followed the developments in French philology of the first half of the 16th century. This is indicated by the fact that Istvánffy purchased the critical edition of Adrien Turnèbe Varro's *De lingua Latina*.³¹⁷ He owned a book on China written in Italian³¹⁸ and a book in Spanish by Juan Maria Cordero,³¹⁹ which is an excellent example for Istvánffy's thorough knowledge in *Turcica*. From the cover page one cannot detect that the volume contains the translations of Nicolas Moffan's *Soltani Solymani Turcarum imperatoris horrendum facinus scelerato in proprium filium, natu maximum Soltanum Mustapham, parricidio* and that of Erasmus of Rotterdam's epistle entitled *Consolatoria de morte filii declamatio*. Apart from the historical books several of his handbooks of the 16th century survived such as Conrad Lychostenes' complementary writing to Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca*,³²⁰ Janus Gruterus' *Lampas*³²¹ or Matthias Quad's *Enchiridion cosmographicum* in German.³²² There are other historical writings in German from his library which survived, e.g.: the Recess of the Augsburg Diet in 1582.³²³ We can leaf through some of his medical books³²⁴ but undoubtedly, he was interested in rhetoric and philology, and was most attracted to ancient and early Medieval Greek editions of Plato, Pindar, Sophocles, Constantinos Lascaris Artemidoros and Joannes Chrisostomos, etc. He may have inherited his Humanist books, as was mentioned above, from his grandfather or his father. Several of the surviving volumes may have been owned formerly by Nicasius Ellebodius. One can therefore characterize the author of a book on Hungarian history³²⁵ as someone with a thorough and detailed knowledge of history, classical philology and of Humanist erudition.

Let us speak about his reading habits. His surviving books prove that he read a lot and on the margin put markings, added a few words or corrections similarly to Miklós Zrínyi. The best example for this is the above-mentioned handbook entitled *Appendix Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri... per Conradum Lycosthenem...*³²⁶ where, at several instances, he added lines to complement the knowledge of the author. He added the following sentences to the section on the 14th century traveller, Jean de Mandeville in a 15th and 16th century bestseller: „extat liber Ioannis de Mandeuille militis peregrinationum impressus Moguntiae, anno 1475 sed in(...) sunt falsa fere omnia. Inter alia scribit apud Turcas esse homines qui absque patre et matre nascuntur(?) cum quibus ipse fuerit locutus et conuersatus.” This note reveals two things; Istvánffy was interested in all the writings about the Ottoman Turks even if they were depicting magic births and he had and read the

incunabulum³²⁷ most probably at home (or he may have made notes on it elsewhere and at home he wrote a note into the Gesner book although this is less likely). He noticed a serious typo with the name of Thurae de Castello and crossed out *Thurae* and on the margin, wrote the correction: *Bonaventura de Castello* (which makes more sense). He wrote the following note to the name of the Dalmatian Tranquillus Parthemius Andronicus: „*Tranquillus iste Andronicus nunque docuit literas Lipsiae, sed fuit Secretarius Ludovici Griti tam Constantinopoli quam ubique usque ad obitum eius. Mortuus est Sebenici in Dalmatia anno 1572.*”

Miklós Istvánffy left a part of his books and his household in Paukovec to the Jesuits in Zagreb. According to the *Historia Domus* of Zagreb „*Moriens [Istvánffy] magnam nobis Bibliothecae sue partem Zagrabiam transcripsit, uti videre est in ijs libris quos ad tanti viri memoriam ejus liberalitate nos accepisse fatemur in Bibliotheca.*”³²⁸ The remaining books were inherited by his daughters since his son died before growing up. His daughter Éva married János Draskovich, Orsolya became the wife of János Lipcsey while Katalin was betrothed to György Keglevich. They all married into the best aristocratic families in Croatia. The books can only be followed in the János Draskovich line. János's son György who later became the Bishop of Győr, donated some books to the Jesuits of Sopron. The *Litterae Annuae* of Sopron from 1637 has a note written by György Dobronoki on this which was published by Jenő Berlász in his above-mentioned study: „*Bibliothecam ab avo suo materno Nicolao Istvanffy ad se devolutam Collegio donavit Sopronii*”.³²⁹ After the decree of Queen Maria Theresa that removed the Jesuits from all institutions of the monarchy, Jesuit libraries were dispersed. The same fate fell to the libraries of the aristocratic families which survived until the 20th century; some of these must have had books from the former Istvánffy book collection. It is to be hoped that thorough catalogue work and with the help of IT technology further books will turn up from the library of the Hungarian magnate and historian.³³⁰

The Mikulich Library in Belec

The *Belec Library* of the *Mikulich* raise a number of interesting questions not strictly related to our topic but we must touch upon them. The history of the castle is well researched and fortunately some of the Croatian studies have been translated into Hungarian. However, the statements made in these articles are not referenced with archival or other sources. The history of the castle, which is situated in Varasd County, is primarily

known from local history³³¹ and archeological studies.³³² The most thorough study was written by Emilij Laszowski.³³³ In the early modern period the castle belonged to the Keglevich. Personalis Tamás Mikulich (dies in 1649) was offered the castle in 1635. Tamás Mikulich was a very wealthy man, therefore it is no wonder that he collected huge treasures and an important library in the Castle of Belec. His son István died at the same time he did in 1649. A lot of complaints were filed against his other son, Sándor at the Viceroy's office and the diet in 1655 put his affairs on the agenda³³⁴ and entrusted György Erdődy (Act CXV) to investigate. Sándor Mikulich's wealth was confiscated and taken away in 1657 by order.³³⁵ Some of the historians (Nadilo) wrote that with a bigger sum of money he fled to Ottoman territory where he was killed. This seems to be contradicted by the document according to which *Francofurti decima die Aprilis Anno 1658* confirmed the inventory and the true or false nature of the statements made during the inventory.³³⁶ Let us mention here the fact that the castle was bought by György Erdődy, the man in charge of the investigation from the royal treasury. The inventory had a bad reputation at the time and the employees of the royal treasury were reputedly scandalous thieves.

The book inventory is incomplete. Mikulich expected the sentence, therefore had made a thorough inventory of his treasures but unfortunately these inventories are unknown. Therefore we do not know whether a complete inventory exists or not. What is striking, however, is the size of the library. The number of books listed and left in boxes in Belec on October 24th, 1657 by Imre Ordódy, Councillor of the Treasury was 85 and further *Nro. 22 pro pueri Alexandri studiis valentibus*. 15 more books were found in the castle, 4 more books (Bible and books of devotion) were given to the St. György Parish and 4 old medical books (*libri quatuor medici antiqui*) were offered to the poor girl (*quaedam misera puella*). The inventory said 2 copies of one book and 7 copies of another book. That is 137 books altogether. The next inventory was confirmed by Mikulich on April 10th, 1658 when he made a statement as well. The inventory lists the books as 126 items³³⁷ but at the end it says that there are altogether 1080 books the value of which was 4126 Rheingulden (*Numerus librorum Mille Octaginta*). Miklós Zrínyi owned half as many books while Johann Weichart Valvasor, a member of the Royal Society of London who resided in this period in the nearby Wagensperg in Carinthia had 1530 volumes (2600 writings).³³⁸

Before examining the contents of the books let us mention here that Mikulich did not find it fair that the 4 medical books were returned to „the poor girl” since the father of the girl gave them to him.³³⁹ This episode shows how even the owners of rich libraries seized every opportuni-

ty to enlarge their collection. It is surprising how little we know of either the father, Tamás or the son, Sándor Mikulich's studies.³⁴⁰ Considering the fact we know of the father, he must have studied law and we believe that the library was basically built by him. One of the books of the son is known, according to the note he was a *magister*. At the end of the book there are moralising notes in his handwriting.³⁴¹

It is not impossible that the first inventory was made of the books Imre Ordódy (the executor) selected for himself.³⁴² The fact that the two book lists, in most part, are overlapping makes it plausible. In any case, the councillor had a good taste and so had Tamás and Sándor Mikulich since the identifiable titles indicate several curiosities (it is almost impossible to identify the editions). It was a multi-lingual library which clearly shows that book purchase was possible for Croatian nobility from Graz as well as Venice. The fact that after the legal procedure Sándor Mikulich could live in Frankfurt indicates that he was well connected there and also that the international book market in Frankfurt offered opportunities.

We find only three books in Hungarian among the items on the first list. A New Testament, a *Horologium Principum* of Antonio Guevara, and the main work of Péter Pázmány, so called *Kalauz*. Unfortunately, the topic of Italian books is not always clear, the clerk mentions them as *liber italicus*. It is interesting, even surprising that he had Orlando Furioso by Ludovico Ariosto, Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* and Don Quixote in Italian translation (*liber italicus auctore Quixote de la mancha*). The term *Liber italicus rhythmicus* is indicative. In connection with this let us mention Hermann Finck's *Practica Musica* which was a a hundred-year-old classic then. The situation is similar with the German books. The clerk making the inventory put down *liber germanicus* and may have indicated the topic. They were legal and military books, one focused on artillery. The collection was very strong in legal books from the classics of Roman Law to the 17th century tracts and the law of war. The history books were contemporary in most part although there was a book by Antonio Bonfini and a few classics from antiquity. The books on the reign of King Louis XIII and Antoine Aubery's *Ministerium Cardinalis Richelii et Mazarini*³⁴³ indicate that they were bought by Sándor Mikulich. The latter one was published after Alexander's father died. Besides books from contemporary Catholic theology, there are a few medical books (*liber medicus*) and the contemporary Daniel Berkringer's *Institutiones oeconomicae didactico-problematicae*³⁴⁴ which indicates the modern thinking of its author.

Analysing the second inventory is easier since the clerks described the books in thematic units. This may refer to the fact that the books were

ordered thematically in the Castle. This hypothesis is confirmed by some notes in the books such as *Historici diversi, magni libri ... quadraginta, Minores historici centum, Chimici viginti, Astrologi Sexaginta libri*.

It has not been recognized so far how modern Mikulich's thinking was. The fact that they separated history and politics is an indication for this. Unfortunately, out of the 1080 books only a hundred is known from the inventory by their author and title. Item 74 is described in the following way: *Quadraginta libri politici aristocratici, democratici etc., denique pro diverso statu modernorum temporum, mirabiliter discurrentes politice instruentes*. I think we would not be far from the truth if here we listed Miklós Zrínyi or Miklós Pázmány's modern Italian history and French political theory readings.³⁴⁵ In the history section there is a bilingual (Latin and Croatian) book depicting the life of Emperor Ferdinand II.³⁴⁶

The modern books of the thematic section on *Spirituales* contains Jesuit authors (Roberto Bellarmino, Carolo Caraffa in Italian) although it is surprising how many books were spiritual and how much they emphasized personal devotion. I cannot decipher the item *Concionatores decem neotericis, in 40 libros distributi* since the term neoteric means something else from one period to another. The terms *libri spirituales manuales diversi, sexaginta, és a libri orationum devotarum centum*, on the other hand, are unambiguous. If we recall the moralising note based on St. Augustine, Sándor Mikulich wrote at the end of the book on papal power (which later was acquired by the Zrínyi library and thus survived)³⁴⁷ one could believe that that poor girl lied or if she did not then Mikulich, the *politicus*, did not act in harmony with his belief.

Based on the identifiable books an interesting phenomenon can be noticed. Several of the contemporary magnates were thinking in a similar way as Péter Pázmány and under his influence converted to Catholicism. The role the Jesuits played in re-building the Catholic Church is unquestionable. It is, however, also true that the magnates showed interest in the work of other religious orders as well. Some of them turned toward the Franciscans (Ádám Batthyány, the older Pál Esterházy). The Nádasdy gave donations to the Servites (Loreto and in the 18th century Vátszentkút). On the Nádasdy and Esterházy estates the Cistercian order gained ground while the Zrínyis were more connected to the Pauline order and the order of St. Augustine. I do not wish to overstretch this point but the Mikulich library had the most important writings of many religious orders, even those which were contemporary such as the book on the life of St. Norbert which was published in the printing shop of their Monastery in Strahov when the relics of St. Norbert were transported to Prague.³⁴⁸

The Mikulich owned Sigismundus Ferrarius' history books of the Hungarian Dominicans,³⁴⁹ another one about reclaiming the houses for the Cistercian order after these had been occupied by other orders (this latter could only have been bought by Sándor since it came out after the death of his father)³⁵⁰ and a very rare book by the Jesuit Théophile Raynaud about the Carmelites.³⁵¹ They also owned books by Benedictine nuns, the visions of Bridget of Sweden and Elisabeth of Schönau³⁵² as well as books from several Jesuit, Augustine and Carmelite authors. Therefore Sándor Mikulich must have had a wide perspective if he studied this huge library even in part.

The whole inventory indicates how boring the work was for the clerks. The number of books in each section (e.g.: such as school philosophy books), is rounded 30, 40 or 60. There are 80 medical books out of which 30 *hebraistae lapidum et animalium*. It is noteworthy that the Belec library had Pietro Andrea Mattioli's very expensive botany book as well.

To sum it up, one can say that the Mikulich library was one of the biggest book collections of the period similar to the Nádasdy library in Pottendorf. The Nádasdy library contained books which came out a generation later but the Belec library was modern in terms of the literature of the first half of the 17th century. It may well be that Hungarian historiography has overlooked the Mikulich and had eyes for Miklós Zrínyi only. Therefore no serious research has been made to explore the Mikulich family's activities and careers. Maybe new documents will turn up in Zagreb or Frankfurt which will allow us to get to know them more thoroughly.

The Zrínyi Libraries in Csáktornya

Among the magnates in Croatia the Zrínyis (Šubić Zrinski) are the most well-known in Hungarian historiography.³⁵³ Historians tracked the family back to 1066 to the land-owning Šubić near Zára (Zadar). The family became a symbol of resistance against the Ottoman and acquired estates more to the North. In the 16th and 17th centuries they were related to all important Hungarian and Croatian aristocratic families³⁵⁴ (the Frangepáns, the Draskovich, the Guthis the Országhs, the Gyarmathi Balassa, the Ghimesi Forgách, the Batthyány, the Nádasdy, the Thurzó, the Széchy, etc). Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566), the Hero of Szigetvár,³⁵⁵ Croatian Viceroy, became maybe the most well-known member of the family in Europe. His son, György Zrínyi (1549–1603), was Master of the Treasury while his son, György Zrínyi (1598–1626) was appointed Viceroy. His children, Miklós

(1620–1664) was a Hungarian poet while Petar (1621–1671) wrote poetry in Croatian. Both of them became Viceroy of Croatia. With the death of Miklós's son, Ádám died the Zrínyi aristocratic family.

The poet *Miklós Zrínyi's library* has been researched in a monography (1991) in an up-to-date way with a complete bibliography of literature up to 1991.³⁵⁶ It presented all available documents and all the surviving books. An international exhibition was held between 2005 and 2007 from the books of the Zrínyi library at four locations (Zagreb, Bratislava, Martin, Budapest) and the catalogue was translated into five languages.³⁵⁷ In our present study let us give the broad outlines of the history of the library and attempt to add to Tibor Klaniczay's ground-breaking and substantial piece³⁵⁸ by analyzing the contents of Miklós Zrínyi's readings.

Only a few book collections in Hungary are known from the 16th and 17th centuries which would show bibliophilism as a common thread running in a family through several generations. *Miklós Zrínyi's library in Csáktornya* was not one of those although we do have some data concerning his ancestors' erudition.

In sources concerning Miklós Zrínyi's grandfather, György, one reference has been found which states that he had a book or a pamphlet. In his letter written to his brother-in-law, the Humanist Boldizsár Batthyány on December 12th, 1571 in Monyorókerék he wrote the following among other things: „Furthermore, I know that you ex litteris understood and heard about military sea operations. I am sending you again how the fight took place as it was written down. This has been sent to me from Venice. Because one of my bailiffs from the seaside happened to be in Venice and this writing was sent through him. You can trust that I sent you this in print.”³⁵⁹ There is not much more known of the poet's father, György Zrínyi's³⁶⁰ books. He must have had Christoph Lackner's *Galea Martis* since the author presented him a copy. Then he gave it to his farm-bailiff, István Jóna. Along with several other books of Jóna's this one returned to Miklós Zrínyi's collection. György Zrínyi received a Lyon edition of Curtius Rufus' Alexander the Great story in 1618 from István Szilágyi, a presbyter of a St. Mihály church. 15 books from Bailiff Jóna's library was acquired by Zrínyi the most modern of which was published in 1633, therefore the books could not have been included in the Zrínyi library before that date.³⁶¹ Zrínyi may have got hold of them after the death of his bailiff the year of which we do not know.

Before presenting the book collection of the poet Miklós Zrínyi, let us say a few words of the printed *ex libris* which survived from the 16th century with the inscription *Comitum de Zrinio*.³⁶² Regarding the debate among

researchers about the different *ex libris* of Ferenc Nádasdy in the 17th century, the question came up whether the coat-of-arms engraving may have been prepared for the Zrínyi album.³⁶³ Several prints could thus be made of the incised design which later may have been used as *ex libris*. This proved not to be true since the coat-of-arms in a separate leaf was prepared with a different inscription and is the mirror image of the printed one which contradicts the rules of heraldry. It is also worth noting that the letter type of the inscription in the *ex libris* prepared for Miklós Oláh is identical to the one used for the Zrínyi coat-of-arms print.³⁶⁴

It is obvious that the poet did not inherit a lot of books; his library was the result of his own bibliophilism. The determining impulse must have come during his study trip in Italy. We can take it for granted that he brought home a lot of books with him just like other Hungarian students studying abroad and young aristocrats travelling in foreign countries. He had great opportunities to select these books on the book markets in Italian towns. As a memory of his visit of Rome in 1636 Zrínyi kept Pope Urban VII's book of poems dedicated by the Pope himself. He may have discovered several representatives of contemporary Italian literature during this visit.³⁶⁵ The fact that a substantial part of the surviving books was published before or around the time of this visit in Italy is a telling proof how important this study trip must have been in the history of the library.

He must have started his book purchase following this trip. We do not have documents attesting to these purchases but the names of those who may have assisted him in acquiring him books in Venice, Vienna or Graz (Alessandro Moro also managed the financial dealings of the Viceroy of Croatia in Venice, engraver Giacomo Piccini was in direct contact with the Zrínyis, Marco Ginammi, a publisher and book merchant in Venice, Zammaria Turrini who published the Croatian version of Zrínyi's *Adriai-tengernek Syreneja* (*The Siren of the Adriatic Sea*) in 1660, Matthaeus Cosmerovius who published the *Syrena* in 1651).

37.98% of the books owned by Zrínyi came out in Italy out of which 68 % was from Venice. 21.93%, of his books were from Germany, 5.07% were Swiss (in Latin, French or Italian languages), while 4.52% were from Austria. 8.85% of Zrínyi's books came from France, 11.55 % were from the Northern part of the Low Countries while 3.58 % from the Southern part of the Low Countries. Taking away the 3.18% sine loco books, the rest, 3.34% of all his books were published either in Hungary, Bohemia, Spain, Sweden, Denmark or England. If we consider the town where the books were published then the picture is what it normally is: the cen-

tres of European book print and trade are listed in order: Venice, Frankfurt am Main, Lyon, Amsterdam, Rome, Leiden, Vienna, Köln, Basel, Antwerp, Strasbourg, Paris and Bologna. The rest of the towns where the books were published were represented by fewer than ten books.

The statistics above refer to all the books Zrínyi owned not just the ones he acquired through commercial channels. He acquired a significant number of books according to the possessor marks from their former owners. The books which used to belong to the Zrínyi library and we still have them; have many names in them most of which are unknown to us. There are, however, several well-known former owners from among the contemporary Hungarian and Croatian magnates which are an indication that aristocrats, besides political and military campaigns, spent time to enquire about one another's books and they borrowed from each other or acquired a collection or the most valued ones for themselves.

One way of enlarging one's library in that period was to purchase a book collection after the death of its owner or to be left the library and thus these books were incorporated into their collection. According to the possessor marks only one book collection enriched the Zrínyi library this way that of the Listi's, among which about a hundred could have been taken to Csáktornya.³⁶⁶ It is worth evoking the story of Konrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium liber*. In 1576 it belonged to legal scholar Zachariás Mossóczy,³⁶⁷ Bishop of Tinnin according to the possessor mark. Between 1643 and 1650 György Branik of Újhely³⁶⁸ owned it from whom Zrínyi must have got the book because in an undated note which must have been written after 1650 János Listi III claimed that the Viceroy gave him the book as a present. Along with the rest of the Listi books this one returned to the library in Csáktornya.

A connection, even if to a smaller degree, can be detected between the Zrínyi collection and the Draskovich library which included a part of Miklós Istvánffy's manuscripts and printed book collection after Istvánffy died without a male heir. Thanks to his first wife, Eusebia Draskovich, Zrínyi was welcome in the Draskovich households and the books kept there must have attracted his attention. Maybe through this family relation he acquired one of Istvánffy's books or the book may have been acquired by the Listi library first and then by Csáktornya since there is their usual mark. Zrínyi also borrowed books from Draskovich and lent them some himself.³⁶⁹ The same way some of the books of Péter Erdődy, György Rátkay, György Thurzó, György Lippay, Gáspár Bánffy, Martin Lippich or Sándor Mikulich were shelved in the Zrínyi library. We could keep listing several more names and could think through the relationship between

the owner of the book and Zrínyi. However, the notes do not say whether the volume was bought, lent or given as a gift. The examples above are the ones where we do know, at least in part, the history of the book collection where the book formerly belonged.

The library was installed in Csáktornya although it is not to be excluded that Zrínyi took some books with him to his other households (Vienna, Zagreb) and probably he did not work in his library but in his study. We do not have the detailed plan of the Csáktornya household or the location of the library in it at the time Zrínyi lived since the only visitor who described his house was the Dutch Jacobus Tollius and he wrote only a short note about it. Maybe he installed the library after 1638 next to the archives. According to an inventory prepared in 1670, the books were stored there in four cabinets. The order and the instalment of the books on the shelves can be detected from the notes in the surviving volumes. The nearly 500 books were arranged according to their size. This order probably made the search of books difficult. It may have been one of the reasons why the poet had a catalogue prepared according to thematic arrangement in 1662 although the inventory may have been made in relation to his will dated April 6, 1662 in which Zrínyi did not mention his library but ordered the arrangement of his archives. It is not unfounded to claim therefore that the *Catalogue*, dated October 10th, was in some way connected to measures taken in relation to the will. Zrínyi must have participated in deciding about the thematic groups but the book list was prepared by one of his clerks. The thematic sections which are characteristic for the poet are the following: I. *Historici antiqui Romani et alii*; II. *Historici omnis generis et nationis mixtim*; III. *Historici Pannoniae et Orientalium*; IV. *Politicis*; V. *Militares*; VI. *Geographi et Cosmographi*; VII. *Poetae Latini*; VIII. *Poetae Itali*; IX. *Scholastici*; X. *Domesticae, Oeconomicae*; XI. *Miscellanei*.

Comparing this thematic order to those of his contemporaries, the following points are noteworthy: history is differentiated, national and Eastern history are connected, political and military literature are separated from each other and from history, and classical and contemporary poetry are set apart. These show that the thematic order (*ordo*) was decided by the user of the library since contemporary cataloguing did not usually make these differentiations. By separating the Hungarian related books Zrínyi, in fact, made the first collection of *Hungarica*. This type of separate collections became common practice from the 18th century for scholars, such as Mátyás Bél, David Czvitinger, Johannes Deccard, Péter Bod, etc. and for aristocrats such as László Radvánszky and Gedeon Ráday.

Miklós Zrínyi was not bibliophilic in the sense that he did not demand

his books to have a decorative outlook. He did not have them bound in uniform leather, or marked them with an *ex libris* wearing his coat-of-arms. Both of his books that survived are the way they were published; in simple white parchment, in pork or goat leather binding and there are quite a lot of unbound, uncut volumes in paper cover. He kept the leather binding of the books of their former owners and did not have their fragile pages repaired. If, for some reason, he valued some of his books more he had them bound in red leather. Binding took place after he read and made notes in the books and the knife of the binder often cut out parts of the notes Zrínyi made.

Zrínyi, however, had his ownership recorded in his books which is shown in his *ex libris* featuring his portrait. Elias Widemann prepared the first such *ex libris* in 1646 with the poet's motto *Nemo me impune lacesset*. This can be found in the biggest number in the inner cover page or on one of the blank pages of the Zrínyi books. Another print of the same engraving appeared in the series entitled *Comitium gloriae centum...* of the year 1646,³⁷⁰ containing the portrait of a hundred magnates. Another one was made in 1648-1649 but was inserted into one book only. Often Zrínyi himself wrote his motto on his *ex libris*: *Sors bona nihil aliud*. On his new *ex libris* made in 1652 by also Elias Widemann he used this motto.



Miklós Zrínyi, 1652

Zrínyi probably regulated the use of the library and hired someone we do not know who to manage it. There is information from Mark Forstall – the future bishop of Kildare in Ireland – that the library could be used by people other than the household staff members.³⁷¹ Tollius, the visitor mentioned above could also see it but probably István Vitnyédi, the solicitor visiting the Viceroy from Sopron or the Croatian noble man(?) and scholarly priest Juraj Krizanić who stayed in Nedelic and other aristocrats from the neighbourhood were also allowed to read the books there.

The books themselves show signs of being used almost exclusively by the owner, politician and poet Miklós Zrínyi. In the surviving books we can find the possessor marks of the former owners or Miklós Zrínyi's. He liked making notes on the margin in his characteristic handwriting, even a poem was written as a note into a book. These notes were published in the above-mentioned monograph about his library although researchers were studying them for a long time. A doctoral dissertation was prepared about them between the two world wars.³⁷² When Zrínyi was writing a tract and he found the book he was just reading interesting for the tract, he made a quasi-abstract of it. Zrínyi paid special attention to books about Hungarian history during the Ottoman era, especially where members of his family were mentioned and made special marks so that he could later find the sections easily.

The thematic section *Theologici* was completely missing from the library, researchers hold different views on why it was so. On one hand, we can draw the conclusion that these provided knowledge not primarily relevant for a politician.³⁷³ On the other hand, it is unlikely he did not buy or receive or was left such books. As Boldizsár Batthyány gave his books on theology to the Protestant school in Némétújvár, the same way Zrínyi may easily have donated religious books and tracts on religious debates to a church institution. The most probable such institutions may have included the Augustine order, Mark Forstall himself,³⁷⁴ The Pauline Monastery in Szentilona who kept the family tomb or the Franciscans who Zrínyi installed in Csáktornya in 1658.³⁷⁵ Zrínyi remembered the latter as well as the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin of Zagreb and Pettau in his will. Studying Zrínyi's writings indicates that he acquired Catholic theological knowledge through either his Italian readings or theological studies in harmony with his political ideas of society. I am of the view that these thoughts should be considered when one is describing Zrínyi's readings. On the other hand, a man can go „from active but unconscious heroism to contemplative heroism” (coining Pál Ács's phrase)³⁷⁶ who kept the family tomb or the Franciscans who Zrínyi installed in Csáktornya

in 1658. Zrínyi's daily duties required him to become a hero and he was forced to make a compromise which a conscious and erudite politician may have experienced as a sacrifice even without reading books on theology, especially because his national hero ideals embodied by literature he knew from other sources than theology. His daily duties and the need to forge political alliances led him to theoretical readings. When talking about alliances in the 17th century it would have been hard to leave out the church. The church on its turn expresses their interest in theology to justify their actions. Therefore, I find Sándor Bene's arguments important which leads me back to the hypothesis that Zrínyi must have had some knowledge of theology.³⁷⁷

More than half of the books are in Latin, one third is in Italian, the rest is French, Hungarian, German, Czech, Spanish or multilingual (Latin-Italian, Latin-Greek, Latin-French dictionaries). It is worth noting that the large number of Italian books is due to the fact that the poet had a lot of books which originally came out in Latin, French, or Spanish in Italian translation.

A lot has been said above about the signs that indicate the way the owner of the library used his book collection. Each book was acquired because Zrínyi was specifically interested in them. Let me refer here only to three groups which are outstanding among contemporary Hungarian libraries in terms of their up-to-datedness and relative richness. These are books in military science,³⁷⁸ political theory and contemporary Italian poetry. Tibor Klaniczay termed Zrínyi's erudition of *modern European scope* and presented it through Zrínyi's reading in contemporary literature and mainly in political theory and politics. The financial documents of the Zrínyi estates have, in part, been published in Hungary³⁷⁹ and Croatia.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, I have not yet read an analysis made by an economic historian on the influence of the books in the section of *Domesticae, oeconomiae* of the Zrínyi library upon the practical management of the estates. The contemporary European magnate libraries of Zrínyi's time did not feature such a thorough classical (from antiquity and the Middle Ages) as well as contemporary manuals on agricultural estate management. His were mainly in Italian but also in Latin. This section also included Italian, French and Hungarian cook books (while there are no German, English or Flemish cook books).³⁸¹ The section entitled *Miscellanei* is indeed mixed and is as interesting as *Lymbus* is for archives. This section includes concise medical books (not ones focusing on a sub area), manuals on mineralogy and selected books on philosophy. Clearly, Zrínyi did not want

to delve into details as far as philosophy went except ethics related to politics and governance. Being a true Baroque personality, when it came to taking sides between the real great philosophical stances of his times, namely Descartes' deep studies in one area or Athanasius Kircher's *sapientia universalis*, he decided not to choose between the two. Zrínyi made a compromise and went deep into studying the issues within his own competence and commitments while acquiring knowledge *universalis* in the domains outside his sphere in which he could not in any case have an influence.

We believe that discussions with the staff of his household assisted in enlarging the scope of Zrínyi's thinking. We find it even more important to highlight the fact that Zrínyi's house chaplain, the Augustine Mark Forstall³⁸² could keep his books with himself. This *bibliotheca* of 33 volumes and manuscripts allowed the presence of modern Catholic theology in the household of Csáktornya. His books were authored by Augustines, Benedictines and Franciscans but primarily by Jesuits. We do not know how much Zrínyi read of these books. However, they were at his disposal.

After the death of Miklós Zrínyi, his brother Péter moved into the mansion in Csáktornya so the two households cohabited for half a decade. The division of the heritage between Péter and Miklós' widow did not have a consequence for the library. Péter Zrínyi's collection stayed in Ozaly and him, most probably, kept books in his house in Zagreb too. He took, however, a small collection with him to Csáktornya as well as his wife. Katalin Frangepán, who being a writer herself,³⁸³ must have kept books with her. The affairs of Viceroy Péter Zrínyi turned fatal by the beginning of 1670 when he was sentenced to confiscation of property and death along with Ferenc Nádasdy and Kristóf Frangepán. At spring 1671 the officers of the Habsburg army led by Paris Spankau looted his house in Csáktornya while Miklós Erdődy "visited" his house in Zagreb. The property of Miklós Zrínyi's widow and among others the library was kept intact.

This sad and tragic event resulted in a lot of inventories and this is how we know that there were 200 books in Ozaly in 1672 (*libros maiores et minores circiter N° 200.*). These books were transported to Károlyváros after which they disappeared along with the rest of Péter Zrínyi's belongings. The copies of *Adrianszkoga mora syrena* (*The Siren of the Adriatic Sea*) written by Miklós Zrínyi, translated to Croatian by Péter Zrínyi were confiscated at another time. The lands he owned near the River Mura were confiscated in two parts. An invaluable appendix of one of the inventories from 1671 survived and is available today: *Libri. Secundum cathalogum adiunctum*

ut littera A. The booklet appended contains a 95-item list of Péter Zrínyi's confiscated books.³⁸⁴



Péter Zrínyi, 1650

The clerk writing the inventory translated the Italian, German, French and Croatian titles into Latin. Oftentimes he referred to the topic of the books in general terms or copied the title from the spine. The authors' names were sometimes so distorted that it makes identification impossible and it must have been the result of dictation. The books were mainly in Italian and Latin and were mainly medical books: 21 items on surgery, anatomy, pharmaceuticals and horse care. Antique authors such as Aesop, Cicero, Curtius Rufus, Sallustius, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Vergilius, Tacitus represent a similarly significant proportion with 21 items. Compared to his brother's library, he was not well equipped with books on military science, politics or history although we do not know what books Péter Zrínyi had in Ozaly and Zagreb. Péter Zrínyi was a great figure of Croatian poetry, therefore it is not surprising that he kept books on rhetoric and Italian literature such as Marino's *La Sampogna* and *Gerusalemme liberata* close to him. Péter Zrínyi's interest in encyclopaedias of natural philosophy and esoterism, characteristic of the period, – he owned 8 items in this

category – was similar to his brother’s. A book on office management, an inventory on postal stations, Cesare Vecellio’s album on the history of fashion as well as albums of several towns, including that of Venice indicate the modernism of the library. Among his books on history (all in all there were seven items) three were about the French while the rest focused on the Ottoman Turks and the surrounding regions. His interest in law is no surprise although only 2 items figure in this category. The regulations of the University of Leuven must have been brought home by his son, János Zrínyi (1650–1703) from his study trip in the Low Countries. János must have used the French grammar in the list as well as the volume *Selectiora linguae Gallicae*. A code of law in Venice and a Venice guide book in Italian refer to Zrínyi’s connection to Venice. The most intriguing item is the one we did not manage to identify in 1991 due to the lack of precise description. Item 21 of the book list *Schola veritatis aperta Italica in 16* actually is Liugi Giuglaris’ book: *La scuola della verita aperta a precncipi ... con occasione della regia educatione data al serenissimo Carlo Emmanuele 2. duca di Sauoia*.³⁸⁵ This book indicates that the magnates and nobles in Croatia at the middle of the 17th century had a copy of the the curricula of schools for noble young men since Giuglaris’ book about a balanced state of mind and virtues was a school book used by the academia for nobles in Turin and in a similar school in Naples.³⁸⁶ Item 52 of the inventory was the book of Senator Carlo Ruini of Bologna. This was not just about horse anatomy, horse diseases and how to care for them but it also taught young nobles the etiquette by advising them on how to care for and live with horses.³⁸⁷ Item 58 must have been a similar – unidentified – book in German: *Equorum Thesaurus Germanicus*.

Peter Zrínyi, similarly to his brother, was a well-educated, well-read man, open to the world who spoke several languages. The big part of his libraries in Ozaly and Zagreb were looted by soldiers, his books in Csáktornya were confiscated by the Chamber and no books have turned up since then. Only one book is known with the possessor mark of Péter Zrínyi, an *Odyssey* which was misplaced among Miklós Zrínyi’s books before 1662.

Regarding Péter Zrínyi, let us return one more time to our line of thought about the Croatian nobility. Sándor Bene in several studies wrote about the transition from a *croatus*, or a *croato-hungaricus* identity to the beginning of the formation of a definite Croatian national identity. Bene wrote about this most markedly in his book about the life and books of György Ráttkay³⁸⁸ and in another study in which he listed nobility, high positioned clericals and knights who were actors in this process of the

formation of a Croatian national identity in the second half of the 17th century.³⁸⁹ Rátkay dedicated his book entitled *Memoria regum et banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae* to Péter Zrínyi.³⁹⁰ The Viceroy must have been in personal contact with Johannes Blaeu, the map publisher in Amsterdam, who published Giovanni Lucio's description of Dalmatia and Croatia twice with a dedication to him.³⁹¹ Establishing family history (Mark Forstall), searching for ancestors, forming a gallery of the ancestors, establishing a library and a collection of curiosities. Of course, all these were not simply a question of collections for the nobility in Croatia or for Nádasdy or for the Hungarian magnates; it was also an issue regarding their search for national identity.

Ádám Zrínyi was born in 1662 in Vienna in either Miklós Zrínyi's town house or that of the Löbls (therefore he is registered as „Viennensis” at the University of Vienna). His parents were Miklós Zrínyi and his second wife, Mary Sophie Löbl. The short monography of Emilij Laszowski, the expert on Ádám Zrínyi's life came out in Hungarian.³⁹² When reviewing his library, Gábor Hausner went through the old and the newly discovered documents³⁹³ analysed his erudition and view of history.³⁹⁴

A depiction we have of Ádám Zrínyi shows a young man born more for the library, court life and diplomatic missions and less for the battle scene. He took his father and the Zrínyi legacy seriously. First, he was educated in Varasd and Verőce in his mother's household, then in Vienna at the Jesuit College. The remaining volumes of his library are mainly schoolbooks from this period. His secondary education results were outstanding and attention often centred around him because he was a Zrínyi. He was enrolled at the University of Vienna from 1673 and after his year of poetry and rhetoric his talent was recognized here as well. Josephus Gallicius gave him a copy of his book *Geometria militaris* with a dedication to the young Ádám, it is today kept in Zagreb.³⁹⁵ Then he studied law. Through his mother he was a member of the Austrian court aristocracy, became Master of the Horse, a high court dignitary, and Emperor Leopold I showed signs of his attention to him several times. Ádám Zrínyi was always offered space in publications greeting the Emperor and his wife. His legal disputation, *Disputatio juridica seu assertiones de tutela et cura*, was published in Vienna in 1679 under the auspices of Emperor Leopold I.³⁹⁶ Ádám Zrínyi stayed in Vienna until the summer of 1679, then returned to his estates near the River Mura to inspect the state of his estates there before going to Leuven to continue his studies at the university there. The notes made during his studies in Leuven survived and can be seen in the *Bibliotheca Zriniana* in Zagreb. From his manuscript *Manuscriptum ex*

iure civili we know that at the beginning of 1680 he stayed first in Brussels and in March he went to Leuven and was graduated as a *baccalaureus* from the Law Faculty there. The last entry in his note book in Leuven was on January 16th, 1681. From his two-volume French manuscript on *De la fortification militaire* it seems he also studied military fortification and bought a few books in French as well during his study trip. Most of his books are in legal studies. One must, however, bear in mind that during his life the whole Zrínyi library was always at his disposal to enrich his knowledge.

Ádám Zrínyi became major in 1680 when he returned to Csáktornya and started the life of a magnate. He managed his estates, participated in political life and at battle at the head of his soldiers. He identified with and took over Péter Zrínyi's activities to support and finance the publications of books in Croatian. A telling data is that he was an actor in keeping alive in Croatian literature Péter Zrínyi's *Adriai tengernelk Syrenaia* (in Croatian *Adrianszokoga mora syrena*). In 1683 he was in contact with Pavao Ritter Vitezović, a key figure in creating a Croatian national identity in the 17th century.³⁹⁷ Vitezović was the author of *Oddilyenje Sigetsko* written about Miklós Zrínyi of Castle Sziget, which first came out in Linz in 1684 and in Vienna in 1685.³⁹⁸ The Linz edition of 1684 started with a eulogy of Ádám Zrínyi. In the same year Ádám Zrínyi married Katharina Maria Lamberg from an ancient Austrian family. His life, however, centred on the battle field in these years. He participated at the liberation of Vienna and then in battles in Hungary. On August 19th, 1691 he was fatally wounded in the battle of Szalánkemén and was buried by the Pauline order in the family tomb in Szentilona.

The Zrínyi library probably stayed in Csáktornya until Ádám's death since he must have enriched the family collection in the ancestral home, although probably he had books in his house in Vienna as well. No catalogue remained from the inventories made at his death although there is a conspicuous numbering on the books which would indicate a new listing around 1695 and which allows us to estimate his book collection in Csáktornya to number around 800 volumes. The library in Vienna was probably added to the big collection in Csáktornya when his widow left the ancestral place in 1692 for good and took the library with her into her second marriage to Vöttauba (Bítov), to the z Vlašime estate of her second husband, Maximilian Arnošt. Two girls were born from the marriage which ended the Jankovský z Vlašime family's male line. Count Heinrich Josef Daun acquired Bitov through his marriage to the younger daughter, Maria Leopoldina after which the state in Bitov was inherited in the Daun family.

Scholarly attention turned to the library in the second half of the 19th century only but the impoverished family sold the whole collection to Samuel Kende Viennese second-hand book merchant. The Croatian National Academy of Science bought it from him in 1896 and today it is kept in a special collection of the Croatian National Library. (Unfortunately, the Hungarian state had no money for culture even in the middle of the Millennium celebrations of the Hungarian Settlement in the Carpathian basin).

The Bánffy Residence in Alsólindva and its Book Culture

Protestant churches in the period of their establishment and consolidation in the Western part of Hungary owed a lot to the intermarrying and closely affiliated aristocratic families. In addition to the Zrínyi, the Nádasdy, the Istvánffy, the Batthyány, the Thurzó and Révay families, it was up to the Bánffys of Alsólindva to influence the changes in religion to steer it away from extremism while maintaining all the institutions of cultural life. Since there is no contemporary list left of the Bánffy library, their book culture can only be described through studying the history and the publications of the printing shop they patronized as well as examining the Protestant intellectual circle of their household. We must also mention the visits of secular intellectuals in Alsólindva.³⁹⁹

The ancestors of the Bánffys arrived in Hungary in the 12th century and by the end of the 15th century its members held important positions.⁴⁰⁰ In the 16th century the (Alsó)lindva and the Bolondóc lines were recorded in genealogy. In the Lindva line the highest dignity was held by János Bánffy who was Palatine between 1530 and his death in 1534. His son, István Bánffy (1522–1568)⁴⁰¹ Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Lieutenant of Zala County (1560–1568) was Protestant. János's grandson, Miklós Bánffy (1547–1593),⁴⁰² Supreme Cupbearer became a pillar for the Protestant church in the region. Similarly, to other magnates in Hungary, Kristóf, the head of the family (1577–1644) at the beginning of the 17th century who became Lord Lieutenant of Somogy and Zala counties (1622–1643) while holding the position of Keeper of the Treasury and later Supreme Cupbearer, converted to Catholicism. Literature claims that the conversion to Catholicism took place in 1598 when he called Simon Bratulich, a Paulian friar to his household.⁴⁰³ Although Kristóf Bánffy had 12 children from his two wives he survived all of them. With him the branch of

Alsólindva ended.⁴⁰⁴ Alsólindva was acquired for a short period by Ferenc Nádasdy but after his decapitation and the confiscation of his property (1671) the Esterházys took it over. In the meantime, the Bolondóc branch of the Bánffy family also ended with the death of the Protestant László Bánffy, Master of the Royal Horses and Lord High Commissioner (died in 1584) following the early deaths of his sons.⁴⁰⁵

Paul Eber's *Calendarium historicum* was published several times in Wittenberg and enjoyed popularity in Protestant circles. Many copies remained which shows that, like the Bible, these were used to record important events in people's family life. István Bánffy who converted to Protestantism bought a copy published in 1551 and for generations events in their families and the ones close to them were recorded in it, often from memory. It became a source of information for the period between 1522 and 1617 for the study of this family and for the period they lived in. The original had been considered lost for a long time so only the text published in 1841 was known.⁴⁰⁶ Fortunately, the original was found and the pages on the family genealogy were published by Béla Tantalics in facsimile and in newly transcribed formats.⁴⁰⁷ Books from the Bánffy Library have been lost but it is reasonable to assume that they possessed copies of the books published in Alsólindva as well as the ones dedicated to members of their family or written in their household.⁴⁰⁸

In 1571 István Báthori prohibited the publication of Protestant books on his estates. This was the year when Rudolf Hoffhalter came of age and moved his press to Alsólindva, owned by Miklós Bánffy. In 1574 Hoffhalter was ordered to leave upon Maximilian II's decree and was taken in by György Zrínyi in Nedelic.⁴⁰⁹ Four publications are known from the years in Alsólindva, of which three were teachings written by György Kulcsár,⁴¹⁰ the minister at the household while the fourth one was a chronicle of the victory at Szigetvár written by Ferenc Tóke.⁴¹¹ There is no copy left of this latter work.

Most probably György Kulcsár was originally from Slavonia. His family fled the Ottoman Turks and moved North to Zala, he himself to Upper Hungary.⁴¹² He was appointed as schoolmaster (magister) in Miklós Bánffy's house on August 28, 1573. Kulcsár, however, experienced his stay in Alsólindva as an "exile". The school he taught in must have been there since the 14th century as a parish building.⁴¹³ Four Protestant teachers preceded him there according to the diary of the Bánffys: György Rác of Orbona (from 1544?), András Zuhodolyi, Farkas Bakács of Szentgyörgyvölgy and István Beythe. The last one was a teacher there between 1559 and 1564, and then moved to Sárvár to the Nádasdys for a short time.⁴¹⁴

In 1565 he was called back to Alsólindva as a minister where he stayed until 1574 when he moved to Sopron and then to Németújvár. His successor was György Kulcsár as a minister in Bánffy's home until his death in 1577.⁴¹⁵ Mention must also be made of Ferenc Tóke who lived in Alsólindva between 1553 and 1556. Whether he was a schoolmaster or a minister is not known but he wrote two of his books there.⁴¹⁶ One of them was most probably published by the Hoffhalter press (*Historia obsidionis regiae Sygeth*),⁴¹⁷ while the other one (*the story of Francesco Spira*)⁴¹⁸ came out as a part of Péter Bornemisza's hymn-book in 1582.

When listing the intellectuals living in Alsólindva mention must also be made of Gáspár Ráskai who visited the Bánffy family between 1551 and 1552. It is here he wrote *Egy szép história az vitéz Franciscóruól és az ő feleségéről* (*A Nice History of Brave Francisco and his Wife*) that came out in Debrecen in 1574.⁴¹⁹ An other intellectual who is thought to have stayed in Alsólindva is Nicholas Mednienski who is also mentioned as "rector Beckoviensis" and secretary to László Bánffy in the collection entitled *Libellus exercitiorum poeseos scholasticorum* by the Lutheran teacher Valentinus Mader of Trencsén.⁴²⁰

Apart from the above-mentioned books, the Bánffy Library must have had copies of the books dedicated to various members of the family. The relationship between the Bánffys and Péter Bornemisza is also worth noting. In the first part of his five-volume book (*Postilla*), Bornemisza mentioned the support he received from László Bánffy and his wife Borbála Somy while he dedicated the second volume to them.⁴²¹ One of the first successes of the Fifteen Years' War was the battle at Gyurgyevó on October 30th, 1595. Péter Pellérdi, the major-domo of Zsigmond Báthori, the Prince of Transylvania gave a description of this victory in a letter addressed to an aristocrat in Hungary. The letter was published in Németújvár in 1596 by the Joannes Manlius press dedicated to Kristóf Bánffy, the lord of Alsólindva, the neighbouring estate.⁴²²

In every aristocratic household there were several alumni and bailiffs in charge of farm management. The cultural pattern was laid down for them by the magnate's family and they themselves bought books depending on their financial means and personal inclination. It was a good marker of the intellectual level of the aristocratic household if there were some literate bailiffs around the magnate's family. Several examples can be cited, such as György Perneszith⁴²³ or Ákos Csányi⁴²⁴ at the Nádasdys', or István Jóna at György Zrínyi's household.⁴²⁵ Tamás Komlós of the village called Böde in County Zala was such a major-domo for László Bánffy. One of Komlós' books survived in the Franciscan library of Németújvár:

Alexander de Villa Dei *Doctrinale, cum commentariis Hermanni Torrentini... Venetiis*, 1519, printed by Petrus Lichtenstein for Urban Keym, a merchant of Buda.⁴²⁶

As mentioned above, at the beginning of the 17th century Kristóf Bánffy converted to Catholicism. Three of the books he owned are known from this period.⁴²⁷ Baron Balázs Apponyi, Deputy Lieutenant of County Nyitra (died around 1637) presented the newly converted Bánffy with King David's "psalm paraphrases"⁴²⁸: *Spectabili ac Magnifico Domino D. Christophoro Banfi De Lindua Sacrae Caesareae Regiae Multis Consiliario et Cubiculario Debitae obscurantiae causa Author dono dedit manu propria*.⁴²⁹ Blasius Apponyi's father, Pál Apponyi (1546–1624) was Lutheran and a great patron of the Lutheran church and school in Appony. Upon the advice received from Péter Pázmány, the Apponyis became Catholic again which may have been connected to Blasius Apponyi's elevation to the Baron rank by Emperor Ferdinand II in 1624.

The second book, *Enchiridion*, written by Martinus Azpilcueta's, a theologian from Navarre, was bought by Kristóf Bánffy.⁴³⁰ Someone may have advised him to purchase it so as to prepare for his conversion to Catholicism since this book was a manual for missionaries and priests on an evangelic mission.⁴³¹ Kristóf Bánffy purchased the third book clearly not for himself but for a Catholic parish he was going to establish: *Pontificale secundum ritum sacrosancte Romane ecclesie*.⁴³² This volume is interesting for other reasons as well. The note shows that Bánffy travelled to Darmstadt in 1608 which was not known by scholars before.⁴³³ Experiencing Catholic German environment which he had not known before must have contributed to his decision to convert to Catholicism. So, in 1608 that is after Trent he purchased a manual that was published in 1520 to learn about Catholicism.

In the household in Alsólindva in the 16th century a Protestant intellectual circle of excellent Humanist education was formed which, thanks to the financial resources of the magnate, created several cultural and educational institutions such as schools, churches, a printing shop, and a library. The Protestant Late Humanist intellectuals who lived around Alsólindva at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries cooperated well due to the network of like-minded magnates and their households.

The Batthyány Household in Németújvár and its Book Culture

The Batthyány Library in Németújvár stood out among the 16th and 17th century Hungarian aristocratic libraries the books and history of which we know. The household in Németújvár became one of the most influential cultural establishments by the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries with its international humanistic network, its members active in the scientific, cultural and church life of Hungary with its school, its press and not the least with its library.⁴³⁴

By the second half of the 15th century the Batthyánys became strong enough to hold high positions.⁴³⁵ Boldizsár Batthyány I's (around 1452–1519) highest title was Deputy to the Lord Chief Justice (1518–1520) while Boldizsár Batthyány II (? – after 1525) was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber at the end of his life. Ferenc Batthyány I (1497–1566) held the title of Master of the Royal Horses and Lord Lieutenant of Vas County (1525–1543). Boldizsár Batthyány III (1537–1590)⁴³⁶ Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia from 1568, his son, Ferenc II (1573–1625),⁴³⁷ Master of the Royal Horses, Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia and Lord Lieutenant of Sopron County. Boldizsár III's grandson, Ádám (1610–1659),⁴³⁸ held the title of Chancellor of the Emperor, the King's Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia. The family owned several palaces and mansions but besides Szalónak, Rohonc, Dobra and Körmend, they lived mainly in Németújvár in the period concerned.

Similarly, to many aristocratic families in Hungary at the middle of the 16th century, Boldizsár, the head of the family, converted to Protestantism. The young man involved in Protestantism lived in France between 1559 and 1561 where he witnessed the first stages of the Huguenots' persecution. Seeing the violence and following the ecclesiastic disputes in print, his Helvetian beliefs were reinforced.⁴³⁹ In this area where the population was of various religions the separation of Protestant churches lasted very long, up until the first third of the 17th century. In the Batthyány household during the lives of Boldizsár and Ferenc, his son, the Calvinists were predominant. After Ferenc's death a "Lutheran turn" is said to have taken place. Ádám Batthyány decided in 1629 to convert to Catholicism and in 1640 he invited Franciscan friars to Németújvár.⁴⁴⁰

A number of prominent figures visited Németújvár, stayed or settled down there for shorter or longer periods⁴⁴¹ due to several factors: the changes in the Batthyánys' religious views, the location of the Batthyány property – situated at the border of the Austrian hereditary provinc-

es, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire – and most of all Boldizsár's intellectual openness⁴⁴² as well as the entourage accompanying Ferenc and Ádám's brides. The Protestant school supported by Boldizsár and Ferenc, the press and Ádám's "school within the household" were all attractive institutions for contemporaries. Given the tight framework of the present study it is impossible to give a complete list of all these persons but the most prominent ones should be mentioned.⁴⁴³ Among the Protestant ministers István Beythe, István Pathai, and János Pálffy of Kanizsa stood out but the refugees from Styria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Pfalz, Württemberg and Bavaria who visited the household or were employed on the estates should not be forgotten either.⁴⁴⁴ Many of them donated books to the family and the school's libraries.⁴⁴⁵ With Ádám Batthyány's conversion to Catholicism a new network was built around the household. Among the Catholic ecclesiastics residing in Némétújvár the Jesuit Mátyás Vernich, the parish priest Mihály Lónyi and the Franciscan friars Antal Nagy, Sámuel Kéri and Gregorius Malonfalvay deserve mentioning. It is to be noted that the modernity of Ádám's household and the education of his sons (Kristóf and Pál) were noticed by foreigners of his time.⁴⁴⁶

Further enlargement of the family library was provided in the 16th century by the extensive network of scholars. We can call it "a humanist circle" for a good reason since David Chytraeus,⁴⁴⁷ Carolus Clusius,⁴⁴⁸ Elias Corvinus,⁴⁴⁹ and Johann Kepler⁴⁵⁰ visited Némétújvár. Among the correspondents, the scientist Felizian von Herberstein, the physicians Nicolaus Pistorius, Joannes Homelius and Cesaro Franco and the architect Pietro Ferrabosco⁴⁵¹ were the most outstanding. Miklós Istvánffy, the historian probably visited Némétújvár since he gave a book as a present to István Beythe and received a gift of a book in return from Boldizsár Batthyány. The Batthyány household featured in Nicodemus Frischlin's network since it was in Némétújvár he published his comprehensive book dedicated to Ferenc Batthyány on education that was popular in this period.⁴⁵²

It is also due to the lively intellectual life that Johannes Manlius (1540?–1605?) moved his press to Némétújvár in 1582 first until 1585 and then from 1595 to 1597.⁴⁵³ He published altogether 22 books during these periods, including scholarly books such as Carolus Clusius' work on the plants of Pannonia or András Beythe's herbarium⁴⁵⁴ in addition to occasional publications, calendars and protestant disputes. Manlius also published books under the patronage of Boldizsár Batthyány's brother-in-law, György Zrínyi in Varasd (1586–1587), in Monyorókerék (1587–1592) and in Némétlövő (1592–1593). After his second stay in Némétújvár he worked in Keresztúr and Sárvár (1601–1605) under the patronage of the Nádasdy family.

Several documents concerning the history of the Németújvár Library have survived but unfortunately the catalogue of the family's library has not turned up yet. On the other hand, we have bills drawn up by Erhardt Hiller (Vienna), Erhardt Widmar (Graz) and Jean Aubry (Frankfurt am Main), stating the books Boldizsár purchased. This list of the titles is complemented by the books which survived in the collection of the Protestant school of Németújvár saved by the Franciscan friary there.⁴⁵⁵ The passages in his correspondence where books were mentioned bear witness to Boldizsár's taste in books. That taste was different from that of contemporary Hungarian aristocrats in several respects.

In this region the medium for written culture was German and Italian beside Latin. The Batthyány household ordered books, paper or modern everyday items (such as furniture, cutlery, new seeds, or plants, etc.) mainly from Graz or Vienna but also often from Venice through the bailiffs of the Zrínyis, their relatives. Boldizsár Batthyány and the generations of his family in the 16th century were of French orientation – a unique phenomenon among the Hungarian magnates of their time.⁴⁵⁶ Let us examine this „French orientation” here.⁴⁵⁷

The portrait Péter Ötvös drew of Boldizsár Batthyány in line with traditional literature emphasized the fact that the experiences the magnate had in France as a young man between 1559 and 1561 had a decisive effect on him in several respects. Visiting the royal court did not simply affect his taste but made him a committed Protestant.⁴⁵⁸ Ötvös went as far as claiming that the roots of his crypto-Calvinism are to be found in France.⁴⁵⁹ Since all the scholars highlighted Boldizsár Batthyány's French orientation we were wondering whether the reconstruction of his library proves the claim that he was oriented towards French culture. Let us examine it closer.

Hungary in the 16th century was not particularly receptive to French ideas or thoughts coming from France even if the Huguenot refugees at the University of Heidelberg as well as the French-Helvetian centres at the end of the century had important Hungarian connections. Boldizsár Batthyány died in 1590, and the influence of the „Heidelberg hub” was felt by the entourage of his son's household.⁴⁶⁰ On the other hand, when mapping French orientation, beyond the traditional cultural centres in France such as Paris and Lyon, one must bear in mind the Southern Walloon areas of the Low Countries that then belonged to the kingdom of Spain, the “Frans-Vlaanderen”, Geneva as well as the refugee centres formed, after the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, in the German Electorates and in the Northern part of the Low Countries. In our study we'll examine the



Boldizsár Batthyány, cca. 1580

Gallica (considered as such by its region, for linguistical reasons, by its author or by its subject matter) present in the Németújvár household, that is let us review all the books or publications in the Batthyány library which came out in France, in French about a French topic or by a French author.

A special attention should be accorded to the personal network Boldizsár Batthyány had. His correspondence, his household, the list of the people he invited all proves that he did not just read in French. The most well-known French visitor in Németújvár was Charles de l'Écluse (Carolus Clusius) who contributed to the education of intellectuals from Hungary with his publications and, during his stay in Leiden, by forming cordial relationships with Hungarians.

From late autumn in 1559, Boldizsár stayed in Paris for more than a

year. It makes sense therefore to examine the local publications that came out around this period and the years preceding it, to see if they featured among his books and if so when Boldizsár Batthyány purchased them according to the information of hand-written notes and archival documents. We should state that no document proves that any of his books were personally bought and brought home from Paris by Boldizsár Batthyány himself. There is only one book which can be leafed through in Némétújvár today which makes us believe that Batthyány personally knew André Wechel, the Huguenot publisher who later settled down in Frankfurt and with whom Batthyány kept the contact.⁴⁶¹ This volume contains two writings by Franciscus Duaraenus. One of them is about the church while the other one argues the importance of independence for the French church from the Pope (published in 1557).⁴⁶²

In the first two thirds of the 16th century, publishers in Basel and Paris competed in bringing out critical editions of *antique authors* or near contemporary Humanist writers. Among the remaining or identified 670 books of Boldizsár Batthyány's library there were several such books, nearly 80 % of which were from Basel from publishers such as Amerbach, Frobenius, Oporinus and most of all Petrus Perna or even from Venice. There are, however, several books published in France or written by a French author. We know that four of these were offered to Boldizsár Batthyány by Carolus Clusius: a Terentius published in Zurich in 1555 with the commentaries of Petrus Menenius of Lyon and Marc-Antoine Muret which Clusius bought in Antwerp in 1559.⁴⁶³ The second and third books were a Latin grammar by Thomas Linacer published in Paris in 1561⁴⁶⁴ and a book on rhetoric written by Hadrianus Cardinalis and published also in Paris in 1534.⁴⁶⁵ Clusius purchased the fourth book, the Quintilianus writings published by Robert Estienne and Simon Colines in Paris in 1542 which Clusius had bound in one volume before giving it to Boldizsár Batthyány as a gift.⁴⁶⁶

Boldizsár purchased two commentaries on Cicero, written by Paolo Manutio, Simon Du Bois and Hubert Susanneau, from Erhardt Widmar, a book merchant in Graz in 1584–85 in a Frankfurt edition (1580, published by André Wechel), and a Strasbourg edition (1576, published by Josias Rihel).⁴⁶⁷ He also bought from the same book merchant a Greek grammar (published in Köln in 1560)⁴⁶⁸ written by Nicolaus Clenardus in which René Guillon made notes as well as a Plautus, edited by Justus Lipsius and published by Jean Macé in Paris in 1576.⁴⁶⁹ The choice was probably made more for the publisher than the place of publication.

André Wechel founded his printing shop in Frankfurt as a Huguenot

refugee. He, his sons-in-law, Jean Aubry and Jean Marne, as well as their descendants kept in touch with the Batthyánys.⁴⁷⁰ Jean Aubry corresponded with the magnate and arranged a considerable part of Boldizsár Batthyány's book purchases. In 1586 and 1587, Aubry sent to Németújvár a Lyon edition of Calepinus' dictionary (published in 1584);⁴⁷¹ a 1555 Lyon edition of Dionysius Halicarnassaeus by Sebastian Gryphius;⁴⁷² Vegetius' *De re militari* annotated by Guillaume Budé⁴⁷³ and published in Köln in 1580; and Marc-Antoine Muret's Greek Chrestomathy with commentaries and notes, published in Paris in 1586.⁴⁷⁴

In classical philology Batthyány knew Geoffroy Tory's edition of Berosus Babilonicus (Paris, 1511)⁴⁷⁵ and this writing, detailing the history of Babylon, survived in a colligation that contains books by antique authors published during the first 15 years of the 16th century. It may have belonged to the Augustine monastery in Németújvár (although it has not been proved yet) and Boldizsár Batthyány acquired it from them and not because of his French orientation. „M. S.”, the owner of the book before Batthyány, had an edition that came out in Leipzig in 1539 bound to the Sallustius edition published in Lyon also in 1539 by Sébastien Gryphius.⁴⁷⁶ Let us mention here the Herodotus edition by Valla in Geneva⁴⁷⁷ for the nationality of its publisher, the Huguenot refugee Henri Estienne; as well as François Pollet's *Historia Fori Romani*, a book in the history of law, published in Douai in 1572.⁴⁷⁸ Guillaume Du Choul's book on archaeology and history is also interesting. Batthyány bought this book about Greek and Roman religions and military education from Aubry in French in the 1580s.⁴⁷⁹

We can conclude that in selecting the edition of antique texts and acquiring the books written by prominent personalities in French Humanism and classical philology, Boldizsár Batthyány's Francophilia cannot be detected. In his collection, books by rival publishers in Basel and Venice are more in number while most of the books described above came as a present or were chosen for other reasons. The fact that he knew the above-mentioned authors, publishers and books and could form an idea for himself about this area of French culture and intellectual history is important. The presence of the two French books in classical philology indicates that his attention turned to French authors when analysing antiquity from a historical perspective, which may have been the intention of the book merchant Jean Aubry.

Medical books form a section in the library in Németújvár, which is worth for our attention. The majority of these are, in some way, French related. Among them there are a few which are rarities even in France.

We can claim that the oldest among them found its way to Némétújvár before Boldizsár Batthyány was born from the above-mentioned Augustine monastery. The medieval medical manual (*Speculum medicinae*) published in Lyon in 1504 by François Fradin was written by Arnaldus de Villanova and is a part of a colligation the other piece of which is an incunabulum from Venice (*De conservatione sanitatis*) in which there is a prescription in Hungarian in a note written by hand at the beginning of the 16th century.⁴⁸⁰ In 1577 Batthyány bought an interesting colligation from Jean Aubry about the debate among Jacques Aubert, Joseph Du Chesne (Quercetanus) and Jean-Antoine Fenot concerning minerals and metals used in healing wounds and diseases. All the three pieces bound together in this volume were published in Lyon or Basel in 1575.⁴⁸¹ Joseph Du Chesne was quite known in Hungary and several of his books can still be found but the writings of his partners at the debate were rarely present in the Carpathian Basin. A collection containing ancient Greek, Hebrew, Arab and Roman texts (*De transfiguratione metallorum, et occulta, summaque antiquorum philosophorum medicina*) concerning this debate was published in Paris by Guillaume Guillard in 1559.⁴⁸² In 1571 Aubry sent it to the Hungarian magnate.

Erhardt Widmar from Graz dispatched a volume to Némétújvár in 1585 which contained several pharmaceutical writings bound together which were mainly about the dosage of medicine. In this colligation, apart from Arabic and Italian authors, tracts written by Guillaume Rondelet and Pierre de Gorris can also be read. This very rare edition was published in Lyon in 1584 by Jean Mareschall.⁴⁸³ Gabriel de Minut's book *de morbo Gallico* was also published in Lyon in 1587 by Barthélemy Honorat.⁴⁸⁴ This book and edition was quite common in contemporary Hungary.

Books written by Theophrastus Paracelsus as well as writings supporting and debating his views were very popular in this period. André Wechel made several editions of these which were sent to the Hungarian magnate's household along with a list of the publications he advised Boldizsár Batthyány to buy.⁴⁸⁵ Wechel and his sons-in-law may not have influenced Batthyány's taste in reading for business reasons only. Jean Aubry for example also sent a book to him in 1588 about palaeontological findings in France in the second third of the 16th century written by Jean Chassanion.⁴⁸⁶

Based on the medical books of Boldizsár Batthyány's library the majority of which are considered *gallica* by librarians, one cannot detect Boldizsár's special interest in French books. These books represented a very small part of the libraries of contemporary magnates – the one in

Németújvár was no different in this regard. Boldizsár may very well have left the choice to Wechel and Aubry in this domain that, on their turn, did have a special French orientation.

We would like to mention here Dóra Bobory's excellent doctoral thesis about Boldizsár Batthyány's erudition in medical books which is worth of international attention,⁴⁸⁷ and her analysis in Hungarian.⁴⁸⁸ If you pick a single thematic group when characterizing the erudition of the owner of a library, however, one risk overestimating the importance of the thematic section in question and not consider it in its right proportion to the rest of his areas of interests. The erudition of Hungarian magnates – and Boldizsár was no different in this regard – was typically not science related no matter how tempting it would be to speak about Paracelsian thought in Hungary.

An interest in *history* is to be expected from an active politician. The most common type of books in the libraries of Hungarian nobles⁴⁸⁹ and magnates⁴⁹⁰ were in history, mainly chronicles from Hungary and the history of the neighbouring countries and Ottoman Turks. Rarely, there are books in historiography and political theory in contemporary inventories and book lists.⁴⁹¹ From a language point of view, after Latin the second most common language is German, then Italian and Hungarian. The Hungarian nobles very rarely owned history books in French in the 16th century.

Boldizsár Batthyány read a considerable number of books on *contemporary European history* and many of these, especially the ones on French history and the wars of religion, were in French written by French authors or published in a region where French was the dominant language.⁴⁹²

Gieronimo Benzoni from Milan published his book about the new world, the discoveries and the French expedition in Florida in Italian which was translated into Latin by Urbano Calveto. Boldizsár bought this Latin translation in a Geneva edition (published by Eustache Vignon in 1578).⁴⁹³ Elias Corvinus informed Batthyány in the summer of 1575 that he received from his book merchant in Prague two two-volume books in French in cosmography. Elias Corvinus sent these books to Németújvár. The first two-volume book was the translation of Sebastian Münster's writing revised and parts added by François de Belleforest, published in Paris by Michel Sonnius. The second two-volume book was André Thevet's *La cosmographie universelle* also published in Paris by Pierre Huillier.⁴⁹⁴

This purchase indicates that Boldizsár Batthyány liked to read in French because these books would have been available in Latin in a modern edition.

In Hungary it is common to find in the magnates' libraries portraits of contemporary famous people and their short presentations. Erhardt Widmar sent to Boldizsár Tobias Fendt's book (*Monumenta Illustrum per Italiam, Galliam, Germaniam, Hispanias, totum denique Terrarum Orbem eruditione praecipue, et doctrina Virorum, figuris artificiosissimis expressa*) with engravings made by Jost Amman in 1585.⁴⁹⁵ French personalities too figured in the book,

To push back the Ottoman Turks from European territory was a daily duty for Boldizsár Batthyány. These were jobs he had to perform being a state dignitary and as a landlord he also defended his own estates. The history of the Ottoman Empire and the history of the wars against the Ottoman must have been daily readings for him. French plans to expel the Ottoman abounded and took form in a way which was important for Hungarian politicians only in the last decade of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century. Boldizsár gained information from Italian and German publications in this regard. Two French books he owned in this category are known: Pietro Bizaro's book on the wars on the Mediterranean Sea came out in Paris translated by François de Belleforest and published by Nicolas Chesneau. Boldizsár bought the recent edition from Jean Aubry in 1573.⁴⁹⁶ The same translator rendered into French Matteo Bandello's three-volume writing on contemporary events (concerning Ottomans in parts only). This book came out in Anvers in 1567–1569, published by Jean Waesberghe.⁴⁹⁷

In this thematic section of contemporary history French orientation is therefore scarcely detectable but it indicates that the magnate liked to read in French because it was easier for him than reading in Italian or German. Therefore, he bought certain comprehensive manuals in French if he was aware of a French translation. His interest in *French history*, however, was more dominant than just the result of convenience and preference for a language in which it was easier for him to read.

Boldizsár Batthyány owned books written by French classical authors of history such as Philippe de Commines, Jean Froissart, and their successor, Claude de Seyssel in an excellent Latin translation by Johannes Sleidanus. He bought these books from the Viennese book merchant, Erhardt Hiller at the beginning of the 1580s in Andreas Wecheliu's edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1578).⁴⁹⁸ A comprehensive summary by Johannes Goropius (Gallica, Francica), that was very popular then, in the edition of Christoph Plantin published in Antwerp in 1580 survived with Boldizsár Batthyány's hand-written notes. The book was bound in Némétújvár so it must have arrived unbound (*in cruda*) and was a recent purchase.⁴⁹⁹ The

library in Némethújvár had several copies in different editions of Jean de Serres' comprehensive analysis of the state of contemporary religion and church in France (*Commentariorum de statu religionis reipublicae in regno Galliae*), bound in different interesting colligations. This book dealt with events which took place during the reign of Kings Henry II, Francis II and Charles IX. Jean Aubry sent the first part to Batthyány in 1571 (published in Geneva in 1570 by Jean Crespin)⁵⁰⁰ while the second part (published in Geneva in 1571 by Jean Crespin) arrived in Némethújvár only in 1577.⁵⁰¹ In the meantime, however, the book was published in XII volumes (four parts) in Leiden between 1571 and 1575 by Johannes Jucundus. Boldizsár bought all of them⁵⁰² and the last part he purchased separately and had three interesting tracts bound to it.⁵⁰³ In one of them Henri II. Estienne told the „true story” of Catherine de' Medici while in the other two an author writing under the pseudonym of Matagonis de Matagonibus disproved the charges of two Jesuits (Antonio Matharelli and Papirio Massoni) against the Huguenots. All three appeared in Geneva in 1575 published by Eustache Vignon. From among highly anti-Jesuit writings Batthyány acquired the one which was published in Geneva in 1567 by François Perin under a pseudonym (the author has already been identified). Its imprint reads as follows: „Luce Nouvelle, par Brifand Chassediablen”.⁵⁰⁴ German catalogues claim that the author of the pamphlet (*La Mappede Monde Papistique*) the pseudonym of whom was Frangidelphe Escorche-Messes was, in fact, Théodore de Bèze, although a manual about the history of edition published in Geneva identified the author in 1996⁵⁰⁵ as Jean-Baptiste Trento and the critical edition of the text also came out in 1998.⁵⁰⁶

Boldizsár Batthyány received as a present the comprehensive book on French history, written by Martin and Guillaume Du Bellay from Sigfried Rybisch Councillor of the Chamber, in Pozsony in 1572.⁵⁰⁷

The news of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre arrived in Némethújvár fast and in 1573 Jean Aubry sent Boldizsár several publications in French and Latin: the correspondence of Guy Dufaur de Pibrac and Stanislaus Elvidius (published in Paris in 1573 by Frédéric Morel),⁵⁰⁸ François Hotman's short factual tract, along with the French king's explanatory letters (s. l. 1573),⁵⁰⁹ Wolfgang Prisbach's reply to the statements made by the French official propaganda (published in Heidelberg in 1573 by Michel Schirat),⁵¹⁰ and the anthology published by Petrus Perna in Basel in which well-known contemporaries protested against the events in Paris.⁵¹¹ The last two publications came out under the name of a false printing shop. The role played in the St. Bartholomew's day massacre by the Jesuits caused a lot of criticism. The letter written by Paulus Albutius

was published by Gotthard Vilarmus in Paris in 1573 which Aubry sent to Boldizsár Batthyány the same year.⁵¹² It is characteristic for Boldizsár Batthyány that he gained information as fast as he could. He received the Latin edition of the correspondence between Pierre Carpentier and François Du Port already in 1573 from Aubry⁵¹³ in connection with the Massacre of the Huguenots without waiting for the French translation that came out a year later.⁵¹⁴ He was well-informed all his life and kept purchasing books about the St. Bartholomew's day events. He bought the German translation of Nicole Gilles' book at the beginning of the 1580s from Hiller. The translator was Nicolas Falckner and the book came out in Basel in 1572 at Nikolas Brylinger's printing shop. I guess the French translation was sold out by then and was unavailable.⁵¹⁵ He purchased from Aubry Jean Berger's book on political theory about the French wars of religion in a European political context (*Discours modernes et facecieux des faits advenus en divers pays pendant les guerres Civiles en France*. Lyon, 1572, Pierre Michel).⁵¹⁶

In 1573 the election of the Polish king was a sensation in Europe so no wonder Boldizsár had books about it. In 1573 he received a book in French from Aubry with Henry's speech at the Diet in Warsaw on April 10th, 1573 with commentaries by Jean Monluc.⁵¹⁷ He had a book at Némétújvár by Innocent Gentillet about the events which happened to King Henry in 1574.⁵¹⁸

Unfortunately, none of his bookbills survived from the years between 1574 and 1576 although it is unlikely that he would stop getting information about events in France through books. On the bill issued by Jean Aubry in 1577 we can find again French historical books. These were about the events of the wars of religion and King Henry III's short reign in Poland (writings by François de l'Isle, François Rasle, Louis Regnier de la Planche, Louis Villebois, Jean Bodin).⁵¹⁹ Boldizsár also acquired the pamphlet written under a pseudonym (Georgius Ebouff) by András Dudith about the year 1576 of the wars of religion which was published with an imprint containing a false printing shop (Carthurii, 1577, Amadaeus Menalca).⁵²⁰

Later not just pamphlets were written about the near past events in France but with the help of historical perspective also analyses came out. The revised version of Henri Lancelot Voisin de Lapopelinière's book was published in French in 1584 in Paris about the events after 1560. Jean Aubry sold the book to Boldizsár Batthyány.⁵²¹ The library at Némétújvár had two copies of Théophile de Banos' historical textbook in Latin (*De postremis motibus Galliae*). He may have received one of the copies as a gift

from Johannes Zebenitz who was proud that Melchior Junius, the rector of the Academy in Strasbourg dedicated it to him.⁵²²

Mention should be made of two rarities in Boldizsár Batthyány's book collection. One of them was *Discours sur la mort de la Royne de Nauarr*.⁵²³ The collection of poems was published in 1572 to commemorate the queen's death on June 9th, 1572. Aubry sent it to Batthyány. The other book (or picture?), *Figure du meurtre de L'Amiral*, may be identified with a booklet which was published in Frankfurt am Main in 1570⁵²⁴ about the murder of Captain B. Corbely (not an admiral) and his servant by Saint Martin d'Estraulx in the Bourbon province.

The French orientation of Boldizsár Batthyány can thus be detected in the history section of his library by the contents or the language of the books. The section on *historiography* and the *history of law* belongs to this section. In general, we can state that reading theoretical books was not characteristic for the nobility in Hungary in the 16th century and, therefore, Boldizsár Batthyány was an exception among his contemporaries in this regard too. In this topic he read Italian and German authors mainly in this regard too. In this topic he read Italian and German authors mainly in Latin although he owned the French translation made by Yves Brinon (Paris, 1577, Jean Borel) of Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine*.⁵²⁵ Aubry sent him this book in 1588 but Innocent Gentillet's anti-Machiavellist tract (*Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner*) he received already in 1577.⁵²⁶ This book was published in Geneva in 1576 and 1577 again. Along with this book Boldizsár Batthyány also bought Jean Bodin's *Les six livres de la republique*.⁵²⁷ Among the books purchased in 1588 there is one (*Discours de la Gloir*)⁵²⁸ which is hard to identify.

The debate about the virtues of a monarch, about right governance, and the rights and duties of the subjects of a monarch, that was going on in the last third of the 16th century echoed in Hungary as well. The books translated into Hungarian were published after Boldizsár's death and the presence of the most popular books by Antonio Guevara or Justus Lipsius in Némétújvár has not been proven yet (these books either did not survive – or else they did in the family's private library and no archival document proves that they were there in the library).

Among the historiographies written about Roman history Batthyány had Jean Le Preux's *De magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae*⁵²⁹ while from among the theoretical books written in the 16th century and published in France he owned Francesco Patrizi's writings in Latin about ethics and the philosophy of law (*De Institutione Reipublicae; De regno et regis institutione*).⁵³⁰ Books about the theological aspects not unrelated to political trends in his time also figured among Boldizsár Batthyány's readings. He

purchased Théodore de Bèze's much debated book *De iure Magistratum in subditos et officio subditorum erga Magistratus* only in Latin translation. Batthyány had it bound together⁵³¹ with the one entitled *Vindiciae, contra Tyrannos: sive de Principis in Populum, Populique in Principem, legitima potestate* which came out under the pseudonym of Philippe de Mornay and a false impressum (Edinburgi, 1579).

Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* can be considered literature although Batthyány surely did not take it as an entertainment. A German edition was sent to him by Elias Corvinus in 1575⁵³² while Batthyány bought it in French from Jean Aubry in 1577.⁵³³

From French literature he owned an *Amadis* novel both in German and in French. The German version was sent to him by Elias Corvinus in 1572⁵³⁴ while Erhardt Hiller acquired the French edition later, probably in the 1580s for Batthyány.⁵³⁵ The fact that Boldizsár Batthyány read Rabelais and the *Amadis* novel is interesting since no other magnate is known from the 16th century to have read them in Hungary. The French orientation of his thinking and erudition, however, is indicated clearly by the fact that he purchased the books, which he already had in another language, in the original French too. It may also show that he enjoyed these books in French much more than in German for they were very much connected to their linguistic environment. The romance *Chevalier des Cignes* about the son of a ruler in Constantinople by Nicolas de Herberay he only had in French in his library.⁵³⁶

Gabriel de Minut's tract entitled *De la Beauté, discours divers pris sur deux fort belles façons de parler*⁵³⁷ can be considered rhetoric, literature but it is even more a *philosophical* writing where the author was trying to prove with the virtues of a lady near Toulouse that natural beauty and natural goodness were virtues that belonged together. There is hardly any French philosophy in Boldizsár Batthyány's library. Philosophy itself was represented with antique authors and ethics and historiography. That he was interested in this latter is shown by the fact that he bought Nicolaus Contarenius' book entitled *de Perfectione Rerum* from Aubry in 1588.⁵³⁸

French *legal books* were very much linked to common law; therefore, it is no surprise that outside of France they were sold only if there was a scandal which raised issues in the philosophy of law and ethics. The only legal books Batthyány had were legal books for the purchase of which he needed his excellent connection to the Wechel printing house. This is how the description of a marital litigation in Toulouse written by Jean de Corras⁵³⁹ got to Némétújvár and also four further books (in philosophy of

law, in part connected to the interpretation of *digestas*, in part to cases in France and Naples) which were published in Lyon.⁵⁴⁰

The books on theology in the Némétújvár library were up-to-date,⁵⁴¹ near contemporary editions. From the above-mentioned Augustine monastery a few older books remained but not in a considerable number. The incunabula editions of Guilielmus Parisiensis' commentaries to the New Testament were such old books⁵⁴² but also the Psalms and the Song of Songs published in Lyon in 1517 by Jean Cambray and edited by Jacques Perez and Josse Bade. It could also be connected to Boldizsár's interest in Humanism since these were excellent examples of Biblical philology from the beginning of the 16th century.⁵⁴³

Péter Ötvös in his above-mentioned portrait of Boldizsár Batthyány touched⁵⁴⁴ upon this question: when did the son of a Lutheran magnate first meet Helvetian theology? We believe that it is only through his Francophilia that his attraction to the Geneva theology can be understood. Therefore, we left a short summary of the books to the end of the present study which can be connected to Huguenot thinking and Helvetian theology. In general, let me mention that despite his excellent knowledge of the French language Boldizsár Batthyány acquired books in theology mainly in Latin even if the original piece was written in French. He had one book in French and one in German about Helvetian theology although among his books on Lutheran theology there were more in German.

The other conspicuous phenomenon is that he owned 20 different books by Théodore de Bèze, that is Boldizsár paid a special attention to Bèze while Jean Calvin is represented among the surviving documents with only one short writing in German about holy communion⁵⁴⁵ and a small booklet in which he wrote short pieces about the immortality of the soul and against the Anabaptists and the Pseudo-Nicodemite about the same subjects with commentaries by Martin Bucer and Philipp Melancthon.⁵⁴⁶ This book was sent to Boldizsár by Elias Corvinus in 1572. From among the Helvetian authors, Benedictus Aretius was represented by many pieces (12 volumes) and the magnate must have liked the books written by Casparus Olivetanus. Huguenot and Helvetian books were published mainly in Geneva and Lausanne but there were quite a few editions which came out in Heidelberg, Frankfurt or Antwerp.

Boldizsár Batthyány had 11 Helvetian interpretations of Christian faith (*de fide christiana*) and about Christian ethics (*de ethica christiana*) written by Beza, Benedictus Aretius, Lambertus Danaeus, Pierre Boquin and Jean-François Salvart.⁵⁴⁷ Let us highlight here Petrus Ramus' *de religione christiana*, published in Frankfurt by André Wechel in which Theophilus

Banosius' Ramus biography was also included. To this book Wechel had added in a publisher colligation Caspar Olivetanus' writing entitled *Expositio symboli apostolici*.⁵⁴⁸

16 volumes represented Helvetian textual criticism of the Bible and commentaries among which 12 were written by Benedictus Aretius, 3 by Beza and 1 by Caspar Olivetan.⁵⁴⁹ Editions published in Basel and Venice at the beginning of the century stemming from Humanist textual criticism as well as Lutheran interpretations were more in number on the shelves of the Némethújvár Library. We believe that the Swiss editions did not influence only Boldizsár's views but also that of his entourage, primarily the teachers at the Protestant school and mainly István Beythe.

We can find six books of Helvetian orientation among Boldizsár Batthyány's books about the church (*de ecclesia*) and about the alliance between God and the faithful (*de foedere*) written by Johannes Palmerius, Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay, Urbanus Rhegius, Franciscus Duaraenus, Andreas Gorrotius and Caspar Olivetanus.⁵⁵⁰

Issues concerning the Holy Communion (*de coena*) were represented in the writings of Petrus Martyr Vermigli (in French)⁵⁵¹ and Jean Calvin (in German).⁵⁵² About the sacraments (*de sacramentis*) Théodore de Bèze's well-known book was available for the magnate.⁵⁵³ About heretics (*de haereticis*) and marriage (*de matrimonio*) he bought books also by Théodore de Bèze.⁵⁵⁴

Reviewing the books and the editions, which can be considered *Gallica* by their themes in the Batthyány library, we can state that Boldizsár indeed had a French orientation in his erudition. Not because most of his books were French one way or other but because he turned towards French history, religion and religious persecutions with special attention. Beyond this, he also got to know and maybe enjoyed French literature thanks to his excellent knowledge of French. Apart from Venice, Basel, Wittenberg, Frankfurt and Strasbourg, it was from the publishing houses in Paris, Lyon and Geneva where he acquired most of his books. André Wechel and his son-in-law Jean Aubry did a lot to keep alive the magnate's interest in French topics. Overall, no other library is known in Hungary from the 16th and 17th centuries which were so much French oriented. The next one will be that of Ferenc Rákóczi II.

Very little is known of the books purchased by *Ferenc Batthyány*, Boldizsár's son. His relationship with contemporary Hungarian intellectuals such as Bálint Balassi, Christoph Lackner and Albert Szenci Molnár are known. His household remained open to refugees. His wife, Eva Poppel Lobkowitz (1585?-1640) and her entourage, which brought modern thinking to the

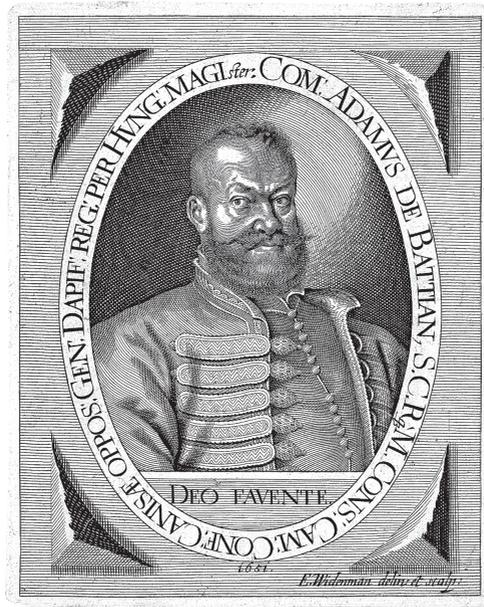
Batthyány estate, broadened his cultural horizon. When the Thirty-Year War broke out, several Protestant ministers came from Bohemian, Pfalz and the Silesian territories who were also well received.⁵⁵⁵ Eva Poppel was an educated lady although we only know of one book of hers on herbs.⁵⁵⁶ Her correspondence with her husband attests to her being well-read.⁵⁵⁷

Ferenc Batthyány and his widow stood by the Protestant Church in Western Hungary when it organized itself into two churches during the ever-stronger catholic attacks.⁵⁵⁸ Disputes among ministers of the Lutheran and the Calvinist faith became the strongest when Ádám Batthyány converted to Catholicism and stopped supporting Protestants. Ferenc Batthyány knew how important it was to establish a printing press to serve the church he was the patron of. Therefore, upon the advice of János Kanizsai Pálfi, he bought the printing office of the Viennese Johann Fidler 1615.⁵⁵⁹ It was operated by Mathaeus Bernhard of Szepesvárálja between 1617 and 1619. Sources mention four publications from this period. A copy of one of these is known, István Patai's book introducing Helvetian faith.⁵⁶⁰ The publications were Calvinist (the printing shop was supervised by Imre Beythe, István Beythe's son). The next publication was printed in Pápa in 1624 and the printing shop was active until 1632 there. In 1626 Eva Poppel, the widow of Ferenc Batthyány rented out the printing office to Johann Sigismund Wechel (this is how his name appeared on the publication) who was a descendent of the Huguenot André Wechel, printer in Frankfurt. He must have been the brother of the Viennese book merchant Andreas Wechel who also visited Ferenc Batthyány's residence in Németújvár.⁵⁶¹ The printer dynasty had been connected to the Hungarian Protestant aristocratic family since Boldizsár Batthyány's stay in Paris. It is not by chance that the translation of Calvin's *Institutio* made by Albert Szenci Molnár came out in the successful printing shop of this family in Hanau.⁵⁶² Fifteen publications of the Protestant printing office in Pápa are known. Beside books by important Helvetian authors of the period, calendars and alphabets were also produced there. Let us mention here the name of János Samarjai who was the most important Hungarian representative of Irenism,⁵⁶³ the contemporary tolerant branch of theology. The press was inactive in Németújvár in 1634 which indicates that Ádám, after converting to Catholicism, took it home from Pápa. Nevertheless, it was given to the Protestants (most likely thanks to the Protestant widow Eva Poppel) and later Wechel operated it in Tejfalú (1637-1645), and his son, András in Somorja (1650) and then in Kőszeg (1651-1668?).⁵⁶⁴

Ferenc Batthyány's household meant to follow contemporary Protestant households in their modernity. It must be for this reason that the

house rules of the Wolfenbüttel household were acquired.⁵⁶⁵ The intellectual atmosphere of the Batthyány residence remained religious. The magnate and his wife, partly out of necessity, handled issues of religion at their estates while the dominant figures at the household were Protestant ministers. The number of sermons and the languages used at the funeral of Ferenc Batthyány shows this well: at the funeral of the magnate who died on September 13th, 1625, twenty Hungarian, seventeen German and five Croatian sermons were heard.⁵⁶⁶

Ádám Batthyány was still underage at the time of his father's death, and had the rights to direct his estates only with restrictions. He had a bad relationship with his mother which was a burden on his youth. His conversion to Catholicism made things worse between them. András Koltai analysed his readings thoroughly,⁵⁶⁷ therefore let us just mention here the most important statements he made. Similarly to other young aristocrats of his generation, *Ádám* read books on traditional theology, chronicles and law. He also had books in contemporary modern literature, military strategy and fortification. Following in his father's footsteps, he paid special attention to Hungarian culture and bought very many Hungarian publications (the proportion of books published in Hungary was higher on the list of his books than on those of his contemporaries). Beside his mother tongue and Latin, he read in German, he must have known some Italian and he also owned Czech books. Apart from his many Hungarian books, it is surprising how many German books he had especially if their number is compared to the number of Latin books. The presence of German literature shows that *Ádám* enjoyed reading in German and not just as a schoolboy. He had an outstanding modern map collection as well as guide books about towns which indicate his interest in geography and bibliophilism. His collection of medical literature and books on herbs greatly exceeded daily necessity. It may have been inherited from the 16th century but among the numerous manuscripts on herbs in German, Latin and Hungarian there were also ones in Czech. The publications prove that even if he inherited some of these books he did not stop collecting them. The inventory mentioned his fathers' books separately; therefore it is for sure that he kept the family library. There were several writings about personal religious practice in the collection from medieval classics such as Thomas Kempis to contemporary devotional books. *Ádám Batthyány* was also important as a patron since he financed Hungarian Catholic literature and the publication of occasional prints.⁵⁶⁸



Ádám Batthyány, 1651

The history of the family library in Németújvár can be traced in archival documents. Among their books the ones we know are the volumes which were given to a public library by a member of the family. With no sources available, the library of the Batthyánys disappeared from our eyes from the second half of the 17th century. We have no knowledge of the book collection of Ádám's sons and grandchildren. The next book list is from around 1750 with the readings of Count Ádám Batthyány III (1697–1782), deputy to the Lord Chamberlain, Master of the Treasury and Lord Chamberlain.⁵⁶⁹ The majority of the 118 books are French literature, political theory, history and German and Italian books of similar topics. We do not know which mansion of theirs housed this collection. It is for sure that the family library of the ducal branch of the Batthyánys was transported to Körmen⁵⁷⁰ after the Ottomans were expelled but maybe as early as 1680. It stayed there until the end of World War II. Since then no more trustworthy data have been available.

The Nádasdy Households in Sárvár and Pottendorff and their Book Culture⁵⁷¹

In the first half of the 16th century several new families rose to aristocratic rank and, especially after the battle of Mohács that took a heavy toll on Hungarians, several of the illustrious medieval families died out in their male line or lost their importance in leading the country.⁵⁷²

The ancestors of the Nádasdy family originated from the time of the Hungarian Conquest. The role they played then is proved by charters from the times of the Árpád Dynasty.⁵⁷³ However, they did not achieve key positions in the country's life until Tamás Nádasdy married Orsolya Kanizsai. The Kanizsai family passed on their properties in the female line so the road to the highest positions opened for Tamás Nádasdy with his legendary marriage for love. He became Major-domo (1532), Keeper of the Treasury (1536–1543), Croatian Viceroy (1537–1548), Lord Chief Justice (1543–1554) and Palatine (1554–1562). He had to assume the responsibilities that went with these titles since organizing the defence against the Ottomans fell mainly to the Nádasdys (their lands were situated on the borderline of the Ottoman Empire). Tamás was appointed Captain General and his son Ferenc (1565–1604), “the Black Beg” named and feared by the Ottomans,⁵⁷⁴ became the Chief Bailiff of Vas and Sopron Counties as well as the Chief Master of the Royal Horses and between 1598 and 1604 Captain General of Transdanubia. His son, Pál (1598?–1633) also held the title of Captain General of Transdanubia while acquiring new ones such as Royal Supreme Chancellor and Councillor. In 1625 he was given the title of count. The family became very influential with his son, Ferenc (1623–1671) who was Lord Lieutenant of Vas, Zala, and Somogy Counties, Royal Councillor, Supreme Major-domo and Lord Chief Justice from 1655 until his death. In 1671 he was charged with conspiracy against the emperor and executed after being stripped of his titles and possessions. The major part of his fortune was acquired by the Esterházy. The family survived through his children and relatives from the side branches of his family and played an important part in expelling the Ottoman Turks from Hungary as well as in reorganizing the Catholic Church and the Hungarian cultural institutions in the 18th century.

Tamás Nádasdy was the first Protestant in the family. He belonged to the circle around Chancellor László Szalkai and was a friend of Miklós Oláh, historian and humanist, Archbishop of Esztergom while keeping in touch with several well-known figures of contemporary humanism (Ursinus Velinus, Georgius Logus, Jacobus Piso, Petrus Nannius etc). Instead of the old

castle of Léka,⁵⁷⁵ and the fortress of Kanizsa that he acquired through his marriage and which were uncomfortable and dangerous as a residence, Tamás Nádasdy established his main household for himself and his entourage in Sárvár.⁵⁷⁶ The young ladies in waiting living in the household surrounding Orsolya Kanizsai learnt many social skills (conversation, dancing and table skills, etc.) and acquired practical knowledge concerning supervising the household and farming, especially gardening (caring for the flowers and plants, tending the vegetable garden and the fruit trees). The Protestant school established in Sárvár-Újsziget, the church and the parish – home to the new religion, Lutheranism – and the press founded in 1539 were all Hungarian cultural institutions which made the Nádasdy residence outstanding among contemporary aristocratic households.⁵⁷⁷ The College of Csepreg became a more important school than the one in Sárvár. It was looted by the Emperor's soldiers in 1621 for having supported Gábor Bethlen, nevertheless was active until 1643.⁵⁷⁸ These institutions and the intellectuals working there needed books, which were purchased by the magnate or his learned baillifs (such as György Perneszi, Ákos Csányi, Gábor Szentgyörgyi).⁵⁷⁹ György Perneszi deserves mentioning since his will including a booklist of 62 items survived.⁵⁸⁰ The description of the contents of his library may give an insight into the one in the residence of the aristocrat Tamás Nádasdy.

Regarding Perneszi's book collection, let us mention here that it was typically Humanist but included Protestant books as well. Antique authors played an important part in his library for various reasons. One of these was that for magnates, ethical writings from ancient times served as a source of ethical and moral knowledge. Books by the church fathers of the early Middle Ages were present in great numbers in the book collections of Hungarian households probably due to their Humanist editions while the appearance of writings in various trends in theology side by side in Perneszi's library also indicates that it was a transitional period. Books by Luther and Melancthon – mainly the humanist writings – as well as Calvin were in the book collection. The library was not rich in books on cosmology and sciences although there were a few items of these too. History is represented by chronicles, mainly of Hungary and the neighbouring regions. There is a total lack of modern studies on the theory of the state, on politics, philosophy, military strategies, or fortification but a small holder noble man would not have needed these.⁵⁸¹ Compared to the Perneszi collection, the Nádasdy Library must have been richer in contents. Literature on medicine was, by all means, well represented there, since the family correspondence on their regular health problems

is known as well as the fact that these problems were tended by Gáspár Szegedi Kőrösi, one of the leading doctors of contemporary Hungary.⁵⁸²

Phillipp Melanchthon recommended Mátyás Dévai Bíró (1500? –1545) to Tamás Nádasdy who became Dévai Bíró's patron.⁵⁸³ Nádasdy supported Péter Mélius Juhász who later became the most influential Calvinist preacher, as well as the chronicler bard-minstrel Sebastien Tinódi Lantos. The most well-known scientist in the household was undoubtedly János Sylvester (1504?–1552). His work defined scholarly disputes on Hungarian literary language and grammar for centuries.⁵⁸⁴ All four known books published by the press established in 1539 were written by Sylvester. The press was operated by Johannes Strutius (Strauss), and later by Benedek Abádi.⁵⁸⁵ The first title published was his *Grammatica Hungarolatina*, then, upon Nádasdy's request, a bull by Pope Paul III came out in Hungarian followed by a paraphrase of Genesis written in Hungarian verse.⁵⁸⁶ Since no copies remained of these latter two, the first book printed in Hungary in Hungarian is considered Sylvester's major achievement, the complete translation of the New Testament published in 1541 and financed entirely by Tamás Nádasdy.⁵⁸⁷

The Palatine's son, Ferenc Nádasdy, who was born in later years of his father's life, is mainly known in history as a soldier, although literature emphasizes his thorough knowledge of modern military strategy, which he could not have acquired only through practice.⁵⁸⁸ Many contemporary publications appeared depicting his battles⁵⁸⁹ – these must have been present in the library at Sárvár – while Elias Berger, the chronicler of the household, dedicated a whole book to his military virtues.⁵⁹⁰ The household of the “Black Lord or Beg” feared by the Ottoman Turks did not lose its splendour after the death of the father, Tamás Nádasdy.⁵⁹¹ The magnate participated at the theological and church organizational disputations which took place on his estate, among others at the Synod of Csepreg in 1591 where the followers of the Calvinist and the Lutheran confessions decided to part and to build separate churches.⁵⁹² Tamás Nádasdy himself stayed in the Lutheran church and financed the studies of young men wishing to become ministers. These young men sent their printed theses, dedicated to the magnate, to Sárvár.⁵⁹³ Assumptions can be made of Nádasdy's intellectual horizon based on the study of the books and knowledge of István Magyari (? – 1605), the minister of Nádasdy's household, since the minister must have used the library in Sárvár as a source of his books.⁵⁹⁴ The publications of the printing shop financed by Ferenc Nádasdy – which must have enriched the family library – were meant to serve the above-mentioned confessional disputations and the

fight against the Catholic campaign lead by Péter Pázmány. Johannes Manlius operated the press in turn in Keresztúr (1599, 1601, 1603–1605) and Sárvár (1600, 1602).⁵⁹⁵ Besides almanacs, he published a Lutheran Agenda (1598)⁵⁹⁶ and articles of faith (1598),⁵⁹⁷ as well as István Magyari's books (1602).⁵⁹⁸ With the support of Nádasdy, the press played its part in the late Humanist intellectual movements at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. A Latin-Hungarian-German dictionary came out (Blasius Szikszai Fabricius, (1602),⁵⁹⁹ as well as many translations of contemporary Lutheran theologians: Aegidius Hunnius (Tamás Esterházy, István Kürti, 1602),⁶⁰⁰ Gottfried Rabe (János Fabricius, 1603),⁶⁰¹ Andreas Osiander (Mihály Zvonarics, 1603).⁶⁰² Furthermore, it was in this press that most of the funeral poems and sermons written upon the death of the patron Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) were published.⁶⁰³

At his death, his son Pál was still underage so the widow Erzsébet Báthory managed the family's business.⁶⁰⁴ In his will, Nádasdy requested György Thurzó, the next Palatine to be the guardian of his children and counted on the solicitous attention of György Drugeth of Homonna, the husband of his daughter, Katalin. The guardian of his children, however, turned out to be Imre Megyeri, another relative of the Darabos branch of the family. The next generation of the Nádasdys had strong ties to the Révays (Pál married Judit Révay, while Erzsébet, Katalin's daughter became the wife of László Révay.) They were also related to Miklós Zrínyi who married Anna, the sister of Pál and Katalin.) The history of the trial of Erzsébet Báthory charged with numerous murders and cruelty has still not been satisfactorily clarified, even less the influence it must have had on her son Pál.

No catalogue has survived of the library in Sárvár from the times of Pál and Ferenc Nádasdy so new acquisitions can only be assumed per analogiam. Pál stayed Lutheran until his death and his most influential advisors were his two distinguished ministers, Mihály Zvonarics and István Lethenyi. Pál Nádasdy settled down Protestant refugees from abroad, such as Wolfgang Mangelburg and Gregor Gerber.⁶⁰⁵ Pál Nádasdy financed the study of the above-mentioned Lethenyi so no wonder Lethenyi dedicated his books to him.⁶⁰⁶ The disputations of four more students of Wittenberg appeared with dedications either to him or to his widow, Judit Révay.⁶⁰⁷ Pál Nádasdy was a patron of the emblem books of one of the most interesting figures of Hungarian late humanism, Christoph Lackner, Mayor of Sopron, both abroad (Frankfurt am M., 1617),⁶⁰⁸ and in Hungary, in the press financed by the Nádasdys.⁶⁰⁹

Even after the death of Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) the former Manlius press,

Despite the conflicts among the Catholic aristocrats at the head of the country at the middle of the 17th century, they were unanimous in their intention to define Hungary as a kingdom of the Habsburgs with a Christian church with its own saints and heroes, established independently from the Habsburgs.⁶¹⁶ This relates to Nádasdy's search for his ancestors and their presentation including the very interesting element, his very early interest in the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarians.⁶¹⁷

During his travel to Bavaria⁶¹⁸ and Rome⁶¹⁹ he had a first-hand experience of the richness of the collections in the households he visited. In 1653 along with Pál Esterházy he participated in the crowning celebrations of Emperor Ferdinand IV. On their way home they visited several towns (Freising, Ulm, Passau) and the Elector of Bavaria also received them in Munich. The art and antique collection of the Wittelsbachs served as a model for both later on. Nádasdy sent his son, István on a *Kavalierstour* between 1669 and 1670.⁶²⁰

Nádasdy moved his household to Pottendorff.⁶²¹ He established presses both here and in Loretom, another estate he had in Sopron County where he published books partly to satisfy the needs of the local Catholic communities (in Loretom it was the Servites) and partly to publish his own writings.⁶²² He widened the network of his household a great deal and became an active patron of literature and the arts while being a publisher himself. His best-known book entitled *Mausoleum* depicting the Hungarian kings in verse, rich in engravings, was first published in Nuremberg in 1644⁶²³ and three years later also in Pottendorff.⁶²⁴ He financed the publication of many books in Amsterdam, Vienna and Frankfurt am Main, of which the most important were the ones related to Hungarian history. Péter Révay's still useful book on the Hungarian crown came out in two editions in 1659 in Frankfurt financed both times by Nádasdy.⁶²⁵ He published two academic disputations on Saint Ladislaus, the Knight King, and the *Miles Marianus*.⁶²⁶ Miklós Falusy wrote one of them (1648),⁶²⁷ while Ferenc Pakay the other (1667).⁶²⁸

On September 3rd 1670, Ferenc Nádasdy was arrested and charged with conspiracy against the emperor and on 30th April 1671 he was executed in Vienna.⁶²⁹ By then, his library was one of the biggest private book collections in Hungary. Alfred Sitte wrote⁶³⁰ that the library was worth nearly 10.000 Golden Florins. When the book collection containing 1080 books of Sándor Mikulich was confiscated, the clerks noted the total value as 4,126 Rhenish guilders:⁶³¹ therefore, the size of the Nádasdy library can safely be estimated as 2,500 volumes, similar to the size of the book collection Miklós Istvánffy had.⁶³² The library was in a separate room in the resi-

dence and the order (*ordo*) must have been established by an employee hired for this purpose. There must have been a catalogue which has not turned up yet.

Several people wished to acquire the Pottendorff Library of the magnate who was sentenced to death and confiscation of property. The first selection was made for the Imperial Library although the books did not reach the Library in Vienna until 1678.⁶³³ Another part was given to Paul Hocher von Hochengrün, Imperial High Chancellor while the rest was offered to the Servite monastery in Loretto. Out of this latter lot, further books were selected for and taken by the emperor's library in 1678.⁶³⁴ Later, the son of Ferenc Nádasdy managed to reclaim a part of the books transported to the Imperial Library and in 1722 he had more than 500 books.⁶³⁵ He left this book collection to the Augustine monastery in Léka. With Joseph II's decree of the dissolution of contemplative monastic orders, and the closing down of both monasteries in Loretto and Léka, a part of the books was transported to the University Library of Budapest in 1787 while the bigger part disappeared. The same fate fell to the library of the Servite monastery in Vátszentkút donated to them by Imre Nádasdy in 1764 through which their formerly modest book collection really became a library. The old stock of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek was culled several times and the surplus items were sold. Thus, the Nádasdy Library of Pottendorff containing more than 1000 books was scattered. So far only 400 books have been discovered. Since a thorough analysis is expected to be written by Noémi Viskolcz let us highlight here only the most important points.⁶³⁶

Archival sources reveal a modern collection in many languages (Latin, German, Italian, French and Hungarian). Theological books still held an important position in the library but these were mainly written by contemporary authors. There were books on history, modern theory of the state and politics, while numerous works of literature and art books enriched the collection. The books were lined up in thematic order on the shelves so we venture to say that it was the first library in Hungary where the intention was to create a treasury as well as establish a useful and diverse library.

The original order in the library is known only from the inventory of the books selected for Vienna.⁶³⁷ Noémi Viskolcz's above mentioned study mentioned that the classification of the theological books was conspicuously detailed while the secular books could not be considered modern regarding their thematic sections. It is, however, not known how many books there were in each thematic section. It is possible that Nádasdy,

who was very modern in collecting other items in his cultural management, had more books in secular topics and only one of his employees must have been a person who graduated in theology. The thematic sections mentioned several times were the following:

I. *Scripturistae*, II. *Sancti Patres*, III. *Concionatores*, IV. *Controversistae*, V. *Humanistae*, VI. *Theologi Speculativi*, VII. *Juristae*, VIII. *Medici*, IX. *Philosophi*, *Politici*, *Mathematici*, X. *Historici profani*, XI. *Historici ecclesiastici*.

It is interesting to note that political theory was classified under philosophy and was not considered as an independent area of knowledge in opposition to Zrínyi. Just a reminder, the thematic sections of the Zrínyi library was the following:

I *Historici antiqui Romani et alii*; II. *Historici omnis generis et nationis mixtim*; III. *Historici Pannoniae et Orientalium*; IV. *Politici*; V. *Militares*; VI. *Geographi et Cosmographi*; VII. *Poetae Latini*; VIII. *Poetae Itali*; IX. *Scholastici*; X. *Domesticae, Oeconomicae*; XI. *Miscellanei*.⁶³⁸

The theological section was up-to-date since besides the books selected for the Imperial Library by Peter Lambeck, the selection at the Servite monastery is also known by item. As an outstanding result of the French research in patristics and philological study of the Bible in the 17th century, a new critical edition was completed from the writings of the church fathers as well as the *Biblia Regia* series that came out by the middle of the century. Very few people could afford to buy these because of their price. The young prince, Zsigmond Rákóczi decided to purchase them only when the publication of the Várad Bible was in preparation and it was necessary to learn about the new solutions in the translation.⁶³⁹ There is no Protestant theology in the collection that is if Nádasdy inherited such books then no one, who prepared an inventory of the books selected, wanted to take them away.

The section on *Humanistae* was valuable but could be considered modern only at the turn of the 16th and 17th century. Two items are to be noted; an Arabic and a Chaldean manuscript as well as the poems by Pope Urban VIII which Zrínyi owned with a dedication from the pope to himself and was classified as *Poetae Latini* in Csáktornya.

Nothing special can be mentioned among legal and medical books other than that they were methodically collected, with editions from the 16th century followed by ones from the 17th century. This section gives the impression that Nádasdy purchased or had someone buy everything he

heard of. This applies for all thematic sections. It is impressive to envision all the books of an author, such as Claudius Salmasius or the Jesuit polyhistor, Athanasius Kircher who was in contact with Hungarian high priests and aristocrats,⁶⁴⁰ on the shelves of the Hungarian magnate. Let us draw attention here to Giovanni Battista Riccioli's modern book entitled *Geographia et hydrographia reformata* which complemented Kircher's books on hydrography.⁶⁴¹

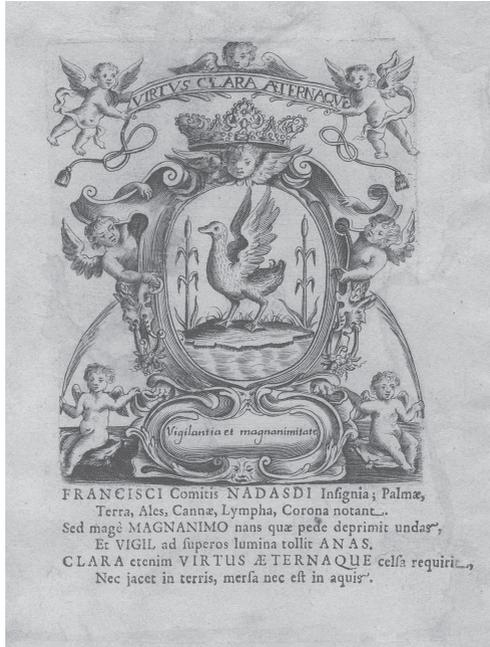
The section on secular history shows more interesting items. The book entitled *De agrorum Conditionibus et constitutionibus limitum...* would indicate a book on modern agricultural management. However, it was published by Andreas Turnebus in 1554. It is an important writing which could be applied in practice.

Nádasdy's connection to Johannes Blaeu from the Low Countries⁶⁴² and the Moretus, a printer family from Antwerp are known from literature.⁶⁴³ Blaeu dedicated the new map of Hungary published in 1664 to him. His *Atlas maior* was also acquired by the Hungarian Lord Chief Justice.⁶⁴⁴ The presence of the books published in Antwerp is obvious; he wanted them to open a book store in Vienna. Nádasdy's collection of maps must have been outstanding judging even from the sketchy inventories. He also acquired bigger albums containing a lot of engravings which shows his taste in bibliophilism. One of the most well-known of these was the series presenting the countries of Europe and prepared by Matthias Merian. The eight volumes of Merian's another manual *Theatrum Europaeum* was also in Pottendorf. The inventory shows several albums presenting various countries and towns. The history section must have been rich in Vienna because Lambeck chose few of those. Hungarian historians such as Bonfini, Istvánffy, and Ráttkay were there. Books in *Turcica* seem to be scarce. We, however assume that these two topics together with the history of the neighbouring countries and the publications of Hungarian church organisations were represented in Nádasdy's book collection.

The language of the books based on archival documents and the surviving books was different than it was in the library of Miklós Zrínyi. Among the modern languages Nádasdy may have known German the best although he had a few books in Italian and in French. The surviving books indicate that he was not a note taking reader as he left few traces in his books. His possessor mark was not inserted into all his books. Noémi Viskolc identified his book binder, a master called Jakob Kobiz from Wien Neustadt who intended to create a unified profile for Nádasdy's library.

His printed *ex libris* indicates Nádasdy's bibliophilic intention. There was a debate among researchers whether among the engravings depict-

ing Ferenc Nádasdy's coat-of-arms that were stuck into the books which one could be considered as *ex libris* and which not. Elemér Varjú drew attention to Nádasdy's *ex libris* in 1895.⁶⁴⁵ Another engraving turned up later in Mátyás Bél's *Apparatus* stuck into the book⁶⁴⁶ which researchers also called his *ex libris*.⁶⁴⁷ Noémi Viskolcz discovered that the engraving was made for Laurentius Chrysogonus's *Mundus Marianus* (Vienna, 1646) dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy and occurs nowhere else as a possessor mark.⁶⁴⁸



Ex libris of Ferenc Nádasdy, cca. 1660

When one considers the bibliophilism of Ferenc Nádasdy along with his huge collection of paintings⁶⁴⁹ and his treasury⁶⁵⁰ maybe we can state that it was the first Hungarian collection in the formation of which there was a definite intention to collect valuable objects and not just readings and objects to use.⁶⁵¹ The motto in the engraving published in the above-mentioned *Mundus Marianus* edition (I hope he chose it himself) expresses his relationship to books the best: *Quae sursum sunt sapere, sapientia est.*

The Esterházy Libraries in Lakompak, Fraknó and Kismarton⁶⁵²

Ferenc Esterházy de Galánta (1533–1604) married Zsófia Illésházy from a family which was considered one of the major supporters of the Lutheran Church in Hungary.⁶⁵³ Their son, Miklós Esterházy (1582–1645) rose fast in rank and from gentry he became a magnate. Miklós inherited several positive traits from his father, among them the awareness that culture was important.⁶⁵⁴ Miklós converted to Catholicism in 1610. He was *homo novus* among the magnates. In 1613 he was offered the title of Baron while in 1626 he became a count and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Through his marriages and talent, Miklós acquired huge wealth and in 1625 the states elected him palatine of the country. His first wife, Orsolya Dersffy (1583–1619), who Miklós married in 1612, gave birth to István (1616–1641) who died young. Miklós married for the second time in 1624 and betrothed Christina Nyáry (1604–1640). Their son, László died in the Vezekény battle along with three other Esterházy boys from a side branch. Miklós' third son, Pál Esterházy (1635–1713), who became the head of the family young, undertook a difficult job. He married twice just like his father. First he betrothed Orsolya Esterházy (1641–1682),⁶⁵⁵ his Brother István's only daughter, in 1652 and then in 1682 Éva Thököly (1659–1716). He was elected palatine in 1681 and in 1687 Leopold I, issued a princely diploma elevating Pál to a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1712, the title of Prince was extended to his male descendants. His niece, Orsolya bore him László Ignác (1662–1689) who did not bear the title of prince but in any case he became a priest while Mihály (1671–1721) did as well as Éva Thököly's son, Joseph (1688–1721). From the princely branch let us mention only Pál Anthony (1711–1762) and Miklós (1714–1790) who were important in the history of the library and in cultural history.⁶⁵⁶

Ferenc Esterházy's children had different career paths. Tamás (1570–1616) became a Lutheran minister in Nagymagyar.⁶⁵⁷ His father, before converting to Lutheranism, belonged to the household of Anthony Verancsics (1504–1573), Archbishop of Esztergom and historian. The years spent there had an impact on him.⁶⁵⁸

Miklós Esterházy can be considered an author whose writings, especially his political ideas, were widely read.⁶⁵⁹ Around 1620, he made Lakompak his residence where his son, István was brought up and this is where his book collection was held although we do not have its contemporary catalogue. The official petitions and memoranda he wrote as well as his correspondence attesting to his political views⁶⁶⁰ indicate that the books

From documents concerning Miklós Esterházy's household in Lakompak (1627)⁶⁶⁵ the following turns out: „Every day before lunch those who have the skills are required to read a story or a book the Lord (Miklós Esterházy) gave them at least for an hour; furthermore, they have to practice this activity after lunch for an hour or two.”⁶⁶⁶ We do not have the catalogue for his library in Lakompak, some of his readings; however, have been identified thanks to his possessor notes. Besides these possible readings, volumes from his brother's library may have remained in his keep as well. Theresia Gabriel and Stefan Körner assume that a part of the Erasmus, Luther and Melanchthon publications held in Kismarton and Moscow today, belonged to his brother, Tamás Esterházy de Nebojsza (1570–around 1615). However, no written documents have been found to support this claim. Tamás Esterházy studied in Wittenberg between 1591 and 1595. He used György de Montenay's album book as his *album amicorum* which today is held in the special section of the Bibliotheca Zriniana.⁶⁶⁷ His books are not owned by the Esterházy today although it is possible, that the books written by Aegidius Hunnius, his professor in Wittemberg belonged to him. Tamás translated Aegidius' writing entitled *Articulus de ecclesia vera et hujus capite Christo* (Frankfurt am Main, 1596) into Hungarian and dedicated it to István Illésházy's wife, Katalin Pálffy. The bulky book (*Az igaz anyaszentegyházról és ennek fejeéről, a Krisztusról*) was published in Sárvár in 1602 financed by István Illésházy.⁶⁶⁸ This is not surprising considering that Thomas' mother was from the Illésházy family.

The books with Miklós Oláh's possessor mark may have been kept in Lakompak which was the inheritance of Miklós Esterházy's first wife, Orsolya Dersffy (1583–1619). Her parents were Ferenc Dersffy de Szerdahely and Orsolya Császár († 1593) who brought Lakompak into the marriage as part of her inheritance through her father. Her father was Miklós Oláh's nephew, Miklós Oláh-Császár († before 1574). It is probable therefore that the books Archbishop Miklós Oláh left to his nephew may have been placed in this residence along with the rest of the books.⁶⁶⁹

Since the majority of the population on the Esterházy estates were Protestant therefore the magnate started a staunch recatholization process through which a part of the book collections of several Protestant ministers identified by the possessor marks in them, were taken to the household library. This story is documented through the hand-written notes in the books that can be seen mostly in Kismarton and some item in Moscow today.⁶⁷⁰ Written data prove that such and such book belonged to such and such teacher or minister serving in one of the villages. How did Esterházy acquire these books? The village or a part of it belonged to

the landlords, often the parish and the building used as a school as well. The ownership of the church building was more complicated but regarding libraries this is less important since book collections were rarely kept in Protestant churches. Apart from hymn books and bibles, catechisms and books of daily religious practice were stored there only if there were religious meetings of this kind there. If the landlord changed their religion as was the case with Esterházy's conversion to Catholicism in 1610⁶⁷¹ then the Protestant minister had to move out of the vicarage and a Catholic priest would move in while the schoolmaster either remained in the village and converted or left. The school building was then used by the Catholic Church and a monastic order would often move in. This change, however, does not explain why books would have remained in the building and why these would have been gathered in the library of the landlord. We know of cases when the school library belonged to the landlord and stayed in the building when the landlord converted to Catholicism as Ádám Batthyány did in 1629 in Némétújvár. Then the Protestant book collection was handed over the Franciscans when they moved into the building and they preserved the collection. Nevertheless, it is unclear why the Protestant teachers' private book collections remained with the library (see the books of the Beythe family). Studying the book collection in Némétújvár shed new light on the mechanism how the Protestant books got to the Franciscan library. In several books there are notes from different villages which prove that the books were in use after the reconversion of the Batthyánys in 1629 not just in Némétújvár but in other villages within the Batthyány estate as well. This indicates that 1) the ministers serving on the estate borrowed books from the school library and 2) they lent books to one another. These books then were returned to their owner or not. If the book was taken to the estate of another magnate it may have enriched his library when he changed his religion. Otherwise it would be hard to explain why there are a number of books from the school in Némétújvár or the ones that belonged to István Beythe among the books of the Esterházy library in Moscow. Sometimes even the name of Boldizsár Batthyány occurs in the notes.

When tracking the books one cannot avoid mentioning what was called *visitatio librorum* (*Büchervisitation*). This phenomenon is well-known from Tirol of the 16th century or Bohemia of the 17th century during which landlords appointed a delegation, often from Jesuits, who visited the houses in the villages and confiscated the Protestant books there.⁶⁷² They either offered Catholic books in return or not. There are no records of such events from the Batthyány or Esterházy estates but cases are recorded when Jes-

uits interrogated the people who did not want to convert to Catholicism.⁶⁷³ It is not impossible that these interrogations included the confiscation of Protestant books which then were held in the Lakompak book collection. This could very well explain why there are so many books that formerly belonged to Protestant professors and ministers in the Esterházy library. This is but a weak hypothesis since it is also possible that Pál Esterházy as captain of the Pápa castle⁶⁷⁴ acquired Pál Ceglédi and János Kanizsai Pálfi's books although this has not been supported by documents either.⁶⁷⁵ No archival data show that the widows of the deceased ministers might have sold Esterházy or his agents their books due to their financial problems.

The books the publication of which was funded by Miklós Esterházy may have been part of the library in Lakompak as well. Let us mention one example: The Jesuit Mátyás Hajnal compiled a prayer book on the palatine's request for his second wife, Baroness Christina Nyáry (1604–1641).⁶⁷⁶ Her book of herbs was also mentioned in contemporary sources although it is not surprising that there is such a book of daily use in a magnate's household.⁶⁷⁷

Two pieces of Palatine György Thurzó (1567–1616) were also kept in the library which may have come with Erzsébet Thurzó, Krisztina Nyáry's daughter from her first marriage who was betrothed to István Esterházy, Miklós' son from his first marriage. One of these books is Andreas Ebo-rens' collections of moral maxims⁶⁷⁸ while the other one is a colligation of Lutheran university theses (Leipzig, Wittenberg, Jena, Halle) bound together with the rector speeches of Imre Thurzó in Wittenberg.⁶⁷⁹

Only ten volumes exist today that show Miklós Esterházy's possessor mark. He did not date his notes therefore we can guess the time of acquisition only based on the title he was using. Wherever Esterházy wrote *dominus* the note was made before 1625. Where he included *palatinus* but not count then he purchased that book between 1625 and 1626. In 1626 he became *comes* so then he would add this title to his name. When he purchased the Jesuit Diego Alvarez de Paz' three books⁶⁸⁰ and Hieronymus Torrez' selection and commentaries of Saint Augustine (*Confessio Augustiniana*)⁶⁸¹ and Mihály Ghislenius's commentaries of the Song of Songs he was neither count nor palatine.⁶⁸² Esterházy acquired Guillaume Baile's *Catechismus, seu epitome, complectens tractatus IV. capita, et controversitas, religionem spectantes*⁶⁸³ and Johann Gualther's text book of the history of the church⁶⁸⁴ after 1626. Esterházy got hold of Thomas a Jesu's book entitled *Thesaurus sapientiae Divinae* that listed and refuted the different kinds of heresy⁶⁸⁵ in 1629. Then Boldizsár Corderius sent him his selection of the Luke Gospel commentaries of Greek Church fathers with his dedication.⁶⁸⁶

In 1639 Miklós Esterházy received a rarity, the Augsburg edition (1488) of János Thuróczy's Hungarian history, from his brother-in-law, István Nyáry.⁶⁸⁷ Esterházy published political pamphlets such as his „Admonitions” addressed to György Rákóczy I, published in Vienna in 1644, in which he warned the prince not to take up arms against the emperor on the side of the Protestant powers.⁶⁸⁸

Miklós Esterházy received a book as inheritance from Miklós Bőjthe, Prebendary of Esztergom who wrote the following under section 30 in his will dated April 23, 1639: „Habeo inter ceteros meos *libros duos manuscriptos, unum in membrana literarum gloriosi illius herois Joannis Hunyadi ad summos pontifices, cardinales aliosque principes christianos sui temporis datarum literarum exemplaria complectentem, illum lego excellentissimo principi comiti Nicolao Esterhasi regni Hungariae palatino, meo quidem iudicio tanti principis bibliotheca dignissimum.*”⁶⁸⁹ This was the collection of letters that János Hunyadi wrote to popes, high clergy, kings and princes asking for help. It can also be considered as part of the palatine's library.

Stefan Körner characterized Miklós Esterházy's library in his above cited study as a symbol of religious tolerance. I believe that the presence of Protestant books in the family collection in Lakompak and later in Fraknó should not be interpreted this way. It was due to the family's Lutheran legacy, the Counterreformation movement and the Protestant books they inherited from the Thurzós. Esterházy was a politician and knew that he had to cooperate with non-Catholic aristocrats to help solve the problems of the country. From his acquisitions and sporadic data, however, one can discern a thinker and a statesman who wanted to understand social phenomena and scholarly issues from the point of view of Catholic theology ad church. His daily political actions and pamphlets indicate such a man.

Regarding his Protestant books the issue of the *Library in Regéc* should be touched upon. After the death of Ferenc Mágocsy in 1611 Regéc was acquired by Menyhért Alaghy († 1630) who took up residence there. Between 1630 and 1633 his widow, Anna Erdődy had her household in Regéc. After her death, Ferdinand II gave Regéc and the estate to Miklós Esterházy as a compensation for his military expenses. György Rákóczi I, however, occupied it in August, 1644 and the imperial army destroyed it during the Thököly wars in 1685.⁶⁹⁰ Due to the frequent changes in ownership, several inventories were made of the castle. This is how we learnt that there was a library room on the second floor.⁶⁹¹ Unfortunately, among the inventories only the one ordered by György Rákóczi I in 1644 listed books⁶⁹² adding that these were found on the ground floor in the

store room next to the archives in the West wing. Rákóczi presumably sent some of these books to Sárospatak but the real question is whose books these were. Alaghy and his wife was Catholic as was Esterházy when the mansion and the estate were donated to him and in any case he did not live there. Among Palatine Miklós' brothers, visits by Daniel Esterházy (1606–1663) and Pál (1587–1645) were recorded. Most probably they did not keep their books in Regéc and they also converted to Catholicism⁶⁹³ while the books consisted of Protestant books, writings on theology mainly by Calvinist authors which is not surprising given the fact that the majority of the population in the neighbourhood was of the Reformed church. The Mágochy family could be considered as the owners of this collection. However, one of the books, Johannes Scharpius' *Symphonia prophetarum et apostolorum*, was first published in Geneva in 1625 when the fervent Catholic Menyhért Alaghy owned Regéc while Johannes Polyander's *Contra-Remonstrant* writing came out in Leiden in 1640. István Sós in his excellent study⁶⁹⁴ reviewed the staff and listed the bailiffs, the castellans, the provisors (which then was a profession for intellectuals) there and mentioned a parson (Márton Fekete). This latter one can be excluded as a possible owner but the question is unanswered why the possessions of the staff would be inventoried when there is a change in ownership of the place. This book collection can be seen as the core of a library for an educated and widely read Calvinist intellectual. It included a Latin-Greek dictionary, Nicolaus Clenardus Greek language commentaries, a Latin-Greek New Testament, and ten Protestant Bible commentaries or writings on theology. The *Graduale* could be both Calvinist and Catholic. Since the books were found in the room next to the archives and the clerk preparing the inventory mentioned some *registers written by Mátyás Szluha in a black box full of letters*, it would be possible that they inventoried his books. Miklós Esterházy appointed Mátyás Szluha bailiff in 1639 and perhaps that does not exclude him being of the Reformed faith. Alternatively, the books may have belonged to Miklós Aszalay who was bailiff between 1621 and 1633 but according to István Sós' data Aszalay left Regéc in 1633 to study in Graz and then became an assistant to the palatine. We do not have data suggesting that he converted to Catholicism. Aszalay and his family were staunch supporters of the congregation of the Reformed faith in Fóny. On the other hand, he never returned to Regéc, therefore he could not have taken the Polyander book there. While it is still unknown who the owner of the Regéc book collection inventoried in 1644 was it clearly did not belong to Miklós Esterházy and he never owned it full or in part.

Returning to the Jesuit profile of the Lakompak library we can say that the overall impression we have of *the books of István Esterházy* who died young is very similar. He owned two Jesuit commentaries of Aristotle,⁶⁹⁵ Melchior Lacerda's reference book of rhetoric,⁶⁹⁶ the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel's *Opera spiritualia*,⁶⁹⁷ a writing by the Jesuit professor in Douai, Antonius de Balinghem, a calendar to propagate the Virgin Mary cult⁶⁹⁸ which offers a reading for each day of the year, and presents a shrine where the Holy Mother is venerated. István Esterházy received the Hungarian sermon book of the Jesuit György Káldi in 1639⁶⁹⁹ and he owned the two most popular *Florilegia* of the period written by Janus Gruterus and Joseph Lang.⁷⁰⁰

László Esterházy, Palatine Miklós' son who died in the battle of Vezekény, started to purchase books in the 1640s but only six of these are known. Among these only Pierre Emotta's manual is a book on theology.⁷⁰¹ Church history in Hungary is represented by Sigismundus Ferrarius' history of the Dominican order in Hungary.⁷⁰² László purchased Solomon Neugebauer's *Selectorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria gemina*⁷⁰³ not anticipating that he himself will soon enter the pantheon of heroes. Bartholomaeus Gavantus' book about antique rites,⁷⁰⁴ Sebastian Castellion's excellent edition of Homer⁷⁰⁵ and Mario Nizoli's dictionary of Cicero⁷⁰⁶ that is often used by researchers even today, may have helped his studies in classical philology.

Miklós Esterházy was a patron to sodalities (*sodalitates*) and after his death his son, László took up this job with enthusiasm. During this century, publications of sodalities in Pozsony, Nagyszombat and many in Vienna came out under the patronage of one or the other member of the Esterházy family. They did not stop at patronage, they even held positions in these sodalities.⁷⁰⁷ Several of these publications can be seen today at the National Archives, in the Esterházy Family Archives or in Kismarton.⁷⁰⁸ Some of these are rarities or a unique copy.

Pál Esterházy who became the head of the family in 1652 at the age of 17 inherited huge estates, several mansions and great responsibilities. His life considered very long in this period attests to the fact that he did meet the expectations. Besides developing the treasury and the Ancestors Gallery, he also enlarged the library not only through new acquisitions and preserving the family heritage but he also established and financially supported a whole system of cultural institutions with a carefully planned cultural policy.

Pál Esterházy, the busy politician and magnate meant to play a part in improving culture and education in Hungary. He chose the Holy Virgin

cult as one of the central elements of his efforts. His schooling helped to prepare for this since he studied in the Jesuit secondary school in Graz with princes Ferdinand and Leopold. Then he continued his studies at the University of Nagyszombat between 1649 and 1652.⁷⁰⁹ His literary oeuvres concentrated on the propagation of the Holy Virgin shrines and the processions and pilgrimages.⁷¹⁰ He gave a substantial support for the publication of these writings which came out illustrated with high quality engravings. In his library the reference books on the cult of the Holy Virgin were all there.⁷¹¹ Pál Esterházy also published prayer books and compiled a musical composition entitled *Harmonia Celestis* as a coronation of his knowledge in church music.⁷¹² His biographers highlight his musical expertise but Pál Esterházy was also interested in dance and liked theatre performances (as a student he played in some). As a poet he has also an oeuvre considerable.⁷¹³

There are no areas of court culture where his achievement would not be recognized and acknowledged, the pieces of art under his patronage (engravings, paintings, sculptures and musical compositions) and the buildings and gardens left their marks in our cultural history.⁷¹⁴ Inheriting his father's passion for collecting, he continued to develop the treasury.⁷¹⁵

Similarly to the Zrínyi, the Nádasdy and other aristocratic families, Pál Esterházy devoted a special attention to the history of his which contained some legendary elements not uncommon in the period. The *Trophæum domus Estoriane*,⁷¹⁶ his family history was undoubtedly one of the major achievements in printing at the end of the 17th century that depicted the glorious past of the Esterházy with several hundreds of engravings. Printed family trees that were put together from several engraved pages enjoyed great popularity in and were prepared in this period. In the Fraknó castle one can visit the Gallery of Ancestors even today since not just engravings were made of the family members but also paintings. Besides his family, presenting the past of the Hungarians became very important for Pál Esterházy especially in the second part of his life.⁷¹⁷ He planned to publish the epy *Topographica Regni Hungariae* since he knew well that Hungary had to be brought into European public awareness as an independent entity⁷¹⁸ and it was not sufficient to write scholarly books. The attention of decision-maker aristocrats is best captured by grandiose and spectacular visuals. After the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks, Pál Esterházy set off to modernize Hungary with great enthusiasm. Esterházy's merits were recognized and in 1687 he received the title of prince. However, the emperor started to ignore his advice since Hungary as a strong country would not fit well the politics of the empirical court. Pál Esterházy wrote

a book entitled *Mars Hungaricus* and left his vision to future generations in manuscript only.⁷¹⁹



Ex libris of Pál Esterházy, cca. 1687

The household in Kismarton acquired the last institution it needed by the end of Pál's life. In 1711 Johann Baptist Hübschlin (1677–1713) established his printing shop which operated until 1715.⁷²⁰

Throughout his life, *Pál Esterházy* paid a special attention to the enlargement of *the family library*. This is indicated by the different types of notes in the nearly 2500 books we know of today. In most of his books we can see only a hand-written possessor mark but we also know the printed *ex libris* he ordered after he was elevated to be a prince. This can be seen in 80 books. At the Early Printed Books Archive of the National Széchényi Library an engraved leaf with the Prince Esterházy coat-of-arms was found which was catalogued as *ex libris*. Both the *ex libris* found in his books and the separate sheet *ex libris*, features the princely coat-of-arms. It is not known when exactly they were made.⁷²¹ A special book binding designed

on Pál Esterházy's request is not known. A considerable part of the books is in the original binding of the publishing house but books in various quality leather binding can also be found in great numbers among the preserved volumes.

During Pál Esterházy's lifetime the family acquired a lot of new estates and palaces. Most probably in each of these there were books in the possession and use of the family member who resided there. As an example let us mention his nephew, the executor of his will, Pál Antal II (1711–1762) who established a book collection already as a student in Leiden.⁷²² The books then got mixed up and can be seen among the books which survived the centuries.

Pál preferred his household in Kismarton from the beginning of the 1600s and moved the library here from Fraknó. We do not know when this move was made exactly, probably not before the Ottoman Turks were expelled from Hungary and the wars ended. The inventory made after his death mentions the library in the West tower.⁷²³ The bills, Johann Blaeu issued between 1661 and 1663 we still have, did not list the books the magnate bought.⁷²⁴ However, judging from the amount paid, there must have been quite a lot of publications.

The library grew and sometimes incorporated bigger collections and the members of the family who resided in Kismarton also bought books. Publications were also needed for the constructions; the engineers may have asked help from the magnet. After the construction was completed the books were catalogued in the library.

In connection with Lakompak, we have already seen that a part of the Humanist library of Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom was included there. The history of his library, however, is linked with the Esterházy book collection in other points as well. It is known that Oláh had a library both in Vienna and Nagyszombat although smaller collections were also held in his other residences and palaces. In his will he left his books to János Listi († 1577)⁷²⁵ and his son as well as the students of the school in Nagyszombat. János Listi was the husband of Miklós Oláh's illegitimate daughter, Lucrecia. In 2007 Edina Zvara summed up all we know of the books of the Listis. After the publication of her paper, volumes with Miklós Oláh's notes were found which were inherited from Oláh by the Listis. The Listi library was held in Köpcsény. János Listi sold the mansion and the estate in 1676 to Pál Esterházy. It is not impossible that some of his books were acquired by Esterházy then.

Among Pál's children, from his first marriage his son László Ignác (1662–1689) became a priest, Prebendary of Pozsony and then Provost of

Rátót. Some of his books were found which allow us to assess his education. He owned manuscripts detailing dialectic and the different parts of logic of Aristotle and a study about the angels (*De angelis*) written by Franz Voglmaier, Professor of theology. László Ignác also had 12 volumes of lecture notes he took at the theology courses at the university. There were also two printed text books, the philosophical writing of János Kéry⁷²⁶ and a philosophical course of Johannes Poncius based on Duns Scotus' system.⁷²⁷ Among the books we have found the most noteworthy for me is the three-volume book written by Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato entitled *Historia del ministero del cardinale Giulio Mazarino*.⁷²⁸ The historian Priorato was very well-known in Europe, there is hardly any country the history of which he did not write about and he depicted the Zrínyis fight against the Ottoman in great detail.⁷²⁹ It is not surprising that Miklós Zrínyi owned three of his books,⁷³⁰ his son, Ádám had one.⁷³¹ The biography Priorato wrote about Emperor Leopold was among the books Ferenc Rákóczi II had in Sárospatak.⁷³² László Ignác Esterházy did not have the Mazarin monography in French although it had several editions since 1688. He purchased the Italian edition at the age of 22 which indicates that he already had a good command of Italian by then and also that he earnestly prepared himself for the tasks an aristocrat had to do.

In 1700 the parish priest of Kismarton, Francesco Orsolini left his library to the prince in his will.⁷³³ He must have known the collection which he meant to add to and also he intended to make sure his books were in a safe place. Today, however, we have only one book out of the 91 inherited by Esterházy.

Several lessons can be learnt if one takes a look at archival sources one by one. These have all been published:

1700 Parish priest Francesco Orsolini's books inherited by the prince⁷³⁴

1718 Ferdinand Dobner's notes about Pál Esterházy's books⁷³⁵

1756 Inventory of the Library in Fraknó when the books were handed over to the Franciscans executing the last will of the prince.⁷³⁶

Let us have a few words about the sources and their relationship with the catalogue prepared when the books were handed over to the Franciscans. Let me state first that Pál Esterházy's will, donating his library to the Franciscans, was executed only selectively and the majority of the palatine's books remained in the family library. We do not know what the libraries those were in the different palaces and mansions of the family during Pál Esterházy's lifetime contained but the will did not apply to them. The palatine's intention was clear, he left his books to the Franciscans of Kismarton:⁷³⁷ „*Bibliothecam quoque habeo sat pulchram, et non parvo*

labore conquisitam, quam intendo cum certa fundatione apud Franciscanis Kismartonij deponere, ut quivis doctorum virorum eo profectus librorum illorum lectione frui possit, ita tamen ut exinde nullo modo apportentur quin potius ex illa a me fienda fundatione dicta Bibliotheca augeatur et conservetur: quodsi hoc propositum meum differetur successor meus id effectue mandet et ipse supremam habeat super illam inspectionem et habeat auctoritatem Bibliothecarium constituendi et libros ad legendum cum restitutione tamen infallibili accipiendi.”

If not all books were ceded to the Franciscans one would think that the family kept the non-theological books. However, volumes of the Orsolini library can rarely be found among the books handed over and until today only one book has been found from the call numbers ranging between 14022 and 15906 on the booklist prepared by Johann Harich in 1937⁷³⁸ with the possessor mark of Orsolini, the Italian priest. The items of both inventories do not prove the opposite of our claim since these are items such as the decrees of the Council of Trent or school books in Canon law which could have been in several copies in any contemporary collection. The catalogue prepared by Korkmazova and Ponomarev does not indicate a note from Orsolini either.⁷³⁹ From what we know today we can safely state therefore that Orsolini’s books were not included in the library of the Esterházy family, they may have remained at the rectory in Kismarton or a religious order under their patronage might have received them.

The inventory prepared by Ferdinand Dobner reveals a lot about the selection that was made in Pál Esterházy’s library. This inventory was also prepared after the death of the palatine but exclusively about his books on geography and hydrography. It is conspicuous that none of them features in the inventory made in 1756 where there are only 8 items in the *Geographici* thematic section. I believe it is not going too far to claim that the books that were judged interesting or which did not have another copy in the libraries of their other palaces were picked out of the Pál Esterházy’s bequest. Hydrography is not an independent section in the 1756 inventory and none of the item on the Dobner list occurs there either. This would explain why there were so few items in the following thematic sections in the inventory prepared in 1756: *Militares et Geometrici* (18 items), *Historici diversis Animalibus* (2 items), *Libri Botanici* (3 items), *Astrologi, Mathematici et Chymici de Methalis* (16 items). However, the same logic would not justify the fact that the *Topographici* section remained relatively rich (45 items).

Knowing the thematic constitution of the contemporary Franciscan libraries, we must agree that most of the books would not have been suitable for a Franciscan collection since their use would not have been guar-

anteed and according to Pál Esterházy's last will, they would have had to provide access to and usability of the books. The analysis of the catalogue and the Dobner inventory confirms our belief that the Franciscans received a selection of books only.

The two book lists contain 1516 items (1457 titles can be found in the catalogue prepared in 1756 and further 59 in the Dobner inventory). The thematic grouping of the books is conspicuous at first glance. This thematic differentiation is very modern since the contemporary libraries during Pál Esterházy's lifetime and at the middle of the 18th century applied a more traditional order (*ordo librorum*). I refer here to the very logical merging of military science and geometry or the differentiation between botany and zoology or geography and topography. The modernity of the thematic sections (*ordo*) and the relative out datedness of the books also indicate that these books do not present Pál Esterházy's complete library.

The proportion of the books in each thematic section is interesting:

Ecclesiastici	348
Ecclesiastico-Historici	63
Haeretici	334
Scholastici	160
Iuridici	49
Medici	100
Politici et Historici	220
Militares et geometrici	17
Historici de diversis animalibus	2
Botanici	3
Antiqui oratores	70
Astrologi, mathematici et chymici de methalis	16
Geographici	50 (8+42 Dobner)
Topographici	47
(Hydrographici	17 – Dobner)

Most of the sections do not homogeneously cover books in fields corresponding to their thematic section. Our interpretation is that the use of the library formed this. The *Historico-Ecclesiastici* section contains books only on the early history of Christian church and Catholic Church history.

This is complemented by writings about the lives of saints, the presentation of shrines, as well as books to prepare and propagate pilgrimage to shrines. The higher proportion of books on Virgin Mary shrines and the cult of the Holy Virgin are not surprising. Let us highlight the fact that the books written by Pál Esterházy are not included among these books (although *Harmonia Caelestis* will feature in the following section). The family owned several books that presented churches in Rome and the city itself but according to the catalogue these were older publications from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries and exclusively in Latin that is surprising since in other sections there were books in German, French and Italian.

Books on theology are listed under *Ecclesiastici* and included the works of church fathers, various Bible editions (there is one in French among them), books written by medieval theologians and writings by Catholic authors from the 16th and 17th centuries, polemical treatises to refute Protestant doctrines. Not surprisingly, the majority of these authors were Jesuits. Hungarian authors, however, are few among them: György Káldi, Péter Pázmány, András Illyés, János Telegdi, Tamás Balásfi, Elek Révai, Mihály Vörösmarti, Gergely Martonfalvi, Miklós Tamási, István Illyés. This section is relatively modern.

The *Haeretici* section is of special interest. If the books were selected before handing them over to the Franciscans, then it was quite cynical to leave this thoroughly and thoughtfully arranged section untouched. Occasionally there were mistakes in the selection since Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiarum libri 6.*, Aldo Manuzio's *Institutionum grammaticarum libri 4.*, or Urbano Bolzanio's *Grammaticae institutiones* were left in this section while they should have been classified under *scholastici*. On the other hand, the fact that Johann Carion's *Cronica* was put here and not among the historical books proves that the selection was thorough. It is, however, even more conspicuous that the large section named *haeretici* is dominantly Lutheran with books in the highest number such as Luther's complete works in several editions (and not just the complete writing series), books written by Johann Brenz, Nicolaus Selnecker, the theologians of Rostock, the later Orthodox Lutherans, the ones from Tübingen, Lucas Osiander, Jacobus Andreae, and Martin Chemnitz. Melancthon is represented with many writings but no Philippists are there. Among the followers of the Helvetian faith, Calvin occurs only once, Theodor de Bèze several times, Rudolphus Gualtherus, the Irenics of Heidelberg, especially David Paraeus. The most modern among them is Gulielmus Amesius with his writings against Belarmino. Theologians from the Lower Countries or the Protestant authors

of the second half of the 17th century of any intellectual trends are not present, for example Pietist or Puritan books which were widely read in Hungary in those times. The same applies for Hungarian authors, there are books by Tamás Félegyházi, János Debreceni, Péter Alvinczi, and the most modern one is János Samarjai's *Harmonia haeretica Ungarica*. There is a very interesting item: *Biblia Ungarica Gabrielis olim Bethlen*.

Why does this section consist of such old books? Pál Esterházy was certainly not interested in Protestant theology, therefore he did not purchase these books published during his lifetime either in Europe or in Hungary. He may have inherited the books from his father; the above-mentioned Bible may have been a gift from Gábor Bethlen to Miklós Esterházy. Even so, the question what way the family acquired these Protestant books remains unanswered. Did they buy them? Unlikely. The ones known and the possessor notes in the volumes which we still have seem to prove, as was analysed above in detail that these books were from Protestants living at the Esterházy estates or lands that were acquired by the Esterházy.

We still have some of these books for which the Franciscan order is to be thanked since they preserved the second most important Protestant collection on theology even if this one is not as rich and large as the library of the Protestant school in Némétújvár.

My impression is that it was perhaps the thematic section on *Scholastici* that described Pál Esterházy's erudition most. These books were thematically diverse and contained school books of high quality such as grammar books, dictionaries, text books on rhetoric and dialectic, school authors, in a great number and in several editions, used for language learning. Philosophy was dominant, especially logic and ethics. Books on theology were naturally represented there by theology manuals such as Brochmann's *Systema universiae theologiae*, collections of maxims, and school books on particular issues in theology (*de incarnatione Dei, de trinitate*, etc.). Modern books preparing one for life, for the political arena or for ruling, history and law as well as language books were missing.

Legal books were inventoried under *Iuridici* and *Canonici*. The number of Hungarian law books was sufficient since not many books in law were published in Hungary during this period. It was only natural that the decrees of diets in Austria and Hungary were available for the family. The amount of books in Canon law, on papal bulls and regulations in the inventory must have been enough, too. The most interesting item in this thematic section was a colligation of a perhaps Hungarian student (Paulus Berentz)'s disputations defended under the supervision of Christoph Besold.

Keeping the thematic section *Politici et Historici* as one could be considered not modern since Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664) kept these two disciplines apart in his library. As an author and thinker, Pál Esterházy was not particularly interested in the theory of state. He most certainly leafed through these books but for him politics and the theory of state did not stand apart from history. Especially since in this section there were mainly books on contemporary historical events and chronicles of countries from the 16th and 17th centuries so Esterházy may have considered this section the literature of *politica practica*. Most of these books were published in Pál's lifetime. Books according to language distribution are not all that outdated since beside Latin writings there were also books in German, French and Italian. On the other hand, there were no books in this section which would not have been present in the libraries of other magnates (Zrínyi, Nádasdy, Batthyány, Rákóczi). This section reminds us of the historical readings of an average Hungarian wealthy nobleman also because Esterházy owned the writings on Hungarian history, such as Bonfini and Istvánffy and others, in manuscript format. A good example for this is Ferenc Forgách's historical writing of which 41 copies are known today. Esterházy owned Miklós Istvánffy's copy.⁷⁴⁰

The thematic section *Militares et Geometrici* is incomplete to a large degree and cannot be considered modern even if there are 2 items in German and 1 in French. It is out of the question that only these books were available in these fields in the prince's library. Military command is missing altogether as well as Italian books on fortification written by engineers, otherwise well-known in Hungary. Let me mention also that a thematic section on *architectura* normally would not be missing from the library of an aristocratic family that built so many palaces. Furthermore, these books are not just missing from the inventory but they are not represented in the surviving books either.

As opposed to the previous thematic section, geographical books (*geographici, topographici, hydrographici*) listed in the 1756 inventory as well as the Dobner list indicates a modern collection. These are modern books published during Pál Esterházy's lifetime, richly illustrated with pictures. This part of the collection included the description of European countries and states, ruling monarchs and their families, several sea atlases and books on shipping. The section on hydrography had books on the different seas and oceans, underground waters and draining systems.

Summing up the archival sources, we can state that the inventory prepared in 1756 as well as the Dobner list tell us a lot about Pál Esterházy's library but when holding the books that we still have in hand and leafing

through them it became clear that the family handed over to the Franciscans only the books in Latin that were typically old and not interesting for them.

Some volumes of the palatine that survived the centuries help reconstruct the picture we have of the readings of prince who lived in the 17th century close to the imperial court and had family ties with the aristocratic families of the empire. The order of the library (*ordo*) was determined in the 18th century therefore the current placement of a book in a thematic section is not necessarily what it would have been in Pál Esterházy's time. Nevertheless, the sections indicate well the richness the library offered in terms of potential readings. French is the dominant language, followed by Italian, Latin and German (the proportion of this last one is surprisingly low). It would be hard to assess the French or Italian language skills of the Esterházy but it is certain that they purchased books in a wide range of subject matter from eroticism to literature or to medicine. Their books in Hungarian represent a small group but it is apparent that the prince and his entourage as well as the authors of these books made sure these volumes published in Western Hungary or in Vienna in Hungarian or written by Hungarians would reach the palatine. It is conspicuous how rich the library was in books written about Hungary or the Hungarians by non-Hungarians. We have mentioned Nádasdy's *hungarica* collection. Esterházy had all the opportunity to establish a similar one himself. He had a very important collection of small prints (published in Vienna, Pozsony and Nagyszombat) which included the publications of sodalities, calendars, and political propaganda the preservation of which is difficult due to their size. Let me mention here a rarity, an eight-page-long propaganda leaflet distributed by the Viennese court about the execution of Ferenc Nádasdy which remained uncut in Kismarton: *Nadastische Berewung, und letzte Seuffzer wegen begangener Missethaten, Gleich vor dem Todt. Im Thon: Gelobet seyst du Herz Jesu Christi, etc. Gedruckt zu Wienn, bey Johann Jacob Kürner.*

The text editions of all antique authors an educated man could list were there in the library even in several editions as well as the writings of the great Humanist generations at the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries and the most modern achievements in classical philology of this period. Almost all the big publishing houses were represented there (Venice, Basel, Paris and then in the 17th century Leiden). It is apparent that Pál complemented the editions his father purchased with their most up-to-date scholarly editions. Very many antique authors whose books were used for entertainment or for uplifting moral readings were published in modern vernacular. Esterházy usually bought the French trans-

lation of these, sometimes the Italian version but typically not the German one. He also had classical philology, the scholarly interpretation of texts, in Italian and French. Let us mention here as an example René Rapin's two volumes: *Les comparaisons des grands hommes de l'antiquité, qui ont le plus excellé dans les belles Lettres... és Comparaison de Pindare et d'Horace...*⁷⁴¹

The text editions of medieval saints (mainly in French) and church fathers were available in several complete series. A lot has been said about theology books. As was mentioned above, the Protestant books had previously belonged to Protestants living in their estates and from the second half of the 17th century no more books were acquired. In comparison, several trends of Catholic theology were represented among the books with a strong Jesuit presence. For me it is surprising that in spite of the strong French influence Cornelius Jansenius' only book the library had was his Thomas a Kempis edition and commentary⁷⁴² which Esterházy got as a gift from Simon Forgách.⁷⁴³ Esterházy was interested in the connection between religion and politics and bought many books in the philosophy of religion or politics of religion if there is a discipline like that. Giovanni Battista Comazzi's *Politica, e religione trovate insieme nella persona, parole, ed azioni di Giesu Cristo, secondo l'evangelio di S. Giovanni...*⁷⁴⁴ is worth noting if we consider the fact that the palatine also owned his *Istoria di Leopoldo primo imperadore de romani CXXII...*⁷⁴⁵ Let us not go into details here but a study was written about the Zrínyi brothers and the Academy of the Unknowns (*Accademia degli Incogniti*),⁷⁴⁶ a learned society of the philosophy of religion. Esterházy may have heard about it when reading Francesco Carmeni.⁷⁴⁷

History is a section in the library which spans from antiquity to Esterházy's times in great detail. Books concerning the Ottoman Turks are many in number but contemporary or near contemporary events can also be studied in detail. There were several peace treaties as well as their commentaries which may have served the palatine with lessons for current politics. It is especially interesting that Esterházy owned the text and the interpretation of the Peace Treaty of Nijmegen that ended the essentially commercial Franco-Dutch War in 1679. What he knew about the historical background may have been linked with the economic or with a modern word macro-economic knowledge.⁷⁴⁸ *Oeconomia* was a separate thematic section in the library. Esterházy ordered books in this field, the then popular „Monsieur de Rosny's" books,⁷⁴⁹ even when he was old. Historical books, it seems, were arranged by countries on the shelves accompanied by chronological aids. Series of acts of diets not only from Hungary were also placed there.

Manuals of law from Roman and German town law to the law of war were available but not French Common Law or the decrees of Italian city states. As a curiosity let me mention that Esterházy owned a book containing the decrees of Luzern.⁷⁵⁰

Historical knowledge was complemented by a vast *geographiai* section. Esterházy owned impressive *Atlas* series published by Mercator, Ortelius and Blaeu but those entering the library could gain much deeper knowledge. Readers of his library, for example, could learn about ebb and tide from Mathurin Eyquem (*Le Pilote de l'onde vive, ou le secret du flux et reflux de la mer; contenant la cause de ses mouvemens, et celle du point fixe...*),⁷⁵¹ or how to use globes from Nicolas Biontól (*L'usage des globes celeste et terrestre, et des sphères suivant les differens systèmes du monde ...*)⁷⁵².

The choice in theory of politics was much more modest although there were surprising items. In general, the library had treatises in Latin from the beginning of the 17th century, including books on *unio christiana* before the Thirty-Year War. There were also interesting books from the second half of the century, the political assessment of current events in countries, especially in Austria⁷⁵³ and France.⁷⁵⁴ Several pamphlets from France during the reign of King Louis XIV reached Kismarton, indicating the palatine's sensibility. Let us pick one of these, the writing of an unknown author which had several editions: *La cour de France turbanisée et les trahisons de masquées...*⁷⁵⁵ Around the time the Ottoman Turks were expelled from Hungary, several secret and far from ethical diplomatic steps were taken which did not harmonize with the propagated ethics of the Holy League, to prepare for the new power balance in Europe, including secret negotiations with the Ottoman. I do not know how aware Pál Esterházy was of all this when he acquired this pamphlet.

He also owned a boom written by Claude Fleury on *Les moeurs des Israelites, ou l'on voit le modèle d'une politique simple et sincère pour le gouvernement des etats et la réforme des mœurs*.⁷⁵⁶ Knowing the fact that due to his family's policy a strong Jewish community lived in Kismarton and as well as in six neighbouring villages⁷⁵⁷ his interest in them is understandable although unique among his Hungarian contemporaries.

Esterházy had excellent manuals and encyclopaedias. Furthermore, he acquired a book about the debate on these. Louis Moréry's grandiose *Dictionnaires historiques* was first published in 1674 followed by many editions even in the 18th century. Anthèlme de Tricaud and Alexis Gaudin reacted to its new edition of 1704 which was prefaced by Pierre Bayle, a great authority in the field (*Remarques critiques sur la nouvelle edition du dictionnaire historique De Morery, donnée en 1704*).⁷⁵⁸ Among scholarly journals, Es-

terházy subscribed to the *Journal des savants* from 1665 and he also owned many publications of the *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*.

The Kismarton library was a real literary book collection with a nice selection of 16th and 17th century French and Italian (and a little German) literature and with a separate group for *contes és nouvelles*. There were also a considerable number of memoirs, Eastern stories and curiosities. There were gems among them such as Germain Brice's description of Paris that enjoyed great popularity for a very long time (*Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris*).⁷⁵⁹ It is almost embarrassing to note that during the Ottoman occupation or in times of the Rákóczi War of Independence, the Hungarian palatine bought François Ogier's *Apologie pour Monsieur de Balzac*.⁷⁶⁰ (This book may also have belonged to one of the „Western relatives” and therefore, might have been included in the library much later.) If Pál Esterházy truly read it then his cultural policy program and his relationship with the church should be reconsidered. In the literary debate that took place in France in the first half of the 17th century the role the church played was not questioned but several authors such as Guez de Balzac argued for a freer expression of well-educated spirit and opinion and for the development of the language on national lines. Authors like him attacked in a soft manner Richelieu and the extreme part the Jesuits and the church played. No one, however, denied the importance of deep personal spirituality.⁷⁶¹ At the same time, I have not found a trace of the debate that took place in France in the second half of the century about *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, among the books in Esterházy's library although authors like Balzac were precursors to that.

Esterházy did not have books by Racine although Racine's writings would have suited his spirituality more than Molière's.⁷⁶² He did not own any books by Corneille either, although he did have his biography written by Adrien Richer.⁷⁶³

I would mention erotic literature and the *galanteries*. These were fashionable readings in European aristocratic circles and they reached Hungary by the beginning of the 18th century. The *Journal amoureux*, *La France galante*, *L'amour à la mode* were, of course, not books illustrated with erotic or pornographic pictures but literary pieces which talked about courtship and love freer.⁷⁶⁴

It indicates the richness of household life that chess was not just played, they also read about it since the French edition of one of the books about chess written by the „bestselling author” of the period, Gioachino Greco, the Calabrese was available in Kismarton.⁷⁶⁵

Esterházy had several books concerning *hygiénia*. He even had a book that advised the moderate consumption of chocolate, coffee and tea (Daniel Duncan's *Avis salutaire à tout le monde, contre l'abus des choses chaudes, et particulièrement du Café, du Chocolat, et du Thé*).⁷⁶⁶ Cooking and the culture of food is also something which characterized a civilised household.⁷⁶⁷ Therefore, it is natural the library had several cook books. Riding and tending horses had become an art by this period, no wonder Esterházy had several books about it written by Carlo Ruini,⁷⁶⁸ Cesare Fiaschi,⁷⁶⁹ Gundaker, the Prince of Lichtenstein,⁷⁷⁰ Pirro Antonio Ferraro,⁷⁷¹ the Master horseman of one of the best known rider school in Naples and Scipio Maffei.⁷⁷² Managing and organising the household should, however, be left to the Germans. In Christian Weisens' book Esterházy may have found guidance (*Kurtze und eigentliche Nachricht, wie ein sorgfältiger Hofmeister seine Unergebene zu der Wolredenheit anführen soll...*).⁷⁷³

We could list books from the field of *astronomia, magia, physica, chemia*, or *matemathica* but instead let us mention here a few books about special subjects which were characteristic for the modern Esterházy household. Medicine is represented in a complex way (*medicina, pharmacia, veterinaria*), therefore many books were purchased from antique classical authors to 17th century medical encyclopaedias in Latin for the prince's library. What is especially interesting is that specialized medical books were purchased in French.⁷⁷⁴ The thematic section on architecture was equally modern. Besides several classical manuals, books written by German and Italian authors (Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, Paul Decker) were also available if they needed them for a construction.⁷⁷⁵

The development of technical civilisation did not inspire cultural-philosophical debates in this period although engineering achieved great progress. There were several publications in Pál Esterházy's library in which he could read about technical developments from Kaspar Schott's thick volumes⁷⁷⁶ written in Latin to German books on engineering.⁷⁷⁷ Science was not a new discipline in this period although the discoveries of the previous two centuries thoroughly re-wrote Plini's *Historia naturalis*. Descriptions of new observations were also ordered.⁷⁷⁸ Kristóf Fatsar's database of garden history reviewed the reference books in *horticultura* that were used in Hungary.⁷⁷⁹ The gardens of the Esterházy palaces fill several chapters in garden history in Hungary. It is important to point out that Palatine Pál Esterházy purchased these reference books.⁷⁸⁰

We divided the characterization of Palatine Pál Esterházy's readings and erudition into two parts for good reasons. Our first goal was to prove that the magnate's last will was not executed in the spirit of the mag-



Pál Esterházy, cca. 1650

nate's wish. The justification for this must have been that the Franciscans did not need the books described in the second part of the analysis. Our second goal was to draw attention to the importance of handling sources together and to show how little we know the profile of most aristocrats and noble families' erudition. We do not have complete catalogues for anybody. Only a fragment of the books in these former libraries exist today. We know only a part of the books that belonged to Ferenc Nádasdy despite the numerous archival documents. We only have impressions of the Batthyány library.

We can, however, assess the size of a contemporary aristocrat's library. On the whole, the number of books gathered in a book collection must have been 1000 or 2000. A special interest (for example Miklós Istvánffy, the historian's passion for history) or the accumulation of books through generations or wealth may have increased this number, as we have seen above, to around 5000.

The Thurzó Libraries

The Thurzós may be the most important family connecting Polish, Austrian, Hungarian magnates and the Fuggers, the most influential banker dynasty in the early modern period.⁷⁸¹ The history of their libraries followed diverging paths, therefore we must dwell more on genealogical connections. When mentioning the birth and death dates we shall add the place of their residence as well to show that the family was spread across the whole region. From this it will be clear that this family married not only aristocrats of birth within their family to keep wealth together but also the newly emerging banker aristocrats. The way was open for them towards high clergy positions and back as well.

The family owed its rise to György Thurzó who lived at the middle of the 15th century. His son, János II (Jan) (Lőcse, 1437–Nagybánya, 1508) was appointed Chamber Count (Kammergraf) of Körmöc. His first wife, Urszula Bem was Polish while the second one, Barbara Beck was German. Let me mention only *five* of his many children. János III (Jan) (1466–Breslau, 1520), Bishop of Breslau between 1506 and 1520, his brother Szaniszló (Stanislaw) (1476?–Olmütz, 1540), Bishop of Olmütz between 1498 and 1540. *The two* bishops were renowned for the constructions they made and their patronage.⁷⁸² The *third* son of János Thurzó III was Jerzy Thurzó III (Cracow, 1467–Augsburg, 1521), Major-domo in Cracow, Chamber Count of Körmöc. He was the first one to marry from the Fugger family. First, he led to the alter Anna Fugger (1481–1535) but divorced her because she bore him no children and married her sister, Katharina.

Their son, Kristóf II Thurzó (died about 1540) married Zsuzsanna Erdődy. Their son was Szaniszló (Stanislaw) II (Augsburg, 1531 k.–Augsburg, 1586). The inventory of his *library in Augsburg* survived. Stanislaw's brother, Elek (around 1540–Lőcse, 1594), Lord Lieutenant of Szepes, married Borbála Zrínyi in Bajmóc in 1569. Regarding the *library in Szepesvár* of their son, Kristóf III Thurzó (1583–Lőcse, 1614), there are some data; however, no catalogue is known. This Kristóf was Lord Lieutenant of Szepes between 1603 and 1614 and a knight of the Golden Fleece.

János Thurzó II's *fourth* son, Elek Thurzó (around 1490–Lőcse, 1543), among his other titles was Palatine of Hungary between 1532 and 1543 when the Ottoman conquered Buda. The magnate who was famous for his connections with Humanists kept in touch with professors of the University of Vienna such as Erasmus and Aldus Manutius.⁷⁸³ There are a few data regarding his *library in Sempte*. The fifth child of János II we would

like to mention here is Katalin (†Augsburg, 1535) whose husband, Raymond Fugger (1489–1535) was a relative of her mother.

János Thurzó's brother, Theofil (around 1457– around 1503) married Borbála Kassai Magyar and had a son called János Thurzó VI (around †1530) who married Anna Abaffy. They had a son called Ferenc Thurzó I (1512–1576), Bishop of Nyitra between 1534 and 1557. Later declared him an apostate married twice and had several children. His second wife was Katalin Zrínyi (1548–1585). Their son, György Thurzó V (Nyitra, 1567–Biccse, 1616) was Lord Lieutenant of Árva County between 1585 and 1616, became a count in 1606 and Palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary from 1609 until his death. The catalogue of his *library in Biccse* is known. His first wife was Zsófia Forgách. Their son Imre (Biccse, 1589–Nikolsburg, 1621) became Lord Lieutenant of Árva from 1616 and the rector of the University of Wittenberg between 1616 and 1618. György Thurzó V's second wife was Erzsébet Czobor.

The network the Thurzós built through their marriages included families, beyond the ones mentioned above, the Draskovich, the Perényis, the Amades, the Illésházys, the Jakusiths, the Nyárys, the Balassas, and the Esterházys just to mention only the most important ones. Comprehensive studies help understand their importance in cultural history⁷⁸⁴ and in the history of libraries.⁷⁸⁵

Unfortunately, we know little of the library in Sempte and only from passing remarks. A data from 1533 mentions that András Báthori deposited some books in the library of Elek Thurzó in Sempte.⁷⁸⁶ Knowing the role Elek Thurzó played in the Humanist centres of the neighbouring countries such as Cracow, Prague, Breslau, Olmütz, Vienna or Venice, it is quite probable that they had copies in his library of the books written by Humanists and dedicated to members of his family. The book collection in Sempte must have grown even after his death because, despite the heretic nature of its books, it was purchased for the university library in Nagyszombat that was founded by Péter Pázmány in 1635. The diary of the Jesuit College in Nagyszombat recorded in 1636 the following: 12. *Novembris... Ibidem fuit et eminentissimus Dominus Cardinalis (sc. Pázmány) cum illustrissimo Comite Georgio Erdődi. Ibidem eminentissimus donavit nostrae bibliothecae libros haereticos, qui sunt Semptaviae in bibliotheca Thurzoniana.*⁷⁸⁷ In the end, they could not install the books which were therefore stored temporarily right before the death of Péter Pázmány in the house of Miklós Telegdi of the Archbishopric. In 1637 the following was recorded: 7. *Martii... Haereticam bibliothecam mille et amplius florenorum a Bibliotheca Thurzoniana hodie impetravi ab eminentissimo, qui dedit licentiam auferendi et cum locus in collegio*

*non esset, posui ad domum nostram Telegdianam... Libri autem supradicti fuerunt 831.*⁷⁸⁸ The Library of Semppte then counted at least 831 volumes since we do not know whether all the books were transported to Nagyszombat or not. Therefore, nothing is known of the contents of the books beyond the fact that the Jesuits call them *heretical* books. It is certain that these were not exclusively Palatine Elek Thurzó's books and let us remember that a *heretical* press operated in Semppte thanks to Péter Bornemissza.⁷⁸⁹

We have an inventory of the Thurzó *Library in Augsburg* prepared when Szaniszló Thurzó II. (1531–1586) died.⁷⁹⁰ The only remarks historians reviewing the books on the list have made was that it was a *Humanist* library and it was debatable to what extent it was part of the history of libraries in Hungary. Szaniszló Thurzó may have retired to his residence in Augsburg only by the end of his life taking all his books with him but it may well be the case that none of these books had been in Hungary before. The 111 volumes in the inventory, however, do shed light to Thurzó's readings. What does this Humanist feature mean? First, it is worth noting that 35 items are editions of Greek or Latin authors, especially historians although the great poets are also represented. Among philosophers Thurzó only had Seneca. It is worth noting of the Greek authors that almost all known historians such as Polybius, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Appianus Alexandrinus, Herodianus, Herodotus, Dictys Cretensis, Plutarchus, Theophrastus were there. Thurzó acquired editions of Caesar, Tacitus, Livius, Sallustius, Justinus and Curtius, although Roman culture is mainly represented by literature while there are no books on Greek literature. History dominates the near contemporary books on the inventory. The Protestant Thurzó owned the chronicle of Johann Carion as well as the history written by Johannes Sleidanus, the description of Poland by Alexander Gwagnin, and the recently published history of Belgium by Philippe Galle. Regarding Hungarian history, Thurzó owned the Bonfini edition of Zsámboky, a copy of the *Tripartitum*⁷⁹¹ and two handwritten collections of the decrees approved by the Diets. About the Ottomans Thurzó read the European bestseller, Bartolomej Georgijevič's *De Turcarum moribus epitome* as well as Johann Böhme's well-known book entitled *Mores et ritus omnium gentium*. Beside Hungarian legal books, two books in law are mentioned; *Institutiones Juris* (Justinianus) and Conradus Lagus' popular *Methodus Juris* published in many editions.

Regarding cosmography, Thurzó owned Ptolemaeus' major book as well as the one written by Sebastian Münster (although this one is more of a vision in world history) and a very modern atlas Abraham Ortelius entitled *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.

Thurzó must have liked Erasmus since he had copies of *Adagia*, *Apophtegmatata*, *Colloquia*, *Encomium moriae*, as well as the *New Testament* according to this inventory. From among the editions of antique authors we cannot tell how many were Erasmus editions since the book list only states Cicero, Lucanus, etc. We also know that Erasmus' prayers and his writings connected to these were also among Thurzó's readings although these short pieces were not well-known in Hungary.

His religious readings are worth mentioning. The few Thurzó owned are translations of psalms (Eobanus Hessus and a Greek edition) and outstanding pieces among prayers. I am not talking about devotional literature since these pieces require *philosophia christiana* in Erasmus' sense. The first one entitled *Praecationes ad imitationem Psalterii*⁷⁹² is a very interesting piece. Its author, Wolfgang Capito, a Protestant reformer and a follower of Erasmus from Upper Germany, one of those who drew up the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* (1530: Strasbourg, Lindau, Memmingen, Konstanz) and translated several of Erasmus' books into German. The *Domini-cae praecationis explanatio*⁷⁹³ is yet again not unrelated to Erasmus. The Humanist of the Lower Countries wrote 10% of the books published by Sébastien Gryphe of Lyon. Gryphe at times published *imitatio* style writings without mentioning the author.⁷⁹⁴ When identifying the edition, the item *Praecationes Erasmi Roterodami* was revealing for the previous item as well since this one was also published by Gryphius.⁷⁹⁵ The last item is Otto Brunfels' *Praecationes Bibliae SS. Patrum*⁷⁹⁶ where there are two shorter pieces by Erasmus. When reviewing the entire book collection, we can seriously argue that the Lutheran spirituality of Szaniszló Thurzó was based on Erasmus. His historical readings were dominated by Wittenbergian historical views (Carion, Melanchthon), with a deep knowledge of antique world history.

It seems that he enjoyed reading literature as well. Besides Hungarian, Slovakian, Latin, Greek and German he also spoke Italian. His taste in literature was up-to-date. He read Petrarch, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furiosa* and the Italian translation of Feliciano de Silva's Spanish novel entitled *Amadis* by Mambrino Roseo. He owned a legal book in Italian which we cannot decipher what it might be (*Gli Costam le legge et vsanze de legonti*).

Jenő Berlász wrote in two of his studies that the books of the Szepesvár Library of Kristóf Thurzó III were inventoried without mentioning the purpose of the book list.⁷⁹⁷ The document he referred to (*Inventatio rerum bellicarum ...*) dated from 1607 and it includes only the following: „*Libros quoque varios in una Ladula praeduxit et simul cum ipsa Ladula dicto Domino Stanislao Thurzo, idemque ad se recepit.*”⁷⁹⁸ The relative mentioned is Pala-

tine Szaniszló Thurzó III. (1576–1625), and it is not specified exactly what books were included in the inventory.

We are luckier with the *Biccse book collection* of Palatine György Thurzó since the books were rearranged and catalog⁷⁹⁹ when the residence was reconstructed⁸⁰⁰ and the library was set up with new furniture.⁸⁰¹

The career path of György Thurzó, the son of Ferenc Thurzó and Katalin, the daughter of Viceroy Miklós Zrínyi, was what was expected of someone with his background. He was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Árva County for life in 1585 and became Royal Councillor in 1598. In 1601, he became Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia as well as Érsekújvár. In 1606 he and his male descendants were entitled to hold the title Count while in 1609 he was elected Palatine.

The Thurzós and especially György Thurzó was the most important patron of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. György Thurzó did not convert to Catholicism. Several Slovakian and Hungarian congregations owed their schools to him while he financed the study tours of a lot of alumni abroad so that local congregations would have a minister or a teacher.⁸⁰² His widow, Erzsébet Czobor followed in his footsteps and the secondary school in Biccse owed a lot to her patronage even if it is known that she learnt how to write only after she got married.⁸⁰³ It is not by chance that the renowned theologist professor in Wittenberg, Friedrich Balduin dedicated his book to her written against Péter Pázmány.⁸⁰⁴ Thurzó had excellent connection with the University of Wittenberg and it is partly due to this that his son, Imre became rector of the university relatively young.⁸⁰⁵ Although György Thurzó was clearly committed to the Lutheran Church, he remained loyal to the Habsburgs and was trusted by both Emperors Rudolf II and Mathias II.

His patronage in Hungary was extensive. In his household there was an active literary life although discussing church related questions and financing new books published in Hungary were dominant. Influential poets and writers such as János Rimay (1569/73–1631), János Fanchali Jób who collected contemporary Slovakian and Hungarian poems or preacher Eliáš Láni (1570–1618). Albert Szenci Molnár (1574–1634) and historian Illés Berger (1562–1644) visited the residence and offered a copy of their books to their host as it can be witnessed in the index of these volumes. The residence in Biccse acquired political importance during the Thurzós because important personalities of political, cultural and religious life in Hungary came to pay a visit to the high-ranking members of the family.⁸⁰⁶

Let us mention here György Thurzó's trip to Venice in 1597 since pick-

ing up books in person did not happen often in a magnate's life. Venice was an ideal place to purchase books for the library. It is true that he did not write any of his book related experiences into his diary but the optimistic reading of this would be that buying books was for him an ordinary event, not something to mention.⁸⁰⁷

Recently a letter dated from 1615 written by Daniel Schultz, the printer in Cracow to György Thurzó⁸⁰⁸ surfaced which proves the connection between the magnate and the university and publishing centre in the South of Poland. Therefore, the role played by the book traders and printers of Cracow in developing the Thurzó library has proved correct.

The library of the household took place in the Rotund in the South-Western part of the residence; a part of its furniture can still be seen. The library, besides being actively used, was a part of power representation for Thurzó. He made efforts to acquire rare manuscripts with success as Demeter Náprágyi (1559–1619) when visiting him offered the magnate a manuscript of Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria* from the 15th century.⁸⁰⁹ Petrus Ransanus' historical book entitled *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* came out in 1579, published by Lukács Péchi in Nagyszombat.⁸¹⁰ Thurzó managed to buy the book from Péter Révay, Royal Crown Guard so the Petrus Ransanus codex⁸¹¹ that was considered a Corvina, became a jewel of the Palatine's library. Thurzó was also aware of the symbolic significance the King Mathias legacy meant for his contemporaries.

The books which survived say a lot about his book collecting habits. The size of the library as known from archival sources must have been 600 volumes (450 items) and only a quarter of it survived.⁸¹² If we add the publications dedicated to the members of the family and the books which exist today but which did not figure in the index knowing that in a thesis colligation booklet there could have been a hundred pieces, we can calculate the number of the books of the library to be between 800 and 1000 books. Thurzó wrote his motto (*Vive ut vivas*) in his books and often a few words about the circumstances of the book purchase. He had his books bound and you can often see *supralibros* in the volumes. Even if he purchased the book bound he inserted his initials on it.⁸¹³ Being bibliophilic, he followed his rise in ranks in his *supralibros*. At the beginning *G T D B* was the abbreviation included, that is *Georgius Thurzó de Bethlenfalva*. As Lord Lieutenant of County Árva it became *G T D B P C A*, that is *Georgius Thurzo de Betlenfalva Perpetuus Comes Arvensis* although sometimes he used the following in this period: *S A C*, that is *Supremus Arvensis Comes*. After Thurzó was appointed Palatine, *S A C* was modified into: *C G T R H P*, that is *Comes Georgius Thurzó Regni Hungariae Palatinus*. In his books he acquired

after 1609 you can find only this latter *superlibros* and following the rearrangements of his library in 1610-11 this was included in many formerly purchased books as well. We are going into details to this extent because we would like to show that Thurzó was not just building a library in his household for his personal use but it was also a way of representing the high ranks his ancestors and himself possessed.⁸¹⁴

His secretary in Kassa, Samuel Hamel rearranged the library in 1610 and started to prepare a catalogue along with an *Index geminus*. The first part listed the books alphabetically by the first name of the authors while the second part inventoried the books by their size. I agree with Mária Ludányi that the catalogue and the index were not the same document.⁸¹⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have the catalogue. Hamel described the process of the work he did. The books were arranged thematically and the groups named: *Iuridici, Theologici, Historici, Medici, Physici, Philosophici, Ethici, Logici, Oratores, Grammatici, Poetae*. Hamel added the location of these thematic groups and wrote about the problems he had when keeping books of the same field but of different size close together. He numbered the books and wrote a mark on them which he entered into the catalogue. In the surviving document there are no marks, therefore there must have been a catalogue for which Hamel prepared this *Index geminus: Nam majores majoribus omnium facultatum libros immiscere oportuit, et ita inverti ordo debuit. Attamen licet confusi, et indistincti positi sint. Nihilominus cathalogus, subito, ubi unusquisque liber at Author inveniendus, suo numero et symbolo, indicabit, ut non longe de eo disquirendum sit*. Some more information can also be gained from the letters. Hamel did the job with the help of a person named Daniel. Hamel kept talking about a book binder about whom Mária Ludányi wrote that Hamel travelled with him from Kassa. Ludányi presumed that this book binder could have been Johann Fischer, the printer. Reading the letter in question, it is unclear for me where this book binder was from but he went to Biccse, assessed the work which needed to be done, they agreed to sign a contract, and the book binder took away the books and then returned them when the binding was ready. I believe this book binder was from Lőcse. Hamel wrote in his first letter right after arriving in Lőcse that he called for him. On September 27th, 1611 this book binder still had some books to bind and Hamel was waiting for these so that he could enter them into the catalogue. When he left Kassa he took some books with him (*Cassouia cum libris discessi*) that may have been prints that had been published in Kassa as well as volumes the Palatine may have asked him to take home. In his second letter, Hamel mentioned the fact that nothing had been done to the books from Késmárk because

there was no one who could help. (*Expecto Prouisorem (Gábor Kardos), expecto Danielelem, expecto Sawochkium (György Závodszy), qui omnes absunt, et absque illorum presenti nihil cum libris Kesmarkianis ... diponere possum.*) The same way Hamel could not handle the books in the upper room (*in conclauī superiori*)_which had been poured water on when there had been a fire (*per incendium solo aquatae sunt*). Hamel also mentioned that he had sent money to the *alumni* in Wittenberg and named a merchant in Leipzig (Letzelter) who would help in cashing the promissory note. A connection like this in Leipzig could have helped purchasing books as well.

It looks as if later several people entered the purchased books into the catalogue as well as the *index* (there are several handwritings in the manuscript) although not all since there are books that survived and yet they do not figure in the inventory. Furthermore, publications financed by György Thurzó and his wives, Zsófia Forgách and then Erzsébet Czobor are not all included in the catalogue although it is hard to imagine that the patron would not have received a copy of the publication they helped publish.

Notes inform us that Thurzó received other gifts from his visitors. György Thurzó was nine when his father died and eighteen when his mother deceased. Imre Forgách (1539/40–1599) was named as his legal guardian and perhaps it is not by chance that Thurzó later married Forgách' niece. In 1587 he received from his guardian the antique historian, Alexander Appianus' book as well as a volume written by Paolo Giovio, the Italian Humanist historian in which he could read about the fights the Hungarians led against the Ottoman Turks. Forgách also gave him Martin Cromer's history of Poland. Dániel Kubinyi offered his patron Hartmann Schedel's very popular chronicle, one of the first books illustrated richly with engravings at the end of the 15th century.

The library of Palatine György Thurzó was split in the probate after his death between his wife, his daughters and only son, Imre Thurzó that is reflected in the possessor marks in the books. Due to their complex family connections parts of the library were incorporated into the collections of their relatives. As was mentioned earlier, Imre Thurzó was educated as an academic.⁸¹⁶ There is no question about his erudition but when describing his readings, one can only say generalities that were characteristic for his contemporaries. From documents regarding his studies we could list the authors his teachers made him read, such as Jan Paludini, Jeremias Spiegel. One can also draw conclusions from the quotations and the knowledge present in Emeric's essays on rhetoric which survived.⁸¹⁷ The books of his father's library were at his disposal but we have no data

of the book collection he had in his own household. It is for sure that the knowledge Imre had, helped the palatine to further develop his library. As we are going to see, Thurzó's library, very rich in Lutheran books on theology and church organisation, was unparalleled by other book collections in Hungary.

Let us come closer to the readings of Palatine György Thurzó and, taking into consideration the thematic groups Hamel made (since we do not know in which group Thurzó would have put a certain book), let us create thematic groups out of the titles available and of the surviving books. The palatine was well-educated and spoke several languages since besides Hungarian, Slovakian, and Latin he also read in Czech, Polish and most probably in German (the *index* lists two German books).

Hamel did not highlight any comprehensive handbooks therefore let us mention here that the library in Biccse had most of the widely read books of the period such as Conrad Gesner's *Bibliothec* or Abraham Buchholzer *Chronologia*, Henri Estienne's excellent *Lexicon Ciceronianum* as well as several Multilanguage dictionaries. 10 known Bible editions are known among Thurzó's books so if during the debates in the household a philological proof was needed to support a statement then the best editions were at hand. Let me mention here the complete series of the church fathers (Basel editions judging from the books we still have) and the church history written by Cesare Baronio. We must also add that among the books on theology there are several Catholic books as well.

The collection is quite rich in *legal* books since besides the Czech and Moravian *diaetalis acts*, the *index* lists Carolus Sigonius' description and commentaries of Roman law and there were *Digests*, *Institutiones* on the shelves as well as Justinianus commentaries written by Claudius Canticula, Equinarius Baro, Franciscus Balduinus, Franciscus Hotman, Johannes Crucaeus, Joachim Mysinger, and Antonino Conti.

History is rich. Beyond antique historians, the most common titles are histories of the neighbouring territories (the Czech, the Polish, the Ottoman Turk, the Habsburgs, Venice and the Russians). They had editions of Johannes Dubravius (*Bohemia*), Martin Cromer (*Polonia*), Reinhold Heidenstein (Heidenstein Reinhold Borussus, Heydenstein Reinhold Solescius) (*De bello Moscovitico*) which were the most widely read books in the field but also publications about the Polish electing their king, Austrian and Czech agreements, and the description of the coronation of the emperor. We could have mentioned Francesco Guicciardini and Paolo Giovio's comprehensive history when listing the handbooks. Thurzó had the classic Antonius Sabellicus' book on Venice and regarding the Ottoman he

owned Johannes Leunclavius' ground breaking book as well as Nicolaus Reusner's textbook which was there in almost every noble library. About Hungary and Transylvania, Thurzó had only Antonio Bonfini in two editions, Veit Marchtaler's writing about Zsigmond Báthory's deeds during the Fifteen-Year War and the above-mentioned Petrus Ransanus manuscript.

Thurzó was interested in faraway continents because he owned Jacques Le Moyné's *Historia Americae* besides Pietro Belloni's depiction of Asia and Egypt. He also acquired Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* and a very popular book written by Georg Braun with engravings about towns (*Civitates orbis terrarum*).

Presumably Hamel classified political tracts as history or as philosophy or as *Ethici* as Moral Philosophy. Thurzó had both Machiavelli's *The Prince* and an anti-Machiavellian writing by Alessandro Sardi. Pierre Matthieu and Raoul Boutray's *Historiopolitographia* was a recently published book.⁸¹⁸ The councillors of King Henry IV sums up contemporary Europe not as moral philosophy but providing guidance to readers about the intentions of different political forces. Étienne Forcadel's book (*De Gallorum imperio et philosophia*) is, in part, like this. It is worth noting that these latter two books were rarely read by Hungarians.

György Thurzó found the most important teachings primarily in former and contemporary kings' mirrors since he had so many of these.⁸¹⁹ Samuel Hamel also noted this therefore beside *Philosophici* he created the group *Ethici*. The library had Antonio Guevara's *Horologium principum* as a classic of Neo-Stoic king mirrors. We can add King James I's Admonitions to his son as well as Mambrino Roseo's *Institutio principis christiani* in Latin translated by Adam a Stang which came out fresh in its first edition in 1608. It was Roseo from Perugia who translated Guevara's writing from Spanish into Italian and wrote books in moral philosophy. Justus Lipsius' *Politica* can be mentioned here in its general line of thought even more so since the moral philosopher from Leiden was very much present in the readings of contemporary Hungarians.⁸²⁰ Thurzó could have discussed his views with János Rimay, Mihály Forgách or Péter Révay when they met.

The book written by the Augustine Bishop, Aegidius Romanus (*De regimine principum*) was also an important book in moral philosophy and the Florentine Antonio Albizi's *Christianorum principum stemmata* can also be mentioned here. Among the complete works by Erasmus, Thurzó owned the one on *Christian Prince*. The book (*De institutione principis christiani*) written by Girolamo Gagnoli from Piemonte who was contemporary to Erasmus showed signs of legal erudition of its author and his conclu-

sions were not independent from Humanism in the Lower Countries. The widely-read book by Hartmann Schopper, the Late Humanist poet from Pfalz, entitled *Speculum vitae aulicae* belongs to this group (king's mirror, moral philosophy) from several aspects.

Thurzó collected outstanding pieces in moral philosophy of the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century and his view of history was based on these. Let us not forget Johann Carion or Philipp Melanchthon's world history, Paul Eber's books or the influence of the Wittenberg school. He had all these books at hand.

Theology was even more important in Thurzó's library. It cannot be claimed to be one-sided, however, Lutheran theology is predominant. Among Catholic authors, we could mention here the Jesuit Augustinus Marloratus' commentaries of the New Testament as well as Johannes Osorius' five-volume collection of sermons. There is also an interesting document⁸²¹ which could have represented for Thurzó a good example for religious intolerance if he read it. The Jesuit Henry Garnet was executed in London in 1606; therefore the Catholic Church can rightly see him as a martyr who did not stop administering the sacraments when confronted with a hostile crowd.

Roberto Bellarmino was reputed and feared as a debater among Hungarian Protestants. Mihály Vörösmarti converted to Catholicism under the influence of his books.⁸²² Péter Pázmány distributed many copies of Bellarmino's books in the country. Thurzó owned an *Anti-Bellarminus* written by Samuel Huber. Among the religious disputations that documentedly took place in Biccse, the one on Holy Trinity may be one of the most interesting one. Thurzó may have been familiar with the name of Francesco Stancaró because of the years he spent in Transylvania. The colligation Thurzó may have read included the Lutheran and the Helvetic viewpoints of Alexander Alane (Alesius) and Josias Simler respectively.⁸²³

From among the theological questions, Thurzó was most interested in debates about the Holy Communion (*de coena*) and he bought the books about this topic written by the church fathers as well as the Humanist Joachim Watt (Vadianus), and the Lutheran Tilemannus Heshusius from Helmsedt. There were several smaller tracts in his book collection about the soul (*de anima*) and its immortality from antique classical authors such as Aristotle and the church fathers but also from the Lutheran Petrus Mosellanus and an author whose name must have been misspelt because we did not manage to identify him *Balthasar Ostann(!) Oratio de statu animae post mortem etc.* It is no surprise that he read about ordination (*de ordina-*

tion) since the ministers in his church were all ordained for centuries in Brieg, Silesia. The classic and competent authority in this matter was undoubtedly Philipp Melanchthon but in case of doubt, Thurzó could turn to a book written by the above mentioned English author, Alexander Alane who was converted to Lutheran faith by Melanchthon.

Theologians of the Reformed church such as Heinrich Bullinger, Wolfgang Musculus, Jean Calvin, and naturally Théodore de Bèze were represented by several books, almost their whole oeuvres were present in the library.

It was only the Lutheran authors who had more books in Biccse. Volumes written by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Aegidius Hunnius, David Chytraeus, Andreas Osiander, Lucas Osiander, Johann Brenz, and Martin Chemnitz as well as the collections of sermons by Johann Spangenberg filled many shelves. Unfortunately, Samuel Hamel did not specify the contents of the colligations of theses from Marburg and Wittenberg, only indicated what the volume was about. We know of thick colligations where a hundred theses were bound together.

Samuel Hamel classified dictionaries and school grammars in *grammatici* but we do not know what exactly he meant by *oratores* but he placed antique books here such as *Suetonii de illustribus grammaticis et rhetoribus* and Franciscus Sylvius, the known commentator of Cicero's speeches but it is not probable that funeral speeches were classified here. In a letter written to Thurzó he mentioned *logici*, however no such item can be found in the index. This also refers to the fact that there was a catalogue to which the *index* was made but was not entirely completed.

The thematic group *poetae* is also meager since the literature section of the library in its current reconstruction means primarily antique literature. It is worth noting, however that Thurzó had an ode (*De expugnatione Polotei*) written by Jan Kochanowski, which I could not identify with an existing book although several items in literature seem to have known it.

Medical books are numerous and represented by excellent authors. The list of the authors started with Dioscorides followed by great physicians of the 16th century with a book on anatomy by Andreas Vesalius and Giovanni Battista Gelli. Everybody knew Vesalius but Gelli's book was translated into Latin by Johann Wolf only half a century later in 1609.⁸²⁴ The edition of Amberg was purchased by the palatine which indicates the region where Thurzó acquired books. Leonard Fuchs was represented with two books; Eobanus Hessus with his classic writing entitled a *de tuenda bona valetudine*, while Benedetto Vettori featured in the library with his *consilia medica*. A disciple of Nicolaus Stupan participated in a debate about the

„Hungarian disease in Basel”⁸²⁵ and we do not know how this book ended up in the palatine’s library. Johannes Jessenius probably offered his book entitled *De sanguine, vena secta dimisso, iudicium*⁸²⁶ to Thurzó himself.

Samuel Hamel made no note about mathematics but let us mention that there were three popular manuals there in the *index* in this field: Conrad Dasypodius and Johannes Taisnier’s *Opus mathematicum* and Jacobus Mycillus’ *arithmetica*.

Mária Ludányi, in her study mentioned above several times, did not undertake to analyse thematically Thurzó’s books since this was not the purpose of her study. She, however, pointed out that the palatine must have been very much interested in astronomy and occult studies. We do not know for sure who was interested in the significant number of books identified in these fields based on the *index*. Samuel Hamel did not create a thematic section for either *astrologia* or *astronomia* but he created a separate group for *physica* and maybe he placed these books there. Cosmographies start with Ptolemy, then comes Sebastian Münster and Gerardus Mercator’s ground-breaking *Cosmographiae chronologia*. Astrology is first represented by Johannes Regiomontanus’ book dedicated to King Mathias then a colligation of Albumasar (Abu Bakr Ibu Al-Khasil, al Kharashi) and Geronimo Cardano’s writings. The movements of the stars are depicted by several authors. Thurzó owned three books by Henricus Decimator and a new and rare edition of the writings of Georg Peuerbach and Johannes de Blanchinis with commentaries prepared by Nicolas Pruckner who was also the editor of the book).⁸²⁷ From among manuals on astronomy we managed to identify two: Francesco Giuntini (Junctinus)’s *Speculum astronomiae* and the complete oeuvres of Luca Gaurico.

This section is completed to some extent by Johann Dinckel’s very rare book that details the connection between poetry and the position of the stars and cites literary pieces about stars.⁸²⁸ Johann Reuchlin’s well-known book entitled *de arte cabalastica* and Johann Heinrich Alsted’s *Artium liberalium et facultatum omnium systema mnemonicum* also belong to this section.⁸²⁹ This latter one was one of the efforts in combinatorial logic at the beginning of the century; it required modern thinking on the reader’s side.⁸³⁰

Let us complete the picture about Thurzó’s readings with Hungarian authors without listing all the items. We will only indicate from what sources the magnate might have received a complimentary copy. Being a palatine, a lot of people might have wanted to impress him with their achievements. As I mentioned above, Thurzó, his wife and his son financed the publication of several books a copy of which he must have re-

ceived as a gift. It is not surprising that a copy of the religious disputation booklet of Jan Paludini⁸³¹ was present in Biccse since the author was the instructor of Imre Thurzó. János Erdődy's thesis booklet of Parme⁸³² could have been sent there since they had family ties. The same goes for the greetings for Imre Thurzó's wedding⁸³³ and the books dedicated to Ferenc Forgách, Archbishop of Esztergom. Intellectuals in Upper Hungary were in personal contact with the Thurzós such as Sebestyén Ambrosius Lám⁸³⁴ who lived near the Thököly household in Késmárk or Elias Berger.⁸³⁵ It may also be true that an interest in the book made one of the members of the family buy a book. Georg Werner's *De admirandis Hungariae aquis*⁸³⁶ may be such a book since bathing started in Hungary in the early modern period as well as bath culture and social life at baths. The palatine must have received the decrees of the Synod of Nagyszombat in 1611⁸³⁷ ex officio.

To sum up the erudition of Palatine György Thurzó let us highlight three characteristics. The first one was the readings of a landlord and a politician who prepared himself to support the Lutheran church. The second area was that of the statesman who was harmonizing historiography with contemporary chronicles and political life. The third characteristic was an interest in contemporary intellectual trends and their roots in the past and here we are referring to his interest in astronomy and related fields.

The Books of the Zay Family

The book inventory of Ferenc Zay, who joined aristocracy in 1533 as a Baron, was prepared in the same year possibly because he was raised to a higher rank. Ferenc Zay (1505–1570)⁸³⁸ was Janus-faced according to his contemporaries. On one hand, he was a merciless soldier, Lord Lieutenant of Kassa and Upper Hungary, and a diplomat (1553–1557) unwavering in his loyalty to Ferdinand I of Habsburg. Zay amassed great wealth. On the other hand, he was known as an erudite and well-read person whose ambition was to become a historian. Unlike others among his contemporaries, he wrote his chronicle in Hungarian.⁸³⁹ His biography was written by Lajos Thallóczy in 1885 with a romantic view of history characteristic for the period and using a method where he referred to the documents consulted in the family archives as ones he saw there (and not using a reference number that could be identified today). We are, therefore, left with unproven statements made by Thallóczy about the history of the family because no documents have been found regarding their cultural life. Fer-

enc Zay's father, Péter Zay and his mother, Borbála Lankai Kamarás were both known in literature⁸⁴⁰ as wealthy and literate land-owning gentry. The estates of the family were in Slavonia and they moved from there to the North, to Upper Hungary due to the Ottoman invasion. Allegedly János Zay enrolled at the University of Cracow in 1493 while Mátyás Zay in 1508. This, however, cannot be proved by the most up-to-date edition of the university register, the *matricula*⁸⁴¹ although there are several Johannes and Matthias in the list. Thallóczy's claim that Ferenc Zay attended the University of Padua too is unconfirmed by any document.⁸⁴² Thallóczy also mentioned that „according to his contemporaries” Ferenc Zay spoke excellent Italian and German and „carried with him Macchiavelli *Discorsi* all the time”.⁸⁴³ Thallóczy referred to the inventory that was prepared in 1553 (*Registrum librorum Magnifici Domini Francisci Zay*) but was published only in 1984 by József Bessenyei.⁸⁴⁴ Researchers highlighted the presence of Erasmus' books when describing Zay's readings.⁸⁴⁵ Slovakian researchers rediscovered the Zay library and re-published the inventory⁸⁴⁶ that had had two previous editions, and analysed the volume on Russian history⁸⁴⁷ Ferenc Zay had.⁸⁴⁸

The books in the library are surprisingly modern for landowning gentry of the period. The writings of ancient authors were listed by mentioning the name of the authors and maybe a word indicating the title but on the whole this thematic group gives the impression that these books were not school editions. This group is mainly represented by historical writings and major books in moral philosophy. The tableau made up of eight Latin authors is rather representative. Greek historians, however, are only represented by the myth of Polydorus of Troy. Zay must have been very much interested in the Trojan War since he owned an anthology of Trojan mythology, a chronicle written by Guido delle Colonne, an 18th century Italian lawyer from Messina, as well as two editions of the Aeneid. As far as Latin authors are concerned, apart from Virgil, he may have read Ovid's two books (*metamorphoses; de Ponto*), Terence' dramas and the Natural History written by Pliny the Elder (*Historia naturalis*). Another theme Zay was interested in was rhetoric. He owned books by several antique authors such as Aristotle, Cicero (*epistolarum familiarum; ad Herennium; orationes*), and Quintilianus. Grammar books written by Varro, Nonius Marcellus, Priscianus as well as Melanchth's Greek grammar and *elementa grammaticae* closely belong to this thematic group. Cato and Cicero represented antique ethics with a Stoic touch.

Let us set out two authors who were represented in the Zay library in the biggest number. There were six volumes by Cicero while nine writings

by Aristotle could be found in his book collection.⁸⁴⁹ The person who made the inventory rarely mentioned the names of the commentators. However, Thomas Aquinas is named in connection with Aristotle while Georgius Trapezuntius is mentioned along with Cicero.

From among medieval authors, let us mention the Christian Juvenus Hispanus from the 4th century (*Historia evangelica*), Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas (*de caelo; de ente et essentia; philosophia naturalis*), and Johann Lintholz, the Scholastic philosopher from Leipzig. It is interesting to note that Zay owned John Pecham (Johannes Pisanus)'s *de perspectiva*. This could also be interpreted as Ferenc Zay was interested in reading the critiques of Saint Thomas' views on theology and natural philosophy in part in the above-mentioned book by Albertus Magnus and in Pecham's writings.

As was mentioned above, Zay was known for reading Macchiavelli. However, among his books in the theory of state there were writings by Aristotle and Cicero only. He acquired books by contemporary historians such as Marino Barleti whose biography of Skanderbeg, a book on America (*Novus orbis descriptio*), as well as Johann Carion's universal history could be found in the collection. His contemporaries listed in the inventory were Erasmus of Rotterdam with three books (these were his correspondence with Philipp Beroaldo, a philosophical piece and his *Adagia*) and Philipp Melanchthon with seven books. The Daniel commentary and the Carion chronicles broadened Zay's horizon in the philosophy of history while the Greek grammar, the *elementa grammaticae* and the *dialectica* widened his Humanistic knowledge. The *Loci communes* indicates an aristocrat interested in Protestant thoughts as well.

The 31 titles listed in the thematic group „*libri sacri*” does not only include sacred literature. There are service books, prayer books, and catechisms and there are a few authors favoured by Humanists such as Melanchthon's *Colloquia puerilia* and *Loci communes*.

Ferenc Zay's library was an excellent Humanist collection in which the major books of *devotio moderna* were held side by side with Humanist writings while Protestantism also appeared. Unfortunately, no data has been found about the books of the Zay generations after him from the period between the 16th and the 18th centuries.

The Pálffy Libraries

The other aristocratic family which was related to the Fuggers besides the Thurzós, were the Pálffys. They were a military family, one of their forefathers, Lőrinc died in the battle of Mohács in 1526. His great grandchildren, the sons of Péter Pálffy (Thomas, Miklós and István) became aristocrats in 1581 when they received the title of Baron.⁸⁵⁰ From among them from the point of view of book history, we are most interested in Miklós (1552–1600). He was Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lieutenant of Counties Pozsony and Komárom, Captain in Chief of Érsekújvár, and he spent all his life in battles at the frontlines. In 1583 he married Maria Fugger zu Kirchberg und Weissshornt (1566–1646), the daughter of Markus Fugger (1529–1597). In 1599 he received the title of Imperial Count. Their sons were István II (1585–1646), Lord Lieutenant of County Pozsony, Captain in Chief of Érsekújvár and Bányavidék, from 1635 Count; Pál (1589–1653), Count from 1634, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Lord Lieutenant of Pozsony and Palatine (1646); and János II (1599–1672), Lord Lieutenant of County Komárom, who became a Count in 1636.

Elek Thurzó sold the castle and estate of Vöröskő to Anton Fugger (1473–1560) in 1535. Miklós Pálffy received them as the dowry of Maria Fugger in 1583.⁸⁵¹ Several Hungarian researchers⁸⁵² and later the economical historian Jacob Strieder⁸⁵³ claimed that Pálffy placed a part of Anton Fugger's books in the Vöröskő residence but the monographer of the Fugger libraries, Paul Lehmann who visited Vöröskő in person could not support this with documents.⁸⁵⁴ As Lehmann wrote Maria Fugger did not inherit books from her father since Anton Fugger sold them to the Bavarian Elector in 1571 due to his financial difficulties. This is how his collection became the basis of what is the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* today. Despite all this, Slovakian researchers insist that the Pálffys had a huge library in Vöröskő as early as the 16th century.⁸⁵⁵ Eva Frimmová listed the volumes of the former Fugger libraries which survived within the territory of Slovakia but unfortunately, she did not publish the hand-written notes. These are probably from the Fugger library purchased by György Lippay. The books of this library unfortunately got scattered and volumes re-surface from Szeged to Turócszentmárton, from Kolozsvár to Kismarton in almost all old book collections. Eva Frimmová wrote also that after the death of the Humanist „Ludovico Carino” his heirs sold the whole library in 1569 for 600 Guldens to the Pálffys.⁸⁵⁶ She also claimed that Hans Dernschwam bought twelve Greek codices for the family. No reference is offered to support these claims.

It is certain that no catalogue has survived of this 16th century library although we do know the accounts made of the books purchased for the sons of Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600), István, Pál, János and Miklós for their studies in Vienna. These were antique authors popular in their times such as Cicero, Horace, Sallustius and Caesar, schoolbooks (*Rudimenta grammaticae, Syntaxis, Prosodia*), and books for daily religious practice. There is a Bonfini, a Hungarian New Testament, Canisius and a few German books among them.⁸⁵⁷ During his studies, Miklós greeted his fellow student, Franciscus Maximilianus Calchus from Milan with a poem when Calchus was participating at a debate at Professor Georgius Clainer's in Ingolstadt. This small print⁸⁵⁸ must also have been held in the family library just like the book written by András Monoszlói (1552–1601) entitled *De cultu imaginum, az idvössegre intő kepeknek tiszteletiről való igaz tudomány...*⁸⁵⁹ that was dedicated to Miklós Pálffy, Lord Lieutenant of Pozsony. Conquering the castle of Győr back from the Ottoman Turks in 1598 was an event of European wide importance. No wonder that contemporaries published eulogies in Latin and in Hungarian to praise the outstanding general Pálffy.⁸⁶⁰ It is probable that the Pálffy letters and eulogies were also there in the family library.

Let us mention here an interesting book regarding the residence in Vöröskő. Eva Frimmová assumed that this book was part of the library in Vöröskő, this may be true. Szaniszló Thurzó, Bishop of Olmütz mediated between Anton Fugger who wanted to purchase the residence and the outstanding Humanist Johannes Dubravius, secretary to the bishop. Dubravius most probably visited Vöröskő because in his book *De piscinis et piscium, qui in illis aluntur, naturis, libri quinque*⁸⁶¹ that he dedicated to Fugger he recounted his memories of the castle. In the tract he assessed the state of the castle and suggested to establish fishing ponds.

The other branches of the Pálffy family also had libraries at their residences such as the households in Borostyánkő, Bazin és Bajmóc. However, nothing is known of their books in the 16th and 17th centuries. The movables, 16 books among them, were inventoried in the house in *Királyfalva* of Miklós Pálffy and Maria Fugger's son, *István Pálffy* in 1644.⁸⁶² What is striking at first sight in this small collection is the languages these books were written in. There were 9 in German, 5 in Latin and 2 in Hungarian. Out of the two Bibles one was German again. It is probable that the German books were brought by his wife since he married Graf Johann Christoph Puchheim von Göllersdorf's daughter, Eva Susanne in 1618. Probably the inventory was prepared after his wife's death in 1640 during the probate. The Hungarian books were collections of sermons by Péter Pázmány and György Káldi. The Latin writings were books by Johannes Chrysosto-

mus and Nicephorus Callixtus. There was also Istvánffy's Hungarian history and a publication for the funeral of Charles V. The German prayer books must have belonged to István Pálffy's wife although it is strange for a Catholic to have the psalms with Luther's commentaries. His wife must have arrived with her German staff, therefore they had a German cook book (*Kochbuch*). *Libri Germanici duo in quarto de Navigatione Hollanda* must have been exciting and entertaining readings in Hungary or Austria, hundreds of these were published during this period. The Levinus Hulsius collection was wide-spread but editions especially of America, illustrated with engravings by Matthias Merian were also popular.

From a letter written by István's brother, Pál in 1640 it turns out that the Royal Crown Guard occasionally wrote poems. Unfortunately, we do not have them. The letters also prove that the years the Pálffy brothers spent studying were rich and productive and that, on their turn, they provided similar thorough education for their children. Péter Ötvös published the letters which portray the study years for a young aristocrat in the first half of the 17th century.⁸⁶³ It is a great pity they did not write about their readings and the books they bought for their children.

Palatine Pál Pálffy, István's brother (1590–1653) was depicted by biographers as someone who could influence the rival groups of the magnates with his extraordinary personality.⁸⁶⁴ The fights were generally serious in religious matters regarding church organisation. Contemporary publication often portrayed him as one of the main supporters of Catholic Church. In 1628 Joannes Ignatius Veszleniczky published a eulogy praising him⁸⁶⁵ while the pupils of the Jesuit secondary school of Szepeshely dedicated school dramas to him.⁸⁶⁶ Pál Pálffy was a patron not only for institutions but he also financed the studies of some students in need of funding.⁸⁶⁷ These small prints and other books dedicated to him must have been part of the palatine's book collection. Bonaventura Hocquard, General Lecturer of the Seminary of Franciscan Order in Pozsony, dedicated his book on theology published in Vienna to him.⁸⁶⁸ The Lutheran Zachariáš Kalinka refuted this book in a writing published in Trencsén in 1652.⁸⁶⁹ It is hard to believe that Pálffy would not have had in his collection publications presenting pictures of the Pieta sculpture in Pozsony which he himself had had installed, depicting the miracles of the ghost that appeared in his house. The description of these miracles written by Mihály Kopcsányi (?–1646), Bishop of Vác, appeared in 1643 in Latin, Hungarian and in German.⁸⁷⁰ Another German edition came out in Augsburg later.⁸⁷¹ Pál Pálffy established a Franciscan monastery in Malacka, not far from his estate in Plavec, and donated books for the library of the order.⁸⁷²

He was closely connected to the monastery since he had his heart kept in a silver box in the crypt of the church in Malacka. Pál Pálffy's wife, Ferenc Khuen continued his husband's efforts for re-catholisation and founded a Piarist monastery and church in Pirivigye.⁸⁷³ She turned to Václav Opatovský, Polish head of the order with whom she discussed the steps that needed to be taken in the Bajmóc estate. She also made a foundation of 25,000 Gulden for the cloister and the school. Ferenc Khuen also donated books to the cloister in Privigye, among them fifteen incunabula and a book from the 16th century.⁸⁷⁴

Most of the Hungarian aristocratic families in the 16th century became Protestant. The most well-known Protestant among the Pálffys was Miklós Pálffy's sister, Katalin Pálffy (1542–1616), who married first János Krusith (Ján Krušič), then the first Protestant palatine, István Illésházy (1540/41–1609). The collections held in their residence mentioned above do not give any clues regarding her education but István Illésházy's collection in Trencsén and the book dedicated to Kata Pálffy do.⁸⁷⁵

Several Pálffys (Ferdinánd, Tamás and Miklós) studied in the Jesuit secondary school of Pozsony and at the University of Nagyszombat during the first years following its establishment.⁸⁷⁶ During these years several of their occasional poems and thesis booklets were published which must have also been present in the family library.⁸⁷⁷ In the manuscript holding of Vöröskő the notes they took during their university years (1635–1777) survived. Several members of the family published their occasional poems or poems in print. Tamás Pálffy (?–1679) who held important church positions and was a patron⁸⁷⁸ himself published several sermons, especially funeral orations.⁸⁷⁹ A part of the manuscripts is from the Franciscan cloister in Malacka which was supported by Miklós Pálffy (1710–1773) in the 18th century.

The Illésházy Libraries

When the Illésházy libraries are mentioned researchers think right away of the famous collection held in the residence in Dubnic (Máriatölgyes) which was catalogued at the end of the life of József Illésházy (1700–1766) and which became one of the most valuable libraries in the Reform period thanks to the bibliophilic generations of János Illésházy (1737–1799) and his son István (1762–1838). The family donated the book collection to the National Széchényi Library of the Hungarian National Museum in 1835.⁸⁸⁰ Unfortunately, nothing is known of the history of this library in the 17th century.

The first magnate of the family was István Illésházy (1540/41–1609), a nobleman who was an attendant in military affairs of Miklós Pálffy before becoming a Baron in 1587. In 1584 he was appointed Royal Councillor and then Seneschal, Lord Lieutenant of Counties, Liptó (1582) and Trencsén (1594). In 1582 he married Katalin Pálffy (1542–1616), János Krusith's widow. This marriage brought him the wealth adequate for his position. He acquired the estate of Trencsén in 1600. In 1603 he was charged with high treason. Illésházy did not present himself when he was convoked and fled to Poland with a significant amount of his valuables. When he returned he joined forces with Bocskai and played a role at the Vienna peace treaty. In 1608 the states elected him the first Protestant palatine of Hungary.⁸⁸¹ His heir regarding library matters was his nephew Gáspár Illésházy (1593–1648) so let us follow his line. He was the one who built the residence in Dubnic and his descendants kept this household as their main residence. Gáspár inherited the title of Lord Lieutenant of Counties Liptó and Árva and became Imperial Royal Councillor. His son, György Illésházy (1625?–1689) being a Lutheran, studied at Rózsashegy, was Lord Lieutenant of Counties Trencsén and Liptó, Imperial and Royal Councillor, Lord of the Bedchamber and Royal Chief Naperer. Around the middle of the century he converted to Catholicism.

Few documents inform us of the Illésházy libraries in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸⁸² When analysing the readings of the magnate in exile, Péter Ötvös reviewed the dedications to István Illésházy.⁸⁸³ As an active patron of the Lutheran church institutions, he contributed to the publication of writings of ministers and teachers who lived near his estates and financed their studies. It was owing to his patronage that Leonard Mocoschinus' thesis booklet came out.⁸⁸⁴ Similarly, his wife, Kata Pálffy, is known to have been a patron to Péter Bornemisza and contributed to the publication of the Hungarian translation of Aegidius Hunnius.⁸⁸⁵ As a member of the Diet Illésházy received all related publications (*Articuli Posoniensis*), which was true for all magnates. During his exile in Poland he also read and as Péter Ötvös pointed out he recounted his readings to his wife from time to time.⁸⁸⁶ His belongings were confiscated from November 9th, 1603 on; his books at the Trencsén residence were inventoried as well.⁸⁸⁷ In fact, the 84 items on this booklist serve as the only concrete basis to characterize his erudition. Similarly, to György Thurzó, besides Hungarian and Latin he could read in three Slavic languages since he was surrounded by people speaking these languages and he spoke German as well. He did not speak Polish or Czech probably, but he may have had basic skills in speaking in Slovakian. The books in this small collection

can be grouped into the following thematic sections: theology, history, and early and late Humanism. His views of history were influenced by the Wittenberg school. This section included world history by Johann Carion, Philipp Melanchthon, and Caspar Peucer. A book written by their Hungarian counterpart, István Székely and Melanchthon's Daniel commentaries can also be classified here as well as the following books: Paolo Giovio's tableau of European history of the middle of the 16th century, János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*, and Leonardus Uncius' collection of Hungarian historical poems from Cracow dedicated to István Báthory, Márton Berzeviczy and János Gálffy.⁸⁸⁸ Illésházy understandably was interested in Polish political events (Leonardus Goretius, Reinhold Heidenstein (*De bello Moscovitico*). He also owned three books on *Cosmographia*. Two of these were Sebastian Münster editions and there was a recently published modern Ptolemy edition with engravings by Gieronimo Porro which came out in Latin several times in the 1590s published by Giovanni Antonio Magini.⁸⁸⁹ Popular writings by Damiano de Goetz and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera may have served as entertainment although it can be considered history as well.⁸⁹⁰ There are three publications that can be termed as history that may have been disregarded by Péter Ötvös. György Thurzó also owned one of the books, Hartmann Schopper's popular *Speculum vitae aulicae*. I hope I am not going too far but I imagine that Illésházy may have read the truths of this writing rather bitterly since he also had his share of court intrigues that cost him dearly. The other book I mentioned above was less well-known in Hungary and it was about ethics in governance and its possible forms. This book could also be classified in the Humanist section since its author was Sebastian Fox Morcillo, Philip II of Spain's councillor from the Lower Countries, editor of several texts by Plato and Aristotle. The Humanist from Leuven was represented by his writing entitled *De regni regisque institutione* in the library in Trencsén.⁸⁹¹ The third book was written by Marcello Palingènio Stellato and dedicated to Duke Hercole d'Este. I would have expected king's mirrors among Illésházy's readings. Epiktetus whom Illésházy read in Poland as a way of consolation could have been a forerunner to these but the above mentioned three books were also about the morals of those in power, the norms of behaviour and virtues.⁸⁹²

Ötvös presents with great erudition the Lutheran intellectual trends of Wittenberg and Rostock in his study emphasizing the fact that Illésházy had books from Lutheran orthodox authors (Aegidius Hunnius), writers from Rostock (David Chytraeus,⁸⁹³ Jacobus Andreae, Simon Pauli), as well as Philippians.⁸⁹⁴ There were also books by Helvetian authors from Hei-

delberg (Philippe de Mornay). A collection of sermons written by the converted Georg Wicel that was calling for reconciliation was also there in the library to assist Illésházy.

The library was undoubtedly Humanist in nature. Names from among the theologians such as Melancthon or Bullinger, or even Thomas Stapleton, the Catholic debater from Leuven recalls Humanist thoroughness and tolerance built on it. On the other hand, Humanist authors in literature and philosophy could also widen Illésházy's horizon. Most libraries had books by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Leonardo Bruni, Erasmus, or Leonhard Culmann but their environment was also important. We have seen above the theological origin of this Humanism based on philological studies. However, there is another phenomenon regarding the book collection Péter Ötvös touched upon in passing when he wrote that it is not known which of Johannes Gerson's books was there in Trencsén. He is right but let me refer to a previous line of thought: at the starting point of Humanism beside theology *devotio moderna* was already present and kept appearing in meditation literature and in prayers. Péter Ötvös described Johannes Habermann, the theologian from Wittenberg whose prayer book Illésházy acquired. I believe the attention paid to the Czech Brothers also regards this section.⁸⁹⁵ Raimundus de Sabunda's essays written about human nature in a dialogue form are from this thematic section.⁸⁹⁶ The *theologia naturalis* of the thinker from the 15th century had an influence on Michel de Montaigne who created the philosophy of scepticism of the modern period.⁸⁹⁷ Illésházy, of course, was not aware of this but a magnate in Hungary in the 16th and 17th century who felt responsible for his country's future, who followed the religious disputations among the different churches and who was politically persecuted may have enjoyed reading, beside Epictetus, the writings of Johann Gerson or Raimundus de Sabunda. If we consider the sources of meditation for István Ecsedi Báthory,⁸⁹⁸ then the same texts must be listed and we do not believe that Báthory's frame of mind was very different from that of Illésházy especially if we consider the fact that François de Saillans' popular book of ill repute, *De verbo Domini et de coena Domini*, placed on index by the Roman Curia, was there on the shelf in Trencsén. In this book François de Saillans rejected the theses of the Lutheran Paulus Kemerius (Keimerius) also prohibited by the Roman Curia.⁸⁹⁹ The person who prepared the inventory misspelt the name of the author as „Pauli Comerii”, therefore Péter Ötvös did not notice it. The French Huguenot writing under a pseudonym wrote in the genre of *ars bene vivendi et moriendi* in the early modern period. He dedicated several such writings to King Henry IV.⁹⁰⁰

It is to be regretted that there is no inventory of all István Illésházy's books because most probably his erudition was like that of György Thurzó. From a complete book list, the profile of a politician could emerge who may have had a deep knowledge and understanding of Humanist and devotional literature.

Katalin Péter reminded me not to get too enthusiastic about Illésházy's erudition because along with János Krusith's wife (Kata Pálffy) he may have inherited not just his wealth and titles but perhaps his books as well. Krusith was Catholic so these books may have come from his heritage. Katalin Péter is right in this regard.

The library was inherited by István Illésházy's nephew, Gáspár Illésházy (1593–1648) who enlarged it with new books. He also belonged to the most prominent representatives of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. He was also a writer and translated Joachim Beust's tract on *Good and happy death* for his children⁹⁰¹ and we do not think it is an exaggeration to allude to István Illésházy's readings. Gáspár also published a collection of Latin maxims.⁹⁰² He helped publish Hungarian, German and Slovakian Lutheran authors' books who dedicated their writings to him. Helena Saktorová collected the publications Gáspár Illésházy financed: calendars mainly in Latin, Hungarian and Czech languages (by David Frölich and János Bándorkovicz),⁹⁰³ occasional poems, funeral sermons (by Ján Kalinka, Adam Wolfius, Daniel Remeň).⁹⁰⁴ It was much more important that he financed the publication of exam theses of Lutheran schools in Lőcse, Bártfa and Trencsén (Alexander Hadik, Ján Kučera, David Láni, Elias Splenius, Johannes Gracza)⁹⁰⁵ as well as a prayer book in Czech.⁹⁰⁶ When publishing the tracts of the religious disquisitions of contemporary Lutheran (Zachariáš Láni, Jan Hodik, Florián Duchoň)⁹⁰⁷ and Catholic (Peter Pázmány, Mihály Kopcsányi)⁹⁰⁸ authors both groups dedicated their writings to him, although he supported the Lutheran side. Most books published by the Czech exile Václav Vokál and his widow, Dorothea came out at Gáspár Illésházy's costs.⁹⁰⁹ It is hard to believe the family library would not have copies of these publications.

Caspar Illésházy inherited books from György Thurzó's library through his wife, Ilona Thurzó. The Ransanus corvina is the most famous piece of this heritage. It is not surprising that Gáspár Illésházy treated it with bibliophilic care. He inserted on the binding his *supralibros* as a possessor mark: CCI PDT M DC XLII (*Comes Casparus Illesházy Perpetuus Dominus a Trenchin*).

Caspar's son, György Illésházy (1625?–1689) further developed the library. He studied at Rózsáhegy and was appointed Lord Lieutenant of

Counties Trencsén and Liptó, Imperial and Royal Councillor, Lord of the Bedchamber and Royal Chief Naperer. He was Lutheran⁹¹⁰ but then he converted to Catholicism and became an ardent supporter of Counter-Reformation. The date of his conversion is not known since Lutheran theses in Trencsén and Lőcse dedicated to him as well as prayer books came out even in 1658.⁹¹¹ After his conversion he supported the Jesuits of Trencsén and donated several books to their secondary school. We can find his name in the book on György Thurzó's reconstructed library since a book (Plini' *Historia mundi*) survived into which he wrote his name and not his father so this volume was in György's hands.

This is what we know of the Illésházy library until the end of the 17th century. During the 18th century the library grew considerably, and this collection is available to the public now thanks to the family that followed Ferenc Széchényi's example and donated their collection to the National Library.

The Books of the Czobor Family

Annoyingly few documents are known of the books of the Czobor family. In cultural history the book, translated by Mihály Czobor entitled *Chariclia*⁹¹² and copied by Adam Loós in 1646, survived in Nicholas Zrínyi's library (therefore it was attributed to him for a long time⁹¹³).

The modern editor of the *Chariclia* translator, Péter Kőszeghy drew attention to how underrated the role the Czobor family played in Hungarian cultural history was. Kőszeghy also analysed the book and reading history sources to depict the cultural horizon of the translator.⁹¹⁴ The other Czobor, Ádám († 1691),⁹¹⁵ known as a poet and an outstanding military man, was the son of Bálint Czobor who was granted the title of count. Undoubtedly Ádám could become an author in an environment where culture, education and reading carried weight and were part of the family tradition. The printed cotes of arms they used as *ex libris*⁹¹⁶ shows their bibliophile intentions.

The genealogy of the family indicates that the members of this aristocratic family were present in all the important aristocratic households. To illustrate this, let me refer to both the husband and the wife's families. Many of the children born out of the three marriages of Imre Czobor († 1581) (with Angelina Bakits, Katalin Frangepán, Orsolya Nádasdy) lived to adulthood. His son Pál († 1591) acquired the baron title. His other son, Imre († 1640) became Master of Treasury (his wives were Éva Révay and

Zsófia Bánffy), his daughter married Szaniszló Thurzó III (1576–1625), the future palatine, while his son, Bálint became a count.

The Czobors were related to the Thurzós since Imre Czobor's daughter, Erzsébet married György Thurzó, the other one in the Thurzó family who became a palatine.⁹¹⁷ Imre's son, Mihály Czobor (1575–1616),⁹¹⁸ who translated the *Chariclia*, married another Thurzó daughter, Zsuzsanna (1587–1610). They had two children. János († 1628) married a Barkóczy girl while Imre († 1677) chose someone from the Apponyi family. The daughters of this latter Imre and Éva Apponyi married Csáky men; Erzsébet married Ferenc Csáky (1630–1670) while Mária Regina Pál Csáky († 1655). This is how Mihály Czobor's copy of the *Kalauz of Pázmány* must have got to István Csáky (1635–1699)'s library in Szepesvár.⁹¹⁹



Ex libris of the Czobor Family, cca. 1620

Mihály Czobor (1575–1616)'s books in *Sassin* (*Sasvár*) were inventoried and divided up between his sons, János and Imre.⁹²⁰ Based on this inventory, we can follow the books to see which son received which books from their father's heritage. The language constitution of the books suggests that

Mihály may have spoken Italian. Unfortunately, the inventory termed these as *Italici libri* only. Beside Latin and Greek text editions, he also had a few books in German and Hungarian.

Catholic theological books as well as books for daily religious practice imply the Czobor family that financially supported the Paulines in Sassin. They must have owned the *Officium Beatae Mariae* in an edition published after the Council of Trent. The other book that may have been needed by a parish priest was Thomas Saily's *Thesaurus Litaniarum ac Orationum* which came out in many editions in those times. The other *Thesaurus*, which was written by the Jesuit Jodocus Coccius, detailed the history of theological controversies and offered arguments for the Catholic party from the text of church authorities (church fathers and decrees at synods). This book was also published in several editions. Daniel Agricola's *Passio Christi* was an older edition (because typically it was published in the first half of the 16th century). These books as well as Conrad Gesner's manual entitled *Bibliotheca*, that provided guiding and orientation in the first century of printed books, may have remained from the 16th generation of the family, maybe from Imre Czobor himself. The prints containing the polemics in the first half of the 17th century between Péter Pázmány and the teachers of the secondary school in Csepreg constitute a nice group in the small collection. Georg AmEnde's pamphlet entitled *Funiculus Triplex* concerning the spread of the Confessio Augustana in Austrian territory belongs to the above-mentioned group.⁹²¹ The Czobors may have received Imre Thurzó's speeches in Wittenberg and maybe also the collection of legal disputation booklets due to their family ties. History is meagre. Apart from Péter Révay's treatise on the crown, there were acts of one of the peace treaties signed with the Ottoman Turks and a textbook on the history of Venice that may have been edited by Pietro Bembo. Reading about the history of Japan in Sassin obviously was for entertainment. This could have been the book written by either Luis Fröes or John Hay since both had many editions at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Acquiring the manual written by Dominicus Marius Niger indicates an interest in geography.⁹²² Simon Maioli's 4-volumed book entitled *Dies Caniculares*⁹²³ was divided between the two brothers, each receiving 2 volumes. Leonhard Fuchs' *Historia Stirpium* that came out almost every year since the middle of the 16th century was also available in the Sassin household.

Beside antique authors (Epictetus, Esopus, Plutarchus), two Humanist rhetorics, Georgius Trapezuntius' and Lucas Lossius', were also part of the library. These books could be regarded as school books although Epictetus was not an author taught at schools. We would rather link this book

with the *Horologium Principum* which the Sassini library had both in German and Latin. Although it is not indicated in the inventory, these were most probably written by Antonio Guevara (although many authors used this title). Let us mention here that the Czobors had an edition of Janus Pannonius we do not know much about. Unfortunately owning a book by Janus Pannonius was not common.

Among the medical books, let us mention the Walloon Gualther Bruele's *Praxis Medicinae* that had 22 editions until the inventory was made⁹²⁴ and a textbook containing writings by Gasto de Claveus, Cornelius Sutorius and Bernardus G. Penotus in which they opposed Thomas Erastus' view in certain medical questions.⁹²⁵ This last book (see the tract *De triplici auri et argenti præparatione*) leads us to the topic of alchemy: there were surprisingly many writings about this in the small collection. These were textbooks, typical for the period, presenting writings of antique and medieval authors: Janus Lacinius' selection of texts written by Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Raimundus Lullus, Michael Scotus and Muḥammed Ibn-Zakariyā,⁹²⁶ Giovanni Baccesco's anthology from the writings of the 8th century Arabic writer Geberus (Jabir ibn Hayyan) and texts from Raimundus Lullus,⁹²⁷ as well as a third from the end of the 16th century.⁹²⁸



Imre Czobor, 1652

It would be difficult to decide which Czobor was characterised by this openness in their interests. Looking at the publication dates of the books, our impression is that it was Imre Czobor († 1581) who started to collect them while his son, Mihály was also receptive and interested in these issues. Mihály' son, Imre († 1677) partly inherited his father's library but collected books himself, too. Out of these, somehow almost a hundred got to the Mnichově Hradište (Münchengrätz) Castle and were owned by the Walstein (Wallestein) family. Among these books, there was only one *incunabulum*, the rest were books from the 16th century so this must have been the inheritance from the father, Mihály Czobor. Reviewing the titles of the books, this Humanist collection was of a good quality library.⁹²⁹

György Majthényi's books in Kesselkő

György Majthényi became a Baron in 1631 for his military service (he was also Lord Lieutenant of Érsekújvár).⁹³⁰ Nothing is known of his life. Arthur Odescalchi, when publishing the baron's book list of 102 items in 145 volumes (we do not know in which of his households he kept these),⁹³¹ drew attention to his Italian books which, according to Odescalchi, György Majthényi may have inherited from László Majthényi (1576–1623), Bishop of Szerém, Prebendary of Eger and Ság.⁹³² We would even go further and say that all the books belonged to László Majthényi, Captain of Zólyom's son, who converted in 1601 and rose in church hierarchy until he became a bishop who at the end of his life in 1622 denounced to all his belongings and retired to his place of birth, Kesselkő in County Nyitra. Since his brother György and his son Mihály became a baron in 1634 the book collection of László Majthényi should be listed among the magnates' libraries. Nevertheless, I shall describe the books of his library in my study on the book collections of church officials. In fact, it is hard to believe of Baron György Majthényi, the brave soldier that he kept three Bibles, four breviaries and an *Official B. Mariae* at home to leaf through them. The whole character of the library suggests a clergyman. Several collections of sermons from the 16th century appear in this library from Pelbárt Temesvári, the most modern among them in this section were the four volumes written by Petrus Bessaesus. The books of Roberto Bellarmino were in ten volumes. There were three *Legenda Sanctorum* and publication to help a clergyman in his daily work (*Promptuarium morale, Tabula christiana religionis, etc.*). Among the church fathers we can find writings by Bernard, Ambrose, Gregory the Great and Cyril. There were few medieval pieces,

the most noteworthy among them was a writing by Johann Gerson. The most important books in church history were the eight volumes of Cesare Baronio's *historia*.

Non-religious manuals are represented by a Greek dictionary, a Calepinus and a *Dictionarium Historicum*. May be György Majthényi read antique literature since beyond school authors such as Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Aristotle's *logica*, antique historians (Plutarch, Thucydides, Josephus Flavius and a *Historia Troiana*) can also be found in the book list. Galenus and Euclid were represented with one book each on the book shelves. There were three more books in history which were there in almost all contemporary Hungarian libraries: Antonio Bonfini (*Hungaria*), Johannes Dubravius (*Bohemia*), and Martin Cormer (*Polonia*).

The Books of the Révays

Klára Komorová wrote monographies about the books of the Szklabinya branch of the Révays in Hungarian⁹³³ and later in Slovakian⁹³⁴ summing up the complete cultural patronage and work regarding the church organisation of the family. Before portraying the well-documented history of their libraries, let us make a short detour and describe the book history of the Trebosztó branch of the family.

Márton Révay (1565–1630), the son of László Révay († 1592) and Erzsébet Pálffy married the then Lutheran daughter of Ferenc Esterházy, Erzsébet (1578–1620) whose interest in books is proved by her two surviving books that were bound very nicely.⁹³⁵ Their son, László Révay (1600–1667), Baron from 1635, inherited these books and left them to his son Elek (1636–after 1691), whose mother was Erzsébet Homonnai Drugeth.

The nine books we know of László Révay's library indicate a nice book collection. Beyond the Isocrates and Josephus Flavius he inherited from his mother he owned a chronicle written by Hartmann Schedel, a book on moral philosophy by Johann Lauterbach, Bernard Moller's portrayal of the River Rhine as well as a *Pandectae* commentary by Dionysius Gothofredus. His Bible also survived as well as a Baptista Mantuanus book in Jodocus Badius' edition (*Parthenice prima sive mariana*), Simon de Cassia's gospel commentaries and a collection of sermons *Sermones thesauri novi de tempore*.

His son, Elek Révay donated several books to the Franciscans of Beckó. Research is underway to map the old books in Slovakian libraries, therefore it is to be expected that further books with a possessor mark by a member of the Révay family's Trebosztó branch will surface.⁹³⁶

The Szklabinya branch of the Révays originated with Ferenc Révay (1489–1553), Lord Lieutenant of Turóc.⁹³⁷ The king raised his sons Ferenc († 1588), Mihály (about 1531–about 1583), Lőrinc (?–?) and János († before 1580) to the rank of barons in 1557. The most well-known of Mihály's children was Péter Révay (1568–1622) who wrote the history of the Hungarian crown and described its importance in public law and as a symbol. On Ferenc Révay's line who was the uncle of Péter Révay, his grandson, Ferenc († 1657) is the most interesting for us since due to his disagreement with his sons, his children asked the king to prepare an inventory of the wealth of the family, among other things the library in Szklabinya in 1651. All members of the Révay family were active supporters of the Lutheran church.⁹³⁸ Since they went on study trips and knew the difficulties themselves they helped a lot of students in their career and published their books and booklets on religious disputations. These books must have been present in the family library even if not all of them can be found in the inventory. Now let us turn back to the founder of the Szklabinya branch of the family.

Ferenc Révay became Lord Lieutenant of County Turóc for life in 1535 but he held other offices as well. The Hungarian Lutheran Church owes a lot to him for his patronage at the beginning of Reformation. Apart from Lutheranism he was also interested in the newer Helvetian faith too. Martin Luther himself wrote to him regarding this matter, later the letter was published in Bártfa.⁹³⁹ Ferenc Révay's sons (Mihály, János, Lőrinc and Ferenc) were educated in Bártfa between 1539 and 1544 in Leonard Stöckel's (1510–1560) Humanist school.⁹⁴⁰ Révay sent them to *peregrinatio Italica*, a very useful but not inexpensive venture. In Italy they had excellent professors such as Lazaro Buonamico, or the legal specialist Matteo Gribaldi.⁹⁴¹ Ferenc later became the patron of Jakob Klöss' publishing house in Bártfa where Eliáš Láni's Lutheran polemical tract⁹⁴² as well as Paulus Malus' eulogies came out.⁹⁴³ He was undoubtedly the author of a manuscript copy of Bonfini's Hungarian Chronicle used by János Zsám-boky when preparing the edition in Basel in 1568.⁹⁴⁴

As mentioned above, the most well-known member of the Révays in the early modern period was Péter Révay (1568–1622).⁹⁴⁵ He started his schools in Bártfa at Thomas Faber's, and then went to Igló to Johannes Ursinus'. Then he and his brothers, Ferenc and Mihály, were enrolled in Vienna at Johannes Molensis' and later to Strassbourg where Johann Sturm and Melchior Junius made an influence on him.⁹⁴⁶ He turned to Justus Lipsius in letters, in Hungary he joined „the Hungarian descendants of Pallas”, an intellectual circle of nobles whose members saw the future of their coun-

try under the influence of the Christian neo-stoicism of Justus Lipsius of Leiden.⁹⁴⁷ After returning home he visited several towns in the Holy Roman Empire and broadened his horizon. In Hungary he became Lord Lieutenant of County Turóc for life, and held high offices such as Crown Guard, Royal Councillor, Royal Court master, and Chief Door Master. In 1608 he went to Prague to the court which was one of the most cultured and intellectual courts in Europe then.⁹⁴⁸ This is where his friendship with Johannes Jessenius started. He wrote his above-mentioned book entitled *De sacrae coronae Regni Hungariae ortu, virtute, victoria, fortuna*.⁹⁴⁹ He further developed these thoughts and made a historical piece *De monarchia et sacra corona Regni Hungariae centuriae septem*.⁹⁵⁰ Since we do not know the inventory of the library of Péter Révay therefore the long list of books published under the patronage of the Révays, the books written by his professors in Vienna and Strassburg and the literature he used to write his own books give us clues when characterizing his erudition. György Bones analysed these sources in his monography.⁹⁵¹ We shall, however, see that in the inventory of the Szklabinya library of his nephew, Ferenc Révay, the features of Péter Révay's collection can be recognized, his books may even have remained in Szklabinya. Péter was Lord Lieutenant of Turóc as well as his nephew and lived in Szklabinya, although he died in Trencsén.

Dénes Mednyánszky published the inventory of the Szklabinya library of Ferenc Révay which was prepared, according to Mednyánszky,⁹⁵² for the will of the magnate during the probate in Turóc. Klára Komorová suggests that Ferenc Révay studied in Cracow and became Lord Lieutenant of county Turóc after returning home. The estate in Szklabinya was modernized and flourished under his inspection. According to Komorová, „the book list was prepared because most probably Ferenc' sons were worried about the library since their father was unhappy with their behaviour and in 1649 he sent an appeal to County Turóc requesting that neither of his sons be made Lord Lieutenant of Turóc after his death. In the end, in 1657 Ferenc Révay changed his mind and asked that one of his sons be appointed Lord Lieutenant.”⁹⁵³

Several of the 321 books survived in several book collections. These volumes prove that Révay wrote his name into his books sometimes. At the same time, nothing indicates that he wanted to create a bibliophilic collection with a uniform binding, *supralibros* or printed *ex libris*. The clerks making the inventory were not well educated who spoke only in Hungarian and Slovakian although they may have known some Latin. The descriptions of an item were terrible even compared to contemporary inventories. The 20 German books were almost all just *liber Germanicus*, edi-

tions considered Italian marked simply as *Italicus liber*. Latin titles were summed up in one or two words referring to their subject matter, the unknown authors' names (most of the authors were unknown to them) and the titles were misspelt therefore sometimes it is hard to imagine who or what they were thinking of. Where they put the authors' name right they did not write anything else so it is difficult to identify an item *Joachim Camerarius, or Matthiae Dresserij*.

The most striking phenomenon of the inventory is its Catholic nature. As if the books were brought from a monastery at the middle of the 16th century. Klára Komorová remarked on the great number of the editions of the church fathers, especially Augustine, Epiphanius, Jerome and the dominance of the medieval masterpieces (11 items of Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Lombardus, Bonaventura, and Johannes Gerson). 20% of all the books belonged to this group.

Catholic theology and religious pamphlets were of similar percentage. Theological masterpieces, however, were few. It is hard to imagine why the Révays needed two *missales*. They either acquired it for bibliophilic reasons as an old book (which was rare in this period) or these books were acquired accidentally. Some of the items can be identified in the catalogue of incunabula within the territory of Slovakia today. These items suggest that the books were from a church official or an institution. We do not know which member of the Révays converted to Catholicism and when. However, there is a note in one of the incunabula of Thomas Aquinas⁹⁵⁴ from a Bernardinus Sartorius in 1619 who wrote the following about himself: „Bernardus Sartorius Artium ac philosophiae Magister et *pro tempore* Spectabilis ac Magnifici Domini *Francisci de Reva junioris* Domini *Catholicij et Sancta Romana Ecclesiae filij fidelissimi* Concionator. 1619. Mensis Maij die Secunda.” Sartorius claimed to be the preacher of Ferenc Révay Junior (in 1619 he was the owner of the library), a loyal son of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The volume of Thomas Aquinas belonged to Sartorius then and we do not know when the mark *Ecclesiae Nouak* was inserted and which Novak it referred to. Probably it was the village called Nováky today near Privigyje. It is also out of the ordinary that a *Magister* in the 17th century would use an incunabulum to prepare from. It is not to be excluded that the many volumes of Catholic literature belonged to this preacher and Ferenc Révay bought his books later. He may have completed his library with Catholic books when he converted to Catholicism.

Therefore, I do not agree with the hypothesis of mainly Slovakian researchers that this library was a one generation book collection. The books are few for that and the readings of the most erudite generations,

those who studied at universities at the middle of the 16th century, are missing. There are names and books written by the professors who taught the members of the Révay family in the 16th century such as Johann Sturm. Furthermore, the legal section of the library is strong in Roman law, so this could be attributed to the influence of Professor Matteo Gribaldi of Padua but these books were very popular in Hungarian libraries at the time therefore it is far from certain that these books were memories of a study trip in Padua or Strassburg. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine in a family where so many children were born that the family library would remain at the same place at the central household in Szklabinya from generation to generation.

Considering the fact that the Révay boys studied with Lazzaro Buonamico in Padua, interestingly the Humanist section in the Szklabinya book collection was rather weak. Under the recurring term *grammaticae institutiones* there may have been important books but also school books. The editions of Aldo Manuzio, Angelo Pontano and *aliorum, epistolae*, as well as some of the writings by Angelo Poliziano, Filippo Beroaldos and Francesco Patrizi were there in the library but apart from these books only 10 % was from first class antique authors such as Ovid (which is one of the surviving books with Révay's possessor mark).

Since Ferenc Révay converted to Catholicism it is not surprising that Protestant theology was missing. In the inventory there are two volumes by Philipp Melanchthon but the clerk did not specify which. Apart from these, there is a *Historia Augustanae Confessionis*. There are several authors who wrote their books with this title but only David Chytraeus started his Latin title like this and his book that came out in several editions was very popular. Maybe the non-identified volume published for the jubilee of Reformation in Wittenberg belongs here as well and that would be all for the Protestant side. In the history section, there are some Lutheran authors such as Matthaeus Dresser although not often.

The remaining 40 % of the books is law or history, this latter including political theory. These books do look like the readings of a magnate managing his estate as well as the county and at the same time watching what was going on in the neighbouring countries and in local politics. These books can be considered as the Péter Révay's heritage.

A part of the legal books (12 volumes) commentaries of the *Institutiones Justiniani* and the *Pandectae*, concentrate on Roman law. Most of these seem to be 16th century editions based on their descriptions. Two books by Jacques Cujas, a French authority in law, *Novella*⁹⁵⁵ and *De feudis*⁹⁵⁶ belonged to the most modern books of the collection; these were useful manuals

from the 1560s. These may have been acquired by the Révays who studied in Padua. The attention paid by the magnates of Upper Hungary to events in Bohemia and Poland therefore it is not surprising that among the books of Ferenc Révay there were four Czech law books and decrees of their diet while there were two from Poland. The magnate certainly spoke Slovakian so the Czech language would not have been very difficult for him.

The history section is not poor although traditional in a sense that these books were from the 16th century (it cannot be decided which edition they were). Antique historians are also listed with their names only and almost all well-known names are represented on the list. Besides these, Antonio Bonfini, Johannes Dubravius, Martin Cromer, the collection of letters regarding Ottoman history of Nicolas Reusner, Johannes Sleidanus' description of the state of religions under the rule of Charles V, the manual on contemporary history written by Paolo Giovio, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, or an atlas by Abraham Ortelius were all not just excellent readings but bibliophilic books. A well-known book about the history of a town written by Georg Braun survived which was offered as a gift to Pál Esterházy by Ferenc Révay, so he had bibliophilic books as well.

The six volumes of the Latin journal *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* launched at the turn of the 16th and 17th century presented the events of the century during Ferenc Révay's lifetime. As far as one can determine from the inventory entries, no books dealt with history from the period after the death of Péter Révay in 1622. He seems to be the one who was interested in books on politics and political theory. The entry *De optimo statu reipublicae* is there twice. The most well-known book with this title is Thomas More's *Utopia* which was published almost in every five years in the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. Another British author, Robert Breton also wrote a book with the same title and it is not to be excluded that one of these was a volume that contained commentaries written to Johannes Caselius' Aristotle book on the theory of state. No matter which of these this book was we went back by a century. Antonio Guevara's *Horologium principum* and Justus Lipsius' writings (his name occurs three times in the inventory) were favourite readings of the above mentioned intellectual circle called „the Hungarian descendants of Pallas”. Sebastian Fox Morcillo, Professor in Leuven, was mentioned regarding the Trencsén library of illésházy and his book entitled *De regni regisque institutione*⁹⁵⁷ was there in the Révay library. Ammirato Scipione's name was mentioned in the inventory but nothing else. It may have been his writing about the Ottoman or his piece about the Kingdom of Naples. In any case, at the end of the 16th century these were modern political thoughts. The title *Thesaurus*

politicus may refer to Caspar Ens or, following our assumption that no history books were acquired after the death of Péter Révay, it could be Giulio Belli's book that was published in Frankfurt am Main several times before 1622. We know Daniel Meisner's book with the same title only from 1623. Concerning the book entitled *De magistratu*, several authors can be considered. Théodore de Bèze's writing of the same title is the one that appears the most, its theory of the *right to resistance* inspired a lot of debates in the period. This volume may have also been Martinus Rakovszky's (1535 k.–1579) writing that came out in Lepizig in 1574. Rakovszky originally was from Upper Hungary, although it is not known from where exactly. Besides, ten more names can be cited who published their writings with a similar title. Niccolò Machiavelli's *De republica* was probably used by Péter Révay when writing his historical book.

After reviewing the items on the book list, we can safely say that the library in Szklabinya included in part the books of Royal Court Master Péter Révay as well as the books Ferenc Révay purchased after his conversion to Catholicism. Both parts contained older books, especially the Catholic side. This does not mean, however, that the editions of the church fathers could not have belonged to a Révay from a former generation.



István Révay, 1649

The notes entered by István Révay, Ferenc' son, survived sporadically in some books. These are incunabula such as *Expositio hymnorum cum notabili commento*.⁹⁵⁸ In the above-mentioned incunabulum edition of the Thomas Aquinas⁹⁵⁹ we can find the trace of an interesting phenomenon. After the note made by the Catholic preacher the following is written: *Sum Stephani de Reva et Amicorum ejus*. The history of such a note is known,⁹⁶⁰ it is the manifestation of Humanist friendship although in the Central European region in general it refers to a shared use of books.⁹⁶¹ It would suggest that in the Szklabinya household friendly meetings were held to discuss events and matters of religion based on their readings. This matches the portrayal of active cultural activities and extensive patronage of the Révay household Klára Komorová depicted in her book.

The Révay family in the 17th century had several branches and had family ties to several aristocratic families. The family continued patronage although it is not known which Révay of what faith financed a book where the patron was indicated as a „Révay”. Pál Révay's daughter, Katalin became the wife of Mátyás Ostrosith and in 1654 she was supposedly still a Lutheran since she financed the publication of Andreas Sartorius' school play (Trenchenii, 1654).⁹⁶² Mihály Révay surely followed Luther's faith in 1683 when he contributed to the schooling of Johannes Keweri in Wittenberg.⁹⁶³ Gábor Elek Révay in the 1650s is Catholic since he was the patron of the Jesuit publications in Nagyszombat.⁹⁶⁴

The Ostrosith library in Illava

When reviewing the Révays, Katalin Révay, Mátyás Ostrosith's wife († 1702) who could be considered a Lutheran patron was brought up.⁹⁶⁵ The Ostrosiths⁹⁶⁶ founded their wealth when Mihály Ostrosith took the side of Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian King after the lost battle at Mohács. The estate at Illava became one of their central households. In 1560 a Lutheran secondary school opened in Illava and they made donations to it. In 1606 they were made aristocrats with András and István becoming Barons. András's son, János Ostrosith († 1637) participated in a religious disputation in Wittenberg in 1616 (*Oratio de maiestate*)⁹⁶⁷ which suggests that at the beginning of the 17th century there was a family member who could potentially participate at a hypothetical „et amicorum” reading club in one of the households of the Révay's, maybe even in Szklabinya although it is possible that similar meetings may have been held in the Illava residence. Miklós Ostrosith († 1660), the son of Baron Ist-

ván Ostrosith and his wife Anna Thököly resided in Illava. His daughter, Borbála Ghiletinczi Ostrosith († 1681) married historian Farkas Bethlen.⁹⁶⁸ After the death of Miklós, his brother and his wife, Katalin Révay moved in.⁹⁶⁹ After the Wesselényi–Nádasdy conspiracy (1664–1671) the Illava estate was confiscated although the members of the family did not participate in the conspiracy but it was only in 1701 that Commissioner in Chief Graf Christoph Siegfried Breuner could acquire it.⁹⁷⁰

Besides being Lutheran, the Ostrosiths were committed to the Habsburgs. In their patronage they supported the Lutheran church institutions and financed the literary works of their members.⁹⁷¹ Several calendars survived which contain diary entries from members of the family. This means that naturally the annual German, Hungarian, Polish or Czech calendars were available in the aristocratic households.⁹⁷² They installed their library in Illava the inventory of which is known from 1647 and 1677.⁹⁷³ In 1647 the library must have been rearranged because two overlapping but different book lists showing differing sections survived. The first book list presents the books in 234 items but only the *Theologici* (56 items) and the *Juridici* (11 items) are separated from the rest of the books which are all under the heading of *Historici*. In the second inventory the sections are more precise although the job to define all the sections was not completed entirely since they classified only 126 books. Apart from *Theologici* (43), *Politici* (22), *Historici* (22), *Scholastici* (33), *Poetici* (5) there was a section called *Medici* but only one book was classified here. In 1677 the number of the books was smaller, only 157 items and the sections were more generalised: *Politici* (18), *Theologici* (42), *Medici* (7), *Historici* (21), *Scholastici* (69). At first sight, one would say these are two separate libraries; about half of the 1677 book list corresponds to books in the inventory from 1647.

We can state that these were the libraries of Miklós and Mátyás Ostrosith although the books of former generations of the Ostrosiths also appear in the list. If it was not for the notes taken by János Ostrosith at university and his album the strong political theory character of the library would indicate the owner to be the one who studied in Wittenberg and wrote tracts in this discipline.⁹⁷⁴

The first thematic section in the readings of Miklós Ostrosith is theology. Let us highlight here right away that besides the fundamental Lutheran profile there are a significant number of tracts on religious disputations with the Calvinists and the Catholics in this section. Let us present five here to show how many different views the reader could get to know from a tract like this. The title of the writing of Heinricus Eckhardi, Professor in

Giessen „*Fasciculus controversiarum theologiarum*” suggests that basically it is a controversist manual: ... *de quibus inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos et calvinianos disceptatur, continens, et praeter adversariorum sententias propriis ipsorum verbis in quaestionibus singulis descriptas, eorundem argumenta ex Zvinglii, Oecolampadii, Calvini, Martyris, Musculi, Aretii, Danaei, Bezae, Ursini, Zanchii, Sohni, Sadeelis, Junii, Polani, Bucani, Piscatoris, Trelcatii, Keckermanni, Perkinsii, Nahumi, aliorumque libris annotata, unà cum... refutatione, et sententiae orthodoxae confirmatione exhibens...*⁹⁷⁵ The other two authors, Balthasar Meisner⁹⁷⁶ and Albert Grawer⁹⁷⁷ rejected the views of Jesuit preachers regarding Jesus’ church and the office of the Pope in the Holy Scriptures. Albert Grawer’s famous tract against the Calvinists is also included in the inventory in two copies. Let us mention here that this writing has a Hungarian connection since both Johannes Bocatius and Menyhért Veres greeted its publication with a poem, and the author was active in Hungary too. The fifth tract we would like to mention here is also a *hungaricum* since Friedrich Balduin, Professor in Wittenberg refuted Pázmány’s arguments and dedicated his book to Erzsébet Czobor.⁹⁷⁸ Let us note here that most authors are Lutheran authorities from the 16th century (Martin Luther, Aegidius Hunnius) or from the first half of the 17th century that is a modern Lutheran theological literature was at disposal for those serving in the Illava residence not only in theological questions but also in issues in daily life such as the Danish Niels Hemmingsen’s book on marriage and divorce.⁹⁷⁹

Miklós Ostrosith made sure that Hungarian religious debates be present in his library in tracts written by Hungarian authors. He owned two writings by Pázmány, the story of the conversion of Mihály Vörösmarti, collections of sermons by Leonard Stöckel and Péter Bornemisza, Zacharias Láni’s exciting writing regarding the origin of the Lutheran church where he contradicted Athanasius Kircher⁹⁸⁰ as well as *Pseudo Spiritus Posoniensis* written against Mihály Kopcsányi.⁹⁸¹ It is not surprising in a library in Upper Hungary that Ostrosith owned Georgius Tranoscius’ psalms in a Latin edition.⁹⁸²

Among legal books nothing unusual can be seen. These are mainly Hungarian law books: *Tripartitum*, hand-written articuli of four kinds as well as legal formulas and an unidentified book by Johannes Kitonich. Apart from these, Ostrosith had Henningius Arnisaeus’s book entitled *De jure majestatis* that first came out in 1610 which was published every second year until the second half of the century. This could have been classified as political theory as it is here that it is mentioned in the second list along with another book by the same author entitled *de Republica*.

The section *politici* is interesting. It is not unusual that the title *Horologium principum* occurs three times, these are Guevara's book in two Latin editions and a Hungarian one. Justus Lipsius is present with two books and his correspondence although in the history section. The title *Ethica Practica Politica* is a telling title but we do not know anything else about it. However, it is interesting to point out that all the authors who wrote a book with the same title would be unusual in the Illava library. Johann August Vogel from Utrecht, Hieronimus Praetorius from Nuremberg, or Michael Wendeler from Wittenberg could all be the author in question as well as the fourth volume of the encyclopaedia of Johann Heinrich Alsted. The book entitled *Ethica et Speculum moralium quaestionum* was undoubtedly written by John Case of Oxford which came out in 12 editions between 1585 and 1647. The clerk preparing the inventory did not read it because it is more a book in classical philology, the commentary of Aristotle's moral philosophy as it is indicated on its cover page although among the schools of political theory there have always been those in each period who based their arguments on antique ethics concerning daily politics. The best example for this is Georg Gutke who presided over János Ostrosith's religious disputation in Wittenberg where the magnate of Upper Hungary defended his thesis. However, Gutke's work was centred, especially in the Berlin years, more on logic and Aristotle commentaries. Coming back to the library of Miklós Ostrosith, the term *Emporium Emporiorum* refers to Tommaso Garzoni, a member of the Lateran Canonry who prepared an encyclopaedia in politology at the end of the 16th century. It came out in many languages and in many editions, revised and published at the beginning of the 17th century by Michael Caspar Lundorp.⁹⁸³

The history thematic section is rich in antique authors and books on Hungarian history. There are two Bonfini books, two writings by Elias Berger, a Wittenberg album *De Sigetho propugnaculo*, Istvánffy's book on Hungarian history, Péter Révay's book on the Hungarian crown and a *Chronica Hungarorum*. There were also manuals about the history of the neighbouring regions which were popular in all other libraries (books by Dubravius, Cromer, Reusner, Herbenstein), Johannes Sleidanus, writings by Paolo Giovio and the Carion Chronicle.

These books as well as the ones in political theory could all serve as the basis for János Ostrosith thesis in 1616. However, most of these books were published in the first half of the 17th century that is even if Miklós inherited books he further developed it considerably.

The most striking feature is the great number of Hungarian publications, for example János Draskovich' Guevara translation, Miklós Telegdis

books, the „*Precationes*”: such as the one written by István Kürty, György Szalaszegi’s translated Avenarius, *Hungaricae Ferenczfy*, books written by Bálint Mantskovith, Gergely Vámosi, János Kanizsai Pálfi, János Kecskeméti’s *Musculus*, Boldizsár Zólyomi Perinna’s *Gerhardus*, János Mihalkó’s writing and other authors whose books were published abroad.

The sections on *poetae* and *humanistae* of the library are also rich although here, besides the antique authors (primarily *orationes*), it is mainly the great Humanists who are dominant. There are also *rhetoricae et dialecticae* (from several authors) and grammars.

In Miklós Ostrosith’ nice book collection there was books in Latin, Hungarian and Czech languages. We find it interesting that no German books are mentioned in the inventory. The whole collection portrays an intellectually vivid owner who must have been in touch with the professors of the local Lutheran school and the ministers nearby. When he died in 1660 Márton Tarnóczy wrote a eulogy for him that was published in Trencsén.⁹⁸⁴ A part of his books appears in his brother’s later inventory of 1677, the rest of them may have been inherited by his daughter, Borbála who married Farkas Bethlen and lived in Transylvania.



Mátyás Ostrosith, 1649

Due to his involvement in the Wesselényi conspiracy, *Mátyás Ostrosith's* belongings were confiscated. Nevertheless, *Mátyás* further developed the library he inherited partly from his brother *Miklós* and, as we shall see later, partly from his cousin *János*. We are luckier with his book inventories because the clerks usually wrote down the name of the author too. He inherited two of *Henningius Arsinæus's* books from *Miklós* as well as many Hungarian legal books. In 1662 he purchased *Johann Weber's Speculum Physico-politicum* that was published in *Lőcse*⁹⁸⁵ as well as a book about a Polish litigation that appeared in Poland in 1664.⁹⁸⁶ It is unusual to combine the Hungarian constitution with *Francesco Guicciardini* and it is hard to imagine it in a colligation but otherwise it would not have been accounted for the following way: *17. Decreta et Constitutiones Regni Hungariae Francisci Guiciardini Hippomneses Politicæ liber 1.*⁹⁸⁷

He owned three *Carion* Chronicles from among the historical books. The books by *Dubravius*, *Sleidanus* and *Giovio* must have been inherited as well as *Elias Berger's* book which was listed in *Miklós Ostrosith's* book inventory. *Mátyás*, however, bought several freshly published books such as *Elias Widemann's* engravings about Hungarian nobility (*Icones comitum gloriæ centum*) that came out in 1652, the *Nuremberg* edition of *Mausoleum* (1664) that was published under the patronage of *Ferenc Nádasdy*, a *Jesuit* College publication dedicated to *László Esterházy*, *Wolfgang Kilian's* *Habsburg* genealogy in Latin illustrated with several engravings that came out in *Graz* in 1666, *Michael Gaspar Lundorp's* book on the first six years of the *Thirty-Year War*.⁹⁸⁸ And there is yet another mysterious colligation: *6. Historia Germanica Joannis Baptistæ Fikler in folio liber 1.* *Johann Baptist Fikler*, *Théodore de Bèze's* opponent in the disputations about the right to resistance, was a known figure of *German Counter Reformation*. He wrote several historical books on *Regensburg* in German but the title *Historia Germanica* appears neither in Latin, nor in German in his oeuvres. There is a curiosity among the historical pieces that came out in 1662, *Johann Bruno's* world history.⁹⁸⁹ It is not only another book on cyclical world view and the theory of four empires⁹⁹⁰ but one of the nicest examples of *Baroque emblem books*.⁹⁹¹ The author's brother, *Conrad Bruno* was one of the best engravers in the 17th century, worked in *Herzog August's* court in *Wolfenbüttel* and was the artist who made the contemporary depiction of *Bibliotheca Guelpherbytana*.

Mátyás Ostrosith purchased a significant part of the medical books. Besides *János Zsámboky's* emblem book about physicians he bought *Jean Fernel's* *Universa medicina*, *Levinus Lemnius* and *Leonhard Fuchs* or *Theophrastus's* *Historia plantarum*, as well as a *Czech* home chemistry (*Apathec*

Domestica Sclauonico idiomate). Let us mention two books. One of them is Johann David Ruland's *Pharmacopaea nova* that came out in 1644⁹⁹² while the other one is the book of a physician from Bergamo, Guilielmo Grataroli about the influence wine has on health.⁹⁹³

In section *scholastici* many books were classified. It seems that Mátyás had little more antique authors that came out in the second half of the 16th century but it looks as if the books of János Ostrosith, the Wittenberg student were inherited by his two nephews. In this thematic section there are several items which are his manuscripts such as his study tour album (*Stambuch*): *Album Magistri Domini Joannis Osztrozith in quarto liber*, then *Praeloquium de constitutione rhetoricae conscriptum a Joanne Osztrozith*. Mátyás Ostrosith's school notes were also inventoried in several volumes. This whole section is, in general, school dominated. Hungarian publications were also classified here, partly the ones we have mentioned above when presenting Miklós' library but Ádám Forgách's Vienna *Fasciculum sententiarum* (1657) that was a more recent acquisition.⁹⁹⁴

There was a good collection of dictionaries in Illava. The generation of Mátyás may have learnt Italian or French because besides several Calepinus editions they also bought Czech, Italian, and French and Spanish dictionaries. The Ostrosith family ended with Mátyás, we do not know what happened to their books.

The culture that radiated from the Illava household meant that a relative living in the neighbourhood, Baron András Ostrosith's daughter, Judit's husband, Pál Petróczy († 1652) also owned a small collection⁹⁹⁵ out of which his widow left 23 to the Lutheran congregation in Kasza that matched the interest of the congregation. These were mainly Lutheran theologies, books by primarily Lutheran Orthodox theologians from the 16th century and several religious disputation tracts from the University of Wittenberg from the beginning of the 17th century. Several Catholic tracts were also part of the donation, books by two Jesuits, Fulvius Andronicus and Roberto Bellarmino.

We also know the books of *Matej Gažur* (1588– after 1657), the minister at the Miklós and Mátyás Ostrosith' household,⁹⁹⁶ who greeted the wedding of Pál Ostrosith in 1649 with a small publication.⁹⁹⁷ Judging by the 35 items on the book list, the minister missed his vocation because it is the library of an intellectual who read theology as well. The *Bibliothecula* as it was called by the clerk who made the inventory made a section for *Poetici, Graeci*, classified the hand-written notes Gažur took at school separately. These were mainly notes on logic following Petrus Ramus's system but he also had notes about theological issues. Out of the 35 books, nine were

in theology, there were two Paul Eber calendars, the rest grammars (Latin, Greek and a separate Greek syntax), dictionaries (several Greek ones), school books in rhetoric, analyses and Humanist samples for *orationes*. Thanks to the surviving sources and documents, the book culture of the Illava household of the *Ostosits* can be described on several levels. The readings of the magnate's family through generations were available for the intellectuals living and working on the estate. We could also learn about the erudition of the nobles around the household and that of a household minister. Although we do not have data regarding the shared use of books but we could gain a general impression about the level of the discussion at family and church or local political events.

The Berényi Library in Karancsberény(?) and their Books in Temetvény

Ferenc Berényi was a nobleman who stood on Ferdinand I's side in the power struggle at the middle of the 16th century and this decision proved to bring success and rise to the family. From among his great grandchildren, András († 1653) had a good education and became a lawyer in County Pozsony one of whose daughters married a Révay. His brother, György I (1601–1677)⁹⁹⁸ became a peer and received the title of Baron for himself and for his descendants in 1655. He was appointed Deputy Lord Lieutenant of County Nyitra, an envoy of Leopold I to Transylvania. His second wife was an Esterházy. There are scarcely any data of the books of his sons (Ferenc, György and Pál) but his grandson, György III Berényi's library is known. György III became a Count in 1700. In the next generation of the family we have information about members of the family who studied at universities. His son, Ferenc chose the military career and died in 1710. Ferenc' two brothers (András and Zsigmond) chose the clergy. Tamás (1689–1747) studied at the University of Utrecht and was known as a polyglot while his son, Tamás II Berényi (1721–1775) was known as one of the most educated Hungarian noblemen.⁹⁹⁹

On the estates of Baron György, a series of inventories were made starting in 1650. The castle of *Temetvény* in County Trencsén was theirs by then (and later the Bercsényis'). Their books in *Temetvény* were listed in a small book list.¹⁰⁰⁰ The nine items show a mixed profile. There were antique authors (Phaedrus, Dio Cassius, Herodotus, Tacitus), writings by Ambrosius and Jerome, a book on arithmetic, a book by Aegidius Hunnius and a volume of an unidentified author about the virtues of mon-

archs. The readings suggest a Lutheran owner (that was typical in County Trencsén) who inherited books and who was interested in moral issues. Let me add here that all these books were listed in the inventory of the Karancsberény library even the book on arithmetic so they were probably taken to the family library to Karancsberény after being inventoried.

In the inventory of the Karancsberény residence¹⁰⁰¹ 159 items were listed as books in thematic classification and according to their sizes: *Theologici* (75), *Historici* (43), *Medici* (8), *Philosophici* (27), *Juridici* (7). The person preparing the inventory must have been a person who spoke Hungarian and Latin and may have been bilingual in Slovakian/Czech and Hungarian. Items such as *Jacobi Fabri pri Misza* indicate this.¹⁰⁰² Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples' book on the mass was published in the 16th century several times but no Czech edition is known, therefore the note „*pri Misza*” must be the description of the subject matter of the Latin book. Farkas Deák claims that the inventory was prepared by György Berényi himself¹⁰⁰³ indicated by the item *Controversiae manu mea scriptae*. At other places, however, the knowledge of Hungarian seems to have dominated when he wrote down the name of Petrus Bessaeus as *Petri Beszszey*. The title of Czech books was never written in Czech although he owned 12 books in Czech: A Bible edition in six volumes, a Graduale, a collection of sermons, a *commentarius*, a medical book, a cook book and a book on interpreting dreams. From a language point of view, the most interesting item is the *Liber Bohemicus Konyha mesternek valo, és a Ceh Almos kenv*. The Hungarian books (24 books in total) were often written down in Hungarian although sometimes with the title in Latin. An example for this is *Az Papistának szabad-e az Evagelicust a vallásra eörrüvel kinszeriteni, tractatus Ungaricus; Füves kerteczke*.¹⁰⁰⁴ On the other hand, there is an item *Vita Elisabethae Hungarice manu scripta* (which is also interesting for its contents) or *Joachimus Beyst versio Illicz(-hazy)*, *Joachimus Beyst versio St(ephani) Magiar(y)*. He did not know German because out of the two German books the manuscript on arithmetic was written down in Latin while a Hungarian Chronicle as *Ungarisz Cronik*.

The books are varied according to their subject matter. Apparently, he kept the books which had been passed down in the family and the books of a church institution were also acquired somehow. Otherwise it would be hard to explain the great number of books that seem to be incunabula or printed at the beginning of the 16th century as well as the 12 Bibles (Latin 3 pcs, Czech 6 pcs, Hungarian (Bibles translated by János Sylvester, Gáspár Károlyi, György Káldi), five Breviari, three Graduales and an *Officium Beatae Mariae*.

Books in theology are mixed but, all in all, seem Lutheran. The Catholic

books in theology are mainly from the 16th century, for example there are writings by Jeremias Drexel, Petrus Bessaesus, Martinus Becanus, and by Hungarian authors such as Miklós Telegdi, András Monoszlay, Péter Pázmány or György Káldi. There are writings by the church fathers (Ambrosius and Jerome), *vetus* prayer books as the person preparing the inventory put it: *Paradisus praecum*, *Institutio pietatis*, *Farrago praecum*, *Meditationes de passione Domini*, and writing by Jan Hus. These latter ones may also have been written by Lutheran authors but there are certainly very many Lutheran collections of sermons and theological writings among the 75 items classified in this thematic section. Authors such as Aegidius Hunnius, Lucas Osiander, Abraham Scultetus, Mathias Hafenreffer, Jacob Heerbrand, Joachim Beust, Johannes Avenarius, and the Calvinist Wolfgang Musculus are among them.

Books in Hungarian or related to Hungary in their subject matter are in a surprising proportion within the library. Apart from the authors mentioned above, there were books by Péter Bornemisza, György Kulcsár, István Kürthy, Boldizsár Zólyomi Perinna, Imre Lósy, János Draskovich in Hungarian, the Hungarian *Credo*, an *herbarium*, sermons in manuscript, Zacharias Láni's two books and the Latin historians: Antonio Bonfini, Miklós Istvánffy, the German Chronicle and Hungarian legal books (*Tripartitum*, *dietalia*, *decretalia*, Johannes Kithonicz).

There were only 7 legal books this library and they were mentioned above for their Hungarian connection. György Berényi also had a Justinianus, a modern book, Christoph Besold's *Farrago juris*,¹⁰⁰⁵ and an old one, Johannes Oldendorp's *Practica actionum forensium*.¹⁰⁰⁶

The historical section is worth paying attention to. Beyond the antique authors (Tacitus, Herodotus, Plutarchus, Livius, Dionysus Siculus, Zonaras, Eusebius) and the above-mentioned books on Hungarian history, the following books are worth mentioning: the item *Vita Esterházy palatini* and an unidentified book (maybe a manuscript) the description of which (*Lamormany Praelatus*) may indicate the biography of Ferdinand II.¹⁰⁰⁷ Czech history is represented by one book: Prokop Lupáč z Hlavačova *Calendarium historicum*.¹⁰⁰⁸ Berényi owned Paul Eber's *Calendarium historicum*, Münster's *Cosmographia*, Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum obris terraruma*, and probably Andreas Hondorff's *Theatrum historicum*, as well as manuals by Paolo Giovio and Johannes Sleidanus, Giovanni Battista Contarini's history of Venice and „an old” world history.¹⁰⁰⁹ There was a colligation in which Georg Richter's *Axiomata politica* was bound together with Martinus Crusius' sermons about three Biblical female figures (which may not qualify as history)¹⁰¹⁰ and a tract about the Waldensians.

There are other books mixed in with the *Historici* section, for example the one about the education and virtues of monarchs, the book written by an unidentified author mentioned above relating to the Temetvény book list, understandably since there are no separate *Politici* or *Ethici* sections. The same goes for Nicolas Caussin's *Equus christianus* translated into Latin by Guillaume Germé de Lamormain and a biography of Constantine the Great which is, in a sense, a king's mirror.¹⁰¹¹ The *dialogus* written by Nicolas Barnaud which analyses the relationship between power and ethics about the French Wars of Religion as well as religious matters and the anomalies of conduct of the churches.¹⁰¹² The author drew a parallel between Hungarian and French history since the participants of the dialogue are a Lutheran minister Philalethus, a refugee Huguenot and his love, Alethia who fled Hungary occupied by the Ottoman Turks. Barnaud spent several years in Prague from the 1580s, and presumably he gained his information on Hungarian matters there. György Berényi must have enjoyed reading his book.

Berényi (provided he was the one who made the inventory and let us stay with this hypothesis) classified under *historici* a late book written by Justus Lipsius entitled *De cruce* that is hard to justify and a volume containing funeral sermons which would be the right section only if Berényi read these sermons as a source of biographical information which was not the case.

The *Philosophici* in the Berényi library was very mixed. There were dictionaries, several grammars (Latin and Greek), Horace, Strabon, Melancthon's *Physica* and other titles like these. Adding arithmetic and the book on interpreting dream there was a wide range of topics. Berényi classified *Theatrum Mulierum* under History but let us mention it here. It is interesting because very few fashion albums reached Hungary during this period. The poems accompanying the pictures detail the morals of the women of each nation which can be read in Hungarian today.¹⁰¹³

Among the medical books, we can find Avicenna and Andrea Matthioli's *Herbarium* as well as Henrik Rantzau's *De conservanda bona valetudine* that came out in many editions, the *Medicina Salernitana* and a Czech medical book and a Czech cook book.

To sum it up we can say that The György Berényi's library was a diverse book collection which satisfied the interests of the Lutheran magnate not just in the field of history and religion but offered entertaining and picturesque pieces (atlases, herbaria, fashion albums) as well.

No inventory is known of the books of the next generation of the family. On the other hand, there is a book on rhetoric by Simon Pauli that came

out in Magdeburg in 1572 and was acquired by the Berényis after 1654. It may have been brought to Hungary by Johannes Frölich. Pál Berényi, György's son wrote his name into it in 1687. In this book there is a note that signals a shared use of the book but unfortunately without a date: *Possessio legitima Martini Berényi et amicorum*.¹⁰¹⁴ Since Márton is known in genealogy we cannot say in which of heir households these „book club” conversations were held.

On October 1, 1690 György III Berényi's books were inventoried once again.¹⁰¹⁵ Unfortunately, it is not clear from the document where the inventory was prepared and it is also unknown where György III Berényi stayed for the most part. Maybe in Karancsberény but maybe elsewhere. There were 214 items listed in the inventory. It is for sure that someone took care of the installation of the books since this book list is in alphabetic order (by the first name of the author) which cannot be set up without a preliminary list. His grandfather's books must have been inherited by several people since about 10 % of the former inventory matches this book list. The person making the inventory copied the authors' names and the short, few-words version of the titles with precision.

It is not known when but one of the sons of György Berényi who died in 1677 converted to Catholicism. It may have been György III Berényi who was made Count because he was certainly Catholic by then. His library has a new feature. He bought older series like the church history of Cesare Baronio, the history of several religious orders in Hungary and Austria and comprehensive hand books by mainly Jesuit authors that were published between 1660 and 1740 in many editions. He had no books on specific theological issues nor did he keep the old Lutheran books of the family but purchased modern Catholic literature, mainly comprehensive books such as Michael Pexenfelder's *Flores biblicuma*, Wilhelm Nakatenus's *Coeleste Palmetumja* (*Himmlischer Palmgarten* as was the usual title although Berényi did not read in German) were typical for his library.

Berényi paid special attention to Hungarian publications and the books written by Hungarian authors. But comparing the list of authors with the book list of his grandfather's library there are few matches (except for legal books). Here instead there are Gábor Hevenesi's *Ars bonae mortis*, Márton Szentiványi's three books, Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris's book written after converting to Catholicism, György Náray's *Lyra coelestise*, Gábor Szerdahelyi's *meterologia*, György Lippay's *Posoni kert* as well as the Catholic authors of this generation.

Let us mention here Berényi's cult of Virgin Mary collection which came, for the most part, from Pál Esterházy. All Esterházy's publications

were acquired for the library. Berényi was interested in the Esterházy family in other matters as well. He owned Miklós Esterházy's *Fasciculus praecum* or his engraving album with the family portraits. Berényi also had Wilhelm Gumpfenberg's *Atlas Marianus*, one of Pál Esterházy's sources and a book about the Black Madonna of Częstochowa (Poland).¹⁰¹⁶

His legal erudition included, besides the Hungarian sources of law, the big handbooks only. Among the Hungarian authors here he names Zachary Mossóczy, Bishop of Nyitra, Johannes Kithonich, Gábor Erdődy's index to the *Tripartitum* as well as Cardinal Kollonich's *Forma processus criminalis*. All the collections mentioned in his grandfather's inventory are listed in his book list as well. New acquisitions are Benedictus Carpozov with several books, Caspar Manz's legal *Bibliotheca*¹⁰¹⁷ and the handbook written by Andreas von Gaill presenting Imperial legal procedures including many legal cases.¹⁰¹⁸ And there are other new authors but here let us present the type of the books only.

In history he preferred the comprehensive editions but not only world history. Among the older authors he chose Münster's *Cosmography*, Paolo Giovio's contemporary history, and Jacques August de Thou's similar *historia sui temporis*. Berényi also owned a copy of the book written by Barthélemy de Chasseneuz entitled *Catalogus gloriae mundi* that had more than 40 editions since 1612, and Johann Ludwig Gottfried's *Archontologia cosmica* (they started to publish it in 1635). Johannes Bruno wrote a new summary book entitled *Universae historiae* in 1675 that Berényi purchased as well.¹⁰¹⁹ He may have been led by bibliophilic intentions when he bought Hartmann Schedel's world chronicle and Gerard Marcator's atlases.

Berényi also had classic books about the neighbouring countries and bought newer ones as well. For example, he owned Sigmund Herbenstein's book on the Russians but also Johann Georg Korb's new history book. As for Poland, he chose well when he purchased books to widen his knowledge since he selected books to show Polish political events in the European context through the lenses of Paweł Piasecki's *Chronica gestorum in Europa* in which the author described the history of the Thirty-Year War. He acquired several emblem books of the imperial dynasty such as Johann Adam Weber's *Adamus Austriacus*. Berényi bought almost all his many books.

His grandfather had the historical classics to which Berényi added more modern pieces. Jacques Bongars's historical anthology published in 1600 in Frankfurt-am-Main was read in almost all-important libraries in Hungary. Berényi also purchased Miklós Istvánffy, György Ráttkay, Martin

Schödel, Matthias Bernegger (*Disquisitio historico politica de regno Hungariae*) and a few other books, such as Achille Tarducci's,¹⁰²⁰ which were also theoretical and discussed in connection with the Battle of Szentgotthárd if the Ottoman Turks were defeatable. Let me mention here Laurenz Töppelt's book about the origin of the nations in Transylvania since it is rather forgotten.¹⁰²¹

While Hungarian nobleman at the beginning and middle of the 17th century read political theory that grew out of moral philosophy (king's mirrors) Berényi chose from among the Catholic writings on ethics-theology besides politology-type hand books. He also owned Machiavelli as well as Machiavelli's critic Hermann Conring or Georg Horn's *Orbis politicus*¹⁰²² and from among the more modern ones Johann Riemer's *Centum arcana politica*.¹⁰²³ Berényi also had Charles Vialart's book about Richelieu and Mazarin in Latin translation as well as Jules Mazarin's incredibly popular *Breviarium politicorum*.¹⁰²⁴ Let me present here a few of his Catholic moral theology books. The above-mentioned Johann Adam Weber's *Ars regendi* is such a book as well as his less known *Annulus memoriae*.¹⁰²⁵ Guillaume Stanyhurst's *Christiani militis tessera*¹⁰²⁶ can also be classified under this section as well as Johann Adolph Walpott's *Speculum christianum politico morale*.¹⁰²⁷

The writings of Didacus de Saavedra were¹⁰²⁸ in between the previous section and emblem books which are very much present in Berényi's book collection. The album of Johann Michael von der Ketten entitled *Apelles symbolicus* had many editions so no wonder Berényi noticed and purchased it as well as Hieronymus Megiser's very well-known *Theatrum Caesarum*.¹⁰²⁹ He had several collections of engravings depicting the emperors accompanied by a poem that described the virtues of the monarch. Berényi also acquired the Nuremberg edition of *Mausoleum* that came out under Nádasdy's patronage and Johann Adam Xavier Schad's album of portraits entitled *Effigies Ducum et Regum Hungariae*. From among older publications of the genre *emblemata*, Berényi owned Andrea Alciati's classic piece and Joachim Camerarius's handbook entitled *Symbolorum et emblematum centuria*. Emblems and allegories cannot just be interpreted historically or politically. The book by the Jesuit Pierre-Juste Sautel entitled *Lusus poetici allegorici* represents well this type of publications in harmony with Berényi's religious faith.

The sections called *poetici* and *humanistae* in this period is practically missing from this library. Berényi did have two books written by Erasmus, and Joseph Lang's *Florilegium Magnuma*, but John Owen's Latin book of poems is already the „curiositiy” category in our presentation as well as

a rare example of science such as Conrad Gessner's *Historia animalium*. Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's *Speculum nauticum*¹⁰³⁰ is a real gem which takes the reader into a world that a Hungarian can hardly imagine. In the end let me mention that, similarly to his grandfather, he had a book about female figures in the Bible, Philippo Picinelli's book¹⁰³¹ that had several editions.

The inventory prepared in 1690 of György Berényi's books indicates a modern library. Even if the owner did not speak languages, he collected the books that were published during his life according to his religious and political views. His book collection also showed signs of bibliophilic tendencies; he made efforts to acquire richly illustrated books with engravings. It looks as if, after his conversion to Catholicism, he built his library to match his convictions, accepting the importance of the Virgin Mary cult supported by Pál Esterházy to shape the intellectual profile of the new Hungarian Kingdom within the Habsburg Empire. His legal, political and historical erudition was up to the standards of the second half of the 17th century with a definite German orientation with the restriction that he did not speak German. Therefore, he could only read literature translated into Latin. He could read in Latin translation several French and some Italian authors. This political mentality was too close to the Catholic Church. It is striking how few books he had from antique authors or the great Humanist philologists. Berényi continued the family traditions in buying many contemporary Hungarian publications.

The Forgách Libraries

Although there was an important historian in the 16th century from the Forgách family and some of the other members went to universities and became academics, very little is known of their readings before the end of the century. The ancestors of the two main branches of the family were Péter Forgách († 1519)¹⁰³² and Gergely († 1514). Among their descendants¹⁰³³ there were a lot of politicians, high clergy and high officials of the country. Here we are interested in the Gergely line since this is where we have data. Zsigmond Forgách († 1563), Lord Chamberlain and Lutheran magnate and his sons, Pál († 1578), Simon (1526–1598), Imre (1539 k.–1599) and Ferenc (1535–1577), the historian and Bishop of Várad, were awarded the Baron title in 1560. Similarly, to the Balassa family where we can hardly say anything about the readings of the poet Bálint Balassi, the same manner we know little of the erudition of the historians

Forgách (Ádám, Imre, Mihály, Simon, Zsigmond)¹⁰³⁴, „the Hungarian Tacitus” (Ferenc Forgách), and his readings, can be outlined only through analysing the sources he used for his historical writing.¹⁰³⁵ These studies center mainly on antique texts, historical literature and his sources. Imre Forgách, Lord Lieutenant of County Trencsén, married three times (from the Perényi, the Zrínyi and the Sachsen-Lauenburg families). His sons all died before adulthood while his daughters married into the Ostrosith, the Révay and the Nádasz families. Imre remained Lutheran until his death. He donated books to the secondary school in Trencsén in 1588.¹⁰³⁶

Some of the children of Simon Forgách, Royal Cup-bearer had outstanding careers. Ferenc (1566–1615) became Archbishop of Esztergom, we know his books from several inventories.¹⁰³⁷ The Lutheran Mihály († 1603), corresponded with Justus Lipsius¹⁰³⁸ and was a remarkable member of the late Humanist intellectual circle in Hungary. He participated at a disputation at the University of Wittenberg (*De peregrinatione*) where he imitated Lipsius.¹⁰³⁹ Personalities defining intellectual trends in Hungary at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries such as Péter Révay, János Rimay encountered the modern theory of neo-Stoicism in part through him.¹⁰⁴⁰

Among Simon’s children, Zsigmond Forgách (1560–1621) rose to the highest position since he became a palatine. He married three times; his wives were Anna Losonczy, Zsuzsanna Thurzó and later István Illésházy’s widow, Katalin Pálffy.

The inventories of Zsigmond Forgách’ two sons survived. Ádám (1601–1681) became Lords Justice and count in 1640. He married first a Széchy, then a Révay while his third wife was Anna Katharina von Rechberg. He took with him some of his books during a journey and these were inventoried in Kassa in 1644. The other son of the palatine, Zsigmond Ádám (1605–1645) died young in the Thirty-Year War near Brünn. He was allegedly poisoned because he encouraged Zsigmond Rákóczy’s soldiers to desert the army. His books in Szalánc were inventoried in 1652¹⁰⁴¹ while the ones at his household in Garany were listed at the death of his widow, Borbála Batthyány († 1680).¹⁰⁴²

The Lord Justice’ son, Ádám (1663–1716) who was Lord Lieutenant of County Nógrád also married someone from abroad, Eva Katharina von Breuner, whose family acquired the Illava estate of the Ostrosith family.¹⁰⁴³ Their son, Simon Forgách (1669–1739) was an excellent soldier who participated in several battles, sided with Prince Rákóczi in 1704, but the prince ordered his arrest in 1706 and kept him in prison in Krasznahorka and later at Szepesvár. His relationship with Ferenc Rákóczi II must have

the town administration, Forgách demanded the books to be inventoried each year by a clerk from the town council, someone among his own staff as well as the rector of the school. He also required the books to be safeguarded and made available for everyone. The inventory of the books was made by an expert with, in most cases, complete title descriptions, indicating the place and the date of publication.

The first 39 folio volumes were collections of commentaries of Aristotle's writings sometimes with a book written by a church father in the same field, for example *De coelo*, *De anima*, etc. Among the commentaries we can see Thomas de Aquino, Johannes Grammaticus, Augustinus Nypus, and Simplicius Philosophus of Cilicia. All of these were published between 1545 and 1560. Two critical and complete editions of Aristotle were prepared then, one of them was published by Johannes Oporinus in Basel while the other one by Luca Antonio Giunta of Venice. Both are still noteworthy text versions. The rest of the books is just as valuable: the Cologne edition of the Synods of the Christian churches (1551), Bishop Thomas Caietanus' New Testament commentaries.

Almost all antique authors used at schools are included in the inventory in first rate Humanist editions published in Basel or Paris and not just in *ad usum delphini* publications. There are several Humanist authors as well such as several small editions of Erasmus' writings, Conrad Celtis, Heinrich Bebel, the 1582 Bologna edition of Callimachus Experiens' biography of Władysław III Warneńczyk, King of Poland and Hungary, János Zsámboky's book on following Cicero. Imre Forgách also helped school work and preparation for higher education by donating several multilingual dictionaries.

The great authors of Reformation are included in the inventory with their complete books such as Martin Luther's complete works in Latin, the Wittenberg series from the 1530s, several writings by Philipp Melancthon as well as the Bible commentaries of Johann Brenz. It is interesting to note that there were few religious disputation tracts there (Laurentius Tuppiss' Trident Chronicle published in Strasbourg in 1563 and a book by Luther published by John Fisher).¹⁰⁴⁷ Apart from these, tracts about free will written by Luther and Erasmus as part of their essentially Humanist debate could be found among the books donated to the school by Forgách.

Beside antique authors, history is represented only in Humanist *carmen*. Along with Paolo Giovio's history and his book about famous men there was also Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*, as well as Denis the Carthusian's book presenting and arguing with the Quran. Forgách may have included Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Attica* and Ovid's *Ars amatoria* among the Humanist folios as entertainment.

As a conclusion we can say that if Imre Forgách donated the school this specialized Humanist collection of books from his own library then first of all, he was an expert on books, he knew what a school needed and also, he was very generous. These books were almost all published between 1540 and 1565, there is also one incunabulum and one volume that came out in 1582. This makes us believe that he did not start to build his library from scratch since it would be hard to imagine that either in Vienna, Prague, Cracow or Wittenberg such complete series would have been available at the same time.



Ex libris of the Forgách Family, cca. 1650

Count Ádám Forgách, Lord Justice, left six of his books in Kassa at Mihály Vas' where these were listed in an inventory for unknown reasons.¹⁰⁴⁸ These were not pocket books one would read while travelling, therefore the fact that he parted with them temporarily needs more reflection. Among the six books there was an *Atlas maior* in two volumes, inconvenient to use even in a carriage. This could not have been Willem Janszoon Blaeu's *Atlas* since it came out in 1646, but most probably the less famous but excellent one made by Johann Baptist Homann.¹⁰⁴⁹ The description of the item „a book entitled *Peribola*” must be Wilhelm Dilich's writing

on fortification¹⁰⁵⁰ beside which Istvánffy's Hungarian history must have been among the smaller volumes although it was of folio size. The sixth piece was rather small, it was Péter Pázmány's satirical treatise written under the pseudo name Johannes Jemicus¹⁰⁵¹ in which he made fun of the decrees of the Synod in Zsolna.

Ádám Forgách died in 1681. His widow, Anna Katharina von Rechberg, whom he married in Vienna on November 22, 1648, remained at their estates in Szepes and had her residence in Eperjes. His belongings in that house were conscripted upon the order of Imre Thököly in 1683.¹⁰⁵² Some books, not all were listed negligently; the last item mentions „some books” (“holmi könyvek”). The items listed are, however, interesting. There was some *Chronica Polonorum*, a German edition of Bonfini,¹⁰⁵³ these may have been read by the widow who had come from abroad to get to know her environment better. Only the name of Carolus Sigonius is mentioned in the inventory although there are more on him in the book list of Szalánc (see later). There was a *De regno Italiae* which was known in many editions. There were two *Bergordnungs*, one of the silver mines in Joachimsthal while the other one was for the mining towns of Upper Hungary.¹⁰⁵⁴ Lastly, there was Antoine d'Averoult's *Cathechismus historialis*.¹⁰⁵⁵

All in all, there were 11 items on the two small book lists which suggests that Lord Justice Forgách was a well-informed man. He must have spoken German and he could speak to his wife on this language. Knowing the legal background of mining and fortification surpass the average knowledge of history. At the same time, besides being familiar with the fundamental pieces of Hungarian history and the events taken place in neighbouring countries, Forgách was also interested in books published locally about church and political life. It is possible that these books belonged to the library of his brother Ádám Zsigmond Forgách since they were also listed in his inventory.

The books of the short-lived Count Ádám Zsigmond were inventoried in Szalánc in 1652¹⁰⁵⁶ in 132 items in a long narrative manner with the beginning of the titles copied with mistakes: *there was a German book in which the Preambulum with the words Siben Bucher Von dem etc.* (“Wagyon Német könju, kiben az praeambulum ez szokkal Siben Bucher Von dem etc.) or *There were other books in the thin compact in which there are no writings but some forms and figures* (“Wagjon azon wekonj Compactioba mas könjuis, de abba semi egjeb iras ninczen hanem holmi formak es figurak,”). One of the best ones is the following: *”a small book bound in one pile, who could it be I do not know...”* (“Wagjon egj Csomocskaba kötetzetteve iratot könjueczke, ki micsoda lehet nem tudom, nemis odottam. “). My favourite one is the fol-

lowing: „There are two German books, one of them has these words: *Des zunges Schlisses*. The other one has the same words but the author of one of them is *Ander Tail* etc. while the author of the other is *Dritten Thail*” (“Wagjon ket könju Német: Az edgjiknek ez szok wadnak: *Des zunges Schlisses* Az masiknak ez szok wadnak az mint az elsőnek csak hogi az Auctor az edgjik *Ander Tail* etc. Az masiknak Auctor *Dritten Thail*”).

The count's widow, Borbála Batthyány, sued Ádám Forgách, Lord Justice and moved from Szalánc to Garany and lived the last years of her life in Sopron. It was around her death that the books in 113 items were inventoried in Garany.¹⁰⁵⁷ 62 items are identical with items on the Szalánc book list but the German books are missing entirely (if his brother took these with him then probably he used them). Three books appeared in the inventory prepared in 1683 in Eperjes of the belongings of the widow of Ádám Forgách.

When considering Ádám Zsigmond Forgách's readings, let us point out how well-educated he was which is not only proved by his own notes on *dialectica* but the various languages his books were written in. Out of the 113 books 31 were German, 3 Italian, 4 Hungarian, 1 Polish (*Constitutio Soymuwalne gekoronnye, go w Warszawie Roku 1613*), 1 Greek (Isocrates), and „there were some thin Slovakian books” (“Wagjon ennehanj Arkusra Vikonj Toth könjueczke”) while the rest were in Latin. The three Italian ones are especially noteworthy: *Orlando Furioso*, *Citta di Roma* and a book on fortification. Among the Hungarian books there are two prayer books one of which was written by Péter Pázmány, the third one was a book entitled „a small mirror in which one can see the ugly and the beautiful side of himself” (“Tiükreckske, melben az ember maga Lelki rutsagat, s mind szépségét megh latja”), the fourth one was translated from Italian and was about „salvation after death” while the fifth one was about „our mind uplifting in God” (“elminknek istenben fel Meneterirul” – Roberto Bellarmino 's *De ascensione mentis ad Deum*).

Let us say a few words about the complexity of the German books based on what can be found out from the not too simple descriptions. Prayer books, spiritual leaders (*Geistliche Andachten*), collection of sermons, *Bergordnungen*, a book on fortification (*Festung Bawung*, writings about military art, *arithmetica*, calendar and Ovid, then three volumes from the novel *Amadis*. A few items have been identified. *Zodiacus Christianus* is the book written by Johann Leib.¹⁰⁵⁸ The book entitled *Scharsprinnigekluge Spruch* was more difficult to identify but finally it turned out to be Julius Wilhelm Zingref's *Apophtegmata*.¹⁰⁵⁹ The most adventurous solution was the above-mentioned book („Auctor *Ander Thai* and Auctor *Dritter Thail*”). This book

must have been at least of three parts and the first one was missing. The clerk preparing the inventory wrote down the keywords of the first book previously: *Brinnende Weltkugel*, which is it was the German translation of Jeremias Drexel's *Orbis Phaeton*. The moral teachings of the Jesuit of Mainz made this edition a real bestseller in the 17th century.¹⁰⁶⁰

There are interesting elements among the Latin books as well. The number of Jesuit authors (8) is worth noting although there was the history of the Dominicans as well as the Carmelites. There were also three volumes from the series *Theatrum vitae humanae* written by Theodor Zwinger, a few dictionaries, antique classical authors such as Euclid, Xenophon, Plutarch, Aristotle with Jesuit commentaries, a book on geometry, a medical book and one on herbs, few books on law (decrees and a writing by an unknown author about the right to resistance of subjects). There were few Hungarian authors except György Rákóczy I's Admonitions to his sons (2 copies) and a book written by Ferenc Forgách: *Morbus supremus ac obitus in viginti capita distinctus*.

The section on history concentrated on the Ottoman Turks besides Hungarian history. There were books by Bonfini, Istvánffy, Bongars, two Polish chronicles, one book about the war between the Polish and the Russians (Heidenstein), another one on the Polish-Ottoman war, one on the Venetian-Ottoman battles, one on the history of Venice and Sigonius' history of Italy and a volume of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*.

The clerk preparing the *Garany* inventory in 1680 was well-versed in Latin and assessed the Hungarian titles in Latin as well. Similarly, the German books that had remained in the library were also listed in Latin. What is new compared to the former inventories? There are more books in Catholic theology and spirituality in Latin. A Petrarca in German is a new item as well as a book by John Owen in Latin. There are somewhat more books in school rhetoric's and *poesis*. It seems that it was not Borbála Batthyány who acquired the books that make up for the difference between the two inventories, but the inventory made in *Szalánc* may be incomplete. Among the new items we have not found any that would have been published after 1645 after the death of Ádám Zsigmond Forgách.

Our impression is that it is a book collection of a well-educated practicing Catholic magnate. Moral topics concerned him on an everyday level. If he wanted to do some reading about these he had a few handbooks on the topic. During his studies he must have enjoyed reading antique authors since he owned books authored by writers outside of school curriculum. As for history, he concentrated on books on recent events during his life or not long before he was born. He was a military man therefore he

needed the books on fortifications he may have come by. His entertaining books were in German, so he must have had a good command of this language.

Ádám Zsigmond Forgách died young without an issue. His brother, Lord Justice Ádám Forgách had many children with his three wives. His son Ádám (1663–1716) was Lord Lieutenant in Nógrád, also married a German lady. Their son, *Simon Forgách*, Lord Lieutenant in Borsod later became a general in the rebellious army of the Kuruc. He was successful as a military man but not so much as a politician. To help propagate Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II's endeavours, Forgách formed the publication policy of the press in Kolozsvár directed by Sámuel Telegdi Pap. Forgách apparently had a copy of Miklós Zrínyi's *Áfium*.¹⁰⁶¹ The inventory of his 60 books survived. The historian Kálmán Thaly claimed¹⁰⁶² that a person called Bertóti took these books to him while he was imprisoned in the Castle of Krasznahorka in 1706 by Ferenc Rákóczi II. I have a hard time believing this looking at the titles of these books. Forgách must have suffered in captivity but I do not believe he needed a *Missale*, two *Rituales* and two *Officium* even if he was a bigot Catholic as Thaly described him in his above-mentioned study. I also find it hard to imagine that he would look for consolation in Eusebius' church history or in a German Geometry book. It is more likely that the undated inventory was prepared in one of his castles including the books in the castle chapel as well. Beyond the religious books, this collection contained a wide range of books. First, it is worth noting that the books were in several languages. Forgách studied French and had German books to help him therefore he must have spoken German. There are also a French grammar and a French-German dictionary on the book list. There are also a few legal books, Hungarian decrees, *Corpus Juris*, and *Institutiones Justiniani*. The *Trophaeum* of the Esterházy family (*Trophaeum domus Estorasiannae*) and a Holy Mary publication in Hungarian of Palatine Esterházy can also be found in the inventory. Hungarian authors and editions are represented there by János Nadányi's *Florus Hungaricus*, Péter Pázmány's *Vade mecum*, István Illyés' catechism, György Ráttkay's history of Croatia, *Mausoleum* published under the patronage of Nádasdy, János Draskovith's Guevara translation, Péter Pázmány's Thomas à Kempis translation, Hungarian psalteries, Fóris Otrokócsi's *Theologia prophetica*, and an edition of Péter Révay's book on the Hungarian crown.

The history section is also not what one would expect among the readings of a prisoner. In the inventory the following books are listed: Carion's Chronicle, the history of the Thirty-Year War in German, and Famiano Strada's book about the Dutch War of Independence. There is also a book

in the inventory on military training „illustrated with engravings” and several important books in political theory. The *Theatrum politicum* listed may be the book of several authors, *Orbis Politicus* was written by Georg Horn while *Centum arcana politica* is the sequel to Johannes Riemer Boxhorn’s book.¹⁰⁶³ It is interesting to see in this small collection Leonhart Hutter’s account of the debates and agreements among the Protestant churches.¹⁰⁶⁴

Let me start presenting the portraits of rulers in moral philosophy or moral theology by mentioning Antonio Guevara and Justus Lipsius’ books which were very popular in Hungary as the classics of the genre. They were still much read at the end of the 17th century although they could not be considered modern. If someone was imprisoned they could have got tuned into it though. Forgách, however, had more modern books as well such as Johann Adam Weber’s *Spiritus principalis* about the virtues of a good monarch or the one written by Saavedra on Christian rulers.¹⁰⁶⁵

If Simon Forgách had indeed read these books in captivity in Krasznahorka or Szepesvár he would have found most consolation in the religious books. This small section consists of Roberto Bellarmino’s *De ascensione mentis ad Deum* about the elevation of the soul to God, Jeremias Drexel’s *Opera omnia* and especially his book written about hell (*de inferno*), as well as Francesco Sacchini’s biography of Stanisław Kostka, a Polish Jesuit whose beatification was ratified by the Holy See in 1605.¹⁰⁶⁶

From historical sources it is known that Simon Forgách took his archives to Lemberg with him who was brought back later. It is possible that this inventory was prepared when he fled the country. Unfortunately, we do not know where he kept his collection or what other books he had. The titles of these books, however, offer the portrait of a well-read and educated man, interested in languages and his environment.

The Rákóczi Libraries

Zsigmond Rákóczi (1544–1608), the founder of the ducal branch of the family was an exceptional man for several reasons.¹⁰⁶⁷ He elevated his family among the aristocratic families while the states in Transylvania were impressed by his political wisdom. That is why he was elected Prince of Transylvania from February 12, 1607 to March 5, 1608. It shows his moral integrity that he resigned from this position and the ducal power to avoid civil war. This was a very rare occurrence in his times and it is unthinkable today to resign from power for moral reasons. Witnessing the fight for du-

cal power this is what he wrote to Zsigmond Forgách on August 27, 1607: „Not even a hen will die for the position of Prince of Transylvania if I can help it” (“Az én részemről az erdélyi vajdaságért csak egy tyúknak sem leszzen halála”).¹⁰⁶⁸ What gave Rákóczi the moral stance? There may be several explanations. It may have been the *Zeitgeist*, the moral teaching Rákóczi had in his youth or Christian Neo-Stoicism as one of the spiritual supports he had. Hungarian noblemen of the Reformed Church in the last decades of the 16th century and their entourage read the books written by Justus Lipsius, the outstanding moral philosopher of their times from the Low Countries teaching in Leiden and were trying to contact him.¹⁰⁶⁹ The neighbours and relatives of the magnate Zsigmond Rákóczi such as István Ecsedi Báthory, István Homonnai Drugeth, Gáspár Mágócsy, or even István Bocskai as well as outstanding intellectuals like János Rimay, Mihály Forgách, János Draskovich, András Prágai, Christoph Darholcz, Albert Szenci Molnár or Péter Alvinczi to name a few gained moral teachings from the books written by the Spanish Franciscan monk, Antonio Guevara that shaped a fictive Marcus Aurelius biography into a mirror for princes or the moral philosophy of Justus Lipsius written for monarchs and their subjects. They, however, acquired moral foundation in the Bible.¹⁰⁷⁰ The state of the health and mental capacity of Zsigmond Rákóczi who was quite old at the time of his election was judged differently in his entourage or in the center of the empire in Vienna or in Prague, Pozsony or Gyulafehérvár. In his letter written to Zsigmond Forgách on August 15, 1607 he reacted to these views: „... we are in the hands of God. If you find fault with me, we'll leave it to the Lord. We are slowly moving from this world to the next. *Omnis potestas a Deo*.”¹⁰⁷¹ The most exquisite literary pieces of contemporary Hungarian literature bear witness to this mentality: the poetry of Bálint Balassi and János Rimay, the will of István Bocskai¹⁰⁷² and István Ecsedi Báthory¹⁰⁷³ or István Ecsedi Báthory's meditation.¹⁰⁷⁴ The unpublished part of these meditations, in fact, can be found in the only surviving copy of the first edition of Balassi's translation of Michael Bock (*Betegh lelkeknek való füves kertecske*) that came out in Sárospatak.¹⁰⁷⁵

Zsigmond Rákóczi who was born in 1544 at the Felsővadász residence spent his school years in the Protestant and late Humanist household of the Perényis in Sárospatak in the Hegyalja region that was a great example for the co-habitation of different religions.¹⁰⁷⁶ It is important to note, when describing the intellectual atmosphere of this region in the 16th century that the Lutheran-Humanist Wittenberg played a major role in training the ministers and teachers serving in this area even if the Reformed Church was the most dominant church.¹⁰⁷⁷

At Zsigmond Rákóczi's funeral the Calvinist preacher István Miskolci Csulyak remembered the school years of the magnate the following way: „His father sent him to school to study. And it was obvious that he did not waste time at school. Because until a cruel disease did not take away the strength of his hand he not just wrote letters to express his decisions and read the letters others sent to him but enjoyed reading the holy Bible and other books.”¹⁰⁷⁸ Probably it was not out of politeness required by Humanist rhetoric that made Miskolci Csulyak say these words. The way Rákóczi wrote to Archduke Ernest of Austria (German: Ernst von Österreich) on March 26, 1589 about how necessary it was to translate the complete Bible into Hungarian¹⁰⁷⁹ and when he defended the press in Vizsoly shows that the magnate was fully aware of the importance of this enterprise. The officina installed on the magnate's estate in Vizsoly in the house of Gáspár Mágócsy (?–1587?) and the small circle of translators had at their disposal the most important Bible translations and commentaries. Let us not list these here¹⁰⁸⁰ since we cannot prove that the patron, Zsigmond Rákóczi also knew these books and a part of them will later be mentioned as part of the book collections of one of the family members. On the other hand, it is not unfounded to assume that he owned a copy of the edition he sponsored and of the subsequent concordance at his residence.¹⁰⁸¹

Zsigmond Rákóczi married four times and was left a widower three times.¹⁰⁸² Among his three sons, all three born of his third wife Anna Gerendi, only Pál and György carried on the family name while Zsigmond (1594–1620) died young as well as their sister Erzsébet (?–1604), the wife of Bálint Homonnai Drugeth. Pál Rákóczi (1595–1636) did not know his mother and was brought up by his father's fourth wife, the Catholic Borbála Telegdi and represented the Catholic branch of the family in the first half of the 17th century. Pál married Anna Hethesi Pethe and they had a daughter Anna Maria who became a nun and a son, László (1633–1664). The father, Pál Rákóczi, his son László¹⁰⁸³ as well as Borbála Telegdi liked books.¹⁰⁸⁴ Judging from their surviving books Pál inherited the old books of the family with a surprisingly high number of incunabula. He also had a lot of Bibles which were kept at the beginning of the 17th century because they were old and they preferred to read the more modern editions.

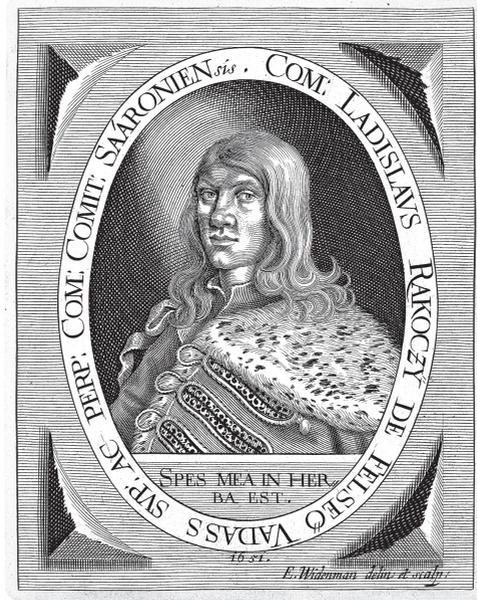
At the end of 1606 (29th December) Pál Rákóczi was elected to the throne of the Principality of Transylvania. As a gift somebody offered him an exemplar of the famous chronicle of Hartmann Schedel (1493).¹⁰⁸⁵ In 1619 Pál Rákóczi received the 1478 Venice edition of the Bible from János Bornemisza which used to belong to Imre Nagyvátyi and Gáspár Mágócsy.¹⁰⁸⁶ The book got to Hungary already in the 15th century proven by the notes

(Nagyvátyi glossas)¹⁰⁸⁷ in it that are important pieces of surviving old Hungarian language. One of his Bible commentary books was taken to Transylvania by a Franciscan friar (he may have been lent this book in the monastery in Sebes). The commentaries to the first book of Moses written by the Spanish Franciscan friar Benito Pereira and published in Cologne was bought by Pál in 1628 when he was adult. This purchase is interesting because commentaries of this type were not typically collected by our magnates.¹⁰⁸⁸

Pál's son, László was there when his father died. His uncle, Prince György Rákóczi became his guardian. Let us mention here that there is evidence that the guardian had books taken from the castles (Zboró, Makovica) owned by Pál and his orphans to Sárospatak.¹⁰⁸⁹ László was an exciting person. If born a century later, he could have become companion to Móric Benyovszky in searching adventures although Rákóczi was perhaps more intellectual. His studies in Vienna and Graz, his travel in Spain, Italy or Poland, discussions with Miklós Zrínyi who was so open to the world provided impulses which directed the young man closed in the everyday reality of Upper Hungary to the Mediterranean world. Reading his diary¹⁰⁹⁰ or judging from the way he died he may be called rash. We however believe that László harmonised landscape art and military art he both loved in himself with a will to act. His adventurous nature, his desire to go to the Mediterranean countries or his rashness in Várad in 1664 when he ran into death was stronger than him. At the same time there was an intellectual challenge there too. László did not have a son, this branch of the family died with him. His daughter, Erzsébet (1655–1707) is one of the first Hungarian women writers who turned bitter at old age and spoilt the life of his family and entourage.¹⁰⁹¹

Few of László's books are known, and these do not fit his personality. The 18 known books are incunabula he donated to the Franciscan friars in Sebes in 1651. Perhaps it was not by chance that he gave these books away. One of them was the Bible translation of Nicolaus de Lyra, the most popular Franciscan of the late Middle Ages.¹⁰⁹² This edition was hardly decipherable at László Rákóczi's times due to the fonts imitating handwriting and the abbreviations which looked strange. It is possible that a part of the library at the Carthusian monastery in Lechnic that was dissolved in the turmoil of Reformation was acquired by the Rákóczi's and this is how László may have inherited these books. All the books kept today in Turócszentmárton at the National Slovakian Library are on medieval theology or schoolbooks in logic.

László Rákóczi's daughter, Erzsébet lived the last years of her life in Ki-



László Rákóczi, 1651

stapolcsány. After her death, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II ordered to take the books there to Sárospatak. The inventory made in 1708 listed 26 publications.¹⁰⁹³ A part of these books may have been inherited, for example the complete writings of Cyprianus which fit thematically the books donated to the Franciscan friars of Sebes. There is also a „Polish chronicle”, a map of Silesia, „a few German books”, a grammar, a catechism, and a few religious readings for spiritual uplifting in Hungarian. The book collection consisting of mainly Hungarian books comparable to other libraries of contemporary ladies proves that Erzsébet Rákóczi was an active reader. Kálmán Thaly, when portraying the poet Erzsébet Rákóczi,¹⁰⁹⁴ pointed out that the readings of the active and passionate hunter must have been deep religious books. She assisted in popularizing the cult of Virgin Mary in Hungary. In the inventory of her books there were also paintings depicting saints.

The other son of Zsigmond Rákóczi, György (1593–1648) used well the opportunity provided by his father and worked tirelessly and relentlessly on growing the wealth of the family.¹⁰⁹⁵ He found a worthy partner in

Zsuzsanna Lorántffy (1600–1660) in several aspects whom he married in 1616.¹⁰⁹⁶ The Princess of Sárospatak and Transylvania was a tough personality and life with her must have been just as hard. Out of their six children two reached adulthood but she outlived them just as she did her husband. Without the perseverance (*constantia*) gained from faith and moral teaching she would not have been able to stand these blows. She was someone just like her husband who had a need to read the Bible daily and to gain strength from it.

György Rákóczi was a passionate collector. His contemporaries and historians emphasized his zeal in collecting estates not without certain malice. However, it looks as if he also meticulously developed his library. He was even charged of overdoing this and taking books he did not have in Sárospatak from the library of the Transylvanian Principality in Gyulafehérvár.¹⁰⁹⁷ This is probably not true although books did travel between Gyulafehérvár and Sárospatak. If nothing else, György Rákóczi sent the publications of the officina of the Principality to Sárospatak.¹⁰⁹⁸

Researchers tend to agree that the rich book collection in Sárospatak was used more by the younger son, Zsigmond than the old prince who must have read the historical pieces, the legal books, the most important religious books of the Reformed Church as well as the writings for his daily religious practice including the Bible. It looks as if he purchased all the Bible editions available. We have only fragments of the process through which the library was developed, the inventory prepared after the death of Zsuzsanna Lorántffy when the books were transported from the household to the College of the Reformed Church.

The history of the library development is not known. It is, however, certain that the young men who studied abroad funded by the magnate and his family brought back books with them in part on the request of one of the members of the aristocratic family, in part as a gift. They surely offered their patron a copy of their university disputation booklet since its publication was also partially covered by the Rákóczis.

György Rákóczi had a diary (unfortunately this diary has not survived) in which he entered the names of the young men under his patronage. He, however, did not follow the lives of these young men, István Tolnai oversaw that. On October 2, 1634 Tolnai informed the Prince that a young man called Szántai died on his way to Basel. He asked Rákóczi to decide what to do with the deceased's books.¹⁰⁹⁹ We do not know whether the Prince bought these books.

Another important source of acquisition was the purchase of book collections whether it was books the Prince bought when a scholar or a min-

ister died or if someone needed money and therefore sold his collection. In 1627 he bought a book from the parson in Nagysáros¹¹⁰⁰ while in 1629 he purchased the books of Samuel Rochotius, a refugee preacher from Moravia.¹¹⁰¹ His efforts to purchase the remaining volumes of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* from the Ottoman Turks were not successful.¹¹⁰² Apart from purchases, books donated by their authors also enriched his library.¹¹⁰³

In the 1630s the Rákóczi library was managed by István Tolnai, the first priest of the town. He catalogued the books but unfortunately this catalogue has not been found yet. Tolnai also compared the books on sale with the copies they had in the library and advised the Prince on a purchase. Rákóczi sent him the new acquisitions as it is seen from a letter he sent to Tolnai on October 31, 1634 from Szászsebes: "We are sending hereby a few books for you to put among the rest of the books."¹¹⁰⁴

The next big acquisition György Rákóczi made was in 1638. Máté Csanki (1594–1636) returned home after a long study trip in Europe and was hired to serve the Prince.¹¹⁰⁵ Besides his studies in Humanities he also attended medical school as can be seen on his diploma from the University of Padova that survived. A part of his books, among others his tract written against Jacobus Martinius who attacked Bartholomaeus Keckermann's logic, stayed behind in Gdańsk.¹¹⁰⁶ The young doctor died soon after returning home and his widow sold his books to Rákóczi who paid the costs of the books to be brought back from Gdańsk to Sárospatak where Tolnai selected the ones the family already had. These were sent to Gyulafehérvár on the Prince's order to the library of the Principality. Unfortunately, the inventory of only these books is known. Since this book list contained the books they already had in a Sárospatak (103 items) therefore it can be considered its partial catalogue.

This small book collection contained several interesting items beside the books of popular and traditional authors. The Bible commentaries of Origenes, Ambrosius, and Pope Saint Gregory were canonized texts of the Catholic Church often cited and respected by Protestant theologians. These authors owed their popularity to the fact that the early printers such as Johann Amerbach and later Johann Froben published complete series of the church fathers in Basel. Froben's co-editor was Erasmus of Rotterdam who asked the most outstanding Bible philologists of their times to edit the commentaries of the church fathers. These two publishers and other officinas inspired by them did a great deal to make Basel the headquarters of scholarly publication in the 16th century, the only rival Basel had was Paris. If an antique author or an antique or medieval church father's book came out in Basel a rival edition was offered in a few

years' time in Paris. The writings of Nicolaus de Lyra were published in all important publication centres.

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries important sources for the Hungarian translation of psalms were the editions and paraphrases of Ambrosius Lobwasser and Georgius Buchananus. These were the most influential sources of Albert Szenci Molnár and the Hungarian Protestant hymn books therefore it is not surprising that they can be found in the libraries of magnates.

It was not with the Csanaki book collection that the first Bible textbooks got to the Rákóczi library. The Antwerp edition of Thomas Hybernicus is, however, important because it was one of the most wide-spread editions which were an excellent philological achievement. The publication of the French Old Testament abstract (Petrus Robertus Olivetanus in Geneva is a curiosity since we do not know whether there was a serious need for publications in this language. The fact that the library had a copy shows that Bible editions were purchased independent of their actual usefulness.

Continuing the history of the library we should mention the fact that in 1644 György Rákóczi acquired the Castle of Regéc from Palatine Miklós Esterházy. The goods there were inventoried by János Sáray and Ferenc Jármí on between August 22 and 24, 1644 while the bailiff of the Prince, Tamás Debreceni authenticated it.¹¹⁰⁷ They may have taken these books to Sárospatak to the family library, but we do not know who this small book collection of Protestant theology belonged to. Regéc was acquired after the death of Ferenc Mágócsy in 1611 by Menyhért Alaghy († 1630) who lived there. After his death his widow, Anna Erdődy had his household here between 1630 and 1633. After this Miklós Esterházy acquired both the estate and the castle.¹¹⁰⁸ The books are Protestant, mainly written by Calvinist authors on theology. The Mágóchys could have been the owners but one of the books, Johannes Scharpius' *Symphonia prophetarum et apostolorum* first appeared in Geneva in 1625 when the devout Catholic Menyhért Alaghy owned Regéc. Johannes Polyander's writing came out in Leiden in 1640. István Sós reviewed the staff in the castle in an excellent study.¹¹⁰⁹ However, why would the possessions of the staff be inventoried when there is a change of the owner? These books could have been the core of a library in the first half of the 17th century of an educated Calvinist intellectual. There was a Latin-Greek grammar, Nicolaus Clenardus' Greek linguistic commentaries, a Latin-Greek New Testament, 10 Protestant Bible commentaries or theological writings. In the Esterházy chapter of this book we have outlined the problem. Let us repeat here that the owner of the book collection most probably was Matthias Szluha, judge

of the household (1639) since Miklós Aszalay, who was the judge between 1621 and 1633 left the place and went to study to Graz in 1633 and then became prothonotary for the Palatine.

We do not know whether these books were taken to Sárospatak or not but the library there did have the books of the above-mentioned authors. It is not surprising since none of them is a rarity. David Paraeus was very well known in Hungary at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. At the end of the 16th century the until then with Hungarian students very popular Wittenberg broke away from the tolerant Humanist Philipp Melanchthon disciples and sent the professors and students of this view away who in general went to Heidelberg. The University of Heidelberg, from the 1570s until its closure in 1622, formed one of the most interesting academic circles by its constitution in Europe. Refugee Huguenots, nonconformist Italians, English and Dutch, as well as scholars from Central Europe gathered there.¹¹¹⁰ It is no surprise that David Paraeus, the theoretician of the theological Irenism who propagated religious tolerance and peace and his books became very popular in Hungary along with his disciples.

We have mentioned above the sources documenting how the Rákóczi library in Sárospatak developed. Unfortunately, no more documents of this kind are available and only a catalogue in fragments was found which was prepared after the death of Zsuzsanna Lorántffy when the books were donated to the College of the Reformed Church in Sárospatak according to her last will.¹¹¹¹ The family library was inventoried as the book collection of Zsigmond Rákóczi (1622–1652) which refers to the care with which the young Zsigmond enlarged his parents' library of which he was an expert user in the eyes of his contemporaries. The books dedicated to the older son, György Rákóczi II (1621–1660) as well as to Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, the older prince's wife, are also considered to have been a part of the collection.¹¹¹²

Since the inventory fragment allows us to reconstruct the process of preparing the inventory and since there are books which are not listed in the inventory but are known to have been represent in the Rákóczi library we can safely say that we do indeed have a fragment source. The letter marks on the gathering (A, B, D, F, G but no J) are incomplete therefore there must have been at least twice as many books in Sárospatak than the items on the list. Researchers have had different estimates as to the number of books in the former Rákóczi library while we consider that 2,000 volumes would be a realistic bet.¹¹¹³

From 1660 on the history of the Rákóczi library has merged with that of the Reformed College of the forming one of the largest collections in the Carpathian Basin.¹¹¹⁴ The family library of the patron thus provided

more access to the public and with its rich collection updated the school library. Between 1660 and 1671 the school library was reordered, and a unified system of markings was applied to all the books.¹¹¹⁵ Teachers and students could rejoice in the library not for long because Zsófia Báthory, the wife of György Rákóczi II who converted to Calvinism only for the sake of her marriage reconverted to Catholicism after the death of the prince. In 1660 the Jesuits settled down in the town and founded a high-quality school thus offering competition to the Reformed College of long tradition. On October 20, 1671 the College was shut down in Sárospatak by military force for several reasons which were the start of disintegration and the ordeals of the library. The professors and the students took most of the books with them to Debrecen and in 1672 to Gyulafehérvár. The College and its library stayed there until 1718 when it was moved to Marosvásárhely.

The books left behind were donated to the Jesuits. Imre Thököly took Sárospatak on October 12, 1682 and after some of the professors returned, teaching started in September 1683. The Jesuits returned a part of the books to the College¹¹¹⁶ which yet again had to leave Sárospatak on April 24, 1687 and moved first to Vizsoly, then to Gönc and finally to Kassa.

Ferenc Rákóczi II, György Rákóczi II's grandson, although he was raised in Catholic faith, returned the building of the college to the Reformed Church in 1703 but the College acquired all their property only in 1706. Then they started to collect the scattered books and start new acquisitions.¹¹¹⁷ The school in Marosvásárhely kept returning the books the fleeing professors had left there as even in the 19th century.

The volumes which remained in the library of the Jesuit school were taken to the Piarist monastery in Tokaj in 1773 after the dissolution of the order. The Piarist of Tokaj moved to Sátoraljaújhely in 1789 into the monastery of the Pauline Order who had been expelled three years before. In 1910 in the Piarist monastery János Visegrádi recorded 120 books which included a 17th century Sárospatak library marking.¹¹¹⁸ During the communist secularization of the period between 1948 and 1952 all these books disappeared, and nothing is known about them.

At the end of World War II, the most valuable volumes of the Sárospatak Library including few books that belonged to the Rákóczis, were taken to the vaults of the Ministry of Finance for safeguarding. From there they were transported to Nizhny Novgorod where they were held until recently. The Hungarian and Russian governments signed the agreement to return these books to the still functioning Sárospatak Reformed College named after György Rákóczi I in 2006.¹¹¹⁹

We have characterized above the library when describing its history from the point of view of the biblical tradition and the different trends of Reformed theology. We have also noted that the historical view of Wittenberg and Philippist approach to Humanist intellectual trends were more in line with the Sárospatak household than with other Calvinist communities. In general, as was stated by Katalin Péter, the Rákóczi household took a stance closer to the Transylvanian approach than to the one taken in Hungary concerning Reformation and the case of the Reformed Church.¹¹²⁰ The library was the result of a planned and responsible church and educational policy. It does not, however, show the individual tastes of the family members except the above-mentioned readings and a few volumes.

According to the catalogue fragment of the library in Sárospatak, the historical and geographical sections were considerable. It means that the family members who hardly travelled and did not go on study tours were open to this information. Political decisions were made by the councillors together with the Prince, however, the head of the families most probably wanted to be informed about the issue of political alliances. Another thing to bear in mind in my view is that György Rákóczi I was the true heir to the politics Gábor Bethlen led at the end of his life.¹¹²¹ It is not by chance that he waited to join in the Thirty-Year War only until 1644, even after the attack led by István Bethlen in 1636 he applied delaying tactics.¹¹²² I believe that the success György Rákóczi I (along with Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, and Johannes Amos Comenius) achieved was that the Peace of Westphalia ended favourably for Transylvania. It did stay within the Ottoman Turk Empire but in the text of an international peace agreement it had a separate and independent section to itself. For this kind of politics, the prince must have had to get information beyond the books he owned according to the fragmented inventory. Emil Hargittay's telling chapter title „The ideal of a medieval monarch in the 17th century”¹¹²³ in his book on *György Rákóczi I - A Princely Parainesis*. At the end of his study Hargittay pointed out the Christian Neo-Stoic views the Prince held which could be termed modern.

His cultural policy¹¹²⁴ mentioned above was in harmony with the fact that the Rákóczi library was one of the richest collections of *Hungarica* known from this period. The inventory listed Hungarian and Transylvanian publications in a great number. The theology section disregarding the local books was not the most up-to-date, but the major books of all religious trends could be found on the shelves. Knowing how committed the prince's family was to the Reformed Church it is worth noting that

there were Catholic authors as well although these books may have come from the Catholic branch of the family, from Pál Rákóczi's library.

The diversity of the philosophy section may have been the result of the *in corpore* acquisition of several private collections, but it may refer to the advices Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld or Johannes Amos Comenius might have given to the Prince. When interpreting the philosophy section of the library, some researchers suggest that in the personality of and politics led by Zsigmond Rákóczi „pansofism, chiliastic religious ideals and political unity” forged into one.¹¹²⁵ No doubt this view comes up in connection with Comenius' oeuvres, but one must be very careful when one transfers this on to the young Zsigmond. In any case, the philosophical books of the library we know of do not support this idea.¹¹²⁶

It would be great to know of the readings György Rákóczi II had. Unfortunately, apart from the dedications to him that prove his patronage we have no more direct sources. Several researchers wrote about his political views, unfortunately our historiography stigmatized him because of the unsuccessful adventure in Poland. Katalin Péter warned as early as 1985¹¹²⁷ that few rulers would have acted differently in his shoes at the time he started the campaign. Recently studies have come out analysing his personality, his political advisors at his court, sources and studies, however, said nothing about his readings.¹¹²⁸ The Rákóczi boys were brought up and educated together and the library in Sárospatak was at the disposal of both of them. The father's admonitions were to both of his sons.¹¹²⁹

As a summary we can say that the Rákóczi library in Sárospatak at the middle of the 17th century fulfilled the traditional needs of a magnate's household book collection. The library developed and used according to György Rákóczi I's cultural and educational policy and practice. When this library was merged with the Reformed College library maybe the most up-to-date school collection was created. The books were more available for the public and, although only for a short while, it helped form the mentality of generations.

The formerly Catholic Zsófia Báthory converted and became and remained a member of the Reformed Church until her husband György Rákóczi II (1621–1660). However, she brought up their son, Ferenc Rákóczi I (1645–1676) a Catholic. This is why Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) also followed this religion. There is a whole library of studies concerning the childhood, the studies and the character of Ferenc Rákóczi II starting with Kálmán Thaly's romantic piece.¹¹³⁰ Thaly also described in a separate paper the

Princely household, the language they used, the celebrations they had as well as the furniture and decorations of the residences Ferenc Rákóczi II had.¹¹³¹ Let us mention here briefly the libraries we know existed after 1660 and have an inventory for: the library in Kistapolcsány mentioned above, the book collections Ferenc Rákóczi II had in Sárospatak, Munkács and Rodostó as well as his readings in Wiener Neustadt.¹¹³²

Several monographies detail the erudition of Ferenc Rákóczi II.¹¹³³ He is indeed a special case since almost always there were books in the castles he had when an inventory was drawn up (Sárospatak, Munkács). The inventory prepared in Sárospatak by the preceptor György Kőrösy of the young Rákóczi who served as chamberlain in Wiener Neustadt. The inventory listed seven items, prayer books and, using a modern phrase, publications on „how to lead your life” (Job or the life of Saint Francis). It is interesting that it mentioned two books in Croatian and two books in German. The ones in Croatian must have got to Sárospatak with his mother, Ilona Zrínyi.

The books Rákóczi read in his captivity in Wiener Neustadt were inventoried in 1701. Before the book written by Béla Köpeczi, Béla Zolnai analysed it¹¹³⁴ and Köpeczi identified the items unknown until then. The nineteen books were all in French or German, literature, the translations of antique authors, travel books, historical epics and a book on architecture. The same year the books in Sárospatak were also inventoried. The Heckenast publication included only the inventory of 168 items.¹¹³⁵ When going through the original documents, however, with different dates we do find data mentioning the library. These data refer to the quantity of books and this is how we know that the inventory was only a partial book list. On July 28, 1701: *Cista 5. In hac comprehenduntur diversi majores et minores et viliores libri in universum 265*. The same place: *Duo libri chartae regalis* (beside which: *deest*, that is the inventory was checked by then and the big size volumes, maybe the atlases, were not at their place any more. On 23 February 1703: Nr. 50. *Bücher grosse vnnd Kleine, Ainhundert Sechs vnnd Fünfzig Stueck*. I do not think that these figures should be added but it looks like there was a library of about 300 volumes in Sárospatak by the beginning of the 18th century.¹¹³⁶ The 22 books in the Munkács inventory do seem to have remained there since the dictionaries, legal books, prayer books and German books were termed as „scattered books”. It points also to the fact that Ferenc Rákóczi II kept his readings mainly in Sárospatak. The gospel commentary written by Antonius de Escobar et Mendoza may have been originally in the Castle of Munkács from where it was taken to the Jesuits of Homonna and is today kept at the parish

church in Mindszent.¹¹³⁷ Béla Köpeczi added to these archival and library sources the authors and books mentioned in Rákóczi's *Confessions*.¹¹³⁸ This is how the list of books that helped the prince in preparing for governance and political life was reconstructed. This list suggests a Catholic reader with a daily Jesuit religious practice whose readings on politics and theory of the state were typically in French and German. Researchers point out that with this erudition the young Rákóczi was ready to serve, not to rebel. He was thoroughly educated in history by his instructors and readings and knew the history of Hungary not just from books but also from his acquaintances' personal accounts. He also meant to become a courtier and therefore concentrated on French in his readings as well. Being an Imperial prince, he did not intend to break with the emperor but the politics carried out by the emperor made him turn against him. The grievances inflicted upon his family, the difference in political views as well as the political mistakes the emperor made towards him led him to resistance. Béla Köpeczi pointed out the modernity of the readings of the young Rákóczi, the marginality of history and legal studies and the dominance of contemporary German and especially French philosophy and theory of the state. There are 168 items on the Sárospatak inventory out of which 80 were in French, 13 German, 5 Italian while the rest is in Latin. Thematically these were readings for an active politician: political science, military science, history and geography.

The inventory prepared after his death has a French title: *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliotheque*.¹¹³⁹ The about 150 books he kept in Rodostó on history, moral philosophy, meditation were mainly in French. The Janzenist nature of these readings is striking although there were a number of travel books, history and literature as well. On the whole, Ferenc Rákóczi II occupies a very special place in the history of the Hungarian reception of French books. His French erudition and his command of the French language (he wrote a part of his books in French) was an exceptional phenomenon even in the 18th century.¹¹⁴⁰

Miklós Pázmány's books

Similarly to his uncle, Péter Pázmány, Miklós Pázmány (1622–1667)¹¹⁴¹ was born into a Protestant family in County Bihar but his father (the Cardinal-to-be's brother) died in 1627 when Miklós was only five years old. His uncle took care of his education and career and would have provided for his family if Miklós Pázmány had had any children. He studied

in several Jesuit schools (Graz, Nagyszombat, Vienna, Olmütz and Rome), then in Rome he entered the Jesuit order in 1639. He was active in Graz and Judenburg. In Olmütz he was allegedly in a good relationship with Bishop Franz Dietrichstein who may have provided for him an example in book collection. In 1627 Péter Pázmány donated his estates in Moravia to his nephew while in 1639 Miklós Pázmány was awarded the title of a Czech and a Moravian count. In 1642 his request to leave the Jesuit order was accepted. He travelled to Paris and this city made a great impression on him and offered an excellent opportunity to enrich his library. After returning home he married Rosina Hetesi Pethe († 1650),¹¹⁴² the widow of György Jakusits. He became Lord Lieutenant of Pápa and later Veszprém and in 1650 he was offered the title of a Hungarian count as well. At the end of his life he resided in Lišeň near Brünn and it is unknown whether he ever had a library in Hungary.

He is known as a writer; his school poetry exercise book was published and with a poem¹¹⁴³ he wrote about Miklós Zrínyi he is among the Hungarian poets. His book entitled *Praxis et usus schedae menstruae* is reported to have been published in Cologne in 1639 although no one has ever seen a copy of it. His treatise on *Arbor scientiae boni et mali* is not known. His readings may have served the most for this piece because he incorporated his writing entitled *Alphabetum politicum* as well. He was also a patron since János Nadányi dedicated his legal disputation he wrote in Utrecht in 1658 to him.¹¹⁴⁴

There was an inventory prepared of his books after his death when he left these to the Jesuits of Olmütz.¹¹⁴⁵ Jesuit libraries got dispersed both in Moravia and Hungary first after Maria Theresa's decree to dissolve the Jesuit order in 1773 and during the nationalisation after World War II. That is why Eszter Kovács could identify only twenty books out of the 386 items.¹¹⁴⁶ Another ten books are supposed to have belonged to Pázmány's collection with a good reason. Based on the inventory and the surviving books there is evidence to believe that he spoke several languages since beside Hungarian, Czech and Latin he studied Greek, spoke German, French and most probably some Italian. An Italian-Spanish bilingual book of his also shows this interest in Italian and he also studied in Italy. The content analyses of Péter Ötvös, and later Eszter Kovács determined of his library the linguistic and the thematic proportions of the book collection. Besides the 55% Latin, the 20% of French and the 11% of Italian books are definitely rare in contemporary Hungarian collections. He did not enjoy reading in German and had few books in this language (it is true even if the item description in Latin put down by the clerk making the inventory

turned out to be the two Latin words on the cover page of a book in German¹¹⁴⁷). Besides the dominance of books on theology, the number of military writings is considerable; these books must have interesting for the former Jesuit Lord Lieutenant. The contemporary theology books, not surprisingly, were written by Jesuits. A poet needed literature for enjoyment and as a model. To satisfy his historical and geographical interest Pázmány acquired the big contemporary European atlas editions. He was really interested in contemporary history and political science, his unpublished and unknown writing was also in political theory with an edge in ethics of religion.

The books Eszter Kovács leafed through show marks he made on the margins to draw attention to a section. One time he noted the date when he completed the reading of that book. Let us come closer to these books.

What immediately draws our attention is a few great oeuvres, many-volume series. The atlases of Gerhard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius, the church history written by Cesare Baronio, Johann Philipp Abeliuss' *Theatrum Europaeum*, from among the Jesuits the complete writings of the Calabrese Francesco Amico, the Bavarian Georg Stengel and Jeremias Drexel and the Spanish Diego de Celada made up almost a hundred volumes. The books in theology were contemporary and primarily Jesuit but Pázmány was also interested in the church history of nearby regions and the books written by local (Moravian) authors. It is not to be excluded that he received these volumes as gifts. It is worth noting that in his field of interest in terms of theology Mary, Jesus' mother had a special role. It is perhaps not going too far to make the connection with the renaissance of the cult of saints in Hungary at the beginning of the 17th century (the Virgin Mary as the patrona of Hungary and the adoration of Hungarian saints).¹¹⁴⁸ A book of this kind is the one on the desecration of the Madonna shrine in Częstochowa¹¹⁴⁹ or the volume about the Virgin Mary written by Martinus Alexander Vigsius, a Premonstratensian theologian from Brünn.¹¹⁵⁰ At the same time, although Miklós Pázmány was educated entirely by the Jesuits, entered this order and thus passed an exam in Spiritual Exercises he owned rather modern books which provided solutions to practical issues.

Let us point out here Charles Estienne and Jean Liébaults manual on *L'Agriculture et maison rustique* which was translated from the middle of the 16th century into many languages. The first thoroughly revised German edition came out in 1588 translated by Melchior Sebitz which was revised several times.¹¹⁵¹ Miklós Pázmány owned it in German but we do not know which edition he had. Since there is another *Feldbau büch* in the inventory we believe that it was preparing to manage his estate. Pázmány



Miklós Pázmány, 1650

also had Johann Coler's *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* in German. In the period between 1550 and 1660 Johann Coler and Charles Estienne's books were the two bestsellers in the field. Among the Latin manuals, he owned one of the editions of Gregor Richter's *Axiomata Oeconomica*. He had several books on plants such as Carolus Clusius' booklet on the Flora of Pannonia and several manuals like the one written by Jacques Dalechamps.¹¹⁵² He also acquired György Lippay's *Posoni kert*.

Pázmány was interstate in the lands beyond Europe and enjoyed reading books such as Athanasius Kircher's book on the history of Chinese culture or one of the volumes of Levinus Hulsius' *Schiffahrten* (István Pálffy also had volumes of this series). When travelling in Italy he was not just concerned with building connections and visiting religious institutions. Jacobus Laurus' book presented the antique ruins in Rome in a historical book that is also a most intelligent guide book.¹¹⁵³ Péter Ötvös pointed out the diversity of Pázmány's literary readings. Besides classical authors, he read the contemporary or near contemporary Italians such as Pietro Bembo, Traiano Boccalini, Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano, Battista Guarini, Ludovico Guicciardini, etc., French authors like Jean Desmarets de Saint Sorlin as well as Miklós Zrínyi's *Syréna*.

Hungarian history is underrepresented in the collection (Istvánffy, Widemann engravings, *Tripartitum, dietalia*) as history itself. European history is present sporadically, especially the lands he visited (Italy, France, the Lower Countries, a few German Principalities), especially the ones which, in connection with wars, raised issues concerning the theory of the state (Hugo Grotius' major book in legal studies entitled *De jure belli et pacis*, or Ebenhard Wassenberg's history of the Thirty-Year War¹¹⁵⁴). Military science was represented by mainly Italian, French and German authors.¹¹⁵⁵ Pázmány was mainly interested in military architecture,¹¹⁵⁶ the types of sieges,¹¹⁵⁷ infantry¹¹⁵⁸ and the installation and provision of troops.¹¹⁵⁹ We have picked here a few examples only but Pázmány acquired several other primarily contemporary books in these fields in his small collection.

Undoubtedly, the most exciting part of Miklós Pázmány's readings was books in political science. Due to his education he acquired strong classical foundations in this field but it is surprising that a part of the theories of the early modern period were commentaries to the questions raised in the writings of antique authors. Pázmány purchased the Tacitus commentaries of Scipione Ammirato both in Italian¹¹⁶⁰ and in French¹¹⁶¹ and in connection with Tacitus he also bought Filippo Cauriana's *Discorsi*.¹¹⁶² Pázmány acquired Iulius Caesar *De bello Gallico* with Lelio Brancaccio's commentaries in German.¹¹⁶³ Scipione Ammirato from Naples compiled in Florence 143 questions concerning politics, military strategy and economics relating to Tacitus which became a manual for late Humanist anti-Machiavellian theories of governance. Three years later, Filippo Cauriana of Mantua wrote under his influence his political thesis in connection with Tacitus. The Naples born Fra Lelio Brancaccio, the Maltese knight in the service of the Spanish Habsburgs closed his military career (he fought in Savoy, Piemonte and mainly in Flanders) in diplomatic service. He knew the political movements in Europe at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. In his commentaries, however, the military point of view is always the key. His moral sketches depicting a personality fit well with the views on limiting the power of a prince or a monarch. In this regard he held similar views to his compatriot Ammirato. Another anti-Machiavellian intellectual trend at the turn of the century was Christian Neo-Stoicism the most important books of which Miklós Pázmány had in his library: he owned Guevara's *Horologium principium* in Latin and also in an edition translated by René Berthault de La Grise into French.¹¹⁶⁴

The other main trend of the modern theory of state section among his readings beside the antique authors was the reinterpretation of medi-

cal chivalric ethics. Francesco Fausto's *Duello del Fausto*¹¹⁶⁵ was such a Petrarkist literary piece as well as the descriptions of „Christian chivalric” virtues harmonized with Christian philosophy (Erasmus, Vives). It is interesting to note the literary line in another case as well. Ludovico Guicciardini's *par excellence* literary piece¹¹⁶⁶ pointed beyond its genre. Jakob Bidermann, a Jesuit from Munich wrote *Utopia... sive Sales musici* that had many editions and belonged to a tradition of works of art when writing about the formation of the ethics of monarchs which went back to the concept of *melancholia* of Ludovicus Vives. When at the beginning of the 17th century Robert Burton's *The Anathomy of Melancholy* was published in many editions, Bidermann's writing became popular again and analysed by many.¹¹⁶⁷

Pázmány became interested in several French books on history and the theory of the state at the beginning of the 17th century as well as the idea of *raison d'état*. It is such a pity his unknown tract *Arbor scientiae boni et mali* has not been found yet. The title is promising since on the side of the theory of the state (we know that *Alphabetum politicum* was part of this essay) from antiquity readings show his train of thought. On the other hand, we cannot find among his readings the representatives of the 17th century scientific scepticism suggested by the title. Of course, in eo ipso theology books written by Jesuits there is often a Baroque answer to the sceptic's question: everything that man cannot see is not governed by the human mind. We certainly must acquaint ourselves with these authors so that the train of thoughts in Miklós Pázmány writing can be outlined.

At the end of the line of the scholars of political theory starting from the times of Henry III of France there are French authors who formed the economic and governance models in the spirit of the *raison d'état*. Bernard de Girard du Haillan, Henry III's chronicler and financier summed up the conclusions of the war of religions and approved of the Edict of Nantes.¹¹⁶⁸ Nicolas Caussin's *La cour Sainte* was very well known in this period and had many editions (it was translated into Italian by Muzio Ziccata, the regular translator of the French school of the theory of state). It contained broader arguments than the one suggested by its title. Pázmány also purchased some of the most influential books of the mid-17th century on political theory, books analysing the work of Archbishops Richelieu and Mazarin (also read by other Hungarian aristocrats) as well as the book written by Jean de Silhon.¹¹⁶⁹ Georges de Scudéry, originally a writer, was a special political thinker (here the literary and the political thinking merge again) was favoured by Richelieu. He got involved in the Fronde that opposed King Louis XIV's Spanish war and stayed away from

the court and lived in Normandy until the end of his life. This is when he wrote his book entitled *Discours politiques des Roys* which makes allusions also to the Easter politics of the Sun King.¹¹⁷⁰ If someone purchased it at the times of the Peace of Vasvár, he must have been thinking about questions that later led to the Wesselényi conspiracy. However, Miklós Pázmány by then left the Hungarian political arena.

Péter Ötvös raised the question if Péter Pázmány had anything to do with this library and if so to what extent since it would have been logical for him to leave his books to his nephew as well as his other possessions. Lacking any documents to think otherwise, I agree with him and István Bitskey when they doubt it.¹¹⁷¹ It does not, however, exclude the fact that in his political thinking or in choosing his readings in this field the archbishop would have played a role.¹¹⁷²

The Books of the Balassa Family

From the Balassa family Ferenc († 1526) became Croatian Viceroy for a short time at the beginning of the 16th century. His son Imre († 1550) was appointed Voivode of Transylvania by King János Szapolyai. János († after 1574)'s son married Anna Sulyok and their son was the poet, Bálint Balassi (1554–1594). The sons of András, Bálint's uncle (the third son of Ferenc, Croatian Viceroy), Lord Lieutenant of Nógrád, built serious political careers. Emeric, one of his two sons had a son also called Imre († 1683) who received the title of a count in 1653 for himself and for his children born out of his marriage to Borbála Lippay. A short inventory remained of the books of this Emeric.

András's other son, Zsigmond († 1623) through his son, Gábor had a grandson called Pál Balassa († 1770). An inventory of his books also survived. Unfortunately, other members of the family are not known for the researcher in reading history.

Sándor Eckhardt wrote about the childhood readings of the poet Bálint Balassi as well¹¹⁷³ as the studies he had with Péter Bornemisza. Eckhardt also offered a detailed analysis of the book written by Volaterranus with Balassi's notes in it and suggested its concordances with Balassi's poems. Balassi's *Füves kertecske*, a school exercise in translation,¹¹⁷⁴ has been looked at the same way and there are many studies on the European intellectual sources of certain aspects of the Balassi oeuvre.¹¹⁷⁵ All this, however, does not replace the inventory of his book collection which is still unknown.

Imre Balassa's castle in Divény is known almost as a robber castle. Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi took up arms against him. Imre was also known as a follower of Thököly's and his plunders made a good excuse for the Habsburg troops to occupy Divény and to confiscate his possessions. His assets were inventoried before December 31, 1670.¹¹⁷⁶ In this inventory, 37 books are listed but only one Bible, one biblical concordance, and three prayer books (one of which used to belong to Pázmány).

The second inventory in Divény was prepared when Judit Barcsai, Imre Balassa's second wife died in 1676.¹¹⁷⁷ The possessions they handed over to Péter Barcsai were listed then. They mentioned six books which shows very modest reading: calendars, prayer books, Pázmány is mentioned again, it must have been the prayer book, and a new item, a book on arithmetic. There were also a few hand-written books along with some documents concerning the estate (*urbarium, conventio*).

Pál Balassa, Royal Cup bearer belonged to another branch of the family. He became a count in 1721. His books were inventoried when he was young in 1739 which listed the books left to this young aristocrat.¹¹⁷⁸ We assume that until his death in 1770 he collected different kind of books because there is a German book he received from his wife, Katalin Zichy about management and the way of life of a nobleman (*Aderliche Land undt Feld Leben T. 2 in fol.*) that must have been written by Wolfgang Helnhard von Hohberg.¹¹⁷⁹

Among the 37 items of the inventory from the 18th century there is Mátyás Bél's *Notitia*, acts of the diet, list and inventories concerning management and the estate. The rest of the books must have been inherited from older generations. With eight items the clerk preparing the inventory made a note that Pál Balassa inherited them from his uncle, Pál Balassa, Titular Bishop of Boson¹¹⁸⁰ († 1705). These were Hungarian chronicles (Bonfini, Istvánffy). There were all the propaganda publications of the court concerning the Nádasdy-Zrínyi-Frankopan trial along with a description of the trial itself, Georg Braun's album with engravings entitled *Civitates orbis terrarum*, a Calepinus, and a few books on theology by Jesuit authors. The rest of the books, Antal Erdődy's thesis in philosophy, a few antique authors, Nádasdy *Mausoleum*, János Draskovich's translation of *Guevara*, Péter Pázmány's *Vade mecum*, legal manuals, and books written by a few Franciscans and Jesuits. This small collection was left to him by different members of his family, had no special profile and must have changed during his lifetime.

István Csáky's Library

The only library we know that belonged to a member of the Csáky family¹¹⁸¹ was István Csáky's book collection who was the most important member of the family from the point of view of cultural history in the early modern period. Therefore, let us not go into detail about the family history. István Csáky (1569–1605) and his wife Anna Wesselényi of Hadad had two sons who became aristocrats. László († 1655) was a Royal Door-keeper between 1643 and 1649, then Lord Justice. He married someone from the Batthyánys. The other son, István (1603–1662) was Master of the Treasury from 1644 and had three sons with Eve Forgách (1613–1669). Ferenc (1630–1670) became Lord Lieutenant of Szepes, László (1640–1708) was Lord Lieutenant of Doboka while István (1635–1699) Lord Lieutenant of Bereg, count in Szepes and Lord Justice between 1687 and 1699.

Emil Hargittay wrote a detailed account of *István Csáky's schooling and education* when he edited Csáky's *Politica philosophiai Okoskodás-szerint való rendes életnek példája*.¹¹⁸² Csáky studied in Pozsony, Pápa and at the university of Vienna and had a fundamentally Jesuit education. Besides his school books¹¹⁸³ we have his writing in political theory and the incomplete index of his library catalogue prepared in Szepesvár in 1671. We have information of his readings and intellectual ammunition from several sources.¹¹⁸⁴ Since Hargittay's study is available,¹¹⁸⁵ therefore let us concentrate here on the interesting points concerning the inventory and the major characteristics of Csáky's erudition.

The books were rearranged in 1671. The fact that the religious books were also collected from the castle refers to this. The thematic notes in the books, such as *Item Politica Vernulei sub litera B; Ferdinandus ab Effern Manuale Politicum sub litera A*, make us believe that there must have been a catalogue which listed the books in alphabetical order. This thematic catalogue listed 294 items and although it does not look complete it shows an average number of readings for a magnate in Hungary around that time. This inventory was made by thematic sections which, however, do not show real thematic proportions. *Auctores Theologi* (64), *Libri Juridici* (12), *Libri Medici* (4) *Libri Historici et Politici* (62), *Auctores Philosophi* (11), *Libri Miscellani* (9), *Libri Scholares* (132). One cannot take these numbers as a starting point when assessing the knowledge Csáky had in the different fields for several reasons. The section *scholares* is more like *miscellanea* since the books classified here are of mixed themes. We believe that the clerk who prepared the inventory got tired of and bored with thematic classification, this is why I believe that the inventory is incomplete. Let



István Csáky, 1650

us take a few examples. In the theology section all the Bibles and religious books, which may have been the books kept at the Castle chapel, are listed. There were two Latin two Hungarian Bibles, a concordance book, two *Missales*, two Breviaries, a *Rituale* and an *Officium*. These are no books on theology, and neither is the French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, King Louis XIII's confessor's book entitled *Eques Christianus* a book on theology. It is rather a book containing admonitions based on religious ethics about the fundamental virtues of a monarch that other libraries would have rightly classified as *politici*. Emil Hargittay analysed István Csáky's *speculum principis* (*Politica philosophiai Okoskodás-szerint való rendes életnek példája*). Reviewing the citations in it Hargittay outlined Csáky's scope. However, in this citation index Nicolas Caussin is not mentioned but maybe reading the books one would find parallels. In the section *scholares*, there are the following books: two more Hungarian Bibles, Hungarian psalms, another *officium*, decrees of Hungarian synods, a *Manuale* from Nagyszombat, prayer books, the meditations of Saint Augustine, several books on theology namely one about the words Christ uttered on the cross and Jerónimo Osório's *De iustitiae caelesti* that would have been interesting in a debate

on free will, and, disregarding their subject matter, almost all Hungarian books were classified in this thematic section. I believe that the books on philosophy, medicine, school books and the volumes in the miscellaneous sections should be reclassified again. From among the books on theology we have mentioned above some. However, there are a few more, especially ones assisting with meditative personal religious practice, *credo* or *vade mecum*, or the miraculous scenes of the life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. The title *Pia desideria* does not refer to Jakob Spener but much rather to the Jesuit Hugo Hermann whose *emblem book* had almost 30 editions from 1624.

In the *scholares* section, besides the not necessarily school editions of antique authors studied at school, there are books of Humanist or late Humanist rhetoric and logic. Not many libraries had the poems written by Artemidorus Daldianus¹¹⁸⁶ from the 2nd century or Anna Maria van Schurman, therefore let us point out the female member of the Utrecht Academy.¹¹⁸⁷

As mentioned above, the clerk preparing the inventory classified the books written by Hungarian authors or authors working in Hungary under this section therefore the book on pestilence written by Johann Weber of Bártfa¹¹⁸⁸ were not catalogued under *medici*. It is very rare to see Johann Honter's cosmography on book lists but Csáky owned one, although it is not known which edition it was. Among Hungarian authors there are a few non-Catholic ones such as Pál Medgyesi. The list of Hungarian authors is impressive: Bálint Balassi (two books), Péter Beniczky, Ferenc Szegedi, Péter Debreceni, István Nánási, István Ceglédi, György Káldi, Péter Pázmány so Csáky did pay attention to local book production. Let me mention here that a manuscript that contained poems by Balassi was also acquired by the Csákys in the 1690s from László Ebergényi.¹¹⁸⁹ In this codex there were also poems by Ádám Czobor and a Pázmány *Kalauz* (*Vade mecum*) that had belonged to the Czobors later was owned by the Csáky family (item 25 in the Csáky inventory).

A lot of other books were also misclassified in the *scholares* section. Let us look at the medical books first which had a separate section. I have mentioned above Johann Weber's book on what to do when there is pestilence epidemic. The title *Vellus aureum* can mean several things so it could be Salomon Trismonius's medical text book that had many editions in Latin and in German. It could well be Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli's book containing a text in alchemy or Guilielmus Mellerus' s anthology in philosophy. In the medical section, besides the Giovanni Battista Mantuani Galenus edition there is an item called *Dispensatorium Cronenburgijj* that must be a misspelling and could be identified as Valerius Cordus' book

edited by Pierre Coudenberg with his commentaries.¹¹⁹⁰ It is even more interesting that Csáky bought Sévérin Pinaeu's manual on female diseases, pregnancy and child birth.¹¹⁹¹

Csáky's library was not rich in legal books. Apart from Hungarian legal manuals, he had a German Formula book, *Farrago Juridica*, that could, among other things, be one of Christoph Besold's books but is otherwise unidentifiable just like the item described as *Cynosura Juristarum* since many authors wrote books with this title. Hungarian law was represented by the *dieta*lia, János Okolicsányi's *Tripartitum* selection, Johannes Kitonich's *Processus Juris* and András Székely's *Medulla juridica*.

All books in science were also classified under *scholares* (Gianbattista Della Porta, the complete books of Ulisse Aldrovandi, some volumes written by Athanasius Kircher while his other books are classified as history). There is also an item in this section called *Historia Universalis* that cannot be identified, an opus detailing the genealogy of the Habsburgs and several very interesting books in political theory about the form of life and education of modern aristocrats.

Let me highlight here two books concerning the training of horses out of which one, *De arte equitandi, liber Italicus*, is unidentifiable. The other one is Salomon de La Broue's book which had many editions in French from the end of the 16th century.¹¹⁹² Books in this genre were not just about training horses but also how to be a horseman, how to behave with a horse and in general what the virtues were of a *chevalier*.

I would have expected to find a richer history section. Nevertheless, there was quite a collection in Szepesvár. Antique authors were well represented, and the Julius Caesar editions are noteworthy. The few but good books in church history were classified here such as Ferrarius history of the Dominicans in Hungary, a history of the Cistercian Order, Augustinus Kordecki's writing about how the Swedes destroyed the Paulines' centre in Częstochova during the Thirty-Year War.¹¹⁹³ There was also a history of European law,¹¹⁹⁴ Antonius de Sousa de Macedo's *Lusitania Liberata*,¹¹⁹⁵ Gottfried Hegenitius's travel book on Frisia and Abraham Ortelius' on Walloon Brabant.¹¹⁹⁶ About French history Csáky had Gabriel Barthélemy de Gramond's book that other Hungarian magnates also purchased. He bought Athanasius Kircher and Martinus Martinius' books on China; he also acquired the book entitled *De bello Tartarico* of this latter author.

Csáky had a nice series of Hungarian history. He owned Miklós Istvánffy's book in two copies, Jacques Bongars's historical anthology, Matthias Bernegger *Disquisitio*, György Ráttkay's book on Croatian viceroys, Péter Révay's on the holy crown, the *Mausoleum*, the recently published

chronicles of János Nadányi, Laurenz Töppelt and Farkas Bethlen. Ludovicus Tubero's text edition was very rare in Hungarian libraries therefore let us mention it here.¹¹⁹⁷ The document of the Peace of Zsitvatorok was published by the Sárospatak Press not long before the inventory was prepared.¹¹⁹⁸

The most interesting part of the political thinker István Csáky's library was undoubtedly politics. From the authors cited in Csáky's writing and listed by Emil Hargittay as far as politics goes there are only two in the inventory: Justus Lipsius and Adam Contzen. This is yet another reason why the inventory matches the original alphabetic catalogue in part only. Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, Conti Natale for example are also not mentioned in the inventory nor some of the historians and Renaissance Humanists such as Francesco Petrarca, Antonio Beccadelli, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Erasmus, Pandolfo Collenuccio, Johannes Dubravius. No one of the authors highlighted by Hargittay like the authors of the emblem books (Achille Bocchi, Giovanni Piero, Saavedra, Jacobus Typotius) or Henri Engelgrave, Cornelis van den Steen, Jacob Masen. One wonders whether Csáky did not keep these books in his room and that is why the clerk had no access to them.

Politics is still impressive. There are few titles of this kind in the *scholares* section such as Christoph Forster's manual,¹¹⁹⁹ a book by René Herpin misspelt as *Joannes Veriij* that may offer commentaries on Bodin.¹²⁰⁰ It is worth noting that a book by Johann Adam Weber that was published in the year the inventory was prepared¹²⁰¹ is there in the book list.

Wilhelm Ferdinand von Efferhen's *Manuale politicum* is considered the manual of the genre¹²⁰² as is Elias Reusner's *Hortulus*.¹²⁰³ Jean de Marnix, William of Orange's councillor's son had a book entitled *Institutio viri privati et publici et aulici*¹²⁰⁴ that compared the morals of people of different social strata. This book is often overlooked by experts but not by Csáky. He also owned the then popular author; Georg Horn's book *Orbis imperans* which came out in many editions from the 1660s along with Franco Burgersdijckus' *Idea polycica*¹²⁰⁵ and Nicolaus Vernulaeus' booklet on wartime ethics.¹²⁰⁶

Reviewing István Csáky's readings, the citations in his book, considering the care he was educated with and assuming that the catalogue of his library may one day surface we can say that he looks like one of the best educated among the magnates in the second half of the 17th century. On the other hand, it is also true that his Italian and French may not have been comparable to Miklós Zrínyi's or Miklós Pázmány. If Csáky had had the command of these two languages the way Zrínyi and Pázmány

had that would have made him acquire a different political and cultural taste. However, during Csáky's lifetime the most important books were still translated into Latin.

The Books of the Thököly Family

Although the Thököly household in Késmárk at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries had one of the most dynamic Humanist and Lutheran cultural life it is not known whether the family or Sebestyén Thököly († 1607) who received the title of Baron for himself and his descendants had a library.¹²⁰⁷ His son, István (1581–1652)¹²⁰⁸ married Katalin Thurzó and had a son Zsigmond Thököly (1618–1678) whose books were inventoried at his residences in Késmárk and Savnik. István Thököly's other son, István (1623–1670) was the father of the most well-known Thököly in Europe, Imre (1657–1705).¹²⁰⁹ To assess his erudition, we have the book list of his readings Imre took with himself in exile.

In the *house of Zsigmond Thököly* the clerk preparing the inventory mentioned only 17 books.¹²¹⁰ The description of the modest book collection does not allow us to identify the authors the owner may have known. The only author we know of is Jean Fernel, a Humanist from the beginning of the 16th century therefore it is unknown which book, advices offered to the king or one of his philological books got to Savnik. The item *Liber Transsylvanicarum rerum* was undoubtedly János Bethlen's recently published book (1664) in which Bethlen described the history of Transylvania from the death of Gábor Bethlen to Apafi's Principality. David Frölich, a mathematician in Késmárk published a traveller's manual (*Cynosura peregrinantium*) in Ulm (1643–1644) which may have been a gift from the author to the family since they were his patrons. There was also a dictionary by Ambrogio Calepino, a calendar, two German historical books, two Hungarian collections of speeches, several manuscripts and management documents mentioned in the inventory. Three years before when their possessions were assessed in 1670 a theca was also mentioned with books, but it is not detailed if it was just a shelf or a whole chest. Only one book (*Liber de aetatibus mundi vetustis*) was mentioned which completes these ones so one can only guess how old it was. Ricobaldus Ferrariensis published a book in Rome with the same title in 1476 but it did not become popular. Charles de Bouelles's book, on the other hand, that came out published by Jodocus Badius in Paris in 1520 had many new editions.¹²¹¹

The personal effects in the Thököly household in Késmárk were inven-

toried twice, in 1673¹²¹² and in 1677.¹²¹³ The first time nine books were listed than seven and *libri parui Sex* (6 small sized books) were added. Julius Caesar's *de bello civili* was the only antique book on the shelf and then a *Flores poetarum* followed. Jacques Bongars's well known Hungarian history *scriptores* edition that was published in 1600 as well as Miklós Istvánffy's manual were there as Hungarian history while other parts of the world were represented by Pietro Battista Burgo's account of the military campaigns Gustav Adolphe led and a book on the origins of the Ottoman Turks.¹²¹⁴ The item *libellus aurora aeternitatis vocatus* probably was Israel Murschel's book,¹²¹⁵ a recent purchase, indicates that Zsigmond Thököly spoke German. There were also two legal books, the acts of a synod and two non-identified Hungarian collections of speeches.

The books from these two households make us believe that the family may not have one library installed in a central household. The books were left at the residences they were read, therefore the inventories made at different times and places recorded a shelf of books only.

On May 28, 1708 the books and documents in the *Hungarian house in Constantinople* were inventoried.¹²¹⁶ According to Kálmán Thaly¹²¹⁷ who cited 21 items from this list the inventory was made of the books Imre Thököly had before his death in 1705. This is quite probable especially since among the documents there is an item, the inventory of the possessions of the deceased Prince before 1697 which most certainly refers to Thököly.

The items are manuscripts which contradicts the idea that the books piled up little by little from the second half of the 17th century. These all are one way or other linked to Thököly, not just his diary (*In 1689 the diary of the deceased prince which he wrote with his hand*).¹²¹⁸ The manuscripts are all interesting in themselves as well as the historical books from the 17th century and the copies of smaller writings such as András Prágai's piece (*A late helmet for a fast brain – Sebes agynak késő sisak*), Farkas Bethlen's chronicle in manuscript, Farkas Kovacsoczi's history, István Szamosközy *Rerum Transylvanicarum Pentades*. The copies of letters and original pieces would be invaluable sources for the history of the 17th century if they had survived.

The thematic composition of the printed books suggests a personal collection. If it had been the official library of the Transylvanian diplomatic mission then the presence of the antique authors would not make sense (Thucydides, Caesar, Livius, Tacitus, Cicero, Plato, Ovid, Hippocrates) as well as the nicely represented 15th and 16th century authors of Humanist literature such as Angelo Politiano, Erasmus, Melanchthon and a few Protestant authors. Five of Hugo Blotius's books were there in the library.

Historia was represented by a few books mainly of Poles, the Cossacks, the Ottoman Turks and the emperors described in a vague manner so that identification is not possible (e.g.: *Historia belli Cozaczi*). Paolo Giovio's book is a comprehensive history of a period.

Besides the French Humanist, Marc Antoine Muret's collections of speeches there were school exercises in *oratio*, a travel book of Italy (by an unknown author), a few medical books while a number of Hungarian and Transylvanian legal sources and case studies widen the range of the books on offer.

Hungarian authors and Hungarian books are there in great number and in thematic diversity. István Szamosközy's *Analecta lapidum*, Pázmány's *Kalauz (Vade mecum)*, Bálint Lépes's orations, János Draskovich's *Guevara translation*, Pál Esterházy's *The Pictures of the Virgin Mary* and György Lip-pay's *Posoni kert* sat well on the shelf together with the history of Transyl-vania written by Farkas Bethlen and with a printed book on the Thököly uprising.

All in all, there were six printed books and six manuscripts, letters, agreements, management documents which indicate that indeed it was a private collection and Kálmán Thaly's opinion is the most probable one: namely that it was an inventory of the books of Imre Thököly. If he only read these he can be judged educated, informed of the history of his country and the neighbouring regions. But at the end of the 17th century it was no longer sufficient information for a magnate in Hungary therefore it is for sure that Thököly had other books as well.

The Szirmay Libraries

The Szirmays¹²¹⁹ were one of the Lutheran nobleman families of Upper Hungary for whom good education was important. This is especially true for the sons of Péter Szirmay († 1669) and Anna Keczer among whom Ist-ván (?–1711) reached the highest position as far as his political career is concerned at the price of converting to Catholicism. He was appointed Prothonotary to assist the Palatine, became Baron in 1695. Emperor Jo-seph I made him a count. He did not have a straight career path since he was involved with Thököly and later in 1701 he cooperated with Ferenc Rákóczi II. Miklós (?–1720), Péter Szirmay († 1669) and Anna Keczer's sec-ond son studied in Odera-Frankfurt and became military treasurer un-der Miklós Bercsényi whom he followed in exile to Poland. Both he and his brother András (1656–1729) were imprisoned by the emperor. Ferenc

Rákóczi II made András the president of the High Court of Justice.¹²²⁰ Miklós and András did not become magnates.

We have data concerning the readings of all three brothers, the least we know the erudition of the aristocrat István. Let us describe the family itself, their upbringing and education was similar and Lutheran. Let me come back to the readings of Miklós and András Szirmay when discussing the readings of the gentry since Protestant gentry of excellent education played a special part in Hungarian reading history, just think of Pál Ráday.

István Szirmay's books were mentioned when an inventory was made of his possessions in the households in *Szentmihály* and *Kisszeben* of County Sáros in 1690.¹²²¹ In *Szentmihály* the inventory recorded 13 books and a map of Hungary. As for the contents of these 13 books, one *cosmographia* and an *Authumnus Philosophicus* were mentioned. This latter might be Martin Herbst, the philosopher from Nürnberg who taught at Jena and taking Aristotle's *De anima* further he wrote about the difference between soul of man and the soul of the animals.¹²²² Others also wrote about this subject.

Among the possessions in *Kisszeben* only 16 books were mentioned the following way: *Libri diversorum Authorum partim manu Scripti partim impressi* 16. Even if he became a magnate we cannot describe his readings. The erudition of his brothers was clearer.

Miklós Szirmay's belongings were confiscated in 1701. In his houses both in *Eperjes* and *Bártfa* books were found and the inventory of *Eperjes* listed them item by item. In the inventory of *Bártfa* it is only mentioned that there was „*Bibliotheca cum 105 libris*” with Miklós' wife, Judith Eisdorffer, which would correspond to the collection of a well-read gentry. The clerks preparing the *inventarium* in *Eperjes*, however, were more patient because they described briefly the 14 books there, item by item.¹²²³ At first sight we might be happy with it because with several items the year of the publication was also recorded as well as the name of the author. Unfortunately, these data do not correspond to the data in big databases. Miklós had the decrees of the Hungarian diet between 1606 and 1682 in a hand-written copy but owned 2 printed copies of *Tripartitum* (the basic work of István Werbőczy on the Hungarian law). He also acquired a German-Latin and a German-Italian(!) dictionaries (the latter one was prepared by Levinus Hulsius), a *herbarium*, Bonfini in Zsámboky's edition from 1568, Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a 1570 edition from Basel, and a school Terentius. It shows how „precise” the clerks were that Friedrich Balduin's *De casibus conscientiae* was recorded as an „*Antverpiae, 1654*” edition. The same year this book was published both in Wittenberg and Odera-Frankfurt, but no

edition is known from Antwerp in any year. Beside this last book, Protestant theology was represented by Philippus Camerarius' book (Rostock, 1644) and a Hungarian Kegelius (translated by Péter Debreceni).¹²²⁴ The most interesting item may be Wolfgang Heider's book in political theory.¹²²⁵

It is a great pity the volumes of Miklós' library in Bártfa were not listed item by item. From the small collection in Eperjes one can only discern that beside Protestant theology, the academic gentry studied languages, read books in history and political theory and was well informed of the legal system in Hungary which was no small thing.

Compared to this we know a lot of details about the readings of András Szirmay.¹²²⁶ According to a diary entry he made in 1686 „*in this captivity I read about 40 books*” (“Ezen rabságomban circiter negyven könyvet által olvastam”). And these were not booklets. András knew Plutarch, Tacitus among the Romans, read the period histories of Paolo Giovio and Jacques August de Thou, 2 volumes each, The European historical tableau depicted by Gabriel Barthélemy de Gramond from the point of view of French foreign politics and Antoine Aubery's *Ministerium Cardinalis Richelii et Mazarini* which is also excellent as a book in political theory. He owned the *Theatrum Europaeum* written by several authors and published by Matthias Merian and some more German historians as he put it (*ac plures Historicos etiam Germanicos*). He also read the papers twice a week (the German and Latin *Avisas*) although it is not known how he acquired them.

In 1707 András made a list of his books himself.¹²²⁷ Ágnes R. Várkonyi analysed his erudition based on this list.¹²²⁸ Out of the 225 volumes 132 were in history, law or political theory. 26 humanities and philology, 23 geography and mathematics, while there were 12 medical books and 22 religious writings. Based on this it is not going too far to say that along with Pál Ráday, András Szirmay belonged to the group of the most well-read gentries. We shall detail his readings when discussing the erudition of their group in a separate study.

Miklós Bercsényi's Library in Ungvár

In the history of the Bercsényi family in the early modern period first László Bercsényi (1564 k.–1599), Viceroy of Szörény, had an important political career. His son, Miklós (about 1589–1639) became a Baron in the year his father died. His son, Miklós (about 1633–1689), Lord Lieutenant of the Cisdanudianus region, married a German woman, Maria Elisabeth

Katharina von Rechberg-Rothenlöwen so Count Miklós Bercsényi (1665–1725), Lord Lieutenant of Ung, Royal Councillor, was brought up bilingual. His father was also an educated man and had his son study with the Jesuits in Nagyszombat.¹²²⁹

Miklós Bercsényi had to leave the country in 1701 due to the political role he played on Ferenc Rákóczi II's side and went to Poland. After the fall of the War of Independence he followed the prince to exile and died in Rodostó. His possessions in Ungvár were inventoried in the summer of 1701. When characterizing the household in Ungvár, Kálmán Thaly highlighted Bercsényi's erudition in political theory and praised his knowledge in medicine and chemistry, his chemistry workshop and the beauty of the garden and the plans to further develop it.¹²³⁰ When publishing the list of the books¹²³¹ and archival documents, Thaly spoke with enthusiasm about the modernity of the count's erudition and the large scale of his readings. The 114 volumes listed, and the 100 above mentioned books show a nice almost 300 volume book collection which in its composition show the readings of a magnate in the second half of the 17th century. The books were in Latin, Hungarian and German therefore nothing proves that Bercsényi spoke French, the language of diplomacy at the time. It was a sign of modernity that religious books were kept separately in a room next to the Castle chapel. These books were not detailed item by item but besides the Bible, Miklós Telegdi and Péter Pázmány's sermons, let us mention that there were 88 Latin, Hungarian and German „Vita Sanctorum” volumes. Two books on theology can be added to this that were Jesuit moral tracts and two publications by Palatine Pál Esterházy on the Virgin Mary cult which the clerk preparing the inventory classified under family history next to *Trophaeum*. Pázmány's Kempis translation was also there in one section with the Hungarian books. The inventory does not list Protestant theology books. The books of the home dispensary were kept separately too because 12 „*libri medici*” were found in a separate room along with cook books and dream books. Two more books were listed in this thematic section, one of them, Paul de Sorbait's manual published in Nürnberg, can be identified.¹²³² The clerks preparing the inventory found a book on the care of human skin interesting and added the following comment: *Curiosus liber de pelle humana medici Tobiae Fogl.*¹²³³

Book for entertainment were a very small part of the collection. We can hardly mention any literary work; even antique literature was missing. The only such items were István Gyöngyösi's *Murányi Vénusz* (The Venus of Murány), Péter Beniczky's poems, Zsigmond Megyeri's collection of maxims¹²³⁴ and two collections of poems in Latin. It is not known whether

Bercsényi kept the Hungarian books together or the clerks preparing the inventory classified them in one section, but this is where György Lippay's *Posoni kert* and the *Hungarian csízió* (a form of Calendar) were.

I believe Bercsényi purchased many volumes of the famous Elsevir pocket book series presenting countries. Unfortunately, the item descriptions do not always allow us to identify these since the authors also published their books with the same title in a different edition. The book describing Turkey, Denmark, Gaul as well as Pierre Gilles's depiction of Bosphorus and its neighbourhood were definitely Elsevir editions. There were few books in geography mixed with writings in science. Neither was Bercsényi interested in philosophy since there were only three such books listed in the inventory written by authors of the 16th century as well as Márton Szentiványi.

Bercsényi must have read the history of the Jesuit mission in China and Johan-Petrus Langius' collection of anecdotes entitled *Democritus ridens*¹²³⁵ as curiosities and not as Catholic teachings. A magnate in this period was expected to think of horses as not just as military accessories. Antoine de Pluvinel's books on horses were published in almost all languages in a lot of editions at the end of the 17th century. Bercsényi had one of these in German. Concerning curiosities let me mention here that among the emblem books he owned not the usual ones (Sambucus, Alciati) but Aegidius Albertinus' work¹²³⁶ and Cesare Ripa's emblem book on ethics (*Iconologia*) that was published in many languages and came out almost every year in the 17th century.

It is surprising how few legal books Bercsényi owned which were Hungarian *dieta* and *decreta*. The section on history and politics is much richer. Among histories written about the Hungarians he owned books by Pietro Ransano, Antonio Bonfini, Miklós Istvánffy, György Ráttkay, Farkas Bethlen and writing on *Delineatio fortalitorum* written after the Ottoman Turks were expelled from the country. Bercsényi had few books on European history apart from the Elsevir books. He purchased the prolific Johann Adam Weber's four books, the volumes of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* series, two books on French history which were rare among Hungarian noblemen. Gabriel Barthélemy de Gramond started his book on European history with the accession to throne of King Henry IV¹²³⁷ and depicted the history of his country by presenting the French political relationships while Benjamin Priolo started his history with King Louis XIII and concentrated more on French internal affairs.¹²³⁸

Bercsényi read about politics from different approaches. Besides Antoine Aubery's *Ministerium Cardinalis Richelii et Mazarini* that was popular

with Hungarian magnates of his time, he also had an unidentifiable volume on Richelieu. He owned manuals of a folio (*Theatrum politicum*), tracts in moral theology (*Theatrum virtutis*), Wilhelm Ferdinand von Efferhen's book of a legal approach,¹²³⁹ the in Hungarian very rare Jacob van Zevencote's political ethical maxims hidden in a Florus edition,¹²⁴⁰ and last of all, let us mention the bestseller John Barclay's *Argenis*. This book that offered his political views in an entertaining manner was translated into almost all European languages. Barclay who was educated by the Jesuits, had an ambiguous relationship with this order. First Barclay had a quarrel with them but later in part reconciled with them.

Kálmán Thaly was right that Miklós Bercsényi was more well-read than most of the magnates fighting in Rákóczi's camp. The diversity of his books was impressive; however, compared to Palatine Pál Esterházy or Ferenc Nádasdy, Bercsényi could not match the modernity of their readings. One of the reasons of this is that a magnate was expected to at least read in French if not speak. Many contemporary books on politics were no longer translated into Latin and not all of them were rendered in German.

Ladies as book owners and readers

Although on the apropos of reviewing the reading of aristocratic families we have referred to female patronates, their incidentally survived reading lists, we would analyse ladies readings in a separate chapter. We must immediately highlight a characteristic difference of the Hungarian aristocratic families' readings. This is the difference between the readings of the ladies living in the Hungarian Kingdom and ladies in Transylvania. In Transylvania, where the official language of the princely court was Hungarian, the language of family discussions was typically Hungarian as well, even though when a guest arrived, thus the usage of the Hungarian language made it ease spreading reading in a larger scale. It is not surprising that the first remarkable book collections containing mainly Hungarian books were formed in Transylvania. Transylvanian aristocrats typically married Transylvanian, if not, the partner arrived from the Hungarian Kingdom and could speak Hungarian. However, the aristocratic families of the Hungarian Kingdom choosed partners from Croatian, Slovakian families, but mainly from Austrian, Bavarian or from German speaking Bohemian, Moravian, Silesian families. So, the language of daily discussions was usually not Hungarian. The European *lingua franca*, the French language was generations earlier widespread in the Hungarian Kingdom than in Transylvania and this phenomenon is to considered on the apropos of the reading habits of the ladies too.

The relationship between women belonging to the aristocracy, high aristocracy in particular and the world of books can be examined from various perspectives. Female members of such families were able to read. At least they received an education that could be traced back to books,¹²⁴¹ and it originated from there. This may well be a form of knowledge associated with clothing, since we are aware of books on fashion dating back to the 16th century.¹²⁴² To date, however, scholarship has only made us aware of explicitly women's libraries, established by the wife of the head of the family, starting from the 18th century.¹²⁴³ Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to pay attention to data on women's book ownership. The latter may have simply emerged because a census was carried out due to inheritance on the female line, or because, when making a list of the widow's belongings, they also enumerated the books owned by the entire family. Books owned by Borbála Telegdi¹²⁴⁴ or Borbála Batthyány¹²⁴⁵ were only listed as items of property, whereas the personal reading materials of Judit Révay,¹²⁴⁶ Anna

Júlia Esterházy,¹²⁴⁷ Judit Veér¹²⁴⁸ or Anna Bornemissza¹²⁴⁹ were explicitly characterised as such by the surveys.

Aristocratic women were in a position to *acquire* books, partly due to their financial possibilities, but also because they travelled more frequently to places where they could choose from the books on offer (such as Vienna, Graz or other cities where there were booksellers). Their servants also often left the court to acquire various goods – clothing, spices, paper, etc. – so they could be tasked with the purchase of books.¹²⁵⁰ Women of the aristocracy could also *inherit* books, or could end up with a significant quantity of books as a result of *marriage*. There are examples of book-loving women who were in possession of libraries of their own books or of books inherited from their parents. It is of particular importance that if the Hungarian aristocrat married a foreign woman, the latter had access to very different ways of book acquisition. Wives (or at times husbands moving to Hungary) from leading families of the Habsburg Empire, the German principalities or the Italian city states brought more modern, almost contemporary publications with them to their new Hungarian or Transylvanian courts.¹²⁵¹

Entertainment, civilised life and the reading of books are also interrelated phenomena. In the epoch there was a theory of the latter, just as there was a theory of organising court life. These theories also emerged in the libraries of the Hungarian nobility, although their presence was a relative rarity. The same could be said about books on fashion or works about various games. Entertaining literature typically meant editions of ancient Roman authors, and Hungarian and Transylvanian bibliographies seldom included German, Italian or at times French literary items. The latter become more frequent towards the end of the 17th century, by which time even ancient authors would be read in these three languages, and when works describing the rules of courtship and love also emerged. These would be read not only by noble men but also by female members of their court too. *Women's readings* included, in addition to books on the daily practice of religion,¹²⁵² works detailing self-medication recommended for the home,¹²⁵³ cookery books, publications containing lifestyle advice,¹²⁵⁴ and of course literary works. It is natural therefore that if high-ranking women, in their capacity of patrons and Maecenas, supported book publishing they would want to immortalise their names with works in these fields.¹²⁵⁵ Let us examine a few examples in chronological order.¹²⁵⁶

Orsolya Kanizsai is a favourite figure of most historians of her era, and her love affair with and marriage to Tamás Nádasdy is noteworthy indeed. The correspondence between the family and their family doctor is

a unique source that has survived from the period,¹²⁵⁷ which also offers numerous minor details on the poorly Orsolya Kanizsai's awareness of book-related matters. The family had a modern court built at Sárvár for the needs of their extended household.¹²⁵⁸ Girls living at the court in the immediate surroundings of Orsolya Kanizsai became familiar with numerous behavioural norms (on conversation, dance, eating habits, etc.), in addition to practical knowledge they acquired on the basics of overseeing farming activities, and, above all, learning to care for flowers, fruit and vegetables. The Protestant school founded at Sárvár-Újsziget, the church and rectory dedicated to new religion of Lutheranism, and the printing press founded in 1539 constitute institutions of Hungarian culture that distinguish the Nádasdy court from other centres of contemporary nobility. We have no information on the Nádasdy library catalogues, but the spiritual horizon of works created there are well known, and so are the potential cultural influences upon the head of the family's wife.

A contemporary of Orsolya Kanizsai, Borbála Somy from the nearby Alsólendva, is a lesser-known figure of Hungarian historical treatises on the 16th century. Only six of her letters addressed to her husband are known to us,¹²⁵⁹ and even documents relating directly to her keep us at bay regarding her reading materials. Moreover, we have modest information on the Bánffy library too.¹²⁶⁰ But the fact that in the dedication to the first part of his five volume work (*Postilla*) Bornemissza acknowledges the support of László Bánffy and his wife Borbála Somy,¹²⁶¹ and that the second volume is dedicated outright to Somy,¹²⁶² not to mention that we have extensive information on the court culture of mid-16th century Alsólendva, we can safely assume that she participated in an active fashion in the shaping of this work.

Akin to Orsolya Kanizsai, the letters written by Erzsébet Czobor¹²⁶³ and Éva Lobkowitz Poppel¹²⁶⁴ to their respective husbands have also survived. Both women were surrounded by doctors and books,¹²⁶⁵ but in day-to-day medical matters they relied heavily on oral tradition.¹²⁶⁶ Both women were left with serious tasks in terms of negotiating public life, and both cope really well in matters of managing their estates. The relationships of Ferenc Batthyány with the intelligentsia of his day are well-known – Bálint Balassi, Christoph Lackner, Albert Szenczi Molnár, etc., and his court was open to receiving migrants too. His wife and members of the court accompanying her to Hungary, have further broadened this cultural horizon, which led to modern concepts emerging at the Batthyány estate. Following the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War numerous Protestant priests arrived from Bohemian and Silesian territories and from the

Palatinate, and they were met with warm reception.¹²⁶⁷ Éva Poppel was an educated woman herself, and although we are only aware of a herbarium owned by her,¹²⁶⁸ her above correspondence with her husband convinces us of her literacy.

Ferenc Esterházy converted to Protestantism, and one of his sons, Tamás, became a Lutheran pastor; his daughter (Zsófia Esterházy) learned to read and write and, not only that, she also scraped by in Latin and modern foreign languages.¹²⁶⁹ The other son of Ferenc Esterházy, Miklós reconverted to catholicism, he gained the title count to his family, at the end of his life he became the Palatine of Hungary. His daughter, Anna Júlia Esterházy (1630–1669) married to Ferenc Nádasdy. Her books found in the family castle in Pottendorf were listed in 1669.¹²⁷⁰ She kept seven books in her bedroom, all in Hungarian, religious books from Thomas Kempis, the prayer book of Péter Pázmány, a few items of Virgin Mary cult (including St. Bonaventura's book of hours), the book of Hieronymus Drexel about eternal happiness and works or Hungarian translations of Jesuit and Franciscan fathers. One of the Jesuits, Mátyás Hajnal compiled a prayer book on the palatine's request for his second wife, Baroness Christina Nyáry (1604–1641).¹²⁷¹ The book of herbs of Christina was also mentioned in contemporary sources although it is not surprising that there is such a book of daily use in a magnate's household.¹²⁷²

The Révay family also paid a lot of attention to the nurturing of book-related aspects in court culture,¹²⁷³ in addition to the education of girls.¹²⁷⁴ Pál Nádasdy's widow, Judit Révay remarried in 1638, to Ádám Forgách, and passed away in 1643. Noémi Viskolcz discovered a catalogue that included the books found in Judit Révay's room in Galgóc.¹²⁷⁵ There are no surprising items on the list of five books, which provide confirmation of the fact that Révay converted to Catholicism. The authors of the beautifully bound books are Péter Pázmány, Lőrinc Ferenczffy, Thomas Kempis (in Pázmány's translation), and two prayer books in Hungarian. In other words, these are books on religious practice, and offer in-depth meditation on religious knowledge.

Now let's turn to two examples where the wives came from abroad. István Pálffy married Eva Susanna, the daughter of Graf Johann Christoph Puchheim von Göllersdorf in 1618. The list of belongings from their house, dating from 1644, refers to 16 books.¹²⁷⁶ The linguistic division of these books is already striking at first sight: there are 9 German, 5 Latin, and 2 Hungarian volumes. One *Bible* out of the two is also in German. It is likely that the German books were brought to Hungary by the wife. The Hungarian books are collections of sermons by Péter Pázmány and

György Káldi, the Latin ones are the works of Johannes Chrysostomus and Nicephorus Callixtus, there is a Hungarian history by Istvánffy, and an academic publication on the funeral of Charles V. It is not out of the question that the wife started to learn Hungarian, or that she was getting acquainted with the history of her new country. The German prayer books could have been her own, but it is strange that being a Catholic she owned a copy of the psalms with Luther's comments. In her surroundings she must have had German staff too, which explains the German cookery book (*Kochbuch*). A potentially exciting and entertaining read – in Hungary but also in Austria – was *Libri Germanici duo in quarto de Navigatione Hollandia*, of which there were hundreds of copies circulating at the time.¹²⁷⁷

The third wife of judge royal Ádám Forgách became Anna Katharina von Rechberg. His son, also named Ádám, prefect of Nógrád County also married a foreign woman (1648), Eva Katharina von Breuner. He passed away as a widower in 1681, and he lived in Eperjes. The belongings found in their house were surveyed in 1683 on the orders of Imre Thököly.¹²⁷⁸ Unfortunately the books were catalogued very carelessly, without including all titles. The last item to be mentioned is *some books*, although the items actually listed are very telling. There is a *Chronica Polonorum* and a German Bonfini edition, which could also be read by the woman living as stranger in a foreign land in order to get acquainted with her new environment.¹²⁷⁹

Let us complement our examples on the ownership of variously themed books with the case study of two women whose names can be associated with the creation of literary works. Around the time of Miklós Zrínyi's death, his brother, Péter spent extended periods of time at Csáktornya. He even brought a selection of books with him, from his library in Ozaly,¹²⁸⁰ not only for his personal use but also for his wife, Katalin Frangepán. She was a writer herself,¹²⁸¹ and would have surely found it difficult to get by without relying on her books.

László Rákóczi did not have a male heir, and with him the Catholic branch of his family died out. His daughter, Erzsébet is one of the first Hungarian women writers,¹²⁸² and she lived in Kistapolcsány during the final years of her life. After her death Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi had the books found in her property transferred to Sárospatak. The catalogue dating from 1708 mentions 26 publications in total.¹²⁸³ Some of the books may have been inherited, but this woman with an active lifestyle would have favoured readings with a profound and personal devoutness.

Women of the high nobility and noble women more generally, led the majority of their lives in the absence of their husbands. One of their most

important duties was to deputize for the head of the family, and supervise court life and the management of the estate. Such women would have also been frequently approached by the various religious communities and congregations living on their estates with their problems. They would have often been required to take (independent) decisions, and in such matters they could not rely exclusively on stewards, the court pastor or the schoolmaster. In other words, they needed to prepare for this role as well. Neo-romantic historiography made a point of celebrating heroic noble women,¹²⁸⁴ and rightly so, but over the last thirty years the examination of sources together with a change of approach has moved on to a more layered analysis of these tasks and roles.¹²⁸⁵ We know nothing of Erzsébet Báthory's¹²⁸⁶ personal reading habits, and can only analyse her knowledge *per analogiam*. Similarly, we can only approach Princess Zsuzsanna Lorántffy's¹²⁸⁷ erudition in this manner too, as there are no known catalogues detailing the books kept by her for personal use. By the second half of the 17th century the libraries of the nobility start stocking books on farming and the organisation of courtly life, and those women who participated in carrying out these duties would have most probably taken advantage of the possibility to learn about these.

In addition to the short catalogue of the books found in Judit Révay's room, we are aware of two 17th century female-owned libraries. The latter is understood in the sense it has already been construed by specialist literature with reference to the 18th century: a collection of books gathered separately from the husband's. One such collection is Judit Veér's, catalogued in 1676.¹²⁸⁸ There is mention of 17 books, possibly more. Judit Veér was the wife of Chancellor Mihály Teleki, and a mother who followed her sons' education very carefully. She was in communication with professors at the College of Nagyenyed and tried to be informed about political matters too. This small library was briefly characterised by monographer Betti Homonnai,¹²⁸⁹ but it became the subject of a much more comprehensive analysis, in the light of historical sources, by Zsuzsa Font.¹²⁹⁰ The latter points out that Judit Veér did not read Latin, and cites a source as evidence for this claim. Indeed, all of Judit Veér's books were written in Hungarian, and included Bibles, devotional literature, books on daily religious practice (catechism, prayer books), gardening books, historical songs intended for entertainment. Zsuzsa Font cites an auxiliary source, according to which, in 1693, an acquaintance of Judit Veér, by the name of Anna Bessenyei borrowed a work by Ferenc Pápai Páriz ('a medicinal book') from her. Font is also persuasive in her claim that Judit Veér participated in the planning of her sons' foreign study trip. Actual travel in-

structions were presumably drafted by someone else on her behalf, but she supervised the process on an ongoing basis. In my opinion, this extraordinary woman's portrait could not be any more justifiable even if in the room of the mighty Chancellor's wife there had been found and catalogued hundreds of books.

In the library based at Radnót of Transylvanian Princess Anna Bornemissza, 104 books were found.¹²⁹¹ Almost all in Hungarian. If analysed according to thematic patterns, it is certainly broader than the previous library. Entertaining literature has progressed to proper literary merit (Bálint Balassi, Péter Beniczky, István Gyöngyösi), and there are some didactic tales. There are also several cookery books, descriptions of gardens, many volumes of sermons (for various occasions), religious debates, and legal manuals. Among the non-Calvinist texts there are some on the life of Saint Francis, which – as instances of the *imitatio Christi* genre – belong to the confessionally characterless category of devotional literature. János Herepei, who published the catalogue for the first time,¹²⁹² emphasised that these books must have most certainly belonged to the princess. As a final point, I wish to stress that special editions have been produced for the princess, with *supralibros*, a clear indication of bibliophilic interest.

Conclusion

When assessing the libraries and erudition of the magnates in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries I have been faced with two constraints. One of these is sources while the other one is my own professional capacities. This latter one is important because it is a determining factor in approaching and analysing the documents. Since I myself have been participating in going through a considerable part of these documents during the decades spent in close proximity with the sources I have learnt to keep close to data. I have not been trying to find data to justify the appearance of an intellectual trend but on the contrary, I have attempted to acquire the necessary theoretical knowledge to be able to discern the contents of the data with the motto cited at the beginning of this book. It is easier to speak about the book and not the text but at the same time it is also difficult. There is constant temptation to submerge in getting to know and analyse an intellectual trend. However, this road is dangerous, there may be favourites among the phenomena encountered or we may overestimate their significance if the warning of the data is disregarded.

The available sources are far from being ideal. The personal items of a magnate did not carry such importance when an inventory was prepared than with people belonging to poorer social strata. Furthermore, state administration during the two centuries after Mohács cannot be compared to later periods within the Habsburg Empire not to mention the destruction of archives that can safely be called considerable due the fact that the country became military campaign grounds several times during this period. Rearrangement of archives from the 18th century, the weeding and culling of documents judged superfluous, fires, then World War II and the Revolution in 1956 render the sources of the period dealt with in the present book uneven, to say the least. It is therefore difficult to present sources by families and by geographical regions and periods which would allow us to analyse them using unified aspects.

Medieval Hungary left a rich legacy as far as court culture and erudition of the magnates went. The exemplary model the royal court, its power to form and support as well as maintain cultural and educational institutions such as churches, schools, arts, publication of books by copying or printing, libraries had an impact on magnates and high clergy. The rich cultural life of the Jagieollian period attest to this claim. The defeat at the battle of Mohács, the dividing up of the country, the lack of the royal court, the cut off of Transylvania from the body of the Kingdom of

Hungary as well as the destruction Hungary suffered in the middle of the 17th century did not allow the prosperity of cultural and educational life. Members of the Hungarian and Transylvanian aristocracy took up roles which in part would have been those of the royal court. This showed itself in organising and maintaining Protestant churches and then forming and supporting the institutions of the Catholic church during Counter-Reformation and in maintaining the educational institutions at their estates.

Books in Court Culture

Acquiring books and building libraries were necessary or useful for every element of a magnate's household so as to play their part in public and cultural life, namely for teaching (for praeceptors and schooling in the household), religious life (for priests and ministers), for management (for bailiffs and castellans, for gardeners and craftsmen), for culture in general (for artists), for public and everyday life (for lawyers and doctors) and last but not the least for their military and political role (for the magnate, his family members and his entourage).

The way *books were acquired* differed greatly from the habits of the magnates in other countries. An aristocrat may have *inherited* books or acquired a considerable number of books through his marriage. We have seen examples above of women who loved and owned books or were left books by their parents. Let me highlight here the importance when a magnate married someone from abroad since this may have provided a new opportunity to acquire books in his household. Wives coming from aristocratic families of the Habsburg Empire, German Principalities or Italian city states or principalities (or sometimes husbands who moved to Hungary) brought themselves, as we have seen above, modern, near contemporary books to their residence in Hungary.

First let us mention here books that enlarged a library thanks to the *patronage* of the magnate. The *press* which may have operated on the magnate's estate or the *patronage* of the books written by the intellectuals living on the estate were all steps to acquire books. Magnates also used the little opportunity they had for *purchasing books*. Since there was no organised book trade in this period in Hungary magnates or rather their bailiffs and agents visiting a town bought some books home from the meagre offer. Purchasing books depended on the location of the household. From Croatian counties, from the Western part of the country or from Upper Hungary bailiffs regularly went to Venice, Graz or Vienna. From North-

ern area Cracow, Brno, Olmütz were accessible. This was no option for the magnates of the areas next to the River Tisza (*Tiszahát*), Partium or Transylvania. Sometimes the magnate purchased the books of a deceased bailiff or other employee but there were cases when the chaplain living in the household left his books to the magnate.

Study trips of the *young men under the magnate's patronage (alumni)* meant a more important opportunity for purchasing books. The students who travelled abroad with the financial help of the aristocratic family stayed in touch with the household so the students could be asked to purchase books which they took home either at the end of their studies or sent home with merchants. Sometimes these students sent home *catalogues of book fairs or of publishing houses*. This helped the magnate to choose the titles he liked.

Selecting personally in a bookshop abroad, however, was the best way which would also indicate the magnate's taste in reading. The members of the Hungarian and Transylvanian aristocracy also went on study trips or Grand Tours (Kavalierstour). These trips abroad had different reasons. Besides *peregrinatio academica* and experiencing the Grand Tour they were sent on diplomatic mission (*legatio*), participated at coronation ceremonies or military campaigns abroad.

A few cases are known when an aristocratic family established a *personal relationship with an important publisher abroad* (e.g.: Batthyány – Wechel; Nádasdy – Moretus, Blaeu; Esterházy – Blaeu, etc.). In this situation the publisher naturally favoured his own publications although it did not mean exclusivity.

In general there were few opportunities for book acquisition in the lives of the magnates in Hungary when they could pick a book they wanted. The libraries of our magnates were book collections shared by the household not just because they were used by their entourage but also in terms of their profile. It is not by chance that the note *et amicorum* occurs in Hungarian household in books more often than in Western Europe.

Book culture of Hungarian magnates show unique features in terms of the relationship of *cultural taste and books*. We have seen that the reading culture of a magnate was forced to take an inescapable path and his individual taste and preferences were less of a determining factor. Nevertheless, forming his taste was influenced by the households of his family relations as well as the court in Vienna through his political connections. Curiosity about other countries and in the early modern period about other worlds (continents) is a natural human feature and following a model was expected due by society. Collections of curiosities, later museums started

to be established in Europe which offered the model of *collection*. When a magnate got to know the musical, art and theatrical life of a court abroad it made their need for culture stronger. The road to this was through fashion surrounding activities such as fencing, riding, the art of keeping a horse, the art of landscape gardening, the modern style of architecture besides the flourishing of the late Renaissance style, the appearance of Baroque, these are all phenomena which formed the requirements of culture based on reading. Politics and military science also changed.

For aristocrats in Hungary and Transylvania religion was stronger than for their Western European counterparts. The new religion and the new churches that were established after the changes in the new doctrines, then the reorganisation of the Catholic church and their new institutions, the support and the active participation of church life expected from magnates, made it necessary for aristocrats to get information on religion more than the European average magnate. Direct patronage was required by the poor church conditions. In Hungary institutional framework for the participation of magnates in church life was established, they presided over synods (even if the magnate himself was of a different religion) or the everyday job they were expected to perform in Transylvania at the Main Consistory of the Reformed church.

The major issue in political governance in the whole period was how to reestablish the integrity of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in its territory and also as a state and the key question was how to expell the Ottoman Turks. A lot of things were sacrificed for this objective: it played a part even in shaping their religious faith. In Péter Pázmány's successful campaigns for re-converting magnates to Catholicism the argument that with the emperor and the Catholic League, keeping Transylvania Hungarian, reconciling with France there was hope for action as was shown in the battle of Szentgotthárd. The Peace of Vasvár showed that the Hungarian magnates could calculate with the emperor while he would not count on them (my way of putting it). When reviewing the factors shaping the taste in reading, this leads us to the question of the use of books.

The magnates use of books of course differs from family to family and there are also individual differences as well. The structure of the present book starts with the Croatian counties and leads through the Western Hungarian counties and the Western part of Upper Hungary to Partium and then to Transylvania. This narrative following this geographical direction matches more or less a chronological order that is documented by sources as far as the period of the first generation who had a library in the family went. It is also true that those living on the South-West or

West borders acquired the books popular in the court of the emperor in Vienna and in general the readings recorded in their households were more modern and up-to-date.

With each family we attempted to concentrate on the readings which seemed the most important for the owner judging from his biography. It is not by chance that I kept referring to the historical, legal and especially political theory and military science books. I considered the up-to-datedness of these types of readings the measure for the modernity of a library.

The other aspect of analysis was the language constitution of a book collection. Latin as the official language was considered normal to know. In the Croatian counties it was Italian and then German while in the Western part of Hungary German and Italian to a lesser degree were the languages in general known. In Upper Hungary a significant number of magnates spoke Slovakian and maybe read some Czech and sometimes Polish as well. Those visiting Vienna or Prague more often learnt German. Speaking French from the middle of the 17th century was one of the measures of being modern. Boldizsár Batthyány was an exception among the magnates in the 16th century with his French education but by the beginning of the 18th century many families had books in this language.

The phenomenon that among theories in politics the books written by French and Italians, who were under the influence of the French theoreticians, were considered modern was a random one. The German authors of military science or engineering, a new discipline, were definitely up-to-date as well. Knowing languages and modern information and knowledge made those living in the Western part of Hungary the most up-to-date.

Entertainment, civilised life and reading are interconnected phenomena. In this period it had a theory as the organisation of a household also had one. These books as well as books on fashion or games appeared in the libraries of the magnates although rarely. Books for entertainment in the 16th century were still the Latin editions of antique authors, it is rare to see literary pieces in German, Italian or French. These latter ones were growing in number during the 17th century when antique authors were also read in these three languages. Books on courtship and ones describing the rules of love also appeared by then. These were not just read by the magnates but also by the female members of the household. The *readings of the ladies*, besides the book for daily religious practice, were the ones offering cure tips, cook books and literature.

The households of the magnates made an influence on the members of the gentry and formed their educational and cultural habits by showing their example. At the same time during the 16th and 17th centuries the

stratum of intellectuals living on the estates (bailiffs and castellans, etc.), many of these were small holders of gentry who being educated and well-read may have had an influence on the cultural life of the magnate and his family and the building of the library. By the beginning of the 18th century religious faith was an important factor in one's political career, only Catholics became aristocrats. A group of educated gentry was formed who were just as well-read as the magnates. The two most apparent representative of this group were Antal Szirmay and Pál Ráday.

It is difficult to compare the erudition of Hungarian magnates to their counterparts in Europe since very different cultural institutions surrounded them in Hungary and in these countries. It is true even for the countries of the Central European region. In Bohemia the presence of the emperor's court and the intellectuals around it created a different situation. In Poland the power of organising culture and education at the university and in the royal court of the two centres, Cracow and Warsaw made the situation different not to speak of the nobility living in regions where there were important book producing centres and book fairs. When examining these phenomena one by one, comparing a magnate's library to European cases of similar economic power then Hungarian aristocracy had nothing to be ashamed of. The fundamental difference lays in the number of people using books. In Hungary we can cite examples of the erudition of an outstanding aristocrat but let us make clear that only a tiny proportion of Hungarian population encountered books. Therefore the magnates and their families had to devise educational and cultural programmes that would raise the level of the general population. For which I have shown examples above.

List of illustrations

The source of portraits

Elias Widemann

Icones non modo bellica virtute, verum etiam literarum Gloria ... illustrium heroum Hungaricorum. Vienna, 1652

Ex libris of the Gyulay Family, 18th century

National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 181a.

Ex libris of the Zrínyi Family, 16th century

National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 519.

Ex libris of the Illésházy Family, 16th century

National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 205b.

Ex libris of Miklós Istvánffy, 1575

National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 208a.

Miklós Zrínyi, 1652

Widemann, 1652

Péter Zrínyi, 1650

Widemann, 1652

Boldizsár Batthyány, cca. 1580

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Történeti arcképcsarnok

Ádám Batthyány, 1651

Widemann, 1652

Ferenc Nádasdy, 1651

Widemann, 1652

Ex libris of Ferenc Nádasdy, cca. 1660

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Miklós Esterházy, 1645

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Ex libris of Pál Esterházy, cca. 1687

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Ex libris of the Czobor Family, cca. 1620

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Notes

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- 8 Cf. Monok 2005a; Monok 2006.
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- 10 Bessenyei 2002; Bessenyei 2007.
- 11 Monok 2003; Monok 2004; Monok 2004a; Monok 2006.
- 12 Szabó A. 2004; Szabó A. 2017; Heltai 1980; Turóczy–Trostler 1961b; Uray 1987; Szabó A. 2007.
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- 21 Cf. Pokoly 1904; Pokoly 1910.
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- 29 Nagy I. 1857–1868.
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- 41 Halmágyi 2009; Ötvös P. 1999; Köpeczi 1966; Köpeczi 1976; Etényi–Horn, szerk., *Portré és imázs...* 2008; Várkonyi Á. 2010; Kövér 2007.
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- 63 Toma 2005.; Viskolcz 2008; Viskolcz 2011.
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- 72 Conrads 1982.
- 73 „Vitosum est ubique quod nimium est”, Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* 9,4–7.; „distinctio librorum multitudo”, Seneca, *Epistola ad Lucilium* 1,2.

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- 75 Antverpiae, off. Plantiniana, 1567, Tractatus 6, *De superbia librorum*
- 76 Cf. Laurentius Hunfredus (Humphrey), *Optimates sive de nobilitate*, Basileae, Johannes Oporinus, 1559, 326. („se armis, non literis natos predicant /sc. nobiles/”)
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- 78 Müller 1984.
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- 84 Paris, Jean Cusson, 1678.
- 85 Paris, Etienne Michallet, 1678.
- 86 Ribard 2007.
- 87 Monok 1994.
- 88 E. g. the work of Antoine Joseph Dézallier d’Argenville (*La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage*) was largely spread, in Hungary too. Cf. Fatsar 2008.
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- 93 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991.
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- 95 Evans 1975; Monok 2005a; Monok 2005b; Monok 2006; The catalog of the Wechel editing house: Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 116.
- 96 Viskolcz 2008, 66.
- 97 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 189–297; Borvölgyi, KKK VII, 2004.
- 98 Kumorovitz–Kállai, kiad., *Kultúrtörténeti... 1959*.
- 99 Óze, kiad., *500 magyar levél... 1996*.
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- 102 Farkas G. F.–Katona-Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 3–9.
- 103 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004.
- 104 Borsa 1972.
- 105 Monok 2004; Monok 2004a.
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- 107 Hausner 2009.
- 108 Monok, KKK I, 1996; Várkonyi Á. 2008.
- 109 Kristóf 1995; Kristóf 2008.
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- 116 Monok 2009a; Monok 2012.
- 117 Pajkossy 1983; Boross 2007.
- 118 György L. 1994, 22; Klaniczay 1985; Klaniczay 1985d; Horn 2009.
- 119 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 302 (Nr. 352); cf. Zvara 2008.
- 120 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 27–28.
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- 127 Farkas G. F.–Katona-Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 110–113.
- 128 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 125–126.
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- 183 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 110–113 (1680).
- 184 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 3–9.
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- 186 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 127–135.
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- 190 Elek Bethlen from Mihály Teleki: Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 127–135.
- 191 Sámuel Enyedi, compactor, binded the books of Sándor Teleki (1749): Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 165.
- 192 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 289–297.; cf. Borvölgyi, KKK VII, 2004.
- 193 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 143–145.; Font, összeáll., *Teleki Pál...* 1989, 291–293, 300–311.
- 194 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 167–169.
- 195 Barlay Ö. Sz. 1979; Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 389–436; Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004; Orbán 2018.
- 196 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 346–349.
- 197 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 39–40.
- 198 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 168–174.
- 199 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 40–41.; cf. Lancsák 1984; Kecskeméti, szerk., *Római szerzők...* 1993, 105–150, 661–677.
- 200 Ötvös P. 1988.
- 201 Vita 1983b.
- 202 Fodor H. 1940.
- 203 E. g. Drasenovich 1934; Hausner–Klanczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991.
- 204 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, *ex libris* collection
- 205 Cf. Varjú 1895; Borsa 1967; Dörnyei 1976.
- 206 Le Goff, sous la dir. de., *L'Europe des Anjoux...* 2001.
- 207 Marosi–Tóth M.–Varga L., szerk., *Művészet...* 1982.
- 208 Kurcz 1978; Kurcz 1988.
- 209 Körber, sous la dir. de, *Sigismond de Luxembourg...* 2006.
- 210 Csapodi 1995.

- 211 Földesi, ed., *Bibliotheca Corviniana...* 1990.
212 Karsay, szerk., *Uralkodók és corvinák ...* 2002.
213 Földesi, szerk., *Csillag a holló...* 2008; Földesi, ed., *A Star...* 2008; Mikó-Verő-Ács P., szerk., *Mátyás király...* 2008; Farbaky-Spekner-Szende-Végh, szerk., *Hunyadi Mátyás...* 2008. cf. Farbaky-Waldman, eds., *Italy and Hungary...* 2011.
214 Klaniczay T.–Török-Stangler, hrsg., *Schallaburg '82...* 1982.
215 Mikó 2009.
216 Kulcsár 1981.
217 Die Jagiellonen in der Kunst und Kultur Mitteleuropas 1454–1572.
218 Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1941; Klimes 1934.
219 Borsa 1988; Borsa-Dörnyei, sajtó alá rend., *A budai könyvtárak...* 1996.
220 Köblös 1994; Kubinyi A. 1967; Kubinyi A. 1984; Kubinyi A. 1988; Kubinyi A. 2005; Kubinyi A. 2009.
221 Mészáros 1972; Mészáros 1981.
222 Aranka 1983.
223 Monok 2004b; Monok 2005c.
224 Mikó 2002; Monok 2002a; Monok 2004c; Viskolcz 2006.
225 Csapodi 1961; Csapodi 1971; Csapodi 1973; Csapodi 1984a.
226 Zolnai K., összeáll., *Bibliographia...* 1942.
227 cf. Csapodi 1973, 72–90.
228 *Rerum Hungaricarum decades tres*, Basileae, Robert Winter, 1543, RMK III, 344.
229 *De humanae vitae conditione, et toleranda corporis aegritudine, ad Mathiam Corvinum Hungariae et Bohemiae Rege, et Beatricem Reginam*, Basileae, Robert Winter, 1541 (RMK III, 331.); Basileae, Robert Winter, 1543 (RMK III, 345.)
230 cf. Csapodi 1973, 47–48.
231 Balázs M.–Monok 1986.
232 Balázs M.–Monok–Tar 1992.
233 Balázs M.–Monok 1987; Balázs M.–Monok–Varga–Tar 1990.
234 *Historiarum de rebus Hungaricis libri XXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae, Antonius Hieratus, 1622, RMK III, 1350.
235 Csapodi 1973, 341–342 (Nr. 565).
236 *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. Lukács Péchi, Nagyszombat, off Telegdi, 1579, RMNY 444.
237 Mikó 1999; Ludányi 1990.
238 With his collection comes to the National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 244.
239 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, I, 366.
240 Frankl (Fraknói) 1874.
241 Balázs M.–Fricsy–Lukács–Monok, Adattár 26/1, 1990, 322–323, 330.: Letters of Muzio Vitelleschi to Florianus Avancinus and to Caspar Gratiani.
242 Harsányi 1917, 6–7; Monok, KKK I, 1996, XVII–XVIII, note nr. 14.
243 Jakó 1976b.
244 Tarnóc 1978; Bitskey 1980.
245 About Apafi library see Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 71–89, 98–120.
246 Pálffy 2005a; Kovács A. 2005.
247 Jakó 1976b.
248 Jakó 1976a.
249 Jakó 1976a, 175; Dankanits 1974, 65–67.
250 Dankanits 1974, 12; Pálfi 2009, 57–69 (hier: 63.)

- 251 Jakó 1976b, 338; Vásárhelyi 1980.
- 252 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 333–340. (Heilsberg today Lidzbark in Poland)
- 253 Horn 2010, 110.
- 254 Klaniczay T. 1985b; Klaniczay T. 1985d.
- 255 “nuperrime in lucem prodierunt” cf. Monok 2002a; Monok 2004c.
- 256 Sinkovits–Borzásák, kiad., Szamosközy István... 1963, 274.
- 257 Monok 1988.
- 258 Monok–Lázár I. D., kiad., *Háportoni Forró...* 1988, facsimile fol. 12r.
- 259 *Speculum trinitatis*, Debrecen, Peter Rheda, 1622, RMNy 1262, fol. 5v.; cf. Tombor 1962.
- 260 Szakály, sajtó alá rend., *Szalárdi János...* 1980, 95.
- 261 Ecsedy 1999, 123–127.
- 262 Szabó K. 1882; Siklóssy 1927; Vita 1965; Kovács S. I.–Kulcsár 1969; Szentimrei 1974; Vita 1983a.
- 263 Végh 1936, 23.
- 264 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 215.: Catalogue of the library of Pál Esterházy, 1756, and hier: “*Biblia Ungarica olim Betlen*”
- 265 Pálfi 2009, 70–92.
- 266 Szabó K. 1879; Török 1927; Jakó 1973.
- 267 Pálfi 2009, 92–99.
- 268 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., Adattár 16/3, 1994, 181–184.; Monok, KKK I, 1996, 7–29.
- 269 Herepei 1961; cf. Pálfi 2009, 125–127.
- 270 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Tonk, Adattár 16/2, 1991, 116–198; Nagy Gy. 1883; Kropf L. 1886; Gömöri 1979; Monok–Viskolcz 1992.
- 271 Jakó 1973.
- 272 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Tonk, Adattár 16/2, 1991, 201–202.
- 273 cf. Várkonyi Á. 1987; Várkonyi Á. 2002.
- 274 cf. Pálffy 2005.
- 275 Viskolcz 2006; Viskolcz 2009.
- 276 *Iter Budense anno 1666*, cf. Gastbeger 2005; Viskolcz 2006; Viskolcz 2009. The Hungarian experts didn’t use this diary, only the book of Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Vindobonensi liber primus*, Vindobonae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1669, Tom. II, Cap. IX., cf. Gulyás P. 1927; Csapodi 1973.
- 277 Jenae, Johann Bielck, 1688. Seconde edition: *De bibliothecis atque archivis virorum clarissimorum libelli et commentationes antediluvianis*, Antehac edidit Joachimus Joannes Maderus, Secundam editionem curavit Ioannes Andreas Schmidt, Helmstadi, Georg Wolfgang Hamm, 1702, 335–352.
- 278 cf. Monok 2009b.
- 279 Tüzes Gábor 1900; Monok 2002c; Monok 2003a; Hodson 2007; Kalmár–Varga 2010; Kalmár–Varga 2013.
- 280 Pálffy 202; Pálffy 2003a; Fundárková 2009; Fundárková–Fazekas, hrsg., *Die weltliche...* 2013; Pálffy 2013.
- 281 Pálffy 2007; Horn 2008.
- 282 Nagy I. 1883; Nagy I. 1857–1868, V, 257–260.
- 283 Holub 1912.
- 284 *Rerum Hungaricarum decades tres*, Basileae, Robert Winter, 1543, RMK III, 344.
- 285 Antonii Bonfinii *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor, cum dimidia, Qvarum tres priores, ante annos XX, Martini Brenneri Bistriciensis industria editae, iamque diverosrum aliquot co-*

- dicum manuscriptorum collatione multis in locis emendatiores: quarta vero decas cum quinta dimidia, nunquam antehac excusae...* Basileae, Bartholomaeus Franco, Paulus Quecus, 1568, RMK III, 570.; cf.: Bartoniek 1975, 341; Gunst 2000, 105; Domokos Gyöngyi 2010.
- 286 RMNy 340, 462; cf.: Ács P. 2018.
- 287 Varga Sz. 2018.
- 288 cf. Ács P.–Tóth G., szerk., „*A magyar történet...*” 2018.
- 289 Fazekas 2018.
- 290 Only one volume from his library is known, a Cicero edition: *Tusculanae quaestionescum commento Philippi Beroaldi*, Venetiae, Philippus Poncius Mantuanus, 1510 (National Széchényi Library, Ant. 1746.) cf.: Varjú 1895a; Holub 1912, 226 (a foto on the page of title: 233); Ács P. 2018, 38 (a foto on the page of title: Ács P.–Tóth G., szerk., „*A magyar történet...*” 2018, 285).
- 291 cf.: Kiss F. G. 2018.
- 292 Bartoniek 1975, 339–388.
- 293 Pajkossy 1983; Boross 2007; Monok 2011.
- 294 Monok 2009a; Monok 2012a.
- 295 Klimes 1934.
- 296 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 22–23.; Szelestei Nagy 1994, 51–69.
- 297 Monok 2017a.
- 298 Bóta 1938; Berlász 1961.
- 299 *Somniorum synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes libri IIII...* Basileae, Sebastianus Henricpetri, 1562, cf.: Pajkossy 1970 (hier: note 80.)
- 300 Berlász 1974.
- 301 Cf. Balázs M.–Monok 1987.
- 302 Hilarius Pictaviensis, *De Sancta Trinitate libri XII*, Croatian National Library, R 4071, cf. Csapodi 1973, 247, Nr. 333.
- 303 *De architectura libri decem ... cum commentariis Danielis Barbari...* Venetiis, Apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, Johannes Crugherum Germanum, 1567; cf.: Colta 1983.
- 304 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 184–185, Nr. 141.
- 305 Istvánffy 1900, 213–214.
- 306 *Sanctae inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae, Exempla aliquot, praeterea quae suo quoque loco in ipso opere sparsa sunt, seorsum reposita, in quibus easdem Inquisitorias artes veluti in tabulis quibusdam in ipso porro exercitio inueni licet, Addidimus appendicis...* Reginaldo Gonsalvio Montano authore, Heidelbergae, Michael Schirat, 1567, Güssing, Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters, 4/70.
- 307 Balázs M. 1993.
- 308 Monok–Ötvös 2011.
- 309 Antverpiae, off. Plantiniana, 1583 (Budapest, University Library, Ant. 2930), cf.: Pajkossy 1983, note 40.
- 310 Boross 2007, 178–184: Books from Istvánffy Library, Nr. 16.
- 311 Pajkossy 1983 enumerated 20 volumes; the results of Gábor Farkas was not yet published.
- 312 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 208b.
- 313 Lyon, Gabriel Cartier, 1582; cf. Berlász 1974, 219.
- 314 Basileae, Petrus Perna, 1581; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 19.
- 315 *Le recueil des excellens et libres discours sur l'estat present de la France*. Sine loco, sine typ. 1598; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 22.
- 316 Francofurti, haer. Andreae Wecheli, 1594; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 23.
- 317 Parisiis, Gabriel Buon, 1566; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 27.

- 318 The book of Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, Venezia, Andrea Muschio, 1586; cf: Boross 2007, Nr. 24.
- 319 *Las Qvexas [quejas] y Llanto e Pompeyo adonde brevemente se muestra la destrucion de la Republica Romana. Y el hecho horrible y nuncaoido de la muerte d'el hijo d'el gran Turco Solimano dada por su mismo padre*, [Nicolas de Moffan] *con vna declamacion de la muerte por consolacion de vn amigo*, [compuesta en Latin por Desid. Erasmo Roterodamo] Almuy magnifico Señor Gonçalo Perez, Anvers, Martin Nuyts, 1556; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 25.
- 320 Tiguri, Christoph Froschover, 1551; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 31.
- 321 *Lampas, sive Fax artium liberalium, hoc est Thesaurus criticus ...* Francofurti, 1606, Jonas Rhodius (Budapest, University Library, Ha 42; information from Gábor Farkas)
- 322 Köln, Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1599 (Budapest, University Library, Ant. 6897; information from Gábor Farkas)
- 323 A work of Peter Fleischmann; Augsburg, Michael Manger, 1582; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 36.
- 324 A colligat with the works of Girolamo Mercuriale and Giovanni Antonio Sicco; cf.: Boross 2007, Nr. 17.
- 325 His work was published posthumously: *Historiarum de rebus Hungaricis libri XXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae, Antonius Hieratus, 1622.
- 326 Tiguri, Christoph Froschover, 1555.
- 327 I can't find this edition.
- 328 Berlász 1961, 230.; Verona 1957, 359; Rojnić 1977, 6–7.
- 329 Berlász 1974, 216.
- 330 A new information about a volume from the Istvánffy Library see Orlovsky-Szentmártoni Szabó 2018.
- 331 Szabo Gj. 1920.
- 332 Miletic 1999.
- 333 Laszowski 1914.
- 334 Széchy 1896, I, passim.
- 335 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 305–309.
- 336 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 537–542, 583–584.
- 337 But we have item registered in following form: „*Astrologi Sexaginta libri*”
- 338 Bogenšberg, today Smartno pri Litiji in Slovenia. Cf.: Kukolja, obdel., *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana*, 1995; Magić 2005; Magić 2005; Magić 2006.
- 339 *Male dederunt Medicos libros puellae, quia Pater eius mihi donavit...* Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 541. Sándor Mikulich was accused for raping this girl. The father of the girl was blind, and Mikulich supported the family for seven years. He said, that it wasn't true that he forced the girl to live in the castle, she accepted to be the maid of his wife. Later on the girl lied that she was raped.
- 340 Perhaps he was *Mikolich Alexander de Brukunovch, Croata, Liber baro* in Graz, in the Collegium Jesuiticum, 11. februarii 1637 (as “*principista*”)
- 341 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 347, Nr. 444.
- 342 The beginning of the document: *Consignatio rerum in arce Belec per generosum Dominum Americum Ordody ... relictorum ...*
- 343 Fracofurti ad Moenum, Johann Gottfried Schönwetter, Johann Friedrich Weiss, 1652.
- 344 Ultrajectini, Johannes à Waesberge, 1646.
- 345 Klaniczay T. 1987; Ötvös P. 1994; Monok 2015.
- 346 This book of the jesuit Guillaume Germé de Lamormain was published many times in Latin and in German; in Croatian/Slovenian translated by György Rátkay: *Kriposti Ferdinanda II. Rimzkogha Czeszara, Kralertzvih, Nimskogha, Wgerzkogha, Cheskogha, Dalma-*

- tinzkogha, Hervaczhogha, i Szlovinzkogha, Kralia, etc. po Ottczu Gulielmusu Lamormitani, Diachkim iezikom zlosene, szada pako po Ivriv Rattkai ... szlovinzkim iezikom popis-zane... U Bechu, Gregor Gelbhaar, 1640.*
- 347 William Barclay, *De potestate papae*, Hanoviae, typis Willerianis, 1612
- 348 *Narratio translata a Saxonia in Bohemiam Sacri Corporis Beatissimi Viri Norberti... Prague (Strahov), Pavel Sessius, 1628; Translatio Sanctissimi Patris Nostris Norberti consummata... Prague (Strahov), Petrus Gelehn, Pavel Sessius, 1627.*
- 349 *De rebus Hungariae Provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum... Viennae, Matthaeus Formicus, 1637.*
- 350 Malachias Rosenthal, *Actio sacri ordinis Cisterciensis in ea monasteria avita quae ab aliis sine legitima concessionem sunt occupata... causam dicente*, Viennae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1649.
- 351 *Scapulare Partho-Carmeliticum... Parisiis, Antoine Padeloup, 1654.*
- 352 *Corpus revelationum Sanctae Brigittae, Hildegardis, Elisabethae... Coloniae Agrippinae, Antonius Boetzerus, 1628.*
- 353 Bene 2007a.
- 354 cf. Péter K. 2001.
- 355 See the latest monography: Varga Sz. 2016.
- 356 Hausner-Klaniczay-Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991.
- 357 Monok, szerk., *Kék vér... 2005*; Monok, ed., *Blue Blood... 2005*; Kosić, ured., *Plava krv ... 2005*; Komorová, zost., *Modrá krv ... 2005*; Körner–Perschy, hrsg., *Blaues Blut... 2006*.
- 358 Klaniczay T. 1987.
- 359 Lot of pamphlets were published in Venice on the victory of Lepanto, e.g.: Celio Magno, *Trionfo di Christo per la vittoria contra Turchi rappresentato al Serenissime Principe di Veneta il di San Stefano... Venetia, Domenico Guerra, 1571; L'Ordine delle galere et le insegne loro, con il fanò, nomi e cognomi delli magnifici e generosi patroni di esse, che si ritrouorno nella armata della santissima Lega, al tempo della vittoriosa e miracolosa impresa ottenuta, e fatta con lo aiuto Diuino, contra la orgogliosa e superba armata Turchesca, Venetia, Giovanni Francesco Camotio, 1571; Agostino Rava, *Vettuoria incontra el Turco de Menon, Venetia, Andrea Muschio, 1571; Pianto, et lamento de Selin, Drian Imperador de Tvrchi, nella rotta, et destruttion della s'ò Armada; Con vn'Esortation fatta a Occhial'i, Venexia, Andrea Muschio, 1571.**
- 360 Štefanec 2007.
- 361 See the index of possessors of the volume Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991.
- 362 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 519.
- 363 Borsa 1981, about Nádasdy hier, p. 140; to compare see Monok, ed., *Blue Blood... 2005*, 85, picture nr. 26; cf. Viskolcz 2010, about the Nádasdy ex libris p. 889.
- 364 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 335. (from 1560)
- 365 cf. Király E. 1983; Kovács S. I. 1983; Kovács S. I. 1985.
- 366 See the concordance of the volume Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991; cf. Zvara 2008.
- 367 Iványi 1926; Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár 11, 1983, 437–484*; Komorová 2009.
- 368 Zvara 2011.
- 369 E. g. Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, Nr. 169.
- 370 Salgó, szerk., *Iconum... 2004*.
- 371 Bene 1988; Bene–Kiss B. K., kiad., *Marcus Forstall... 2007*; Vukusić 2013.
- 372 Drasenovich 1934.

- 373 Klaniczay T. 1985c; Klaniczay T. 1987.
- 374 The list of the books of Forstall see Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 65–69.
- 375 Cf. Borián 2004.
- 376 Ács P. 2006.
- 377 Bene 2007c.
- 378 Kelenik 1995; Hausner 1995; Hausner–Veszprémy 1996; Domokos Gy.–Hausner–Veszprémy 1997; Domokos Gy.–Hausner–Veszprémy 1997; Hausner 2005; Hausner 2008;
- 379 Várkonyi Á.–Zimányi, szerk., *Monumenta Zrínyiana*, 1991.
- 380 Kostrenčić–Modrić–Šamšalović, ed., *Monumenta historica...* 1974.
- 381 Kovács S. I. 1988.
- 382 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 65–69.
- 383 Her prayer book was published in Venice: *Putni tovarus ...* V Benetkih, s. typ., 1661
- 384 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 573–579; Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 55–58.
- 385 The first edition of this work: Torino, Giovanni Battista Ferrofino, 1650; the first edition in Venice: Francesco Sorti, 1659. We know 12 editions appeared before the confiscation of Péter Zrínyi library.
- 386 The edition in Naples: 1652 by Giovanni Battista Caracciolo.
- 387 *Anatomia del cauallo, infermita et suoi rimedii*, Opera nuoua, degna di qualsiasi uoglia Principe et caualliere. Molto necessaria a filosofi, medici, cauallerizzi, et marescalchi. ... Venetia, Gasparo Bindoni, 1599; it was published in 1618 (Venice), and it was popular in the 18th century too (we know the editions from 1706 and 1707 (both in Venice)).
- 388 Bene 2000.
- 389 Bene 2010.
- 390 Vienna, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1652 (RMK III, 1794.)
- 391 Ioannis Lucci Dalmatini *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*, Amsterodami, Johannes Bleau, 1666 (and 1668). About the contact between Bleau and Zrínyi see Fallenbüchl 1980 (here about Zrínyi: p. 393); one copy of this map see: National Széchényi Library, App. H. 995 (identification of Noémi Viskolcz).
- 392 Laszowski 1937.
- 393 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 56–72.
- 394 Hausner 2007.
- 395 Monachii, Johannes Jaeklinus, 1676; cf. Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 425–426 (Nr. 645).
- 396 Vienna, Johann Van Ghelen, 1679, cf. Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 434–435 (Nr. 664–668) – we have 5 copies.
- 397 Berlász 1986; Bene 2002.
- 398 RMK III, 3299, 3338.
- 399 Séllyei 1841; Horváth S. 1942; Németh 1986; Tantalics 1988; Tőkei, kiad., Tőke Ferenc... 1996; Bence 2000; Hubert 2001; Tantalics 2009.
- 400 Nagy I. 1857–1868, I, 160–162.
- 401 His wife was Magdolna Guthi Ország.
- 402 His wife was Orsolya Zrínyi, and their daughter became wife of János Révay.
- 403 Horváth S. 1942, 35.
- 404 His first wife was Anna Mérey, and the second Ilona Draskovich. cf. Horváth 1942, 36.
- 405 his son Pál died in 1576, and János in 1594.

- 406 Séllyei 1841.
 407 Tantalics 2009, 89–170.
 408 Monok 2005a, 61–70.; Tantalics 2009; Balázs M. 1988a.
 409 Gulyás P. 1930; Borsa 1968; Borsa 1970; Ecsedy 2004, 91–98.
 410 RMNy 319; RMNy 320; RMNy 334.
 411 RMNy 321.
 412 Hubert 2001.
 413 Tantalics 1988, 15.
 414 Horváth S. 1942, 24–25.; Tantalics 2009, 158–159.
 415 Other as the four mentioned, we know as protestant pastor in the Bánffy court only János Gál, who still 1616 was active. cf. Horváth S. 1942, 28.
 416 Tantalics 1988, 1–15.; Tőkei, kiad., Tőke Ferenc... 1996.
 417 RMNy 321.
 418 RMNy 513.
 419 RMNy 344; Tantalics 1988, 16–21.
 420 Sempte, 1573, RMNy 333.
 421 Sempte, 1574, RMNy 355.
 422 RMNy 785.
 423 The list of his books see Varga A.–Monok, Adattár 13/1, 1986, 13–14.
 424 Mályusz 1923; Papp L. 1964; Óze, kiad., *500 magyar levél...* 1996.
 425 See above in the chapter about Zrínyi Family.
 426 Güssing, Franziskanerkloster, 3/130.
 427 Saktorová–Komorová–Petrenková–Agnet 1993, Nr. 1623; Zvara 2011.
 428 Hegedűs 1918.
 429 *In divini et regii prophetae David triadem quinquagenariam, seu psalterium interpretatio poetica ... Viennae Austriae, Matthaeus Formica, 1624, RMK III, 1355.; this copie of the book: Eisenstadt, Bibliotheca Esterházyana, Zimmer V. mittlere, Kasten 4. Regal 1. The dedication published by Jankovics 1989 (hier: 281, nr. 9.)*
 430 *Enchiridion sive manuale confessoriorum et poenitentium ... Moguntiae, Balthasarus Lippius, sumpt. Arnoldi Mylii, 1603. Possessor note: Comitiss Christophori Banffy De Also Lyndua. Eisenstadt, Bibliotheca Esterházyana, Zimmer V. mittlere, Kasten 4. Regal 4.*
 431 Cf. Tóth I. Gy. 1999.
 432 Venetiae, Luca Antonio de Giunta, 1520.
 433 His note: *Christophorj Banffy D. Al. Anno 1608 Darmstadii*
 434 cf. Monok 2005a, 87–103.; Bobory 2009.
 435 cf. Péter K. 2001; Koltai 2013a.
 436 His wife was Dorottya Zrínyi.
 437 His wife was Eva Poppel Lobkowitz from Bohemia.
 438 His first wife was Aurora Formentini, and the seconde, Catharina Wittmann.
 439 Eckhardt 1943; Monok 2011a.
 440 Koltai, KKK IV, 2002, 5–8, 16–20, 24–29.; Koltai 2012.
 441 Monok 2004; Monok 2004a.
 442 cf. Katona I. 1979.
 443 Katona I. 1972; Zvara 201; Zvara KKK IX, 2013.
 444 Monok 2004a.
 445 cf. Monok 2003.
 446 Monok 1989a.
 447 Holl 1981.
 448 Aumüller–Guglia 1973; Clusius-Festschrift 1973; Bobory 2018, 199–233.

- 449 Barlay Ö. Sz. 1977; Barlay Ö. Sz. 1979; Bobory 2005; Bobory 2018, 143–197.
450 That is only a tradition in the secondary literature. Peoples suppose that Kepler solidarily lived Graz, as the Protestants were obligated to go in exile.
451 Koltai 2000.
452 Kecskeméti G. 2005, 94–95.
453 Ecsedy 2004, 117–122.; Kohnle 2011.
454 RMNy 411; cf. Géczi 2007.
455 Iványi B. 1983; With a complete bibliography see Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004; Orbán 2018a; Monok 2018.
456 cf. Monok 2008a.
457 cf. Monok 2011.
458 Eckhardt 1943.
459 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, 8.
460 Turóczy-Trostler 1961b.
461 Evans 1975.
462 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 405.
463 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 605.
464 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 480.
465 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 435.
466 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 557.
467 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 89, 95.
468 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 101.
469 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 118.
470 Ecsedy 1999, 105–109.
471 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 124.
472 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 125, 136.
473 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 132.
474 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 149.
475 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 385.
476 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 571.
477 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 441.
478 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 555.
479 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 208.
480 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 332.
481 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 48.
482 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 12.
483 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 91.
484 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 148.
485 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 531, 589.
486 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 144.
487 Bobory 2009.
488 Bobory 2018.
489 Monok 1998a.
490 Monok 1994; Monok 2002d.
491 Klaniczay T. 1987; Ötvös P. 1994; Monok 2010b; Monok 2015.
492 Monok 2011a.
493 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 343.
494 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 656–657.
495 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 117: Frankfurt am Main, Sigismund Feyerabend, 1585.

- 496 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 32. cf. the note 358 in this volume.
497 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 210.
498 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 174.
499 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 425. About the history of binding in the court of Bol-
dizsár Batthyány see Borsa 1972; Szendrei 1981, F 531.
500 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 16.
501 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 68.
502 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 582, 583.
503 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 581.
504 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 636.
505 Chaix–Dufour–Moeckli 1966.
506 Lestringant–Preda, ed., *La Mappede Monde Papistique...* 1998.
507 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 404.
508 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 18.
509 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 19.
510 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 21.
511 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 22.
512 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 55.
513 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 20.
514 *Response de François Portus Candiot, aux lettres diffamatoires de Pierre Carpentier, ... pour
l'innocence des fidèles serviteurs de Dieu... massacrez le 24 jour d'aoust 1572, appelez factieux
par ce plaideureau, traduite nouvellement de latin en françois.* S. l. 1574, s. typ.
515 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 211.
516 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 237.
517 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 31.
518 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 390: Genève, Jean Lertout, 1574.
519 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 35, 43, 44, 69.
520 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 69. Coll. 2: Strasbourg, Bernard Jobin?, 1577 – VD 16
E 194; cf. Costil 1935, 435; Jankovics–Monok, comp., *András Dudith...* 1993, 60, nr. 92.
521 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 235.
522 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 339, 340. Frankfurt am Main, Johann Wechel, 1586.
523 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 198.
524 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 201. *Le Meurtre du seigneur Corbinelly*, Francfort, s.
typ., 1570 (Pettegree–Walsby 2007, Nr. 14309). Orbán 2018, 262 suppose, that it's about
an engraving on Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.
525 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 141.
526 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 47.
527 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 80.
528 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 139.
529 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 476. Lausanne, Franciscus Le Preux, 1578.
530 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 533, 534. Paris, Egidius Gorbinus, 1575, 1576.
531 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 346. Lyon, Jean Mareschall, 1576.
532 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 648. Strassburg, Johann Fischart, 1575.
533 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 65. Montluel, Charles Pesnot, 1573.
534 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 647. Frankfurt am Main, Johann Schmidt, 1570–1572.
535 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 177. Anvers, Jan Waesberge, 1561.
536 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 238. Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1573.
537 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 147. Lyon, Barthalémy Honorat, 1587.
538 Monok–Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 150. Lugdunum, Franciscus Feuraeus, 1587.

- 539 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 386.
 540 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 610, 638.
 541 Monok 2018a.
 542 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 433, 434.
 543 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 538.
 544 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, 8.
 545 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 195.
 546 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 645.
 547 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 51, 52, 60, 62, 197, 347, 348, 572.
 548 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 559.
 549 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 322–328, 347, 60, 110, 349, 525.
 550 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 258, 274, 276, 296, 405, 426.
 551 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 29.
 552 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 195.
 553 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 62.
 554 Monok-Ötvös P.–Zvara 2004, Nr. 207, 217.
 555 Monok 2004; Monok 2004a.
 556 Sárdi 2004.
 557 Kincses, kiad., „*Im küttem én orvosságot*” 1993.
 558 Kathona 1939; Holl 1981; Reingrabner 1981; Reingrabner, hrsg., *Evangelisch im Burgenland...* 1981; Uray 1987; Kokas 1992.
 559 Ecsedy 1999, 105–109.
 560 RMNy 1143A (later RMNy 1194, 1195, 1196.)
 561 Evans 1975.
 562 RMNy 1308: Hanau, David Aubry, 1608. The father of this David Aubry was Jean Aubry, son in law of André Wechel.
 563 Kathona 1939.
 564 cf. the RMNy.
 565 Heinrich Herzog von Braunschweig d. Jüngere, *Hoffgerichte ordnung des ... Hern Heinrichs des Jüngerer Hertzogs zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. Newlich geordnet und auffgerichtet*, Wolfenbüttel, Henning Rüden's Erben, 1556 – Güssing Franziskanerbibliothek 3/25.; we know household's instructions from the Batthyány estates (1640, 1680, 1690): Koltai, sajtó alá rend., *Magyar udvari...* 2001a, 95–98., 113–118., 133–143., 199–209., 219–226.; cf. Koltai 2013.
 566 Iványi B.–Szilasi L., *Adattár 29/1*, 1990, 322–329.
 567 Koltai, KKK IV, 2002, 20–29; Koltai 2008; Koltai 2012; Koltai 2013.
 568 Koltai, KKK IV, 2002, 148–268.; Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár 11*, 1983, 268–279.; Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, *Adattár 13/4*, 2009, 51–56.
 569 Czeglédi–Kruppa–Monok–Zvara, *Adattár 13/5*, 2010, 151–155.
 570 Koltai, KKK IV, 2002, 269.
 571 Monok 2005, 70–79.; Monok 2005a, 70–80.; Monok 2006, 70–82.; Buzási 2010; Buzási 2010a; Kiss E. 2010; Toma 2010; Toma 2010a; Viskolcz 2006a; Viskolcz 2008; Viskolcz 2010; Viskolcz, KKK VIII, 2013.
 572 Fügedi 1970; Horn 2002; Horn 2005; Balogh–Horn 2008.
 573 Nagy I. 1857–1868, VII, 19–26.; Fallenbüchl 1988.; Fallenbüchl 2001, 207–208.; Dominikovits–Pálffy 2010.
 574 Pálffy 1998; Péter K. 2005a.
 575 We have a booklist of the collection of this castle from 1533, see Grill–Keveházi–Kokas–Monok–Ötvös P.–Prickler, hrsg., *Adattár 18/2*, 1996, 200–201.

- 576 Söptei, szerk., *Nádasdy Tamás...* 1998.
577 Szakály 1993; Péter K. 1995; Monok 2006.
578 Zátanyi 1991.
579 Mályusz 1923; Istványi 1934; Kumorovitz–Kállai, kiad., *Kultúrtörténeti...* 1959; Őze, kiad., *500 magyar levél...* 1996.
580 Varga A.–Monok, *Adattár* 13/1, 1986, 12–14.
581 Monok 1998.
582 Vida–Grynaeus, kiad., „*Szerelmes Orsikám...*” 1988.
583 cf. Bartók Ilona 1989.
584 Balázs J. 1959; Nagyné Piroska 1987; Bartók 1998; Bartók 1998a.
585 Ecsedy 2004, 44–52.
586 RMNy 39, 47, 49.
587 RMNy 49.
588 Nagy L. 1987, 235–274.; cf. Domokos Gy.–Hausner–Veszprémy 1997a
589 see Padua, 1590 (Nicolaus Gabelmann, RMK III, 5502); his letters, published in Nürnberg (RMK III, 5572, 7464, 7465), or in Frankfurt am Main, 1600 (RMK III, 7482.)
590 Prag, 1603 (RMK III, 1004.)
591 Nagy L. 1987, 49–62.
592 see RMNy 653; RMK III, 5517, 5518.
593 Imre Zvonarics, Wittenberg, 1601 (RMK III. 983); Gegely Czenki, Wittenberg, 1603 (RMK III. 5677)
594 Turóczy–Trostler 1961.
595 Ecsedy 2004, 121–12.
596 RMNy 833.
597 RMNy 834.
598 RMNy 890, 913.
599 RMNy 891.
600 RMNy 888.
601 RMNy 901
602 RMNy 902.
603 RMNy 910: Georg Hartlieb, RMNy 912: Benedek Nagy, RMNy 913: István Magyarai, RMNy 914: Joannes Ruland, RMNy 915: a collection of poems, written upon the death of Ferenc Nádasdy
604 Péter K. 1985, 11–12.
605 cf. RMNy 1492, and RMNy 2027.
606 RMNy 1027A, 1028; cf. RMK III. 1611.
607 István Lossics (1614, RMK III. 1135), István Potyondi (1614, RMK III. 1140), Miklós Galgóczi (1619, RMK III. 1265), András Horváth (1637, RMK III. 1532, 1533). Judit Révay married seconde Ádám Forgách, and she converted to catholicism (cf. Payr 1913). She died in 1643, her books were conscribed (Czeglédi–Kruppa–Monok–Zvara, *Adattár* 13/5, 2010, 3.); five books, exclusively catholic piety and sermons.
608 RMK III, 1189.
609 RMNy 1133.
610 Ecsedy 1999, 103–104.
611 RMNy 1494.
612 RMNy 1059, 1061, 1072, 1091, 1324, 1380, 1560, 1602.
613 RMNy 1637, 1991.
614 Especially the patronage of David Frölich, mathematician and astronomer: RMNy 1680, 1758, 1820.

- 615 RMNy 1990.
- 616 cf. Buzási, szerk., *Főúri ősgalériák...* 1988.
- 617 Viskolcz 2008.
- 618 Horn 1989; Fazekas 1993.
- 619 Viskolcz 2011.
- 620 Toma 2005.
- 621 Koltai, sajtó alá rend., *Magyar udvari...* 2001, 100–112, 194–198, 214–218.; Viskolcz, KKK VIII, 2013; Koltai 2013.
- 622 Sitte 1902; Borsa 1975; Ecsedy 1999, 137–138.
- 623 RMK III, 2254; cf. Etényi 2002; Viskolcz, kiad., *Mausoleum...* 2005; Viskolcz 2006a; Viskolcz 2007.
- 624 RMK III, 2397.
- 625 RMK III, 2058, 6387; cf. Toma 2010.
- 626 That is the beginning of a new cult and a new education program in Hungary: “Hungary as a Country offered to Mary the Virgin”. cf. Tüskés–Knapp 2002; Szörényi 2002; Farkas Zs. 2018.
- 627 RMK III, 1694.
- 628 RMK III, 2384.
- 629 Some examples of the European echo of this execution: Hargittay, szerk., *Siralmas jajt...*1997; Salgó–Etényi, szerk., *A Wesselényi-összeesküvés...* 2005; cf. Toma 2013.
- 630 Sitte 1902, 149.
- 631 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár 11*, 1983, 541.
- 632 See above the Istvánffy-chapter in this volume.
- 633 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 73–80, 101–106.
- 634 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, *Adattár 13/4*, 2009, 114–128.
- 635 Horváth J. 1889, 8. – actually we don’t have the catalogue of this library.
- 636 Viskolcz 2010; Viskolcz, KKK VIII, 2013.
- 637 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 73–80.
- 638 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 38.
- 639 Szombathi 1860, 86.; Szinyei 1884, 6.; Harsányi 1912; Monok, KKK I, 1996, 186 (Nr. 685); Monok–Hapák 2006, 85.
- 640 Kiss F. G. 2005.
- 641 Bologna, Vittorio Benacci, 1661.
- 642 Fallenbüchl 1980, 386–388.
- 643 Viskolcz 2008.
- 644 Monok, ed., *Blue Blood...* 2005, 82–83. (Nr. 17–18.)
- 645 Varjú 1895, 201.
- 646 Posonii, 1735 (National Széchényi Library, 502.040)
- 647 Borsa 1981, 140; cf. the cover of Monok, ed., *Blue Blood...* 2005, and a description of this print on the page 85. (Nr. 26.)
- 648 Viskolcz 2010. She don’t called this print as *ex libris*.
- 649 Buzási 2010.
- 650 Kiss E. 2010.
- 651 Sinkó–Viskolcz 2007.
- 652 Gabriel 2001; Körner 2005; Monok 2005e; Gabriel 2005; Körner 2006; Monok–Zvara 2019.
- 653 Péter K. 2001; Péter K. 2005.
- 654 Csapodi 1942.
- 655 cf. Fejes 2001.

- 656 Eszterházy 1901.
- 657 Zoványi 1977, 182.
- 658 Soltész 1995 minds, that his daughter, Zsófia Esterházy, owned certainly two books. She purchased both before marrying Márton Révay († 1630). The complete works of Isocrates and Josephus Flavius' history of the Jews were not typically female readings. It is unknown what made her keep these two books. Her notes in the volumes indicate, however that she handled the beautifully bound books from Wittenberg with bibliophilic serenity: *Ex libris Comitissae Sophiae Ludovicae Amaliae Wilhelminae Crescentiae Esterházy de Galántha*. The fact that she wrote her full name in the note indicates her seriousness. – But the identification of the person by Soltész 1995 must be wrong, because the daughter of Ferenc Esterházy was not *comitissa*, and the cited inscription possibly dated from the 18th century (fallowing the forms of the letters). Cf. Zvara 2018, 279 (footnote 5.)
- 659 Toldy, kiad., *Esterházy Miklós...* 1852; Hajnal, szerk., *Esterházy Miklós...* 1930; cf. Bitskey 1996a.
- 660 cf. Péter K. 1985.
- 661 Hausner–Klanciczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991.
- 662 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 43–52.; Ötvös P. 1994; Kovács E. 2007.
- 663 Zimányi 1998.
- 664 Péter K. 1993, 37.
- 665 Kovács J. L. 1996.
- 666 Dőry 1901; Kovács J. L. 1978; Koltai, sajtó alá rend., *Magyar udvari...* 2001, 80–89.
- 667 Klanciczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 282. (Nr. 309.)
- 668 RMNy 888.
- 669 Szelestei Nagy 1993; Soltész 1995; Soltész 1996; Tibold 1999, 117.; Fábryová 2000, Nr. 232.; Boda 2002; Monok 2011b; Monok–Zvara 2018.
- 670 Dmitrijeva–Subkov, hrsg., *Knyigi iz szobranyia...* 2007. The collection, except about hundred volumes returned to Eisenstadt in 2011.
- 671 Bubics–Merényi 1895, 1. füzet, 1. könyv, II (1. booklet, 1. chapter, II. part)
- 672 Ötvös P. 1998.
- 673 Monok–Péter K. 1990; Péter K. 1997; Péter K. 2018a.
- 674 Szakály 1994.
- 675 Szelestei Nagy 1987; Zvara 2010; Zvara 2011; Zvara 2012.
- 676 Viennae, 1629 (RMNy 1422.)
- 677 Sárdi 2004.
- 678 *Exemplorum memorabilium cum ethnicorum, tum christianorum e quibusque probatissimis scriptoribus... tomus posterior...* Venetiis, ad signum seminantis, 1572.
- 679 *Rectoratus academicus, id est, orationes, quas Comes Emericus Thurzo de Arvva; etc. Rector hactenus Academiae Wittebergensis etc. officii caussa publice habuit, Wittebergae, ex typ. Johannis Richteri, 1616. (RMK III, 1185.)*
- 680 Edited by Antonius Hierat, Mainz, between 1614 and 1619.
- 681 Paris, Michael Somnius, 1580.
- 682 Paris, Laurentius Somnius, 1618.
- 683 Viennae, Matthaeus Formica, 1624.
- 684 *Chronicon chronicorum Ecclesiastico-Politicum, ex huius superiorisque aetatis scriptoribus concinnatum...* Francofurti, haer. Johannis Aubrii, 1614.
- 685 Antverpiae, haer. Petri Belleri, 1613.

- 686 Antverpiae, off. Plantiniana, 1628.
687 Preserved in the National Library of Slovakia, cf. Kotvan 1979, Nr. 729.
688 RMK III, 1616.
689 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 220.
690 Melegh 2003.
691 Melegh 2003, 140.
692 Baranyai–Csernyánszky, kiad., *Urbaria et Conscriptioes...* 1981, 185.; Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 236–237.; Monok, KKK I, 1996, 218–221.
693 Eszterházy 1901, 175, 244.
694 Sós 2005; cf. Benda B. 2008, 31.
695 Coloniae, Lazar Zetzner, 1625; Coloniae, Bernard Gualther, 1630.
696 Coloniae, Johann Kincki, 1626.
697 Duaci, Balthasar Beller, 1636.
698 Duaci, Balthasar Beller, 1636; cf. Tüskés 1992.
699 Pozsony, Rikesh Mihály, 1631 (RMNy 1510.)
700 Strassburg, haer. Lazari Zetzneri, 1624; Frankfurt am Main, haer. Lazari Zetzneri, 1628.
701 Paris, Michael Somnius, 1578.
702 Viennae, Matthaeus Formica, 1637.
703 Frankfurt am Main, Jakob de Zetter, 1619.
704 Antverpiae, off. Plantiniana, 1628.
705 Basileae, Nicolaus Brylinger, 1561.
706 Basileae, off. Hervagiana, 1572.
707 cf. Tüskés–Knapp 2001.
708 Viskolcz 2007.
709 Bubics–Merényi 1895, 2. könyv, VI. (2. chapter, VI. part)
710 Semmelweis 1961; cf. Tüskés 2005.
711 Tüskés–Knapp 1995; Tüskés–Knapp 2002.
712 RMK III, 4758.; a facsimile edition: Sas–Mészáros, eds., *Harmonia...* 1993.
713 Fazekas 1993.
714 Galavics 1989; Galavics 1992; Perschy, red., *Die Fürsten Esterházy...* 1995; Fatsar 2008.
715 Szilágyi 1994; Rákossy 2009, Körner 2009.
716 RMK III, 4171.
717 cf. Galavics 1998; Galavics 2002.
718 Galavics 1992.
719 Iványi E.–Hausner, kiad., *Mars Hungaricus*, 1989.
720 Csatkai 1936; Borsa 1956; Borsa 1956a; Ecsedy 1999, 155.
721 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomatványok Tára, exl. 133.
722 Gabriel 2001, 123.
723 Harich 1972.
724 Monok–Zvara 2019.
725 Zvara 2008.
726 Posonii, 1673 (RMK II, 1325.)
727 *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer ...* Lugduni, Jean Antoine Huguetan, Marc Antoine Ravaud, 1659.
728 Venezia, Iseppo Prodomico, 1678.
729 Bényei Farkas 1988.
730 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 150 (Nr. 84), 151 (Nr. 86), 153 (Nr. 92).

- 731 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 426 (Nr. 647).
- 732 Heckenast 1958; Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 155.
- 733 Fazekas 1993; Grüll–Keveházi–Kokas–Monok–Ötvös P.–Prickler, hrsg., *Adattár* 18/2, 1996, 189–192.
- 734 Grüll–Keveházi–Kokas–Monok–Ötvös P.–Prickler, hrsg., *Adattár* 18/2, 1996, 189–192.
- 735 Grüll–Keveházi–Kokas–Monok–Ötvös P.–Prickler, hrsg., *Adattár* 18/2, 1996, 159–161. Noémi Viskolcz means that it's about the books of József Antal Esterházy.
- 736 Grüll–Keveházi–Kokas–Monok–Ötvös P.–Prickler, hrsg., *Adattár* 18/2, 1996, 162–181.; Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, *Adattár* 13/4, 2009, 195–247; Monok–Zvara 2019.
- 737 Merényi 1911.
- 738 *Inventarium librorum per condam Palatinum Principem Esterházy apud PP. Franciscanos ad S. Michaellem in Kismarton depositorum et novissime anno 1937 per eosdem PP. Franciscanos fideicommisso Esterházyano restitutorum nec non a dicto fideicommisso receptorum.* (Protokoll Nr. 6341. Inventar – Signaturen 14022–15906.)
- 739 Kotrelev–Korkmazova–Ponomarev 1992.
- 740 See above in the Istvánffy-chapter of this volume.
- 741 Both „A Amsterdam, chez Abraham Wolfgang, 1686.”
- 742 *De imitatione Christi, et rerum mundanarum contemptu, libri quatuor... Accessit vita Christi ex evangelistis compendio contexta... Coloniae, off. Birckmannica, 1606; Methodus practica aurei libelli Thomae de Kempis de imitatione Christi... Coloniae, sumpt. Hermannii Myllii, 1610.*
- 743 Forgách's booklist: Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 218–219.
- 744 In Trento, per Giovanni Antonio Brinati, 1712.
- 745 In Vienna d'Austria, appresso gli eredi del Viviani, 1688.
- 746 Bene 1993.
- 747 *Accademia degli Incogniti, Novelle amorse de' signori academici incogniti* publicate da Francesco Carmeni ... In Venetia, appresso gli heredi del Sarzina, 1641.
- 748 cf. Adriaan Moetjens, ed.: *Actes et memoires des negociations de la paix de Nimegue*, Tome I–III. A Amsterdam, chez Abraham Wolfgang; à Nimegue, chez Adriaen Moetjens, 1679.
- 749 *Le parfait oeconome, contenant ce qu'il est utile et necessaire de scavoir à tous ceux qui ont des Biens à la Campagne*, A Paris, chez Claude Prudhomme, 1710.
- 750 *Municipale oder Stadt-Recht der löblichen Statt Lucern... im Jahr 1706.* Lucern, gedruckt bey Anna Felicitas Huttin, durch Innocentium Theodoricum Hutt.
- 751 A Paris, chez Laurent D'Houry, 1689.
- 752 A Paris, chez la veuve de Jean Boudor, Jacques Collombat, 1710.
- 753 E. g.: Antoine Varillas, *La politique de la maison d'Autriche...*, A Paris, chez Claude Barbin, 1688.
- 754 *Dialogues des grands sur les affaires présentes.* A Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau, 1690 – *Pensées sur l'avis dun amy à l'auteur du miroir historique de la ligue de l'an 1664.* A Basle, chez Jean Frishman, 1694 – *Quelques pièces servantes à l'esclaircissement des affaires de la rupture entre la couronne de France et la Savoye.* S. l., s. typ., 1690 – *Dialogue sur les affaires de l'Europe...* A Villefranche, chez Jeremie Plantier, 1691 – *L'esprit de Luxemburg ou conference qu'il a eu avec Louis XIV. sur les moyens de parvenir à la Paix*, A Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau, 1693.
- 755 E. L. B. D. E. D., *La cour de France turbanisée et les trahisons de masquées...* A Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau, 1687. Cf. Kurcz 1978, 202.; Çirakman 2001.

- 756 A La Haye, chez Adrian Moetjens, 1682.
- 757 Nagymarton, Sopronkeresztúr, Boldogasszonyfalva, Kabold, Lakompak, Köpcsény. cf. Wachstein 1926.
- 758 A Rotterdam, chez Jean Hofhout, 1706.
- 759 Tome I–II. A La Haye, chez Abraham Arondeus, 1685.
- 760 A Paris, chez Claude Morlot, 1627.
- 761 cf. Bombart 2007.
- 762 *Les oeuvres de Monsieur Moliere*. Tome IV. ... A Liège, chez J. F. Broncart, 1703 (*Psiché, tragedie-ballet... Le malade imaginaire, comedie... Les femmes savantes, comedie... Les amans magnifiques, comedie... Don Garcie de Navarre, ou le prince Jaloux, comedie... L'impromptu de Versailles, comedie... La comtesse d'Escarbagnas, comedie... Melicerte, comedie... L'ombre de Molière, comedie...*)
- 763 *La vie de Corneille...* A La Haye, chez Etienne Foulque, 1694.
- 764 Granasztói 2009. Cf. Mothu, réd., *Tendances actuelles...* 1997; Granasztói–Kovács I., szerk., *Veszedelmes...* 2007.
- 765 Gioachino Greco, *Le jeu des Eschets ...* A Paris, chez la veuve de N. Pepingue, 1689.
- 766 A Rotterdam, chez Abraham Acher, 1705.
- 767 E. g. Caspar Schröter–Christoph von Hellwig, *Allzeitfertigen Haus-Verwalters Rares Koch-Condür- und Destillir-Buch, Wie nach Teutsch- und Frantzösischer Manier zu kochen...* Franckfurt und Lepizig, bey Hieron. Philipp. Kitscheln, 1712
- 768 *Infermita del cavallo et suoi rimedii*. Opera nova ... Volume secondo ... In Venetia, appresso Gasparo Bindoni, 1599 – *Anatomia del cavallo infermita et suoi rimedii*. Opera nova ... In Venetia, appresso Fioravante Prati, 1618 – *Infermita del cavallo et suoi rimedii*. Opera nova ... Volume secondo ... In Venetia, appresso Fioravante Prati, 1618
- 769 *Traicté de la manière de bien emboucher, manier, et ferrer les chevaux ...* A Paris, chez Adrian Perier, 1611.
- 770 *Von Zaumung der Pferde...* Anno 1609... Durch den durchleuchtigen, hochgebornen fürsten und herrn herrn Gundagern In Schlesien zu Troppau... Wienn in Oesterreich, Gregor Gelbhaar, 1625
- 771 *Cavallo frenato...* Nella real cavallerizza di Napoli. Diviso in quattro libri. Con discorsi notabili, spora briglie, antiche, moderne, adornato di bellissime figure, et molte da lui inventate, insieme con alcune Briglie, Polache, e Turchesche... Tom. I–II. In Venetia, presso Sebastiano Combi e Giovanni La Nou, 1653.
- 772 *Della scienza chiamata cavalleresca libri tres...* In Roma, presso Francesco Gonzaga, 1710.
- 773 Leipzig, bey Timothei Kitzschens sel. Erben, gedruckt bey Benjamin Christian Kitzschen, 1681.
- 774 François Tolet, *Traité de la lithotomie ou de l'extraction de la Pierre hors de la vessie, avec les figures...* A Paris, chez Francois H. Muguet, 1708.; Jean-Adrien Helvetius, *Traité des pertes de sang de quelque espèce quelles soient...* A Paris, chez Laurent D'Houry, 1697
- 775 GALLI BIBIENA, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, *L'architettura civile preparata su la geometria, eridotta alle prospettive, considerazioni pratiche...* In Parma, per Paolo Monti, 1711; DECKER, Paul Decker, *Ausführliche Anleitung zur Civilbau-kunst*, Bde. I–III, Nürnberg, um 1700, verlegt und zu finden bey Joh. Christoph Weigel.
- 776 *Mechanica hydraulico-pneumatica... opus bipartitum...* Francofurti, sumptu heredum Joannis Godefridi Schönwetteri; Herbipoli, excud. Henricus Pigrin, 1657 – *Technica curiosa, sive mirabilia artis, libris XII. Comprehensa; quibus varia Experimenta, variaque Technasmata Pneumatica, Hydraulica, Hydrotecnica, Mechanica, Graphica, Cyclometrica, Chronometrica, Automatica, Cabalistica, aliaque Artis arcana ac miracula, rara, curiosa...* Nürnberg, sumpt. Wolfgangi Mauriti Endteri, excud. Jobus Hertz, 1687

- 777 Joseph Furtenbach, *Mannhaffter Kunst-Spiegel, oder continuatio, und fortsetzung allerhand mathematisch-und mechanisch-hochnutzlich so wohl auch sehr erfrölichen delectationen, und respective im Werck selbsten experimentirten freyen Künsten...* Getruckt in Augspurg, durch Johann Schultes, 1663.
- 778 Jean Goedart, *Metamorphoses naturelles ou histoire des insectes observées tres-exactement suivant leur nature et leurs proprietés...* Tome I-II. A Amsterdam, chez George Gallet, 1700.
- 779 Fatsar 2008.
- 780 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Hortorum viridariorumque elegantes et multiplicis formae ad architectonicae artis normam affabre deliniatae*. Coloniae, Johann Bussemacher, 1640.; Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage. Ou l'on traité a fond des beaux jardins appellés communément les jardins de propreté, comme sont les parterres, les bosquets, les boulingrins, etc...* A La Haye, chez Pierre Husson, 1711.; Caspar Schröter-Christoph von Hellwig, *Allzeitfertigen Haus-Verwalter, darstellend ein vollkommen Blumen- und Küchen-Garten-Buch, nebst Regulirung einer Baum-Schule...* Franckfurt und Leipzig, bey Hieron. Philipp. Kitscheln, 1712.
- 781 Pálffy 2011; Lengyelová-Pálffy, eds., *Thurzovci...* 2012.
- 782 cf. Hlodil-Petrů 1992; Hlodil-Petrů 1992a; Wörster 1994; Gromadzki 1999; Hlodil-Perůtra, ed., *Od gotiky k renesanci...* 2002; Hlodil 2002; Kouřil 2002; Lambrecht 2005.
- 783 Klimes 1934; Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1941; Gerézdi 1945; Erdélyi 1998; Ács P. 2018b.
- 784 Bathelt 1940; Saktorová 2005b.
- 785 Saktorová 2009.
- 786 Gulyás 1960, III, 177.; Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 34.
- 787 Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 210. The wife of Kristóf III Thurzó was Zsuzsanna Erdődy (?–1633).
- 788 Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 211.
- 789 Ecsedy 1999, 66–69.
- 790 Iványi 1909; Gulyás 1960, III, 221.; Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 489–490.
- 791 The basic work of István Werbőczy on the Hungarian law.
- 792 Wolfgang Capito, *Precationes Christianæ ad imitationem Psalmorum compositæ, Qvibus eg-regiæ quædam et piæ accesserunt, pro formandis tum conscientijs, tum moribus electorum, Ad Haec, Precatio contra Turcam nominis Christiani hæreditarium hostem*, Tiguri [it was published under fictitious printing location, but really: Lyon, Michel Dubois (Sylvius)], 1556
- 793 *Dominicæ precationis pia admodum et erudita explanatio*, Lugduni, Sébastianus Gryphius, 1533.
- 794 Kemp 2008.
- 795 *Precationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami, quibus accessit, simplex modus orandi*, Lugduni, Sébastianus Gryphius, 1546.
- 796 Otto Brunfels, *Precationes biblicæ sanctorum patrum, illustriumque virorum et mulierem utriusque Testamenti. Accesserunt nouissime huic aeditioni, in orationem dominicam precationes per D. Erasmus, Item piæ meditationes in passionem dominicam, Cornelio Croco autore, cum multis alijs quorum catalogus proxima pagella recensebit, Precatio D. Erasmi, ad Iesum Dei uirginisque filium*, Antverpiæ, Antonius Dumaëus, Martin de Keyser, 1531.
- 797 Berlász 1974, 22 (footnote 20.); Berlász 1976, 210.
- 798 Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 530.
- 799 Thallóczy 1881, 122 mentioned the catalogue; catalogue published: Herner-Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 505–529. on the history of the library see Saktorová

- 1981; Saktorová 1982; Saktorová 1995; Saktorová 2000; Saktorová 2005; Saktorová 2005a; Saktorová 2005b; Saktorová 2006; Saktorová 2008; Saktorová 2009 (a monograph in Slovakian); Saktorová 2009a; Saktorová 2009b; Saktorová 2011; Saktorová 2012.
- 800 Kočíš 1974.
- 801 Ľa 1923, 23; Kubinyi 1988, 8; Ludányi 1990.
- 802 Dományházi-Font-Keserű G.-Latzkovits, FRS I, 1989; Katona T. 2012.
- 803 Cf. Monok 2016.
- 804 Friedrich Balduin, *Phosphorus veri catholicismi. Devia Papatus, et viam regiam ad Ecclesiam vere Catholicam et Apostolicam fideliter monstrans, facemque praelucens legentibus Hodegum Petri Pazmanni olim Jesuitae, nunc Cardinalis Ecclesiae Romano-Papisticae...* Wittebergae, Hans Gormann, 1626; Czobor, Elisabetha [Widmungsempfänger]
- 805 Dományházi-Font-Keserű G.-Latzkovits, FRS I, 1989.
- 806 Sziklay 1971; Lengyel 2005; Duchoňová 2012.
- 807 Kočíš 1967; Kovács S. I.-Monok, kiad., *Magyar utazási...* 1990, 285–291, 862–863.
- 808 Saktorová 2011.
- 809 National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 294.
- 810 RMNy 444.
- 811 National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 249.
- 812 Cf. Saktorová 2009.
- 813 See the letter written by György Thurzó to his wife: Zichy, kiad., *Thurzó György...* 1876, 23 october 1594.
- 814 Cf. Saktorová 2009.
- 815 Ludányi 1990.
- 816 Ring 2001; Kalmár 2010, 125–128. About Imre Thurzó's household see Koltai, sajtó alá rend., *Magyar udvari...* 2001, 61–68.
- 817 Balassa 1928; Koller 2007, 192.
- 818 *Historiopolitographia sive Opus Historico-Policum... Rodolphi BOTOREL... nec non Petri MATTHAEI... In quo res toto pene Orbe hisce proximis annis gestae... illustrantur, ut ab Anno Domini MDXCIV. usque ad annum praesentem MDCX... moneatur*, Francofurti, Johann Martin Schönwetter, 1610.
- 819 Cf. Hargittay 1995; Hargittay 2011.
- 820 Vargha 1942; Somi 1973; Hargittay 1996; Papy 2006; Teszelszky 2007.
- 821 Andreas Eudaemon-Joannes, *Ad actionem proditoriam Edouardi Coqui, Apologia pro R. P. Henrico Garneto S. J. sacerdote...* Coloniae Agrippinae, Johann Kinckius, 1610.
- 822 Jankovics-Nyerges, sajtó alá. rend., *Vörösmarti Mihály...* 1992.
- 823 Alexander Alesius, *Assertio doctrinae catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae Jesu Christi, de S. Trinitate Deo uno, cum confutatione erroris cujusdam...* Lipsiae, Ernst Vögel, 1564. – SIMLER, Josias Simler, *Responsio ad maledicum Francisci Mantuani librum aduersus Tigurinae ecclesiae ministros, de Trinitate et ediatore Domino nostro Iesu Christo...* Tiguri, Christoph Froschover, 1563; cf. Dingel-Daugirdas, hrsg. von, *Antitrinatrisc...* 2013, 135–177.
- 824 Giovanni Battista Gelli-Johann Wolf, *De naturae humanae fabrica dialogi decem, Opusculum olim a Joanne Baptista de Gello Italico sermone proditum, nunc multis in locis restitutum et in Latinum conversum*, Ambergae, s. typ., 1609
- 825 Nicolaus Stupan (praes.), Caspar Cholinus (resp.), *Disputatio medica de morbo Ungarico...* Basileae, Johann Schröter, 1607.
- 826 Prague, Daniel Sedlčanský, 1608.
- 827 *Luminarum atque Planetarum motuum Tabulae octoginta quinque, omnium ex his quae Alphonsum sequuntur quàm faciles*, Autoribus Ioanne Blanchino, Nicolao Prugnero, Georgio Peurbachio..., Basileae, Johannes Hervagius, 1553.

- 828 Johann Dinkel, *Calendarium poeticum, sive Doctrina patefaciens viam inquirendi tempora, diesve, a poetis insignium stellarum ortibus aut occasibus denotatos, modumque seu artificium ostendens...* Erfordiae, Johannes Pistorius, 1580.
- 829 Frakfurt am Main, 1609, ²1610.
- 830 Cf. Szentpéteri–Viskolcz 2007.
- 831 RMK III, 1076.
- 832 RMK III, 1087.
- 833 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 524.
- 834 RMNy 709; RMK III, 656.
- 835 RMK III, 948, 987; RMNy App. 87.
- 836 Coloniae Agrippinae, Arnoldus Mylius, 1595.
- 837 RMNy 1023.
- 838 See the most complete summary of his life: Thallóczy 1885.
- 839 His writing that survived as a manuscript was published only in the 20th century first in a modern edition and later in a letter-perfect edition: Kovács Is.–Szakály, edited by., *Zay Ferenc...* 1980; Kovács Is., edited by., *Zay Ferenc...* 1982.
- 840 It is possible that Lajos saw documents regarding this in the Zay family archives in the 1880s See Thallóczy 1885, 10–14.
- 841 Haraszti Szabó–Kelényi–Szögi, összeáll., *Magyarországi diákok...* 2016–2017.
- 842 Researches studying the history of universities in Italy have not unearthed documents concerning this.
- 843 Thallóczy 1885, 13.
- 844 Bessenyei 1984; Varga A.–Monok, Adattár 13/1, 1986, 9–11.
- 845 Tóth B. 1992, 445.; Monok 2005f, 39.
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- 847 Siegmund von Herbenstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii...* Basileae, Johannes Oporinus, 1556.
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- 850 Pálffy 2003.
- 851 Jedlicska 1897, 83, 93–95.; Čičaj 1983; Malečková, ed., *Pálfióvský rod...* 2000; Fundárková–Pálffy, zost., *Pálfióvcí...* 2003.
- 852 Toldy 1853, 31; Istvánfi 1900, 172; Takáts 1915, 32.
- 853 Strieder 1933.
- 854 Lehmann 1956, 1959; Sasváry 2005, 10.
- 855 Frimmová 2003; Kujovičová 2003; Frimmová 2004; Frimmová 2005; Frimmová 2005a; Frimmová 2006.
- 856 About Ludovicus Carinus see Bietenholz–Deutscher–Guenther–Gunderson 1985, 266–268.
- 857 Jedlicska 1910, 6–14.; Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 27–28.
- 858 RMK III, 5809; Ingolstadt, Andreas Angermaier, 1610.
- 859 *De cultu imaginum, the true science of pictures calling for salvation...* Nagyszombatba, Typis Capituli, 1589 (RMNy 632)
- 860 Johann Bock, in Latin (Bartphae, Jakob Klöss, 1598: RMNy 846); Márton Gyulai wrote a pome in Hungarian, published in 1619, Debrecen, Rheda Pál (RMNy 1173). There are a lot of publications in Europe on this victory, e.g.: RMK III. 5572 (Nürnberg, 1596), RMK III. 7461 (Frankfurt am Main, 1596), RMK III. 7462 (Köln, 1596), RMK III. 7464–7465

- (both Nürnberg, 1596), RMK III. 7468–7469 (both Dresden, 1597)
- 861 First edition: Vratislaviae, Andreas Vinglerus, 1547.
- 862 Varga A.–Monok, Adattár 13/1, 1986, 151.
- 863 Ötvös 1997; Ötvös 2008.
- 864 Péter K. 1972; Péter K. 1985, 81–82.; Lauter, kiad., *Pálffy Pál...* 1989; Fundárek 2009.
- 865 Viennae, Matthaeus Formica, 1628: RMK III, 1419.
- 866 Leutschoviae, Lorenz Brewer 1649: RMNy 2272; Leutschoviae, Lorenz Brewer, 1650: RMNy 2322.
- 867 E. g. Joannes Wolphius, Viennae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1653: RMNy 2480; cf. Fundárková 2009.
- 868 Viennae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1648, 1649: RMK III, 7617, 7621.
- 869 Trenchenii, Laurentius Benjamin ab Hage, 1652: RMNy 2443.
- 870 Posenii, Typ. Collegii S. J., 1643: RMNy 2018, 2018A, 2019.
- 871 Andreas Aperger, 1643: RMK III, 1600
- 872 Gajdoš 1938, Gajdoš 1943, 119.; Zvara 2012a.
- 873 Valach 1988; Koltai 2003.
- 874 Saktorová–Komorová–Petrenková 1997.
- 875 *Evangeliumok és epistolák...* Detrekó, Typis Petri Bornemisza, 1581: RMNy 486.
- 876 Cf. Zellinger 1931.
- 877 Ferdinánd Pálffy: RMNy 1694, 1747, 1845, 1846; Miklós Pálffy: RMNy 1845.
- 878 E. g. Ferenc Kopeczky Ferenc, Nagyszombat (RMNy 2543)
- 879 Viennae, Matthaeus Cosmerivius, 1643, 1653: RMK III, 1662, 1830; Trenchenii, Laurentius Benjamin ab Hage, 1648: RMNy 2246.
- 880 Berlász 1969.
- 881 Ötvös 1985; Frimmová 2007.
- 882 Babičová–Hábl–Učniková 1998; Frimmová 2002; Saktorová 2005; Saktorová 2005a; Saktorová 2006.
- 883 Ötvös 1988.
- 884 Wittenberg, 1594: RMK III, 938.
- 885 RMNy 888.
- 886 The correspondence of Kata Pálffy: Ötvös P., sajtó alá rend., *Pálffy Kata*, Adattár 30, 1991.
- 887 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 149–151.
- 888 *Poematum libri septem de rebus Ungaricis* Leonhardo Vncio Transylvano Avctore, Cracoviae, In Officina Lazariana, 1579 (with the textes of Johann Major, Georg Töres, Georgius Hangasius, Paulus Melissus), RMK III, 679.
- 889 Coloniae Agrippinae, Peter Keschedt, 1597.
- 890 *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe, decades tres... De Babylonica legatione, de rebus Aethiopicis, Indicis, Lusitanicis et Hispanicis, opuscula quaedam historica doctissima, quae hodie non facile alibi reperiuntur* Damiani a Goes Equitis Lusitani... Coloniae, haer. Johannis Quentelli, 1574
- 891 *De regni regisque institutione...* Antverpiae, Apud Gerardum Spelmannum, Typis Iannis Withagij, 1556.
- 892 *Zodiacus vitae hoc est de hominis vita, studio, ac moribus optime instituendis libri XII ad illustrissimum Ferrariae Ducem Herculem secundum*, Opus mire eruditum, planeque philosophicum... Basileae, Nicolaus Brylinger, 1557.
- 893 About his influence in Hungary see Holl 1981.
- 894 Ötvös 1971; Monok 1996; Monok 1998.
- 895 *Confessio fidei et religionis christianae, quam... Romanorum, Ungariae... Regi Ferdinando ob-*

- tulerunt Vienane in Austria XIII die Novembris, Anni... MDXXXV, barones et ex nobilitate in regno Bohemiae ii, qui puriori doctrinae in piis ecclesiis, quas communitatem Fratrum Bohemorum nominat, dediti sunt et coniuncti... Basileae, s. typ., 1575; (This edition contains the forword of Martin Luther).*
- 896 Raimundus de Sebunda, *De natura hominis dialogi. Hi, et Christi, et sui ipsius cognitionem exhibent, nunc demùm aucti, summaque fide recogniti... Lugduni, Theobaldus Paganus, 1550.*
- 897 Aulotte, ed., *Montaigne... 1979.*
- 898 Erdei–Keveházi, sajtó alá rend., *Ecsedi Báthory... 1984; Erdei 1990; Vadász, kiad., Ecsedi Báthory... 2002.*
- 899 *De verbo Dei et de Coena Domini, propositines Pauli Cemerii a Bertrando Loquaero confutatae, Geneviae, Eustachius Vignon, 1573; Bertrand de Loque was the pseudonym of François de Saillans.*
- 900 Germa-Romann 2001.
- 901 Debrecen, Fodorik Menyhért, 1639: RMNy 1763.
- 902 Trenchenii, Dorota Vokálová, 1643: RMNy 2031.
- 903 RMNy 1550, 1557, 1570, 1806 (Saktorová 2005a.)
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- 909 Ecsedy 1999, 98–99.
- 910 He published his sermon at the Vokál press (Lutheran) in Trencsén, 1642: RMNy 1965.
- 911 RMNy 2293, 2344, 2348, 2588.
- 912 The work of Heliodorus of Emesa, *Theagenes and Charichlia* (Θεαγένης και Χαρίκλεια); Cf. Zsák 1901.
- 913 Hausner–Klaniczay–Kovács S. I.–Monok–Orlovsky, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 337. (Nr. 426.)
- 914 Kőszeghy, sajtó alá rend. *Czobor Mihály(?)... 1996, 332*
- 915 cf. Ötvös P. 1980, 490.
- 916 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, ex libris, Nr. 94.
- 917 Friedrich Balduin dedicated his work to this Erzsébet Thurzó, written against Péter Pázmány: Balduin, Friedrich: *Phosphorus veri catholicismi. Devia Papatus, et viam regiam ad Ecclesiam vere Catholicam et Apostolicam fideliter monstrans, facemque praelucens legentibus Hodegum Petri Pazmanni olim Jesuitae, nunc Cardinalis Ecclesiae Romano-Papisticae... Wittebergae, Hans Gormann, 1626.*
- 918 Kőszeghy 2004a.
- 919 Calaus Cobori, cf. Čičaj–Monok–Viskolcz, *Adattár 13/3, 2003, 58.*
- 920 Varga A–Monok, *Adattár 13/1, 1986, 104–105.*
- 921 Georg AmEnde, *Funiculus triplex oder Dreyfacher Strick, durch welches diejenigen, so sich von der... catholischen... Kirchen abgesondert, ... gebunden und verstrickt werden... : allen Liebhabern der Wahrheit..., sonderlich denen, so im Ertzhertzogthumb in Österreich under und ob der Enß sich zu der Augspurgischen Confession bekennen, zu guten in Druck gegeben Wienn, Wolfgang Schump, 1616.*
- 922 Dominicus Marius Niger, *Geographiae commentariorum libri XI, nunc primum in lucem... editi. Quibus non solum orbis totius habitabilis loca, regiones, prouinciae, urbes, montes, insulae, maria, flumina, etcætera, ut nostro tempore sunt sita et denominata, verum etiam om-*

- nium fere populorum et variarum gentium mores, leges ac ritus tam sacri quam prophani exacte describuntur, ita ut uel ipso Strabone utilior nostris temporibus, autor hic doctorum quorundam iudicio merito habeatur. Una cum Laurentii Corvini Nouoforensis Geographia et Strabonis Epitome per D. Hieronymum Gemuseum translata, quam adiecimus ut quo cum Marium hunc nostrum lector conferat, habeat, Adiecto rerum et verborum memorabilium Indice locupletissimo (per Wolfgangum Wissenburgum), Basileae, Henricus Petri, 1557.
- 923 *Dies caniculares. Colloquia tria et viginti, quibus pleraque naturae admiranda, quae aut in aethere fiunt, aut in Europa, Asia atque Africa, quin etiam in ipso orbe novo, et apud omnes Antipodas sunt, recensentur* – we know a lot of edition, e.g. Romae, 1597
- 924 Gualther Bruele, *Praxis Medicinæ theorica et empirica... In qua pulcherrima dilucidissimaque ratione morborum internorum cognitio, eorundemque curatio traditur*, Antverpiæ, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1579.
- 925 Gasto de Claveus, *Apologia Chrysopoeiæ et Argyropoeiæ, adversus Thomam Erastvm, Doctorem et Professore Medicinæ, In qua disputatur et docetur, An, quid, et quomodo sit Chrysopœia et Argyropœia ... Cum nouo et recenter primum edito eiusdem authoris in fine huius Apologiæ olim promisso opere, magis abstruso et maiori admiratione digno... De triplici auri et argenti præparatione...* Ursellis, Cornelius Sutorius, 1602.
- 926 *Pretiosa margarita novella de thesauro, ac pretiosissimo philosophorum lapide. Artis huius divinæ typus et methodus collectanea ex Arnaldo, Rhaymundo, Rhasi et Michaele Scoto per Janum Lacinum nunc primum... in lucem edita, Venetiis, apud Aldi filios, 1546.*
- 927 Giovanni Braccesco, *De alchemia Dialogi II. Quorum prior, genuinam librorum Gebri sententiam, de industria ab authore celatam, et figurato sermone inuolutam reteggit, et certis argumentis probat, Alter Raimundi Lullij Maioricani, Mysteria in lucem producit, Quibus præmittuntur, propositiones centum uiginti nouem, idem argumentum compendiosa breuitate complectentes, Norimbergae, Johannes Petreius, 1548.*
- 928 *Auriferae Artis, quam Chemiam vocant, volumen secundum, quod Continet Morieni Romani scripta De re metallica, atque de Occulta summaque antiquorum medicina, cum aliis Authoribus, quos versa pagina indicat*, Basileae, Konrad Waldkirch, 1593.
- 929 Antonín 1995; Antonín 1997; Mašek 2008, I, 32; Hájek–Mašek–Hájková, red. Tisky 16. století... 2015.
- 930 Nagy I. 1857–1868, VII, 260, 264.
- 931 Odescalchi 1867; Varga A.–Monok, Adattár 13/1, 1986, 143–146.
- 932 Viczián, szerk., MKL VIII, 541 (Emma Takács).
- 933 Komorová 2005; in English: Komorová 2005a; in German: Komorová 2006.
- 934 Komorová 2008; Komorová 2009.
- 935 Soltész 1995.
- 936 Kotvan 1979, Nr. 1043; Saktorová–Komorová–Petrenková–Agneta 1993, Nr. 166, 793, 1126, 1388; Kotvan–Frimmová 1996, Nr. 87, 541, 548.
- 937 Nagy I. 1857–1868, VIII, 690–699.; Komorová 2009a; Pálffy 2009a; Mačuha 2010.
- 938 Komorová 2010; Mačuha 2010.
- 939 RMNy 954.
- 940 Cf. RMNy 406, 773; Škoviera 2010. About Stöckels' school, and about his school-theater see Szilási K. 1918; Škoviera 1976; Schwarz 2011.
- 941 Frankl (Fraknói) 1873.
- 942 RMNy 852.
- 943 RMNy 872.
- 944 Domokos Gyöngyi 2010.
- 945 Bónis 1981.
- 946 cf. RMK III, 5526, 5553.

- 947 Klaniczay 1985; Klaniczay 2001, 236–250.
- 948 Schultze, hrsg., *Prag um 1600...* 1988.
- 949 Augustae Vindelicorum, Christoph Mangus, 1613; RMK III, 1118; Viennae Austriae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1652; RMK III, 1795. cf. Kulcsár, ford., *Révay Péter...* 2010.
- 950 Francofurti ad Moenum, Jacob Lasché, 1659; RMK III, 2058, 6387.
- 951 Bónis 1981. His favourite authors were Johannes Dubravius, Martin Cromer, Philippe Bosquier, Nikolaus Lagmann, Gerardus de Roo, Niccolo Machavelli, Justus Lipsius.
- 952 Mednyánszky 1881; Varga A.–Monok, *Adattár* 13/1, 1986, 157–164.; Federmayer–Kušniráková 2000.
- 953 Komorová 2009a.
- 954 Kotvan 1979, 349–350 (Nr. 1131).
- 955 *Novellarum constitutionum imp. Iustiniani expositio. Ejusdem tractatus quinque ad diversas leges africani observationum libri tres, IX, X, et XI ...* Lugduni, Clément Baudin 1570.
- 956 *De feudis libri V. Quorum primus est Gerardi Nigri, Secundus et tertius Oberti de Orto, Quartus ex variis et incertis auctoribus antiquis; Quintus Imperatorum constitutiones quae ad feuda pertinent complectitur.* Aucti, emendati atque etiam explicati studio et diligentia Jacobi Cujacii, Lugduni, Clément Baudin, 1566.
- 957 *De regni regisque institutione...* Antverpiae, Apud Gerardum Spelmannum, Typis Iannis Withagij, 1556.
- 958 Kotvan–Frimmová 1996, Nr. 327.
- 959 Kotvan 1979, Nr. 1131.
- 960 Hobson 1949; Nebbiai 2006; Nuovo 2006.
- 961 Monok 2009a; Monok 2012.
- 962 RMNy 2557.
- 963 RMK III, 3264.
- 964 RMNy 2389, 2425.
- 965 RMNy 2557.
- 966 Nagy I. 1857–1868, VIII, 302–303.
- 967 RMK III, 1182.
- 968 Jankovics, sajtó alá rend., *Bethlen Miklós...* 1987, 604.
- 969 Katalin Révay (Kata Szidónia Révay) was one of the first poetess in Hungary; Komáromy 1889; Žibritová 2010; Dukkan 2016.
- 970 Ágoston 1913, 113, 205, 213.
- 971 RMK *Adalékok ...* 1912, Nr. 2538, 2595, 2598a.
- 972 Dukkan 2007, 384–387.
- 973 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskocz–Zvara, *Adattár* 13/4, 2009, 56–67 (1647), 67–72(1677) ; cf. Žibritová 2014.
- 974 RMK III, 1182; cf. Bene 2007b.
- 975 Lipsiae, Johannes Albertus Minzelius, 1631.
- 976 Balthasar Meisner, *Consultatio Catholica De fide Lutherana capessenda, et Romana-Papistica deserenda. Opposita Haereticae consultationi Leonardi Lessii, Jesuwitae et Theologi Lovaniensis...*, Giessae Hessorum, Nikolaus Hampelius, 1611.
- 977 Albert Grawer, *Bellum Joannis Calvini et Jesu Christi Dei et Hominis hoc est: Antithesis Doctrinae Calvinianorum et Christi. In qua horrendissimae Blasphemiae Calvinianorum in quatuor praecipue articulis, de Persona Christi, Coena Domini, Baptismo et Praedestinatione ab oculo ad oculum ex propriis illorum scriptis bona fide monstrantur et ex verbo Dei breviter et solide diluuntur...*, Magdeburgi, Johannes Francus, 1605 (RMK III, 7517)
- 978 Friedrich Balduin, *Phosphorus veri catholicismi, Devia Papatus, et viam regiam ad Ecclesiam vere Catholicam et Apostolicam fideliter monstrans, facemque praelucens legentibus Hodegum*

- Petri Pazmanni olim Jesuitae, nunc Cardinalis Ecclesiae Romano-Papisticae..., Wittebergae, Hans Gormann, 1626.
- 979 Niels Hemmingsen, *Libellus de Coniugio, Repudio, et Divortio...*, Leipzig, Hans Steinmann, 1581.
- 980 Zacharias Láni, *Strigil aetiologiae Kircherianae sive orthodoxa depulsio causarum et argumentorum, quibus Joannes Kircherus permotum se jactitat, cure Synagoga, ut ait, Lutherana, transmigraverit in Ecclesiam Catholicam...*, Trenchenii, Václav Vokál, 1641 (RMK II, 588).
- 981 RMK II, 634.
- 982 *Odorum sacrarum sive hymnorum Georgii Tranoscii... libri tres*, Bregae, Godofredus Grönder, 1629.
- 983 *Emporium emporiorum, sive Piazza universalis, hoc est De statibus hominum, eorumque ingenii, scientiis et artibus... Supplementum libri tertii sive aberquantus, in quo non tantum ea, quae ciren universalam doctrinam politicam vero sanctur, theorice, rerum etiam practice, ad iunctis variis discursibus politicis... tractantus Garzoni Tomaso... Authore Nicolao Bello [id est Michael Caspar Lundorp], Francofurti, Johann Theobald Schönwetter, 1625.*
- 984 RMK Adalékok ... 1912, Nr. 2580.
- 985 RMK II, 992.
- 986 Georg Sebastian Lubomirski, *Processus judiciarius in causa illustri et magnifico Georgio Comiti in Wisnicz et Jaroslaw Lubomierski*, Varsaviae, s. typ., 1664.
- 987 We know about 50 editions of Guicciardini's work.
- 988 Michael Caspar Lundorp, *Bellum Sexennale-Civile-Germanicum sive: Annalium et commentariorum historicorum nostri temporis De statu religionis et reipublicae Libri II. In quibus omnia ab initio exortorum Bohemo-Germanicorum tumultuum A.C. M.DC.XVII. usque ad Annum M.DC.XXII. gravissima... Francofurti, Johann Theobald Schönwetter, 1622.*
- 989 *Tabularum mnemoniarum, quibus historia universalis, cum sacra tum profana, a condito Mundo, Per aeras nobiliores et quatuor monarchias ad nostram usque aetatem deducta, simulacris et hieroglyphicis figuris delineata exhibetur...*, In Montibus Lunae auctoris sumtibus, typis exscripsit Stella (Lüneburg), 1662.
- 990 From this point of view he follows Johann Carion, Philippe Melanchthon and Caspar Peucer.
- 991 cf. Strasser 2000.
- 992 Johann David Ruland, *Pharmacopoea Nova, in qua reposita sunt Stercora et Urinae ta euporista, pro omnibus totius corporis morbis... iam primum edita pro pauperibus...* Noribergae, Georg Endter, 1644.
- 993 *De Vini natura, artificio, et usu deque re omni potabili...*, Argentorati, Josias Rihelius, 1565.
- 994 RMK III, 1978.
- 995 Varga A.–Monok, Adattár 13/1, 1986, 175–176.
- 996 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 72–74.
- 997 RMNy 2289.
- 998 Komáromy 1885; Komáromy 1885a; Komáromy 1905.
- 999 Nagy I. 1857–1868, II, 18–25.; Forster 1927.
- 1000 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 583.
- 1001 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 259–263.
- 1002 *Pro sacrosancto Missae sacrificio, adversus impiam missae et missalis anatomem*, Parisiis, Jacques Kerver, 1564.
- 1003 Deák 1875, 707.
- 1004 Rarissime(!), work of Bálint Balassi: cf. Kőszeghy, kiad, *Balassi Bálint...* 2006a.
- 1005 *Opusculorum juri dicorum farrago, continens maxime frequentium juris privati quaestionum explicationem...*, Tubingae, Philibert Brunn, 1627.
- 1006 Coloniae, Johann Gymnich, 1540.

- 1007 The work of Guillaume Germé de Lamormain, jesuit, what was published in German, Latin and in Croatian.
- 1008 *Rerum Bohemicarum ephemeris, sive kalendarium historicum. Ex reconditis veterum annalium monumentis erutum*, Authore... Procopio Lupacio Hlawaczowaeo, Pragensi..., Praegae, Jirži Cerný (Nigrinus), 1584.
- 1009 “*Descriptio omnium aetatum mundi veteris cujusdam*”
- 1010 *Orationes 3, de illustrissimis foeminis tribus. 1. Peri pammeteros Euas: De prima generis humani matre, Heva. 2. De fidelium in Dei ex genere humano ecclesia, foeminarum matre, Sara. 3. De infidelium nempe Agarenorum, et Turcarum matre, Agara...*, Tubingae, Erhard Cellius, 1601.
- 1011 Nicolaus Causinus, *Eques Christianus seu Constantinus Magnus, per R. P. Nicolaum Causinum e Societate Iesu Gallico idiomate quartum editus 1629, jam autem interprete P. Henrico Lamormaini eiusdem Societatis Sacerdote in Latinum translatus, Viennæ Austriae, apud Mariam Rictiam Viduam*, 1637.
- 1012 Nicolas Barnaud, *Dialogus quo multa exponuntur quae Lutheranis et Hugonotis Gallis acciderunt...*, Monte Oragniae (=Heidelberg), 1573, Michel Schirat, 1573.
- 1013 Dózsa–Kisdi, kiad., *Gynaecium...* 2005.
- 1014 Saktorová–Komorová–Petrenková–Agnet 1993, Nr. 1504.
- 1015 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 130–137.
- 1016 Augustinus Kordecki, *Nova gigantomachia... Contra Sacram Imaginem Deiparæ Virginis à Sancto Luca depictam, et in Monte Claro Czestochouiensi apud religiosos Patres Ordinis S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, in celeberrimo Regni Poloniae Cænobio collocatam, per Suecos et alios Hæreticos excitata, et ad perpetuam beneficiorum Gloriosæ Deiparæ Virginis recordationem, successuræ posteritati fideliter conscripta...*, Cracoviæ, In Officina Viduæ et Heredum Francisci Cæsarii, 1655.
- 1017 Caspar Manz, *Bibliotheca aurea, juridico-politico-theoretico-practica. In qua variae utilissimae materiae ex jure divino... decem tractatibus juris constans...*, Francofurti ad Moenum, five edition.
- 1018 Andreas von Gail, *Practicae observationes tam ad processum iudicarium praesertim Imperialis Camerae, quam causarum decisiones pertinentium Libri II. De pace publica, et proscriptionis, siue bannitis Imperii Libri II. De pignorationibus Liber I...*, Coloniae Agrippinae, Johannes Gymnicus, 1586.
- 1019 Johannes Bruno, *Univervæ historiae cum Sacrae tum Profanae Idea à condito mundo ad annum seculi nostri LXXV. Deducta, et longe correctius ac multo locupletius, quam ista Tenebrionis Cosmopolitæ...* Jam quartum edita, Francofurti, Conrad Bruno – Lipsiæ, Johann Eric Hahn, 1675.
- 1020 Achille Tarducci, *Turca vincibilis in Ungaria...*, Ferrara, Vittorio Balducci, 1597, and after the battle and Szentgotthárd (1664): Helmestadii, Henning Müller, 1664 (as part of Hermann Conring’s work, *De bello contra Turcas*).
- 1021 Laurentius Toppeltinus de Medgyes, *Origines et occasus Transsylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae, earumque ultimi temporis revolutiones, historica narratione breviter comprehensæ...*, Lugduni, Boissat et Remens, 1667.
- 1022 Georgius Hornius–Otto Menckenius, *Orbis Politicus Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatuum, Reumpublicarum... Cum memorabilibus totius mundi, et geographia veteri ac recenti, Accesserunt Animadversiones L. Ottonis Menckenii...*, Lipsiæ, Sumpt. Georgii Heinrici Frommanni, 1685.
- 1023 Johannes Riemer–Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Centum arcana politica ex omni historia selecta per centum casus centumque disquisitiones quibus insertae sunt Boxhornianae proposita...*, Martisburgi, Christian Forberger, 1678
- 1024 Until 1690 two editions in Köln (1684, 1688), then published in every five years to the middle of 18th century.

- 1025 Joannes Adamus Weber, *Annulus memoriae ex dictaminibus ethicis et politicis quorum re-
gentes prae alijs meminisse oportet, concinnatus et selectis historiis cum sententiis operi ac-
commodatis illustratus...*, Salisburgi, Mayr, 1679.
- 1026 Guilielmus Stanihurstus, *Quotidiana christiani militis tessara qua homo fugiens mala, è
servitute manu-mittitur, faciens bona, ad libertatem manu-ducitur...*, Antverpiæ, Apud Vi-
duam et Hæredes Joannis Cnobbari, 1661.
- 1027 Köln, tree editions in 17th century.
- 1028 Didacus de Saavedra Faxardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici Centum Symbolis expressa...*
Jenae, Matthaeus Bircknerus, 1686.
- 1029 Hieronymus Megiser, *Theatrum Caesareum Historico-Poeticum, quo omnium et singulorum
Rom. Imperatorum, cum Icones ex antiquis Numismatibus expressae, tum Vitae quam brevi-
ssime descriptae et denique eorumdem Elogia, ex optimis quibusque Poetis collecta, continen-
tur...*, Lentiis ad Istrum, Plancus, 1616.
- 1030 Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, *Speculum nauticum super navigatione maris Occidentalis con-
fectum, continens omnes oras maritimas Galliae, Hispaniae et praecipuarum partium Angli-
ae...*, Lugduni Batavorum, excudebat typis Plantinianis Franciscus Raphelengius, 1586.
- 1031 *Fœminarum S. Scripturæ Elogia Centuria Singularis...* Norimbergae, five editions.
- 1032 Bártfai Szabó 1910.
- 1033 cf. Péter K. 2001.
- 1034 The manuscript version of their works is enumerated: Kulcsár, comp., *Inventarium...*
2003, 169–172. They were never published in the 16th and 17th centuries.
- 1035 The first edition of his text, in 1866: Majer, kiad., *Forgách Ferenc...* 1866. An analysis of
his erudition based on his quotations: Sörös 1899; Sörös 1913, 199–203.; Pirnát 1955;
Borzásák 1977; Borzásák 1994, 292–307.; Pirnát 2018a; Pirnát 2018b.
- 1036 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 3–9.
- 1037 1613 (two inventories): Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, *Adattár 13/4*, 2009,
33–41.; 1614: Varga A.–Monok, *Adattár 13/1*, 1986, 96–101.
- 1038 Stoll–Pirnát–Klaniczay–Kovács S.–Komlovszki, kiad., *Forgách...* 1970.
- 1039 RMK III, 769.
- 1040 Vargha 1942; Somi 1973; Székely 1982; Klaniczay 1985a; Hargittay 1996; Klaniczay
2001; Papy 2006; Teszelszky 2007; Tóth G. 2014.
- 1041 Varga A.–Monok, *Adattár 13/1*, 1986, 164–170.
- 1042 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 110–113. See some
others books of Borbála: Bubryák 2013, 424.
- 1043 Ágoston 1913, 113, 205, 213.
- 1044 National Széchényi Library, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, exl. 154.
- 1045 Wittenberg, 1587 (RMK III, 765), a facsimile edition: Szabó A., kiad., *De Sigetho...* 1987.
- 1046 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 3–9.
- 1047 *Assertionum Martini Lutheri confutatio, per... D. Iohannem ROFFENSEM episcopum... edita. Sun-
tque singulis confutationibus singulae Lutheri assertiones praefixae, quo facilius, utrius sen-
tentiae subscribendum sit, cognoscatur. Accessit praeterea totius operis per eundem, praecipue
tamen annotationum additarum recognitio, ...* Apud sanctam Ubiorum Agrippinam, Eu-
charius Cervicornus, imp. Gottfriedi Hittorpi, 1525.
- 1048 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár 11*, 1983, 235.
- 1049 Johann Baptist Homann–Andreas Hoffer, *Atlas Geographicus Maior exhibens tellurem seu
Globum terraqueum in mappis generalibus et specialibus... per Iohannem Baptistam Homan-
num eiusque Heredes editis Praemissa introductione geographica mathematico-physico-histo-
rica. (Vol. 2.: Germaniae specialis seu Systema tabularum geographicarum)*, Norimbergae,
Johann Baptist Homann, 1641.

- 1050 *Peribologia oder Bericht... von Vestungsgebewen vieler orter vermehret wie auch mit gebürenden grundt und auffrissen versehen und publicirett...* durch Johannem Wilhelmum Dilichium, Franckfurt am Mayn, Hummen, 1640.
- 1051 *Logi alogi, quibus baptae calamosphactae peniculum papporum Solnensis conciliabuli et hyperaspisten legitimae antilogiae vellicant; veritatis radii adobrutu*, Joannes Jemicus scribebat, Posenii, typ. Archiepiscopalis, 1612 (RMNy 1040).
- 1052 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., *Adattár* 11, 1983, 583.
- 1053 *Ungerische Chronica, Das ist Ein gründtl. beschreibung deß allermächtigen und gewaltigsten Königr. Ungern... erstl. durch... Antonium Bonfinium in 45. Büchern in Lat. beschr. Jetzund aber...in gut gemein Hochdeutsch gebr. durch P. F. N. und mit schönen Fig., sampt einem nützl. Reg. gezieret...* Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn durch Peter Schmidt. In verlegung Sigmund Feyerabendts, 1581.
- 1054 *Perckhordnung der Freyen Königlichen Perckhstätt in der Cron Hungern, Als Crembnitz, Schembnitz, Neuensoll, Buggans, Königsperg, Düllen unnd Liebeten, sambt andern umbligenden und gedachter Cron Hungern eingeleibten Gold, Silber, Kupffer und anderer Metall Perckwerchen jetzigen und khünftigen auff's new fürgenommen gebessert und auff beschehne hernach angehenckte erleütterung der alten Crembnitzischen und Schembnitzischen Perckordnungen... im Tausent Fünffhundert Ainundsibentzigisten Jar (Geben in vnser Statt Wienn den Sechtzehenden Februarj Anno etc. im Dreyundsibentzigisten..., Wienn, Caspar Stainhofer, 1573.*
- 1055 *Flores Exemplorum Auctore... Antonio Dauroultio S. J. sive Catechismus Historialis. Opus summa fide, diligentia, et multorum annorum studio, ex quingentis quinquaginta amplius probae notae scriptoribus, tum sacris, tum profanis collectum, in quo Fides Catholica miraculis patene innumeris, et exemplis Sanctorum, Imperatorum, Regum, Principum, Virorum illustrium probatissimis confirmatur..., Coloniae Agrippinae, Kinchius, 1624.*
- 1056 Varga A.–Monok, *Adattár* 13/1, 1986, 164–170.
- 1057 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 110–113. see also *Bubryák* 2013, 424.
- 1058 Johann Lieb, *Zodiacus Christianus, Das ist: Die zwölf Himlischen Zeichen, dabey ein jeder Mensch erkennen kan, ob er zum ewigen Leben versehen seye oder nicht, Bey dieser alten vnd kalten Welt hochnothwendig zu lesen Verfertiget Von Johann Leiben, P.L. vnd Advocaten zu Coburgk, Mit einer Vorrede Herrn M. Johan. Sauberti, Prediger in Nürnberg.* Gedruckt zu Nürnberg, in verlegung Jeremiae Dümlers, 1638.
- 1059 Julius Wilhelm Zincgref, *Der Teutschen Scharpfsinnige kluge Sprüch Apophthegmata genant...* Theil 1–2. Straßburg, 1628, Rihel
- 1060 *Zungenschleiffer, Oder Brinnende Weltkugel, von bösen Zungen angezündet, Solche zu löschen, Gibt außführlichen vnderricht von allen Zungen Lastern P. Hieremias Drexel..., Anjetzt mit desselben guthaisnen auß Latein verteutschet Durch M. Ioachim Meichel ..., Theil 1–3, München, Cornelius Leysserius, 1631–1640.*
- 1061 Thaly 1885; Thaly 1889, 272–274.; Esze 1955, 282–287, (about *Áfium* see the note 7).
- 1062 Thaly 1882; Thaly 1885, 21–268.
- 1063 Johannes Riemer–Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Centum arcana politica ex omni historia selecta per centum casus centumque disquisitiones quibus insertae sunt Boxhornianae proposita..., Martisburgi, Christian Forberger, 1678.*
- 1064 Leonhartus Hutterus, *Concordia concors de origine et progressu formulae concordiae ecclesiarum confessionis augustanae..., Francofurti, Föllginer, 1690.*
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- 1071 „Miképpen aggság, bénaság, hallomásos – az kegyelmetek írása szerint – mindenképpen az Úristen kezében vagyok. Ha mi több fogyatkozást talál kegyelmed bennem, hagyunk az Úristenre is benne. Lassan-lassan uram egymás után mind kiballagunk az árnyékvilágból. *Omnis potestas a Deo.*” Hangay 1987, 190–191.
- 1072 Szigethy, kiad., *Bocskai...* 1986.
- 1073 Vadász, kiad., *Ecsedi Báthory...* 2002.
- 1074 Erdei–Keveházi, sajtó alá rend., *Ecsedi Báthory...* 1984.
- 1075 Krakow, 1572, RMNy 318; Kőszeghy, kiad, *Balassi Bálint...* 2006; Kőszeghy, kiad, *Balassi Bálint...* 2006a; Kőszeghy 2007.
- 1076 Horváth J. 1957a.
- 1077 Szabó A. 2007; Szabó A. 2017.
- 1078 „Atya... az tisztességes tudományoknak tanulására scholában járatta ... Az scholában pedig hogy idejét nem haszontalanul foglalta legyen, nyilván nagyon. Mert míg az kegyetlen betegség ő Nagyságának keze erejét el nem vötte: nemcsak akarataát írhatta levélben, és másnak keze írását is olvashatta el: de még több foglalatossága között is, az szent Bibliának és az jól viselt dolgokról írott könyveknek olvasásában magát gyönyörűségesen gyakorolta.” Hangay 1987, 13.
- 1079 Herczog 1917, 30–31.
- 1080 Czegele, közli., *A Vizsolyi...* 1973; Szabó A. 1991; Imre 2006; Monok–Zvara, ed., *Traducteurs...* 2006, 217–238.
- 1081 RMNy 652, 738.
- 1082 cf. Péter K. 2001.
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- 1085 Monok 2016a.
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- 1089 Herner–Monok, sajtó alá rend., Adattár 11, 1983, 494–495.; Monok, KKK I, 1996, 208–211.
- 1090 Horn, sajtó alá rend., *Rákóczi László...* 1990.
- 1091 Thaly 1900; Sipos F., összeáll., *Rákóczi Pál...* 1993; Uhr 1994.
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- 1094 Thaly 1900.
- 1095 Monok, KKK I, 1996 with a detailed bibliography. After that: Monok–Hapák 2006;

- Dienes 2010; Oláh R. 2018.
- 1096 Szilágyi S. 1893; Péter K.–Tamás E.–Váradi 2000; Tamás E. szerk., *Erdély és Patak...* 2000; Dienes 2006.
- 1097 Jakó 1973.
- 1098 The most productive press in Transylvania functioned in Gyulafehérvár; Ecsedy 1999, 123–126.
- 1099 Szilágyi S. 1875, 749; Monok, KKK I, 1996, XVII; Hegyi 2003 don't know this person.
- 1100 Monok, KKK I, 1996, 94 (Nr. 278).
- 1101 Monok, KKK I, 1996, Nr. 306, 426, 665, 669, 670, 672, 674, 675.; Dienes 2010; Oláh R. 2018.
- 1102 Harsányi 1917; Monok, KKK I, 1996, XVII–XVIII.
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- 1117 The catalogues from the 18th century see Fekete–Kulcsár Gy. (=Bura)–Monok–Varga A., *Adattár* 14, 1988, 93–147.; Oláh R., *Adattár* 19/2, 2009, 252–329.
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- 1139 Thaly, kiad., *De Saussure Czézárnak...* 1909, 365–368.; Antal–Kovács I.–Hóvári, kiad., *César de Saussure...* 1999, 365–368.; Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, *Adattár 13/4*, 2009, 334–337.
- 1140 Zolnai B. 1926; Köpeczi 1991, 467–488.; Kiss E. J. 2003; Knapp–Tüskés 2014.
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- 1142 She was the mecene of a priar book published in Wien, 1655: RMNy 2566.
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- 1145 Ötvös 1994; Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., *Adattár 13/2*, 1992, 43–52.
- 1146 Kovács E. 2007.
- 1147 An example: « *Amara Dulcis* » = Florentinus Schilling, *Wiederholt und vermehrte Amaradulcis, oder Je länger, Je lieber, der Leich- und Ehren-Predigten...* Wienn, Lackner – München, Jäcklin, 1663.
- 1148 cf. Bene 2006.
- 1149 Augustinus Kordecki, *Nova gigantomachia... Contra Sacram Imaginem Deiparæ Virginis à Sancto Luca depictam, et in Monte Claro Czestochouiensi apud religiosos Patres Ordinis S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, in celeberrimo Regni Poloniae Cænobio collocatam, per Suecos et alios Hæreticos excitata, et ad perpetuam beneficiorum Gloriosæ Deiparæ Virginis recordationem, successuræ posteritati fideliter conscripta...*, Cracoviæ, In Officina Viduæ et Heredum Francisci Cæsarii, 1655.
- 1150 Vallis Baptismi alias Kyriteinensis seu Diversorii, in honorem, memoriam, et gloriam, Magnæ Dei Matris. Ab... D. Leone Comite de Klobuck, Fundatore Zabrdoricensi... Ante 463 Annos, positus Aris erecta; Multarum Nationum peregrinationibus celebrata; Miraculis... prodigium illud Cæleste patrat Maria, vel ipso Famæ nomine..., Olomucii, Ettelius, 1663.
- 1151 XV. Buecher von dem Feldbaw vnd recht vollkommener Wolbestellung eines bekoemlichen Landsitzes vnnnd geschicklich angeordneten Maierhofs oder Landguts Sampt allem was demselben Nutzen vnd Lusts halben anhaengig. Deren etliche vorlaengst vnd Carolo Stephano vnd Johanne Libalto Frantzoesisch vorkommen. Welche nachgehends... theyls vom Hochgelehrten Herrn Melchior Sebizio der Artzney Doctore theyls auß letsten Libaltischen zusaetzen durch nachgemelten inn Teutsch gebracht seind. Etliche aber an jetzo auff's New erstlich auß dem Frantzoesischen... Exemplar so dann auß des Herrn Doctoris Georgij Marij Publicirter Gartenkunst vnd fortter des Herrn Johannis Fischarti I.V.D. Colligirten Feldbawrechten vnd Land-sitzgerechtigkeiten etc. Zu lust vnd lieb dem Teutschen Landmann hinzu gethan worden, Getruckt zu Straßburg bei Bernhart Jobin, 1588.
- 1152 *Historia generalis plantarum in libros XVIII. per certas classes artificiose digesta. Hæc, plussquam mille imaginibus plantarum locupletior superioribus, omnes propemodum quæ ab antiquis scriptoribus, Græcis, Latinis, Arabibus, nominantur...*, Lugduni, Gulielmus Rovillius, 1586–1587.
- 1153 *Antiquæ urbis splendor hoc est præcipua eiusdem templa amphitheatra theatra circi nauma-*

- chia arcus triumphales mausolea aliaque sumptuosiora aedificia pompae item triumphalis et colossaeorum imaginum descriptio. Opera et industria Iacobi Lauri Romani in aes incisa atque in lucem edita, Addita est brevis, quaedam et succincta imaginum explicatio in qua Regum Consulum, Imperatorumque res gestae, et rei Romanae origo progressus incrementum, ac finis cum Almae Urbis antiquorum ac modernorum vestigiorum additione ut cunque hoc insequenti anno 1630. reperiuntur, et ex veterum ac recentiorum historiarum monumentis clare ostenditur, Romæ, Vitali Mascardi, 1637.*
- 1154 *Commentariorum de bello, inter Invictissimos Imperatores Ferdinandos II. et III. et eorum hostes, Praesertim Fridericum Palatinum, Gabrielem Bethlenum, Daniæ, Sveciæ, Franciæ Reges Gesto, Liber Singularis, Ad hunc usque Annum 1640. absolutus et continuatus, Francofurti, Antonius Hummius, 1640.*
- 1155 Jacques Besson–François Beroalde de Verville, *Theatrum instrumentorum et machinarum, Cum Francisci Beroaldi figurarum declaratione demonstrativa, Lugduni, Apud Bartholomaeum Vincentium, 1578.*
- 1156 Giacomo Barocio da Vignola, *Li cinque ordini d' architettura... Con un ragionamento alli architetti di Ottaviano Ridolfi... Con la nova agiunta di Michelangelo Buonarotti, Bassano, Remondini, 1660.*
- 1157 Antoine de Ville, *Les fortifications... Contenant la Manière de fortifier toute sorte de places, tant régulièrement qu'irrégulièrement, en quelle assiete qu'elles soient... Avec l'attaque, et les moyens de prendre les places par intelligence, sedition, surprise... plus la defense, et l'instruction generale pour s'empêcher des surprises... Le tout représenté en cinquante-cinq planches, avec le plantes et prospectives..., A Paris, Par la Compagnie des Libraires du Palais, 1666*
- 1158 Kazimierz Siemienowicz, *Ars Magnae Artilleriae... Amsterodami, Johannes Janssonius, 1650.*
- 1159 David de Solemne–Henricus Hondius, *Le Mareschal des logis, contenant la charge et parties requises à la personne d'un Mareschal de Camp general, tant pour la Cavallerie, que l'Infanterie. Enrichi des plusieurs figures, Oeuvre tresnecessaire à tous les Officiers de l'Armée, mais particulièrement à ceux qui desirent de parvenir à la Charge..., Amsterdam, Chez Jean Jansson, 1653.*
- 1160 *Discorsi del Signor Scipione Ammirato sopra Cornelio Tacito, nei quali si contiene il fiore de tutto quello, que si trova sparto né libri delle attioni de' principi, e del buono ò cattivo loro governo..., In Venezia, Appresso Matthio Valentino, 1607.*
- 1161 *Discours politiques et militaires, sur Corneille Tacite, excellent Historien, et grand Homme d'Etat, Contenant les fleurs des belles Histoires du Monde... éd. par Laurens Melliet, Lyon, Claude Morillon, 1618.*
- 1162 *Discorsi del Signor Filippo Cavriana Gentiluomo Mantouano, e Caualiere di Santo Stefano, Sopra primi cinque libri di Cornelio Tacito, nelli quali si trattano molte cose al gouerno del publico, et delle Corte appertinenti, e insieme varij casi seguiti, nelle presenti guerre ciuili di Francia, per instruttione della vita humana..., In Fiorenza, Per Filippo Giunti, 1600.*
- 1163 Lelio Brancaccio–Johann Wilhelm Newmayr von Ramssla (trans.), *Zween Kriegs-Discurs... über Iulii Caesaris VIII. Bücher vom Französischen Krieg..., Francofurti, Johann Ruland, 1620.*
- 1164 *Liure dore de Marc Aurele Empereur et eloquent orateur, Traduit de vulgaire castillian en francoys par. R. B. de La Grise Secretaire de monseigneur le Ruerendissime cardinal de Grantmont, Paris, s. typ., 1537*
- 1165 *Duello del Fausto da Longiano regolato a le leggi de l'honore, Con tutti li cartelli missivi, e rispousivi in querela volontaria, necessaria..., Vinegia, Borgominerio da Trino, 1559.*
- 1166 *L'hore di ricreatione..., In Anuersa, appresso di Pietro Bellero, 1583.*
- 1167 Cf. Bravo 2001.

- 1168 *De l'estat et succes des affaires de France, Enrichi et illustré, contenant sommairement l'histoire des Rois, les faits plus remarquables par eux institués pour l'ornement et grandeur de leur Royaume; Vne sommaire Histoire des Seigneurs, Comtes, et Ducs d'Aniou....*, Lyon, De l'imprimerie d'Antoine Blanc, 1596.
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- 1173 Eckhardt 1972; Eckhardt 2004, 10–23.
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- 1175 Kovács S. 1983; Stoll 1994; Kiss F. G., szerk., Balassi Bálint... 2004; Kovács Is.–Szentmártoni Szabó–Várkonyi G. 2005; Kőszeghy 2008; Kőszeghy 2009.
- 1176 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 53–54.
- 1177 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 97–98.
- 1178 Bajáki–Bujdosó–Monok–Viskolcz–Zvara, Adattár 13/4, 2009, 346–349.
- 1179 *Georgica Curiosa Aucta Das ist: Umständlicher Bericht und klarer Unterricht Von dem vermehrten und verbesserten Adelichen Land- und Feld-Leben, Auf alle in Teutschland übliche Land- und Haus-Wirthschafften gerichtet, hin und wieder mit vielen ... Erfindungen und Experimenten versehen, einer mercklichen Anzahl schöner Kupffer gezieret, und in Dreyen absonderlichen Theilen... vorgestellt... Durch ein Mitglied der Hochlöbl. Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft zum fünfften mal ans Liecht gegeben*, Vol. 1–2, Nürnberg, In Verlegung Martin Endters, 1715–1716.
- 1180 A bishopry in the Balkan, it were only titular bishops hier.
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- 1182 Hargittay, kiad., *Politica philosophiai...* 1992.
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- 1184 Farkas G. F.–Katona–Latzkovits–Varga A., Adattár 13/2, 1992, 58–65.
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- 1189 cf. Ötvös 1980.
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- par L'Avthevr, A Paris, Chez La Vevfve L'Angelier, 1610.
- 1193 *Nova Gigantomachia, Contra Sacram Imaginem Deiparæ Virginis à Sancto Luca depictam, et in Monte Claro Czeszochouiensi apud religiosos Patres Ordinis S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, in celebrissimo Regni Poloniæ Cœnobio collocatam, per Suecos et alios Hæreticos excitata, et ad perpetuam beneficiorum Gloriosæ Deiparæ Virginis recordationem, successuræ posteritati fideliter conscripta...*, Cracoviæ, in Officina Viduæ et Heredum Francisci Cæsarij, 1655.
- 1194 Johannes Jacobus Draconus–Johannes Bechstadius, *De origine et iure patriciorum Libri Tres, ex continua Romanorum, Graecorum, et Germanorum, Aliarum item Gentium ac Civitatum historia, nec non Scriptoribus Philologis, Politicis, et Iurisperitis, multo labore collecti, et tandem in gratiam Patriciorum, Iurisque publici Studiosorum editi...*, Basileae, Johannes Jacobus Genathius, 1627.
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- 1196 *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum Gotfridi Hegenitii, et Abrahami Ortelii Itinerarium Gallo-Brabanticum, in quibus quæ visu, quæ lectu digna, Accedit Georgii Loysii ... Pervigilium Mercurii, in quo agitur, De præstantissimis peregrinantis virtutibus...*, Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Viduam Henrici Verbiest, 1667.
- 1197 *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis... Commentariorum De rebus, quæ temporibus eius in illa Europæ parte, quam Pannonii et Turcæ eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestæ sunt, Libri Undecim...* (ed. Adelarius Cravelius), Francofurti, Jean Marne, Jean Aubry, 1603.
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- 1203 *Hortulus historico-politicus coronas sex, ex floribus variis variegatas complexens; Id est, Lectiones historico-politicæ, publice in alma Salana propositæ... Cura et studio Abrahami De La Faye...*, Herbornæ Nassoviorum, Christophorus Corvinus, 1618.
- 1204 *Institutio viri privati et publici et aulici... Ad modum ferè Iusti Lipsii in politicis...*, Francofurti ad Moenum, Johann Friedrich Weiss, 1647.
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- 1208 Szabó P. 2005; Szabó P. 2008a.
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- 1248 Monok–Németh (Viskolcz)–Varga A., *Adattár* 16/3, 1994, 125–126.
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- 1251 Koltai 2007.
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- 1253 Várkonyi Á. 1984; Sárdi 2004 (with references to Potentia Dersffy (1555), Éva Lobkowitz Poppel (1622–1643), Krisztina Nyári (1628), Anna Apafi (1677).
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- 1255 Taking into account the patronage of noble women and the findings and methodology of European specialist literature, Brigitta Pesti analysed and synthesised the relevant Hungarian literature in the field: Pesti 2010; Pesti 2013: the appendix provides information on all the important patrons of the era under investigation.
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- 1277 Further examples: *Schiffahrten*, Gesammelt und herausgegeben durch Levinus Hulsius. By 1619, Nicolaus Hoffmann published 16 parts in Frankfurt am Main. Theil 16: *Die sechtzehende Schiffahrt, Journal, Oder Beschreibung der wunderbaren Reise Wilhelm SchOUTEN auß Hollandt, im Jahr 1615. 16. vnd 17. Darinnen er eine neuwe Durchfahrt neben dem Freto Magellanico, welche bißhero noch vnbekannt gewesen, in die Suyd See entdeckt. Beneben erzehlung, was für Land, Insuln, Leut, allda gefunden, vnd sich sonsten auff der Reise in der Suyd-See zugetragen*, Mit schoenen LandCharten, vnd Kupfferstuecken erklaert, Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, durch Nicolaum Hoffmann, sumptibus Hulsianis, 1619.
- 1278 Herner-Monok, *sajtó alá rend.*, *Adattár* 11, 1983, 583
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- 1280 Farkas G. F.–Katona-Latzkovits-Varga A., *Adattár* 13/2, 1992, 55–58. See also the Zrínyi chapter of this volume.
- 1281 Her (travel) prayer book was published in Venice: *Putni tovaruš ...1661*. On the modern facsimile edition and Katalin Frangepán's activity as a writer see Lőkös 2007.
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- 1286 Péter K. 1985a; Lengyel-Várkonyi G. 2010, 161–182.
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