

ISTVÁN MONOK

## THE BATTYÁNY COURT IN NÉMETÚJVÁR AND ITS BOOK CULTURE



**THE BATTYÁNY LIBRARY** in Németújvár stands out among the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian aristocratic libraries known today by their contents and the history of their establishment. The court in Németújvár became one of the most influential cultural establishments by the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries with its international humanistic network, its members active in the scientific, cultural and church life of Hungary, its school, its press and not the least its library.

By the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Battyány family became strong enough to hold high positions.<sup>1</sup> Boldizsár Battyány's (around 1452–1519) highest title was Deputy to the Lord Chief Justice (1518–1520) while Boldizsár Battyány II (?–after 1525) was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber at the end of his life. Ferenc Battyány I (1497–1566) held the title of Master of the Royal Horses and Chief Bailiff of Vas county (1525–1543).

This present exhibition will focus on the book culture of three generations of this family. Boldizsár Battyány (1537–1590)<sup>2</sup> became Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia from 1568 on. His son, Ferenc (1573–1625)<sup>3</sup> was Master of the Royal Horses,

Chief Bailiff of Sopron county, Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia while his grandson, Ádám (1610–1659)<sup>4</sup> held the title of Chancellor of the Emperor, the King's Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia.

The family owned a number of palaces and mansions but besides Szalónak, Rohonc, Dobra and Körmend, they lived mainly in Németújvár in the period concerned.

Similarly to many aristocratic families in Hungary at the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Boldizsár, the head of the family, converted to Protestantism. The young man involved in Lutheranism stayed in France between 1559 and 1561 where he witnessed the first stages of the Huguenots' persecution. Seeing the violence and following the ecclesiastic disputes in print<sup>5</sup>, his Helvetian beliefs were reinforced. In areas where the population was of different religions the separation of Protestant churches lasted very long, up until the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the Battyány court during the lives of Boldizsár and Ferenc, his son the Calvinists were dominant. After Ferenc's death a "Lutheran turn" is said to have taken place. Ádám Battyány de-

1 One of the most complete genealogical accounts is András Koltai: *Battyány Ádám és könyvtára*. Budapest–Szeged, 2002, OSZK–Scriptum Rt. (A Kárpát-medence koraújkori könyvtárai. Bibliotheken im Karpatenbecken der frühen Neuzeit. IV.) (KOLTAI 2002) 284–291.

2 His wife was Dorotya Zrínyi.

3 Married to Eva Poppel Lobkowitz.

4 His wives were Aurora Formentini and then Catharina Wittmann.

5 Péter Ötvös gave an up-to-date portrait of Boldizsár in his introduction: *Bibliotheken in Güssing im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Ed.: István Monok, Péter Ötvös. Band II: István Monok–Péter Ötvös–Edina Zvara: Balthasar Battyány und seine Bibliothek. Eisenstadt, 2004. (Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderband XXVI.) (MONOK-ÖTVÖS-ZVARA 2004)

cided in 1629 to convert to Catholicism and in 1640 he invited Franciscan friars to Németújvár.<sup>6</sup>

A number of prominent figures visited Németújvár, stayed or settled down there for shorter or longer periods<sup>7</sup> due to several factors: the changes in the Batthyány family's religious views, the locality of the Batthyány property – situated at the border of the Austrian hereditary provinces, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Turkish Empire – and most of all Boldizsár's intellectual openness<sup>8</sup>, and the entourage accompanying Ferenc and Ádám's brides. The Protestant school supported by Boldizsár and Ferenc, the press and Ádám's "court school" were all attractive institutions for the contemporaries.<sup>9</sup> Given the tight framework of the present study it is impossible to give a complete list of all these persons but the most prominent ones should be mentioned. Among the Protestant ministers István Beythe, István Pathai, and János Pálffy of Kanizsa<sup>10</sup> are outstanding but a number of exulants from Styria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Pfalz, Württemberg and Bavaria who were employed on the

estates should not be forgotten either.<sup>11</sup> Many of them donated books to the family and the school's libraries.<sup>12</sup> With Ádám Batthyány's conversion to Catholicism a new network was built around the court. Among the Catholic ecclesiastics residing in Németújvár the Jesuit Mátyás Vernich, the parish priest Mihály Lónyi and the Franciscan friars Antal Nagy, Sámuel Kéri and Gergely Malonfalvay deserve mention. It is to be noted that the modernity of Ádám's court and the education of his sons (Kristóf and Pál) was noticed by foreign contemporaries.<sup>13</sup>

Further enrichment of the family library was provided in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the extensive network of scholars. We can call it "a humanist circle" with good reason since David Chytraeus,<sup>14</sup> Carolus Clusius,<sup>15</sup> Elias Corvinus,<sup>16</sup> and Johann Kepler visited Németújvár.<sup>17</sup> Among the correspondents, the scientist Felizian von Herberstein, the physicians Nicolaus Pistolotius, Joannes Homelius and Cesaro Franco and the architect Pietro Ferrabosco are the most outstanding.<sup>18</sup>

6 András Koltai gives a concise account of the religious involvement of the generations in the family as well as of the confessional composition of their court, along with a complete bibliography: KOLTAI 2002. 5–8, 16–20, 24–29.; See also: Sándor Eckhardt: Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarnál. *Magyarságtudomány*, 1943. 36–44.

7 Cf. István Monok: Die kulturvermittelnde Rolle des Batthyány-Hofes an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert. In: *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur, Literatur und Presse in Westungarn/Burgenland*. Ed.: Wynfrid Krieglleder, Andrea Seidler. Bremen, 2004, Edition Lumičre, 75–90. (MONOK 2004)

8 One of the most interesting examples of this is the acquisition of a picture by Pieter Brueghel, Sr. Cf. Imre Katona: *Brueghel és a Batthyányak*. Bp., 1979, Magvető Kiadó

9 See an exemplary analysis of Ádám's court life detailing the antecedents: KOLTAI 2002.

10 Imre Katona: *A Batthyányak és a reformáció*. Savaria 5–6 (1971–72) 435–466.

11 Cf. István Monok: *Württembergi exulánsok Batthyány Ferenc udvarában*. MKsz 2003. 205–211., Monok: *Exulanten aus Bayern, Oberpfalz und Pfalz am Batthyány-Hof an der Wende des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Ungarn Jahrbuch 2004 [2005], 225–234.

12 Cf. István Monok: *Die Bibliothek des Johann Jacob Knaus*. Die Reste einer württembergischen protestantischen Bibliothek in Güssing. In: *Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Kulturinstitutes in Stuttgart*. Ed.: Gyula Kurucz. Stuttgart, 2003. 138–146.

13 Cf. István Monok: *Egy flamand utazó pozsonyi élményei 1662-ből*. – *De belevenissen van een Vlaams reiziger in Pozsony (1662)*. Erasmus. 1989. tavasz. 31–34., publication of the travel book: Monok: *A Belga Királyi Könyvtár magyar vonatkozású útleírásai*. Lymbus. Művelődéstörténeti Tár. I. Szeged, 1989. 37–76. Klny.: *A Lymbus Füzetei* 3.

14 Cf. Béla Holl: *Adatok David Chytraeus magyarországi vonatkozásairól*. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*. Tomus XVIII. Szeged, 1981. 55–63.

15 *Führer durch die Clusius-Gedächtnisstätten in Güssing*. Bearb. von Stephan Aumüller. Mit zwei Beiträgen von Otto Guglia. Eisenstadt, 1973.; *Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse) im pannonischen Raum*. Eisenstadt, 1973. (Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderheft V.)

16 Ödön Szabolcs Barlay: *Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanisten Kreis*. *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1979. 231–251.; Szabolcs Barlay: *Elias Corvinus és magyar barátai*. *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1977. 345–353.

17 Kepler may have visited Németújvár when, as a sign of solidarity, he left the university demonstrating against the persecution of the Protestants of Graz.

18 András Koltai: *A Batthyány család körmendi központi levéltárának kutatástörténete*. *Levéltári Közlemények*, 2000. 207–231. Dóra Bobody is working on the publication of Boldizsár Batthyány's correspondence.

It is also due to the lively intellectual life that Johannes Manlius (1540? –1605?) moved his press to Németújvár in 1582 first until 1585 and then from 1595 to 1597. He published 22 books altogether during these periods,<sup>19</sup> including scholarly books such as Carolus Clusius' list of the plants of Pannonia or András Beythe's herbarium<sup>20</sup> in addition to occasional publications, calendars and protestant disputes. Manlius also published books under the patronage of Boldizsár Batthyány's brother-in-law, György Zrínyi in Varasd (1586–1587), in Monyorókerék (1587–1592) and in Németlövő (1592–1593). After his second stay in Németújvár he worked in Keresztúr and Sárvár (1601–1605) under the patronage of the Nádasdy family.

Several documents concerning the history of the Németújvár Library have survived but unfortunately the catalogue of the family's library has not. On the other hand, we have invoices drawn up by Erhardt Hiller (Vienna), Erhardt Widmar (Graz) and Jean Aubry (Frankfurt-am-Main), stating the books Boldizsár purchased. This list of titles is complemented by the books which survived first of all in the collection of the Protestant school of Németújvár saved by the Franciscan friary there. The passages in his correspondence where books are mentioned bear witness to Boldizsár's taste in books.<sup>21</sup> That taste was different from the contemporary aristocrats' in several respects<sup>22</sup>.

In this region the medium for written culture was German and Italian beside Latin. The Batthyány court ordered books, paper or modern everyday items

(such as furniture, cutlery, new seeds, or plants, etc.) mainly from Graz or Vienna but also often from Venice through the bailiffs of the Zrínyi family, their relatives.<sup>23</sup> Boldizsár Batthyány and the generations of his family in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were of French orientation<sup>24</sup> – a unique phenomenon among the Hungarian aristocratic families of their time. This cannot be claimed to have had political motivation although the French plans concerning the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and the related political ideas of world powers were not unacceptable for the members of the Batthyány family. In any case, by using the French language in their family they were well in advance of other East European aristocratic families. Jean Aubry, one of the publishers providing books to Boldizsár was the son-in-law of André Wechel who, as a Huguenot printer, the head of the family must have met while in Paris.<sup>25</sup> This is how the literature of the French wars of religion and French literature itself reached Németújvár and then the Protestant school through the generous donation of the aristocrat.<sup>26</sup> It was not by chance that the publications of the Huguenot printer, Robert Estienne of Geneva can be found in the school library.<sup>27</sup> In general it can be stated that the tolerant tone of the religious disputes in the Western part of Hungary was greatly helped by the religious diversity represented in the Protestant school library that was mainly formed of Boldizsár's donations: almost all trends in Calvinist and Lutheran religion were present there including the extremist non-conformist religious views.

19 An account can be found in Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kéziszajtó korában 1473–1800*. Bp., 1999, Balassi Kiadó, 70–73, and Judit V. Ecsedy: *A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és díszei 1473–1600*. Bp., 2004, Balassi Kiadó (Hungaricae Typographica I.) 117–122.

20 RMNy 535, and RMNy 811

21 Cf. An account with bibliography: MONOK–ÖTVÖS–ZVARA 2004

22 For the most complete description of his activity as a collector of books cf.: Béla Iványi: *Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát*. In: *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából*. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése. Ed.: János Herner, István Monok. Szeged, 1983 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 11. – ADATTÁR 11.) 389–435

23 From time to time György Zrínyi would draw his brother-in-law's attention to some interesting books: ADATTÁR 11. 553–554.

24 István Monok: *A francia könyv jelenléte a magyarországi olvasmányanyagban a 16–18. században*. In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*. Ed.: Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy, István György Tóth. Bp., 2002, MTA TTI (Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kötetek. 2.) S. 279–290.

25 MONOK–ÖTVÖS–ZVARA 2004. 19–99., Robert Evans: *The Wechel Presses. Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627*. Oxford, 1975 (Past and Present. Supplement, 2.)

26 MONOK–ÖTVÖS–ZVARA 2004. Items published in Bordeaux, Geneva, Lyonban, Montbéliard, Morsee and Paris

27 MONOK–ÖTVÖS–ZVARA 2004. Nos. 60, 66, 441.

Very little is known of Ferenc Batthyány's book purchases. His relationship to contemporary Hungarian intellectuals such as Bálint Balassi, Kristóf Lackner, Albert Szenci Molnár, etc. is documented, as well as the openness of his court in receiving even exulants (persons expelled for reasons of religion). The cultural horizon of modern ideas reaching the Batthyány estates was widened by his wife, Eva Poppel Lobkowitz (1585?–1640) and the courtiers accompanying her. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War a number of Protestant ministers arrived from the Bohemian, Pfalz and Silesian territories and were received in their court.<sup>28</sup>

Ferenc Batthyány and his widow stood by the Protestant church of Western Hungary in the midst of growing Catholic attacks while it was dividing into two churches. The disputes between Lutheran and Calvinist priests became the strongest when Ádám Batthyány converted to Catholicism and withdrew his support from the Protestants.<sup>29</sup> Ferenc Batthyány was well aware of the need to establish a press for the church he was supporting and that is why he bought, on advice from János Kanizsai Pálffy, the Viennese Johann Fidler's press in 1615.<sup>30</sup> Between 1617 and 1619 Máté Szepesváraljai Bernhard was the printer when four publications are known to have appeared although a copy of only one, István Pathai's introduction to the Helvetian Confession has survived.<sup>31</sup> The publications are definitely Calvinist in nature (the press was supervised by Imre Beythe, István Beythe's son). The next pub-

lications came out in Pápa in 1624 where the press stayed until 1632. In 1626 Éva Poppel, the widow of Ferenc Batthyány rented the press to János Zsigmond Wechel (this is the way the name of the printer as lessee is put on the publications). Wechel was a descendant of André Wechel, the Huguenot printer from Frankfurt and the younger brother of Andreas Wechel, the Viennese bookseller who visited Ferenc Batthyány's court in Németújvár.<sup>32</sup> The Wechel family had been in touch with the Hungarian Protestant family ever since Boldizsár Batthyány's stay in Paris so it is no coincidence that Albert Szenci Molnár's translation of Calvin's *Institutio* was published by the successful printing house of the Wechel family in Hanau.<sup>33</sup> Fifteen of the books published by the press in Pápa are known, including writings of important Calvinist authors as well as almanacs and school readers. Among the authors whose books were published in the press, it is worth mentioning the name of János Samarjai who was the most significant Hungarian representative of Irenism, the tolerant theological trend of the time.<sup>34</sup> The press was out of use in Németújvár in 1634 which means that Ádám who converted to Catholicism must have removed it from Pápa. Later on the press was owned by the Protestants (most probably owing to Éva Poppel, Ferenc Batthyány's widow) and was used by Wechel in Tejfalva between 1637 and 1645. His son, András took it over in 1650 in Somorja and later on in Kőszeg (1651–1668?).<sup>35</sup>

28 Cf. Note 8 in MONOK 2004.

29 Cf. Géza Kathona: Samarjai János gyakorlati teológiája. Debrecen, 1939 (Theológiai Tanulmányok 61.) (KATHONA 1939) 338–343.; Béla Holl: Adatok David Chytraeus magyarországi vonatkozásairól. (Beiträge zu den ungarischen Beziehungen von D. Chytraeus.) Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum. Tomus XVIII. Szeged, 1981. 55–63; Gustav Reingrabner: Protestanten in Österreich. Geschichte und Dokumentation. Wien–Köln–Graz, 1981; Gustav Reingrabner (ed.): Evangelisch im Burgenland. 200 Jahre Tolerantpatent. Ausstellung in der evangelischen Kirche zu Oberschützen. 21. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1981. Oberschützen, 1981. 21–57; Pirooska Urai: Az irénizmus Magyarországon a 16–17. század fordulóján. In: Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században. Ed.: Béla Varjas. Bp., 1987, Akadémiai Kiadó (Memoria saeculorum Hungariae 5.) 187–208; Károly Kokas: Könyv és könyvtár a XVI–XVII. századi Kőszegen. Szeged, 1991. (Olvasmánytörténeti Dolgozatok III.), László Pataky: Az őrségi református Egyházmegye története. Bp., 1992, Szabad Tér Kiadó.

30 ECSEDY 1999. 105–109.

31 RMNy 1143A (for the other three Cf: RMNy 1194, 1195, 1196)

32 EVANS 1975.

33 RMNy 1308 (Hanau, 1624, David Aubry) David Aubry's father Jean was André Wechel's son-in-law.

34 KATHONA 1939.

35 Cf. the relevant items in RMNy and RMK I, RMK II.

Ferenc's court followed the contemporary Protestant courts in modernity. That is why the standing orders of the court in Wolffenbüttel came to be in Németújvár.<sup>36</sup> However, the intellectual profile of the court remained decidedly religious. Ferenc and his wife, partly out of constraint, were directly involved in the religious matters on their estates while the dominant personalities of their court were Protestant ministers. This is well demonstrated by the number of sermons held at Ferenc Batthyány's funeral and the languages they were written in (there were 20 Hungarian, 17 German and 5 Croatian sermons to commemorate the death of the aristocrat who passed away on September 13, 1625)<sup>37</sup>.

Ádám Batthyány was still a minor at his father's death so he could exercise his property rights over his estates only with limitations. His childhood was burdened with the bad relationship he had with his mother, which was even further complicated by his conversion to Catholicism.<sup>38</sup> Like other aristocratic young boys of his generation, Ádám read traditional theological works, chronicles and

legal books while contemporary modern history as well as literature in military strategy and fortification also appear in his library. Following in his father's footsteps in paying attention to Hungarian culture, he purchased a large number of Hungarian publications (the proportion of Hungarian books on his book lists is well over the contemporary average). His activity as a patron supporting Hungarian-language Catholic literature and the publication of occasional issues is also significant.<sup>39</sup>

The history of the family library in Németújvár can be fairly well known by studying the archival documents. However, only those books survived which a family member donated to a public collection. The Batthyány family library itself disappeared from view in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and no source is left. It is certain that after the expulsion of the Turks, or maybe even at the end of the 1680s the library was transferred to Körmend<sup>40</sup> where it stayed until the end of World War II. There is no reliable source of information on what has happened to the library after that time.



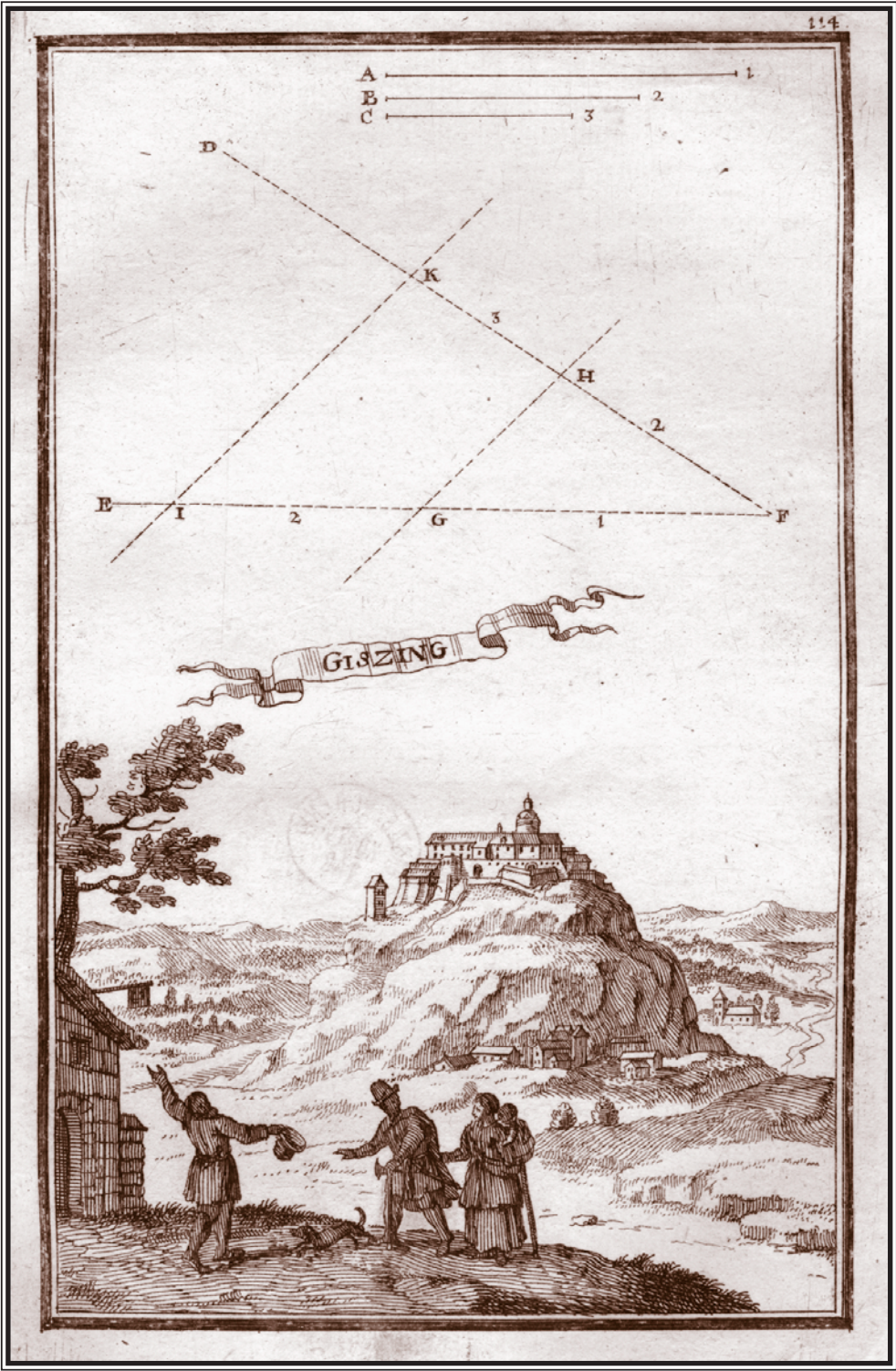
36 Heinrich Herzog von Braunschweig d. Jüngere: *Hoffgerichte ordnung des ... Hern Heinrichs des Jüngerer Hertzogs zu Braunschweig und Lünenburg etc.* Newlich geordnet und auffgreicht. Wolfenbüttel, 1556, Henning Rüden's Erben. – Güssing, Franziskanerkloster 3/25.

37 A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei I. 1527–1625. Iványi Béla anyaggyűjtése. Ed.: László Szilasi. Szeged, 1990. (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 29/1.) 322–329.

38 KOLTAI 2002. 20–29.

39 For the lists and the identification of each item see KOLTAI 2002. 148–268

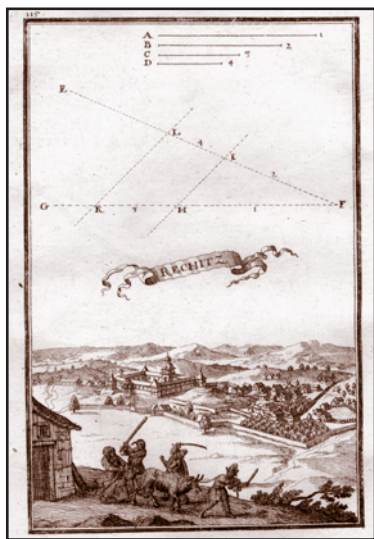
40 KOLTAI 2002. 269.



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## DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

**1. DEPICTION OF NÉMETÚJVÁR** on an engraving (Güssing, Gising) Copper engraving, 170×115 mm (Justus van der Nypoort) Burckhard von Birckenstein, Anton Ernst: Ertzherzogliche Handgriffe dess Zirckels und Linials. Wien, 1686, Johann Van Ghelen. – OSZK App. H. 1217



**2. DEPICTION OF ROHONC (Rechnitz)** Copper engraving, 170×115 mm (Justus van der Nypoort) Burckhard von Birckenstein, Anton Ernst: Ertzherzogliche Handgriffe dess Zirckels und Linials. Wien, 1686. – OSZK App. H. 1217



**3. BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY III,** (Unknown painter, 17<sup>th</sup> century) Oil, canvas 223×140 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 561

**4. THE BOOK INVOICES OF JEAN AUBRY,** the bookseller in Frankfurt and Vienna for Boldizsár Batthyány, 1588 The original: Hungarian National Archives, P 1314 Batthyány család Lt. Missiles, Nr. 1073–1079.

Jean Aubry was a son-in-law of André Wechel (? – 1581), the Huguenot printer who fled from Paris and moved to Frankfurt-on-Main (the other son-in-law was Claude de Marne). Jean Aubry was in charge of the Central European network of clientele. Boldizsár Batthyány was



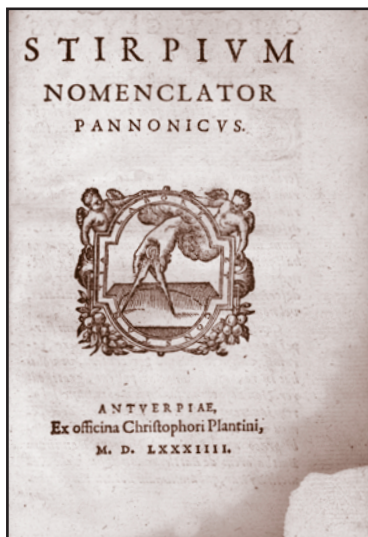
one of his first clients in Hungary. It was in the print shop of Aubry's sons in Hanau that Albert Szenci Molnár's translation of Calvin's *Institutio* was printed (1624, RMNy 1308). The Wechels stayed in close connection with Ferenc Batthyány at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and after his death operated the Protestant Batthyány print shop: András Wechel (Tejfalu, 1637–1645), János Zsigmond Wechel (Somorja, 1650, Kőszeg, 1651–1668?). Cf. R. J. W. Evans: *The Wechel Preses: humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627*. Oxford, 1975, Past and Present Society; Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában, 1473–1800*. Budapest, 1999, Balassi Cop. 105–109.

5. **HOMBERGER, JEREMIAS:** *Viola Martia Ieremiae Hombergeri Fritislariensis. Habet hic libellus piam praeparationem ad percipiendam coenam dominicam forma colloquij inter pastorem et confitentem instituti expositam.* Gyssingae, 1582, Johannes Manlius, 8° RMNy 518, Güssing OFM 1



Lutheran teachings on confession. *Jeremia Hombergerus ... provincialis ecclesiae, quae Augustanae confessionis est pastor dedicatione adolescentulo d. Francisco ... Balthasar Budiani liberi baronis in Gyssingen, domini in Slenningen etc. Rom. caesareae majestatis consilarii, reg. majest. Hungar. archidiaconi filio* Graz date: May 14, 1582. It details the way that confession and absolution is made in the form of question and answer. Manlius was a well known and esteemed printer in Laibach (Ljubljana), who was expelled from the hereditary dominions of Austria by the Catholic court of the Habsburgs when they were informed of his project of printing a Protestant Bible. The Protestant Boldizsár Batthyány welcomed him on his estate in Németújvár. He worked in Hungary to the end of his life, employed by several aristocrats (Zrínyi, Nádasdy, etc.).

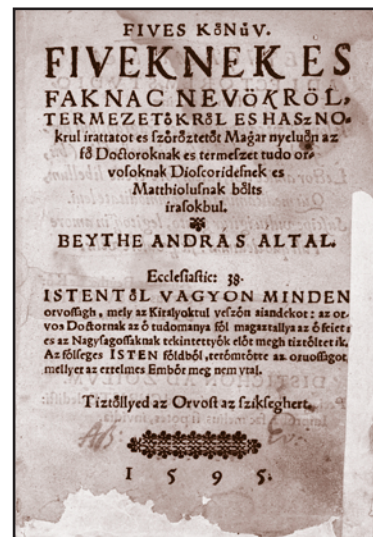
6. **CHARLES DE L'ÉCLUSE:** *Stirpium nomenclator Pannonicus.* Antverpiae, 1584, Christophorus Plantinus, 8° RMNy 538, OSZK RMK I. 205 A Latin-Hungarian dictionary of plants in Hungary. The edition in Németújvár undoubtedly preceded this one (RMNy 536, 1583) based



on the date of the preface and the date of the publication. This is further confirmed by the corrections, which can be found in the text. The main body of the colligatum also contains Hungarian words here and there, especially names of plants. It is very important in Hungarian botany since it states the place of occurrence of 335 plants in Western Hungary for the first time. The two books together mention around 480 different plants in Hungary. The research of flora in Pannonia carried out by Charles de l'Écluse (1526–1609), alias Carolus Clusius, one of the first founders of modern botany, was supported by Boldizsár Batthyány whose minister in Németújvár, István Beythe informed the botanist of the Hungarian names of plants. Charles de l'Écluse was also the Chief Gardener of the Imperial Court in Vienna and the one who first launched the Dutch tulip bulb industry.

7. **ANDRÁS BEYTHE:** *Fives könyv. Fiveknek es faknac nevékről, természetéről es hasznokrul irattat, es szöröztetöt magyar nyelvön az fő doctoroknak es természet tudo orvosoknak Dioscoridesnek es Matthiolusnak böls irasokbul Beythe Andras által.* Nymet Vivaratt, 1595 Johannes Manlius, 4° RMNy 766, OSZK RMK I 278

A medicinal herbal. It lists the well-known Hungarian and Latin names of 275 plants along with the variants of their Hungarian names, their healing properties and applica-



tions in healing. The author, the son of István Beythe, scholar-minister, calls himself the servant of the Protestant parish in Németújvár.

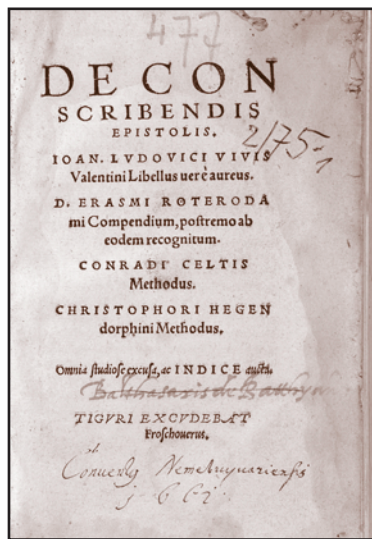


8. ISTVÁN BEYTHE: *Az zentök fő inepíről való evangeliomok, magyarazattal özue, eztendő által. ... – Fő innep napokra való epistolak magyarazattal, eztendő által. ... Nimöt Vj Varat, 1584, Johannes Manlius, 4° RMNy 554, OSZK RMK I 213, RMK I 214*



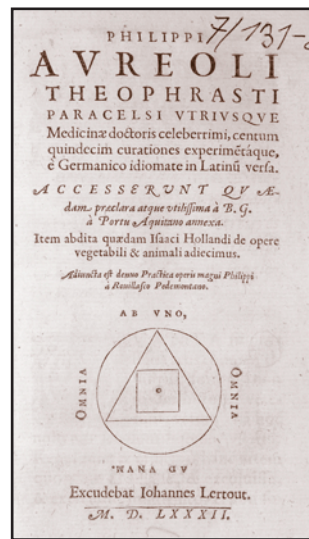
Lutheran epistles. After the first title-page of the two-volume book there is István Beythe's dedication to Lady *Dorotya Zrini, wife of Boldizsár Batthyani*. ... dated December 1, 1584 in Némétújvár. The first part explains the gospels of the Saints' days. At the end there is an epigraph to the *faithful readers* and a colophon stating that it was printed by Johannes Manlius at the expense of Boldizsár Batthyány. The second part explains the epistles of the Saints' days. István Beythe was a Protestant preacher, teacher, writer and scientist. He became the court minister in Alsólivda from 1565, preacher from 1574, and from 1576 Boldizsár Batthyány's court minister in Némétújvár. He issued canons at the Synod of Csepreg in 1587, which were attacked by the orthodox Lutheran deacons. At the colloquium of Csepreg in 1591 there was an open break between Beythe and the Lutherans, which led to Beythe's resignation as bishop.

9. JOHANNES LUDOVICUS VIVES; ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS, DESIDERIUS, ED.: *De conscribendis epistolis Ioann. Ludovici Vivis Valentini libellus vere aureus. D. Erasmi Roterodami compendium postremo ab eodem recognitum. Conradi Celtis methodus. Christophori Hegendorphium methodus. Omnia studiose excusa, ac indice aucta. Tiguri, s. a., Christophorus Froschoverus. – Gualterus, poeta; Eck, Oswald ab, ed.: Alexandreidos ... Libri Decem. Ingolstadii, 1541, Alexander Weissborn. 8° – Güssing OFM 2/75*



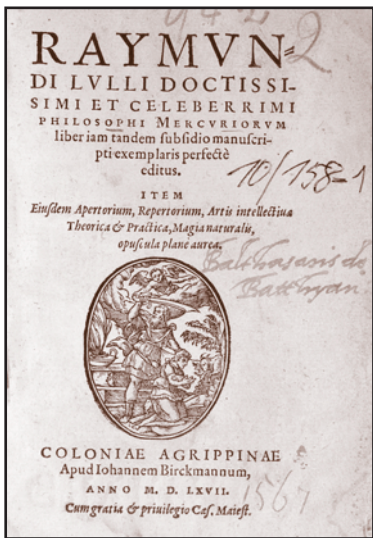
Inscriptions on the cover page: (1) *Balthasaris de Batthyani*; (2) *Conv(entus) Nem(etu)jvariensis*) This book is a good example of Boldizsár Batthyány's humanist culture and proves that the aristocrat donated the manual, which is very useful in teaching to the Protestant school of Némétújvár. The school library was acquired by the Franciscans at the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

10. JOHANNES SPORISCH: *Idea medici, cum Tractatu de symptomatibus crudelissimis, quae sacrificiationi et curcubitarum usui Brunae incolis in Marchionatu Moraviae superuenerunt: et De debre epidemici anni ab incarnatione Servatoris nostri 1580. Francfurti, 1582, apud haer. Andreae*



Wecheli. – *Paracelsus, Theophrastus: Philippi Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi ... Centum quidecim curationes experimentales e Germanico idiomate in Latinum versa. Accesserunt quædam præclara atque utilissima a B.G. a Portu Aquitano annexa. Item abditæ quædam Isaac Hollandi de opere vegetabili et animali adiecimus. Adiuncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi à Rouillasco Pedemontano(!) Genevæ, 1582, Johannes Lertout. – Paracelsus, Theophrastus; Dorn, Gerard, interpr.: Congeries Paracelsicæ chemiæ de transmutationibus metallorum, ex omnibus quæ de his ab ipso scripta reperire licuit hactenus. Accessit Genealogia mineralium atque metallorum omnium eiusdem auctoris. Francfurti, 1581, Andreas Wechel. 8° – Güssing OFM 7/131* Inscriptions on the cover page: (1) *Conv(entus) Nem(etu)jvariensis* 1661; (2) *Balthasaris de Batthyani*

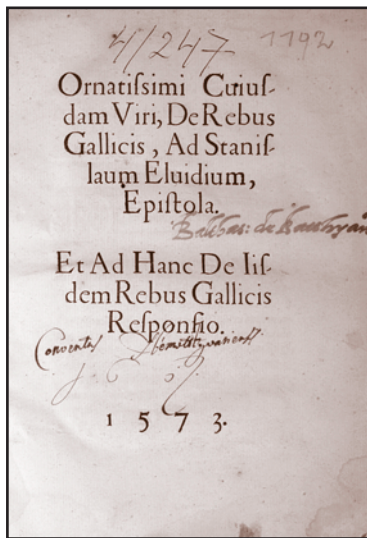
**11. LULLUS RAIMUNDUS:** *Mercuriorum liber iam tandem subsidio manuscripti exemplaris perfecte editus. Item Eiusdem Apertorium, Repertorium, Artis intellectiuæ Theorica et practica Magia naturalis opuscula plane aurea. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1567, Johann Birckmann. – Raimundus, Lullus: De secretis naturæ, seu de Quinta essentia liber unus, in tres distinctiones diuisus, omnibus iam, partibus absolutus. Adiecta est eiusdem epistola ad Regem Robertum de Accurtatione lapidis Philosophorum: cui adiunctus et tractatus de quis ex scriptis Raymundi super Accurtationis epistolam ab Artis studioso collectus. Coloniae, 1567, Johann Birckmann. 8° – Güssing OFM 10/158*



Inscription on the cover page: *Balthasaris de Batthyany.*

The Batthyány court was very much interested in natural science which shown by the visit of Carolus Clusius and the (presumed) stay of Johann Kepler. It goes without saying that the court library contained the fundamental books on medicine and astronomy of the times.

**12. GUY DUFAUR DE PIBRAC; STANISLAUS ELVIDIUS:** *Ornatissimi cuiusdam Viri de Rebus Gallicis ad Stanislaum Eluidium Epistola. Et ad hanc de iisdem Rebus Gallicis Responsio. Paris, 1573, Frédéric Morel. 4° – Güssing OFM 4/247*



Inscriptions on the cover page: (1) *Balthasaris de Batthyán,* (2) *Conv(entus) Nem(etujvariensis) 1661*

It was during Boldizsár Batthyány's stay in France that the Huguenots, the Protestants in France were first persecuted. The Hungarian magnate followed the events of the war of religion, which broke out after the massacre on St. Bartholomew's night (1572), and tried to acquire the most recent works of French literature. The invoices sent to him listing the titles of the books attest to that. Very few of these books survived. The book of Guy Dufaur is one of the few rare ones.



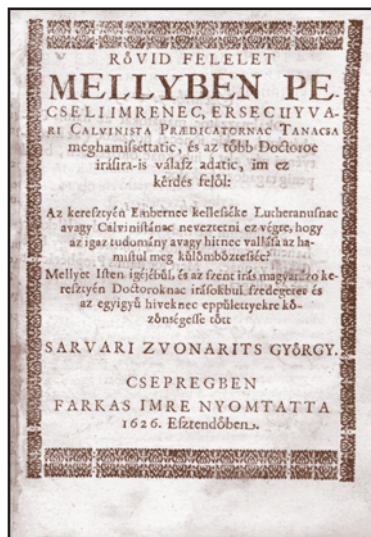
**13. PORTRAIT OF FERENC BATTHYÁNY II** (*Unknown painter, 17<sup>th</sup> century*) Oil, canvas, 217×125 cm, Hungarian National Museum lt. 566

**14. ISTVÁN PATHAI:** *Az helvetiai confession való köröztyén praedikátoroknak Dunán innen, az egyházi szolgálatban való rend tartásokról irattatot könyvechke ... Németújvár, 1617, Bernhard Máté, 8° RMNy 1143A, University Library, Debrecen 753.536*

A Calvinist agenda. The publication of this book shows that Ferenc Batthyány's court in 1617 was of Helvetic orientation in spite of the fact that his wife, Éva Lobkowitz Poppel was Lutheran. Pathai, the author (1555–1632) strove to reconcile the two Protestant churches with his writings.

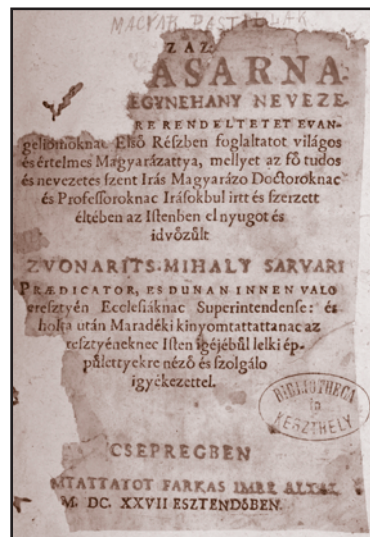


**15. GYÖRGY ZVONARICS:** *Rövid felelet, melyben Pecseli Imre nec, ersec újvari calvinista praedicatornac tanacsa megbamiséttatic, és az több doctoroc írásira-is válasz adatic im ez kérdés felöl: az keresztyén ember nec kellesséke lutheranusnac avagy calvinistának nevezetmi... , melyet... közön-ségesse tött sarvari Zvonarits György, Csepregben, 1626 Farkas Imre. RMNy 1354, 4° Esterházy-Bibliothek, Eisenstadt*

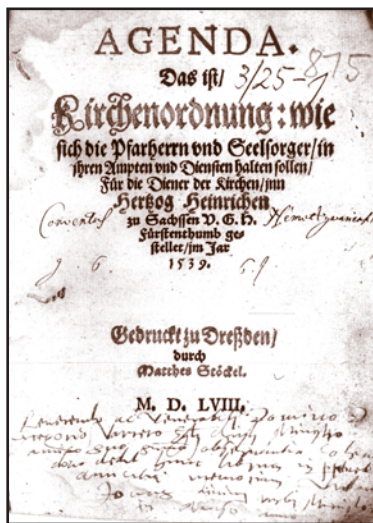


A Lutheran disputation. The author dedicated it to *Lady Éva Poppel...the widow of Ferenc Batthyani ...* The name of György Zvonarics was recorded in the register of the students at the University of Wittenberg in 1620. After returning home he became a Lutheran school teacher in Sárvár, then praceptor and intendent in Németújvár at the Batthyánys. In this book he disputes with the Calvinist Imre Pécseli Király whose piece was printed in Kassa in 1621. In opposition to Pécseli, Zvonarics approves of the terms 'Lutheran' and 'Calvinist' because the religion of the good faith can be distinguished in this way from that of the false one.

**16. MIHÁLY ZVONARICS:** *Magyar postilla, az az vasarnapokra es egynehany nevezetes innepekre rendeltetev evangeliomoknak első részben foglaltat világos és értelmes magyarazattya, melyet az fő tudos és nevezetes Szent Irás magyarazo doctoroknak és professoroknak írásokbul irtt és szerzett élteben az Istenben elnyugot és idvözült Zvonarits Mihaly sarvari praedicator es Dunan innen valo keresztyén ecclesiának superintendense, és holta után maradéki kinyomattattanan... Csepregben, 1627, Farkas Imre. 4° RMNy 1380, OSZK RMK I. 560*



These are Lutheran epistles. The book is dedicated to *Count Pál Nadasdi, Chief Bailiff of Fogaras and Vas County ... as well as to his wife... Lady Judit Revai* dated June 9, 1627. The dedication is signed by István Lethenyi, preacher in Csepreg, István Zvonarics preacher in Cenk, and by György Zvonarics, the praceptor of Ádám Batthyáni. The Nádasdys, Erzsébet Czobor, widow of György Thurzó, Mária Forgách, widow of Péter Révay as well as Éva Poppel, widow of Ferenc Batthyány, covered the costs of printing.



17. JUSTUS JUSTUS, Georgius Spalatinus, Casparus Creutziger, Fridericus Mylius, Justus Menius, Johann Heinrich Hertzog Weber zu Sachsen: Agenda. Das ist, Kirchenordnung: wie sich die Pfarrherrn und Seelsorger, in jhren Ampten vnd Diensten halten sollen, Für die Diener der Kirchen, jnn Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachsen V. G. H. Fürstenthumb gestellet, im Jar 1539. Dresden, 1558, Matthias Stöckel. – Heinrich Herzog v. Braunschweig d. Jüngere: Hoffgerichte ordnung des ... Hern Heinrichs des Jüngereren Hertzogs zu Braunschweig und Lünenburg etc. Newlich geordnet und auffgreicht. Wolfenbüttel, 1556, Henning Rüden's Erben. – August Sachsen, Kurfürst: Die Ehe wirdt vornemlich, von wegen der Glutfreuntschafft, Darnach auch von wegen der Schwegerschafft, wie folgend zusehen, verboten. Dresden, 1557(?), Matthias Stöckel. – General Articul und gemeinder bericht, wie es in den Kirchen mit den Pfarrherrn, Kirchendienern, den Eingepfarten, und sonst al-

lenthalt ordentlich, auff Hertzogen Augusten Churfürsten zu Sachsen etc. in jüingst vershienen Fünff und verordente und beschehene Visitation, behalten werden soll. M.D.LVII. Dresden, 1557, Matthias Stöckel. – Ferdinandus, I., rex: Abdruck des Passawischen Vortrags: so den andern Monats tag Augusti/Anno Lij etc. auffgericht worden. Dresden, ca. 1555, Matthias Stöckel. 4° – Güssing OFM 3/25 The presence of this book in Némétújvár clearly indicates Ferenc Batthyány's interest in the organisation of the church in Germany and the patterns of court life there. The churches in Lower Saxony in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were organised according to the Church Rules (Kirchenordnung) of Johann Bugenhagen. The Elector paid special attention to implementing these rules. The court in Wolfenbüttel was one of the most modern courts where a special college for nobles (Adelschule) was established in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**18. THOMAS NAOGEORGIUS:** *De dissidiis componendis, ad Mathiam Bredenbachium, ... Libri II. Thomae Naogeorgi. Adiuncta est etiam Satyra, aute annos aliquot scripta, in Ioannem Della Casa, archiepiscopum Beneuentilum, Sodomiae patronum: eodem Thoma Naogeorgo autore. Basileae, 1559, Johannes Oporinus. – Proverbia Salomonis versibus descripta. Frankfurt am Main, 1578, Nicolaus Bassaeus. – Eurymachaera, Casparus; Helmbold, Ludouicus: Parva Biblia, Hoc est: Carmen Elegiacum In Singula Utriusque Testamenti Capitula. Autore Casparo Eurymachaera Gутtenbergens. Addita sunt Monosticha in Singula Sacrorum Bibliorum Capita M. Ludouici Helmboldi Mülbusiini. Lipsiae, 1615, Justus Jansonius für Henning Gross. – Weigelius, Valentinus: Informatorium Oder kurtzer Unterricht, welcher gestalt man drey Mittel den schmalen Weg zu Christo sich führen kan lassen. Gestellet durch M. Valentinum Weigelium, gewesenen Pfarrherrn zu Zschopau(!). Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1616, durch Johann Knuber. – S. F.: De christiani cosmoxeni Genitura iudicium. Montisbelgardi, 1615, Jacobus Foillet. – Guazzus, Stephanus; Wisaeus, Melchior, transl.: Gnóthikszeaaton, dass ist, Ein sehr lehrreiches und nützlich Gespräch Von Erkäntruss Seiner selbst. Erstlich in Italianischen Sprach von dem Hodigelarten Herren Stephano Guazzo beschrieben, Jetzt aber von Herren Melchiore Wisaeo Rectore in Habelschwerda in Schlesien in deutsche Sprach verdolmeschet. Mühlhausen, Johann Stang für Jakob Apel, 1616. – Sendschreiben an die glorwürdige Brüderschaft des Hochlöblichen Ordens von Rosen-Creutze. S. l., 1615, s. Typ. – Campis, Julianus de: Sendbrief oder Bericht an Alle welche von der Newen Brüderschaft des Ordens vom Rosen Creutz genant, etwas gelesen, oder von andern per modum discursus der Sachen beschaffenheit, vernommen. Es sind die in Schrauben bauffen, etliche aber gewinnen nur das Kleinot. Darumb ermalne? Ich Julianus De Campis O. G. D. C. R. F. E. Daß die je..en, welche von einer glücklichen direction, und gewünschlter impression guberniret werden?, ... nicht durch ihre selbst eygenen dissidens, oder uppiger? Leute unartiges judiciten, wenig machen lassen. Milita bonam militiam, seruans fidem et*



*accipies coronam Cloriae? S. l., 1615, s. Typ. – Tschirnessus, Valentinus: Assertio Oder Bestätigung der Fraternitet R.C. welche man des Rosen Creutzes nennet, von einem derselben Fraternitet Mitgesellen, in Lateinischen Versen beschrieben, Und dem Deutschen Leser zum besten, in dieses Deutsch, schlecht ubergesetzt. Item: Schnelle Botschafft, an die Philosophische Fraternitet vom Rosen Creutz. Durch Valentinum Tschirnessum Gorlicerum Germanum Phil. et Med. Licentiatum. Erstlich Gedrucht zu Dantzig, 1617, durch Andream Hünefeldt. – Schweighart, Theophilus: Sub umbra alarum tuarum, Jehova. Pandora sextae aetatis, sive speculum gratiae. Das ist: Die gantze Kunst vnd Wissenschaft der von Gott Hoherleuchten Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz ... wie fern sich dieselbige erstrechte, auff was weiß sie tuglich erlangt, und zur Leibs und seelen gesundheit von uns moege genutzt werden, wider etliche derselben Calumnianten ... der Universae – weißheit und Goetlichen Magnalien waren liebhabern, treuberziger meynung entdeckt. Durch Theophilum Schweighart Constantiensem, Pan-sophiae Studiosum MDC XVII. S. l., 1617, s. Typ. – Siverti, Johannes: Entdeckte Mummenschantze oder Nebel Kappen. Das ist, Christliche Widerlegung der nechst von Cassel ausgeflognen Stimpel Confession der Newen Krugs Brüder, oder wie sie sich nennen Rosen Creutzer darinnen bewiesen wird, daß ... Leute nicht auß Gott, sondern auß dem Vater der tugen und verwirung gutes Policy und seyn. Allen recht ... Christen zur warnung in Durch verfertigt ... Durch Johannem Siverti Aegl. S. l., 1617, s. Typ. 8° – Güssing OFM 8/130*

**19. VALENTINUS WEIGEL:** *Ein nützliches Tractätlein Vom Ort der Welt. Geschrieben von Dem Ehrwürdigen, etc. in Gott ruhendem M. Valentino Vveigelio weyland Pfarrern zu der Tschopaw. Hall in Sachsen, 1614, Christoph Bismarck für Joachim Krusicken. – Weigel, Valentinus: Nosce teipsum. Erkenne dich selbst. Zeiget und weiset dahin, dass der Mensch sey ein Microcosmos, das gröste Werck Gottes, unter dem Himmel. Er sey die kleine Welt, und trezt alles in ihm, was da funden wird, in Himmel und Erden, und auch darüber. Gestellet von Dem Ehrwürdigen, etc. in Gott ruhendem M. Valentino Weigelio, Weyland Pfarrherrn zu der Tschopaw. Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1615,*



*Johann Knuber. – Weigel, Valentinus: Der goldene Griff, Das ist: Alle Ding ohne Irrthumb zuerkennen, vielen Hochgelehrten unbekandt, Und doch allen Menschen nothwendig zu wissen. Durch M. Valentino Weigelio gewesenen Pfarrherrn zu Zschopaw. Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1616, bey Johann Knuber. – Weigel, Valentinus: Christlich Gespräch vom wahren Christenthumb. Neustadt, ca. 1616; Johann Knuber. 4° – Güssing OFM 8/156*

Both books are related to the non-conformist intellectual trends at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They are rare editions. Both the teachings of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood and the Weigelian theology were among the knowledge banned by all official churches. These books arrived in Ferenc Batthyány's court with Johann Jacob Knauss, exulant of Württemberg. Knauss was employed by Batthyány, became a minister in Borostyánkő and stayed in Hungary until the death of his patron.

**20. PORTRAIT OF ÁDÁM BATHYÁNY** *Copper engraving, 150×120 mm. Elias Wideman: Icones illustrium herouum Hungariae. – Wien, 1652. – OSZK App. H. 848*



**21. PORTRAIT OF ÁDÁM BATHYÁNY** (*Unknown painter*) Oil, canvas 234×140 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 569

**23. PÉTER PÁZMÁNY:** *Bizonyos okok, mellyek erejetül viseltetven egy fő ember az új vallások töreiből kiféslet, es az romai ecclesianak kebelébe szállott.* Posonban, 1631, typ. Societatis Jesu. 4° RMNy 1511, OSZK RMK I 603

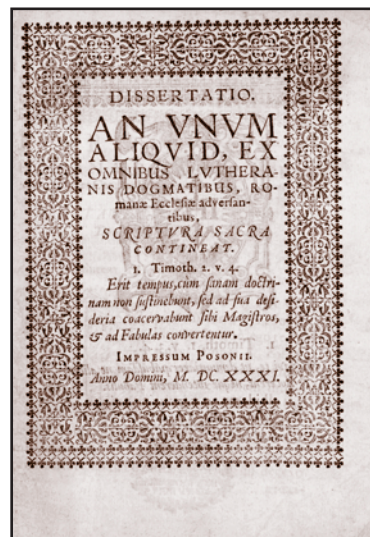
A Catholic disputation. Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom dedicated it to *Lady Éva Popel... widow of Ferencz Bottyáni*. He summed up the eight reasons for reconverting to Catholicism in the name of an aristocrat.



**22. PORTRAIT OF PÉTER PÁZMÁNY** Copper engraving. Lajos Vayer jr: *Pázmány Péter ikonográfiaja*. Budapest, 1935, Egyetemi Nyomda, OSZK 117 802

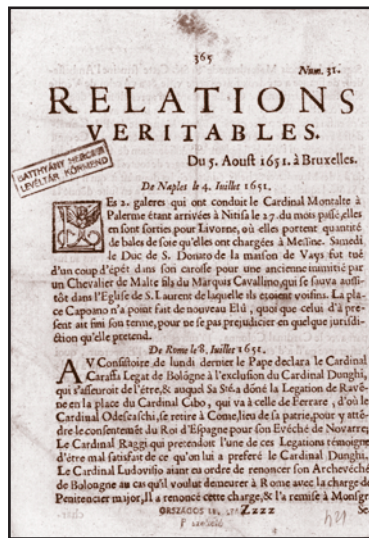


**24. PÉTER PÁZMÁNY:** *Dissertatio, an unum aliquid ex omnibus Lutheranis dogmatibus, Romanae Ecclesiae adversantibus, Scriptura Sacra contineat.* Posonii, 1631, typ. Societatis Jesu, 4° RMNy 1512, OSZK RMK II 472



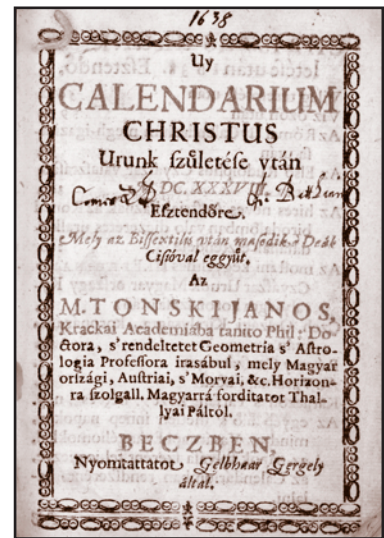
A Catholic disputation. Péter Pázmány dedicated it to *Casparo Illyesházi* on December 27, 1630. Péter Pázmány responded with this book to the manuscript of the Lutheran superintendent of Trencsény county, Ján Hodík, entitled *Hyperaspistes*... Hodík answered the following year in 1632 with his dissertation entitled *Statera dissertationis*... (RMNy 1520) printed in Bártfa. Pázmány listed his arguments to persuade an unnamed young aristocrat – presumably Ádám Bathyány. Péter Pázmány managed to reconvert almost the whole generation of Hungarian magnates to Catholicism. For this purpose he wrote a number of disputations but mainly used personal persuasion.

25. ORDINARI REICHS ZEITUNGEN, *sine loco* 1646, n° 1346. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., 375) 1646, n° 1350. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., 368)



26. RELATIONS VERITABLES, *Bruxelles, par Guillaume Scheybel*. 1651, n° 31. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., ff. 421–422) It was a difficult task to organise the diffusion of news in contemporary aristocratic courts. They received regular reports from the bigger European courts, but if they could they also acquired the printed newspapers.

27. JAN TOŃSKI, TÁLLYAI PÁL, *transl.*: *Uy calendarium Christus Urunk születése után MD-CXXXVIII. esztendőre, mely az bissextilis után második, a deák cisióval egygyüt, az M. Tonski János, krackai academiába tanító phil. doctora rendeltet geometria s astrologia professora irasából, mely magyar országi, austriai s morvai etc. horizonra szolgál, Bécs, 1637, Gregor Gelbhaar. 8° RMNY 1667, OSZK RMK I 666a*

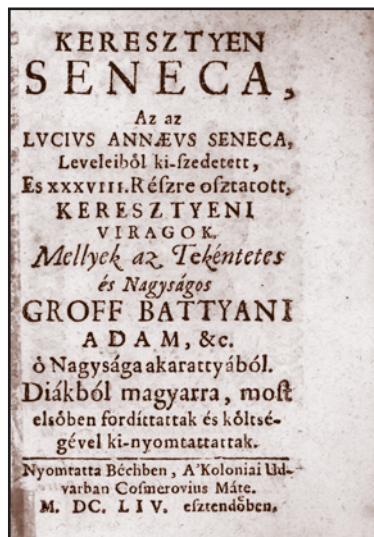


One of the very rare books, which have survived from Ádám Baththyány's collection. It is bound in leather, on the front cover there is the following: *Illustrissimo Domino Domino Comiti Adamo de Baththyán, perpetuo de Némétűvár, Sacra Caesareae Regiaeque Majestatis Consiliarius Camerarius ac partium Regni Hungariae cis Danubianarum, Confiniarumque Canisae oppositorum Generali Capiteano. etc. M.D.C.XXXVIII.* Inscription of possessor on the title-page: *Comes A D de Baththyány*. On the blank pages of December of the diary, between December 13 and 25, there are notes in Ádám Baththyány's own handwriting. Ádám Baththyány prepared similar Saint Lucy's Diaries for himself in other years as well in accordance with the popular belief that the weather on the 12 days between December 13 (Saint Lucy's day) and Christmas will forecast the weather for the twelve months of the following year.

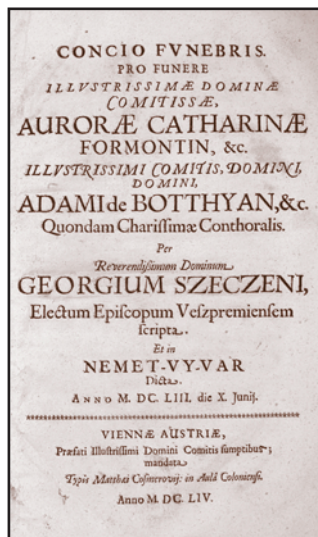


28. SÁMUEL KÉRI, *transl.: Keresztyen Seneca, az az Lucius Annaeus Seneca leveleiből ki-szedetett és XXXVIII részre osztatott keresztyni viragok, melyek... groff Battyani Adam etc önagsága akarattyából diákból magyarra most elsőben fordítottak és költségével kinyomtattak. Béchben, 1654, Cosmerovius Máté. 1fol. RMNy 2510, OSZK RMK I 882*

A piece of Christian stoic ethical teaching. On the verso of the title-page there is a woodcut depicting a pelican with the inscription *I. C. D.* on top and *D. A.* at the bottom. Since the



pelican is an old symbol of Christ and it features in the coat-of-arms of the Batthyáns the probable meaning of the monogram is Iesu Christo Domino Dedicat Adamus de Batthyan. Below there is a Latin poem about Ádám Batthyány. The dedication following the poem is addressed to *Adam Battyani, the hereditary Lord of Nemet-újvár, Szalónak, Borostyán*. Sámuel Kéri (originally named Zorád or Szorád) became a Franciscan novice in 1645 and it is then that he changed his name to Kéri. After being ordained, he was appointed to the monastery in Némétújvár and became the chaplain to Ádám Batthyány. He died in 1671 in Pozsony (Pressburg). The original of his translation was the popular book of the German Jesuit Johann Baptista Schellenberg (1586–1645) entitled *Seneca Christianus*, first published in Augsburg in 1637 and reprinted many times.



29. GYÖRGY SZÉCHÉNYI: *Concio fvebris pro funere... comitissæ Auroræ Catharinæ Formontin... comitis... Adami de Botthyan... quondam charissimæ conthoralis per... Georgium Szeczeni, electum episcopum Veszpremiensem scripta et in Nemet-Vy-Var dicta anno MDCLIII. die X. Junij. Viennæ Austriæ, MDCLIV præfati... comitis sumptibus... typis Matthæi Cosmerovij. fol. RMNy 2512, Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár*  
A funeral oration in Hungarian. Bishop György Széchényi gave this funeral oration at the funeral of Count Ádám Batthyány's wife, Auróra Katalin Formentini on June 10, 1653. There is no dedication in the publication but the cover page states the fact that it was printed at the expense of Ádám Batthyány. The theme of the sermon is the praise of good wives: the appreciation of the moral virtues which the deceased had possessed. The sermon closes with a woodcut depicting a pelican feeding its young with its own blood.



ELIAS WIDEMANN: ICONES ILLUSTRUM HEROUH HUNGARIAE, VIENNAE, 1652., OSZK APP. H. 848, RÉZMETSZET