

## The Printed Book in Central Europe

The Posthumous Reception of a Transylvanian Bishop at Home and Abroad:The Afterlife of György Enyedi's *Explicationes*<sup>1</sup>

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**Summary:** In 1598, a year after his death, the key work of György Enyedi, the third Unitarian bishop of Transylvania, was published. The work, the *Explicationes Locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, written in Latin, was printed anonymously, and with no indication of place or year, by the Heltai printing house in Cluj-Napoca. Despite being banned and copies being burnt by order of Sigismund Báthory, the Catholic prince of Transylvania, the text became a fundamental source for Unitarian exegesis. This paper provides a new history of the dissemination of Enyedi's treatise across Europe, showing the work was printed to suit particular contexts. Enyedi's successor, the fifth Transylvanian Unitarian bishop, Máté Toroczka, translated the work into Hungarian for a local audience. The same publishing house, Heltai, had difficulties printing the translation: a 1619 edition was refused by a member of the ruling Calvinist Bethlen family; an intervention by the Chancellor Simon Péchi, a supporter of the Sabbatarians, permitted it to be published for internal use only (and with the place of publication omitted on the title page). A second Latin edition of Enyedi's *Explicationes*, printed without a date or place of publication, has long been catalogued as printed in Groningen c. 1670–1684 owing to a recollection published in Johann Fabricius' *Historia bibliothecae Fabricianae*. Recent research have shown the volume was in fact printed in Amsterdam in, or before 1669, by the order of an English bookseller. Studies of surviving copies in England establishes a unique history of the reception of a Transylvanian Unitarian theological work by an audience its author would not have expected.

In *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England*, H. John McLachlan noted '[i]t is not surprising, therefore, that [William] Owtram', a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, 'and [Thomas] Gataker', a scholar and critic, 'possessed a good many volumes of Racovian theology'.<sup>2</sup> The auction catalogue of their libraries included "George Enyed's[!] (Enjedinus) *Explicationes locorum veteris et novi testamenti* (n.d.), a book to be found in most contemporary theological libraries."<sup>3</sup> This paper will explain who was 'George Enyed', establish the different print editions of his *Explicationes* and their contexts, and explain how the work reached England.

George Enyed is Georgius Eniedinus, in the original Hungarian György Enyedi (1555-1597), the third bishop of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania in Cluj –

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<sup>1</sup> Supported by the Reformation Remembrance Committee of Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> H. John McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Kolozsvár in Hungarian – from 1592 until his death.<sup>4</sup> Though known in the west as the author of the *Explicationes*, an explication of anti-Trinitarian theology, Enyedi produced a varied corpus. His unpublished *Annotationes* in Latin is a study of the gospels from his university days.<sup>5</sup> He translated Boccaccio's *Gismunda* into Hungarian verse (which went through several editions).<sup>6</sup> He also prepared for publication a translation of Heliodorus of Emesa's *Aethiopica* from Greek into Latin.<sup>7</sup> He also produced a large collection of vernacular sermons (of which I am currently producing the first and second print edition).<sup>8</sup> Enyedi's *Explicationes* notably uses these other writings. He included extracts from his sermons recast in Latin, and discusses a biblical quotation with reference to the *Aethiopica*.<sup>9</sup>

The *Explicationes* exists in four printed versions: two Latin, and two in Hungarian translation. Hungarian scholarship stresses the international popularity of the work, noting John Locke and Isaac Newton owned copies.<sup>10</sup> By studying the different editions, the reception of Enyedi's main text is established with more nuance,

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<sup>4</sup> For studies of his life, see Mihály Balázs and János Káldos, *György Enyedi* (Ungarländische Antitrinitarier, Bibliotheca Dissidentium, Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1990), and Mihály Balázs and János Káldos (eds.), *Enyedi György válogatott művei* (Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca: Kriterion Kiadó, 1997), pp. 5–27.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Annotationes Georgii Enyedini in Novum Testamentum' survives in a single autograph ms., finished in Geneva, 24 June 1584. (For more detailed description, see: Mihály Balázs and János Káldos, *György Enyedi*, pp. 95–96.) The manuscript, which was in a large Catholic collection for centuries, is kept in the Romanian Academy Library Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca, shelf mark: MS. C. 628.

<sup>6</sup> For a modern edition of the work, printed and copied throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see György Enyedi, *Historia elegantissima*, ed. János Káldos (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> The translation of Heliodorus's 'Aethiopica' from Greek to Latin was finished by Enyedi in 1592 in Cluj-Napoca. Enyedi's work was most probably prepared for printing, containing a dedication to the young Prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory. Its only remained ms. under the title 'Heliodori Aethiopicarum historiae libri decem, Nunc primum in Latinam Linguam Conversi Interprete Georgio Enjedino Transilvano' was copied by Stephanus Nemay Urbanus in 1647. It is kept in the Romanian Academy Library Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca, shelf mark: MS. U. 1089.

<sup>8</sup> Borbála Lovas (ed.), *Enyedi György prédikációi 1.* (Budapest: MTA-ELTE HECE – Magyar Unitárius Egyház, 2016; Borbála Lovas (ed.), *Enyedi György prédikációi 2.* (Budapest: MTA-ELTE HECE – Magyar Unitárius Egyház, 2017). Currently these two volumes of an expected four has been published.

<sup>9</sup> József Simon in his recently published monograph is discussing in details how the bishop made connection between Phil 2,6 and Heliodorus's romance while analyzing the words forma and aequalitas, and the unexpected ending of the paragraph (lat.: non rapinam arbitratu est; gr.: οὐκ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο). As Simon notes, "His [Enyedi's] exegetical results began to be appreciated by the leading Dutch figures of enlightened biblical hermeneutics hundred years after his death." Such scholars were inspired by him like Lambert Bos, Jean Leclerc, Georg Raphael, Erasmus Schmied, Johann Jakob Wettstein, Daniel Whitby or from even later, Wilhelm Werner Jaeger and Adolf Jülicher. See: József Simon, *Explicationes explicationum: Filozófia, irodalom és egzisztencia Enyedi György életművében* (Budapest: Typotex, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> E. g.: *Enyedi György válogatott művei*, p. 5; Béla Mester, 'The Connection between the Unitarian Thought and Early Modern Political Philosophy' *JSRI* 3 (2002), p. 148; Gizella Keserű, 'From Padua to Leiden: transylvanian Unitarian Study Tours', in Gábor Almási (ed.), *A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541–1699. Vol. 1: Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 78–79; etc.

and a vivid insight into Western publishing of Central European anti-Trinitarian works appears alongside the strange history of printing in Transylvania.

The first edition was posthumously printed a year after Enyedi's death.<sup>11</sup> The Latin text was published, likely from an incomplete manuscript, without a place of publication or date on the title page. Their absence was due to strict regulations in Transylvania. In 1571, the young prince, John Sigismund ordered that printers were not allowed to print theological works without permission from the ruler. Though the prince, having converted from Catholicism to Lutheranism then to Calvinism and then finally to Unitarianism, established freedom of religion for the four sects to which he had belonged, the printing law aimed to aid his final denomination by regulating theological disputes in print. Unfortunately for the Unitarians, John died young. His successor, the Catholic István Báthory, promptly turned the law against the Unitarians. Worse followed, as the Catholic and Calvinist princes that followed likewise used the law for their own sects. As a result, the Unitarian community produced a large handwritten collection of sermons, theological works, poems, prayers, songs, biblical translations, and other writings, a collection long neglected by scholarship. Whether the Unitarians received permission to print Enyedi's *Explicationes* is unknown; given the secrecy on the title page, and István's successor, Sigismund Báthory, banning and burning copies of the work at the beginning of 1599, it seems unlikely. The dozen that escaped the flames are found in Hungary, Transylvania, and in east and west Europe. Though occasionally dated in catalogues to 1580–1602, several inscriptions provide a date of 1598 for this first edition. Three copies survive in England, though two of which were donated in the nineteenth century to Harris Manchester College from Transylvania.<sup>12</sup> John Locke owned this version. Marginalia records he read the work in January 1679, and, seemingly impressed, ordered Socinian works in 1680.<sup>13</sup>

The first edition features a detail long overlooked.<sup>14</sup> This edition was the only notable book published that year by the well-known Heltai Press in Cluj, by Heltai the Younger. The title page features a rectangular woodcut by a Master G. C. featuring a medallion. Within the motto "EX BELLO PAX, EX PACE VBERTAS" is a woman,

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<sup>11</sup> USTC305892

<sup>12</sup> 1 Corpus Christi, 2 Harris Manchester.

<sup>13</sup> See e. g.: John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 337.

<sup>14</sup> Borbála Lovas, 'Ex bello pax, ex pace ubertas. G. C. mester egyik metszetének lehetséges forrásáról', *Magyar Könyvszemele* 131 (2015): pp. 322–235.

standing between tropanions, holding a cornucopia in one hand and a sword entwined with laurels in the other. Either side of the medallion is a Renaissance tendril ornament, emerging from one side from a dragon and the other a dolphin. One of the few known facts about the obscure Master G. C. is his use of foreign models. The source of the picture however is not an emblem. The motto appears in the Alciati and Rollenhagen emblem collections, but not with the same image. The more likely source, recently discovered, is a commemorative coin made by Kilian Koch dated to 1573 memorializing the siege of La Rochelle. Henry III of France, then Prince of Anjou, left the siege to take the throne of Poland. A year later, he left that position to become the French monarch, allowing István Báthory, the uncle of Sigismund Báthory, to become King of Poland. This reveals something about Master G. C. and his printing house. However, whether this was a deliberate attempt to win favour for the publication from the prince, a sly allusion to a Protestant city overcoming a Catholic king, or merely an engraver copying a well-travelled coin, is difficult to establish.

The second and third editions are of the Hungarian translation by Máté Torockai (1553–1616), the fifth Unitarian bishop and editor of the first Latin edition.<sup>15</sup> The translation omitted part of the theological explications. When it was too difficult to understand or translate, Torockai asks the reader to examine the Latin. New chapters appear, and material from Enyedi's sermons and other theological writings and debates inserted. The second edition was finished in July 1619, with the title page recording the date and stating Cluj as the place of publication. The volume was printed in secret with the hope permission would be granted retrospectively. They were however required to reprint the volume with a new title page with the place of publication removed and the date changed to 1620; hence the third edition. The 1619 edition was not allowed outside of Cluj.<sup>16</sup>

The Hungarian versions served Hungarian audiences while the Latin reached a wider audience. Reader response differed with regards to location. In Transylvania and Hungary, the *Explicationes* received crossings out and scurrilous marginalia and notes

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<sup>15</sup> György Enyedi, *Az o es vy testamentumbeli helyeknek, mellyekből az Háromsagról való tudománt szokták állatni magyarazattyok* (Kolozsvár, Heltai Printing Press, 1619, 1620).

<sup>16</sup> A detailed study was published few decades ago about the printer and the printing of the two Hungarian editions: Kálmán Tóth, 'Könyvnyomtató Makai Nyírő János deák: Fejezet a Heltai Nyomda történetéből' in András Bodor (ed.), *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Kolozsvár–Bucharest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957), pp. 587–606.

including the blunt labeling of Enyedi as the antichrist and a bastard son of a bitch.<sup>17</sup> A legend emerged that the Vatican's copy was kept on a shelf labeled 'antichrist'. Western Europe provided the more measured response of carefully argued refutations: the first Protestant works against Enyedi appeared in 1605,<sup>18</sup> and the sole Catholic refutation appeared much later in 1635.<sup>19</sup> These coincided with growing interest in anti-Trinitarian movements. A 1646 letter by a Dutch preacher reveals this interest. He recorded that English merchants were searching for Ostrodus, Crellius, and Eniedinus. (The spelling 'Oniedinus' suggests the bishop was more heard about than read.) The comment that printing regulations in Holland make it impossible to print and sell such works received the answer they will pay any price that if he can get them from abroad.<sup>20</sup> To cater for this market, a second Latin edition was printed. Like the first, it lacks a date and place of publication. Consequently, modern library catalogues frequently provide these two editions with a range in dates – the aforementioned 1580-1602 for the first printing, and 1660-1684 – and often misidentify the edition.<sup>21</sup>

The first and fourth edition can be easily distinguished by the title page. The Cluj edition, as stated earlier, features a medallion; the fourth, a depiction of Elijah and ravens. Christopher Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum* (1684) mentions the fourth edition came from Belguim, and Johann Fabricius' *Historia Bibliothecae Fabricianae* (1717) records his buying a copy, without a date or place of publication, in Groningen

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<sup>17</sup> The first appears in a volume, where a rewritten variant of Máté Thoroczka's 'Epitaphium' about Enyedi is included with an explanation. The poem ('Epitaphium Georgii Enyedi reformatum') is the following: „Doctrinae scabies, pravorum regula morum. / Tartarei interpres maximus atque soni. / Enyedius jacet hic sub mole Georgius, Urbis. / Claudiacae Impostor, fraudis apexque caput. / Est Acherontorum Stygiusque Orcique profundi / Doctor hic eximius, Cultor erat Satanae. / Gymnasii Satanaeque gregis moderator in ista. / Urbe, malus, nequam per duo lustra fuit. / Mille et quingentos post nonagesimus Annus / Implebat cursum septimus ille suum / Bis decies quater, et postquam Lux maesta Novembris, / Illuxit, putida morte solutus abit. / Ignis, pix sulphurque vident, semper vigeantque, / Dum manet haec tellus, dum rotat Astra Polus.”, followed by the explanation: „Qui est dux et caput defectionis a Doctrina Christi, ille est Antichristus, ac Dominus Enyedinus hoc facit, ergo Enyedinus est Antichristus.” (Teleki-Bolyai Library, Targu-Mures, shelf mark: Bo-2699, A3r.)

<sup>18</sup> E. g.: Christoph Pelargus, *Admonitio de Arianis recentibus eorumque blasphemis dogmatibus...* (Lipsae, 1605); David Pareus, *In Genesin Mosis commentarius...* (Frankofurti, 1609); Jacob Martin, *De tribus Elohim liber primus, photinianorum novorum et cum primis Georgii Eniedini blasphemis oppositus* (Witebergae, 1614); Theodor Thumm, *Controversarium de personarum in una Dei essentia pluralitate adversus G. Eniedi...* (Frankfurt, 1620) etc.

<sup>19</sup> About Ambrosius Peñalosa and his refutation see: Antal Molnár, 'Sur la genèse d'une polémique catholique contre Enyedi (Ambrosio Peñalosa: Opus egregium, 1635)', in: Mihály Balázs, Gizella Keserű (eds.), *György Enyedi and Central European Unitarism in the 16–17th Centuries*, (Budapest: Balassi), pp. 237–243.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena: A new and higher Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and insolent Proceedings of the Secretaries of these times*, vol. 3 (London: printed for Ralph Smith, at the Signe of the Bible in Corn-hill near the Royal Exchange), p. 169.

<sup>21</sup>

in 1670 with the ink still wet. As a result, the second Latin edition is mistakenly known as the ‘Groningen Edition’ and erroneously dated to 1670 or 1684. Not knowing the printer, Hungarian scholars have sometimes asserted the edition was published in Amsterdam with the cooperation of Adam Franck, a Hungarian student who worked on the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* series as an editor owing to his letter to Transylvanian Unitarians requesting books to print. This assertion is undermined by the lack of any sign the request was answered, and by the large number of typos and errors in the second Latin edition since Franck was a particularly conscientious editor. My research proves that while the printing *was* done in Amsterdam, it was not ordered by the Hungarian church. I shall explain later. In contrast to the first edition, the fourth edition survives in sizable numbers in the Netherlands, England, and America. Most are kept in English libraries, with many in Oxford and Cambridge. Recent research into the Oxbridge collections has established both how English audiences received the Explications and provided a date and place of publication for the fourth edition.

The ten volumes Cambridge holds reject the 1684 date for the fourth edition while providing an insight into Enyedi’s English readership. Trinity has two ‘Groningen’ volumes: one donated by Thomas Cremer, a member of the college, in 1675, the other belonged to Newton (seemingly untouched except for one dog-eared page).<sup>22</sup> St. John’s has two: one ‘Groningen’ donated by Peter Gunning, bishop of Chichester and Ely, in 1684, the other, unknown, and curiously bound together with thirteen English-language works (including pieces in support of Charles I and the funeral sermon of the poet John, Earl of Rochester), printed in London, Oxford, and Amsterdam.<sup>23</sup> Other ‘Groningen’ editions appear in Gonville and Caius, Sidney Sussex, and Corpus Christi (donated by Francis Colfer, a member of the college, in 1671).<sup>24</sup> Their dated inscriptions (and the date of their donation) disprove the 1684 date. In addition, the main library holds three copies: a water-damaged first edition, a ‘Groningen’ formerly in the collection of Peterborough Cathedral miscatalogued as a 1598 edition, and a handwritten copy provided with a note by librarians reading ‘A copy of one of the printed editions (probably that of 1670) of G. Enyedi’s

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<sup>22</sup> Trinity I.6.17; Trinity NQ.8.23.

<sup>23</sup> St. John’s Qq.11.2; St. John’s GG.1.39.

<sup>24</sup> Gonville and Caius K.15.64; Sidney Sussex Q.4.20; Corpus Christi B.10.23.

Explicationes... The first edition was printed at Klausenburg [the German name for Cluj], c. 1590-1600, the second at Groningen 1670.’<sup>25</sup>

Oxford has sixteen registered copies (one missing) that reveal more.<sup>26</sup> Those in Harris Manchester will be discussed first, then those free of markings (or having only inscribed names), before discussing a final important volume.

Harris Manchester’s four copies are all nineteenth century purchases or donations. (Only two appear in the catalogue). They are notable for being the subject of scholarly discussion. In the nineteenth century, James Yates, describing one of their two 1598 editions, published the owner’s inscription (and date) that corresponded with dates found in Transylvanian copies held in Cluj and Sibiu, establishing 1598 as the date of publication.<sup>27</sup> Their 1620 Hungarian edition contains important notes listing commercial transactions and borrowing (for copying) of sermons and ecclesiastical texts. Their final copy, a ‘Gronigen’ owned by the elusive E. Henderson, is notable for marginalia in English criticizing Enyedi’s argument. Given the three copies from Transylvania do not include the ‘Groningen’ edition, Transylvania was unlikely the intended market for this edition. (Only one ‘Groningen’ exists in Transylvania, and it appears to have originated from Poland.)

Other Oxford collections show the intake of the ‘Groningen’ edition in England. University College, Jesus College, and the Bodleian, have copies free from notation. Other volumes are marked only with a donor’s name. Thomas Turner, president of Corpus Christi, gave his college a copy.<sup>28</sup> Richard Allestry, tutor of Christopher Wren, John Dryden, and John Locke, donated his in 1680 to Christchurch, a year before his death, as did William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1737.<sup>29</sup> Robert Sharrock, an Anglican priest and botanist, made several large donations to his college New College;

<sup>25</sup> GBR/0012/MS.Add.61; 2.26.29, incorrectly dated to 1598 (it being the second Latin edition) formerly in the collection of Peterborough Cathedral, the other, 2.37.29, is a 1598 edition, scarred by water, with an erased owner’s signature and notes about biblical places

<sup>26</sup> The missing copy: Brasenose Σ E.9.19.

<sup>27</sup> James Yates, ‘Enjedini „Explicationes”’, *The Inquirer*, December 3., pp. 1859, 1093. The examined copy was given to the then Manchester New College by Stephen Kovács, and was mentioned by Robert Wallace in his ‘Anti-Trinitarian Biography’ (II.vol., 454, No. 152). Among the notes of the former owners the following note can be read: “Exlibris Joannis Radnotzy, 1599”. This is one of the earliest possessor dates known today. By this can Károly Szabó’s theory proved, who, by possessor dated from 1599-1600 in volumes in Cluj-Napoca and Sibiu, dated the first edition to 1598.

The other first edition was an acquisition by the librarian during his visit to Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca in 1859. In the above mentioned article Yates compared the volumes right after the second’s arrival to Oxford, and dated the *Explicationes* likewise to 1598.

<sup>28</sup> University College K.44.7; Jesus College; Bodleian; Corpus Christi H.18.

<sup>29</sup> Christchurch L.6.16; Christchurch WB.7.13.

his 1672 donation included an *Explicationes*.<sup>30</sup> Posthumously, Richard Corpson gave his copy to Queen's College in 1715, as did Matthew Wren, cousin of Christopher, to Trinity after being fatally injured at the Battle of Solebay in 1672.<sup>31</sup> In addition to showing that Enyedi's volume was typically donated as part of a collection, the Oxford 'Groningens' prove, like Cambridge, that 1684 is too late a publication date for the second Latin edition. Another Oxford 'Groningen' provides more information. Magdalen's copy was the property of its librarian John Fitzwilliam, who included his name, motto, college, date of purchase, and name of the bookseller. He bought his copy from Jacobo – James – Allestry, relative of the aforementioned Richard, whose stock contained a large number of books from overseas. Fitzwilliam bought his copy in 1699 (Jacobo died shortly later on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1670).<sup>32</sup> Fitzwilliam's note likewise proves 1670 as too late a publication date for the second Latin edition.

The final copy is a 1598 edition held in All Souls illuminates the migrations of the *Explicationes* westwards.<sup>33</sup> Sámuel Enyedi, a teacher and poet in Transylvania, owned the volume for sixty years before giving it in July 1655 to Adrianus Heerbord, a philosophy professor from Leiden University. After Heerbord's death in 1661, another professor, Nicholaus Arnoldus of Franeker University, acquired it. Ironically, giving his book is in Oxford, Arnoldus' own stay among the dreaming spires was problematic owing to the Civil War (he was more successful in Cambridge). He sold the book to an English scholar, Joseph Hill, who had lived in Holland from 1662. Hill wrote an illuminating memorandum in the volume, recording he bought it from Professor Arnoldus but a John Dunmore took the book without his knowledge and permission to print a new edition in Amsterdam. Hill's angry note reveals the printing history of the sole *Explicationes* edition printed outside of Cluj.

Who ordered the second Latin edition? Dunmore was a London bookseller, business partner of Octavian Pulleyn, who traded with Dutch printing houses. Though arrested for spying in Amsterdam in 1667, he continued his connections with Dutch printers, receiving, for example, in 1674 two thousand copies of Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae* from Daniel Elzevier.

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<sup>30</sup> New College BT3.149.7.

<sup>31</sup> Queen's College UU.f.112; Trinity I.4.3.

<sup>32</sup> Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East, and Blades, 1907)

<sup>33</sup> All Souls College 8:SR.70.c.24.

And the printer? The printer's emblem on the title page shows Elijah and the ravens, or, possibly, St. Paul the Hermit. Paulus Aertsz van Ravestyn – hence the possible saintly allusion – first used the emblem with the Latin inscription in his second edition of the Statenbijbel in 1610. The emblem passed down his family. Though his son Nicolaes van Ravesteyn also used the emblem, the printer of the *Explicationes* was more likely Paulus' nephew, Johannes van Ravesteyn, city printer of Amsterdam until 1670.

Although in the past 20 minutes I did show you only few examples, during my research I am trying to locate the remained copies of György Enyedi's work from all the four editions, comparing informations from as many copies as possible, checking the annotations, notes, marginalias of the readers, owners and librarians, registering the decorations, watermarks and bindings, trying to track down the features and changes how the different editions were printed and marketed. These informations can show a lot about the theological work of the Antitrinitarian bishop. In the Hungarian book history it is not common to have such amount of copies remained, especially abroad, in English and American libraries and collections. The book itself with both its Latin editions was a rarity already in its time, although it influenced the Unitarian theological works for centuries. Its author was less-known, and as we saw, was classifying simply under the Socinian theologians abroad, while the rest of his remarkable oeuvre was surviving hidden in the Transylvanian collections, and like most of the Transylvanian Unitarian works, had never had a chance to get to be printed. If my theory is right, and the today shown new details and sources about the edition convince you too, we can tell, that György Enyedi's fourth edition was printed in Amsterdam in or before 1669, by a well-known printer, ordered by an English bookseller, who was keen on collecting stocks of curious Theological works from abroad, mostly from Amsterdam, and who intended to serve with the ordered volumes the interest of an English elite reading circle, scholars, teachers, preachers and bishops, readers from different denominations with different interests. With the slow rediscovery of the works of Enyedi, an important, and significant 16<sup>th</sup>-century writer can emerge from the oblivion, who can help us to understand the history of a printed work from Central Europe with remarkable influence in a multilingual and international book trade.

## Appendix

Copies of the *Explicationes* in Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, the U.S.A and Canada<sup>34</sup>

Library	Call number	Editions, mss (1598, 1619, 1620, ca.1669, ms)	Name of former owners, former collections
<b>Great Britain</b>			
<b>Cambridge</b>			
Cambridge University Library,	2.26.29	ca. 1669	John Moore, bishop of Ely Royal Library George I., King of GB
Cambridge University Library	Peterborough.B.4.15	ca. 1669	(Francis?) Lockier
Cambridge University Library	2.37.29	1598	poss. name erased
Cambridge University Library	GBR/0012/MS Add.61	ms., ca. 1671	hand of John Patrick (1632– 1695)  Samuel Knight DD  John Percy Baumgartner of Milton
Trinity College Library	I.6.17	ca. 1669	Thomas Cremer
Trinity College Library	NQ.8.23	ca. 1669	Isaac Newton

<sup>34</sup> The catalogue contains the copies the author knows about.

			John Huggins Charles Huggins James Musgrave (&fam.)
St John's College Library	Gg.1.39(1)	ca. 1669	unknown
St John's College Library	Qq.11.2	ca. 1669	Peter Gunning
Gonville and Caius College, Lower Library	K.15.64	ca. 1669	
Sidney Sussex College, Muniment Room	Q.4.20	ca. 1669	
Corpus Christi College, Parker Library	B.10.23	ca. 1669	Francis Colfer
Magdalen College, Pepys Library	<i>PL 1404</i>	ca. 1669	Pepys Library
<b>Oxford</b>			
Bodleian Library	4° H 56 Th.	ca. 1669	
New College Library	BT3.149.7	ca. 1669	Robert Sharrock
Queen's College Library	UU.f.112	ca. 1669	Richard Corpson
Trinity College Library	I.4.3	ca. 1669	
All Souls College Library	8:SR.70.c.24	1598	János Táallyai Putnoki István Gáspár Enyedi Sámuel Enyedi

			<p>Adrianus Heerbord</p> <p>Arnoldus</p> <p>Joseph Hill</p> <p>John Dunmore</p>
Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY  (D1598/1.b)	1598	<p>János Radnóczy</p> <p>Stephanus Angyalos</p> <p>Nicolaus Szombatfalvi</p> <p>Stephanus V[...]nes de Thor[...]</p> <p>István Kovács</p>
Harris Manchester College Library	D:ENY 35e  (D1598/1.a)	1598	<p>poss. names erased</p> <p>Paulus H...</p> <p>Tamás Kovács István</p>
Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY  (D1620/2)	1620	<p>Stephanus Hévízi</p> <p>Johan Gyepesi</p> <p>Michael Szen[t]gericei</p> <p>György Kerösi</p> <p>Péterfi Sándor</p> <p>Pálffi József</p> <p>poss. names erased</p>

Harris Manchester College Library	D:HUN:ENY 35B	ca. 1669	E. Henderson poss. name erased
Christ Church College Library	Allestree L.6.16	ca. 1669	Richard Allestree
Christ Church College Library	WB.7.13	ca. 1669	Archbishop Wake
Corpus Christi College Library	H.18.5	ca. 1669	Thomas Turner
Jesus College Fellows' Library	B.1.15	ca. 1669	
Magdalen College Library	d.7.12	ca. 1669	James Allestry John Fitzwilliam
University College Library	BL: K.44.7	ca. 1669	
Brasenose College Library	Σ E.9.19.	ca. 1669, olim.	
<b>London</b>			
British Library, St Pancras Reading Rooms	C.51.c.8	1598	
British Library, St Pancras Reading Rooms	4226.c.c.3	ca. 1669	
British Library, St Pancras Reading Rooms	1353.e.28.	1620	
Lambeth Palace Library	F110.(E6)	ca. 1669	
Lambeth Palace Library	F110.E6	ca. 1669	
St. Paul Cathedral Library	44F21	ca. 1669	
St. Paul Cathedral Library	47C31	ca. 1669	

London Library		ca. 1669	C. A. Ward
<b>Aberdeen</b>			
Aberdeen University, Special Collections Centre, The Sir Duncan Rice Library	SB 231 Eny	ca. 1669	Marischal Library
<b>Blickling</b>			
Blickling Hall (National Trust)	3318	ca. 1669	Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)
<b>Durham</b>			
Durham University, Palace Green Library: Bamburgh Library	Bamburgh E.5.72	ca. 1669	Sharp family Library of Bamburgh Castle (Northumberland)
Durham University, Palace Green Library: Routh Library	Routh 14.H2.11	ca. 1669	Thomas Wilson
<b>Exeter</b>			
Exeter University, Devon and Exeter Inst.	A.58.7	ca. 1669	orig. flysheets removed James Carrington (&fam.) unknown 19th c. owner
<b>Lincoln</b>			
Lincoln Cathedral Library		ca. 1669	
<b>Manchester</b>			
Chetham's Library	C.6.47	ca. 1669	

John Rylands Library, Unitarian College Printed Collection	D865	1598	Hungarian Unitarians  John Fretwell, Unitarian Home Missionary Board
<b>Salisbury</b>			
Salisbury Cathedral Library	I.4.8	ca. 1669	
<b>Worcester</b>			
Worcester Cathedral Library	GI16	ca. 1669	
<b>Netherlands</b>			
<b>Amsterdam</b>			
UvA-HvA Library	O 65-755	ca. 1669	
<b>Leiden</b>			
University Library Leiden	1365 E 17	1598	Kolosi, Péter
University Library Leiden	1365 E 18	ca. 1669	Prosper Marchand
<b>Groningen</b>			
University Library Groningen	uklu A 8970	ca. 1669	
<b>Kampen</b>			
Library of Theological University Kampen	49.2629	ca. 1669	A. St. B. (stamp)
<b>Utrecht</b>			
University Library Utrecht	MAG : E qu 197	1598	
<b>Ireland</b>			

<b>Maynooth</b>			
Maynooth University Library	CK958	ca. 1669	
Maynooth University Library	CK812	ca. 1669	Reverend Theodore Maurice (Archdeacon of Tuam)
<b>United States of America</b>			
<b>Cambridge</b>			
Harvard University Houghton Library	ZHC5 En965 598eb	ca. 1669	Muyden, Wilhelm von Francois Adriaan van der Kemp
Harvard University Houghton Library	ZHC5 En965 598e	1598	Alberti, J. Dionigi (?) Marcus
Harvard University Andover Harv. Theol., Historical Collections – S.C.R.	686 Unit	ca. 1669	Theological School in Cambridge Convers Francis D.D.
<b>Providence</b>			
Brown University Williams Table Collection	1590? En 9.	ca. 1669	Thomas Michell Johannes Gilli
<b>New York</b>			
New York Public Library NYPL	ZFGC (Enyedi, G. Explicationes locorum Veteris & Novi Testamenti)	ca. 1669	
<b>Pittsburgh</b>			

Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Barbour Library	BT110 .E5 1598	ca. 1598[?]	Newburgh collection
<b>Massachusetts</b>			
Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies	BT111 .E7 1670	ca. 1669	Isaac Winslow Wormser
<b>Knoxville</b>			
John C. Hodges Library, University of Tennessee	BT110 .E5 1670.	ca. 1669	Naseeb Shaheen Shaheen Antiquarian Bible Collection
<b>Los Angeles</b>			
University of California, Los Angeles Clark Library Rare Book Stacks	BT110.E61	ca. 1669	Neander Library The Ambrose Swasey Library, Colgate Rochester Divinity School (?) (sold in 2004-2006)
<b>Berkeley, California</b>			
Starr King School for the Ministry (Berkeley) Wilbur Rare Book Collection	295	ca. 1669	
<b>Canada</b>			
<b>Toronto</b>			

Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library, Toronto University Library	Knox 00745	ca. 1669	
Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library, Toronto University Library	Forbes 00408	ca. 1669	Rev. James Forbes poss. name thorn away

Prints mentioned in the article, registered in the USTC catalogue:

György Enyedi, *Explicationes locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, ex quibus Trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet*. Cluj, [Heltai, 1598]. USTC 305892

Prints mentioned in the article, not registered in the USTC catalogue:

György Enyedi, *Az ó és új testamentum-beli helyeknek, mellyekboel az az Háromságról való tudománt szokták állatni, magyarázattyok*. Cluj, 1619<sup>1</sup>, 1620<sup>2</sup>.

György Enyedi, *Explicationes locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, ex quibus Trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet*. Amsterdam, [Johannes van Ravesteyn, ca. 1669].