

Libraries of Reformed Peregrine Students in the Low Countries: An Analysis of Book Inventories through a Database¹

Earlier, István Monok examined the potential reading practices of early modern students from the Kingdom of Hungary who pursued their studies in the Low Countries. In two studies, he presented ten private libraries whose 'collections can be shown to have undergone little expansion after the students' return home. Based on these brief analyses, he concluded that the students sought to make the most of the opportunities offered by the Dutch book market, aware that their possibilities for acquiring books would be far more limited in their homeland. He also observed that, in comparison with institutional libraries, private collections contained a higher proportion of works representing modern philosophical trends, while the writings of orthodox theologians were less prominent.²

In the present study, we analyse the libraries of intellectuals from the Carpathian Basin who studied at universities in the Low Countries and subsequently served, for the most part, as ministers or teachers within the Reformed Church. Unlike István Monok, we consider not only those book inventories that were compiled abroad or shortly after the owners' return home (thirteen such inventories are currently known), but also the much larger body of catalogues drawn up decades later. Barely one-third of the surviving inventories were compiled in the Low Countries themselves. These intellectuals continued to expand the libraries they had established abroad, and the intellectual outlook acquired during their studies appears to have continued to shape their book purchases, even within the more limited circumstances they encountered in the Carpathian Basin.

For the period between 1633 and 1749, the series *Adattár a XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez* (Documentation of Intellectual Movements History in Hungary from the 16th to the 18th Century) has published forty-five book inventories belonging to thirty-three former students of the Low Countries. To analyse the 2,958 entries contained in these inventories, we employed digital humanities methods, which have thus far been only rarely utilized in Hungarian book-historical research. As a methodological model, we drew upon

¹ This paper was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

² Monok, István, "Erdélyi és magyarországi diákok olvasmányai hollandiai diákéveik alatt a korai újkorban [Books and Reading Among Transylvanian and Hungarian Students During Their Studies in the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period]", = *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72, 2010, 1–9. ; Monok, István, "Magyar diákok olvasmányai hollandiai diákéveik alatt a 17–18. század fordulóján [Books and Reading Among Hungarian Students in the Netherlands at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries]", In. Jankovics, József (ed.), „*Nem süllyed az emberiség!*” – *Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára* [“Humanity Shall Not Perish!” ... – An Album Amicorum for the Sixtieth Birthday of László Szörényi]. Budapest, 2007, 1025–1034.

Forrest C. Strickland's monograph, in which he processed the printed auction catalogues of seventeenth-century Dutch Reformed ministers using a Microsoft Access database.³

The main table of our database consists of the authors represented in the book inventories, recording their names, periods and places of activity, and intellectual affiliations, since our primary interest lies in identifying whose works were acquired by these former students. Separate tables were created for the bibliographical data of the works (title, field of knowledge, language, and intellectual movement), for the owners of the inventories (name, educational background, place and period of service, and occupation), and for the inventories themselves (place and date of compilation, size, type). In designing the database, we also drew upon the methodological guidelines developed by József Pap.⁴ The creation and management of the database benefited greatly from the collaboration of Ferenc Tóth, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

The Sources and Their Owners

Among the book inventories included in this study, the smallest contains only five entries, while the largest comprises 351 items. Most of the private libraries documented in these sources survive only in fragmentary form; taken together, however, they provide a sufficient basis for reconstructing the intellectual horizon of Hungarian students who studied in the Low Countries. The overall picture presented below may also serve as a useful point of departure for future analyses of individual private libraries⁵ and for comparative studies involving intellectuals from other regions of Europe.

The geographical distribution of the owners' places of service is uneven across the Reformed church districts. The largest number of surviving sources relates to intellectuals active in Transylvania (14), although nearly as many book inventories have been preserved from the private libraries of ministers and schoolmasters in the Cistibiscan church district (13) and the Transtibiscan church district (12). Only a single source is known from the Danubian church district, while no inventories have survived from Transdanubian church district. In some

³ Strickland, Forrest C., *The Devotion of Collecting: Dutch Ministers and the Culture of Print in the Seventeenth Century*, Leiden–Boston, 2023.

⁴ Pap, József, *Adatbázisok tervezése, létrehozása és felhasználása a történelmi kutatásban: Gyakorlati kézikönyv történelem szakos hallgatók és kutatók számára* [Database Design, Development, and Application in Historical Research: A Practical Guide for History Students and Researchers]. Eger, 2022.

⁵ In recent years, two analyses of the libraries of Mihály Tofeus and István T. Eszéki have been published. Oláh, Róbert, *Miskolci Csulyak István és Tofeus Mihály könyves műveltsége* [The Literary and Book Culture of István Csulyak of Miskolc and Mihály Tofeus]. Sárospatak, 2022. ; Eger, Gábor, *Eszéki T. István könyvhagyatéka a Sárospataki Református Kollégium Tudományos Gyűjteményeinek Nagykönyvtárában* [The Book Legacy of T. István Eszéki in the Great Library of the Scientific Collections of the Reformed College of Sárospatak]. Sárospatak, 2020.

cases, the place of service of the owner remains unknown; in others, individuals served in more than one church district during their careers. With regard to positions held within church administration, the database includes material from the libraries of three bishops and ten deans.

The smaller inventories document the transfer of books into institutional collections, such as the volumes that reached Zilah through István T. Eszéki,⁶ or those donated to Debrecen by Mihály Rápóti Pap and István Huszti Szabó.⁷ By contrast, inventories approaching or substantially exceeding one hundred entries reflect a lifetime of collecting activity, as demonstrated by the estate catalogues of Miklós Tunyogi,⁸ István Simándi,⁹ and Mihály Tofeus.¹⁰ It seemed inadvisable to include the library of Sámuel Köleséri the Younger, comprising 3,561 entries and thus exceeding the size of the entire database assembled for the present study.¹¹

Distribution of disciplines

When the entries in the database are grouped according to disciplines, it becomes evident that theology constitutes by far the largest category, accounting for 52% of all recorded works. History and church history, philosophy, languages, the natural sciences, and literature together represent slightly more than one-third of the corpus (36%). All remaining fields are represented by comparatively small numbers of books.

⁶ Monok, István (ed.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak* [Private Libraries in Hungary], 6, 1617–1751. Budapest, 2024 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/6), 231.

⁷ Fekete, Csaba – Kulcsár, György – Monok, István – Varga, András – H. Takács, Marianna (eds.). *Partiumi könyvesházak* [Libraries in the Partium], 1623–1730: Sárospatak, Debrecen, Szatmár, Nagybánya, Zilah. Budapest–Szeged, 1988 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 14), 307, 289.

⁸ Bajáki, Rita – Bujdosó, Hajnalka – Monok, István – Viskolcz, Noémi (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak* [Private Libraries in Hungary], 4, 1552–1740. Budapest–Szeged, 2009 (Adattár XIV–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/4), 248–252.

⁹ Fekete – Kulcsár – Monok – Varga – H. Takács (eds.). *Partiumi könyvesházak*, 1988, 94–103.

¹⁰ Monok, István (ed.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak* [Libraries in Transylvania], 3, 1563–1757, A Bethlen-család és környezete, Az Apafi-család és környezete, A Teleki-család és környezete, Vegyes források, Szeged, 1994 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/3), 89–97.

¹¹ Oláh, Róbert, *Iffabb Köleséri Sámuel könyvtára* [The Library of Sámuel Köleséri the Younger]. Szeged–Budapest, 2026 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 12/4).

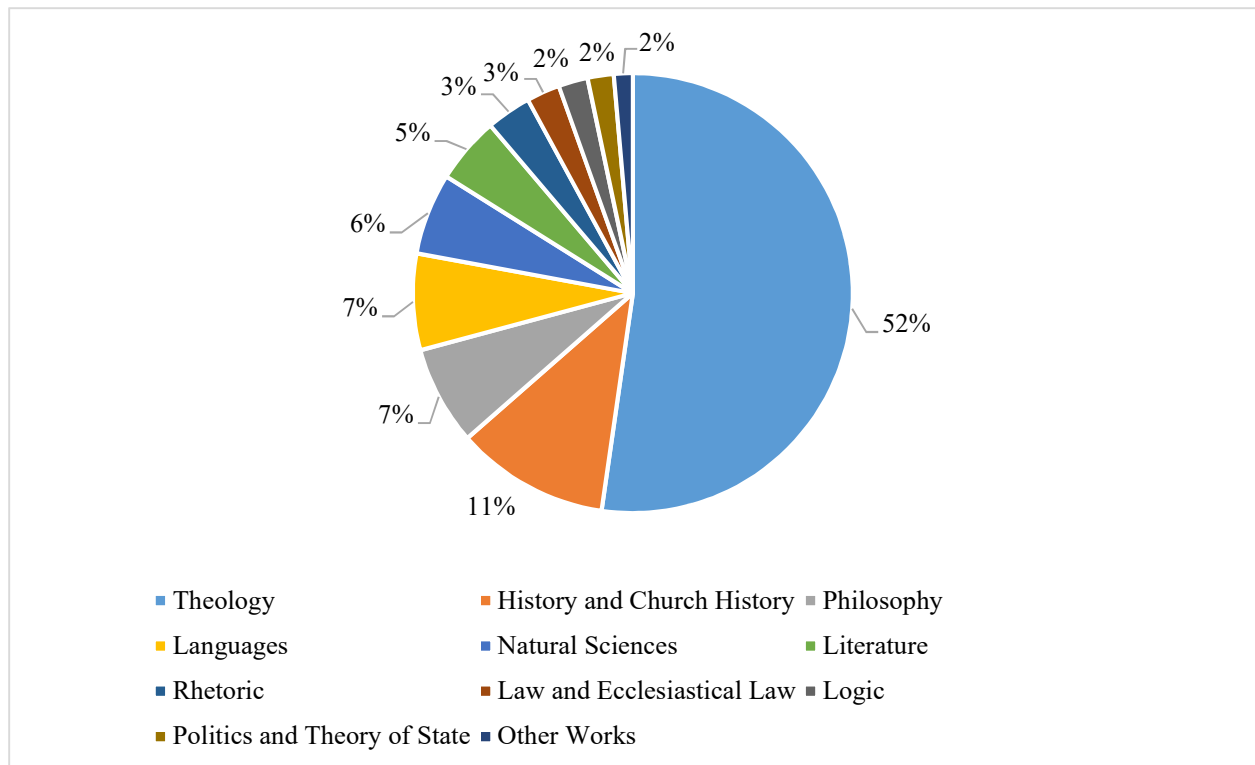


Figure 1. *Distribution of disciplines in the database*

1. Theology

Biblical commentaries and dogmatic works together account for approximately half of all theological titles represented in the database. Polemical literature constitutes 18% of the theological corpus. Bibles, homiletic works, biblical philology, and casuistic literature are represented in roughly equal proportions, each accounting for between 6% and 8% of the total. The combined corpus of patristic, catechetical, liturgical, and ecclesiological administrative literature within the minor theological categories accounts independently for 1–2%.

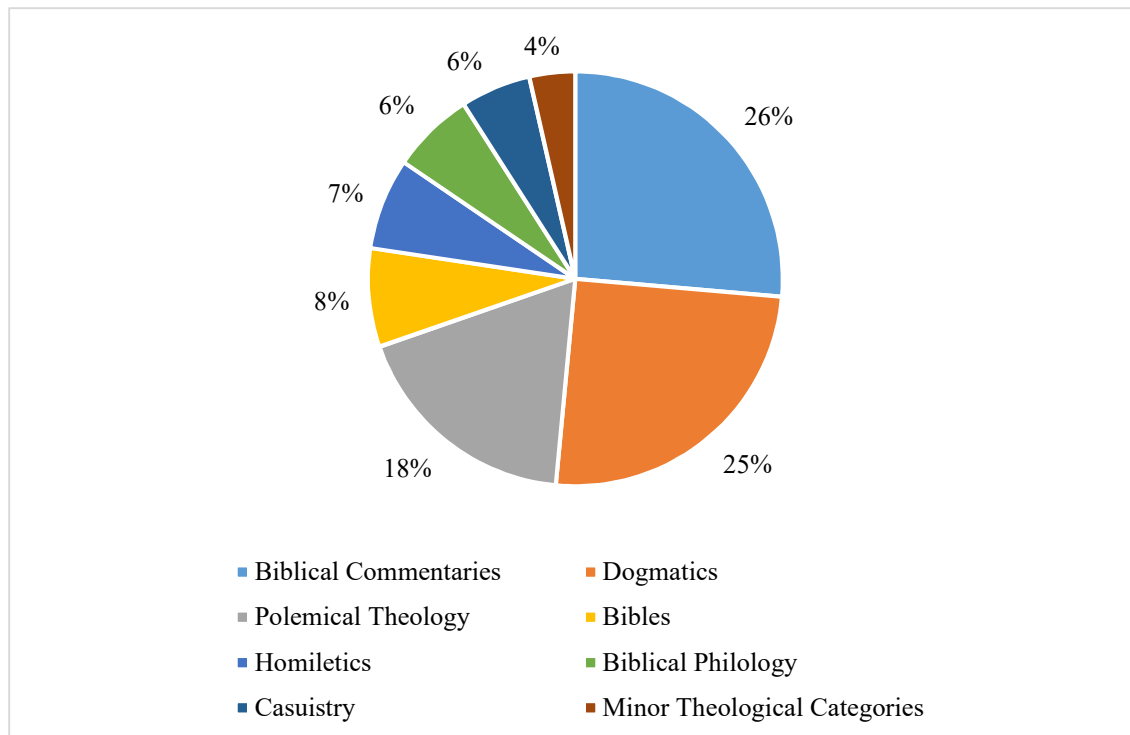


Figure 2. *Distribution of Theological Subdisciplines*

1.1. Biblical Commentaries

The largest category within theological literature is that of biblical commentaries. Approximately 90% of the authors represented in this section of the database were affiliated with the Reformed tradition. Alongside the eminent sixteenth-century commentators, primarily from the Swiss Reformation – such as Rudolf Gwalther, Augustin Marloratus, Ludovicus Lavater, John Calvin, and Heinrich Bullinger – the collections also contain the works of prominent biblical exegetes from seventeenth-century Germany and the Low Countries. Among the German authors are David Pareus and Johannes Piscator, while Dutch and Dutch-based commentators include Christoph Wittich, William Ames, Johannes Coccejus, Caspar Streso, Campegius Vitringa the Elder, Herman Witsius, and Herman Alexander Röell.

Lutheran commentaries account for approximately 8% of the corpus and were written predominantly by sixteenth-century authors, including Martin Luther, Conrad Dieterich, Conrad Pellican, Andreas Osiander, Lucas Lossius, Johannes Brenz, and Johannes Bugenhagen.

Catholic biblical commentators represent roughly 5% of the authors in this category. Several Jesuit writers appear among them, including Cornelius a Lapide, Robert Bellarmine, Francisco de Ribera, and Gregorio de Valencia.

1.2. Dogmatics

The majority of dogmatic works in the database consist of loci communes, theological textbooks, disputations, and specialized treatises. Most of these volumes were written by theologians adhering to the Helvetic confession; non-Reformed dogmatic literature accounts for only 8% of this category.

Among Reformed authors, works by orthodox theologians and representatives of the Cocceian tradition are present in roughly equal proportions. The former group includes John Calvin, Hieronymus Zanchi, Samuel Maresius, Johannes Maccovius, and Jean-Alphonse Turretini, while the latter is represented by authors such as Johannes Coccejus, Frans Burman, Herman Witsius, and Herman Alexander Röell. The collections also contain works by a number of Arminian theologians, including Stephanus Curcellaeus, Daniel Tilenus, Adriaan van Cattenburgh, and Philippus van Limborch, as well as irenic authors such as David Pareus. Puritan writers are likewise well represented, among them William Ames, Thomas Goodwin, William Perkins, Thomas Taylor, and Dudley Fenner.

1.3. Polemical Theology

Approximately 78% of the polemical literature represented in the database was authored by Reformed theologians. The inventories are dominated by works of orthodox professors from the Low Countries, including Gisbertus Voetius, Samuel Maresius, Friedrich Spanheim the Elder, Johannes Hoornbeek, Andreas Rivetus, Johannes Maccovius, Christoph Wittich, and the Puritan divine William Ames. A smaller number of German, Swiss, and French authors also appear, including David Pareus, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, Hieronymus Zanchi, and Daniel Chamier.

Only a handful of works by theologians active in Hungary are represented in the database.¹² The principal exception is the substantial *Prodromus* of Johann Heinrich Alsted, of which five copies have been identified in the inventories. The polemical literature concerns both doctrinal disputes within the Reformed tradition and controversies with adherents of other confessions.

Lutheran polemical works (9%) are represented primarily by sixteenth-century authors, including Martin Luther, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Martin Chemnitz, and Lucas Osiander.

¹² Péter Méliusz Juhász, István Geleji Katona, Péter Szathmári Baka, István Czeglédi, Mihály Sárpataki Nagy, Péter Pécsváradi, Péter Dengelegi, Pál Jászberényi P., János Pósházi, Gáspár Miskolczi Csulyak.

Catholic authors (8%) are represented chiefly by well-known Jesuit controversialists, among them Robert Bellarmine, Martinus Becanus, Franciscus Costerus, and Péter Pázmány.¹³

Unitarian theological literature is most strongly represented within the polemical category. Its 3.5% share consists of works by Faustus Socinus, Johann Sommer, György Enyedi, Ferenc Dávid, and several other authors. Among the Unitarians whose writings generated considerable controversy in the seventeenth-century Low Countries, only Johannes Crellius can be identified in the inventories. This suggests that the peregrine students relied primarily on older works with Hungarian connections when acquainting themselves with debates concerning anti-Trinitarianism.

1.4. Bibles

The database contains 122 Bibles, which – when bilingual and trilingual editions are counted separately for each language – correspond to 145 textual units. Of these, 59 are in Latin (41%), 36 in Hebrew, 27 in Greek, 4 in Syriac, and 3 in Chaldean (together: 48%). Editions in vernacular languages include 8 in Hungarian, 4 in English, 3 in German, and 1 in French (together: 11%). According to Strickland's survey, Bibles in seventeenth-century Dutch ministerial libraries sold at auction were distributed as follows: 40% Latin, 32% Hebrew, Greek, Chaldean, and Syriac combined, and 28% vernacular editions.¹⁴

A portion of the Bibles in the database cannot be assigned to a specific edition (often listed simply as *Biblia Latina*), and in such cases the name of the editor or publisher is rarely recorded. Of particular interest is the Hebrew Bible first published in 1699 by Daniel Ernst Jablonski, which was taken from the Low Countries to Transylvania by János Détései around 1704. The edition of the Hebrew Bible by Everardus van der Hooght, based on the text of Leusden, became highly influential after its publication in 1705 and continued to serve as a model for subsequent editions well into the twentieth century.¹⁵ Four copies of van der Hooght's Bible appear in the inventories compiled between 1714 and 1737, indicating its relatively rapid reception.

While Bibles accounted for only about 2% of the holdings in seventeenth-century Dutch ministerial libraries sold at auction (with an average size of 1,142 items, and some professorial

¹³ Alongside two copies of Pázmány's *Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz* [A Guide to Divine Truth], the *Öt szép levél* [Five Beautiful Epistles] addressed to Péter Alvinczi also appears.

¹⁴ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 114.

¹⁵ Fuks-Mansfeld, Rena, "Everardus van der Hooght (1642–1716), The Last of the Christian Hebraists in the Dutch Republic", *Studia Rosenthaliana* 38/39, *Omnia in Eo* 2005–2006, 260–261.

libraries exceeding 5,000 volumes),¹⁶ the proportion in the Carpathian Basin was 4.1%. Since Hungarian reformed ministers typically possessed smaller libraries (on average approximately 100–200 volumes), the Bible consequently represented a relatively larger share of their collections.

1.5. Homiletics

Books related to preaching – the most fundamental pastoral duty – account for 7% of the database (114 entries). The predominantly Latin-language corpus is composed of works by Reformed authors in 75% of cases, Lutheran authors in 23%, and Catholic authors in 12%. The most frequently represented authors are the Deventer preacher Caspar Sibelius and the Lutheran theologian Felix Bidembach.

Among the handbooks for sermon composition, works by Low Countries authors predominate, including Salomon van Til, Johannes van der Waeyen, and Campegius Vitringa the Elder, alongside the writings of the Heidelberg theologian Abraham Scultetus. The *Biga pastoralis* (1684) of Márton Szilágyi Tönkö – alongside guidance on prayer – also provided a framework for sermon composition.

More than one-tenth of the homiletic literature (14 entries) was published in Hungarian language and includes works by well-known seventeenth-century authors such as Ambrus Derecskei, István Keresszegi Herman, István Czeglédi, István Geleji Katona, Gellért Kabai Bodor, Mihály Szathmárnémethi, Péter Nádudvari, as well as the Lutheran György Kulcsár and the Catholic István Novák. The six German-language sermon collections are almost exclusively associated with the library of Sámuel Nádudvari the Younger.

1.6. Biblical Philology

This category, which accounts for 6% of the total corpus (103 entries), consists almost exclusively of works by Reformed authors. The most frequently occurring writers include Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, Victorinus Bythner, Salomon Glassius, Johannes Leusden, and Campegius Vitringa the Elder.

1.7. Casuistry

The field of casuistry, which accounts for 6% of the corpus with 88 entries, provides clear evidence of the formative influence of Puritan spirituality on the devotional culture of the Low

¹⁶ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 111, 113.

Countries' peregrine students. The sources include works by William Ames, William Perkins, Lewis Bayly (in the Hungarian translation by Pál Medgyesi), Elnathan Parr, and Daniel Dyke (in the translation by István Nánási Lovász). Alongside these, we also find fundamental Lutheran devotional works by authors whose pietistic influence proved significant even in Hungarian Reformed contexts,¹⁷ notably Johann Gerhard and Johann Arndt. Among Catholic authors, we may highlight those widely read across confessional boundaries, including Augustine of Hippo, Thomas à Kempis, and Erasmus of Rotterdam.

1.8. Minor Theological Categories

Patristics, catechetics, liturgics, church governance, and other miscellaneous theological literature together account for less than 4% of the database. More than half of the patristic material consists of works by Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan.

Catechetical literature includes the *Heidelberg Catechism* and its commentaries (notably those by Caspar Sibelius and Johann Rudolph Rodolph), as well as two Lutheran works by Conrad Dieterich and Heinrich von Diest, and one Catholic work by Robert Bellarmine.

Within liturgical literature, we have included István Milotai Nyilas's agenda, a *Breviarium Romanum*, and a missal. Five works on church governance are found in the library of Mihály Tofeus. Alongside the writings of Theophilus Banosius, the corpus includes three Presbyterian authors – David Calderwood, Robert Parker, and George Gillespie – as well as Friedrich Spanheim the Elder's critique of the Presbyterian model of church polity.¹⁸

1.9. Theological Movements

A substantial proportion of the most frequently represented authors in the corpus belongs to the category of theologians. Among the twenty most commonly occurring writers, Cocceian theologians are particularly well represented. Johannes Coccejus ranks first in the overall subject-based list with forty-eight entries. His typological-exegetical method, according to which the Old and New Testaments are mutually interdependent and jointly oriented toward Christ, also became widely influential in the Carpathian Basin.¹⁹ The distorting effect of large composite inventories can be illustrated by his case: nearly half of the forty-eight entries attributed to Coccejus derive from the library of János Lukács Borosnyai. At least seven of the

¹⁷ Cf. Imre, Mihály, "Johann Gerhard 18. századi hazai recepciójának néhány jellemzője [Aspects of the Eighteenth-Century Reception of Johann Gerhard in Hungary]", = *Studia Litteraria* 52, 2013, 392–393.

¹⁸ Oláh, Miskolci Csulyak István és Tofeus Mihály, 2020, 167–170.

¹⁹ Cf. Csorba, Dávid, "Coccejánus volt-e Debreceni Ember Pál? [Was Pál Debreceni Ember a Cocceian?]", In. Für, Lajos (ed.), *A Ráday Gyűjtemény évkönyve*, 9. Budapest, 1999, 58–59.

items are *opera omnia*, suggesting that Hungarian theologians did not merely read selected works by Coccejus but were familiar with his oeuvre in its entirety, from dogmatics to biblical exegesis. In seventeenth-century Dutch ministerial libraries, however, Coccejus ranked only sixth among the most frequently collected theological authors.²⁰

With thirty-nine entries, the second most frequently represented author is Campegius Vitringa the Elder, who for decades taught Hungarian students enrolled at the University of Franeker oriental languages, theology, and church history.²¹ Among the Cocceian tradition, we may further include Salomon van Til (professor at the Academy of Dordrecht and the University of Leiden),²² Herman Alexander Röell (Cocceian theologian and Cartesian philosopher at Franeker), and Herman Witsius, who sought to mediate between orthodox and Cocceian positions during his tenure as professor at Franeker.

Among representatives of Reformed orthodoxy, John Calvin ranks third on the list, with thirty-six entries, of which eleven are editions of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. We also identified a rare abridged edition by Daniel Colonius. Further works by Calvin include seventeen biblical commentaries, four copies of collected editions of his minor works, one collection of correspondence, one homily, and a treatise on the immortality of the soul. In seventeenth-century Dutch ministerial circles, Calvin was the most popular author.²³

Other representatives of orthodoxy include the biblical exegete Johannes Piscator, the polymath Johann Heinrich Alsted, who taught in both Herborn and Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), and the Swiss theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger. The second most frequently represented author in Dutch ministerial libraries, Théodore de Bèze,²⁴ reached only the twentieth position in our compiled list, primarily due to the presence of his Bible editions.

The works of the most prominent Dutch Reformed orthodox theologians, such as Gisbertus Voetius, Samuel Maresius, Hendrik Venema, Adriaan Driessen, Johannes Essenius, and Johannes Maccovius, appear in numbers amounting to only half – or in some cases one-third – of those attributed to Cocceian theologians. In the case of Voetius, nearly half of the entries consist of his casuistic writings. Particularly popular was the *Synopsis purioris theologiae* (1625), which appears four times in the corpus. This work, compiled from disputations held under the presidency of four Leiden orthodox professors (Johannes Polyander,

²⁰ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 134.

²¹ Van de Graaf, G. Henk, *A németalföldi akadémiák és az erdélyi protestantizmus a XVIII. században: 1690–1795* [The Universities of the Netherlands and Transylvanian Protestantism in the Eighteenth Century: 1690–1795]. Kolozsvár, 1979, 128–129.

²² Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák*, 1979, 129–130.

²³ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 113.

²⁴ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 134.

Andreas Rivetus, Antonius Thysius, and Antonius Walaeus) was subsequently systematized into a widely used dogmatic textbook.²⁵

In the eighteenth century, Swiss 'reasonable orthodoxy' also exerted an influence in the Carpathian Basin.²⁶ In the libraries of Hungarian peregrine students who had studied in the Low Countries, the oeuvre of most leading Swiss theologians of this current – such as Jean-Frédéric Osterwald, Samuel Werenfels, Jakob Christoph Beck, and Johann Ludwig Frey – appears to be largely absent, with the exception of three works by Jean-Alphonse Turretini. It is likely that Hungarian students studying in Switzerland acquired more works from this intellectual milieu than those studying in the Netherlands.

The earliest appearance of theological rationalism can be documented among the books purchased by Márton Abacs of Bánffyhyunyad the Elder during his studies in Franeker between 1694 and 1696. His library included Herman Alexander Röell's *Oratio inauguralis de religione rationali*, a work that, drawing on Cartesian principles, argued in favour of a rational conception of religion.

Among the Puritans, only William Ames appears on the list of the most frequently represented authors. In contrast to his widely cited devotional writings (7 entries), preference was given to his dogmatic compendium, the *Medulla theologica* (12 entries), which was also used in the curriculum of Hungarian Reformed colleges, as well as to his works produced in the context of controversies with Catholics and Arminians.²⁷

The database does not include works by mystical Pietists such as Jodocus van Lodenstein and Jacobus Teellinck. From Pierre Poiret, only two Cartesian philosophical writings have been identified.

2. History and Church History

Approximately 11% of the nearly three thousand entries (318 items) belong to the fields of history or church history. The significance of this domain has previously been demonstrated in relation to the intellectual profiles of István Miskolci Csulyak and Mihály Tofeus.²⁸ Among peregrine students, the most popular work in this category was the historical study by Hadrianus

²⁵ Veldre, Dolf te (ed.), *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae = Synopsis of a Purer Theology: Latin Text and English Translation*, 1, Leiden–Boston, 2014, (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 187/5), 2–3.

²⁶ Cf. Hegyi, Ádám, *A Kárpát-medencéből a Rajna partjára: A bázeli egyetem hatása a debreceni és a sárospataki református kollégiumok olvasmányműveltségére a 18. században* [From the Carpathian Basin to the Banks of the Rhine: The Influence of the University of Basel on the Reading Culture of the Reformed Colleges of Debrecen and Sárospatak in the Eighteenth Century], Debrecen, 2015, 39.

²⁷ *Bellarminus Enervatus, Coronis Ad Collationem Hagiensem, Anti-Synodalia*

²⁸ Cf. Oláh, Miskolci Csulyak István és Tofeus Mihály, 2020, 103–108, 217–227.

Relandus on the customs, religious life, and institutions of the Jewish people (*Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum breviter delineatae*), of which seven copies are recorded in the database.

In the early modern period, universal histories presented in the form of illustrative compendia (*theatrum historicum*) also enjoyed considerable commercial success. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, these entries (ten copies in total) – often lacking explicit author attribution – most likely refer to works by Andreas Hondorf, while in the first half of the eighteenth century they more frequently correspond to the edition published some seventy years later by Christian Matthaeus.

Positioned at the intersection of history and theology is Thomas Goodwin's *Moses et Aron*, a work on the customs and religious rituals of ancient Judaism, which ranks as the third most popular item in this category (five copies).

Peregrine students' libraries also contained works on ancient history by Josephus, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius. Comprehensive world and European chronicles were likewise indispensable, including the *Chronica Carionis* and Paulus Piasecius' history of Europe. More recent syntheses included the works of Samuel Pufendorf, Friedrich Spanheim the Elder, Friedrich Spanheim the Younger, Samuel Basnage, Nicolaus Gürtler, Petrus Wesseling, and William Cave. For Hungarian history, Reformed intellectuals could consult works by Gáspár Ens, Gergely Pethő, János Bethlen, and Ferenc Otrokocsi Fóris. Finally, some two dozen chronological works attest to the enduring usefulness of the genre, including contributions by Abraham Buchholzer, James Ussher, Hendrik Gutberleth, Campegius Vitringa the Elder, the two Spanheims, as well as the work of Pál Lisznyai Kovács, professor in Debrecen.

A smaller subset of the historical corpus consists of ecclesiastical histories. The earliest item in this category was an edition compiled from the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea and other ancient authors. The collection also includes humanist and early modern Protestant critiques of papal authority, authored by Bartholomeo Platina, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Philippe de Mornay, and Johann Heinrich Heidegger. Works from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are represented by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Friedrich Adolph Lampe, and Pál Okolicsányi.

3. Philosophy

Approximately 7% of all works recorded in the book inventories belong to the field of philosophy. Among representatives of Cartesian philosophy, two authors also appear among the twenty most frequently occurring writers: René Descartes (12th position) and Christoph

Wittich (16th position), the latter being notable for his synthesis of Reformed orthodoxy and Cartesian philosophy.²⁹

In inventories compiled before 1696, only six Cartesian works are recorded, whereas between the turn of the century and 1748 their number increases tenfold to 62 entries. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Cartesianism had become the 'modern' philosophy of the Dutch universities, and thinkers such as Johannes Coccejus, Wittich, and Abraham Heidanus demonstrated that the system posed no inherent threat to theology.³⁰ In the final third of the century, Cartesian philosophers increasingly formed the intellectual vanguard of orthodoxy against more radical currents such as Spinozism, atheism, and scepticism, and from the early eighteenth century they also responded to representatives of the radical Enlightenment.³¹ The University of Franeker – popular among Hungarian students – functioned as one of the last strongholds of Cartesianism. Nearly the entire Cartesian canon is represented in the peregrine inventories, including Descartes, Henricus Regius, Johannes de Raey, Johannes Clauberg, Tobias Andreae, Arnold Geulincx, Christoph Wittich, Antoine Le Grand, and the less well-known Johannes Tatinghoff.

Non-Cartesian authors account for just over half of the philosophical works, with Aristotelians forming the majority. Only two volumes by Aristotle were identified. The most frequently represented authors include Bartholomaeus Keckermann and Johannes Magirus (six entries each), followed by Clemens Timpler (three entries), and a second tier consisting of Daniel Berckringer, Franco Burgersdijk, John Case, and Christoph Scheibler (two entries each). Aristotelian works were typically early editions, published either in the sixteenth century or in the first half of the seventeenth century. Scholastic philosophy (represented by Spanish Catholic authors), Stoicism (Seneca), and rationalist philosophy (Christian Wolff) appear only sporadically in the corpus.

4. Languages

A total of 200 entries (7%) can be classified under the study of languages. Virtually all of these works are connected to Latin, and most also engage with Greek and Hebrew.

²⁹ Sakamoto, Kuni – Kato, Yoshi, A Trojan horse in the citadel of orthodoxy: Samuel Maresius's critique of Cartesian theology, = *The Seventeenth Century* 38, 2023, 813–815.

³⁰ Van Bunge, Wiep, *From Stevin to Spinoza: An Essay on Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic*, Leiden, 2001 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 103), 54–55.

³¹ Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 2001, 166–169. Strazzoni, Andrea, *Dutch Cartesianism and the Birth of Philosophy of Science: From Regius to 's Gravesande*, Boston, 2018, 169–171.

The early sixteenth-century Latin–Italian dictionary of Ambrosius Calepinus expanded over the following century into an eleven-language lexicon and also served as the basis for Albert Szenci Molnár’s dictionary. This large-format work, which frequently appears in early modern inventories, is recorded seven times in the libraries of Hungarian peregrine students in the Low Countries. Alongside it appear several bilingual and multilingual lexica, including Latin–Hungarian (and German) dictionaries by Faustus Verancsics, Albert Szenci Molnár, and Ferenc Pápai Páriz; Latin–German dictionaries by Stephan Ritter and Johann Amos Comenius; a Latin–Dutch dictionary by Wigard van Winschooten; a Latin–English dictionary by John Rider; and a Latin–Arabic dictionary attributed to Jacobus Golius.

Greek–Latin and Latin–Greek dictionaries are represented by works of Georg Pasor, William Robertson, Cornelis Schrevel, Johannes Scapula, Stephanus Blancardus, Carolus and Henricus Stephanus, Eilhard Lubin, Guillaume Budé, and Jacobus Cellarius.

Hebrew–Latin and Latin–Hebrew dictionaries include works by Johann Buxtorf the Elder, Jean Mercier, Johannes Habermann, Jacobus Gussetius, Johann Friedrich Köber, and Christian Stock. A trilingual Latin–Hebrew–Chaldean dictionary by Buxtorf also appears in the corpus.

The database contains a substantial number of Latin grammars by authors such as Priscian, Philipp Melanchthon, Comenius, Thomas Linacre, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Caspar Finck, Gerardus Johannes Vossius, Gergely Molnár, and Mihály Ajtai Abód. The latter’s grammar was first published only in 1744 in Sibiu (Nagyszeben).

Greek grammars are represented by works of Nicolaus Clenardus, Urbano Bolzanio, Jacob Gretser, Johann Friedrich Köber, Martin Crusius, Otto Walper, Gerardus Johannes Vossius, and Joannes Verwey.

Among Hebrew grammars, the most popular was Jacob Alting’s *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sanctae* (10 copies), which was also published in 1698 in Cluj (Kolozsvár) in the workshop of Miklós Tótfalusi Kis. Other frequently occurring Hebrew grammarians include Michael Neander, Valentin Schindler, Johann Buxtorf the Elder, Franciscus Junius, Johannes Clajus, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Bartholomaeus Keckermann, Wilhelm Schickard, August Pfeiffer, Christian Stock, Heinrich Opitz, and Thomas Erpenius.

For the study of the Eastern languages, peregrine students could make use of Karl Schaaf’s Latin–Syriac dictionary, Thomas Erpenius’ Chaldean grammar, and Johann Buxtorf’s Hebrew–Chaldean lexicon.

The literature on the study of sacred texts already leads us into the field of biblical philology. Hungarian students who attended the Dutch universities – centres of Christian

philological scholarship in the early modern period – also acquired the latest scholarly developments concerning the sacred texts. Textual accuracy and the authenticity of Scripture remained central concerns for early modern philologists. The elder and the younger Buxtorf, together with Ludovicus Cappellus, became involved in a well-known controversy concerning the vocalisation of the Hebrew text.³² One may also mention Jean Le Clerc's *Ars critica*, which discusses methods for interpreting and emending Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts; the reflections of Johannes Gerhardus Terentius, professor at Franeker, on Hebrew philology; Johannes Leusden's three *Philologi*³³ on the sacred languages; and his *Clavis Hebraica*, intended for the study of Biblical Hebrew. It should be noted that the works of Albert Schultens, regarded as the founder of eighteenth-century comparative Semitic linguistics, are absent from the database.

In the ranking of authors by overall popularity, Johann Buxtorf the Elder occupies fourth place, largely owing to his Hebrew grammars and dictionaries. At the lower end of the top twenty appears Johannes Leusden, an outstanding philologist of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, whose Hebrew Bible – based on a Masoretic critical apparatus – was published in the Amsterdam workshop of the Athias family in 1667.³⁴

In addition to the linguistic literature discussed above, the predominance of Hebrew was also evident in the Bibles previously analysed. The key to this strong attraction among Hungarian intellectuals – exceeding even that of their Dutch counterparts – has been interpreted by József Zsengellér as lying in the theory of Hungarian–Hebrew linguistic affinity. This idea, promoted among others by the Debrecen professor György Komáromi Csipkés, may have made the study of Hebrew particularly appealing to Hungarian students. Although Hebrew had largely lost its mystical aura by the end of the century, and theologians increasingly approached it through pragmatic linguistic concerns,³⁵ Hungarian students still appear to have retained a distinctive motivation for the study of the sacred language and the Hebrew Bible in the early eighteenth century.

5. Natural Sciences

³² Cf. Saebø, Magne (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, 2, *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, Göttingen, 2008, 788.

³³ *Philologus Hebraeus, Philologus Hebraeo-mixtus, Philologus Hebraeo Graecus*

³⁴ Fuks-Mansfeld, Everardus van der Hooght, 2005–2006, 259.

³⁵ Zsengellér, József, “Miért éppen a 17. század? [Why the Seventeenth Century?]”. In: Koltai, Kornélia – Zsengellér, József (eds.), *Héber üdvözlőversek és a peregrináció* [Hebrew Greeting Poems and Academic Peregrination], Budapest, 2023, 44–46.

Natural science works account for just over one hundred and fifty entries, representing 6% of the corpus as a whole; taken on their own, however, only medical writings – comprising nearly half of this category – would constitute a substantial corpus in their own right. A striking contrast emerges when comparing inventories compiled before 1690, which contain only 16 natural science entries, with those produced after 1690, which include 151. From the final decade of the seventeenth century onwards, natural scientific works appear in virtually all inventories except the smallest ones. It should be noted that the fragmentary library list of István Simándi, a professor of physics at Sárospatak, may originally have included a significantly larger number of 'working instruments' and reference materials.³⁶

Several Hungarian peregrine students studying in the Low Countries attended lectures in medicine, some enrolled in medical faculties, and a number subsequently pursued medical practice upon returning home.³⁷ Half of the 71 medical books identified in the corpus were donated in 1718 to the Reformed College of Debrecen by Tamás Veresegyházi, János Debreceni Herczegh, and János Dállyai Vas (the latter two having studied in the Low Countries, while Herczegh completed medical studies). As expected, the libraries examined contain the ancient medical tradition represented by Hippocrates, Galen, and Aulus Cornelius Celsus, as well as the medieval legacy associated with Arnaldus de Villanova and his commentators. Alongside these, the corpus includes widely used early modern medical textbooks by authors such as Leonhart Fuchs, Daniel Sennert, Thomas Bartholin, and John Jonston. Works on pharmacopoeia, essential for the preparation of medicines, appear alongside more general medical treatises by Jacques Houllier, Jean Fernel, and John Pechey. Among the anatomical works, those of Stephanus Blancardus, Thomas Bartholin, Johann Vesling, and Antonio Nuck are particularly noteworthy. A specialized work in this field is Walter Harris's treatise on pediatrics.

The second most significant subgroup within the natural sciences consists of geographical works. Among the thirty items in this category, the most prominent is Philipp Clüver, whose widely disseminated textbook accounts for seven entries. Within the field of *geographia sacra*, we encounter late seventeenth-century works by Friedrich Spanheim the Younger, as well as earlier writings by Samuel Bochart and Christian Adrichom. Information on newly discovered regions of the world was also available through a small number of atlases and through works by Simon Grynaeus and Hieronymus Benzoni.

³⁶ Éger, Eszéki T. István, 2020, 121–122.

³⁷ Cf. Oláh, Róbert, "Újabb adalékok és helyesbítések Apáti Madár Miklós életrajzához [Contributions and Corrections to the Biography of Miklós Madár Apáti]", = *Egyázttörténeti Szemle* 14, 2013, 10–11.

The remaining subfields each comprise twenty or fewer items. In astronomy, only a negligible number of works published after 1650 appear in the database. Alongside the indispensable cosmographies of Claudius Ptolemy and Sebastian Münster, we find the transmission of Renaissance and Reformation-era knowledge through works by Georg von Peurbach and Kaspar Peucer, as well as Johannes de Sacrobosco's well-known *Sphaera*, issued in Philipp Melanchthon's edition, and Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. From the early seventeenth century, we also encounter Galileo Galilei's *Systema cosmicum*, textbooks by Willem Blaeu, Adriaan Metius, and Pierre Gassendi. More substantial specialist works include the astronomical tables of Johannes Philippus Lansbergen, John Greaves's studies on Eastern systems of chronology, and Villum Lange's investigations into the chronology of Christ's birth and Passion.

Relatively recent publications are also present in physics: seven works by Robert Boyle (with the exception of one, all from the library of Sámuel Náadudvari the Younger), as well as writings on the experiments of Friedrich Hoffmann and Otto von Guericke, including his treatise on the Magdeburg vacuum experiments. Characteristic works of Cartesian natural philosophy are also present, such as Henricus Regius's *Philosophia naturalis* and Jacques Rohault's physics textbook. At the same time, no works by Isaac Newton are found in the database.

In mathematics, the dominance of Euclid appears virtually unchallenged (seven entries, nearly half of the total), alongside René Descartes's *Geometry* (two entries) and two textbooks by William Oughtred and Ferenc Menyöi Tolvaj. More substantial works include Claude-François Milliet Dechaes's encyclopaedia, Kaspar Schott's description of the calculating box, Adriaan Vlacq's logarithmic tables, and a mathematical manuscript attributed to Christian Wolff.

The modest corpus of natural history is almost half constituted by four works of Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis*. The remaining two to three works on chemistry, biology, and botany are of negligible quantity, and especially striking is the absence of practically oriented botanical publications.

6. Literature

With the exception of a single German-language epistolary collection, the literary section consists almost exclusively of Latin publications,³⁸ comprising 138 items and representing 5%

³⁸ Exception: three Latin–Greek, one Latin–Hebrew, and one Latin–Dutch bilingual edition.

of the database. Phaedrus's *Fabulae* is represented in five copies in the inventories, including editions by David van Hoogstraten and Johannes Schefferus. Three copies appear of the Jesuit poet Laurent Le Brun's *Virgilius Christianus*, in which he published his own 'sacred eclogues',³⁹ as well as of Polydore Vergil's encyclopaedic *De inventoribus rerum*.

In the collections of owners educated in Hungarian Reformed colleges, the presence of classical authors from Homer to Virgil is entirely unsurprising. The same applies to the corpus of Neo-Latin writers. Hungarian peregrine students drew primarily on the oeuvre of Italian humanists such as Francesco Petrarca, Angelo Poliziano, Polydore Vergil, Lodovico Ricchieri, Andrea Alciato, Pier Angelo Manzolli, Aonius Palearius, Paulus Jovius, Julius Caesar Scaliger, Aldus and Paulus Manutius. Alongside these, only one or two authors from French (Jean Tixier de Ravisi, Denis Godefroy), German (Nicolaus Reusner), or English (George Buchanan, Robert Turner) backgrounds appear in the reading material.

Desiderius Erasmus alone accounts for 17 entries in the database (his correspondence appears five times, and his *Adagiorum chiliades* four times). In addition, one work by Frisian author Cyprianus Vomelius is also present.

7. Rhetoric

A total of ninety-three entries can be classified under rhetoric (3%). This relatively small and not particularly diverse group is dominated by Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose works form the backbone of rhetorical education and who occupies the 15th place in the overall author popularity ranking. Nineteen of his twenty-one works in the database fall within the field of rhetoric. Alongside Cicero, Jacobus Crucius appears with five entries (letters and speeches), while Peter Ramus is represented by three. Also present is the widely circulated rhetorical textbook of Gerardus Johannes Vossius, which codified the principles of Reformed orthodox rhetoric and appears three times in the corpus.⁴⁰

Bartholomaeus Keckermann, a leading rhetorician of the first half of the seventeenth century, is represented only by a single work on ecclesiastical rhetoric, alongside one occurrence of Johann Amos Comenius's *Atrium*.

8. Law and Ecclesiastical Law

³⁹ Houghton, Luke, "Nova progenies: Virgil's Fourth Eclogue and the Tradition of Christian Neo-Latin Pastoral", = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 66, 2017, 63.

⁴⁰ Bartók, István, „Sokkal magyarabbul szólhatnánk és írhatnánk”: *Irodalmi gondolkodás Magyarországon 1630–1700 között* [“We Could Speak and Write in a Much More Hungarian Way”: Literary Thinking in Hungary, 1630–1700]. Budapest, 1998 (Irodalomtudomány és Kritika), 112–114.

The sixty-nine entries relating to law and ecclesiastical law account for less than 2.5% of the entire corpus. The Roman legal corpus of Justinian I appears four times. A wide range of leading early modern legal authorities is represented, typically with one or two works each, including Johannes Althusius, Hugo Grotius (three entries of *De jure belli et pacis*), Benedict Carpzov the Younger, and the principal representative of natural law theory, Samuel Pufendorf.

Alongside these theoretical works published abroad, the corpus also includes a small number of Hungarian legal compilations of a more practical nature, such as two editions of István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, János Kitionich's foundational work on civil legal procedure, and the legal corpus of the Principality of Transylvania (*Compilatae constitutiones*). Among more recent publications, three works stand out: Antal Brenner's treatise on the jus patronatus (1707), Márton Szilágyi Tönkö's *Triga divortialis* (1690), which occupies a position at the intersection of theology and matrimonial law, and András Huszti's scholarly work on Hungarian legal scholarship in Transylvania (1742), which also played a key role in the author's own heresy trial.⁴¹

9. Logic

In the group of sixty-one entries devoted to logic (2% of the corpus), the leading position is occupied by the authors of widely used textbooks, including Bartholomaeus Keckermann (9 entries), Franco Burgersdijk (6), Peter Ramus (5), as well as Johann Heinrich Alsted, Rudolph Goclenius, Otto Casmann, and Jacobus Zabarella. They are joined by two Hungarian Reformed college professors, György Martonfalvi Tóth and Mihály Buzinkai.

10. Politics and Theory of state

The database contains forty-three records (1.5%) classified under politics. The majority of these works were first published in the first half of the seventeenth century, and there are likely no eighteenth-century editions among them. The dominance of Latin is particularly striking. Two Hungary-related works can be identified: alongside Ferenc Pápai Páriz's Hungarian-language *Pax aulae*, we also find Martin Schödel's country description published in the Elzevier *Respublica* series. A German-language publication is also represented: Ferdinand

⁴¹ Kolumbán, Vilmos József, "Mítosz és valóság: Huszti András értékelése a 19. században [Myth and Reality: The Evaluation of András Huszti in the Nineteenth Century]". In, Kolumbán, Vilmos József (ed.), *A „recepta religiók” évszázadai Erdélyben. Egyháztörténeti tanulmányok* [The Centuries of the "Received Religions" in Transylvania: Studies in Church History], Kolozsvár, 2019 (Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Füzetek, 25), 176–187.

Ludwig von Bressler und Aschenburg's *Der heutigen christlichen Souverainen von Europa*, which maps the genealogical and political relations of contemporary European rulers.

A work by the Dutch politician and diplomat Cornelis van der Myle – likely published in Dutch, though not precisely identifiable – provides insight into the political conflicts of the early seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. In terms of frequency, Justus Lipsius and Georgius Hornius stand out (four entries each), the latter's encyclopaedic *Orbis politicus* describing the political conditions of his time. Additional authors represented by one or two works each include Marcus Friedrich Wendelin, Lucas de Linda, John Milton, Pierre du Moulin, Christoph Besold, and Esaias Pufendorf.

A further 11 entries are classified under theory of state in the stricter sense. This small but diverse group comprises works by leading figures of early modern political thought, including Niccolò Machiavelli, Tommaso Campanella, Thomas Hobbes, Hugo Grotius, Antonio de Guevara, Johannes Althusius, Adriaan Saravia, Jean Bodin, and two copies of Petrus Cunaeus's *De republica Hebraeorum*.

11. Other Works

The remaining three dozen entries account for less than 1.5% of the database. A particularly intriguing segment of Reformed intellectual libraries consists of works belonging to nonconformist literature. Within the domain of magic and natural occult philosophy, we find Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *Opera omnia* (2 entries), Giambattista della Porta's *Magia naturalis* (1 entry), and an early work by Johann Heinrich Alsted, in which he integrated Lullian combinatorics into his broader pansophic project.⁴² In Johann Amos Comenius's edited *Historia revelationum* (3 entries), the prophecies of three visionaries are published. Millenarian expectations are also reflected in Jacobus Brochardus' *Libri duo, alter ad Christianos de prophetia*.⁴³ The miscellaneous group further includes Conrad Gessner's universal bibliography *Bibliotheca universalis* (3 entries), Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł's *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio*, and Johann Georg Seybold's German-language pedagogical work *Officina scholastica*.

The most frequently occurring works

⁴² Szentpéteri, Márton, "A grammatika oktatásának kombinatorikus módszere Johann Heinrich Alsted gyulafehérvári rudimentáiban [The Combinatorial Method of Grammar Teaching in Johann Heinrich Alsted's Rudiments in Alba Iulia]", = *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, 1998, 439–440.

⁴³ Kuntz, Marion Leathers, *Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, University Park, 2001, 119–123.

The authors of the most frequently attested works are drawn in more than half of the cases from professors at Dutch universities (Franeker: 5, Leiden: 2, Utrecht: 2, Groningen: 1), with smaller contributions from Swiss (4) and German (4) theologians.

Jean Calvin's *Institutio* leads the ranking with 11 occurrences. The second position is shared by two works (10–10 copies): Peter Ravanellus's *Bibliotheca sacra*, a hybrid theological lexicon and concordance, and Jacob Alting's *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sanctae*, one of the most widely used Hebrew textbooks in the Dutch Republic (10 copies). The third most frequently occurring work is Frans Burman's *Synopsis theologiae, et speciatim oeconomiae foederum Dei* (9 copies). The Utrecht professor was one of the earliest systematic builders of Cocceian dogmatics; in his introductory handbook he follows Johannes Coccejus's *Summa theologiae*, modernising its content and occasionally supplementing it with Cartesian terminology.⁴⁴ In fourth place we find Cocceius' emblematic work, *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei*, in which he presents in detail his covenant-theological system.⁴⁵ The fifth position is shared by five works (7–7 copies): Philipp Clüver's historical geography textbook (*Introductio in universam geographiam*), Campegius Vitringa the Elder's commentary on Revelation, Caspar Streso's commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, Georg Pasor's Greek–Latin New Testament lexicon, and Johannes Sleidanus's foundational history of the Reformation.

William Ames's *Medulla theologiae* is also included here, with 12 copies recorded in the database, which would in fact place it at the top of the overall ranking of works. However, several books originating from the estate of Péter Tarczali Bogdán (d. 1674), dean of Szatmár, were incorporated into the holdings of the Reformed College of Szatmár (Satu Mare)⁴⁶ and subsequently supplemented the collection with a number of works – typically used as textbooks – well into the late sixteenth century. Six copies of Ames's dogmatic handbook are listed in the catalogue, one of which may have belonged to Tarczali Bogdán; this later accretion would have significantly altered the statistical results, and therefore the additional five copies were excluded from the present analysis.

Among the most frequently purchased books we thus find dogmatic works, textbooks, and biblical commentaries by Reformed theologians, alongside a Hebrew textbook, a

⁴⁴ Spaans, Joke, *Modernising Protestantism: A Cultural History of the Dutch Reformed, 1650–1750*, Amsterdam, 2025, 500–502.

⁴⁵ Cf. Van Asselt, Willem Jan: *The federal theology of Johanens Coccejus (1603–1669)*, Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2001 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought), 37–52.

⁴⁶ Cf. Fekete – Kulcsár – Monok – Varga – H. Takács (eds.), *Partiumi könyvesházak*, 1988, 356–364.

geography textbook, and a biblical lexicon. These are foundational works that peregrine students likely used extensively during their university studies.

Vernacular languages

The proportion of works in vernacular foreign languages identified in the examined inventories is only 3%. Half of these are German-language publications, while the remaining half consists of French, English, and Dutch works. When individual inventories are considered, the dominance of Latin is even more pronounced: two-thirds of the German-language items derive from a single source, namely the library of Sámuel Náduvvari the Younger.

In total, 78 items attributable to Hungarian authors were identified in the database; of these, 69 (2.3%) are publications at least partly in Hungarian. By contrast, in Dutch Reformed clerical libraries less than 70% of the holdings consisted of Latin-language books, while 27.7% were vernacular-language publications. The contrast becomes even more striking when considering works in the vernacular proper: Dutch-language printed materials account for nearly 14% of the auction catalogues.⁴⁷ This more than sixfold difference can be explained by the relative weakness of early modern vernacular book production in the Carpathian Basin, where only a limited number of substantial scholarly works appeared in the vernacular that would have been useful for university-educated Reformed intellectuals.

Ninety percent of works by Hungarian authors were published at least partly in Hungarian, including all eight Bibles identified. The most frequently represented Hungarian author is Albert Szenci Molnár (8 entries), whose works include several dictionaries, a Hungarian grammar, a Hungarian psalter, a translation of the *Institutes* by Calvin, and a translation of Georg Ziegler's *Discursus de summo bono*. He is followed by Sámuel Szathmárnémethi, represented primarily by his Latin biblical commentaries published in the Netherlands (5 entries). In joint third place are Ferenc Pápai Páriz and István Czeglédi (4–4 entries).

It is noteworthy that only four copies were identified of early modern puritan devotional works translated into Hungarian, many of which had in fact been translated or printed in the Low Countries, often through the mediation of peregrine students studying abroad (for example János Mikolai Hegedüs and István Szokolyai Anderko).

The currency of peregrine libraries

⁴⁷ Strickland, *The Devotion of Collecting*, 2023, 95.

In the examined inventories, bibliographical information on the date of publication was rarely provided for individual works. In the absence of explicit publication dates, we relied on the earliest identifiable editions in order to approximate, on a statistical basis, the time elapsed between a work's initial publication and its appearance in the sources. Since frequently reprinted classical authors, Church Fathers, textbooks, and similar works – many of which had been continuously in circulation since the age of incunabula – would have significantly distorted the results, these categories were excluded from the analysis. The results are as follows:

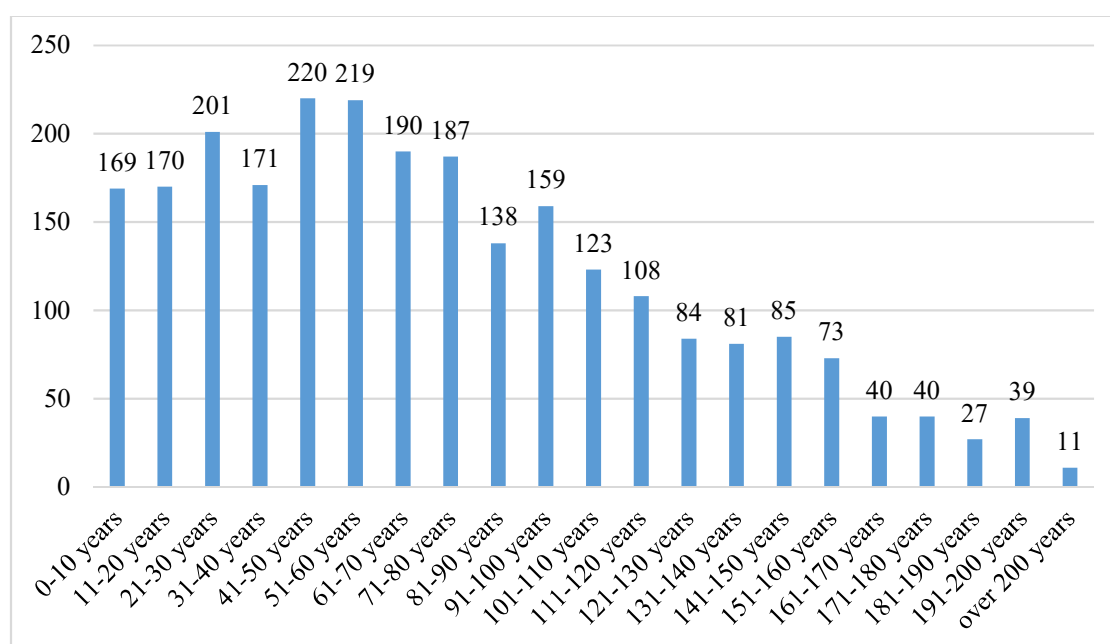


Figure 3. *The currency of editions by decade*

The majority of works listed in the inventories (60%) were first published 0–80 years prior to the compilation of the sources. Within this eighty-year span, items are distributed in broadly similar proportions across the relevant decades (7–9% per decade). The largest shares of works fall into the 41–50- and 51–60-year categories (9% each). A further 20% of the corpus belongs to works published 81–120 years before the compilation of the inventories (distributed at 4–6% per interval), while the remaining 20% consists of works first published 121–200 years earlier (1–3% per interval). On this basis, the book culture of Hungarian peregrines in the Low Countries cannot be characterised as uniformly up to date across all fields.

This overall picture becomes more nuanced when individual disciplines are examined separately. The theological section of the database contains a comparatively higher proportion of recently published works: half of the entries were published within 60 years of the

inventories, and one third within 30 years. Nearly two-thirds of dogmatic works first appeared less than 60 years earlier, while most polemical literature dates from 40 to 110 years prior to the inventories. Nearly half of the philosophical, legal, and canon law works were first published more than fifty years earlier. In the fields of history and church history, one third of the items are less than 50 years old. The least 'modern' profile is found in the natural sciences: half of the astronomical literature was originally published 70–100 years before the inventories, while most geographical works are more than 70 years old. Literature and logic do not present a significantly more up-to-date profile.

The reception of intellectual currents also suggests that, compared to Cocceian theological works, orthodox Reformed authors are not only less represented in the database but also tend to be represented by older editions. In the case of Cocceian authors, a substantial proportion of the works are editions less than 50 years old. By contrast, a larger share of orthodox works were first published 60–120 years earlier. Among orthodox writers, the relative antiquity of works by Jean Calvin, Hieronymus Zanchius, and Amandus Polanus is only partially offset by the smaller but more recent presence of authors such as Samuel Maresius, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, and the elder and younger Spanheims.

It is also evident that libraries compiled during the period of peregrination in the Low Countries present a more modern profile than posthumous estate inventories. This is well illustrated by the book lists of János Borosnyai Lukács,⁴⁸ Pál Jászberényi P.,⁴⁹ János Debreceni Gele,⁵⁰ and Péter Veresmarti Lázi.⁵¹ In contrast, the approximately two dozen books found (about 1710) in the estate of János Rozgonyi P. were – with few exceptions – first published at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵² Book acquisitions made after the students' return home thus appear to have diluted the relative modernity established during their studies in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

⁴⁸ Bíró, Gyöngyi – Monok, István – Verók, Attila (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak* [Libraries in Transylvania], 5, 1541–1782, Vegyes források. Budapest, 2018 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/5), 69–80.

⁴⁹ Bíró – Monok – Verók, *Erdélyi könyvesházak*, 5, 2018, 19–24.

⁵⁰ Monok, *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak*, 6, 2024, 220–221. ; Bajáki – Bujdosó – Monok – Viskolcz, *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak*, 4, 2009, 106–107.

⁵¹ Monok, István (ed.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak* [Private Libraries in Hungary], 2, 1588–1721, Szeged, 1992 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/2), 221–223.

⁵² Monok, István – Németh, Noémi – Tonk, Sándor – Jakó, Zsigmond (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak* [Libraries in Transylvania], 2, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely, Szeged, 1991 (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/2), 81.

As one of Europe's major centres of printing, the Dutch Republic provided Hungarian students with relatively easy access to up-to-date scholarly publications. Owing to the limited command of living foreign languages among Hungarian students, their intellectual formation throughout the early modern period remained firmly tied to Latin. Their preparation for careers in the ministry and teaching profession resulted in a strongly theology-centred profile of their libraries. Within the collections examined, the reception of contemporary Reformed theological learning is dominated primarily by Cocceianism (with Franeker University as its main centre and the most popular destination of peregrination), and secondarily by Reformed orthodoxy. The Puritan influence, largely mediated through the Netherlands, appears less pronounced than might have been expected. Given the biblically oriented character of Reformed theology, the libraries display a strong presence of biblical commentaries, philological works on Scripture, studies of the sacred languages, and homiletical literature.

Among philosophical currents, traces of both Cartesianism and Aristotelianism can be identified. Works reflecting early modern developments in theory of state, jurisprudence, physics, and several other disciplines also appear sporadically. The intellectual profile of the peregrinant students was further shaped by the classical humanist curriculum dominant in Reformed collegiate education. In contrast, literature associated with the early Enlightenment is almost entirely absent. The volume of scientific literature increased markedly during the first half of the eighteenth century; at the same time, however, it appeared partly outdated.