

MONOK ISTVÁN

THE NÁDASDY COURTS IN SÁRVÁR AND POTTENDORFF AND THEIR BOOK CULTURE



IN THE FIRST HALF OF the 16th century a number of new families rose to aristocratic rank and, especially after the battle of Mohács which took a heavy toll on Hungarians, several of the illustrious medieval families died out in the male line or lost their importance in leading the country.

The ancestors of the Nádasdy family originate from the time of the Hungarian Conquest. The role they played then is proved by charters from the times of the Árpád Dynasty.¹ However, they did not achieve key positions in the country's life until Tamás Nádasdy married Orsolya Kanizsai. The Kanizsai family passed on their properties in the female line so the road to the highest positions opened up for Tamás Nádasdy with his legendary marriage for love. He became Major-domo (1532), Keeper of the Treasury (1536–1543), Croatian Ban (1537–1548), Lord Chief Justice (1543–1554) and Palatine (1554–1562). He had to assume the responsibility that went with these titles since organizing the defence against the Turks fell mainly to the Nádasdy family (their lands were situated on the borderline of the Turkish Empire). Tamás

was appointed Captain General and his son Ferenc (1565–1604), “the Black Bég” named and feared by the Turks, became the Chief Bailiff of Vas and Sopron counties as well as the Chief Master of the Royal Horses and between 1598 and 1604 Captain General of Transdanubia.² His son, Pál (1598?–1633) also held the title of Captain General of Transdanubia while acquiring new ones such as Royal Supreme Chancellor and Councillor. In 1625 he was given the title of count. The family became very influential with his son, Ferenc (1623–1671) who was the Chief Bailiff of Vas, Zala, and Somogy counties, Royal Councillor, Supreme Major-domo and Lord Chief Justice from 1655 until his death. In 1671 he was charged with conspiracy against the king and executed after being stripped of his titles and possessions. The major part of his fortune was acquired by the Esterházy family. The family survived through his children³ and relatives from the side branches of his family⁴ and played an important part in expelling the Turks from Hungary as well as in reorganizing the Catholic church and the Hungarian cultural institutions in the 18th century.⁵

1 Iván Nagy: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel nemzékrendi táblákkal*. VII. kötet, Pest, 1860. 19–26. (reprint: Bp., 1987, Kossuth Kiadó; electronic edition (CD-ROM) Bp., 1999, Arcanum Kiadó), Zoltán Fallenbüchl: *Magyarország főméltósága*. Bp., 1988, Maecenas Kiadó, Fallenbüchl: *Állami (királyi és császári) tisztségviselők a 17. századi Magyarországon*. Bp., 2002, OSZK, Gondolat Kiadó, 207–208.

2 He was married to Erzsébet Báthory.

3 Ferenc, István, Flórián, Tamás, László, Erzsébet and Magdolna.

4 The only brother of his father Pál had died as a child while his sister Anna became the first wife of Miklós Zrínyi and his other sister, Kata married György Drugeth. Ferenc had only one sister (Anna Mária), who became a nun.

5 They established an important book collection in Léka at the beginning of the 18th century. They founded and financially supported a Servite nunnery in Vátszentkút and also donated them a significant collection of books (1764). However, in the 19th century the main family residence was Nádasdladány where they established their collections of legendary fame and riches which stayed there until World War II. At the end of the war the Soviet troops looted the residence and then the Hungarian communist regime nationalized the collections which even in torso added to the richness of several public collections.

Tamás Nádasdy was the first Protestant in the family. He belonged to the circle around Chancellor László Szalkai and was a friend of Miklós Oláh, historian and humanist, Archbishop of Esztergom while maintaining connection with several well-known figures of contemporary humanism (Ursinus Velinus, Georgius Logus, Jacobus Piso). Instead of the old castle of Léka,⁶ and the fortress of Kanizsa which he acquired through his marriage and which was uncomfortable and dangerous as a residence, Tamás Nádasdy established his court in Sárvár for himself and his entourage.⁷ The young ladies living in the court surrounding Orsolya Kanizsai learnt a number of social skills (conversation, dancing and table skills, etc.) and acquired practical knowledge concerning supervising the household and farming, especially gardening (caring for the flowers and plants, tending the vegetable garden and the fruit trees). The Protestant school established in Sárvár-Újsziget, the church and the parish – home to the new religion, Lutheranism – and the press founded in 1539 are all Hungarian cultural institutions which make the Nádasdy court outstanding among the contemporary aristocratic centres.⁸ These institutions and the intelligentsia working there needed books, which were purchased by the aristocrat or his learned major-domo (such as György Perneszi, Ákos Csányi,

Gábor Szentgyörgyi).⁹ György Perneszi is worth mentioning since his will including a booklist of 62 items survived.¹⁰ The description of the contents of his library may give an insight into the one in the court of the aristocrat Tamás Nádasdy.

Authors of the ancient world played an important part in his library. This phenomenon, widespread in the Carpathian Basin, is partly due to the fact that in a country where the official language was Latin classical reading were more popular and enjoyable than in others where these authors served only as a tool for language learning. Another reason may be that ancient ethical writings served as sources of ethical and moral knowledge for a long time since more modern treatises on ethics did not replace them. Books by the church fathers of early medieval and medieval times are present in great numbers in the collection while theological works can often be found although the confessional profile of the Perneszi collection is neutral. We can find Luther and Melancthon – first of all the humanist writings of the latter – as well as Calvin. The library is not rich in books on cosmology and sciences although there are a few items of these. History is represented by chronicles, mainly of Hungary and the neighbouring regions. There is a total lack of modern studies on the theory of the state, on politics, philosophy, military strategies, or fortification.¹¹

6 The list of all the movables of Léka Castle in 1533 also mentioned books: *Lesestoffe in Westungarn II. Forchtenstein (Fraknó), Eisenstadt (Kismarton), Güns (Köszeg), Rust (Ruszt)*. Ed.: Tibor Grüll, Katalin Keveházi, Károly Kokas, István Monok, Péter Ötvös, Harald Prickler. Szeged, 1996, (*Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 18/2. – Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderband XV.*) 200–201.

7 See the bibliographical summary of the numerous studies in the volume published after the last conference in memory of Tamás Nádasdy as well as in the János Sylvester Bibliography: *Nádasdy Tamás (1498–1562) emlékezete. 500 éve született Magyarország nádora*. Ed.: István Söptei. Sárvár, 1998 (SÖPTEI 1998); *Sylvester János bibliográfia*. by Lilla Pirooska-Nagy. Introduction: Lajos Kuntár. Sárvár–Szombathely, 1987 (PIROSKA 1987)

8 About the Nádasdy courts see Ferenc Szakály: *A sárvári "provinciális humanista kör" és a reformáció kezdetei*. In: *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára*. Ed.: Ferenc Glatz. Budapest, 1993, MTA Történettudományi Intézet. 83–96.; Katalin Péter: *Nádasdy Tamás mecénási tevékenységéről*. In Katalin Péter: *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból*. Budapest, 1995, (A Ráday gyűjtemény tanulmányai. 8.) 56–65.

9 The library list has not survived but some of the documents related to the purchase of books have. Cf: *Kultúrtörténeti szemelvények a Nádasdyak 1540–1550-es számadásából*. Ed.: Bernát L. Komorovics, Erzsébet M. Kállai, Mária Belényesy, Alice Gádorján. Fasc. I–II. Bp., 1959, (Történeti és néprajzi füzetek, I.); Sándor Öze: *500 magyar levél a XVI. századból. Csányi Ákos levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz 1549–1562*. I–II. kötet. Budapest, 1996, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum; Elemér Mályusz: *A Nádasdy-levéltár magyar levelei 1531–1549*. Levéltári Közlemények, 1923.; Géza Istványi: *A magyar nyelvű írásbeliség kialakulása*. Budapest, 1934.; László Papp: *Magyar nyelvű levelek és okiratok a XVI. századból*. Budapest, 1964. (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések. 44.)

10 *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. (1533–1657)*. Ed.: András Varga. Bp.–Szeged, 1986, (*Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 18/2.*) 12–14.

Compared to the Perneszith collection, the Nádasdy Library must have been richer in contents. Literature on medicine was by all means well represented there, since the family correspondence on their regular health problems is known as well as the fact that these problems were tended by Gáspár Szegedi Kőrösi, one of the leading doctors of contemporary Hungary.¹²

Phillipp Melanchthon recommended Mátyás Dévai Bíró (1500?–1545) to Tamás Nádasdy who became his patron.¹³ Nádasdy supported Péter Mélius Juhász who later became the most influential Calvinist preacher, as well as the chronicler bard-minstrel Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos. The most well known scientist in the court was undoubtedly János Sylvester (1504? – 1552). His work defined the scholarly disputes on Hungarian literary language and grammar for centuries.¹⁴ All four known books published by the press established in 1539 are his. The press was operated by Johannes Strutius (Strauss), and later by Benedek Abádi.¹⁵ The first title published was his *Grammatica Hungarolatina*, then upon Nádasdy's request a bull by Paul III came out in Hungarian followed by a paraphrase of Genesis written in Hungarian verse.¹⁶ Since no

copies remained of these latter two, the first book printed in Hungary in Hungarian is Sylvester's major achievement, the complete translation of the New Testament published in 1541 and financed in full by Tamás Nádasdy.¹⁷

The Palatine's late son, Ferenc Nádasdy is mainly known in history as a soldier, although the literature emphasizes his thorough knowledge of modern military strategy, which he could not have acquired only through practice.¹⁸ A number of contemporary publications appeared on his battles¹⁹ – these must have been present in the library at Sárvár – while Elias Berger, the Court Chronicler dedicated a whole book to his military virtues.²⁰ The court of the “Black Lord or Bég” feared by the Turks did not lose its splendour after the death of his father, Tamás Nádasdy.²¹ The baron participated at the theological and church organizational disputations taking place on his estate, as well as the Synod of Csepreg in 1591²² where the followers of the Calvinist and the Lutheran confession decided to part and to build separate churches. Nádasdy himself stayed in the Lutheran church²³ and financed the studies of young men wishing to become ministers. These young men sent him

11 Cf. István Monok: *A 16. századi köznemesség műveltségéről*. In: SÖPTEI 1998. 105–115.

12 “*Szerelmes Orsikám...*” *A Nádasdyak és Szegedi Kőrös Gáspár levelezése*. Selected, edited and notes provided by Tivadar Vida, with epilogue written by Tamás Grynaeus. Bp., 1988, Szépirodalmi Kiadó

13 For the numerous works of literature see *Recommended Bibliography of Mátyás Dévai Bíró*, compiled by Ilona Bartók. Sárvár, 1989.

14 Besides the still useful bibliography (Balázs János: *Sylvester János és kora*. Bp., 1959) see Lilla Piroška's bibliography (PIROSKA 1987), and the more recent study by István Bartók: *Sylvester János elrejtett kincsei. Szempontok a Grammatica Hungarolatina új kiadásához*. Magyar Könyvszemle, 1998. 325–335.; Bartók: *A Nádasdy-mecenatúra hatása az irodalmi gondolkodásra*. In: SÖPTEI 1998. 117–130.

15 For a summary see Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kéziszajtó korában 1473–1800*. Bp., 1999, Balassi Kiadó (ECSEDEY 1999), 37–40., and Judit V. Ecsedy: *A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és diszei 1473–1600*. Bp., 2004, Balassi Kiadó (Hungaricae Typographica I.) (ECSEDEY 2004) 44–52.

16 RMNy 39, 47, 49

17 RMNy 49. The first books in Hungarian were published in Cracow (1532 és 1533, the translation of Saint Paul's letters by Benedek Komjáti) and in Vienna (1536, Gábor Pesti's translation of the four gospels).

18 László Nagy: *Az erős fekete bég Nádasdy Ferenc*. Bp., 1987, Zrínyi Kiadó, (NAGY 1987) 235–274.; On the knowledge of the art of war in Hungary in this period, see: György Domokos–Gábor Hausner–László Veszprémy: *Eruditio militaris*. Iskolakultúra 1997/5. 40–47. (with bibliography)

19 A few of the works dedicated to him: Nicolaus Gabelmann, Padua, 1590 (RMK III. 5502), or his letters: RMK III. 5572, 7464, 7465 (Nürnberg, 1596); RMK III. 7482 (Frankfurt am M., 1600)

20 Prague, 1603 (RMK III. 1004)

21 NAGY 1987. 49–62.

22 About the synod see RMNy 653, and the foreign sources RMK III. 5517, 5518.

23 See the epilogue written by László Makkai: *Magyari István: Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól*. Ed. Tamás Katona. Bp., 1979, Magyar Helikon

their theses printed and dedicated to the magnate.²⁴ Assumptions can be made of his intellectual horizon based on the study of the books and knowledge of István Magyari (? – 1605), his court minister, since the minister must have used the library in Sárvár as source of his books.²⁵ The publications of the printing shop financed by Ferenc Nádasdy – which must have enriched the family library – were meant to serve the above-mentioned confessional disputations and the fight against the Catholic campaign lead by Péter Pázmány. Johannes Manlius operated the press in both Keresztúr (1599, 1601, 1603–1605) and Sárvár (1600, 1602).²⁶ Besides almanacs, he published a Lutheran Agenda (1598)²⁷ and articles of faith (1598),²⁸ as well as István Magyari's books (1602).²⁹ With the support of Nádasdy the press played its part in the late humanist intellectual movements of the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. A Latin-Hungarian-German dictionary came out (Balázs Szikszai Fabricius, 1602)³⁰, as well as a number of translations of contemporary Lutheran theologians: Aegidius Hunnius (Tamás Esterházy, István Kürti, 1602)³¹, Gottfried Rabe (János Fabricius, 1603)³², Andreas Osiander (Mihály Zvonarics, 1603)³³. Furthermore, it was in this press that most of the funeral poems and sermons written upon the death of the patron Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) were published.³⁴

At his death, his son Pál was still a minor so the widow Erzsébet Báthory managed the family's business. In his will Nádasdy requested György Thurzó,

the next Palatine to be the patron of his children and counted on the solicitous attention of György Drugeth of Homonna, the husband of his daughter, Kata. The guardian of his children, however, turned out to be Imre Megyeri, another relative of the Darabos branch of the family. The next generation of the Nádasdy family had strong ties to the Révay family (Pál married Judit Révay, while Erzsébet, Kata's daughter became the wife of László Révay), as well as to Miklós Zrínyi who married Anna, the sister of Pál and Kata. The history of the trial of Erzsébet Báthory charged with numerous murders and cruelty has still not been satisfactorily clarified, even less the influence it must have had on her son Pál.

No catalogue has survived of the Library in Sárvár from the times of Pál and Ferenc Nádasdy so new acquisitions can only be assumed per analogiam. Pál stayed Lutheran until his death, his most influential advisors were his two distinguished ministers, Mihály Zvonarics and István Lethenyei. He received exulant Protestants from abroad, such as Wolfgang Mangelburg and Gregor Gerber.³⁵ Pál Nádasdy financed the study of the above-mentioned Lethenyei. No wonder Lethenyei dedicated his books to him.³⁶ The disputations of four more students of Wittenberg appeared with dedications either to him or to his widow Judit Révay.³⁷ Pál Nádasdy was a patron of the emblematic volumes of one of the most interesting figures of Hungarian late humanism, Kristóf Lackner, Mayor of Sopron,

24 Imre Zvonarics, Wittenberg, 1601 (RMK III. 983); Gergely Czenki, Wittenberg, 1603 (RMK III. 5677)

25 Beside the study by Makkai mentioned in the last but one footnote see József Turóczy-Trostler: *Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól. Forrástanulmány Magyari István könyvéről*. In: Turóczy-Trostler: *Magyar irodalom – világirodalom*. I. kötet. Bp., 1961. 150–166.; Imre Bencze: *Magyari István sárvári prédikátor élete és munkái*. Bp., 1995, Evangélikus Országos Múzeum.

26 ECSEDY 1999. 72–73., ECSEDY 2004. 121–122.

27 RMNy 833

28 RMNy 834

29 RMNy 890, 913

30 RMNy 891

31 RMNy 888

32 RMNy 901

33 RMNy 902

34 RMNy 910 (Georg Hartlieb), 912 (Benedek Nagy), 913 (István Magyari), 914 (Joannes Ruland), 915 (a collection of panegyrics)

35 Cf. RMNy 1492, also 2027

36 RMNy 1027A, 1028; cf. RMK III. 1611

37 István Lossics (1614, RMK III. 1135), István Potyondi (1614, RMK III. 1140), Miklós Galgóczi (1619, RMK III. 1265), András Horváth (1637, RMK III. 1532, 1533)

both abroad (Frankfurt am M., 1617),³⁸ and in Hungary, in the press supported by the Nádasdy family.³⁹

Even after the death of Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) the former Manlius press, whose printer was Imre Farkas at the time, operated in Keresztúr from 1608 to 1620 and later on in Pápa until 1643 when Ferenc Nádasdy, Pál's son converted to Catholicism and thus the press remained without a patron.⁴⁰ It was this press that published Pál Nádasdy's prayer book⁴¹, a number of almanacs, and the Lutheran Agenda, while its most significant publications were the ones which concerned the most important issues in theology (the holy communion and Irenic theology) and politics. The partners participating in the disputation were Imre and Mihály Zvonarics, and István Lethenyi on the Lutheran side, János Kanizsai Pálffy and István Pathai on the Calvinist side and Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Esztergom representing the Catholics.⁴²

Ferenc Nádasdy followed the tradition established by his great-grandfather in his household in Sárvár. Promoting the Lutheran church and its establishments⁴³ and being a patron of the contemporary humanist literature⁴⁴ were the most important aspects of his cultural policy. He announced his conversion to Catholicism at the synod of Csepreg in 1643⁴⁵, which meant that the Protestants of Western Hungary lost their last important patron,

since Miklós Esterházy and Ádám Batthyány had already followed Péter Pázmány's call.

Despite the conflicts among the Catholic aristocrats at the head of the country at the middle of the 17th century, they were unanimous in their intention to define Hungary as a kingdom of the Habsburgs with a Christian church established independently from the Habsburgs with its own saints and heroes.

Nádasdy moved his household to Pottendorff.⁴⁶ He established presses both here and in Loretom, another estate he had where he published books partly to satisfy the needs of the local Catholic communities (in Loretom it was the Servites) and partly to publish his own book.⁴⁷ He widened the network of his court a great deal and became an active patron of literature and the arts while being a writer himself. His best known book entitled Mausoleum depicting the Hungarian kings in verse, rich in engravings, was first published in Nuremberg in 1644⁴⁸ and three years later also in Pottendorff.⁴⁹ He supported the publication of many books in Amsterdam, Vienna and Frankfurt-on-Main, of which the most important are the ones related to Hungarian history.⁵⁰ Péter Révay's still useful book on the Hungarian crown came out twice in 1659 in Frankfurt financed both times by Nádasdy.⁵¹ He published two academic disputations on Saint Ladislaus, the Knight King and

38 RMK III. 1189

39 RMNy 1133

40 ECSEDY 1999. 103–104.

41 RMNy 1494

42 RMNy 1059, 1061, 1072, 1091, 1324, 1380, 1560, 1602.

43 RMNy 1637, 1991

44 Special mention should be made of his support for the work of David Frölich, mathematician and astronomer of Késmárk: RMNy 1680, 1758, 1820

45 RMNy 1990

46 A monograph by Noémi Viskolcz on the part the court in Pottendorff played in cultural history will be published soon. The present study is partly based on the findings of her still unpublished: *Nádasdy Ferenc pottendorffi udvara és könyvtára*. Bp., 2007, (*A Kárpát-medence koraijkori könyvtárai*) – in progress.

47 ECSEDY 1999. 137–138.

48 RMK III. 2254, Nóra Etényi: *A nürnbergi nyilvánosság és a Nádasdy Mausoleum*. In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*. Ed.: Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy, István György Tóth. Bp., 2002, MTA TTI (Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kötetek. 2.) 121–137.

49 RMK III. 2397

50 Here we will not provide a list of the occasional publications connected to the members of the Nádasdy family.

51 RMK III. 2058, 6387

the Miles Marianus⁵². Miklós Falusy wrote one of them (1648),⁵³ Ferenc Pakay the other (1667).⁵⁴

On 3 September 1670 Ferenc Nádasdy was arrested and charged with conspiracy against the emperor and on 30 April 1671 he was executed in Wiener Neustadt.⁵⁵ Several people wished to acquire the Pottendorff Library of the baron who was sentenced to death and confiscation of property. The first selection was made for the Imperial Library although the books did not reach the Library in Vienna until 1678.⁵⁶ Another part was given to Paul Hoher von Hochengrün, Imperial High Chancellor while the rest was offered to the Servitan monastery in Loretom. Out of this latter lot further books were selected for and taken to the emperor's library in 1678.⁵⁷ The old stock of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek was selected several times and the surplus items were sold while the books of the Servite monastery in

Loretom were transported to the University Library of Budapest in 1787 out of which stock many books were lost over the centuries. Thus the Nádasdy Library of Pottendorff containing more than 1000 books was scattered. So far less than 50 books have been discovered. The archival sources reveal a modern collection in many languages (Latin, German, Italian, French and Hungarian). Theological books still held an important position in the library but these were mainly written by contemporary authors. There were books on history, the modern theory of the state and politics, while numerous works of literature and art books enriched the collection. The books were lined up in thematic order on the shelves so we venture to say that it was the first library in Hungary where the intention was to create a treasury as well as establish a useful and diverse library.



52 The tradition of „Hungary as Mary's land" was revived in the second half of the 17th century and strengthened into a campaign in the 18th century.

53 RMK III. 1694

54 RMK III. 2384

55 The news of the execution and its official justification was reported in most European languages at the time.

56 ADATTÁR 13/2. 101–106.

57 ADATTÁR 13/4. (in progress)



EXECUTION OF PÉTER ZRÍNYI, FERENC NÁDASDY AND FERENC FRANGEPÁN, WITHOUT DATE, OSZK APP. M. 362, COPPER ENGRAVING

1.



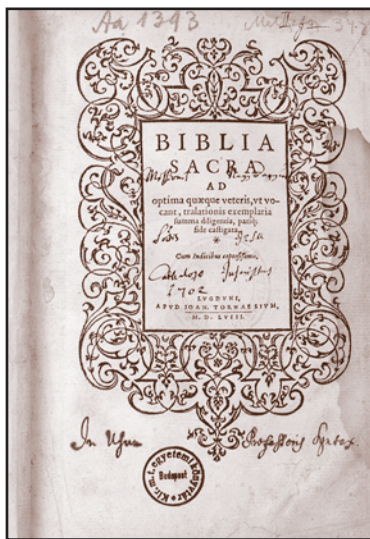
DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. PORTRAIT OF TAMÁS NÁDASDY (*Unknown painter, 16th century*) Oil, canvas 226×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.8



2. PORTRAIT OF ORSOLYA KANIZSAY (*Unknown painter, 16th century*) Oil, canvas 227×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.2

3. BIBLIA SACRA *ad optima quaeque veteris, ut vocant, translationis exemplaria summa diligentia, parique fide castigata.* Lugduni, 1558, Joannes Tornaesius. 8° University Library, Budapest, M 342

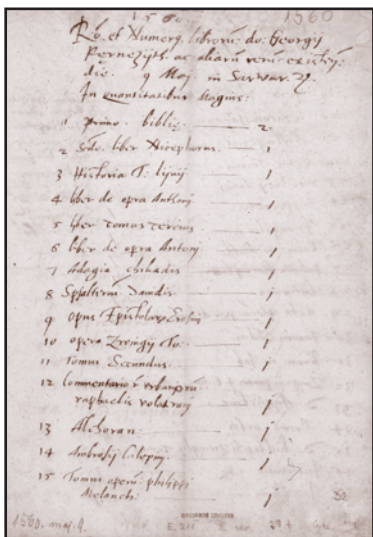


This book was owned by György Csirke who must have bought it either in Vienna or Wittenberg where he studied with and stayed in the home of Melanchthon. György Csirke returned to Hungary in 1560 and gave this book as a gift to Tamás Nádasdy's son, the young Ferenc. The book contains the dedication as well as the autograph notes of several professors of Wittenberg such as Georg Maior, Joachim Camerarius, Paul Eber and that of the Master, Philipp Melanchthon. See: Ágnes Ritoók Szalay: *Albani Csirke György, Melanchthon magyar tanítványa.* Diakónia, 1980/2. 15–21.; Katalin Keveházi: *Melanchthon-autográfok a történelmi Magyarországon.* In: *Tanulmányok a lutheri reformáció történetéből.* Ed.: Tibor Fabiny. Bp., 1984. 165–180. II. 4.

4. SYLVESTER JÁNOS, transl.: Vt Testamentum magyar nyelwen ... (Sárvár) Vyszigethben, 1541, Joannes Strutius, Abádi Benedek. 8° RMNy 49, OSZK RMK I. 15 and facsimile



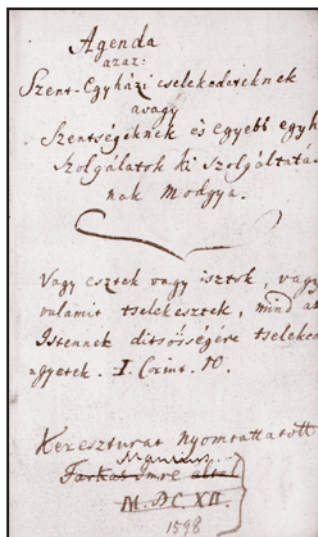
The publication of the first complete New Testament in Hungarian is connected to the book culture of the court in Sárvár. The translation followed the principles of Erasmus. One of Sylvester's main aims was to prove the expressiveness of the Hungarian language rather than serving the purposes of the Reformation. It is dedicated to Francis I, King of Hungary. The united coat of arms of Tamás Nádasdy and Orsolya Kanizsai can be found on the last page.



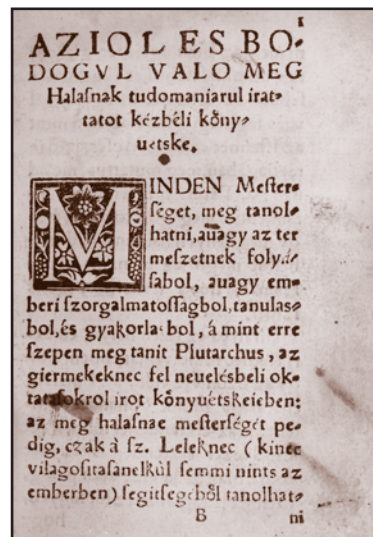
5. THE BOOK LIST OF GYÖRGY PERNESZITH (?–1560) Hungarian National Archives, E 211 Lymbus III. ser. 29. t. Nr. 6.; ADATTÁR 13. 12–14.

Perneszi, the intendant in Sárvár often travelled to Vienna, Graz or perhaps even Venice to purchase goods (spices, stationery, cloth and tapestry, etc.). His book list suggests that he must have been a man of culture considering his status in society. His reading in humanism and the literature of the early Reformation is outstanding. This may have characterised the Nádasdy court, too.

6. AGENDA, azaz szent-egyházi cselekedeteknek avagy szentségeknél és egyéb egyházi szolgálatok kiszolgáltatásának módja. Keresztúr, 1598, Johann Manlius. 8° RMNy 833, OSZK RMK I. 433

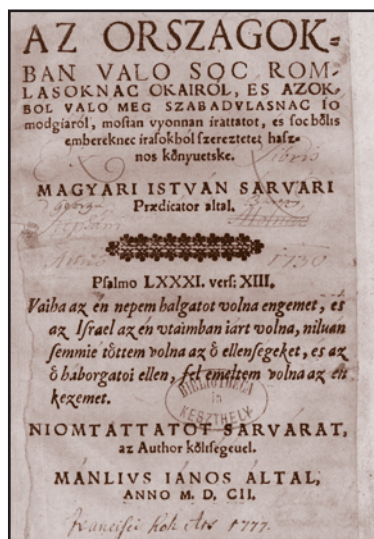


Lutheran Agenda used by the ministers residing on the Nádasdy estates and in the neighbourhood of Sopron. A reprint is known to have come out in 1620 from the print shop of Csepreg also financed by the Nádasdy family (RMNy 1221).

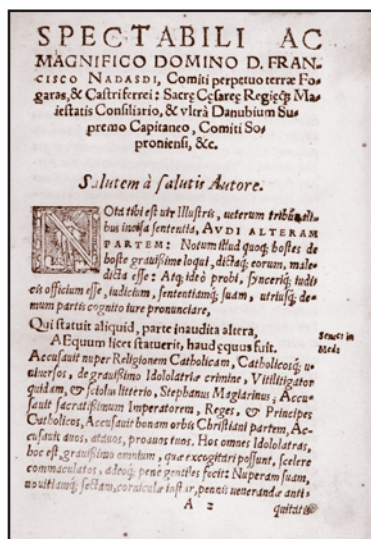


7. MAGYARI ISTVÁN, transl.: Kezbeli könyuetske az iol es bodogul valo meg balasnac mesterlégeröl. Mostan vyonnan Beust Ioachimnac irasabol magyarra fordittatot ... Saruarat, 1600, Johannes Manlius. 8° RMNy 869, OSZK RMK I. 315 István Magyar (1605) was a minister in the Sárvár court. The fact of the translation indicates planned cultural activities and the Nádasdy Library must have had a copy of it: Joachum Beust: *Enchiridion de arte bene beatique moriendi*. Lipsiae, 1593, Johannes Beyer. Mihály Zvonarics (1570?–1625) also worked at the court and published Andreas Osiander's *Papa non papa, hoc est papae et papicolarum de praecipuis Christianae doctrinae partibus Lutherana confessio* (originally published in Tubingae in 1599 by Georg Gruppenbach) (RMNy 902) in Manlius's print shop in Keresztúr.

8. ISTVÁN MAGYARI: *Az országokban való soc romlásoknac okairól, es azokbol való meg szabaddulásnac io módgiaról ... hasznos könyuetske. Sarvarat, 1602, Johannes manlius. 4° RMNy 890, OSZK RMK I. 379*

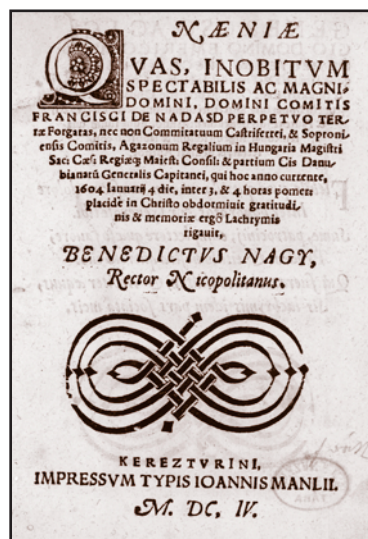


The book dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy is a disputation, following the premise of the historical school at Wittenberg: “the Turks as God’s scourge” (Turca Dei flagellum). Magyari suggests to the magnates of the country a way of winning liberation from the Turks by staying faithful to true Lutheranism and by ceasing to live in sin and dissension. The leading figure of the Catholics, Péter Pázmány responded to this:

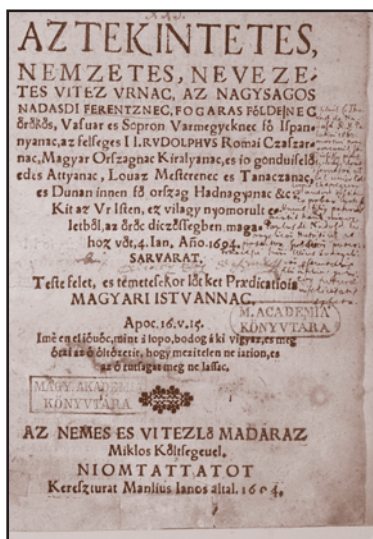


9. PÁZMÁNY PÉTER: *Felelet az Magiari Istvan sarvari prædicatornak az ország romlása okairul irt könieuere ... Nagyszombatban, 1603, typis Capituli Strigoniensis. 4° RMNy 905, OSZK RMK I. 385*

10. BENEDEK NAGY: *Naeniae ... Kerezturini, 1604, Johannes Manlius. 4° RMNy 912, OSZK RMK II. 321*
Elegy for the death of Ferenc Nádasdy, “the Black Lord” in 1604:

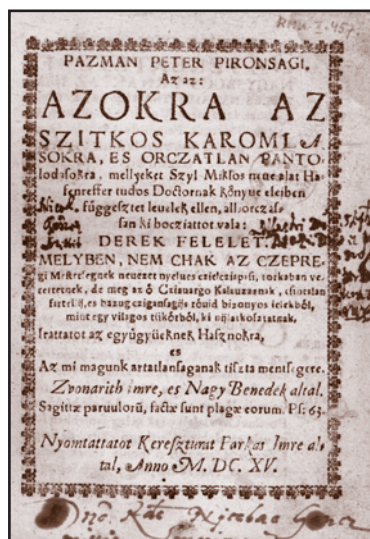


THE NÁDASDY COURTS IN SÁRVÁR AND POTTENDORFF AND THEIR BOOK CULTURE



11. ISTVÁN MAGYARI: *Az tekintetes ... Nadasdi Ferencnek ... teste felet es temetesekor löt ket praedikatio ... Kereszturat, 1604, Johannes Manlius. RMNy 913, MTAK*

Elegies in a number of languages were published in several print shops commemorating the death (on 4 January, 1604 in Sárvár) of the general known all over contemporary Europe. A few examples are shown:



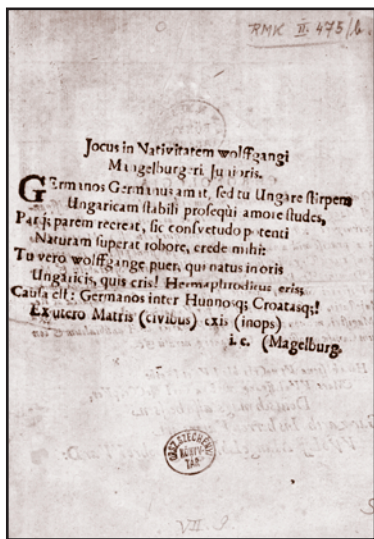
12. IMRE ZVONARICS, BENEDEK NAGY: *Pazman Peter pirozsági, az az okra az szitkos karomlásokra es orczatlan pantolodásokra, melyeket Szyl Miklos neve alatt Hafnenreffer tudos doctornak könyve eleiben all-orczassan ki boczaított vala, derek felelet ... Kereszturat, 1615, Farkas Imre. 4° RMNy 1091, OSZK RMK I. 457.*

István Lethenyi (1580?–1643) and Imre Zvonarics (1575?–1721) ministers patronised by Pál Nádasdy were able to participate in serious disputations, with the help of the print shop of Csepreg, with Péter Pázmány, the best known figure among the Catholics. Among Pázmány's books, his *Kalauz* (Pozsony, 1613, RMNy 1059) and his writings attacking the Lutheran ministers active on the Nádasdy estates, especially *Csepregi mesterség* (Bécs, 1614, RMNy 1061) evoked strong responses. Zvonarics translated Matthias Haffenreffer's *Loci theologici, certo methodo ac racione in tres libros tributi*. Tubingae, 1600, Georg Gruppenbach (Keresztur, 1614, RMNy 1072), and wrote *Pazman Peter pirozsági* in 1615.



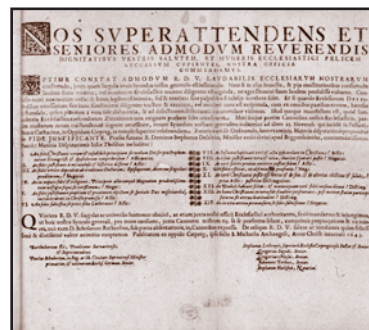
13. ISTVÁN CSÁKTORNYAI LOSSICS, resp.; *Jacobus Martin, praes.: Disputatio logica ... De argumenti dialectici inventione ... Wittenberg, 1614, Johannes Gormann. 4° OSZK RMK III. 1135* Lossics's patrons were Pál Nádasdy, the court minister Mihály Zvonarics and the teacher of the court Jakob Mockius. Pál Nádasdy financed the studies of numerous students abroad and seems to have been constantly active at church organization and in supporting the education of young ministers and teachers. Many of his alumni are known, such as István Potyondi (Wittenberg, 1614, RMK III. 1140), Miklós Galgóczi (Wittenberg, 1619, RMK III. 1265), and István Csáktornyai Lossics.

14. **JOCUS IN NATIVITATEM** *Wolfgangi Mangelburgeri junioris*. Csepreg, 1631–1632, Farkas Imre. OSZK RMNy 1492



Similar to other Protestant magnates of Western Transdanubia, Pál Nádasdy received European refugees who were persecuted in their countries for their religious beliefs. One of these refugees was Wolfgang Mangelburger and his family who found asylum in Sopronkeresztúr, another was the Saxon Gregor Gerber who lived on Pál Nádasdy's estate in Porgelin from 1617 until 1620 when he left for Upper Hungary (RMNy 2027).

15. **PORTRAIT OF FERENC NÁDASDY** (*Unknown painter*) Oil, canvas 228×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.5



16. **NOS SUPERATTENDENS ET SENIORES admodum reverendis dignitatibus vestris salutem et muneris ecclesiastici felicem successum cupiens nostra officia commendamus ... synodum nostram generalem indicimus ad diem 25. Novembris, ... in oppidum Csepreg ... 1643.** Csepreg, 1643, Farkas Imre. Fol. RMNy 1990, OSZK RMK II. 618/a

THE NÁDASDY COURTS IN SÁRVÁR AND POTTENDORFF AND THEIR BOOK CULTURE

17. *ATLAS MAIOR, sive Cosmographia Blaviana, qua solum, salum, coelum accuratissime describuntur. Tom. 1-11. Amstelodami 1662, Labore et sumptibus Ioannis Blaeu. OSZK Map Collection TA 360/1-11*

Blaeu dedicated the Latin version published in 1662 to Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Hungary. The title-pages feature the printing insignia of the Blaeu family the central motif of which is an



The most beautiful and probably the most comprehensive cosmography of the 17th century was printed in Amsterdam, edited and financed by Joannes Blaeu. This huge undertaking was the crowning of the activities of not one person but the whole of the big Blaeu family's officina in the field of map printing. Similarly to other Dutch publishing houses, the map printing of the Blaeu officina was only in part the result of their own original map-making. Most of the maps they printed were based on the publications of other print shops. The large book in eleven volumes written in Latin, comprising 1000 different map sheets and other prints was preceded by the successive publications of an atlas which came out in different numbers of volumes. This huge atlas, in fact, is a snapshot of the knowledge of the 17th century. Joannes

armillary sphere, a tool of astronomers referring to Willem Janszoon Blaeu, astronomer and instrument-maker, the founder of the officina. The majority of the surviving copies of this beautiful atlas were illuminated in the workshop of the officina, bound most often in white parchment adorned with gold. These luxury atlases must have been the jewels of any library. In the copy possessed by the National Széchényi Library there is a modern stamp from the 20th century referring to the fact that it probably belonged to Duke Esterházy's Library in Tata before entering the public collection. On the beautifully coloured pages of our copy there are hardly any stains so its former owners must have taken special care of it. Ferenc Nádasdy's Library also possessed a copy of this *Atlas maior*.

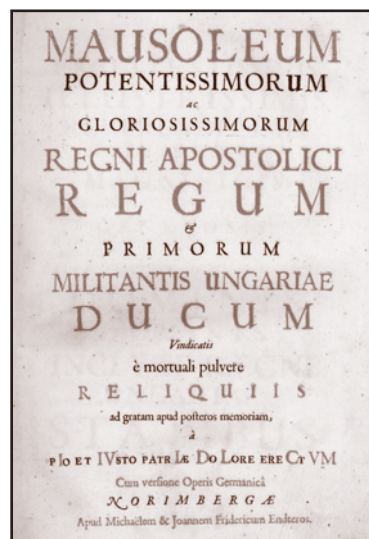
18. REGNI HUNGARIAE nova et exactissima delineatio. Amstelodami, 1664, Joannes Blaeu, 49×47 cm, OSZK Map Collection TR 7 080
Two years after the publication of the Latin *Atlas maior*, Joannes Blaeu came out with a new map of Hungary dedicated to the then Lord Chief Justice, Count Ferenc Nádasdy. In the dedication the printer calls Nádasdy his



patron which makes us believe that the Lord Chief Justice and count must have been a highly esteemed client of the Blaeu Officina in Amsterdam. This map differed from the other contemporary maps of Hungary. Most researchers consider that Count Nádasdy must have been behind these changes. Their assumption is reinforced by the fact that most of the differences compared to former maps of Hungary happen to be regarding Transdanubia and the Western part of Hungary where the Lord Chief Justice had most of his estates. When carefully studying the differences between the earlier map of the Blaeu Officina and the one dedicated to Nádasdy it is easy to see a book containing new data as a source of the atlas which came out in 1664. This new source was Martin Stier's book entitled *Landskarten des Königreich Ungarn, und dennen andern angrantzten Königreiche, Fürstenthumen,*

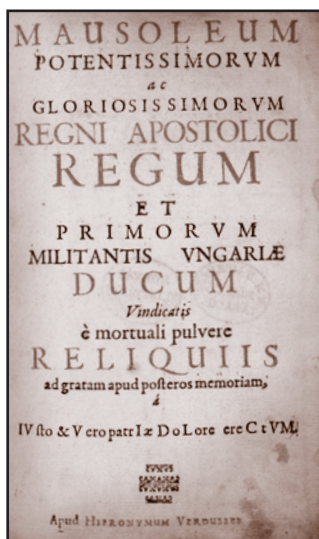
und Landschaftten ... published in Vienna also in 1664. A recent researcher (Zoltán Fallenbüchl, OSZK Évkönyv, 1978. Bp., 1980. 357–389) assumes that the *Atlas maior* which belonged to Count Ferenc Nádasdy's Library and the special edition of the map of Hungary printed on parchment and dedicated to him must have been acquired by the Esterházy family. Duke Pál Esterházy was the brother-in-law of the Lord Chief Justice Count Ferenc Nádasdy and bought his confiscated estates and castles in Western Hungary along with all the properties there. This assumption is even further reinforced by the following two facts: first, this special edition of a map of Hungary printed on parchment can now be found among the archival material of the Duke Esterházy family in the National Archives of Hungary and second, that the *Atlas maior* in eleven volumes used to belong to the Tata branch of the Esterházy family.

19. NÁDASDY FERENC, dedication; Nicolaus Avancini, verses in Latin, Sigmund van Birken, verses in German: Mausoleum ... Regni Apostolici Regum et ... Ungariae Ducum ... Norimbergae, 1664, Michael et Joannes Fridericus Endtmer. 2° RMK III. 2254, OSZK



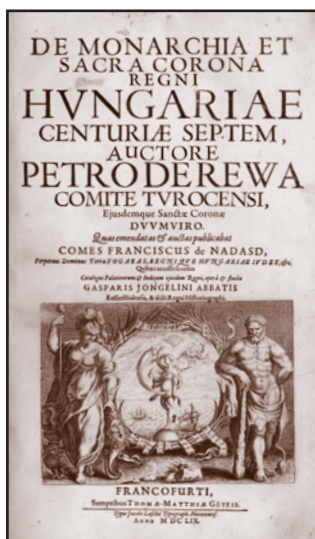
Nádasdy dedicated this book to the estates of Hungary. His intention was to promote the idea of the independent Hungarian Kingdom by introducing the kings and marshals of old times. He wrote a separate panegyric in Latin and German for each king and marshal.

20. NÁDASDY FERENC, *dedication; Nicolaus Avancini, verses in Latin, Sigmund van Birken, verses in German: Mausoleum ... Regni Apostolici Regum et ... Ungariae Ducum ... Pottendorff, 1667, Hieronymus Verdussen. 8° RMK III. 2397, OSZK*



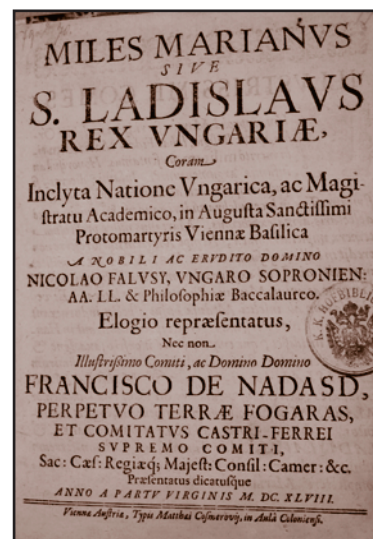
Nádasdy had the text of the Mausoleum published in Nuremberg reprinted in 1664 in the print shop established at his court (RMK III. 2254).

The idea of Hungary as a Christian kingdom independent from the Habsburgs was expressed in many ways. Péter Révay wrote a monograph of the Holy Crown, Melchior Inchofer outlined Hungarian church history and also revived the idea of “Hungary as Mary’s Land”, while others wrote dissertations on Saint Ladislaus, the Hungarian Saint Knight. All these publications were financed by Ferenc Nádasdy. Later Pál Esterházy also adhered to this idea.



21. PÉTER RÉVAY: *De Monarchia et Sacra Corona Regni Hungariae centuriae septem ... ejusdemque Sanctae Coronae dvumviro, quas emendatas et auctas publicabat Comes Franciscus de Nadasd ... Quibus accessit seorsim Catalogus Palatinorum et Iudicum ejusdem Regni, opera et studio Gasparis Jongelini ... Francofurti, 1659, Jacobus Lasché. RMK III. 2058, OSZK.*

The publication of the book was financed by Ferenc Nádasdy. It was reprinted in the same print shop in the same year in a new edition (RMK III. 6387).



22. MIKLÓS FALUSY: *Miles Marianus, sive S. Ladislaus Rex Ungariae ... Viennae Austriae, 1648, Matthaeus Cosmerovius. RMK III. 1694, ÖNB*

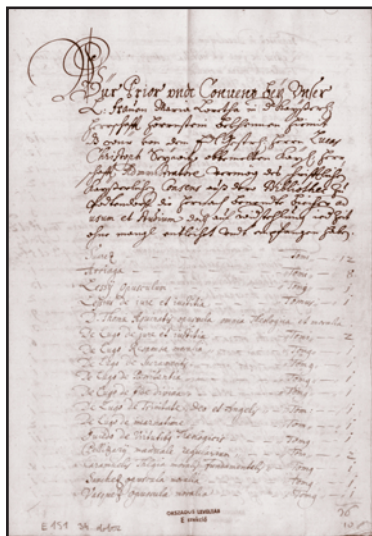
Miklós Falusy, a student in Sopron participated in a disputation in 1648 for his baccalaureate. He dedicated his thesis to Ferenc Nádasdy.

23. THE EXECUTION OF FERENC NÁDASDY, 1671. Copper engraving, 170x275 mm (C. Meyens) *Vera et deducta descriptio criminalium processuum et secuti supplicii in tres reos comites Franciscum de Nadasd, Petrum a Zrin et Franciscum Christophorum Frangepani. Viennae Austriae, 1671, Matthaeus Cosmerovius. Fol. RMK III. 2550, OSZK*



Numerous books were published about the execution of Ferenc Nádasdy, Péter Zrínyi and Kristóf Frangepán in 1671 and 1672. These are, for the most part, publications of Habsburg propaganda justifying the execution.

24. A PART OF FERENC NÁDASDY'S CONFISCATED LIBRARY was taken to Lovettom, 1672–1673. Hungarian National Archives, E 150 Acta Ecclesiastica, Irregestata, 20 t. Nr. 2–3. Fasc. M. These booklists mention only a part of the books since another part was directly taken to Vienna to the Library of the Emperor while a third part was acquired by other families.



25. TARIFFA, ÜBER DAS FEIN-SILBER ... durch Johann Haintzelmann ... calculiert ... Augsburg, 1622, Johann Ulrich Schönigk. University Library, Budapest, Bar. Ec 20

This book deserves special attention since in other contemporary libraries we cannot find a manual on how to estimate the value of silver. The oldest known Nádasdy book plate survived in this book discovered by Gábor Farkas.



26. EX LIBRIS FRANCISCI DE NADASD, 1646. OSZK 502 040

This book plate commissioned by Ferenc Nádasdy in 1646 survived glued into a book of later date: Mátyás Bél: *Apparatus ad historiam Hungariae ... Posonii, 1735*, Joannes Paulus Royer. It is possible that the old engravings still in the family's possession were customarily used by later generations as a mark of ownership. Noémi Viskolcz's discovery.

KERESZTYEN
SENECA,

Az az
LUCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
Leveleiből ki-fzedetett,
Es xxxviii. Részre osztatott,
KERESZTYENI
VIRAGOK.

*Mellyek az Tekéntetes
és Nagyságos*

GROFF BATTYANI
ADAM, &c.

ő Nagysága akarattyából.
Diákból magyarra, most
elsőben fordítottak és költsé-
gével ki-nyomtattattak.

Nyomtatta Béchben, A'Koloniai Ud-
varban Cosmerovius Máte.

M. DC. LIV. esztendőben.