In Hungaria vero dementis est quaerere Ficinum? Valerian Mader's poem about Marsilio Ficino^{1*}

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Abstract

Despite the remarkable flow of Marsilio Ficino's works between Florence and Buda since 1470, an inexplicable silence around the Florentine master can be observed in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the epigram dedicated by Janus Pannonius to Ficino in 1469 («De Marsilio Ficino») was followed only in 1588 by a poem, «In libellum medicum, Marsilii Ficini», by Valerian Mader, a pastor from Trencsén (Trenčín). The article examines Mader's text and its genre, with the aim of bringing out the reasons why Ficino in Mader's view turned out to be an 'ancient' author, known in 1588 by very few people. It then traces the *local network* of the pastor-poet – consisting of country teachers, priests, schoolmates, and friends – in an attempt to interpret the 120-year hiatus in Ficino's fortunes within Hungarian culture.

Keywords

medical history; paratext; poetry writing; preliminary matter; schoolbook

The title of this paper refers to an acrimonious remark by Enea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II, at the time a secretary in the court of Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor) in his imagined role as the exiled Ovid in the 1440s: «In Austria vero dementis est quaerere Romam, aut Platonem apud Hungaros vestigare» (qtd. in Klaniczay 1975, 2). (It is real foolishness

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to look for Rome in Austria, or to track down Plato among Hungarians.) However, some decades later a remarkable flow of the «doctor Platonicus» Marsilio Ficino's works started between Florence and Buda. The first appearance of Ficino's name in Hungarian literature was Janus Pannonius's two-line poem² which might have been a reply to Ficino's dedicatory letter dated August 5, 14693. In addition, we even encounter critical feedback by an Augustinian or Dominican friar, a certain Ioannes Pannonius to Ficino's Platonic theology in the mid 1480s (Molnár 2017). Ergo, according to all indications, there was an intellectual circle then in Hungary whose members were up-to-date and receptive to the re-emerging Neoplatonic ideas, which can be called a current and progressive philosophical trend. Besides the aforementioned unknown friar after Janus Pannonius' death, Ficino's Hungarian circle of documented acquaintances consists of the followings: Péter Garázda, provost and canon of Pécs (Daneloni 2001), Miklós Báthory, bishop of Vác, Péter Váradi, Archbishop of Kalocsa, Nicolaus de Mirabilibus, Dominican friar and later inquisitor; and finally, King Matthias Corvinus to whom the Florentine master dedicated his three works and published his four letters addressed to the king. In short, it is certainly known that Ficino sent his 34 writings (letters, translations, commentaries, and main works) to Hungary between 1469 and 1496 (see Appendix I). Many of them - for example, his famous translation and commentary on Plotinus' Enneades – were sent first to Hungary, outside Italy. Furthermore, Miklós Báthory planned to establish a Platonic school under the direction of Ficino in Buda in the 1480s.

As can be seen from this concise summary, the introduction of the most recent philosophical and theological programme of the period began very promisingly, but by the 1490s, there seemed to be no trace

² Orig. «Nuper in Elysiis animam dum quaero Platonis, / Marsilio hanc Samius dixit inesse senex.» (Mayer, Török 2006, No. 434, 251) (While I was recently searching for Plato's soul in Elysium, the Samian old said he was in Marsilius.) The English translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

³ The letter is published by Kristeller (1973, 1:87-88). This letter was sent accompanying his commentary on Plato's *Symposium* which is preserved today in the Austrian National Library (Cod. Lat. 2472, f. 110). This codex also contains Janus' epigram entered grammatically incorrectly by an unknown hand.

of Neoplatonic ideas in Hungary. And finally, Marsilio Ficino, while conquering the whole of Europe with his works after his death, as a significant intellectual factor disappeared by the 1490s, and remained almost completely unknown in 16th-century Hungary. So much so that in his poem, Valerian Mader, an almost unknown pastor from Trencsén (Trenčín, SK), wrote about Ficino as an old author whose fame had been known by only a few people by 1588.

What can be known about Valerian Mader's life is summarized by Miloslav Okál mostly based on Mader's only known book (1986; see also: Borsa 1964; Mišianik 1967, 215-216; Hejnic, Martínek 1969, 374-375; Csepregi 2015, 6-7; Hejnic, Martínek 2011, 116). He was born into a Slovakian noble family to Mikuláš (Nicolaus) Mader the mayor of Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) on May 19, 1558 (there are several poems about the coat-of-arms of the Maders in his book). He had two brothers: Mikuláš (Nicolaus) and Jozef (Josephus), as well as a stepbrother: David. Valerian began his elementary studies in Sempte (Šintava, SK), then – with help of Šimon Jesenský (Iessenius) - he studied in Trencsén, Bártfa (Bardejov, SK) and Zsolna (Žilina, SK) between 1573 and 1579. Petrus Barossius was his teacher in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK), Thomas Faber, Georgius Radashinus and Severin Sculteti in Bártfa (Bardejov, SK), and Nicolaus Colacinatus in Zsolna (Žilina, SK). According to Mader's poem entitled *Hodoeporicon*, sive peregrinatio in Transsylvaniam, that he wrote ex schola Patakina, he also studied in Kolozsvár (Cluj, RO) and Sárospatak in 1579-1580. Following this he returned to Trencsén (Trenčín, SK), where he worked as a schoolmaster and Lutheran pastor. He married a woman by the name of Dorothea in 1582. Then he was a pastor in Beckó (Beckov, SK) from 1582, in Kiripolc (Kostolište, SK) between 1586 and 1588, and then, according to a letter dated March 21, 1600, he was working again in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) (Pálfy 1965, 102). The last information on Mader is his ministry in Márkusfalva (Markušovce, SK) in 1605. He certainly had a son and a daughter who died in their childhood before 1586.

Mader's ten-distich Ficino-epigram is one of the Trencsén teacher and poet's collection of works printed by Bálint Mantskovit in Galgóc (Hlohovec, SK) in 1588. As the title of the collection shows, Mader's book is a formulary including memorable models of poems in different humanist genres for

those who were novices in the art of poetry. He intended his work to be the ars versificatoria of occasional poetry with the illustrative help mostly of his own compositions (Mader 1588)⁴. With an epistle, he dedicated the volume to István Balassa, the son of Menyhért Balassa, comes of Bars and Hont County. Besides this letter, the 190-page book contains his 79 poems and 11 other ones addressed to Mader by various authors. At the end of the volume, under the title *Libellus adoptivus*, he published another 27 verse compositions and four letters written to him by his friends. Its 'provincialism' can be interesting, in a positive sense, which derives from Mader's local relationship network. In the light of his book, this network was based on roughly 60 addressees/authors. At the same time, this micro-network as a 'rural' respublica intellectualis was organized in exactly the same way as even Justus Lipsius' one but covering a much smaller area. Although the pattern emerged from the structure and relationship of elements – from a 'top view' – is exactly the same as a large-scale network, Mader's literary network consisted of village teachers, priests, and local potentates instead of European statesmen and scholars of European renown.

The known persons of Mader's 'rural' micro-network based on the addressees and addressers of his book in alphabetical order:

| Name | Identification | Page(s) |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| Adamovska, Barbara | Wife of Caspar Criva | 122 |
| Balassa, István | Son of Menyhért Balassa | A2 ^r |
| Barossius, Andreas | Pastor of Kisbiróc (Malé Birovce, SK), Ádámfalva (Adamovce, SK) | 83 |
| Barossius, Petrus | Mader's teacher in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK), as well as notary in the town | *3 ^r , 26, 27, 27, 41, 124, 141, 164 |
| Beczkoviensis, Georgius | [of Beckó (Beckov, SK)], pastor of Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 112) | 155 |

⁴ A unique copy with dedication to Hieremias Sartorius, schoolmaster of Trencsén, is preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (*35.X.164): «Medicinae licentiato d. d. hunc libellum amicitiae ergo Hieremias Sartorius jam scholae Trenchinianae pastor 14. Junij Anno D. 1588».

| Briccius | Mader's pupil | 100 |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Bulgar, Georgius | [Balgar] teacher, pastor of Bán (Bánovce nad Bebravou, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 76) | 30, 82, 87, 89, 91, 144, 145, 149 |
| Cabat, Georgius | Citizen of Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) | 119 |
| Carponensis, Andreas | [of Korpona (Krupina, SK)] | 111 |
| Carthicius Novisoliensis, Mathias | [of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, SK)] | 160, 161, 162 |
| Chirurgus, Stephanus | ? | 118 |
| Chotessovius, Georgius | [of Kotessó (Kotešová, SK)] teacher in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK), Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) (Cse- pregi 2014, 250) | 150, 151 |
| Colacinus, Nicolaus | Rector of the school at Zsolna (Žilina, SK) then teacher in Sárospatak | 15, 50, 50, 137 |
| Conradi, Georgius | Teacher in Klobusic (Klobušice, SK), Illava (Ilava, SK); Pastor of Gallyas (Haluzice, SK), Beckó (Beckov, SK), Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 270) | 93 |
| Criva, Caspar | [His name might refer to Krivány (Kriváň, SK) | 122 |
| Elias | Mader's pupil | 100 |
| Fontanus, Briccius | Pastor of Svábfalva (Švábovce, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 509) | 137 |
| Grundelius Varraliensis, Ioannes | [His name perhaps refers to Szepes- váralja (Spišske Podhradie, SK)] | 104 |
| Halachi de Bobrownic, Ioannes | [His name refers to Bobrovnik (Bobrovník, SK)] Commander of the castle of Beckó (Beckov, SK) | 81 |
| Helnerus, Valentinus | From Brassó (Brașov, RO) | 20, 22, 24, 139 |
| Hrabowski, Martinus | ? | 152, 152 |
| Hroncovia, Elisabetha | Petrus Barossius' wife from Illava (Ilava, SK) | 26, 27 |
| Husselius (Hussel), Albertus | Teacher in Privigye (Prievidza, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 738) | 157 |
| Hynconius, Ioachimus | ? | [A7 ^r] |

| Jessenius, Simon | (Hejnic and Martínek 1966, 439-442) | 4, 52, 112, 144, 166, 166 |
|---|--|--|
| Leporinus, Michael | Teacher in Prague, Selmecbánya (Ban- ská Štiavnica, SK) (Csepregi 2014, 973) | 55 |
| Luczatinski, Aegidius | [of Lucatő (Lučatín, SK)] | 120 |
| Luczatinski, Ioannes | [of Lucatő (Lučatín, SK)] | 120 |
| Maczac, Adamus | Judge of Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) | 44 |
| Mader, Mikuláš (Nicolaus) | Valerian Mader's father | 8, 37, 73, 75, 124, 132 |
| Malobicenus, Martinus | Rector of the school at Magyarbród (Uherský Brod, CZ) | 106 |
| Marci, Ioannes | (Csepregi 2015, 23) | 165 |
| Marothius, Basilius | ? | 127 |
| Mazurkius Teutolipchensis, Christophorus | Teacher in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) (Csepregi 2015, 52) | *3r |
| Mednienski, Nicolaus | Rector of the school in Beckó (Beckov, SK), secretary of László Bánffy | 36, 45, 58, 67, 68, 84, 139, 142, 147, 154 |
| Mrziglod (Marciglodius), Caspar | Pastor of Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) (Csepregi 2015, 27) | 139 |
| N., Valentinus | Pastor of Siroka (Široké, SK) | 105 |
| Nagy Transsylvanus, Io- annes (János Nagy) | ? | [A6 ^v] |
| Osvaldi, see Stephanus Racicenus | ? | |
| Petroni, Iohannes | ? | 116 |
| Philomates, Ioannes | Pastor of Szentandrás (Liptovský Ondrej, SK), Bazin (Pezinok, SK) (Csepregi 2015, 292) | [A6 ^r], [A6 ^r] |
| Popelius (Poppel) a Lobko- wicz, Ladislaus | Count of Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) | 3, 126 |
| Prunonus, Ioannes | German citizen of Galgóc (Hlohovec, SK), brother of Paulus Prunonus | 107, 134, 158 |
| Prunonus, Paulus | German citizen of Galgóc (Hlohovec, SK), brother of Ioannes Prunonus | 107 |

| Racicenus (Osvaldi), Stephanus | Pastor of Bán (Bánovce nad Bebravou, SK), Beckó (Beckov, SK), Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) | 108, 109 |
|--|--|------------------------------|
| Sarosius (Sárosi), Andreas | [of Nagysáros (Veľký Šariš, SK)] (Perhaps: Csepregi 2014, 971.) | 115 |
| Sartorius, Hieremias Arvensis | [of Árva / Orava] rector of the school at Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) (Csepregi 2016, 16) | *r, 131 |
| Sartorius, Nicodemus | Pastor in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, SK), Zólyom (Zvolen, SK) (Csepregi 2015, 21) | 75 |
| Schelendorf, Andreas | Georgius Schelendorf's little son | 117 |
| Schelendorf, Georgius | ? | 117 |
| Sickius (Sick), Albertus | ? | 143 |
| Storcius, Ioannes | A "compatriot", perhaps from Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) | 32, 59 |
| Thal, Anthonius | ? | 70 |
| Thököly, Sebestyén | Merchant, magnate, baron [Késmárk (Kežmarok, SK)] | 115 |
| Tolnensis (Tolnai), Nicolaus (Miklós) | Mader's schoolmate in Sárospatak | [A6 ^v], 104, 114 |
| Werner Novisoliensis, Andreas | [of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, SK)] | 140 |
| Zaluzki (Załuski?) de Zaluz, Ioannes | Secretary of István Radéczy, bishop of Eger | 75 |
| Zeybigius Chemnicensis, Matthias | Czech humanist | [A7 ^r] |

Taking into account the residences of the addressees and addressers of the poems and letters in Mader's book, the author's 'radius of action' can be drawn, which seems relatively small. The route from Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) to Adamóckohanóc (Adamovské Kochanovce, SK) is 10 km; to Gallyas (Haluzice, SK) and Beckó (Beckov, SK) is 18 km; to Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) is 25 km; to Bán (Bánovce nad Bebravou, SK) is ~30 km; to Magyarbród (Uherský Brod, CZ) is 40 km; to Galgóc (Hlohovec, SK) and Privigye (Prievidza, SK) is ~60 km; to Zsolna (Žilina) is 75 km; to Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica, SK) is ~100 km; to Zólyom (Zvolen, SK) and Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, SK) is ~115-120 km (Figure 1).

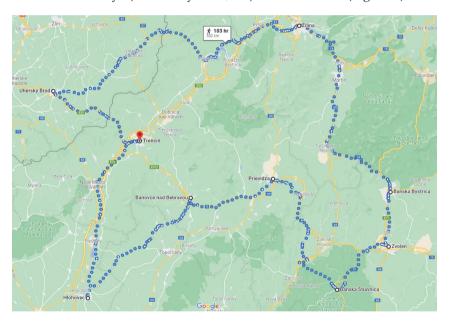


Figure 1. https://goo.gl/maps/9VQEtA9dpZp6J1U56

The other route covers a larger area. The route from Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) to Adamóckohanóc (Adamovské Kochanovce, SK) is 10 km; to Gallyas (Haluzice, SK) and Beckó (Beckov, SK) is 18 km; to Vágújhely (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SK) is 25 km; to Magyarbród (Uherský Brod, CZ) is 40 km; to Zsolna (Žilina) is 75 km; to Bazin (Pezinok, SK) is ~100 km; to Pozsony

(Bratislava, SK), Korpona (Krupina, SK), Zólyom (Zvolen, SK) and Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, SK) is ~115-120 km; to Lucatő (Lučatín, SK) is 128 km; to Szentandrás (Liptovský Ondrej, SK) is ~175 km; to Svábfalva (Švábovce, SK) is 225 km; to Nagysáros (Veľký Šariš, SK) is 300 km (Figure 2).



Figure 2. https://goo.gl/maps/mDnHiVuZP8MbG29k6

In the formulary of occasional poems, Mader's Ficino-epigram is the only one that he wrote in, to or about a book. The poem itself is a typical example of the sub-genre of the occasional poems: an *epigramma liminarium*, which can be translated as «threshold poem» (van Dam 2015). This is usually a paratext at the beginning of a book, that, like a doorkeeper, allows the reader to enter into the main text. According to its function, on the one hand, this is an introductory recommendation which prepares the prospective reader – directing the way – for the content of the book, on the other hand, the dedicator (inscriber) tries to stabilize, modify, or just refine his position and status in that intellectual environment with which he can become involved through the copy or edition of the dedicated work.

For Mader's poem about Ficino's book, Gérard Genette's paratextual theory offers useful vocabulary, in which there is a distinction between the two kinds of acts of the author's dedication, between the *dédier*, to dedicate a work to someone, and the *dédicacer*, to dedicate a single copy of a work to a particular person. In the first case, the dedicatee owns the whole work as an idea that is an intellectual product, in the second case, the dedicatee only owns the materialized manifestation of the product of this mental

activity, that is a touchable form of a single copy of a published book. (It means that in the first case, theoretically the dedicator addresses each copy of the publication to a single dedicatee, and in the second case, the dedicator can offer each copy of the publication to a different dedicatee. The latter is necessarily in a lower rank in the hierarchy of dedication, because in many cases, the author distributes an already dedicated work as a whole into multiple portions between further individual dedicatees.) The act of *dédier* is a more abstract, more official level of the relationship between the dedicator and the dedicatee, which does not presume a necessary personal acquaintance or personal presence. However, the gesture of the *dédicacer* is a typically personal interaction in which the present dedicator gives the dedicated, individual object together with his written lines to the dedicatee. Mader's epigram (Mader 1588, 69-70)⁵:

In libellum medicum, Marsilii Ficini

Poeonias studio qui vult volitare per artes

Et medicas aegris applicuisse manus.

Herbarum varias multarum noscere vires,
Et cupit humanis, pharmaca ferre malis.

Docta terat manibus docti monimenta Ficini
Quae scripsit Latio sedulus ille stylo⁶.
Est vetus ille quidem, quem nos modo diximus author,
Eius et est paucis cognita fama viris,
Attamen antiquis quae sunt fabricata sub annis

10 A scriptis non sunt illa minora novis. Nostra etiam multos medicos licet afferat aetas Seu Latium seu quos Teutonis ora fovet. Idcirco non est hic despiciendus ab alto,

 $^{^{\}rm 5}$ The text has been faithfully transcribed as published in 1588 though the punctuation does not seem correct.

⁶ The phrase *Latio stylo* may not simply mean 'Latin', but 'Italian', and Mader – by use of this word – might have referred to the fact that the author was Italian. In line 12, the word *Latium* also clearly means 'Italy', while the phrase *Teutonis ora* means 'Germany'.

Omnia non uni dat sua dona Deus.

- 15 Qualia vix alii scriptis meminere disertis Horum Marsilius multa Ficinus habet Ergo cui valetudo placet, longaevaque vita, Hinc discat morbos arte fugare suos. Dignus honore, vir est medicus medicinaque iusto,
- 20 Ergo etiam iusto est dignus honore liber⁷.

Based on the poems of Mader's volume, it can be presupposed that our author did not compose the aforecited poem only for his book to be published in 1588, but he intended to inscribe this – in the sense of Genette's theory of *dédicacer* – on the titlepage or flyleaf of a copy. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that he intended his 20-line epigram as a paratext – or at least a model of this in the sense of *dédier* – at the beginning of a future edition of Ficino's work. It is not hard to guess which book of Ficino it would have been. This can only be the *De vita libri tres*, for which Kristeller lists 27 editions by 1584 (1973, 1:LXIV-LXVI)⁸. Moreover, according to the best of our knowledge, there are traces of seven copies in the remains of the book collections in Hungary and Transylvania before 1588⁹. This is

⁷ In translation: *In Marsilio Ficino's medical book*. The one who does want to soar zealously with the help of healing arts and wants to give a healing touch to the patients, as well as learn the various powers of herbs, and longs to bring remedies for human illnesses, he should wear out the learned Ficino's scholarly monuments [writings], which were written by this sedulous [author] with Latin style. Although this author is old and [only] a few people have known his fame, the antiquities are no less from new literary works. Although our age also brings many physicians who are favoured by Italy or the German region, he is not to be despised from above, because God does not give all his gifts to one. While others hardly made mention of these [things] in clear writings, Ficino has many [clear writings]. Therefore, anyone who pleases health and longevity can learn to chase away his diseases from this masterpiece. Both the physician and the medicine justly deserve honour; therefore, the book also justly deserves honour.

⁸ In addition, this work was dedicated to the King Matthias Corvinus (see also the codex Plut. 73. Cod. 39 in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

⁹ Data is collected from the volumes of the series entitled *Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez* (Archive on the history of our intellectual movements in the 16th and 18th centuries) (cfr. Iványi 1983, 551; Berlász *et al.* 1984, 239; Farkas *et al.* 1990, 140, 243; Monok *et al.* 1991, 40, 150; 1992, 134, 146, 245, 324; 1994, 206; Zvara *et al.* 2008, 146;

a good number, yet Mader wrote in his poem, that «eius fama est cognita paucis viris» (a few people have known his fame). According to this, Ficino was already a forgotten author in Hungary by the 1580s.

Because in their original position, the liminal poems were important tools of the humanist poet's self-representation, the author sought to use subtle references to indicate and advertise his literacy, the elements of which could be decoded by an adequately erudite reader (see, for example, the grecisms of the poem in the expression of 'pharmaca', or 'poeseos'). In general, the occasional poems – often full of seemingly self-serving antique references in our contemporary eyes - were much more esteemed in the 16th-17th centuries than we would expect. It is also clear that people read differently and expected something else from a published, edited text (van Dam 2015, 69). The author and the reader were much more sensitive to social and intellectual status as expressed in symbols and references covered by literary texts. The author did not just advertise their literary skills and erudition expressed through highly structured texts with strict poetic rules, but the reader – as recipients – also decoded the humanist literary puzzles with proper pride. Despite lacking definitive personal note, these poems were private in the sense that they were addressed to a narrow, well-defined intellectual circle around them. These interactions can seem like intellectual board games, jigsaw puzzles, or even a sport, in which the served balls could be hit – sometimes easier, sometimes harder – with enough erudite training.

Mader published the poem roughly in the middle of a volume edited by himself, therefore his epigram obviously lost its character of *liminar*-

Czeglédi *et al.* 2010, 173) Besides the 16th-century libraries of Hans Dernschwam and János Zsámboky (who had three editions: Basel 1529, Venice 1548, Lyon 1566), there are also traces of the copies of the *De vita libri tres*. It is true that the known catalogues were written later, but these still show that Ficino's medical work was a relatively common book (the year of the catalogues is shown in brackets): László Radvánszky (1750): Basel 1532; Jesuit college of Pozsony (1639): Paris 1547; library of the Jesuit convent in Turóc (1704): Lyon 1567. The entries of the following places do not indicate the year of publication, so they could have been published after 1588: Unitarian college of Kolozsvár (1675); Library of Michael Halicius (1674); Calvinist college of Nagyenyed (1679-1680); Calvinist college of Debrecen (1706); Pál Esterházy (1713); Franciscan Library of Eperjes (1750).

ium, of paratext, since the liminality stands only as long as the poem retains its original, 'marginal' position. In this case, at the beginning of a presumed edition by Ficino. As the same poem takes a new position in a book, the gesture/purpose of the poem-making also changes: from then this functions as a model instead of recommendation. Here the question may arise, for which exemplar did Mader intend his poem? A dedication in a book generally, or in a medical book, or in an edition of the *De vita libri tres*, or in a copy of the latter? Mader's poem as a model can only work if the reader can deduce a kind of practical poetics of the genre of the recommendatory poem from it. That means, beyond praising the author, it must versify concisely the content, purpose, and utility of the recommended book.

In the case of Mader, for the humanist jigsaw puzzle, according to the requirements of the genre, I found the following pieces. The first four lines of Mader's poem could recall to the reader his school studies, the fifth book of Homer's *Iliad*, where the healing god himself, Παιήων cured the wounds of Hades and Ares «per artes Paeonias». The phrase «applicuisse medicas manus» in the second line may be familiar from one of Sulpicia's poems in Corpus Tibullianum (book 3, poem 10). Since hundreds of editions of this work were known by the end of the 16th century, and some variation of this can also be recognized in humanist poems, Mader played with an almost commonplace line of verse¹⁰. But perhaps Mader also had a more direct source, the elegy of the laurel-wreathed poet, Georg Sabinus (Flood 2006, 1778-1787), which he composed on the death of Dorothea of Denmark, Duchess of Prussia, in 1547. The epitaph had been published many times by 1588 and was also inscribed on her monument in Königsberg Cathedral. Its twelfth line is exactly the same as in Mader's epigram: «et medicas aegris applicuisse manus»¹¹. The other

¹⁰ To name just a few of the best known: Battista Mantovano, Helius Eobanus Hessus, Benedetto Varchi, or Elizabeth Jane Weston.

¹¹ Of the many, I have consulted the 1578 revised edition. (Sabinus 1578, 173) This reminiscence is strengthened by the two explanatory lines of the printer Crato Mylius: «Pharmaca quo nemo miscente peritius aegris, / Paeonia medicas applicat arte manus». (482) How this phrase could be widespread in the contemporary humanist poetry is well

remarkable line of the verse is a sentence that can also be traced back to a part of the Odyssey (Od. 8.167-177), where in the land of the Phaeacians, Odysseus explains to Euryalus mid-scolding, that we cannot receive all good from the gods: «οὕτως οὐ πάντε θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φυὴν οὔτ 'ἄρ φρένας οὔτ' ἀγορητύν» (the gods do not give gracious gifts to all alike, not form nor mind nor eloquence, translation by Augustus Taber Murray). In other words, Euryalus had a beautiful body, but in return he also had an empty head ($v\acute{o}o\varsigma \dot{\alpha}\pi o\varphi \acute{\omega}\lambda \iota o\varsigma$). The same can be read in Virgil's eighth ecloque (line 63): «Non omnia possumus omnes». In Lucan's *Pharsalia* (2.146), this also appears in the form of «non uni cuncta dabantur», as well as in Livy's Ab urbe condita (22.51.4): «non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere». Although by the 16th century, this sentence was already becoming bookish commonplace, Mader deliberately inserted it into his poem. Perhaps the best example can be found at the beginning of Luther's De servo arbitrio, which, besides the Homeric version, also mentions the Latin versions of Lucan and Virgil, adding the words of Saint Paul (1 Cor 12.4): «non uni dat cuncta deus, nec omnia possumus omnes, seu ut Paulus ait, distributiones donorum sunt, idem autem spiritus». Mader's poem particularly conforms to Ioachim Camerarius, the Elder's preliminary epigram at the beginning of his Opuscula aliquot elegantissima, where he also excuses himself with the above words: «non uni dat cuncta Deus». However, Mader's lines refers to the ages (aetas), in that God also distributes the excellent people as gifts in different ages.

To sum up, it would be difficult to ascertain, to what extent Mader was right when he wrote about Ficino as an unknown author, but it seems that the lack of remnants in the history of Hungarian literature justifies his statement. Because with the exception for Janus' and Mader's verses, there is no poetic trace of the Florentine philosopher. And now, almost 450 years later, Mader's poem addresses the reader in the same way, advertising his

illustrated by the beginning of Tobias Aleutner's epigram – evoking Mader's poem almost word for word – addressed to Georg Seiler, a medical professor from Frankfurt: «Salve, Paeoniam celeber Seilere per artem, / Docte aegris medicas applicuisse manus» (Aleutnerus 1608, 150).

own erudition through Ficino's 'forgotten' book. Through this, the curious reader can learn to write poetry from Mader, while – from Ficino – he can learn to live a long, healthy life.

Appe

| Date of sending to Hungary | Time of the writing of the work | Title of the work or epistle | Pages in 1576 |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|---------------|
| August 1469- | 1468-July 1469 August 05, 1469 | Commentarius in Convivium de amore Proemium ad Ianum Panno- nium | |
| 1476- | 1476 | De christiana religione | |
| April 25, 1477-August 01, 1477 | -April 25, 1477 | De vita Platonis | |
| After June 08, 1479 (but still in summer) | End of 1476-January 1477 | Forma corporea dividitur et movetur ab alio (Secunda clavis Platonicae sapientiae) | 688 |
| (September 1482-) | May 09, 1482- | Marsilii Ficini florentini disputatio contra iudicium as- trologorum | 781 |
| | 1477 | Disputatio contra iudicium as- trologorum | |
| | June 08, 1479 | Montes non separant animos montibus altiores. | 782 |
| November 07, 1482-1483 | 1482 | Theologia platonica de immor- talitate animorum | |
| September 1482-(?) October 01, 1484- | 1476. 08- | Epistolarum libri III. et IV. | |
| | 1479. 06. 08. | Proemium libri III: Exhortatio ad bellum contra Barbaros. | 721- |
| | 1480 10 01 | {Vita Platonis} | |
| (?) October 01, 1484- | 1480. 10. 01. 1482 (?) | Synesius, Liber de vaticinio somniorum | 1968 |
| 1484-1485 | 1464-September-October 1484 | Platonis opera (Symposium-commentary; Ti- maius-commentary) | |

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| Basel edition | Addressee | Manuscript or edition | Possessor |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| | Janus Pannonius | Vienna, ÖNB: Cod. Lat. 2472 | Janus Pannonius |
| | | Firenze, Nicolaus Laurentius, 1476 | |
| | Francesco Bandini | | Francesco Bandini |
| | Francesco Bandini and Miklós Báthory | | Francesco Bandini and Miklós Báthory |
| | Péter Váradi | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August: Cod. Guelf. 12 Aug. 4° Cod. Guelf. 2 Aug. 4° Cod. Guelf. 73. Aug. 2° | Péter Váradi |
| | Miklós Báthory | | |
| | | Firenze, Antonius Miscominus, 1482 | |
| | King Matthias Corvinus | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August: Cod. Guelf. 12 Aug. 4° | Bibliotheca Corviniana |
| | King Matthias Corvinus | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August: Cod. Guelf. 2 Aug. 4° | Bibliotheca Corviniana |
| | Francesco Bandini | Firenze, Laurentius Venetus, 1484 | |

| 1484-1486 | April 1463 | Mercurius Trismegistus, Pimander | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--|-----|
| 1489-1490 | August 1476-1488 | Epistolarum ad amicos libri VIII. | |
| | 1487 | Multa quae stellae significant, daemones persuadent, nos agi- mus. | 884 |
| | 1487 | Gratiarum actio, congratulatio, commendatio. | 885 |
| | 1488 | Commendatio amici apud regem. | 888 |
| 1490 | 1488-1489 | Priscianus Lydus, In Theo- phrastum interpretatio de sensu et phantasia | |
| | September 06, 1489 | Artificiosa commendatio docti viri. | 902 |
| | February 06, 1490 | Amicus in amico. Item excusatio de itinere non suscepto. | 896 |
| [1489-1490] | August 1490 | [Plotinus, Enneades and commentaries | |
| | | Porphyrius, De vita Plotini] | |
| December 02, 1496- | 1464-1496 | Commentaria in Platonem | |
| September 1497- | -January 03-04, 1457 | De voluptate | |
| September 1497- | -1464 | Alcinous, De doctrina Platonis | |
| September 1497- | -1464 | Speusippus, De Platonis defi- nitionibus | |
| September 1497- | -1464 | Pythagoras, Symbola; Praecepta aurea | |
| September 1497- | 1464 | Xenocrates, De morte | |
| September 1497- | 1488-January-March 1489 | Proclus, In Platonis Alcibiadem primum commentariis; De sacrificio et magia | |
| 1 | | | |

| | [Tarvisio, 1471; Ferrara, 1472; Velence, 1481; Velence, 1483] | Bibliotheca Corviniana |
|------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August: Cod. Guelf. 73. Aug. 2° | Bibliotheca Corviniana |
| Miklós Báthory | | |
| King Matthias Corvinus | | |
| King Matthias Corvinus | | |
| | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August: Cod. Guelf. 10 Aug. 4° | Bibliotheca Corviniana |
| King Matthias Corvinus | | |
| King Matthias Corvinus | | |
| | [Firenze, Laurenziana: MSS Laur. Plut. 82.10.] | [Bibliotheca Corviniana] |
| | Firenze, Laurentius Franciscus de Venetiis, 1496. Oxford, Keble College: Hatchett Jackson 85 | Miklós Báthory |
| | Jamblichi de mysteriis et alia, Venetia, Aldus Manutius, 1497 (Budapest, MTA: <i>Ráth F</i> 1493) | Miklós Báthory |
| | Ibidem | Miklós Báthory |

| September 1497- | 1488-1489. 03-04. | Porphyrius, De abstinentia | |
|-----------------|-------------------|---|-----|
| | | De occasionibus | |
| September 1497- | 1488-1489 | Michael Psellus, De daemoni- bus | |
| September 1497- | 1488-1489 | Iamblichus, De mysteriis Aegyptiorum | |
| (1490) | July 10, 1489 | De triplici vita: Proemium, De vita coelitus comparanda | 529 |

| | Ibidem | Miklós Báthory |
|------------------------|--|--|
| | | |
| | Ibidem | Miklós Báthory |
| | Thidau | Miklós Báthory |
| | 10 iuem | WIRIOS Dathory |
| King Matthias Corvinus | Firenze, Laurenziana: Plut. 73. Cod. 39. | [Bibliotheca Corviniana] |
| | King Matthias Corvinus | Ibidem Ibidem King Matthias Corvinus Firenze, Laurenziana: |

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