

PEREGRINUS SUM



Studies in History of Hungarian–Dutch
Cultural Relations in Honour of Ferenc Postma
on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

Budapest – Amsterdam
2015

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Photo: Koos en Marjan de Boer, Sárospatak 2014

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Edited by
Margriet Gosker, István Monok

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Typesetting editor
ILDIKÓ DETRE

ISBN 978-90-823852-0-5

On the Cover Page
Coccejus' Psalterium, Franeker, 1646
Photo: Jan Schot, Amsterdam 2013

CONTENTS

MARGRIET GOSKER	
Inleiding.....	7
ZSOLT GERÉB	
Das neutestamentliche Textuarium der Institutio von 1536	15
ISTVÁN BITSKEY	
Erasmiaanse omgangsvormen in schoolboeken uit Debrecen.....	25
JUDIT P. VÁSÁRHELYI	
Alte ungarische Übersetzungen in Holland und Ungarn bez. Siebenbürgen	35
DÁVID CSORBA	
Der geistige Horizont des ungarischen reformierten Pietismus: Professor Martonfalvi in Debrecen (1657–1681)	49
MIKLÓS LATZKOVITS	
Tandem: The one-word quotation	65
ELŐD ÓSZ	
In den Niederlanden akquirierte Calvin-Ausgaben aus siebenbürgischen Sammlungen	85
ISTVÁN MONOK	
The Readings of Hungarian Students during their Studies in the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period	93
PÉTER EREDICS	
Drie Hongaarse boeken uit de Amsterdamse drukkerij van Hendrik Smets (1735–1736).....	121
BÉLA ROZSONDAI–MARIANNE ROZSONDAI	
Zeugen der Wanderjahre und der Freundschaft – Das album amicorum des Ferenc Pápai Páriz d.J.	133

JÓZSEF KURTA	
Gone up in smoke: Vetsei István's translations of Ostervald's works, or: Who are the real translators of Ostervald's „Traité des sources de la corruption qui règne aujourd'huy parmi-les chrétiens”?	143
RÓBERT OLÁH	
Volumes from the Library of Abraham Gronovius in Debrecen.....	149
GÁBOR PUSZTAI	
Een Hongaarse VOC-dienaar. De avonturen van András Jelky	161
LÁSZLÓ MARÁCZ	
János Bolyai in search for the perfect language: Hungarian	233
JÁNOS M. HERMÁN	
Over het zoeken naar en het ontstaan van contacten met Groen van Prinsterer door superintendent Lajos Zsarnay in 1863.....	249
MARGRIET GOSKER	
Bibliografie Prof. Dr. Ferenc Postma (* 30. 10. 1945)	263
Auteurs.....	291

ISTVÁN MONOK

The Readings of Hungarian Students during their Studies in the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period

There are enough sources available concerning the history of reading and reading material from the early modern period in Hungary, thanks to the well organised research of the last quarter of a century, and to the work done in grouping and re-grouping old and newly discovered documents. The overall picture after reading through the sources for the first time can only be considered as a hypothesis. There are, however, elements which can be safely considered valid. Now is the time to work through the documents methodically, and to clarify issues which have arisen from the work of theoretical and comparative studies. We can compare the popular readings in each period within the country in each region, by each professional or confessional group and each social stratum, and this comparative study could yield very interesting results. International comparative studies may even be more important: when we place countries side by side.

Comparative studies concerning Hungarian aristocracy and landed gentry have already emerged and there are studies about lawyers and doctors as well. The present study deals with the readings of those Hungarian students who have studied in the Netherlands, and compares them to the work done by students from other countries.

In the early modern period, education of the Hungarian intelligentsia always took place abroad. This was especially true for Protestant intellectuals since there was no higher education available for them within their own country. After the foundation of the University of Leiden in 1575, studying in the Netherlands became more and more popular. *Peregrinatio academica* to this area became even more pronounced after the University of Heidelberg closed in 1622 in the second year of the Thirty-Year War, and the professors and students were forced to move mainly to Franeker. Besides the universities mentioned above, we can find enrolled Hungarian students at the Universities of Utrecht, Groningen, Harderwijk and

Deventer in university records.¹ Political relations between the Protestants (especially the Calvinists) of Hungary and Transylvania and the Dutch estates were favourable. There were also, to a lesser extent, some good economic connections.

Educational and cultural opportunities for the Protestant intellectuals within the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania changed dramatically in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century these opportunities for the above mentioned stratum were good thanks to the Protestant aristocrats and landed gentry, the school system established during the reign of the Calvinist Princes of Transylvania² and the different forms of higher education following secondary education such as “law academies”. After the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania had integrated into the Habsburg Empire, the situation changed in several respects. The Calvinist Church was forced to concentrate its force and to create a church organisation headed by a committee of scholars who had an overview of the complete ecclesiastic, educational and cultural situation. The Chief Consistory (*Főkonzisztórium*³) served this purpose in

¹ Let me refer here only to the bigger overviews of the Hungarian and Transylvanian students studying in the Netherlands; Miklós SZABÓ-Sándor TONK, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521–1750* (Peregrinatio academica of the Transylvanians in the early modern period), Szeged, JATE, 1992 (Fontes rerum scholasticarum, IV.); Miklós SZABÓ- László SZÖGI, *Erdélyi Peregrinusok, Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken* (Peregrins from Transylvania: Transylvanian Students at European Universities), Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 1998; Géza KATHONA, *A holland egyetemeken 1750-ig tanult magyar studensek kollektív névsora, Kézirat* (A Collective List of Hungarian Students who Studied at Dutch Universities until 1750, Manuscript); Réka BOZZAY-Sándor LADÁNYI, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken 1595–1918* (Students from Hungary at Dutch Universities between 1595 and 1918), Budapest, ELTE, 2007 (Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban (Peregrinatio Academica of Hungarian Students in the Early Modern Period), 15.); László SZÖGI, *Magyarországi diákok svájci és hollandiai egyetemeken 1789–1919* ((Hungarian Students at Swiss and Dutch Universities between 1789 and 1919), Budapest, ELTE, 2000 (Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban (Peregrinatio Academica of Hungarian Students in the Early Modern Period, 3.)

² Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629); Georg I. Rákóczi (1631–1648); Georg II. Rákóczi (1648–1658); Michael I. Apaffi (1661–1690)

³ Gábor SIPOS, *Az Erdélyi Református Főkonzisztórium kialakulása 1668–1713–(1736)* (The formation of the Chief Consistory in Transylvania between 1668 and 1713

Transylvania. Its clergy and lay (aristocrats) members knew that every internal dispute and quarrel would serve only to re-catholicize the country. Despite all the difficulties, they had to find a way to produce one generation of Calvinist intellectuals after the other. They intended to concentrate the forces in Transylvania and send only the very best students to schools abroad. Later on these young people came home and did their service there.⁴

Purchasing books in Hungary or Transylvania was cumbersome and book trading was getting organised only by the end of the eighteenth century.⁵ Like wandering book handlers, book binders and printers, book merchants could not keep their offers up-to-date, especially where scholarly books were concerned. Book auctions⁶ organised from the middle of the eighteenth century pumped books from at least one (but

(and 1736)), Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2000 (Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, 230.)

⁴ Gábor SIPOS, *Református értelmiségi életforma a 17–18. századi erdélyben* (The way of Life of a Calvinist Intellectual in Transylvania in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), = Gábor SIPOS, *Reformata Transylvanica, Tanulmányok az erdélyi református egyház 16–18. századi történetéhez* (Studies on the Calvinist Church History in Transylvania in the 17th and 18th Centuries), Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2012, 159–178.

⁵ Friedrich TEUTSCH, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels in Siebenbürgen*, Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Bd. IV. Leipzig, 1879. 13–27., Bd. VI. Leipzig, 1881. 7–71., Bd. XV. Leipzig, 1892. 103–188. (reprint: Nendeln/Lichtenstein, Kraus, 1977); György KÓKAY, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Ungarn*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1990; For a recent summary see: Ilona PAVERCSEK, *A magyar könyvkereskedelem történetének vázlata 1800-ig* (A Draft of the History of Hungarian Book Trade until 1800), = Judit V. ECSÉDY, *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában 1473–1800* (A History of Hand-Made Books in Hungary), Budapest, Balassi, 1999, 295–340.

⁶ The first auctions are known to have taken place in Debrecen. György Maróthi mentions that the duplicates of the College were sold this way, on August 15 and 17 in 1743. Then Maróthi's books were auctioned on July 30, 1745 (see: Béla TÓTH, *Maróthi György*, Debrecen, MTA Debreceni Akadémiai Bizottság, 1994, 215–223). In 1751, János Tabajdi Sáska, a former College professor's library was sold at an auction in Debrecen (see: Árpád MAGYAR–Edina ZVARA, *A kaplonyi ferences rendház könyvtárának régi állománya* (Catalogue of Rare Books of the Franciscan Library in Kaplony), Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009 (A Kárpát-medence magyar könyvtárainak régi könyvei – Altbücherbestände ungarischer Bibliotheken im Karpatenbecken, 4.) page 106. (Nr. 431.))

usually more than one) generation into the channels of the book trade. Professionals like ministers, teachers, lawyers or doctors could not collect a specialised collection of books for themselves. On the other hand the lack of books and the fact that they were reading from all disciplines often resulted in scholars with a broader horizon than their Western European counterparts. Reading books from a wide range of disciplines was also liable to constraints. In many cases the very small number of intellectuals forced these to undertake several kinds of intellectual work. Ministers were most probably teachers as well, and many were also historians. They often had to voice reasons for modernising farming and had to provide advice in this. Legal knowledge must also have exceeded general level since landed gentry often asked the minister to draft a document for them, so the minister-professor-historian needed to be skilled in drafting legal documents too. Minor health issues and the conditions of their animals were also reported to them by the people of the village. Consequently it was a great help if the minister also had some knowledge of animal and human diseases. The intellectual orientation and the cultural taste of the schools in Leiden, Franeker, Groningen, Deventer or Harderwijk had an impact on the Calvinist intellectuals in Hungary and Transylvania in many respects.

The impetus received during studies in higher education determines the intellectual orientation of every intellectual. During the eighteenth century a professor of high calibre could have a sizable Hungarian and Transylvanian circle of intellectuals around him at the universities of the Low Countries or Switzerland. In public disputes the students would defend these professors' theses and would try to buy and take home their books. Students were poor, and only a minority had the opportunity to buy unlimited numbers of books. At the beginning of the eighteenth century older books from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were cheaper than the freshly printed publications. It is no wonder that most of the time the students purchased these books for themselves and for their patrons. When returning home the books they donated to their *alma mater* were again not the ones which had just been published. When churches abroad sent donations to schools in Hungary or Transylvania they sent east the books they no longer needed. This was one of the reasons behind the slow process of readings in Hungary and Transylvania becoming archaic. Another factor was the long use of the Latin language in Hungary and Transylvania. In Transylvania the official language was Hungarian but the students travelling abroad in general knew Latin bet-

ter than German, Dutch or Italian, despite the fact that in Western Europe in the eighteenth century the most up-to-date scholarly books were written in the vernacular and were rarely translated into Latin. Therefore the archaism of linguistic education turned the attention of Hungarian intellectuals towards older books.⁷

We are lucky to have good information concerning the sources of the books used by the students enrolled in the universities mentioned above. From the point of view of the present study this means that the owners of the surviving book lists who studied at Dutch universities brought back home the books they purchased in the Netherlands, but had very little opportunity after their return to enlarge their collection of books. The book list, therefore, reflects the field of interest and the taste acquired in the years spent in the Netherlands. A part of the sources even pointed out the exact location where the book was bought or read. Let us see how many book lists we can work with during our study.

First let us take the readings of two aristocrats who studied in the Netherlands. *Mihály Bethlen* (1673–1706) went on a European tour between 1691 and 1694.⁸ He enrolled at the University of Franeker at the end of 1692. In his journal he listed the books he read at the university library („*Libri a me lecti in Academia Franeckerana Anno 1692 et 1693*”). He mentioned sixteen titles which are, with a few exceptions, freshly published books. In the readings of the aristocrats of Transylvania, books on theology, church organisation and religious disputations held an important place. No catalogue of the library of Mihály Bethlen has survived, so we cannot tell if this statement is true or not in the case of his readings. It is however safe to state that the books he read in Franeker and The Hague were not of this kind. The little list of sixteen items gives us clues concerning the readings of the Hungarian students. Let us start first with the language composition of the books. The

⁷ For a summary see: István MONOK, *Die Buch- und Lesekultur in Ungarn der frühen Neuzeit, Teilbilanz der Ergebnisse einer langen Grundlagenforschung (1980–2007)*, Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich, 2008/1. 7–31.

⁸ *Bethlen Mihály útinaplója 1691–1695* (Mihály Bethlen's Travel Diary from 1691 to 1695), Sajtó alá rendezte JANKOVICS József, Budapest, Helikon, 1981; the booklist: 40–41.

Hungarian students of this period as well as Bethlen read and spoke Latin well and surpassed their fellow students from Western Europe. Bethlen himself read books in Latin and German, two of which are standard law books (Hugo Grotius, Matthaeus Polus, Ulricus Huberus), two dealing with philosophy (Maturinus Corderius and Francis Bacon) and contemporary history. He very much disliked one book whose author he did not mention: „*Inutilis quidam difficilis liber ex Germanico expositus*”.

The two Hungarian items on the book lists are very interesting for several reasons. Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris' *Origines Hungaricae* (Franeker, 1693, RMK III. 3797) was a freshly published book, and one could ask the question why the aristocrat spent time to read it while he was abroad. He must have bought it with the intention of reading it when he returned to Hungary. It seems, however, that the purchase itself was not all that clear and it is not proven that the distribution of a book with a Hungarian topic published abroad had been planned by anyone. This is also supported by the fact that Mihály Bethlen read his grandfather's (János Bethlen) History of Transylvania (RMK III. 2238): „*Historia Domini mei Aoi lecta Hagae*” published in Amsterdam in 1664, from November 17 to 21, 1693. Does this mean that the family in Transylvania did not have a copy? It is possible. This entry in his journal reinforces our former statement saying that there was a lack of book trade in Hungary and Transylvania in the early modern period.

Another aristocrat who stayed in the Netherlands as a student was Pál Teleki (1677–1731).⁹ He was enrolled at the Universities of Franeker and Groningen in 1696. His surviving journal of 1697 and an invoice issued in 1696 by Leonard Stick, a book seller in Franeker, give us an indication of his readings and his book purchases. The invoice lists twelve books and a globe, and the titles mentioned in the journals are the following: twenty-nine items in

⁹ Teleki Pál külföldi tanulmányútja, *Levelek, számadások, iratok 1695–1700* (Pál Teleki's Study Abroad Trip, Letters, Invoices, Documents between 1695 and 1700), Összeállította és az utószót írta FONT Zsuzsa, Szeged, JATE, 1989 (Fontes rerum scholasticarum, III.); the booklist see also in separate edition: ADATTÁR 16/3. 142–147.; KtF I, 146.; KtF V, 115, 119, 120.

Utrecht, twenty-four items in Leiden, twelve items in Amsterdam, thirteen items in Franeker, one book in Rotterdam and one item in The Hague. Besides the Latin titles there is one German and one French as well. In the Transylvanian aristocracy the spread of the French language occurred a few decades later than in Hungary. Later on I will come back to the reception of Descartes in Transylvania¹⁰ but in connection with Teleki let me add here that he bought a book by Cartesius in Latin and several books by Samuel Puffendorf also figure on the booklist.¹¹ Teleki's purchases (and his readings in the Netherlands) were primarily on theology and philosophy, and history is only present as church history in this book list. The Teleki family, in common with several other aristocratic families in Transylvania, was obliged to reinforce its church organisational and church supporting role at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Protestant churches especially the Calvinistic church of Transylvania, which was annexed by the Habsburg Empire in 1690 as a principality, were under strong pressure from the Catholic Church. The Protestant churches themselves could not counterbalance this pressure by themselves. This is what explains the anachronism in the readings and studies in theology of this young aristocrat. He wanted to get informed in the contemporary Calvinist theological disputations and the current issues in church organisation so that back at home in Transylvania he could solve the awaiting problems. The Teleki family had enlarged their collection of books in their castle in Gernyeszeg adding books generation after genera-

¹⁰ For a summary with bibliography see: *A karteziánizmus négyszáz éve, – Four Hundred Years of Cartesianism, – Quatre siècles de cartésianisme*, Ed. by Dezső CSEJTEL, András DÉKÁNY, Sándor LACZKÓ, Szeged, Pro Philosophia Szege-diensi Alapítvány, 1996 (Ész – Élet – Egzisztencia, V), especially the studies by József HAJÓS and Bálint KESERŰ.

¹¹ German universities played a major role in transmitting ideas from the Low Countries, France and England. See Heinz SCHNEPPEN, *Niederländische Univer-sitäten und deutsches Geistesleben von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späten 18. Jahrhundert*, Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960 (Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, 6.); *Les littératures de langue allemande en Europe Centrale*, Sous la dir. de Jacques LE RIDER, Fridrun RINNER, Paris, PUF, 1998 (Perspectives Germaniques)

tion so that they could help the work of Calvinistic ministers and teachers serving on their lands.¹²

When comparing Teleki's taste in reading with the aristocratic students from other countries, it can be found archaic. His contemporaries, even the ones in the Western part of Hungary concentrated on education in history, law, politics, geography, and languages and read books mainly in these fields.¹³

Between 1669 and 1725, book lists, purchased or read, were found in peregrination journals (*Stammbuch, Omniarium*) or probate inventories of nine non-aristocratic students while four other non-aristocratic students' books were listed on different occasions during their lives after their return home. We have included here only those book lists which detail books purchased during their owner's stay in the Netherlands, or where the small collections of books were definitely not enlarged after the students' return.¹⁴ Therefore we can draw conclusions about their cultural horizons as students from their book list.

Pál Jászberényi (the 1630-ies–1669), started his studies in 1656 in Utrecht, and then enrolled in Franeker in 1657. He even studied in Groningen for a short time.¹⁵ It is unclear whether he meant to continue his studies in Franeker after his stay in England. He

¹² István MONOK, *Leser oder Sammler? Die Veränderung der Buchsammel- und Lese-gewohnheiten an der Wende des 17–18. Jahrhunderts*, Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bd. 12, Wien, 1997. 127–142.

¹³ István MONOK, *Lesende Magnaten und Bürger im Westungarn, = Bibliothekar und Forscher, Beiträge zur Landeskunde des burgenländisch-westungarischen Raumes, Festschrift für Norbert Frank zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. von Felix TOBLER, Eisenstadt, Burgenländische Landesbibliothek, 2003 (Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband XXV.) 179–190.

¹⁴ This is why the present study does not deal with the readings of remarkable personalities such as Sámuel Köleséri (1663–1732) whose library containing more than three thousand books is known from an inventory in 1745: Published by Lajos BERTÓK, *Iffabb Köleséri Sámuel könyvhagyatéka* (Sámuel Köleséri, jr.'s Legacy of books), = Annual of the Library of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen for the Year 1955), Debrecen, KLTE, 1956, 3–330.; KtF VII, 46.

¹⁵ Ferenc POSTMA, *Die zwei Franeker Bücherinventare des siebenbürgischen Studenten Paulus Jászberényi (1670)*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 121(2006), 483–484.

nevertheless left his belongings including his books there before travelling to England in 1659. After his death in London in 1669¹⁶ the University of Franeker made an official inventory of his personal estates, including his books.¹⁷ The 120 items listed make us believe that Jászberényi chose his books well out of the multitude of books available. He kept his university text books and he received a few booklets on religious disputations from his fellow students. He bought a few useful handbooks such as a Bible in Hebrew and Petrus Ravanellus' *Bibliotheca Sacra*¹⁸. He also purchased the theology books written by his professors and other contemporary Calvinist authors in the Low Countries disregarding whether they followed the stricter Dordrecht trend or the one more open to contemporary philosophy. He also bought a few books on Socinianism which he presumably heard about back in Transylvania. It is, however, remarkable that he acquired almost all the books by Petrus Ramus, including his commentaries of classic authors from the Antiquities. Bartholomaeus Keckermann was also one of his favourite authors. Besides the philosophical books by Wilhelmus Amesius and Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld he also collected Johann Alsted's writings. He bought the modern editions of many antique authors, especially the Stoics. It is worth noting that he bought the writings of Erasmus (two volumes of his correspondence) and even more surprisingly two books by Thomas Aquinas. From among books on political theory he purchased a book by Christoph Besold.¹⁹ To sum up, one can say of the little collection that it was acquired by someone who was not a freshman. He knew what was missing from his library at home and was aware of what he was interested in. One should bear in mind the fact that Jászberényi passed the age of twenty five when

¹⁶ The date of Jászberényi's death was clarified by György GÖMÖRI, *Magyar tanárok a 17. századi Londonban* (Hungarian Teachers in London in the Seventeenth Century), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 108(2004), 458.

¹⁷ Ferenc POSTMA, *Die zwei Franeker Bücherinventare des siebenbürgischen Studenten Paulus Jászberényi (1670)*, *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 121(2006), 483–484. 485–489.

¹⁸ It came out first at Pierre Chouet's in 1650, and then in 1654-ben (the other editions came out later than Jászberényi packed up his things in Franeker.)

¹⁹ *Synopsis politicae doctrinae* – edition 6 must have been the most available for him which came out in Amsterdam in 1648 at Janssonius' Publishing House

he started his university studies, therefore he was well-read and could find his way in the world of books.

Tamás Gyarmati (? – 1717) enrolled at the High School of Sárospatak in 1664. He started his university studies in Frankfurt (Oder) in the spring of 1668 then continued his studies in Franeker where he was arrested for stealing in 1669.²⁰ At his trial it was taken as extenuating circumstances that he used the stolen money to buy books. When returning home he served as a minister at several places. From today's point of view, the books he bought are not worth stealing. Most of them existed in many copies in Hungary, among others in the *Alma Mater* Library of Sárospatak. It was, on the other hand, very useful to have the handbooks at home. The Hebrew grammar and the grammar book of Johannes Leusden or the trilingual dictionary of Joannes Servilius were useful for Gyarmati. A handbook and compendium on theology by Johannes Wollebius translated by György Komáromi Csipkés did not seem to carry the same weight as an edition of the *Confessio Boemica* or the epigrams of Johannes Theodorus von Tschesch, who belonged to the circle of Jacob Böhme.²¹ These two latter writings are interesting because they were read by a student from Zemplén County. If the book entitled „*Ars catholica*” in the inventory made by the police is the book by Balthasar Büchner²² then the book list of this thieving student can be considered exciting.

²⁰ His biography was summed up and the documents concerning his trial published by Ferenc POSTMA, *Warum der ungarische Student Thomas Gyarmati im Februar 1669 aus der Provinz Friesland verbannt wurde, oder: Das recht peinliche Ende seiner Studienzeit an der friesischen Universität in Franeker*, = *Történetek a mélyföldről, Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban* (Stories from the Low Countries, Intellectual Contacts between Hungary and the Low Countries in the Early Modern Period), Szerk. BOZZAY Réka, Debrecen, Printart-Press, 2014. 82–115.

²¹ About the importance of this circle see: Noémi VISKOLCZ, *Reformációs könyvek, tervek az evangélikus egyház megújítására – Reformationsbücher, Pläne für die Erneuerung der evangelischen Kirche*, Budapest, OSZK, Universitas, 2006 (Res libraria, I.)

²² *Ars catholica artium omnium quaestuosissima et compendiaria ratio conciliandi favorem principum aulae coelestis ...* per Balthasarum BUECHNERum, Würzburg, Georg Fleischmann, 1596.

The presence of Philipp Kegelius' Pious Meditations indicates the same.

Sámuel Kaposi Juhász (1660–1713) studied in Utrecht (1683), then in Leiden (1685, 1687) and went to London and Oxford as well. Especially his studies in Hebrew were of importance but he studied other Eastern languages.²³ His disputations in philosophy in Utrecht are known. He taught philosophy at the Calvinist high school of Gyulafehérvár. His *omniarium* preserved altogether six book lists.²⁴ He drew up the first list in Leiden, comprising the 151 books he left at home. These books can be called conservative, apart from the high number of books published in Hungary, those by sixteenth century Swiss Calvinist theologians and early seventeenth century authors from Heidelberg are in dominant number. The second fragmentary inventory was made after he returned home in 1689, while the three successive fragmentary book lists include books which arrived in Transylvania (Kolozs-vár and in Alvincz) some years after he finished his studies. The last book list was prepared much later and is a fair copy of a library catalogue „*Catalogus Bibliothecae meae recensitus Anno 1703 20 Octobris*”. Unfortunately he never completed this inventory, so the researcher of Kaposi Juhász's readings are obliged to compile the six booklists. From these inventories one can have a picture of what direction his interest took during his studies. He owned almost three hundred books published in the Netherlands (six in Flemish among them). At the time of his death his private collection included altogether about a thousand books. He collected, in the Netherlands and England, a modern collection on linguistics of Eastern languages. He read in English and bought a relatively

²³ Cf.: Ferenc POSTMA, *Hebräische Grammatiken in Ungarn, 1635–1992*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 111(1995) 312–319.; Ferenc POSTMA, *Hebräische Grammatiken in Ungarn und in Siebenbürgen, 1635–1992*, in *Een boek heeft een rug : studies voor Ferenc Postma op het grensgebied van theologie, bibliofilie en universiteitsgeschiedenis ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftigste verjaardag*, onder hoofdred. van Margriet GOSKER, Redactieleden Murk A. J. POPMA, Zoetermeer, Boekencentrum, 1995. 181–192.

²⁴ ADATTÁR 16/3. p. 223–264., KtF III, 90, 95, 98, 102, 122, 126.; Cf.: Dávid CSORBA, *Kaposi Juhász Sámuel eddig ismeretlen könyvlistái*, Lymbus, Magyarorságtudományi forrásközlemények, 2011, 196–207.

high number of books in English which were in the fields of Bible philology and linguistics. There are many among them on mathematics and astronomy, and of course he collected many important books in theology and philosophy. There are writings by authors from both ends of the Cartesian spectrum (pro and contra) in his library. Clearly he was more of a collector and less of a reader. He was aware that he would have less opportunity to enlarge his collection when he was back in Transylvania especially not with modern publications.

Miklós Apáti Madár (1662–1724), a philosopher from Debrecen was one of the leading figures of Cartesianism in Hungary. He enrolled at the University of Leiden in 1685, in Franeker in 1687 and in Utrecht in 1688. Apart from religious disputations, his most important work was the one he wrote in the Netherlands entitled *Vita triumphans civilis* and published in Amsterdam (1688, RMK III. 3491) which was dedicated to Jacob Boreel and other town officials in Amsterdam. Unfortunately the pages which are missing from his *Omniarium* are those where he listed his books, so the list ending with item 173 starts with item 117.²⁵ The 57 titles thus known, out of the 173, do not show a modern book collection. What it reveals, however, is its owner as a methodical book collector. He acquired the concise editions of Calvinistic leading personalities of the sixteenth century such as Henricus Bullinger, Guilhelm Whitaker, Johannes Johannes Cocceius, Josua Stegmann, Nicolaus Arnold. He owned books on the most up-to-date proceedings in Hebrew Bible philology by Johannes Leusden, Jacobus Alting, Jean Buset as well as the nature philosophy of Antoine Le Grand. In spite of the fact that this latter book is the most outstanding piece in the Hungarian history of the reception of Descartes from among the Cartesian thinkers, only the name of Christoph Wittichius figures on his fragmentary book list. From among the opponents of Descartes Samuel Maresius and Gisbertus Voetius are listed with one book each.

Márton Bánffyhungyadi Abacs (?–1737) was a Calvinist minister who studied theology and philosophy in Franeker between 1694 and

²⁵ ADATTÁR 14, 321–324., KtF III, 114.

1696. His disputation on theology is known. The list containing 78 volumes (66 works)²⁶ contains very modern readings in spite of the fact that Abacs also bought the books on the Calvinistic classics by Johannes Cocceius, Henricus Altingius, Franciscus Burmannus, and others. Significant parts of these books are volumes publishing the most up-to-date results in linguistics and philology. There are Hebrew Bibles (Johannes Leusden) and the basics of Hebrew language learning (Johann Buxtorf), handbooks in Greek or Latin in modern or new editions (Georg Pasor) among them. Besides the contemporary handbooks of Calvinistic classics by authors such as Herman Alexander Röell, Herman Witsius, Campegius Vitringa and the English John Lightfoot, he also acquired important Cartesian books by Descartes, Johann Clauberg, Arnold Geulincx, and Johannes van der Waeyen. The new rationalistic philosophy or the theologies based on this are also represented in his book collection with books by Petrus Gassendi, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, Samuel Puffendorf.

János Détései (?–1742) was a student of the University of Franeker between 1699 and 1700. He served as a Calvinistic minister in Transylvania, in Fogaras, and in Hunyad County, until his death in 1742. In his album, four undated book lists²⁷ were found. The first one lists the books which came from Belgium (57 items). The first inventory consists of 46 items while the fourth inventory details book purchases. Many items are identical in these two lists, therefore they must be the books purchased while he stayed in the Netherlands. Besides the representatives of Calvinistic theology of the middle and the end of the seventeenth century (Henricus Altingius, Johannes Cocceius, Herman Witsius, Röell, Lightfoot), more modern philosophy is also present (Heidegger). The two most interesting items of the lists, however, are the two Cartesian authors, Pierre Poiret and Johannes van der Waeyen.

András Szilágyi (1683–1738), a Calvinistic minister enrolled at the Theology Faculty of the University of Franeker in 1712. His diary is known. He bought 52 books (35 writings) and he listed the ti-

²⁶ ADATTÁR 16/3, 269–271., KtF IV, 111.

²⁷ ADATTÁR 16/3, 281–287., KtF IV, 123, 130, 133, KtF VIII, 114.

bles of these in his diary.²⁸ He clearly intended to buy handbooks and concise theology books. Apart from the fresh disputations of Campegius Vitringa, Herman Alexander Röell, Herman Witsius, the Hebrew psalms of Johannes Leusden, he also purchased the collected works of Johannes Cocceius and Henricus Altingius who were by then considered classics. English thinkers are represented in his small collection by Thomas Goodwin who was also popular in Hungary.

János Borosnyai (1660–1715), a Calvinistic minister, acquired his knowledge in theology through his 4-year-long peregrination. He studied in Frankfurt (Oder) in 1691, in Franeker between 1692 and 1693, then in England in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. A book list was made of his 296 books in 1698²⁹ after his return home. His collection is a library on theology including the „*Opera omnia*” editions or more important books of each author, starting from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The authors are mainly Calvinists but not exclusively Orthodox Calvinists. Borosnyai read in French and, to a lesser extent, probably in English too. He not only had Bibles in these languages but tracts on philosophy or theology. Financially he must have been well off during his studies, since he often bought the books of his professors and other contemporary Cartesian authors.

Compared to Borosnyai, *András Nánási* (?–1708?) was a poor student who accompanied Mihály Bethlen to Franeker and in 1692 enrolled at the university there and later on at the University of Utrecht. His books were inventoried in 1708³⁰ Clearly Nánási used the opportunity to attend the universities abroad by accompanying his patron, but he had no money to buy books. From among the 31 books listed in his book list the most interesting one is a Bible in English, the rest are books on theology by Swiss, German (from Heidelberg) and Dutch authors, while his contemporaries or professors are represented by no books at all.

²⁸ ADATTÁR 16/3, 156–157. KtF IV, 140.

²⁹ ADATTÁR 16/3, 272–280., KtF III, 107, 128.

³⁰ ADATTÁR 16/3, 155–156., KtF IV, 137.

Dániel Csernátoni Gajdó (1696–1749) went to the University of Leiden between 1722 and 1725. His book list of 1729³¹ survived, so the books he brought back and the ones he purchased at home or elsewhere are mixed. He must have acquired more than two-thirds of the 140 books in Leiden; such as a collection of portraits of his university professors, bibles and related handbooks as well as books of contemporary Hebraists (Leusden, Isaac Vossius) and books by his professors or ones who had recently died (Campegius Vitringa, Nicolaus Gürtler, Salomon van Til, Johannes Hoornbeeck, Röell, Johannes van den Honert, Herman Witsius, Antoine Le Grand). Gajdó's booklist constitutes interesting data concerning the Descartes reception in Transylvania since he read the writings of Christoph Wittichius and Johannes van der Waeyen.

From the point of view of library and reading history an outstanding figure from among the students presented in the previous paragraph is *Sámuel Köleséri* (1663–1732).³² It is not only that he owned one of the biggest private collections of books of his era documented by a book list of 3561 items, but the composition of this huge library proves the statements made in the preface to this present study. Among his books there were markedly many school books, textbooks of antique authors published for school work (831 items), and relatively few manuscripts (20 volumes). The rest of the books were more or less evenly distributed among other disciplines; there were 631 books on theology, 260 on law, 385 on medicine, 628 on philosophy and 580 on history. If we did not know Köleséri's biography based on this book list he could have been an expert in any of these disciplines (since he could af-

³¹ ADATTÁR 16/3, 160–164., KtF VII, 16.

³² Lajos BERTÓK, *Ifjabb Köleséri Sámuel könyvhagyatékának magyar és magyar vonatkozású nyomtatványai* (Hungary related documents in Sámuel Köleséri, jr.'s Books-Legacy), = *A Debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtárának Évkönyve 1954*, (Annual of the Library of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen for the Year 1954), Debrecen, KLTE, 1955, 383–436.; Lajos BERTÓK, *Ifjabb Köleséri Sámuel könyvhagyatéka* (Sámuel Köleséri, jr.'s Legacy of books), = *Annual of the Library of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen for the Year 1955*, Debrecen, KLTE, 1956, 3–330.

ford all the books he wanted he purchased everything he came across at home and during his travels).

The intellectual horizon of *Péter Bod* (1712–1769) who set out on a study trip in 1740 was fundamentally determined by his secondary school studies. He could access the library of the school in Nagyenyed since the collections of books for professors and students had not yet been separated, and handling library books was the job for senior students.³³ Book lists starting from the foundation of the Nagyenyed School in 1662 document relatively well the donations and any movement of the collection of the school library (e.g.: during the *Kuruc* uprising when the library was taken to Nagyszeben).³⁴ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English language books were removed from the collection for unknown reasons.³⁵

Let us take a look at the catalogue written after Péter Bod's death and published by Béla Radvánszky a hundred and fifty years later.³⁶ Radvánszky's generation of historians examined the library catalogues of the Early Modern Period from the point of view of the retrospective national bibliography „*Régi Magyar Könyvtár*” (Old Hungarian Library), looking for titles of books published in Hungary or Transylvania which could be added to the retrospective national bibliography. In his one-page-long description accompanying the text he was concerned only with the three items unknown in bibliographies until then. The high number of Hungarian-related titles (*hungaricum*) is apparent in the collection, and these are in part listed separately (almost half of the 966 items were Hungarian related and include 58 volumes and manuscripts). It is

³³ See: István MONOK, *Qu'est-ce qu'un bibliothécaire en Hongrie à l'époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)? Histoire et civilisation du livre*. *Revue internationale*, 3(2007), 319–328.

³⁴ ADATTÁR 16/2, 117–196.

³⁵ See: István MONOK, *A nagyenyedi kollégium 1774. évi katalógusa* (The Catalogue of the Nagyenyed College of 1774), = *Fülöp Géza emlékkönyv, Művelődéstörténeti és könyvtártudományi írások* (Studies on the Book and Civilisations History in Honour of Géza Fülöp), szerk. BARATNE HAJDU Ágnes, Budapest, ELTE, 127–130.

³⁶ Béla RADVANSZKY, *Bod Péter könyvtárának jegyzéke* (The Book List of Péter Bod's Library), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 9(1884), 58–86.

no surprise, since Péter Bod worked on *Magyar Athénas* (*Hungarian Athénas*). Considering the old Hungarian books in his library and in the collection of Kata Bethlen managed by Péter Bod³⁷, the first Hungarian bibliography hardly mentions anyone else but the authors and the books found in these two collections. From this point of view, therefore, the library of Péter Bod was justifiably one of the scholarly libraries (*Gelehrtenbibliothek*) and as a collection of *hungaricums* is, along with Martin Schmeizel's, the largest one.³⁸ It is no wonder Bod praised Schmeizel in his *Magyar Athénas* so much.³⁹ This appreciation as well as the composition of his library shows how important patriotism was for the minister of Magyarigen, together with aesthetic and rhetoric values.

Little or almost nothing has been written on Péter Bod's library since the book list was published. Zsigmond Vita⁴⁰ – in compliance with the general interest of his period (the 1970s) highlighted the “progressive” items of the library such as books by Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Francis Bacon, René Descartes, John Locke or writings in social philosophy by Niccolo Macchiavelli and Tommaso Campanella. Zsigmond Vita

³⁷ Melinda SIMON-Ágnes SZABO, *Bethlen Kata könyvtárának rekonstrukciója* (The Reconstruction of Kata Bethlen's Library), DEE NAGY Anikó *bevezetésével* (Introduction by Anikó Deé Nagy), Szeged, Scriptum, 1997 (A Kárpát-medence koraújkori könyvtárai – Bibliotheken im Karpatenbecken der frühen Neuzeit, II.)

³⁸ For a thorough summary of Schmeizel's life and oeuvre see: Attila VEROK, *Ein Gelehrter und seine Gelehrtenbibliothek als die erste Hungarica-Privatbibliothek der Welt*, = Jitka RADIMSKA (ed.), *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven* (Pour une étude des bibliothèques aristocratiques, bourgeoises et conventuelles / Zur Erforschung der Schloss-, Bürger- und Kirchenbibliotheken / Investigaciones en las bibliotecas aristocráticas, burguesas eclesiásticas), České Budějovice, Filozofická fakulta, 2009, (Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis – Opera Romanica, 11), 309–328.; Attila VEROK, *Die erste historische Fachbibliothek im Donau-Karpatenraum? Martin Schmeizel und seine Büchersammlung*, *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 35(106)(2012), Heft 2, 134–149.

³⁹ József JANKOVICS, *A Magyar Athenas értékszempontjai* (Values in *Magyar Athenas*), = *Bod Péter, a historia litteraria művelője, Tanulmányok* (Studies on Péter Bod, as a Historian of Literature), szerk. TŰSKÉS Gábor, CSÖRSZ RUMEN István, HEGEDŰS Béla, Budapest, Universitas, 2004, 17–23.

⁴⁰ Zsigmond VITA, *Bod Péter könyvtára* (Péter Bod's Library), = Zsigmond VITA, *Művelődés és népszolgálat* (Culture and Culturation), Bukarest, Kriterion, 1983, 53–58.

then of course had to mention the fact that there were books in Romanian in the library and emphasized the fact that there were several dictionaries there. He, however, focused on the Hungarian printed books and manuscripts. Recent research on Péter Bod has started to examine the way the writer used books and compared the mentality of his books with his writings. *A propos* the re-edition of *Szent Hilárius* both Emil Hargittay⁴¹ and Mária Kakucska⁴² analysed the sources of this writing, mentioning the fact that Bod often cited one or two authors (e.g.: Juan Ludovico Vives) while taking their writings and the review of these writings from yet another reading of his. Botond Gudor made an analysis of the preparedness, the methods and the historical culture of the historian Bod.⁴³

The undated book list was most probably not made for a public auction, although the prices of the books were also listed, but as an inventory drawn up during the probate proceedings. The newest book came out in 1769, in the year its owner died.

In general we can say that the library of the scholarly minister was a collection of books of a first generation intellectual and was the result of thematic collection. The library which consisted of 996 items must have been about 1100 volumes (the number of volumes were sometimes marked on the 'on the book list' and sometimes omitted). The description of each title is rather incomplete and is similar to or slightly better than the other inventories of the period, since in two-thirds of the cases it mentions the year of publication. Among the *non-hungaricums* listed separately 173 items are undated. Among the 484 dated books 138 (28%) came out before 1651, 125 items (26%) were from the period between 1651 and 1700, 195 books (41%) were from the period between 1701 and 1750, and 26 (5%) were publications after 1750. The dates of the Hungarian-related books cannot be analysed from the point of view of moderni-

⁴¹ Emil HARGITTAY, „Szívét vidámító, elmét ékesítő” könyv (“A Book Making your Heart Sing and your Mind Enriched”), = Bod Péter, *Szent Hilárius*, A szöveget gondozta HARGITTAY Emil, Budapest, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1987, 7–24. (about the Library: 9–11.)

⁴² Mária H. KAKUCSKA, *Juan Luis Vives és Bod Péter*, = Bod Péter, *a historia litteraria művelője*, *Tanulmányok* (Studies on Péter Bod, as a Historian of Literature), szerk. TÜSKÉS Gábor, CSÖRSZ RUMEN István, HEGEDŰS Béla, Budapest, Universitas, 2004, 143–154.

⁴³ Botond GUDOR, *Istoricul Bod Péter (1712–1769)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2008.

ty, since Péter Bod would certainly have bought them for being *hungaricums*. It is unclear why a large number of books published by authors from Hungary were listed among the “non-Hungarian books” but in each probate proceeding there was some confusion and titles got mixed up. The books by Leonard Stöckel, György Enyedi, Christoph Lackner published abroad, disputations, thesis booklets or in their content *hungaricums*, were history or law books and Hungarian related. The inventory listed the books by grouping them according to format or size. Zsigmond Vita pointed out that the scholar living in isolation in a village owned a large number of dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Apart from language books and biblical dictionaries he owned encyclopaedias on history, geography, medicine and science. Bible literature is well represented by books on biblical geography, symbols and Bible history. Bod was clearly interested in symbols and several fundamental books on emblems are on the book list.

Medicine is represented little apart from the encyclopaedias in the library. On the other hand Bod owned medical manuscripts and a herbarium present in almost all contemporary collections. Science is rare among the books.

Books on history were not predominant but were markedly present, especially literature concerning the history of Hungary and Transylvania and the neighbouring areas (Bohemia, Poland, Turkey, Italy and the Holy Roman Empire). Besides the predominant Biblical literature, the theological library of Péter Bod included the Church Fathers’ books interpreting the books of the Bible, and Protestant Bible commentaries from the sixteenth century while Catholic theology is missing. From the sixteenth century books by Helvetic authors and professors from Heidelberg were predominant while from the seventeenth century writings of the professors from universities in the Low Countries were represented in his library in great number. He also owned a few English books in Latin in their Dutch editions. Books from Saxony, Lower Saxony, Bremen and Hamburg were fundamental writings of Lutheran theologians or Bible literature from these areas. Philosophy was underrepresented in his book collection while Antique authors were present in very up-to-date contemporary editions.

Linguistically his collection was a homogeneous Hungarian and Latin collection. There was one Romanian item, a Flemish one („*Vall de Usu globor. Lingua Belgica*”) and a French book („*C. Josephi Essai Sur la Foiblesse. Amst. 1761*”). This last one was a writing by József Teleki about the

weaknesses of a strong soul. Surprisingly there were no books in German in the book list.

Éva Hubbes wrote a summary of the history of Bod's library or more precisely she mentioned the fact that after Bod's death Colleges of the Reformed Church bought books at the public auction of his book collection. She then detailed the volumes which were taken to Székelyudvarhely.⁴⁴

For a comparison the libraries of three contemporary intellectuals of the Reformed Church of the same generation as Péter Bod are described below.

György Maróthi (1715–1744) from Debrecen died at the age of 29. Only a part of his library, the books which the Reformed College of Debrecen bought at probate sale⁴⁵, is known, since his collection was also sold at a public auction. The 252 items selected by the College shows, on one hand, what the College library lacked and, on the other hand, characterizes a segment of Maróthi's readings.

Books by Antique authors were always needed in a school library. The Humanist editions of the sixteenth century bought from the Maróthi Collection and the critical editions from the seventeenth century prove that Maróthi the scholar did not think one edition of a text sufficient, and he was also interested in new findings in philology. However, they do indicate what kind of books disappeared from the library of the Reformed College of Debrecen at the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which were needed to be replaced. The situation is the same with dictionaries and encyclopaedias which were bought in a strikingly great number. Literature on theology and philosophy is also modern from the last third of the seventeenth century or older. Maróthi owned a book by almost all the professors from

⁴⁴ Éva M. HUBBES, *Bod Péter könyvtára és annak maradványai Székelyudvarhelyen* (Péter Bod's Library and its Remains in Székelyudvarhely), = *Bod Péter, a historia litteraria művelője, Tanulmányok* (Studies on Péter Bod, as a Historian of Literature), szerk. TÜSKÉS Gábor, CSÖRSZ RUMEN István, HEGEDŰS Béla, Budapest, Universitas, 2004. 47–58.

⁴⁵ János ÖTVÖS, *Maróthi György könyvtára* (György Maróthi's Library), = *A debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtárának évkönyve, 1955* (Annual of the Library of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen for the Year 1955), Debrecen, KLTE, 1956, 331–370.; *ADATTÁR 19/2*, 206–255.

the Low Countries and almost everything by Gerardus Vossius. There are few books on theology from the sixteenth century and these are by Helvetic authors. Books on philosophy are from the second half of the seventeenth century. Isaac Newton also figures on the book list. Once again one is tempted to believe that a missing item of the College library was replaced with it.

There were hardly any books on history and Hungarian books were also missing (with the exception of David Czwitinger and Georg Haner whose books represented this thematic group). On the other hand, science and mathematics were remarkably strong in the collection which is in line with Maróthi's field of scientific interest.

Gergely Balla (around 1710 – after 1772), the historian of the town of Nagykőrös, returned to his birth town with a degree in law in 1735 and became the judge of the town. His biographers talk about his library “of 2000 items”. The booklist discovered so far, however, mentions hardly 200 from among them. The inventory⁴⁶ made in 1763 includes his books in Latin and even the Hungarian books were many times mentioned in Latin while his German and French books were missing.⁴⁷ Italian and French grammars were listed among the books mentioned in the inventory.

One of the characteristics of public book collections in the eighteenth century was that they had many manuscripts besides printed books. Often there were copies of publications which refer to the fact that there was a lack of books in contemporary Hungary and Transylvania. Balla's

⁴⁶ Legacy of Géza Nagy in manuscript (Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Gyűjtőlevéltára, Nagy Géza irathagyatéka, Nr. 150). Thanks to Gábor Sipos for letting me see a copy of the inventory as well as Károly Balla's comments. Cf.: István MONOK, *Újrakezdés – Református iskolák könyvtárai az egykori török hódoltság területén* (A New Start-up – Libraries of Calvinist Schools in the ex-Territories Occupied by Turks), = *A tiszántúli református iskolák 18. századi könyvöröksége, Tanulmányok*, (Studies on the Books Heritage of Calvinist Schools in Transtibiscan part of Hungary in the 18th Century), Szerk.: MONOK István. Budapest–Eger, Kossuth Kiadó, EKF, 2012, (Kulturális örökség (Cultural Heritage)), 7–12.

⁴⁷ One of his descendants, Károly Balla commented on the fact in 1856 in a note saying that Balla's library had these books (see previous footnote).

manuscripts were apparently notes and drafts he made during his school years on linguistics, theology, and mathematics.

The books listed were mainly in law which is in harmony with the owner's legal profession but the proportion of books on history was also considerable. Although the inventory does not contain the publication date of the books, the authors and the title indicate a contemporary and modern library. Besides the Hungarian sources of law and legal commentaries (István Werbőczy, János Kitionich, and János Kemény) handbooks on the philosophy of law from the beginning of the eighteenth century (Samuel Puffendorf) also appear on the book list.

The presence of books on *oeconomia* (Wolf Helmbrandt von Hochberg, and Johann Coler) and handbooks on mathematics (Christian Wolff) also indicates a modern library. The town councillor Balla must have wanted to be up-to-date in management questions. However, the books on philosophy were traditional, and complied with contemporary Hungarian interests: they included writings transmitting Neo- Stoical values (Antonio Guevara, Justus Lipsius).

The *hungarica* part of the collection was mainly in Latin – at least this is what the fragmentary book list suggests – although Balla also had longer epic pieces in Hungarian by Péter Apor and Márton Kováts, as well as certain literary pieces (e.g.: by István Gyöngyösi), or sermons including even Catholic sermons (e.g.: by Péter Pázmány). The presence of important books on history such as those written by Antonio Bonfini, Farkas Bethlen, and the Nádasdy-Mausoleum indicates his field of interest.

Another contemporary of Peter Bod from Nagykőrös, *István Hányoki Losontzi* (1709–1780) was a well-known author of text books. The inventory of his books was prepared when he left for Utrecht in 1739.⁴⁸ The book list contains 187 items and is fragmentary since it does not include his books on medicine and law. The book list implies that most of his books were inherited from his father.

Nonetheless, his library was a modern one, the publication date of most books were from the last part of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century. He owned a few books on mathematics which were the writings of professors from the universities of Wittenberg and Kiel. Antique historical sources and a few near contemporary books on the philosophy of history indicate his not-too-

⁴⁸ ADATTÁR 13/4, 350–357.

pronounced interest in history. The books on history were mainly on Church History (11 volumes as opposed to the 2 volumes in history). Legal books show a similar distribution with 2 tracts in civil law by Johann Henning and Johann Schilter published in Leipzig and 4 in ecclesiastic law (three by Lutheran authors from Saxony and 1 Calvinistic writer from Zurich). Basically his library must have been a collection of books on philosophy and moral theology as it can be outlined from the inventory. There were books on theology from England and writings in larger numbers from representatives of Helvetic universities, but predominance was given to books from the Low Countries on non-Orthodox moral theology, ethics and natural law from the end of the seventeenth century. Looking at them in more detail, it appears first of all that the inventory lists the books on the methodology of theology (*Methodologia*). These are all by Lutheran authors (August Hermann Francke, Joachim Lang, Stephanus Gausenius) with the exception of Johann Heinrich Heidegger. An important fact on the approach discernible from the inventory is that the books on „*Theologia naturalis*” form a separate section on myths, Cicero’s writing on the nature of gods, and a book by Gerardus Johannes Vossius including Patristics was represented by five volumes. The inventory lists 27 books in the group of „*theologi moralis*”, none of which has a Calvinistic author, for there are only Catholic and Lutheran writers. The section on „*divina jurisprudentia*” included 8 volumes with the interpretations of the Ten Commandments and writings on *conscientia*. These authors were Calvinists from the beginning of the seventeenth century (Andreas Rivetus, Wilhelmus Amesius, Johann Heinrich Alsted) and one Lutheran (Lucas Osiander). The section on „*prudentia pastoralis*” was represented by three Calvinistic writings while the majority of the group on „*polemica*” (5 books) was also Calvinist (Martin Chemnitz’s Critique of Trident and 4 Calvinist books from the Low Countries from the first half of the seventeenth century).

It is interesting to note how well prepared was this young man setting out on a study-tour abroad, in terms of the different denominations, since Lutheran authors were predominant in the theological genres. It signifies openness but is also an indication that the Reformed Church played an important role in Hungary in the first half of the eighteenth century in the reception of Saxon Lutheranism and especially the Lutheranism of Halle, and of Pietism. István Losontzi returning home to Nagykőrös became a highly regarded member of the local community as the director of his former school and as the author of eleven schoolbooks,

so he took his job seriously. One can only hope that one day the probate inventory of his library will be discovered, since if he owned such a collection of books as a university student by the time of his retirement in 1769 as an academic intellectual, he must have collected an impressive library.

In general the statement of the introduction is proved correct: the few years spent in studying at universities abroad meant for the Hungarian and Transylvanian students a special occasion never to return to buy books. If they could afford it, they made good use of this opportunity. If they couldn't, then they had to live with the outdated literature available in the Carpathian Basin. The library of their aristocratic patron helped a lot in getting information and orientation and ministers and teachers could use aristocratic private libraries in Transylvania until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Another striking element is that the books of modern philosophical trends (our example for this was Descartes and his followers) are much more dominant in private collections than in the contemporary school libraries. On the other hand we hardly ever meet the names of Samuel Maresius, Gisbertus Voetius or Peter David Huet in the inventories of private libraries, while they do appear in institutional collections.⁴⁹

Comparing this book material with the readings of local students or students who were not from Hungary⁵⁰ it is not possible to say if there is any difference before they finish their studies. Students coming from the Netherlands, England, Denmark or Germany could count on books in their respective fields all their lives, therefore their purchases were more

⁴⁹ On the book collection of the Calvinist colleges see: ADATTÁR 14. (Sárospatak, Debrecen, Szatmár, Nagybánya, Zilah), ADATTÁR 16/2. (Kolozsvár, Nagyenyed, Marosvásárhely, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely)

⁵⁰ Let me thank Professor Paul G. HOFIJZER who sent me his unpublished lecture (International Gutenberg Conference, 2000, SHARP 8th Annual Meeting, 5. July 2000, Mainz) on the readings of the students in Leiden in the seventeenth century See also: Jeremy D. BANGS, *Book and Art Collection of the Low Countries in the Later Sixteenth Century: Evidence from Leiden*, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13(1982) 25–41.; Joan DAVIES, *Student Libraries in Sixteenth Century Toulouse*, *History of Universities*, III(1983) 61–86.; Wilhelm DIEHL, *Bibliothek eines Studenten der Theologie aus der Zeit um 1590*, *Archiv für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Neue Folge, Bd. 3, 1908, 80–83.; Friedrich MICHAEL, *Die Bücherei eines Schülers im 16. Jahrhundert*, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Neue Folge, 10(1918/19) p. 70–71.

specific to their field of studies. If they had to read books in a different discipline they went to a library or bought some books from the wide range which was always on offer. Hungarian students made an effort to purchase fundamental handbooks, encyclopaedias, or books which would help them to look into several scientific areas. There are, of course, exceptions such as Pál Jászberényi's interest in modern philosophy, or Sámuel Kaposi, who collected books on mathematics, astrology, philosophy and theology. His library was about ten times the size of the book collection of an average minister in Transylvania. The majority of the non-Hungarian students had a large number of books by the end of their lives, as convincingly shown in auctions and probate inventories.

At the end of the present study we refer to the fact that the Hungarian students, at least the ones who had the opportunity to go abroad, were linguistically well prepared and often outdid their Dutch fellow students. Apart from their Hungarian mother tongue they often spoke the language of the ethnic minority (German or Slovakian) which they had in the neighbourhood at home, they spoke Latin very well and knew some of ancient Greek, and sometimes Hebrew, which was so valuable in their studies in theology. In the eighteenth century the more open minded ones also learnt French. An example, maybe an exceptional one for this linguistic preparedness is *Sámuel Vilmányi*, born in Kassa who died during his studies in Franeker in 1779. His probate inventory lists 80 books.⁵¹ His readings reflect a very modern knowledge in theology, while books by local Protestant classics from the seventeenth century hardly ever figure on his book list. He owned a Greek text edition, an encyclopaedia in Hebrew, two books in German containing psalms and oratory. He also owned seven books in Dutch and 32 titles (almost 40 books) in French. The majority of this latter kind was on moral theology and not philosophy, literature or history. He learnt many languages for his own professional development (he was a Calvinistic minister).

The sphere of readings and the perspective of the ministers and intellectuals in Hungary and Transylvania must have been wider than their counterparts in Western Europe due to their life situation. However they could rarely go in depth into an issue of theology, history, law or any other discipline, unlike their counterparts in Western Europe. In their libraries *hungarica* or Hungarian related books became increasingly pre-

⁵¹ Ferenc POSTMA, *Das Franeker Bücherinventar des verstorbenen ungarischen Studenten Sámuel Vilmányi*, *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 122(2007), 233–241.

dominant, which proves that they felt responsible for their community and they were ready to act in a well-informed way.

The universities in the Low Countries and the publications which came out in their neighbourhood had a determining influence on the well preparedness of these ministers and intellectuals. It seems that they could buy the books of French and English authors almost exclusively in the Low Countries and the many publications which came out in Bremen and Hamburg were also purchased there. The students who went to Helvetic universities could, of course, easily get the books by Huguenot authors in editions published in Geneva as well. The high number of prints published in Saxony and Thuringia refers to the fact that the Book Fairs of Leipzig played a more and more important role in supplying the Carpathian Basin with books in the eighteenth century.

Books Mentioned in an Abbreviated Form

- ADATTÁR = Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez (Materials on the History of Intellectual Movements in Hungary in the 16th-18th Centuries)
- ADATTÁR 13/4. *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak IV. 1552-1740* (Private Libraries in Hungary), Ed. by. BAJÁKI Rita, BUJDOSÓ Hajnalka, MONOK István, VISKOLCZ Noémi, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/4.)
- ADATTÁR 14. *Partiumi könyvesházak* (Libraries in Partium regni Hungariae) 1621-1730, *Sárospatak, Debrecen, Szatmár, Nagybánya, Zilah*, Sajtó alá rend. FEKETE Csaba, KULCSÁR György [= BURA László], MONOK István, VARGA András, Szerk. MONOK István, VARGA András, Budapest-Szeged, MTA, JATE, 1988 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 14.)
- ADATTÁR 16/2. *Erdélyi könyvesházak* (Libraries in Transylvania) II, *Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely*, Sajtó alá rend. Monok István, Németh Noémi, Tonk Sándor, Szerk. Monok István, Szeged, JATE, 1991 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/2.)
- ADATTÁR 16/3. *Erdélyi könyvesházak* (Libraries in Transylvania) III, 1563-1757, *A Bethlen-család és környezete, Az Apafi-család és környezete, A Teleki-család és környezete, Vegyes források* (The Court Libraries of the Bethlen, Apafi and Teleki Familie), Sajtó alá rend. MONOK István, NÉMETH Noémi, VARGA András, Szerk. MONOK István, Szeged, JATE, 1994 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/3.)
- ADATTÁR 19/2. *Protestáns intézményi könyvtárak Magyarországon, 1530-1750, Jegyzékszerű források* (Catalogues of Protestant Institutional Libraries, 1530-1750), Sajtó alá rend. OLÁH Róbert, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 19/2.)

KtF = Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek. Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája (Booklets on Library History in Hungary, 1530–1750, A Bibliography of Booklists and Catalogues'), magángyűjtemény = Privat Library; intézményi gyűjtemény = Institutional Library

KtF I. *Magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1551–1721, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. FONT Zsuzsanna, HERNER János, KOKAS Károly, MONOK István, Szerk. MONOK István, Szeged, 1981, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek. I.)

KtF III. *Magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1545–1721, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. HERNER János, MONOK István, Szerk. HERNER János, Szeged, 1983, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek. III.)

KtF IV. *Magángyűjtemények a királyi Magyarországon és az Erdélyi fejedelemségben 1533–1721, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. FONT Zsuzsa, HERNER János, KATONA Tünde, KEVEHÁZI Katalin, KISS Éva, KOKAS Károly, LATZKOVITS Miklós, MONOK István, RIDEG László, VARGA András, Szerk. HERNER János, MONOK István, Szeged, 1985, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek. IV.)

KtF V. *Magyarországi magángyűjtemények 1561–1721, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. FARKAS Gábor, GÁCSI Hedvig, KATONA Tünde, KEVEHÁZI Katalin, LATZKOVITS Miklós, MONOK István, NÉMETH Noémi, Szerk. MONOK István, Szeged, 1989, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek V.)

KtF VII. *Intézményi- és magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1722–1750, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. MONOK István, VARGA András, Szerk. MONOK István, Szeged, 1990, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek VII.)

KtF VIII. *Intézményi- és magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1552–1750, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, Összeáll. MONOK István, ZVARA Edina, Szerk. MONOK István, Szeged, 1997, JATE (Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek VIII.)

RMK III. SZABÓ Károly–HELLEBRANT Árpád, *Régi magyar könyvtár III-dik kötet*, (Old Hungarian Library, Vol. III.), Budapest, MTA, 1896.