

Print Culture at the Crossroads

The Book and Central Europe

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The Posthumous Reception of an Antitrinitarian Bishop at Home and Abroad

The Afterlife of György Enyedi's Explicationes

Borbála Lovas

Though the English Reformation of the sixteenth century was originally a conservative, state-sponsored affair initiated by Henry VIII to resolve a specific dynastic crisis, the religious changes the king launched eventually took on a life of their own. By the seventeenth century England was awash with confessional controversy. The island kingdom hosted a series of radical discussions that challenged fundamental tenets of orthodox Christianity. Foremost were the contentious debates on the Trinity. While scholars have carefully analysed the complicated ideas surrounding these theological controversies, they have been less successful tracing their intellectual origins.¹ There is general assent that many of these radical notions came to England from Central Europe. The religious freedoms of Poland and Transylvania attracted some of the most heterodox thinkers on the continent. But how did these ideas move? Is it possible to trace their spread to Western Europe? This chapter examines one strand of that complicated genealogy of Antitrinitarian thought that had such a profound impact on Western Europe.

The story actually begins in the libraries of two of England's most celebrated scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—John Locke and Isaac Newton. Despite their stature and achievement, church authorities raised questions about both these men, for their understanding of the Trinity was suspect. Though debate continues concerning the precise contours of their beliefs, both Locke and Newton did possess a copy of an influential Central European text that was one of the most eloquent statements of Antitrinitarian theology. Indeed, according to a seventeenth-century auction catalogue the text in question, György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* was “a book to be found in most contemporary theological

1 Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Paul Lim, *Mystery Unveiled: The Crisis of the Trinity in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

libraries”.² The *Explicationes* exists in four printed versions: two Latin and two in Hungarian translation. By studying these different editions, we can begin to understand the text’s importance and its subsequent reception across the continent. Such an investigation offers important insights into the fascinating history of Transylvanian printing as well as the growing popularity of these Antitrinitarian texts republished in Western Europe.

György Enyedi (Georgius Eniedinus) was born in the Transylvanian city of Aiud (Nagyenyed) in 1555. He studied in Geneva and Padua. His time in Padua was particularly formative, for here he fell under the sway of Giacomo Zabarella, the most important representative of Aristotelianism in Renaissance Italy. On returning to Transylvania, he taught dialectics and philosophy at the Unitarian Gymnasium of Cluj (Kolozsvár) and later became the rector of the institution. With radical teachers such as the former Jesuit Christian Francken, the school was a key institution of Unitarian education.³ Enyedi, too, emerged as an influential leader and was elected the third bishop of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania in 1592, a position he held until his early death in 1597.⁴

The “book to be found in most contemporary theological libraries” was Enyedi’s posthumously printed *Explicationes*. The Latin work was unfinished, and no manuscript copy is known; a later Hungarian translation added selections from Enyedi’s other writings to fill the lacunae.⁵ The *Explicationes* was intended to provide a firm doctrinal foundation for refuting Trinitarian dogma. In an effort to more effectively combat his opponents, Enyedi used a variety of editions and translations of the Bible to address sections that were debated by contemporaries and also employed various classical and contemporary authors to support these arguments.⁶ Though only his *Explicationes* was

2 H. John McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 133; Daniela Bianchi, ‘Some Sources for a History of English Socinianism: A Bibliography of 17th Century English Socinian Writings’, *Topoi*, 4 (1985), pp. 95 and 111.

3 Regarding Christian Francken, see József Simon, *Die Religionsphilosophie Christian Franckens (1552-1610?)*. *Atheismus und radikale Reformation im Frühneuzeitlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2008).

4 For studies of his life, see Mihály Balázs and János Káldos, *György Enyedi*, Ungarländische Antitrinitarier 11, Bibliotheca Dissidentium xv (Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1990); and Mihály Balázs and János Káldos (eds.), *Enyedi György válogatott művei* (Bucharest: Kriterion Kiadó, 1997), pp. 5–27.

5 György Enyedi, *Az o es vy testamentvmbeli helyeknek, melyekből az Háromsagról való tudománt szokták állatni magyarázattyok* (Kolozsvár: Heltai, 1619, 1620).

6 These sections include Gen 1.1, Gen 1.2, Gen 1.26, Gen 3.23, Gen 11.7, Gen 16.13, Gen 18.2, Exod 3.6, Judg 6.12, Judg 13.3, Job 19.25, Job 33.4, Psalm 2.7, Psalm 22.17, Psalm 24.7, Psalm 33.6, Psalm 68.19, Psalm 81.10, Psalm 97.8, Prov 8.22, Prov 30.4, Eccl 24.5, Micah 5.2, Matt 1.23, Matt 16.16, Matt 22.41, Matt 28.19, Mark 2.5, Luke 1.16, Luke 1.35, Luke 1.76, John 1, John 5, John 10.30, John 12.41, John 14.9, John 16.28, John 20.28, Act 3.15, Act 5.3, Act 20.28, Act 28.25,

known in Western Europe, Enyedi produced a rich and diverse literary output. During his university days, he wrote the Latin *Annotationes*, a study of the New Testament.⁷ He translated a Latin rendering of Boccaccio's *Ghismunda* into Hungarian verse, a text that went through several printed editions.⁸ He prepared a Latin translation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* for publication.⁹ He also produced a large collection of vernacular sermons that survive in a lengthy and complicated manuscript tradition.¹⁰ Enyedi's *Explicationes* drew on these other writings; the text included discussions, often using arguments that paralleled his vernacular sermons. One discussion of a biblical quotation in the *Explicationes* directly referenced the *Aethiopica*.¹¹

Enyedi's *Explicationes*, his most well-known book, was the product of his practical work as bishop. His time in office was marked by his ability to

Rom 1.3, Rom 9.5, Rom 10.13, Rom 14.10, 1Cor 1.2, 1Cor 8.6, 1Cor 10.4, 1Cor 10.9, 1Cor 12.4, 1Cor 12.9, 2Cor 3.17, 2Cor 4.4, Gal 1.1, Gal 4.8, Eph 4.8, Phil 2.5, Col 1.15, Col 2.9, 1Thess 3.5, 1Tim 3.16, Tit 2.13, Heb 1, 1Pet 1.11, 1Pet 3.19, 1John 1.1, 1John 4.2, 1John 5.20, Jude 4, Rev 1.8, Rev 22.13.

- 7 Enyedi's 'Annotationes Georgii Enyedini in Novum Testamentum' survives in a single manuscript, finished in Geneva, 24 June 1584, currently held in the Romanian Academy Library Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca (shelf mark: Ms. C. 628); the numbering suggests it was previously kept in a Catholic collection. For a more detailed description, see Balázs and Káldos, *György Enyedi*, pp. 95–96.
- 8 For a modern critical edition, see György Enyedi, *Historia elegantissima*, ed. János Káldos (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994).
- 9 Enyedi's translation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* was completed by 1592. It survives in a single manuscript, under the title 'Heliodori Aethiopiae historiae libri decem, Nunc primum in Latinam Linguam Conversi Interprete Georgio Enjedino Transilvano', copied by Stephanus Nemay Urbanus in 1647, kept in the Romanian Academy Library Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca, (shelf mark: Ms. U. 1089). The arrangement of the first page and the presence of a dedication to the young Prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, suggest it was most probably prepared for printing.
- 10 The first printed edition of which is currently in progress. Borbála Lovas (ed.), *Enyedi György prédikációi* (3 vols., Budapest: MTA-ELTE HECE—Magyar Unitárius Egyház, 2016–2018). A fourth volume is in preparation.
- 11 For the connection between Phil 2.6 and Heliodorus's romance and an analysis of the words *forma* and *aequalitas* and the paragraph's ending (Lat.: non rapinam arbitratus est; gr.: οὐκ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγάγατο), see József Simon, *Explicationes explicationum: Filozófia, irodalom és egzegetika Enyedi György életművében* (Budapest: Typotex, 2016). Simon notes the appreciation and use of Enyedi by scholars such as Lambert Bos, Jean Leclerc, Georg Raphael, Erasmus Schmied, Johann Jakob Wettstein, Daniel Whitby, and, much later, Wilhelm Werner Jaeger and Adolf Jülicher. As this chapter shows, this appreciation of Enyedi's work coincides with the second edition of the *Explicationes*. About Enyedi's translation, see Katalin Berkes, 'Mit olvastak még, akik ezt olvasták? Enyedi György *Aethiopika*-fordításához kapcsolódó művek', in Borbála Lovas and Krisztina K. Kaposi (eds.), *Enyedi 460. Tanulmánykötet Enyedi György születésének 460. évfordulójára rendezett kamarakonferencia előadásából* (Budapest: MTA-ELTE HECE, 2016), pp. 27–40.

negotiate and unify during a particularly challenging moment in the growth and development of Unitarianism. He inherited a church that was developing at the same time as the new semi-independent Transylvanian principality, which emerged following the Hungarian defeat at the Battle of Mohács (1526), the fall of Buda (1541), and the division of the Kingdom of Hungary that followed. The principality included three main nationalities: Hungarian, Saxon, and Szekler. At the Diet of Turda (Torda) on 6 January 1568, the young prince John Sigismund allowed four religions in the territory: Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, and Unitarian. This status was later ratified at the Diet of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) in January 1571 during the rule of John Sigismund's Catholic successor, Stephen Báthory, albeit with a prohibition against further religious innovation. After the establishment of the Unitarian Church, its first bishop, the influential but controversial Saxon Ferenc Dávid expressed increasingly radical views that ultimately led to his trial and incarceration. He died in prison in 1579.¹² His successor, the Hungarian Demeter Hunyadi, though a theological moderate in comparison, was as divisive while attempting to consolidate the church.¹³ Hunyadi's sudden death in 1592 resulted in yet further strife. Leaders of the Unitarian Church had agreed that the nationality of its bishop would alternate between Saxon and Hungarian. Hunyadi's successor, though, was Enyedi, a Hungarian. To placate the Saxons, Enyedi chose as minister the radical Saxon Erasmus Johannis, who had debated Fausto Sozzini in Cracow and had developed a reputation for innovation and controversy. Enyedi compelled Johannis to promise that he would uphold the teachings of Unitarianism and not propagate his own views. During Enyedi's tenure as bishop, a variety of ideas were expressed within the church though outwardly he sought to project a more unified image. There were in fact persistent rumours that he was actually a nonadorantist, a controversial minority position within the Unitarian community. His *Explicationes* was a product of this stance during these difficult times and reflected his attempt to present a unified theological standpoint with no sign of interior dissent or disagreement.

It is important to remember that the Antitrinitarian or Unitarian movement was far from monolithic. There was a wide variety of views and positions within

12 For the life and works of Dávid, see Mihály Balázs, *Ferenc Dávid*, Ungarländische Antitrinitarier IV, Bibliotheca Dissidentium xxvi (Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 2008); for the period, see Antal Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der siebenbürger Antitrinitarier in den 1570er Jahren* (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1961).

13 Annamária Huszár et al., *Demeter Hunyadi, Pál Karády, Máté Toroczkai, György Válaszúti, János Várfalvi*, Ungarländische Antitrinitarier III, Bibliotheca Dissidentium xxiii (Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 2004).

this broader category. The *Explicationes* is the product of a distinct localised branch of Unitarianism and is often labelled a form of Socinianism, which owes its name to the radical Italian theologian Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604) who was active in Poland and Transylvania. The mainstream Unitarian movement and Socinianism are close but not identical. The Italian physician and reformer, Giorgio Biandrata, who, with Fausto Sozzini, had provided the groundwork for Antitrinitarianism during the Polish Reformation, attempted to form a similar Unitarian Church in Transylvania. Following arguments with Ferenc Dávid, Biandrata invited Sozzini to mediate the dispute. The moderate Biandrata and Sozzini collaborated to eliminate the radicalism of the area. However, radical thinkers, such as Johann Sommer, Jacobus Palaeologus, Matthias Vehe-Glirius, and Adam Neuser, remained active in the principality.¹⁴ As a consequence, two important variants emerged during this period in Transylvania: nonadorantism, which maintained that Christ due to his humanity should not be addressed in prayer or worshipped, and Sabbatarianism, which combined elements of radical Unitarianism with Old Testament legalism including the practice of recognizing and honouring Saturday as the Sabbath.¹⁵ These disputes led to the production and dissemination of radical works (in manuscript form if not in print) that caused yet further conflict and division within the Unitarian community. Enyedi's book was actually part of a program to strengthen and unify the church, though he would later be attacked as one who disturbed and

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- 14 Domenico Caccamo, *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Polonia, Transilvania (1558-1611). Studi e documenti* (Florence/Chicago: Sansoni/Newberry Library, 1970); Antal Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, pp. 38–45; Róbert Dán, *Matthias Vehe-Glirius: Life and Work of a radical antitrinitarian with his collected writings* (Budapest/Leiden: Akadémiai/Brill, 1982); Christopher J. Burchill (ed.), *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians: Johann Sylvan, Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe, Jacob Suler, Johann Hasler*, Bibliotheca Dissidentium XI (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1989); Mihály Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism 1561-1571. From Servet to Palaeologus*, Bibliotheca Dissidentium, Scripta et studia 7 (Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1996); Martin Rothkegel, 'Iacobus Palaeologus und die Reformation. Antireformatorische Polemik in der verlorenen Schrift Pro Serveto contra Calvinum', in Ulrich A. Wien, Juliane Brandt, and András F. Balogh (eds.), *Radikale Reformation: Die Unitarier in Siebenbürgen* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), pp. 91–134; Martin Mulsow, 'Islam und Sozinianismus, Eine Parallelwahrnehmung der Frühen Neuzeit', in Dietrich Klein and Birte Platow (eds.), *Wahrnehmung des Islam zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), pp. 27–40.
- 15 Antal Pirnát, 'Gerendi János és Eőssi András' *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 74 (1970), pp. 680–684; Róbert Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok és Péchi Simon* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987); István Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 129–133.

troubled its peace.¹⁶ Notably, Sozzini sent Enyedi a letter and a copy of his work, *De Jesu Christi invocatione*; though Enyedi's reply is not known, it is clear that his views on the nature of Christ were not in agreement with Sozzini who sought to correct him.¹⁷

This question of defining the Antitrinitarians—in name and position—was a local and international issue that also affected the dissemination and reception of Enyedi's *Explicationes*. The name Unitarian, officially used in Transylvania from 1600 following its usage in the decree at the Diet of Lécfalva (Let), replaced the term 'Arian' that they had been given in official decrees. The issue of nomenclature also reoccurred in seventeenth-century England when Antitrinitarian writings began to circulate there. The term Unitarian arrived from Holland in 1673 and was first used in English by the Unitarian writer Henry Hedworth in his tract *Controversie Ended*;¹⁸ the dominant Anglican Church however referred to any branch of Antitrinitarian theology as Socinianism, though, when addressing their doctrines, often used Socinianism interchangeably with Unitarianism.¹⁹ In the second half of the seventeenth century, with Polish and Transylvanian theological works available in editions printed in Holland, Antitrinitarian (particularly Socinian) ideas became a frequent topic of English theologians, scholars, and writers. One such volume was the rare exegetical work of György Enyedi—his *Explicationes*.

The first edition of the *Explicationes* was posthumously printed a year after Enyedi's death.²⁰ The Latin text was published without place of publication or date on its title page. Their absence was due to strict regulations in

16 An interesting complaint about Enyedi, to place alongside accusations of being a proselytiser for his secretly held Jewish, Islamic, or nonadorantist faith, has recently been discussed in Dávid Molnár, *Előtörténet és következmény. A dési per és az unitárius írásbeliség a 17. század első felében*, Ph.D. dissertation (Szeged: SZTE BTK, 2016), pp. 74–80. Molnár discusses a letter from Gottfried Schwarz, a Lutheran theologian, written to István Agh, the Unitarian bishop, asking for clarification about the *Explicationes* and about the rumours of Enyedi's nonadorantism. Schwarz describes Enyedi as resembling an octopus in dangerous waters and a chameleon in a flowery meadow, changing colours according to the purpose.

17 The two, however, continued to correspond in 1596. For the correspondence, see Balázs and Káldos, *György Enyedi*, pp. 145–148; Mihály Balázs, 'Antitrinitarianism', in Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (eds.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 190–192; József Simon, 'Enyedi György és a szillogizmus középfogalma', in Gábor Boros (ed.), *Reneszánsz filozófia* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2009), pp. 135–146.

18 Bianchi, 'Some Sources', p. 91.

19 Here see Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution*.

20 György Enyedi, *Explicationes locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, ex quibus Trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet* (Cluj, [Heltai, 1598]). USTC 305892.

Transylvania. In 1571, Prince John Sigismund, forbade printers from publishing theological works without permission from the ruler. This law was actually intended to help the Unitarians by regulating theological disputes in print. The king himself had converted to Unitarianism though unfortunately for the new church he died young. His successor, the Catholic Stephen Báthory, promptly turned the law against the Unitarians.²¹ Worse followed, as successive Catholic and Calvinist princes likewise used the law in favor of their own sects. As a result, the Unitarian community produced a large handwritten collection of sermons, theological works, poems, prayers, songs, biblical translations, and other writings—a corpus that has been long neglected by scholars.²²

The first Enyedi edition marks a significant moment in the history of Hungarian printing. After the short-lived printing house of Andreas Hess in the late fifteenth century, most works by Hungarian authors were printed by Viennese, Cracovian, or German printing houses. Though there was a sizable demand for books within the kingdom, many were transported from abroad. The small variety of Latin, Hungarian, and German works by local authors that were printed in local printshops typically catered to a regional audience. Materials inspired by the Reformation—large sermon collections, theological debates, everyday church books such as biblical translations, stories, and song books—became the products of new printing houses in Upper Hungary, the Transdanubian region, and Transylvania. The Transylvanian Unitarians were served by the newly established Principal Press in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), and later, when under Catholic and Calvinist princes, by the Heltai printing house in the cultural and commercial heart of their community, Cluj (Kolozsvár). This reflected changing circumstances. Ferenc Dávid and Giorgio Biandrata, having secured the support of Prince John Sigismund, printed most of their works in Alba Iulia with Raphael Hoffhalter. Following the prince's death, most, if not all, Unitarian book and pamphlet production centered in Cluj, the work of the Heltai family, who had converted to Unitarianism in the

21 Regarding the censoring regulations, see Mihály Balázs, 'János Zsigmond fejedelem és a cenzúra', in András Kovács, Gábor Sipos, and Sándor Tonk (eds.), *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), pp. 21–30; For Unitarian book publishing at this time, see Carmen Florea, 'Shaping Transylvanian Antitrinitarian identity in an urban context', in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 64–80.

22 For a later, comparable act of censoring Antitrinitarian literature in England (nearly three decades after the reprinting of Enyedi's *Explicationes*), see *Monthly Repository*, 8 (1813); A. Barrister, 'An Inquiry into the State of the Law in Ireland Respecting the Denial of the Doctrine of the Trinity', *The Christian Reformer, or Unitarian Magazine and Review*, 7 (1840), pp. 557–571; Bianchi, 'Some Sources', pp. 113–114.

late 1560s. The period of Caspar Heltai the Elder, which was followed by years when his wife directed the business, was productive; when Caspar Heltai the Younger inherited the press, production had begun to wane. By the time the posthumous edition of the *Explicationes* appeared, it was the sole major work to be published by the Heltais; other publications that year were minor versified biblical stories and small prints.²³

Whether the Unitarians received permission to print Enyedi's *Explicationes* is unknown; given the lack of state support, the secrecy on the title page, and the fact that this book was banned and burned by Stephen Báthory's successor, Sigismund Báthory, at the beginning of 1599, it seems unlikely. Though the first edition is occasionally dated in catalogues to 1580–1602, several inscriptions provide a date of 1598. Seven copies survived in England, though two of them were donated in the nineteenth century to Harris Manchester College from Transylvania.²⁴ John Locke owned a first edition of the *Explicationes*. Marginalia from his copy indicates that he read the work in January 1679. Seemingly impressed by the text, he ordered several other Socinian works in 1680.²⁵

The first edition features a detail long overlooked.²⁶ As mentioned earlier, this edition was the only notable book published that year by Heltai the Younger. The title page includes a rectangular woodcut by a Master G. C. featuring a medallion. Within the motto EX BELLO PAX, EX PACE VBERTAS is a woman holding a cornucopia in one hand and a sword entwined with laurels in the other. On either side of the medallion is a Renaissance tendril ornament,

23 The printing house was originally founded in 1550 by Georg Hoffgreff (who had worked under the Nuremberg printers Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber). Hoffgreff was joined by the (then-Lutheran) Caspar Heltai, and the two printed Latin, German, and Hungarian books sharing the presses (but, seemingly, with periods where only one or the other was named as the printer). After Hoffgreff's death in 1559, Heltai assumed the running of the press; it remained in his family's hands until the mid-seventeenth century. Despite early successes, the Heltai press printed less after 1580 and, after Heltai Jr's death in 1618, the family employed others, including János Makai Nyírő, a printer and letter-caster, who restored the dilapidated printing house between 1618–1622, and was thus capable of printing the Hungarian translation of the *Explicationes*.

24 1 Corpus Christi, 2 Harris Manchester.

25 John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 138, 140, 143, 337, 345. For Locke's copy (catalogued as '[Klausenburg? 1590?]', see John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Calderon Press, 1971), p. 130. No. 1052. (Listed in the Masham Moiety). Tellingly, György Enyedi is only listed under 'Bible, Studies and Commentaries: General' and not 'Socinian' or 'Unitarian'.

26 Borbála Lovas, 'Ex bello pax, ex pace ubertas. G. C. mester egyik metszetének lehetséges forrásáról', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 131 (2015), pp. 322–335.

emerging from a dragon or bird on one side and from a dolphin on the other. One of the few known facts about the obscure Master G. C. is his use of foreign models. The source of the picture, however, is not an emblem. The motto appears in the Alciati and Rollenhagen emblem collections but not with the same image. The more likely source, recently discovered, is a commemorative coin made by Kilian Koch dated to 1573 memorializing the siege of La Rochelle.²⁷ Henry III of France, then prince of Anjou, left the siege to take the throne of Poland. A year later, he departed from that position to become the French monarch, allowing the aforementioned Stephen Báthory, the uncle of Sigismund Báthory, to become king of Poland. This reveals something about Master G. C. and the Heltai printing house. However, whether this was a deliberate attempt to win favour for the publication from the prince, a sly allusion to a Protestant city overcoming a Catholic king, or merely an engraver copying a well-travelled coin is difficult to establish.

The second and third editions of the *Explicationes* are Hungarian translations by Máté Toroczkai (1553–1616), the fifth Unitarian bishop and editor of the first Latin edition.²⁸ The translation omitted part of the theological explanations. For passages that were too difficult to translate or explicate succinctly, Toroczkai asked the reader to consult the Latin. New chapters appeared as material from Enyedi's sermons, and other theological writings and debates were inserted. The second edition was completed in July 1619, with the title page recording the date and stating Cluj as the place of publication. The volume was printed in secret with the hope permission would be granted retrospectively. They were, however, required to reprint the volume with a new title page with the place of publication removed and the date changed to 1620, hence the third edition. The 1619 edition was not allowed to circulate outside of Cluj.²⁹

The Hungarian versions served Hungarian audiences while the Latin ones reached a wider public. Reader response differed depending on location. In

27 Regarding the coin, see Félix-Bienaimé Feuarent, *Jetons et méreaux depuis Louis IX jusqu'à la fin du Consulat de Bonaparte*, II, ([Paris] London: Rollin et Feuarent, 1907), p. 279. No. 9092a: "HIS FLORENTIBVS. FLOREBIT. ET. REGNVM. Écu de France entouré d'une espèce de collier avec feuilles et fruits. Rx. EX. BELLO. PAX. EX. PACE. VBERTAS. La Paix? debout à gauche, tenant de la main droite une épée cernée de deux palmes, de la gauche une corne d'abondance. De chaque côte, deux trophées d'armes. A l'exergue, CAPTA ROCH. Jeton de 1573 pour la prise de La Rochelle par le duc d'Anjou Henri III".

28 György Enyedi, *Az ó és új testamentum-beli helyeknek, mellyekboel az az Háromsagról való tudománt szokták állatni, magyarázattyok* (Cluj, 1619, 1620).

29 The most detailed study remains Kálmán Tóth, 'Könyvnyomtató Makai Nyíró János deák: Fejezet a Heltai Nyomda történetéből', in András Bodor (ed.), *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Kolozsvár/Bucharest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957), pp. 587–606.

Transylvania and Hungary, passages of the *Explicationes* were crossed out. Some readers added scurrilous marginalia denouncing Enyedi as the ‘Antichrist’ or a ‘bastard son of a bitch.’³⁰ A legend developed that the Vatican’s copy was kept on a shelf labelled ‘Antichrist’. There was a more measured response in Western Europe as authors prepared carefully argued refutations. The first Protestant works against Enyedi appeared in 1605. The sole Catholic refutation was published much later in 1635.³¹ These coincided with growing interest in the Antitrinitarian movement. A 1646 letter by a Dutch pastor reflects this trend. He noted that English merchants were searching for Ostorodius, Crellius, and Eniedinus. (The spelling actually used, ‘Oniedinus’, suggests the bishop may have been more heard about than read.) The pastor informed the merchants that printing regulations in Holland prohibited the publication and sale of these volumes. The merchants responded that if these books could be found they could be sold for an exorbitantly high price, so great was their demand.³² To cater to this market, a second Latin edition was printed. Like the first, it lacks a date and place of publication. Consequently, modern library catalogues frequently provide these two editions with a range in dates: 1580–1602,

30 The ‘Antichrist’ appears in an *Explicationes* volume held in Teleki-Bolyai Library, Targu-Mures, (shelf mark: Bo-2699, A3r) following a rewrite of Máté Thoroczkai’s ‘Epitaphium’ entitled ‘Epitaphium Georgii Enyedi reformatum’. The poem reads “Doctrinae scabies, pravorum regula morum. / Tartarei interpres maximus atque soni. / Enyedius jacet hic sub mole Georgius, Urbis. / Claudiacae Impostor, fraudis apexque, Caput / Est Acherontorum Stygisque Orcique profundi / Doctor hic eximius, Cultor erat Satanae. / Gymnasii Satanaeque gregis moderator in ista / Urbe, malus, nequam per duo lustra fuit. / Mille et quingentos post nonagesimus Annus / Implebat cursum septimus ille suum / Bis decies quater, et postquam Lux maesta Novembris, / Illuxit, putida morte solutus abit. / Ignis, pix sulphurque vigent, semper vigeantque, / Dum manet haec tellus, dum rotat Astra Polus”. The note: “Qui est dux et caput defectionis a Doctrina Christi, ille est Antichristus, ac Dominus Enyedinus hoc facit, ergo Enyedinus est Antichristus”.

31 Christoph Pelargus, *Admonitio de Arianis recentibus eorumque blasphemis dogmatibus ...* (Leipzig, 1605); David Pareus, *In Genesin Mosis commentarius ...* (Frankfurt, 1609); Jacob Martin, *De tribus Elohim liber primus, photinianorum novorum et cum primis Georgii Eniedini blasphemii oppositus* (Wittenberg, 1614); Theodor Thumm, *Controversarium de personarum in una Dei essentia pluralitate adversus G. Eniedi ...* (Frankfurt, 1620). Ambrosius de Peñalosa, *Opus egregium* (Vienna, 1635).

Regarding Ambrosius Peñalosa’s Catholic refutation, see Antal Molnár, ‘Sur la genèse d’une polémique catholique contre Enyedi (Ambrosio Peñalosa: Opus egregium, 1635)’, in Mihály Balázs and Gizella Keserű (eds.), *György Enyedi and Central European Unitarianism in the 16–17th Centuries* (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), pp. 237–243.

32 Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: A new and higher Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and insolent Proceedings of the Secretaries of these times*, vol. 3 (London: Printed for Ralph Smith, at the Signe of the Bible in Corn-hill near the Royal Exchange, 1646), p. 169.

as mentioned, for the first printing and 1660–1684 for the second. Often the editions are misidentified.

The first and fourth editions can be easily distinguished by the title page. The Cluj edition, as stated earlier, features a medallion while the fourth a depiction of Elijah and the ravens. Christopher Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum* (1684) mentions that the fourth edition came from Belgium. Johann Fabricius comments in the *Historia Bibliothecae Fabricianae* (1717) that the ink was still wet when he purchased the book in Groningen in 1670. Fabricius's copy listed no date or place of publication.³³ His note has led to the mistaken designation of the second Latin edition as the 'Groningen' edition and erroneously dated to 1670 or 1684. As the printer remains unknown, some Hungarian scholars have asserted the edition was published in Amsterdam with the cooperation of Adam Franck, a Hungarian student who worked on the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* series as an editor. This assertion is based on his letter to Transylvanian Unitarians requesting books to print but is undermined by the lack of any evidence that the request was answered and also by the large number of typos and errors in the second Latin edition as Franck was a particularly conscientious editor. My research proves that while the printing was done in Amsterdam, it was *not* ordered by the Hungarian church.³⁴ In contrast to the first edition, the fourth edition survives in sizable numbers in the Netherlands, England, and America.³⁵ Most are kept in English libraries, with

33 Christof Sand, *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum: sive, Catalogus scriptorum, & succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, qui praeferito & hoc seculo, vulgo receptum dogma de tribus in unico Deo per omnia aequalibus personis vel impugnarunt* (Freistadii [Amsterdam]: Apud Johannem Aconium, 1684), p. 93; Johann Fabricius, *Historia bibliothecae Fabricianae. Qva singuli eius libri eorumque contenta et si quae dantur variae editiones avgmenta epitomae versiones scripta adversa et hisce oppositae apologiae: sive defensiones avctorvm errores et vitae doctoremque virorum de avctor: illis eorumque libris iudicia et alia ad rem librariam facientia recensentur scriptoresque anonymi et psevdonymi ne non scripta spuria indicantur*, vol. 5. (Wolffenbüttel: Sumtibus G. Freytagii, 1722), pp. 51–52: "Groningæ 1670. Locus et annus huius editionis non quidem sunt expressi; mihi vero probe constant, qui exemplar ibi meum, et quidem eo ipso anno, a prelo adhuc madidum comparavi".

34 Although the lack of the role of the Unitarian Church is indisputable, George Gömöri, 'Henry Oldenburg and the Mines of Hungary', in Gábor Almási (ed.), *A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks, and Representations, 1541-1699*, vol. 1, *Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 145–156, mentions Transylvanian Unitarians, like Dániel Márkos Szentiványi and Péter Ádám Rázmán who had finished their studies in Leiden together with Adam Franck and then travelled on to England. I am grateful for correspondence with George Gömöri who raised the possibility that they, in discussing Enyedi, may have introduced the work to scholars and thus sparked a demand for another printing.

35 György Enyedi, *Explicationes locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, ex quibus Trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet* (Amsterdam, Johannes van Ravesteyn, ca. 1669). The appendix provides a detailed directory of these copies, their locations, and their former owners or collections.

many in Oxford and Cambridge. Recent research into the Oxbridge collections has established how English audiences received the *Explicationes* while providing a date and place of publication for the fourth edition.

The nineteen volumes held by Cambridge undermines the claim of the 1684 date for the fourth edition while offering an insight into Enyedi's English readership. Trinity has two 'Groningen' volumes: one donated by Thomas Cremer, a member of the college, in 1675, and the other belonging to Isaac Newton (seemingly untouched except for one dog-eared page).³⁶ Emmanuel's copy was donated to the college by Doctor Wragga Madiri with the purpose of refutation in March 1670, Kings' College's volume was purchased in 1681 with money left to the College by Thomas Goad.³⁷ St. John's College has two: one 'Groningen' donated by Peter Gunning, bishop of Chichester and Ely, in 1684 and the other curiously bound together with thirteen English-language works, including pieces in support of Charles I and the funeral sermon of the poet John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, that were printed in London, Oxford, and Amsterdam.³⁸ Other 'Groningen' editions appear in Gonville and Caius, Sidney Sussex, and Corpus Christi colleges, with the Corpus Christi copy donated by Francis Colfer, a member of the college, in 1671. In St. Catharine's College one copy arrived in the bequest of Bishop Thomas Sherlock, in 1761.³⁹ There are also copies in Clare, Jesus (formerly owned by Lionell Gatford), Pembroke colleges, and in Peterhouse (formerly owned by Thomas Richardson).⁴⁰ The dates of their inscriptions and their donation challenge the claim of 1684 as the year of the fourth edition. In addition, the main library holds three copies: a water-damaged first edition, a 'Groningen' formerly in the collection of Peterborough Cathedral miscatalogued as a 1598 edition, and a handwritten copy provided with a librarian's note "A copy of one of the printed editions (probably that of 1670) of G. Enyedi's *Explicationes* ... The first edition was printed at Klausenburg (Cluj), c. 1590–1600, the second at Groningen 1670".⁴¹

Oxford has sixteen registered copies, including a missing one, that reveal more.⁴² Harris Manchester's four copies are all nineteenth-century purchases or donations; only two appear in the main catalogue. They are notable for being

36 Trinity I.6.17; Trinity NQ.8.23.

37 Emmanuel 329.1.17; Kings' D.8.6.

38 St. John's Qq.11.2; St. John's GG.1.39.

39 St. Catharine's D.10.75.

40 Gonville and Caius K.15.64; Sidney Sussex Q.4.20; Corpus Christi B.10.23; Clare O1.2.14; Jesus A.11.26.i; Pembroke 5.17.40; Peterhouse M.10.11.

41 GBR/0012/MS.Add.61; 2.26.29, incorrectly dated to 1598 (it being the second Latin edition) formerly in the collection of Peterborough Cathedral, the other, 2.37.29, is a 1598 edition, scarred by water, and features an erased owner's signature as well as notes about biblical places.

42 The missing copy is Brasenose Σ E.9.19.

the subject of scholarly discussion. In the nineteenth century, James Yates, describing one of their two 1598 editions, published the owner's inscription and date. The first owner inscribed "Ex libris Joannis Radnotzy, 1599". This corresponded with dates found in Transylvanian copies held in Cluj and Sibiu, establishing 1598 as the date of publication.⁴³ Their 1620 Hungarian edition contains important notes listing commercial transactions and borrowing (for copying) of sermons and ecclesiastical texts. Their final copy, a 'Groningen' owned by an unknown E. Henderson, is notable for marginalia in English criticizing Enyedí's argument. Given that the three copies from Transylvania do not include the 'Groningen' edition, Transylvania was unlikely the intended market for this edition. Notably, only three copies of the 'Groningen' edition are known to survive in Transylvania: two copies, unfortunately not examined, are said to be in the Brukenthal Library in Sibiu, and one held in the Main Library of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania. Since the final copy appears to have English, or Dutch, binding with a foolscap watermark, it appears that this volume was brought *back* into Transylvania, probably as a curiosity (see Figure 3.1).

Other Oxford collections reflect the entry and circulation of the 'Groningen' edition in England. University College, Jesus College, and the Bodleian Library have copies free from notation. Other volumes are marked only with a donor's name. Thomas Turner, president of Corpus Christi, gave his college a copy.⁴⁴ Richard Allestree, tutor of Christopher Wren, John Dryden, and John Locke, donated his in 1680 to Christ Church, as did William Wake, archbishop of

43 The two Harris Manchester College Library (then Manchester New College) copies are compared in James Yates, 'Enjedini "Explicationes"', *The Inquirer*, December 3 [1859], p. 1093, in which the first Latin edition of the *Explicationes* is dated to 1598–1599. The first copy, which had been given in 1845 to the college by Stephen (István) Kovács, was referenced in Robert Wallace, *Anti-Trinitarian Biography*, vol. 2 (London: Whitfield, 1850), p. 454, n. 152. The second was acquired by the college librarian during a visit to Transylvania in 1859. The inscription quoted in the main text above providing the date 1599 confirms Károly Szabó's theory in *Régi magyar könyvtár II* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885), pp. 77–78, using owner inscriptions (D. N. 1600; Claudiopoli 8 Januarii An. D. 1599 Matthaëus Toroczka [the editor, and later translator, of the work] Concionator), namely that the first edition of the *Explicationes* was printed in 1598. Szabó later referred to the second Latin edition (No. 4237) in his and Árpád Hellebrant's *Régi magyar könyvtár III./2* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1898), p. 570, as being from Groningen and printed in the seventeenth century (with the suggestion 1670), naming only four known copies from three libraries: the Hungarian National Library, the Evangelical Lyceum of Sibiu (now held in the Brukenthal Library), and the Bodleian Library. Fittingly, the dating method they used for the first Latin edition can be employed for the second Latin edition with the new data provided in this chapter.

44 University College K.44.7; Jesus College B.1.15; Bodleian 4° H 56 Th; Corpus Christi H.18.

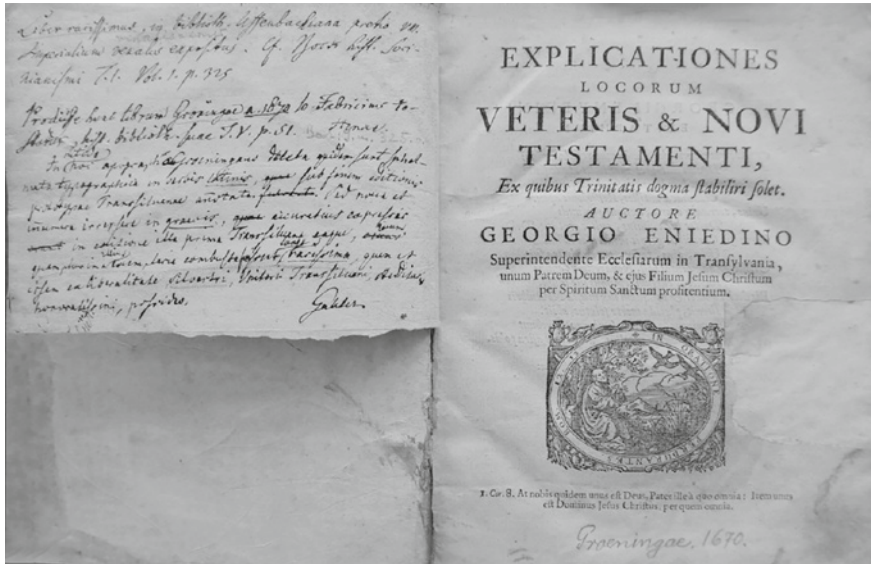


FIGURE 3.1 Title page of György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (Amsterdam, c. 1669)

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OLD PRINTS 112. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE LIBRARY

Canterbury, in 1737.⁴⁵ Robert Sharrock, an Anglican priest and botanist, donated his copy to New College in 1672.⁴⁶ Posthumously, Richard Corpson gave his copy to Queen's College in 1715, as did Matthew Wren, cousin of Christopher, to Trinity after being fatally injured at the Battle of Solebay in 1672.⁴⁷ The Oxford 'Groningens', like the Cambridge ones, illustrate once more that 1684 is too late a publication date for the second Latin edition.

Another Oxford 'Groningen' provides more information. Magdalen's copy was the property of its librarian John Fitzwilliam, who included his name, motto, college, date of purchase, and the name of the bookseller in the volume. He bought this copy from Jacobo (James) Allestree, relative of the aforementioned Richard, whose collection contained a large number of foreign books, in

45 Christ Church L.6.16; Christ Church WB.7.13.

46 New College BT3.149.7.

47 Queen's College UU.f.112; Trinity I.4.3. For more about the Trinity copy, see 'A surviving proof for Epicteti *Enchiridion* (1670), sheet G, in the binding of György Enyedi', *Explicationes locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Groningen, 1670) [Trinity College, Oxford, I.4.3.]; in Ian Gadd (ed.), *History of Oxford University Press, Vol. I., Beginnings to 1780* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 228–236.

1669.⁴⁸ The lifelong bibliophile included such details in each of his books, the significance of which, unfortunately, has not been fully assessed. Fitzwilliam's note in the Enyedi volume proves the earlier publication date for the second Latin edition (See Figures 3.2 and 3.3).⁴⁹

The final copy to be discussed is a 1598 edition held in All Souls that highlights the journey of the *Explicationes* westwards.⁵⁰ Sámuel Enyedi, a teacher and poet in Transylvania, owned the volume before giving it in July 1655 to Adrianus Heerbord, a philosophy professor from Leiden University. After Heerbord's death in 1661, it was acquired by another professor, Nicholaus Arnoldus of Franeker University. Ironically, given that the volume currently resides in Oxford, Arnoldus's own visit to that city was cut short due to the Civil War, and he opted to go to Cambridge instead. He sold his Enyedi volume to an English scholar, Joseph Hill, who had lived in Holland from 1662. Hill wrote an illuminating memorandum in the volume, noting he bought it from Professor Arnoldus. He continued by complaining that a certain John Dunmore, however, took the book without his knowledge and permission in order to print a new edition in Amsterdam (see Figure 3.4).

Hill's angry note is a key piece of evidence, for it reveals the printing history of the sole *Explicationes* edition printed outside of Cluj.⁵¹ It indicates the likely print history of the second Latin edition. John Dunmore was a London bookseller and business partner of Octavian Pulleyn, Richard Chiswell, and others, who traded with Dutch printing houses. He was well known for publishing and trading French, Latin, and Greek books.⁵² Though arrested for spying in

48 Fitzwilliam's note reads "Liber Johan Fitzwilliam Magdalen: / Emptus a Jacobo Allestry 69. Pret. 1 ƒs. Reddenda est ratio villicationis". In addition to his motto, Fitzwilliam wrote into each of his books the date of purchase and name of the bookseller, and, in code, recorded the price. Regarding Allestry, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East, and Blades, 1907), pp. 2–3.

49 The same date was put by an unidentified, most probably seventeenth-century hand into a volume kept today in the Toronto University Library (Knox 00745): Amstel|:o|dami. 1669.

50 All Souls College 8:SR.70.c.24.

51 The memorandum reads "Jos. Hill / Memorand. / Enjedinus cost me of Dr Arnoldus professor of Franeker 3d-10s sterling. Which John Dunmore [had] and by it printed an edition thereof at Amsterdam, me inscio et invito".

52 Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers*, p. 68. In the printing history of London, John Dunmore is known—along with other Londoner booksellers such as Richard Chiswell, Benjamin Tooke and Thomas Sawbridge—for printing and ordering works in a language other than English not previously printed before in the king's dominions; on this

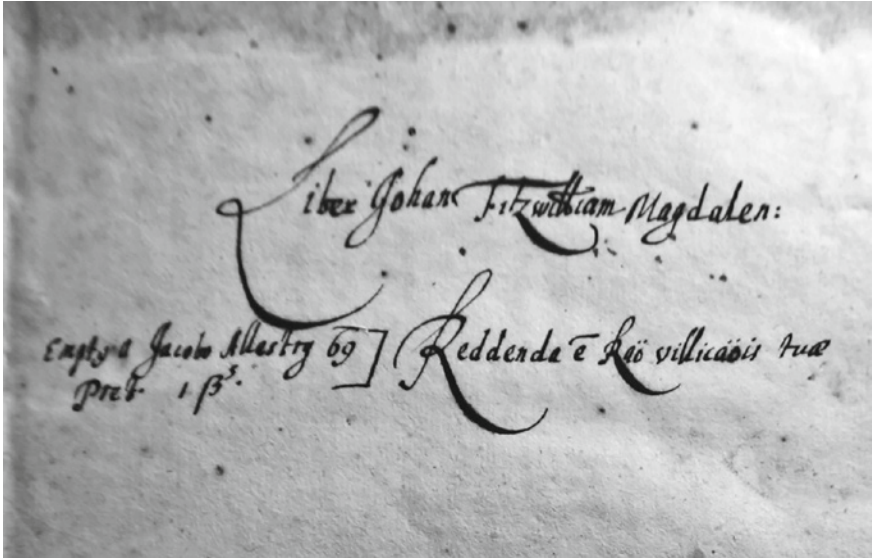


FIGURE 3.2 Note of John Fitzwilliam in György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (Amsterdam, c. 1669)

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY: OLD LIBRARY D.7.12. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

Amsterdam in 1667, he continued his connections with Dutch printers, receiving, for example, 2000 copies of Grotius's *De veritate religionis Christianae* from Daniel Elzevier in 1675. While some editions that Dunmore (and Pulleyn) ordered from Elzevier featured the bookseller's imprint, the Grotius edition did not. Even with a large print run, the volumes did not always reveal the role of Dunmore.⁵³

point, see John Gilchrist, 'Origins and scope of the prerogative right to print and publish certain works in England', *Canberra Law Review*, 11 (2012), p. 7.

53 Herbert Harvey Rowen, *John de Will, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 629–630. About Dunmore as bookseller, see Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers*, p. 108. His shop was located near the Woolpack in Ivy Lane, on the side street of the Paternoster row, and later at the Three Bibles in Ludgate street. The auction catalogue of Benjamin Worsley published by Dunmore and Richard Chiswell in 1678, includes two Enyedi volumes (*Theologici in quarto*, no. 149, no. 150), one from the old (*Editio vet.*), and one from the new (*Editio nova*) edition, listed without a date of printing.

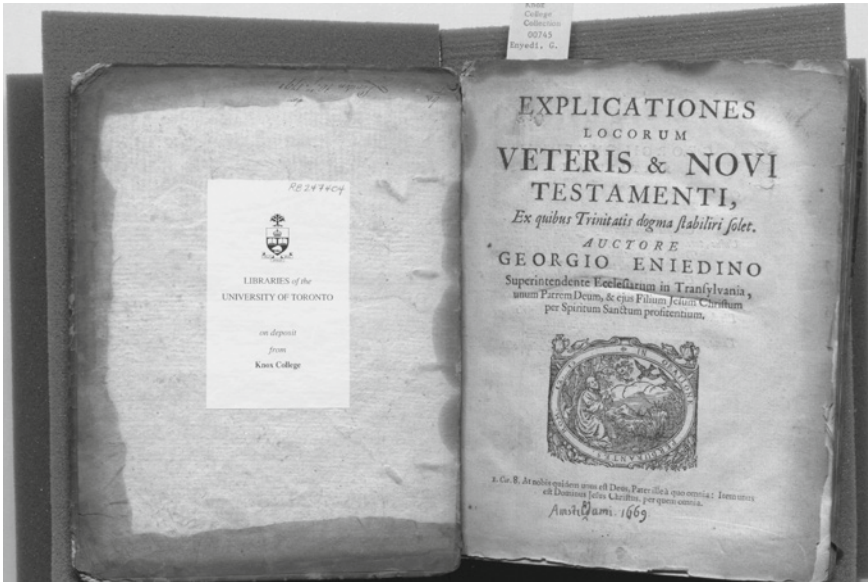


FIGURE 3.3 Title page of György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (Amsterdam, c. 1669)

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY: KNOX 00745. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The printer's emblem on the fourth edition of Enyedi (see Figure 3.5) features what printer emblem catalogues describe as Elijah and the ravens surrounded by the motto "In oratione perdurantes Rom. 12.12". (Figure 3.5) The first user of this emblem was Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn (active between 1609–1655) who reproduced it with the Latin inscription in his second edition of the *Statenbijbel* in 1610. Given the printer's name, the more likely allusion referred to in the image is not Elijah but St. Paul the Hermit. The emblem passed down through his family and was used only by family members and by booksellers, who ordered printings from the Ravesteyns. Though there are variants of the emblem—different details, inscriptions, and differing wordings of the motto—the three Ravesteyns (Paulus, his son Nicolaes, and his nephew Johannes) are listed as using the variant similar to the *Explicationes*; another printer, listed in the catalogue as Anonymous, used a similar emblem and was also likely related to the Ravesteyns.⁵⁴ The printer of the *Explicationes* was

54 P. van Huisstede & J. P. J. Brandhorst (eds.), *Dutch Printer's Devices 15–17th century I–III*. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1999) includes the same device (1293, 1577) and its

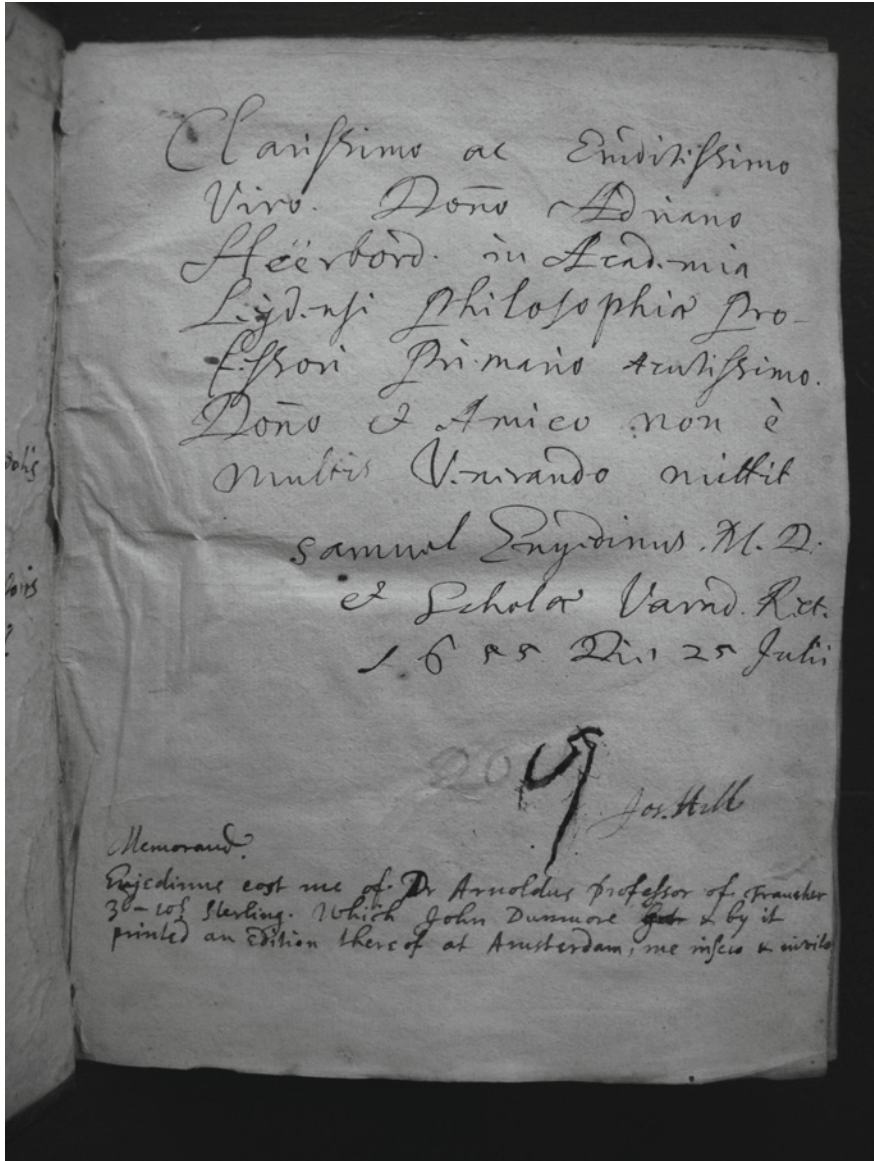


FIGURE 3.4 Note of Joseph Hill in György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (Cluj, 1598)

CODRINGTON LIBRARY, ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD: 8:SR.70.C.24.

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FIGURE 3.5 Title page illustration of György Enyedi's *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (Amsterdam, c. 1669)

LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN UNITARIAN CHURCH OF CLUJ/KOLOZSVÁR:
OLD PRINTS 112. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE LIBRARY

most probably Johannes van Ravesteyn (active between 1650–1678) who was the city printer of Amsterdam until 1670, while Nicolaes was active between 1635 and 1661.

This chapter—the product of checking overlooked annotations, notes, and marginalia made by readers, owners, and librarians and analysing the decoration, watermarks, and bindings of the volumes—has established the printing and marketing of a theological work of a Transylvanian Antitrinitarian bishop. This research posits that the fourth edition of György Enyedi's *Explicationes* was printed anonymously in Amsterdam around 1669 by the well-known Johannes van Ravesteyn for John Dunmore, a successful London bookseller, who was eager to stock such volumes to meet a growing demand for Unitarian

variants (0441, 0445, 0446, 0447, 0614, 0626, 0697, 0700, 1337, 1578, 1579, 1748, 1835, 1902, 1903).

literature among English scholars, teachers, preachers, bishops, and readers from a variety of Christian backgrounds. In Hungarian book history, Enyedi's *Explicationes* is something of an anomaly. The presence of two Latin editions is an exception, and the survival of so many copies—particularly abroad—a rarity. While the complicated relationship between Transylvanian politics and printing resulted in the rest of his wide oeuvre remaining unpublished, circulating only in manuscript form within a small geographical area, the association of the Transylvanian Unitarian bishop with Socinianism abroad resulted in the recirculation of his work to a cosmopolitan and theologically sophisticated audience. The chapter also expands our understanding of Western European demand for printed theological works, especially those of a more radical nature, by explaining how a book of the little-known Enyedi ultimately appeared in English theological libraries. With the slow rediscovery of his work, an important sixteenth-century writer can emerge from obscurity and consequently enrich our understanding of this remarkable text from Central Europe and its place in a multilingual and international book trade.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Catalogue of known copies of the *Explicationes* in libraries of Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United States of America, and Canada.⁵⁵

55 Copies in other European libraries (in Austria, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Slovakia) are currently being researched. Information regarding any additional copies would be greatly appreciated by the author. Thanks are given to the librarians and archivists who helped with this study. Special thanks to George Gömöri for his help with the Cambridge copies.

Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
Great Britain			
<i>Cambridge</i>			
Cambridge University Library	2.26.29	ca. 1669	John Moore, bishop of Ely Royal Library George I, King of GB
Cambridge University Library	Peterborough. B.4.15	ca. 1669	(Francis?) Lockier
Cambridge University Library	2.37.29	1598	poss. name erased
Cambridge University Library	GBR/0012/MS Add.61	ms., ca. 1671	hand of John Patrick (1632–1695) Samuel Knight DD John Percy Baumgartner of Milton
Trinity College Library	1.6.17	ca. 1669	Thomas Cremer
Trinity College Library	NQ.8.23	ca. 1669	Isaac Newton John Huggins Charles Huggins James Musgrave (& fam.)
St. John's College Library	Gg.1.39(1)	ca. 1669	
St. John's College Library	Qq.11.2	ca. 1669	Peter Gunning
Gonville and Caius College, Lower Library	K.15.64	ca. 1669	
Sidney Sussex College, Muniment Room	Q.4.20	ca. 1669	
Corpus Christi College, Parker Library	B.10.23	ca. 1669	Francis Colfer
Magdalene College, Pepys Library	PL 1404	ca. 1669	Pepys Library Samuel Pepys
Clare College, Fellows' Library	O1.2.14.	ca. 1669 [?]	Theophilus Dillingham
Emmanuel College Library	329.1.17.	ca. 1669	Doctor Wragga Madiri
Jesus College, Old Library	A.11.26.i.	ca. 1669	Lionel Gatford
King's College Library	D.8.6.	ca. 1669	Thomas Goad

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
Pembroke College Library	5.17.40.	ca. 1669	
Peterhouse, Perne Library	M.10.11.	ca. 1669	Thomas Richardson
St. Catharine's College Library	D.10.75.	ca. 1669	Bishop Thomas Sherlock
<i>Oxford</i>			
Bodleian Library	4° H 56 Th.	ca. 1669	
New College Library	BT3.149.7	ca. 1669	Robert Sharrock
Queen's College Library	UU.f.112	ca. 1669	Richard Corpson
Trinity College Library	I.4.3	ca. 1669	Matthew Wren (the Younger)
All Souls College Library	8:SR.70.c.24	1598	János Tállyai Putnoki István Gáspár Enyedi Sámuel Enyedi Adrianus Heerbord Nicholaus Arnoldus Joseph Hill [John Dunmore]
Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY (D1598/1.b)	1598	János Radnóczy Stephanus Angyalos Nicolaus Szombatfalvi Stephanus V[...]nes de Thor[...] István Kovács (Nagyajtai)
Harris Manchester College Library	D:ENY 35e (D1598/1.a)	1598	poss. names erased Paulus H ... István Kovács (Nagyajtai)
Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY (D1620/2)	1620	Stephanus Hévizí Johan Gyepesi Michael Szen[t]gericeí György Kerösi Sándor Péterfi József Pálffi poss. names erased

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY 35B	ca. 1669	E. Henderson poss. name erased
Christ Church College Library	Allestree L.6.16	ca. 1669	Richard Allestree
Christ Church College Library	WB.7.13	ca. 1669	Archbishop Wake
Corpus Christi College Library	H.18.5	ca. 1669	Thomas Turner
Jesus College Fellows' Library	B.1.15	ca. 1669	
Magdalen College Library	d.7.12	ca. 1669	James Allestree John Fitzwilliam
University College Library	BL: K.44.7	ca. 1669	
Brasenose College Library	Σ E.9.19.	ca. 1669, olim.	
<i>London</i>			
British Library, St. Pancras Reading Rooms	C.51.c.8	1598	
British Library, St. Pancras Reading Rooms	4226.c.c.3	ca. 1669	
British Library, St. Pancras Reading Rooms	1353.e.28.	1620	
Lambeth Palace Library	F110.(E6)	ca. 1669	
Lambeth Palace Library	F110.E6	ca. 1669	
St. Paul Cathedral Library	44F21	ca. 1669	
St. Paul Cathedral Library	47C31	ca. 1669	
London Library		ca. 1669	C. A. Ward
<i>Aberdeen</i>			
Aberdeen University, Special Collections Centre, The Sir Duncan Rice Library	SB 231 Eny	ca. 1669	Marischal Library

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
<i>Blickling</i>			
Blickling Hall (National Trust)	3318	ca. 1669	Sir Richard Ellys (1682–1742)
<i>Durham</i>			
Durham University, Palace Green Library: Bamburgh Library	Bamburgh E.5.72	ca. 1669	Sharp family Library of Bamburgh Castle (Northumberland)
Durham University, Palace Green Library: Routh Library	Routh 14.H2.1 1	ca. 1669	Thomas Wilson
<i>Edinburgh</i>			
University of Edinburgh, Main Library: Special Collections	D*.23.31	1598	
<i>Exeter</i>			
Exeter University, Devon and Exeter Institution	A.58.7	ca. 1669	orig. flysheets removed James Carrington (&fam.) unknown 19th c. owner
<i>Lincoln</i>			
Lincoln Cathedral Library		ca. 1669	
<i>Maldon (Essex)</i>			
Thomas Plume's Library	B00979	ca. 1669	Thomas Plume
<i>Manchester</i>			
Chetham's Library	C.6.47	ca. 1669	
John Rylands Library, Unitarian College Printed Collection	D865	1598	Consistory of Hungarian Unitarians John Fretwell Unitarian Home Missionary Board

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
<i>Salisbury</i>			
Salisbury Cathedral Library	I.4.8	ca. 1669	
<i>Worcester</i>			
Worcester Cathedral Library	G116	ca. 1669	
Netherlands			
<i>Amsterdam</i>			
UvA-HvA Library	O 65-755	ca. 1669	
<i>Groningen</i>			
University Library Groningen	uklu A 8970	ca. 1669	
<i>Kampen</i>			
Library of Theological University Kampen	49.2629	ca. 1669	A. St. B. (stamp)
<i>Leiden</i>			
Leiden University Library	1365 E 17	1598	Péter Kolosi
Leiden University Library	1365 E 18	ca. 1669	Prosper Marchand
<i>Utrecht</i>			
Utrecht University Library	MAG: E qu 197	1598	
Ireland			
<i>Maynooth</i>			
Maynooth University Library	CK958	ca. 1669	
Maynooth University Library	CK812	ca. 1669	Reverend Theodore Maurice (Archdeacon of Tuam)

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
United States of America			
<i>Cambridge, MA</i>			
Harvard University Houghton Library	ZHC5 Eng65 598eb	ca. 1669	Muyden, Wilhelm von Francois Adriaan van der Kemp
Harvard University Houghton Library	ZHC5 Eng65 598e	1598	Alberti, J. Dionigi (?) Marcus
Harvard University Andover Harv. Theol., Historical Collections—S.C.R.	686 Unit	ca. 1669	Theological School in Cambridge Convers Francis D.D.
<i>Providence, RI</i>			
Brown University Williams Table Collection	1590? En 9.	ca. 1669	Thomas Michell Johannes Gilli
<i>New York, NY</i>			
New York Public Library (NYPL)	ZFGC (Enyedi, G. <i>Explicationes locorum Veteris & Novi Testamenti</i>)	ca. 1669	
<i>Pittsburgh, PA</i>			
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Barbour Library	BT110.E5 1598	ca. 1598[?]	Newburgh collection
<i>Amherst, MA</i>			
Arthur F. Kinney Center for Interdisciplinary Renaissance Studies	BT111.E7 1670	ca. 1669	Isaac Winslow Wormser

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Library	Call number	Editions, mss. (1598, 1619, 1620, ca. 1669, ms.)	Name of former owners, former collections
<i>Knoxville, TN</i>			
University of Tennessee, John C. Hodges Library	BT110.E5 1670.	ca. 1669	Naseeb Shaheen Shaheen Antiquarian Bible Collection
<i>Los Angeles, CA</i>			
University of California, Los Angeles Clark Library Rare Book Stacks	BT110.E61	ca. 1669	Neander Library The Ambrose Swasey Library, Colgate Rochester Divinity School (?) (sold in 2004–2006)
<i>Berkeley, CA</i>			
Starr King School for the Ministry (Berkeley) Wilbur Rare Book Collection	295	ca. 1669	
Canada			
<i>Toronto</i>			
Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library, Toronto University Library	Knox 00745	ca. 1669	
Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library, Toronto University Library	Forbes 00408	ca. 1669	Rev. James Forbes poss. name torn away