

Companion to the History
of the Neo-Latin Studies
in Hungary

Edited by
István Bartók

Written by
István Bartók, Barnabás Guitman, Farkas Gábor Kiss,
László Havas, Éva Knapp, László Takács, Gábor Tüskés

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Among books of the era, we find a good number of religious instructions and pamphlets, contemplations, and high-level theological treatises. Noteworthy are Hungarian versions of the works by Lutheran Leonhard Hutter, Calvinist Donatus Visartus, William Perkins – who deeply influenced the Puritans –, Johann Wolleb and Mark Friedrich Wendelin. Hungarian-language theological summary of György Martonfalvi, who is mentioned above several times, is basically a translation of Ames. From among modern authors, the Catholics translated Roberto Bellarmino, Leonardus Lessius, Hieronymus Drexel, and Niccolò Avancini, just to mention the most important ones. Hungarian version of Campian already mentioned for his Latin edition is of special interest. It was Bálint Balassi, the greatest Hungarian poet of the Renaissance, who translated seven of the *Ten Reasons* at the end of the 16th century. After his death, his Jesuit confessor Sándor Dobokay finished the work, and the volume appeared in print first in 1606.

Among devotional works, books of prayer translated to Hungarian are frequent. Interest in lay subjects like theory of the state and moral philosophy is shown by translations of works by Antonio de Guevara, Erasmus, and Justus Lipsius.

2.) Indirect Influences

Hungarian authors knew literature language of the 16th and 17th centuries in Latin well, either from Hungarian editions presented above or from volumes obtained at places of their studies abroad. Influence of Neo-Latin literature can be observed in several fields of science and several genres. Protestant authors of the century show evidence of their knowledge of Luther, Calvin, Perkins, Ames and other theologians mentioned, just as Bellarmino's writings in defence of faith influenced the work of Péter Pázmány and other Catholics. Hungarian treatises on the theory of the state, politics, philosophy of history, authors of Hungarian *specula principis* – besides foreign examples listed above – drew on more or less widely known sources like works of Jean Bodin, Tommaso Campanella, or Mathias Bernegger.

In discussing representatives of encyclopaedism and pansophy, we talked about activities of Alsted in Transylvania. Concerning his influence, the first Hungarian-language encyclopaedia, the work of János Apáczai Csere must be mentioned. Among its sources are Ramus, Ames and Descartes. Reception of Cartesian ideas can be detected mostly in Transylvania and Debre-

cen. Works of Eperjes philosophers János Bayer and Izsák Czabán prove the influence of Bacon and Gassendi.

Neo-Latin examples also influenced poetry of the century in addition to devotional, theological, and philosophical works. Among writers of occasional poetry of literary value in Latin, we can mention the names of Johannes Bocatius, already mentioned for his Galeotto-edition, and György Thuri, who received poeta laureatus title in Heidelberg. Various spreading genres in Latin, originating in the Middle Ages or in humanism also influenced popular literature in Hungarian. Such are vagrant poetry, dialogues with the purpose of teaching or entertainment, ironical praises, rivalries. Poetry of "an unsettled world" became popular in the second half of the century. This is characterised by an attraction towards strange, unreal situations, the fantastic, and the unimaginable.

In summary, we can conclude that in the 17th century Latin-language literature of the period and of preceding centuries influenced the intellectual landscape of historical Hungary considerably. Neo-Latin sources published in separate volumes or inserted into bigger works had a part in this, so they contributed directly or indirectly to the development of national literature in the century.

FORERUNNERS OF NEO-LATIN PHILOLOGY AND NATIONAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE THE 18TH CENTURY

Latin language in the 18th century – like before – continued to play an important role in culture, social life, communication, and science. In the first half of the century, church intelligentsia found a new way of expression in neoclassical Latinity. Poetry was continually created in Latin, and that was the language of education too.

Investigations of Neo-Latin literature in the 18th century was not a separate branch of science for a long time, but was part of *historia litteraria*, and within that, history of the church. The 18th century is the period just prior to the time when history of literature became a national science. In this period, historiographic and philological works discuss literary aspects within *res litteraria* – culture and sciences –, together with the history of education, printing, book trade and libraries. The focus of these works is a presentation of the whole of Hungarian culture, cultural conditions, its way of life, and its

results and spreading. Often this is coupled with a summary and an outline of possible changes. The approach of church history is becoming less-and-less dominant, while fictional literature and poetry are increasingly seen in themselves and valued more-and-more highly. Significance of national-language works increases with the dissolution of Hungarus-consciousness and the new predominance of nationalistic ideals.

In recapitulating philological activities related to Neo-Latin literature one cannot ignore the fact that foundations of literary history were laid out mainly by an increasingly lay church intelligentsia. A great part of works in *historia litteraria* was born out of self-defence, in refutation of low foreign opinions of Hungarian culture and science. One must bear in mind that Neo-Latin literature in Hungary cannot be assigned exclusively to one nation or another living here in this period. The majority of works that need to be considered discuss writers producing in Latin and those writing in national languages together. A need for national-language literature is articulated only in the last third of the century, and works dedicated to the history of literature begin to appear only near the end of the investigated period. In the 1780s, abundance of material begins to overflow traditional frameworks of presentation. Differentiation of authors becomes more subtle, and *ingenium* replaces *ars* as the focus of assessment. Denominational differences become secondary, and the esteem of living national-language literature becomes drastically higher.

Just as Neo-Latin literature includes numerous different genres, scientific survey of this corpus too occurred in different forms with different objectives. Investigations of literature of fiction in this period cannot be separated from research on scientific literature, first of all humanistic history.

I.) Publications of Text

1.) Janus-editions

A predominant feature of the 18th century is the strong ambition to republish. The most important endeavour is repeated publication of the works Janus Pannonius during almost the whole century. In this, increasing importance of philological aspects is clearly seen. Republication of selected parts from compilation entitled *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum* in 1727 played an important role in keeping the tradition of Janus alive. This edition is

known as an outstanding relic of the cult of Janus in the Reformation. In the compilation first published in 1619 in the book series of Janus Gruterus in Frankfurt Hungarian authors of Latin poetry, considered followers of Janus, were also published together with known works of Janus. In the edition from 1727 these are supplemented with various poems by Sebestyén Ferdinánd Dobner, the assumed publisher; his work *Descriptio Carinthiae*; a Latin version – by Adalbert Sztrakos – of a “Prison-poem” about billiard by István Koháry; and Georg Hartlieb’s anagram of the name of Sebestyén Dobner with a poem of salutation from 1610.

Two-thirds of this publication are devoted to elegies and epigrams of Janus. This is the first Hungarian Janus-edition with epigrams. In comparison to the reduction from 1619, several modifications and abridgments were made not only to works of previously published Neo-Latin authors, but to poems of Janus too. Out of the 314 epigrams of the edition from 1619, the one from 1727 includes merely 84 in a different order, two shortened.

Sebestyén Ferdinánd Dobner belonged to the elite of the Evangelical intelligentsia of Sopron, which considered historiography – and within it publication of Janus – important. This volume proves that Janus was known in these circles, and we cannot exclude the possibility, that the compilation was intended to be a textbook.

That interest in Janus was growing in the middle part of the century, is shown by a compilation by Piarist teacher from Pest →Norbert Conradi from 1754. Conradi is a prominent representative of Piarist poet-teachers of the time, who had a clear literary agenda. His edition was following educational objectives more than philological ones. It can be considered a turning point in the history of the Janus-tradition in that it publishes a material more complete than any previous edition, and it signifies an increasingly classical taste with its humanistic apparatus. It mentions some earlier editions, refers to then recent research done by Ádám Ferenc Kollár in the court library in Vienna. According to Conradi, it was, first of all, his outstanding erudition that helped Janus become a national dignitary, and it was his *eruditio* that made his personality shine. In his biography of Janus included in the book, he purposefully actualises the figure of the poet, and gives advice on how to make a career through spirit and intellect.

It follows from his primary pedagogical purpose that Conradi consistently omitted Janus’ erotic and anticlerical epigrams; at the same time, he included twenty previously unpublished epigrams. He tried to find philological justification for his omission: he – mistakenly – attributed erotic poems

of Janus to Antonio Marcello, saying that Janus only translated those to Latin. The volume gives compelling proof of the increasing importance of 15th-century Latin poetry in secondary school education, and it indicates the beginning of a new stage in humanistic publication of text.

The most significant publication in the post-Sambucus period came out in two volumes in Utrecht in 1784. It is the work of Count →Sámuel Teleki and Marosvásárhely professor →Sándor Kovásznai Tóth. The first volume contains poetic works of Janus; the second contains his works of prose and the scientific apparatus – all in all exceeding 1100 pages. In comparison to the edition from 1569 by Sambucus, nearly one hundred epigrams are added with three translations of prose and the first 18 letters. In the case of one poem attributed to Janus by Sambucus, the editors go into detail in their philological refutation of the authorship of Janus.

The main significance of the work by Teleki and Kovásznai is that it provides a solid basis for research with the apparatus of modern classical philology. Moreover, this is the hitherto most complete printed edition of Janus' work.

Nearly at the same time with Sámuel Teleki, encouraged by Bishop of Pécs György Klimó, provost of Pécs →József Koller started to study Janus Pannonius in the framework of his research on the history of the diocese. On his research trip to Italy in 1766, Koller found several new manuscripts and collected other valuable material. He published his results in 1796: important archive material and unpublished poems from a manuscript found in Brescia. He, just like Conradi, ignored Janus' obscene poems. Based on a manuscript from Pozsony, he published Janus' letters and one speech found in the letter-book of Matthias. These had already been published independently by Teleki based on the Kassa edition from 1743–44. Teleki and Koller prepared the ground for an increasing interest in the figure and poetry of Janus in the correspondence of scientists from the 1760s on.

2.) Publication of Historical Sources

Among publications of sources in history, the first to discuss is the work of →Mátyás Bél (*Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae*). Bél was the most important polymath of the early 18th century. In this edition of sources he published twelve, previously partially unpublished historical works, each supplemented with foreword and notes. Among works worthy of attention from the perspective of literary history are *Hungaria* by Miklós Oláh, previ-

ously unpublished; his *Chronicon* written about his own age; and *Commentatio epistolica* and *Jaurinum redivivum* by Johannes Bocatius. Bél usually refers to the circumstances in which the works were created, to names the sources, introduces the authors and appreciates their works. In certain cases, he also gives aesthetic assessment: for example, he calls *Commentatio epistolica* an elegant, highly poetic work.

Speaking about Mátyás Bél and Neo-Latin philology, it must be mentioned that he considered – in addition to practising mother tongues – teaching of classical Latin important. His Latin textbooks, his Latin-language periodical titled *Nova Poseniensa*, and his publications of text all served this purpose. (Fig. 6.)



Fig. 6. Andreas and Josef Schmutzer, Allegory of King Matthias in Mátyás Bél, *Notitia Hungariae*, Vienna, 1735, vol. III, frontispiece

It was Austrian historian, student of Mátyás Bél, →Johann Georg von Schwandtner, who – under the title *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* – published the most important sources of historical narratives together with historical-critical apparatus. Bél provided guidance, support, and explanations. The first narrative on Hungarian history in Latin language, *Gesta Hungarorum* by Anonymus appeared in print for the first time here. This brought about a radical turn in the tradition of literary history and in a historical approach to literature. It was here, that *Chronica Ungarorum* (1488) by Johannes Thuróczy (János Thuróczy), dedicated to King Matthias, was republished after two hundred years. The work is on the borderline between Middle-Age chronicle and humanistic historiography. In the part describing events starting from 1386, it follows Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who provides guidelines for world history and framework for Hungarian events. It uses letters of Johannes Vitéz and *Chronica* by Antonius Florentinus among others. Schwandtner also published, in the first volume, *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* by Pietro Ransano earlier published by Sambucus (1558) and Lukács Pécsi (1579), and Galeotto Marzio's Matthias-aneecdotes mentioned above several times. From volume 2, we can highlight *Epistolarium* by Johannes Vitéz.

The main objective of Schwandtner and Bél is making texts available for further study. The works are in near-chronological order: volume 1 contains twenty-four sources from the 13th until the late 16th century, volume 2 contains nine from the 15th–17th centuries, and volume 3 fifteen sources from the 17th–18th centuries. In the foreword for each text, Bél discusses history of the creation and earlier publications, problems of textual criticism, and always indicates who is the editor responsible for the text – some texts were prepared for publication not by Schwandtner himself but by Károly András Bél, son of Mátyás Bél, or by the author himself, like Martin Schmeizel.

Leipzig university professor Károly András Bél, an organiser of scientific life, republished – for the seventh time – Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* in Leipzig in 1771.

This edition is mentioned in this context because the European public became acquainted with Hungarian history of the Middle Ages through this highly rhetorical, humanistic work, which became the basis for many literary works of fiction. Bél discusses in detail the authenticity of statements by Bonfini, and criticises the author for glossing over sins of his patrons. Bél draws attention to Martin Brenner, who published the first three books of the work in Basel in 1543, and who wrote about the dark side of the age of Mat-

thias. Achievement of Johannes Sambucus in editing the first complete Bonfini-edition (1568) is especially noted.

Concerning usage of historical sources, we must mention →György Pray, an eminent character of the Jesuit school of historiography. He wrote up lives of several Hungarian saints and Hungarian history from the beginnings until the 16th century. He handled sources included in his works critically, with the thoroughness of a specialist. He was the first to use material of the chamber archives for scientific research.

Growing interest in the ancient history of Hungarians is shown by the fact that Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum* appeared seven times in the second half of the century, once in a calendar in Nagyszombat intended for the widest possible audience (1765–66). Piarist →Elek Horányi published no less than three important Latin-language historical sources: the historical works of Simon Kézai from the 13th, of Ferenc Forgách from the 16th, and of János Bethlen from the 17th century.

II.) Most Important Areas of *Historia Litteraria*

1.) Catalogues of Writers, Booklists

Disregarding sporadic initiatives in the 17th century, systematic taking stock of Hungarian authors of earlier times started in the first half of the 18th century. Creation of the first catalogues of writers is linked to Dániel Burius, who came from a Lutheran family in Upper-Hungary, and to Jesuit polymath Márton Szentiványi mentioned in chapter II.

The draft of a letter by Dániel Burius to be sent to his brother János Burius, Jr. – probably prepared after the author's stay in Berlin between 1700 and 1708 – covers topics of literary history. It lists twenty writers from Hungary by name and refers to fifty others from Hungary and Transylvania as ones whom he wishes to discuss in his planned work. A pamphlet by Johann Friedrich Cramer – titled *Vindiciae* (1694), defending Germans accused with barbarity by French Jesuit Dominique Bouhours – is designated as initiative for the work. Another important source and inspiration was the work done by his father, János Burius, Sr. – mentioned in the previous chapter – who collected material on the history of the Lutheran church.

In the draft of his letter, Burius made a skilful abstract of Cramer and presented the debate that stirred up nationalistic emotions as a debate be-

tween a French Jesuit and a German scientist. His sole insertion defends “Eastern” nations, too, against the charge of barbarity. This seems like a precursor of the ideological stand taken by →Dávid Czvitinger in his lexicon of writers. The list of writers in Hungary follows logically the foundation adopted from the German author. Several of the authors in Hungary who wrote in Latin are listed.

Márton Szentiványi included three catalogues of writers in the first part of volume 3 of his large, comprehensive work. The first of the three catalogues lists authors in Hungary, the second lists Jesuit authors in Hungary, the third lists foreign authors writing about Hungary.

Around the middle of the century, on the initiative of Gábor Hevenesi mentioned in the previous chapter, Jesuits in Kassa and Nagyszombat increased their activities in collecting historical sources. There are several catalogues of writers and directories of works from this period in a compilation by István Kaprinai that remained in manuscript. Some of the manuscripts go beyond the forms of simple catalogue or directory. They also include biographical information, and thus point towards a transition to lexicons. For example, in volume 88 we find collected material about authors in Hungary – several Neo-Latin ones, like Bocatius, among them – with short biographies and their works listed.

2.) *Lexicons of Writers*

It was Dávid Czvitinger, who produced the first comprehensive work on the history of Hungarian literature and science that was published in an independent volume. He created his lexicon of Hungarian writers – called briefly *Specimen* – driven by the German school of the history of science. It was Jakob Friedrich Reimann’s condemning opinion of Hungarian science that gave immediate incentive for this edition. The first, bigger part of the work lists biographies of 282 authors, scientists, art patrons, and historical figures, lists their works and opinions about them. Volume 2 is a bibliography of works related to Hungary classified by subject.

Czvitinger included in his collection reigning princes who supported literature, church dignitaries, and saints, as well as writers and scientists. He processed a significant amount of data; apart from a few exceptions, he did not care about differences in language or denomination, and usually noted nationality. He considered Hungarus – Hungarian – everybody who had been born or working on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom for an ex-

tended period. In this wide Hungarus-concept, the Dalmatian Tubero fitted just as well as Saint Martin of Pannonia, Abaris, who was Scythian, or Antonio Bonfini and Pietro Ransano, who both worked in the court of Matthias. Size of the entries was determined not by the value of one’s oeuvre but by available source material and social-historical status of the given author. Although Czvitinger writes in Latin, he encourages tending of national-language culture several times. He includes citations from Latin poems of various authors from Hungary or abroad quite often.

It gives special significance to Czvitinger’s work that he was the first, and for decades, nearly the only author to communicate knowledge on Hungarian literature collected in one volume.

→Mihály Rotarides planned to complement Czvitinger’s material and collected material from a wide range of sources. He started the work, which spanned several years, in Sopron and continued it in Wittenberg. Because of his early death, only introductory part of his work came out. The published chapter presents history of science of *res litteraria* in seventeen paragraphs. He takes the authors who published related works one by one. Rotarides wanted to give an overview of the history of all literature in Hungary. He did not distinguish science from fiction either and did not care about languages of the works. He supported literary application of national languages but considered Latin to be the language of science.

The draft of Rotarides, even in its incomplete form, is an important stage in Latin-language science in Hungary: history of literature and science, having grown out of church history, reached the concept of historical classification and irrelevance of denomination.

While Czvitinger and Rotarides intended to inform foreign lands through their works, Péter Bod compiled his lexicon of biography-bibliography in Hungarian language for Hungarian use. The work, which appeared in 1766, presents the life and work of 528 writers and scientists in Hungary. The appendix contains an inventory of books in Hungarian organised in twenty thematic groups. Bod is for the national language and against Latin, yet, he keeps writers in Latin in mind too, and sees literary and scientific life in Hungary in unity with that of Europe.

Bod’s concept of Hungarus is close to that of Czvitinger’s. He treats representatives of different areas in science and literature as equals. His values are demonstrated by the fact that he usually records lay fiction and works by authors belonging to different denominations without comment. As for historians, he considers authenticity, preciseness, and novelty most important

values in them. In literary works, he considers talent, imagination, inspiration and descriptive ability the highest values. He calls Janus Pannonius a “quite famous author of poems”.

Although the whole work is in Hungarian, Bod – unusually for lexicon of writers – often cites poems and funerary epigrams that praise or salute the author in Latin. The main purpose of these is portrayal and appreciation. The overall size of these exceeds three-hundred lines, which is much more than the overall volume of quotations from Hungarian poems. Among the authors of poems, there are well-known as well as lesser-known persons, like Rudolf Goclenius, Johannes Petrus Lotichius, Konrad Ritterhausen, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Théodore de Bèze, Melchior Adam, and Johannes Bocatius.



Fig. 7. Allegory of Diligence, in F. Pápai Páriz, *Dictionarium Manuale Latino-Ungaricum et Ungarico-Latino-Germanicum*, Nagyszében, 1767, frontispiece

From the activities of Péter Bod related to Latin philology in Hungary, we must underscore his work as a dictionary editor. As mentioned in earlier chapters, it was Albert Szenci Molnár, who – after various thematic word-lists – produced the first lexicographic Latin–Hungarian and Hungarian–Latin dictionary in the early 17th century. Ferenc Pápai Páriz revised this in the early 18th century. Bod expanded Pápai’s edition further (1767). (Fig. 7.)

We need to make note of two more lexicons in Latin from the last third of the century. The work of Elek Horányi – mentioned before –, referred to briefly as *Memoria Hungarorum*, gives information about the life and work of all-in-all 1155 authors and scientists living in Hungary or provinces under the Hungarian crown. The most important novelty of his collection of sources is that he was in personal or written correspondence with all his contemporaries in the area of *res litteraria*. He treats Latin-language and Hungarian-language literature as equals, just like representatives of different fields of science. In his outlook, one can find the heritage of *res litteraria* together with the literary programme of the coming fifty years, which aimed at cultivating national language. Another innovation of his is that he paid more attention to poetry than earlier lexicon-writers, and he often gives aesthetic assessment. His knowledge of the material is much wider than that of his predecessors – he often gives extensive reviews about authors barely mentioned or ignored by Bod (e.g. Janus Pannonius, Miklós Oláh, and István Werbőczy). He goes into unprecedented detail in presenting personal achievement and ignores cultural history as a separate discipline altogether.

Appearance of the first specialised lexicon marks the beginning dissolution of *res litteraria*: István Weszprémi presented biographies and works of Hungarian and Transylvanian physicians in Latin (*Succincta medicorum Hungariae et Transilvaniae biographia*, 1–4, Leipzig–Vienna, 1774–1787). The work, published with a dedication by Károly András Bél, remained unfinished; however, it is still used as an auxiliary book. Boundary between physician and *literator* is often blurry, the compilation includes several authors whose classification as physician was disputed even at the time of publication. Weszprémi, too, often uses poems, inscriptions, and letters in Latin, e.g. in the entry about Michael Pannonius, he quotes elegies by Janus Pannonius.

Among noteworthy entries – from the standpoint Neo-Latin literature –, the important ones are those about Galeotto Marzio, Nicasius Ellebodus, Georg Wernher, and János Wéber. A very extensive entry about Sambucus, filled with quotations from poems, presents Sambucus’ philological work in

detail and lists no less than thirty works and publications. We must note here that it was István Weszprémi who republished the first poetic anthology of humanism of a Hungarian subject (*Pannoniae Luctus*, Krakow, 1544; 2nd edition Vienna, 1798), the epitaphs and *elogia* of which mourn those who had fallen at the Mohács battle and at fallen towns.

3.) Historical-Chronological Overviews

The need for overview and assessment of *res litteraria* from a historical perspective appeared nearly at the same time as lexicographical summaries. These efforts can be grasped throughout the century. The first, primitive application of chronological order is linked with the name of Jesuit Sándor Szörényi (Szörényi), who compiled his catalogue of writers, which remained in manuscript, in 1717 (*Pannonia docta, sive nova series chronologica virorum sub corona Regni Hungariae eruditione scriptisque ad posteros relictis illustrium usque ad annum 1717 perductam*). He lists writers in chronological order from the 11th century up until 1717. The lengths of descriptions are usually proportional to the significance of the authors. There is no sign of denominational bias in selection or assessment. He quotes Czvittinger most often among his sources.

Historical aspect is somewhat more clearly outlined in the work of György Jeremiás Haner (*De scriptoribus rerum Hungaricarum et Transilvanicarum*, 1–2, Vienna–Nagyszeben, 1774–1798). The first part contains material until the end of the 16th century; the second, posthumous volume contains authors from the 17th century. Haner grouped erudite authors from Hungary and Transylvania by century, and, within that, used lexicographic order. He gives their names, short biographies, and titles of their works in the body text. References and other data are given in footnotes.

Chronological and thematic order determine together the outlined overview of the history of science by Piarist Ince Simonchich (Simonchicz) (*Dissertatio de ortu et progressu litterarum in Hungaria*, Nagyvárad, 1784). Part one discusses the origin and development of sciences in Hungary in chronological order. The second part deals with possibilities of acquiring knowledge, libraries, print shops, education, and various educational institutions. Libraries of King Matthias and Miklós Zrínyi are discussed in detail.

The first attempt at creating a comprehensive system of periods is linked with the name of Pavel Wallaszky, who laid the foundations of defining the periods in literary history that would become the tradition in his work

Conspectus rei publicae litterariae in Hungaria (Pozsony–Leipzig, 1785; 2nd edition Buda, 1808). Wallaszky lists the works of almost all his predecessors. Within each period, he discusses his material by century and within a century by field of science. Besides theologians, lawyers, physicians, philosophers, mathematicians, historians separate groups are designated to orators, poets, and philologists. His main innovation was replacing lexicographic order with a chronological one, and he was consistent in using the story-based form of narrative of *historia litteraria*. However, his categorisations are sometimes arbitrary, significant authors are sometimes presented strikingly briefly or through second-hand information, and he is not free from nationalistic bias.

4.) Specialised Investigations

Together with slow transformation of the concept of literature, in the middle part of the century, the number of investigations concerning a certain period and focusing on thematic or regional aspects increased. From earlier periods of culture, the Renaissance was in the focus of attention.

The work of Austrian historian Xystus Schier on the history of the Pozsony University founded by Johannes Vitéz in 1475 (*Memoria Academiae Istropolitanae seu Posoniensis*, Vienna, 1774) covers lives and works of teachers of the academy: Johannes Regiomontanus, Jacobus Piso, Aurelio Lippo Brandolini, and Petrus Nigri. Most teachers were brought from foreign countries. Pavel Wallaszky also published a treatise on the state of literature and sciences in the Matthias-era (*Tentamen historiae litterarum sub rege gloriosissimo Matthia Corvino de Hunyad in Hungaria*, Leipzig, 1769).

Ince József Dezsericzky (Desericius) is more concerned with giving an overview of conditions in the present than in the past. He is a late Piarist representative of the school of study of sources initiated by Jesuits. What urged him to write his work (*Pro cultu litterarum in Hungaria [...] vindicatio*, Rome, 1743) was the funeral oration of Italian priest Raimondo Cechetti over János Harrach, Bishop of Nyitra, in which the priest criticised the low level of education in Hungary. Dezsericzky characterises domestic culture not only by its highest achievements but also by its scope in society, pointing out that Latin language, through schools, reached lower social classes too. He lists twenty-one Hungarian towns in which Jesuits and Pia-

rists cultivate literature for the good of young people. He appreciates Piarist commitment to educate lower classes in detail.

We discuss three of the works that cover history of the Protestant Church, keeping an eye on aspects of literary history. These works remained in manuscript form for a long time. Unitarian pastor János Kénosi Tözsér, in order to supplement *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum* by Christophorus Sandius, made an inventory of Transylvanian Unitarian authors and their works (1753) in a manuscript. In another one, he collected data on Unitarian print shops. Later he expanded both and inserted them into his large synthesis of church history. István Uzoni Fosztó continued the work he began (*Unitario-ecclesiastica historia Transylvanica liber I-II*). Both works refer to a large number of manuscripts and prints from the 17th and 18th centuries that we are aware of only from here, and important data are given about the work and *Nachleben* of outstanding figures of the Reformation in Hungary. Similarly, the work of Miklós Sinai, teacher of classical philology at the college of Debrecen, on the history of Protestant churches in Hungary and Transylvania is a unique source in several respects (*Praelectiones publica in historiam ecclesiasticam seculi XVI.*). Besides printed sources, it is based on numerous manuscripts and archive research too.

Among regional initiatives, a separate group is comprised of inventories of Transylvanian authors. We bring up two examples. József Benkő, in his work on knowledge about the state (*Transylvania, 1-2*, Vienna, 1777-78), gives summaries of histories of Transylvanian institutions, schools, grouped by century. He grouped authors and scientists into two separate chapters according to their denomination. Johann Seivert listed Saxon authors and scientists of Transylvania. From his lexicon in German (*Nachrichten von siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, Pozsony, 1785), he omitted authors writing in Hungarian, and thus compiled the first comprehensive work on literary history that might be labelled as one based on nationality. Some Neo-Latin authors of foreign origin who lived in Transylvania for some time are included in his work, like Johann Heinrich Alsted, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, Ludwig Philipp Piscator, Marcello Squarcialupi, and Giorgio Biandrata. He also collected material about Székely and Transylvanian Hungarian writers, but this work was published posthumously.

III.) Translations

As mentioned before, the language of education in Hungary was Latin up until the early 19th century. This explains why there were relatively few Latin-language works translated to Hungarian in the 18th century. Humanistic literature created in Hungary or about a Hungarian subject was not translated, with a few exceptions. The reason for translation was usually not philological but practical. Pál László, parson of Szilágysomlyó, canon of Nagyvárad, translated selected passages from Petrarca's *De remediis utriusque Fortunae libri duo* and published it in 1720. Translation of *De constatia* by Justus Lipsius appeared only in the first decade of the 19th century. Apophthegms of Plutarch, revised and translated to Latin by Erasmus, were translated to Hungarian by poet and Catholic priest János Lethenyei in the last third of the century. In addition to translations of texts from antiquity and the Middle Ages, he created a Hungarian translation from the Latin version of Paolo Medici's work on Jewish customs and rites, originally written in Italian. He also translated the account of István Brodarics of the Mohács battle. Paulite monk Ferenc Orosz translated a chronicle of the ruling of Louis I by János Küküllei. Several people translated *Argenis* by John Barclay, the most complete version being that of Márton Hriágyel (1754/46). Sándor Boér followed in his footsteps, but the first one to come up with a translation was Antal Fejér in 1792. Jesuit György Gerő translated the novel of Jesuit Guillaume de Waha-Baillonville on Gottfried Bouillon as *Hercules Christianus* (1673) in 1768. He restructured the work a little bit and reproduced classical-style quotations from poems through twelve-beats and hexameters.

An epigram on Venice by Iacopo Sannazaro and two poems (*Ad Hyellam* and *Imaginem sui Hyelle mittit*) by Andreas Naugerius (Navagero) were rendered in Hungarian in the last third of the century by ex-Jesuit, translator of Virgil, József Rájnis, who had a basic Neo-Latin education. Dávid Baróti Szabó translated Milton's *Paradise Lost* from a Latin version in Virgilian hexameters by Ludwig Bertrand Neumann. This ignited a long debate in the theory of translation. Baróti Szabó, in addition to his renderings of Horace and Virgil, also translated Sannazaro's epigram, Jesuit René Rapin's 12th eclogue, and Jacques Vanière's (also Jesuit) imitation of *Georgica* titled *Praedium rusticum*. It was Elek Horányi who – after partial translations in the 17th century – translated a series of poems praising Hungarian kings and

chieftains by Nicolaus Avancini. This was published in 1664 with copper engravings by Ferenc Nádasdy.

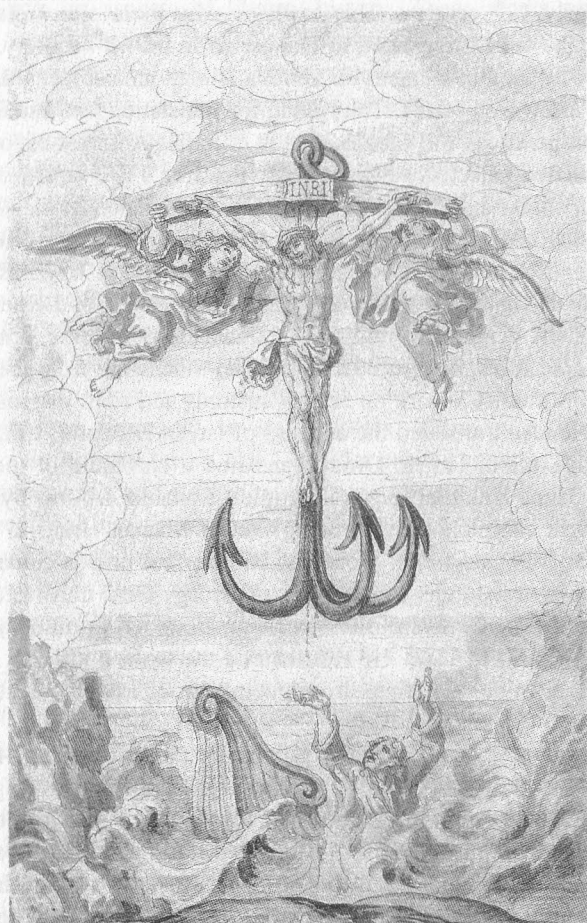


Fig. 8. Allegory of Salvation, stage design from the Sopron Collection of Jesuit Stage Designs, late 17th or early 18th cent., Budapest, Hungarian Theatre Institute

Numerous translations were prepared for school use from 17th–18th century dramas – most of the authors and their translators were Jesuits. (Fig. 8.) We know about Hungarian versions of the following plays: *Rusticus im-*

perans by Jakob Masen; *Conversio S. Augusti* by Franz Neumayr; *Prima ad coelum via per innocentium* and *Stilico* by Anton Claus; *Zrinius ad Sigethum*, *Salamon*, *Codrus*, and *Cyrus* by Andreas Friz; and *Mauritius*, *Jekonias* and *Sedecias* by unknown authors. Most of the Hungarian versions are revisions adapted to local conditions and possibilities – significant changes were often made to the original text.

Finally, it must not go unnoticed that translations were made not only from but to Latin as well. Thus, for instance, Adalbert Sztrakos, a pastor in Nógrád, rendered some of the poems of Count István Koháry written in Hungarian in Latin. It is almost anachronistic from an all-European standpoint, but among Hungarian conditions, it is not unimportant, that a large number of French works were translated to Latin. In the court of Francis Rákóczi II, a member of the reigning prince's close circle began to translate Fénelon's *Télémaque* after 1706. German Jesuit Franciscus Wagner, who worked in Hungary and Austria, translated *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (1687) by Dominique Bouhours to Latin in addition to his theoretical writings advocating the use of Latin in schools and his textbooks.

From the middle of the century, there was a significant increase in the number of translations from French to Latin. Jesuit Pál Makó rendered Corneille's play *Nicomède* in hexameters for a school theatre and published it in 1706. Several of Molière's comedies were performed in Latin. Spreading of Enlightenment in Transylvania is shown by Voltaire-translations in manuscript by count János Lázár (e.g. *Essay sur l'histoire générale*). A Latin version of Marmontel's *Bélisaire* appeared in 1711 in a translation by Mihály Horváth. A Latin version of Rousseau's *Du contrat social* that remained in manuscript was made in 1792. What makes these translations significant regarding history of Neo-Latin research is that they indicate the major role the rhetoric of French classicism played in how new, neoclassical, late-Latin ideals of style took root in Hungary.

In summary, we can conclude that research activities concerning Neo-Latin authors and texts in Hungary had many ties with European science in the 18th century. A considerable part of philological achievements is due to authors who had studied, or went and worked abroad. These activities continued on different levels in different genres, and publication of text was part of them just as collection of biographical/bibliographical data, comprehensive, lexicographic works, chronological overviews, and specialised studies. Inventories and analyses – with a few exceptions – were done in Latin up

until the end of the century, partly in the framework of research on *res litteraria*.

There are relatively few works in our inventory that were created by independent scientists or university professors, and the rate of unfinished works or those in manuscript is quite high. However, some of the works presented do not fall behind the average level of contemporary European research. A considerable part of works by Hungarian humanists or late humanists got lost, was unknown, or is still unpublished. This is the reason why some fell out of the scope of 18th-century research. Neo-Latin authors taken into consideration from a later period is higher, and it increases as time goes on. The importance of the relatively great number of translations from and to Latin is not in the philological achievement but in that it shows that Latin was in continual use as a living literary language. Classical philology became institutionalised – after the beginnings in the late 18th century – only in the first third of the 19th century. Even after this, Neo-Latin literature was the subject of independent research only due to some of its outstanding representatives.

EX ANCILLA DOMINA THE 19TH CENTURY

Changes in Western Europe in the late 18th century – first in England, then in France – did not leave the enlightened absolutist Habsburg Empire unaffected. Hungary reached the second half of the 18th century as a part of the empire that had been struggling for independence in vain. Changes penetrated every area of life: production in agriculture changed just as education did; politics and society were in transition just as arts and science. Although philology and scientific approach had been developing steadily since the humanists, research of old ages received new impetus from neo-classical ideals, which renewed efforts to put the classical world into the focus of European learning. Even though some European nations rightly felt they had a direct link with Greek, or even more with Roman culture, the concept of nation conceived in the French Revolution and romantic outlook brought about a change: nations turned towards what was not Greek or Roman in their past and culture. In this respect, Hungarian nation was undoubtedly in a special position. It became heir of European culture not by growing out of Christian Europe with a classical heritage, but by becoming part of it.

Influenced by the Enlightenment, classicism and romanticism, Hungarian scientists turned towards the national past, and while poets – following Greek, French and German examples – tried to recreate lost national mythology, practitioners of science endeavoured to achieve the same by uncovering and studying documents of Hungarian history, elements of the language and a specifically Hungarian culture. This scientific interest is closely related to Neo-Latin philology. The official language of the country was Latin until as late as 1844, so a significant part of all written material of the nine and half centuries since the founding of the state – literary works, historical or legal sources – were created in the *lingua paterna* of all of us. No matter what area of Hungarian culture one wished to study, one's scientific pursuit – due to the outlined special conditions – is inevitably part of Neo-Latin philology.

I.) Philologia est ancilla Historiae

1.) History and Neo-Latin Philology

a.) History of the Hungarian Nation and State

Neo-Latin philology in the 19th century – due to the beginnings of system building in the 18th century – could advance relying on the antecedents summarised in the previous chapter. Since studying the past had primary importance, tracking down historical writings and documents written in Latin, their critical study and publishing them were in focus. The words of introduction by Ferenc Toldy, father of Hungarian literary history, for the work of count József Kemény (*Történelmi és irodalmi kalászatok*, Historical and Literary Excerpts, Pest, 1861) show their significance: “Our literary history has so far been destitute of a repository in which all those smaller or fragmentary remnants, small data, memorable facts, letters of scientists and authors brought together: they could provide a collection of sources for that science which – within sciences of history, together with the history of high learning – achieved its cultivated status inside and outside the country in the present century.” And indeed, even though no colourful compilation of documents that would include Latin as well as Hungarian sources had been published before, important sources had been published before. Those works were guided by critical considerations.