

A Divided Hungary in Europe:
Exchanges, Networks and Representations,
1541-1699

Edited by

Gábor Almási, Szymon Brzeziński, Ildikó Horn,
Kees Teshelszky and Áron Zarnóczki

CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

Volume 1

Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious
Relationships

Edited by

Gábor Almási

A Divided Hungary in Europe:
Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541-1699;
Volume 1 – Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships,
Edited by Gábor Almási

This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2014 by Gábor Almási and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-6686-5, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-6686-6

HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA
AND THE EUROPEAN PUBLISHING CENTRES
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY:
THE CASES OF PARIS, BASEL AND VENICE

ISTVÁN MONOK

How did a book about Hungary, a report on the country or concerning Hungarians, or indeed the work of an author from Hungary come to be included among the publications of a publisher outside of Hungary? The short answer is: for financial reasons, given that book publishing is part of economic life. The publishing policy of a publishing house, that is, the selection and composition of its publications, depends first and foremost on financial considerations. Thus we might even say that the European publishing centres became interested in Hungarian issues or agreed to publish the works of a Hungarian author when it was worthwhile for them to do so. However, this in itself fails to fully explain why such books were published. For a more complete picture, we need also to identify the individuals and, more generally, the interests whose efforts and financial resources rendered it economical for a publisher to print and distribute a publication. Evidently, the publication of a particular book was, in reality, the outcome of a combination of several factors. We could, of course, cite cases where a publisher placed a work on the Kingdom of Hungary in its own successful book series for the sake of completeness. Even in such cases, however, the publisher might seek out an individual for whom the publication of the given work was important in a financial sense or in terms of building his career or for emotional reasons. Here I am thinking of the *Respublica* series published by the Elsevier (Elzevier) publishing house of Leiden, a series which included a volume entitled *Respublica et Status Regni Hungariae*, compiled from texts by Martin Schödel.¹

¹ Leiden: Officina Elseviriana, 1634; cf. K. Tészelszky, “Respublica et Status Regni Hungariae. Magyarország kora újkori reprezentációja Európában és a repub-

Interest in a country has always been a matter of geopolitics. In the past, Hungary and Transylvania belonged to the German cultural and economic sphere of interest, as they do today. Whereas the influence of northern Italy has been felt only intermittently in Hungarian history, the German influence—thanks to the presence of German urban populations in the Carpathian Basin—has been a continuous factor. Other European cultural groups and countries have tended to show an interest in the region in response to threats to their own economic and power interests or to their prosperity. This is how it is today and how it has always been in history. In the early modern era, the predominance and excessive power of the Habsburgs unsettled other ruling families in Europe, and so when the former were attacked, the latter were not indifferent. An enemy of the Habsburgs was the Ottoman Empire, but since the Hungarian and Transylvanian estates were also against the Habsburgs, they too could become the object of European interest. Accordingly, we can say that interest in Hungary and Transylvania was linked primarily with the Ottoman issue. Otherwise, the threshold of interest tended to be reached in connection with a specific event or with religious issues. For example, it was quite natural for Calvinists in the Netherlands, a country which had recently won its independence from Spain, to show concern for the fate of their co-religionists in Hungary and Transylvania. In this respect, the young Hungarian Calvinists who studied in Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proved to be valuable sources of news and information. Moreover, it was also in their interest to keep the “Hungarian issue” alive. The Republic of Geneva and the cantons of the Confoederatio Helvetica manifested their interest in Hungary by means of church relations. In contrast, Basel, a centre of printing and humanism in the sixteenth century, became important to Hungary and Transylvania precisely because of its religious indifference.² An issue addressed in this chapter is the extent to which these primary factors—the Ottoman threat or the presence of a religious community of interests—influenced what was published abroad concerning Hungary and Transylvania.³

likánus gondolkodásban” [The early modern representation of Hungary in Europe and in republican thought], *Századvég* 61 (2011), 97–107.

² In the 16th century, compared to Basel, the other Swiss towns and Geneva played only a marginal role in printing.

³ This foreign activity was so substantial because, despite printing’s early start in Hungary (an officina was operating in Buda five years before one opened in London), the new sector failed to put down roots. Publishing enterprises in Hungary were unable to cope with the disproportionately high cost of paper. Rags—the basic production material for paper—were worn by the poor in Central Europe and

***Hungary's presence in European book publishing:
the initial stage***

By the time the Renaissance and humanism had taken hold, the medieval Kingdom of Hungary had already developed a system of ecclesiastical—thus also educational and cultural—institutions resembling those of the contemporary Western European states.⁴ In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, realised the dream of the Italian humanists by establishing a library full of the texts of Greek and Latin antiquity.⁵ This ambitious ruler, who had conquered Vienna and dreamed of becoming Holy Roman Emperor,⁶ then began to assemble a library at the Viennese Court, but his sudden death left the task of expanding the collection to Maximilian I. Under the rule of the Jagiellonian kings, Hungary's intellectuals were increasingly drawn to the intellectual centres of Western Europe, and there was a sharp rise in the number of study journeys made by Hungarians to universities in northern Italy and in Cracow.⁷ Following in the footsteps of Matthias Corvinus, many members of Hungary's aristocratic families fostered relations or

could not be collected for use in paper production. The unceasing wars prevented the emergence of textile industrial centres. The importation of paper was too expensive even for Vienna, and this also explains the modest printing output of Cracow and Prague. Culture and education among the cultural groups of the region became receptive in nature: it was cheaper to import a book than to import paper and then publish it. As there was no profit, those involved in book publishing could not play the role in social life that we observe in Western Europe. J. Fitz, *Andreas Hess der Erstdrucker Ungarns* (Gyoma 1937); B. Varjas, "Das Schicksal einer Druckerei im östlichen Teil Mitteleuropas: Andreas Hess in Buda," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 52 (1977), 42–48; L. Demény, "Papiergeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts in der Beschäftigung der Historiker aus Rumänien (Aufgaben und Aussichten)," in *VII. International Congress of Paper Historians* (Oxford 1967), 17–28; G. Borsa, "Druckorte und Papirmühlen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn," in *Villes d'imprimerie et moulins à papier du XIV^e au XV^e siècle* (Brussels 1976), 239–245; cf. *Die Rolle des Krakauer Druckwesens in der ungarischen Kultur*, ed. by J. V. Ecsedy et al. (Budapest 2000).

⁴ T. Klaniczay, "Die Soziale und institutionelle Infrastruktur der ungarischen Renaissance," in *Die Renaissance im Blick der Nationen Europas*, ed. by G. Kaufmann (Wiesbaden 1991), 319–338.

⁵ C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest 1973).

⁶ K. Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum* (Munich 1989).

⁷ Cf. *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. by M. Font and L. Szögi (Pécs 2001).

corresponded with the famous humanists of the era. Almost all the country's prelates had attended university, and their courts become centres of book culture. For their part, many middle-ranking priests followed the example set by their superiors in learning.⁸

The *devotio moderna* and the principles of humanism jointly exerted an effect on the country, thereby preparing the way for the spread of Reformation teachings. At the turn of the sixteenth century, it would appear—based on the contemporary book lists and the surviving stock of codices and incunabula brought to the country—that Hungary was familiar with the latest intellectual currents. We can state this was so, even if we know that only a small part of society was literate at the time. It was at the turn of the sixteenth century that the works of two Franciscan scholars—Osvát Laskai (Osvaldus de Lasko) and Pelbárt Temesvári (Pelbartus de Temesvár)—achieved success throughout Europe. When spreading the word, these two sermon writers successfully linked the basic idea of Christianity—Christian love—with literature on the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*). They also expressed the Franciscans' opposition to social injustice.

Among the European intellectual centres of the latter third of the fifteenth century, the Upper Rhine region, from Strasbourg to Zurich, had particularly significance for intellectualism in Hungary. The effect resulted from a combination of Rhenish mysticism and local humanism. Evidence for this effect is to be found not only in the large number of early sixteenth-century publications and Hagenau, Strasbourg and Basel incunabula that are present in the surviving collections. An additional sign is the influence exerted by the Upper Rhenish painters on artists in Hungary. It is no coincidence that sermons by Osvaldus de Lasko and Pelbartus de Temesvár were published in five and seven Hagenau incunabula. Between 1501 and 1510, seven publications of works by Osvaldus and 38 works by Pelbartus appeared in Hagenau and Strasbourg.⁹ To these we may add six

⁸ Cf. J. Köblös, *Az egyházi közélet Mátyás és a Jagellók korában* [The middle ecclesiastical ranks at the time of Matthias and the Jagiellonians] (Budapest 1994).

⁹ RMK III lists these. In the following, the abridged title RMK III, stands for: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III-dik kötet: Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve: Első-második rész* [Third volume of the Old Hungarian Library. A bibliographical handbook on printed matter by Hungarian authors published abroad in languages other than Hungarian between 1480 and 1711: first and second parts], ed. by K. Szabó and Á. Hellebrandt (Budapest 1896–1898); *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III-dik kötet: Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve: Pótlások, kiegészítések, javítások, 1–5*

Strasbourg editions of Michel de Hungaria's *Sermones*¹⁰ and two incunabula of the *Legenda Sanctorum Regni Hungariae* published in the same city.¹¹

Additional evidence of contacts between the Upper Rhine region and Hungary is Nicolaus Kessler's Basel publication—in 1486 and again in 1490—of the *regula* of the only monastic order to have been established in Hungary: the *Ordo Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae*.¹² It was also in Basel that the first printed missal of the Pécs Diocese (the *Missale Quinqueecclesiense*) was published around 1487 by Michael Wenssler.¹³ In 1511, the Esztergom Diocese's missal was published in the workshop of Jacobus de Pforzheim.¹⁴

The spirituality and intellectuality of the Franciscans, Paulines and Carthusians, a desire among monks and secular priests for knowledge-based faith, and the efforts to establish a university or academy in the three decades following Matthias Corvinus's death, were based in Hungary on several pillars. The Bibliotheca Corvina still existed in Buda, while the Academia Istropolitana in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia), in particular Conrad Celtis, continued to exert an effect.¹⁵ This was also true of

fűzet [Third volume of the Old Hungarian Library ... Additions, supplements and corrections, bks. 1–5], ed. by G. Borsa et al. (Budapest 1990–1996). In the following I will refer to the number of the individual volumes according to the bibliography RMK III. Using the Hungarian language online catalogue of the Manuscripts and Old Books Department of the National Széchényi Library [OSZK], one can search for all the titles: <http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=searchform.htm&id=s-rmk3&>. The “RMK III” number should be indicated in the field “Sorszám.” Cf. G. Borsa, “Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői” [The publishers of the works of Osvaldus de Lasko and Pelbartus de Temesvár], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005), 1–24; B. Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars Minor (Franciscan Observants) in the Late Middle Age: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko,” in *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. by P. E. Kovács and K. Szovák (Budapest 2009), 60–78.

¹⁰ G. Borsa, *Michael de Hungaria, a Mediaeval Author in Britain. His Person and a Bibliography of the Printed Editions of His Works between 1480–1621* (Budapest 1998).

¹¹ RMK III, 10, 5021.

¹² RMK III, 7312, 7314. Cf. G. Sarbak, “Prior General Gregory of Gyöngyös and Its Borrowers in the Late Middle Age,” in *Infima Aetas Pannonica*, 250–260.

¹³ RMK III, 7310.

¹⁴ RMK III, 168.

¹⁵ *Matthias Corvinus and the Humanism in Central Europe*, ed. by T. Klaniczay and J. Jankovics (Budapest 1994); T. Klaniczay, *Alle origini del movimento accademico ungherese* (Alessandria 2010).

the courts of the prelates from Pécs to Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania) and Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Iulia), the aristocratic humanist members of the Royal Court (e.g. Elek Thurzó), and the imperial chancellery with its university graduates. In Gyulafehérvár, the bishop and men in his circle tended to be humanists, while most members of the local chapter were canons who had graduated from Italian universities.¹⁶

Judging by the network of foreign relations of individuals working in these Hungarian and Transylvanian institutions, the universities of Vienna, Cracow, Padua and Bologna were the main points of contact. Among the book publishing centres, however, Venice was in first place, followed by Basel. While Vienna and Cracow were particularly important as bi-directional mediation centres, they produced far less printed material than the towns in northern Italy or along the Rhine. In addition to the eastward mediation of Western intellectual thought, we also see that Hungary passed on news from countries further to the east to the Western intellectual centres, thereby enhancing the network of relations of those countries. Among the humanist teachers and mediators, we find several Rhenish and Swiss academics: for example, Joachim Vadianus.¹⁷

Later on, the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary (1526–1541) and in particular the tragic loss of the Bibliotheca Corvina had a profound echo in humanist circles and called attention again to the humanists in Buda during the reign of Matthias, most of whom, however, had not been Hungarian but had come from Italy.¹⁸

In the mid-sixteenth century and, indeed, up until the Long War fought against the Ottomans at the end of the century, university-educated legal

¹⁶ L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The religious life of Hungarians in the Jagiellonian era] (Budapest 2000 [1940]); *Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenthäuser*, ed. by U. Borkowska and M. Hörsch (Ostfildern 2010); *Between Worlds: The Age of the Jagiellonians*, ed. by F. Ardelean (Frankfurt 2013); *Magyar irodalom* [Hungarian literature], ed. by T. Gintli (Budapest 2010), 83–90.

¹⁷ Vadianus greatly esteemed his contemporaries in Hungary and Transylvania, as is shown not only by his letters but also by the fact that he republished Johann Honter's *Atlas minor* in his cosmographical work (*Epitome trium terrae partium*, Zurich 1548); RMK III, 5222. It was his colleague Wolfgang Lazius who included in his *Rerum Viennensium commentarii* (1546) a poem by their mutual Hungarian colleague János Sylvester; RMK III, 5213.

¹⁸ C. Csapodi, "Wann wurde die Bibliothek des Königs Matthias Corvinus vernichtet?," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 46 (1971), 384–390; cf. I. Monok, "Questioni aperte nella storia della Bibliotheca Corviniana agli albori dell'eta moderna," in *Nel segno del Corvo. Libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)*, ed. by E. Milano (Modena 2002), 33–41.

scholars and theologians, as well as those nobles who had acquired their knowledge in the course of *peregrinatio academica* at the courts of the prelates, received important roles in the chancellery and in the royal courts of both Hungary and Transylvania. If we look at the names of the men forming the “Pozsony society of scholars,”¹⁹ or at those of members of the intellectual circle established—and then abolished—at the end of the century at the court of Sigismund Báthory, Prince of Transylvania,²⁰ then we see that the Catholic prelates and aristocrats of Hungary and Transylvania (many of whom were now supporters of the Reformation), as well as some of the Protestant pastors involved in humanism, were operating an active network of contacts with a base in the aforementioned centres as well as at Melanchthon’s Wittenberg.²¹

Even so, the most important European publishing centres—in terms of books relating to Hungary in the sixteenth century—were not the imperial cities (albeit their combined effect should not be underestimated), but three cities outside the empire: Paris, Basel and Venice. In what follows, I will compare the small segment of the book publishing activity of these three cities that relates to Hungary or Transylvania, or to the works of authors from these areas working either independently or in co-operation. The three cities were adversaries and rivals on the European book market. It was such rivalry, however, that ensured the spread of humanist textual philology and the new religiosity (including the new religious concepts) throughout Europe. Hungarians and other individuals living in Hungary were in a position to participate in this process. Let us examine more

¹⁹ Nicolaus Olahus, Johannes Sambucus, István Radéczy, Nicasius Ellebodus, Miklós Istvánffy, Georg Purkircher, Batthyány, Carolus Clusius, István Beythe and András Beythe. Cf. K. Boross, “A pozsonyi humanista kör könyvei az Egyetemi Könyvtár antikva-gyűjteményében” [Books by the humanist circle in Pozsony featuring in the classical collection of the University Library], *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei* 13 (2007), 157–186.

²⁰ Tibor Klaniczay states that this put an end to politicising by intellectuals. Here we should mention Sándor Kendy, Farkas Kovacsóczy, László Sombory, Márton Berzeviczy, Pál Gyulai and János Gálffy. See T. Klaniczay, “Udvar és társadalom szembenállása Közép-Európában, Az erdélyi udvar a XVI. század végén” [The juxtaposition of court and society in Central Europe. The Transylvanian court at the end of the 16th century], in *Pallas magyar ivadéka* (Budapest 1985), 104–123.

²¹ The intellectuals in Hungary who were in contact with Melanchthon included Leonard Stöckel, Mátyás Dévai Bíró and János Sylvester. We shall find the same names in connection with the Basel publications. Cf. Á. Ritoók-Szalay, “Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn,” in *Melanchthon und Europa*, vol. 1, *Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa*, ed. by G. Frank and M. Treu (Stuttgart 2001), 273–284.

closely the range of Hungary-related works published in these three centres of book publishing.

Paris

Examining Claude Vanel's *History of Hungary*, published in Cologne in 1684, we see immediately that few of the books cited by him had been published in Paris.²² And when, a quarter of a century later, Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy supplemented the work with his historiographical publication, he only mentioned Dutch publications as sources.²³ Yet we know that works by authors from Hungary were published by Parisian publishing houses. True, the history of the native land of the published authors was not the subject matter in these known works.

The Hungarian national bibliography is perhaps the only one in Europe that consistently follows the publication abroad of works by authors residing in Hungary.²⁴ This made our task easier when we sought to analyse the extent to which Paris was the place of publication. In the period until the end of the sixteenth century, we know of 1,811 publications that were published outside Hungary by Hungarian authors; from this group, only 51 were published in Paris. Interestingly, 40 of the 51 works were published before 1530, while four were published between 1530 and 1550 and seven in the second half of the century. In view of the fact that Hungary was beset by war (with the Ottomans) throughout almost the whole period, the number of Parisian publications is surprisingly high.

The greatest popularity abroad was achieved not by expert scholars but by erudite authors with the ability to pass on what they knew to audiences lacking knowledge of a particular scientific field or geographic area. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, three authors from Hungary became European bestsellers: Osvaldus de Lasko, Pelbartus de Temesvár²⁵ and Michael de Hungaria. Works by two of these three men were published in Paris too. After its publication in the Netherlands, Cologne, Lyon and Strasbourg, *Sermones tredecim* by

²² Claude Vanel, *Le Royaume de Hongrie ou description nouvelle, chronologique, géographiques de ce Royaume...* (Cologne: Pierre Le Jeune, 1686).

²³ Nicoals Lenglet Dufresnoy, *Méthode pour étudier l'histoire...*, pt. 3 (Paris 1713), 38–39. For a comparison of the contents of the two works, see L. Kövér, *A 18. század magyarságképe elfeledett francia források tükrében* [The 18th-century image of Hungarians as reflected in the French sources] (Szeged 2006), 13–20.

²⁴ *Hungarica: Ungarn betreffende im Ausland gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, pts. 1–3, ed. by A. Apponyi, newly reworked by J. Vekerdi (Budapest 2004).

²⁵ Borsa, “Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt”; Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars.”

Michael de Hungaria was first published in Paris in 1497 in Pierre Levet's workshop; this was the fifteenth edition of the work. By the turn of the century, the original work and a revised version (*Evagatorium Benemii*) had been published in 31 editions, including six Parisian editions: those of Pierre Levet (1497), Jean Petit (1505, 1510, 1518 and 1519) and François Regnaud (1515).²⁶ Michael was a Dominican brother who, in his sermons, used simple language that ordinary people could easily understand. He was a favoured author among clerics preparing their own sermons. The sermons of Pelbartus de Temesvár (*Pomerium sermonum*) were similar, manifesting the simple ways of thinking of the Franciscans. Almost 100 editions of Pelbartus's work were published in Europe,²⁷ including five editions by Jean Petit (in a single year—1517) and four editions by François Regnaud (in 1521). In the early sixteenth century, the works of three further Hungarian authors—in the field of practical theology—were published. A tract in French by Georges d'Esclavonie (from Slavonia), entitled *Le chateau de virginité*, was printed by Anthonie Verard in 1505 and then by Johann Trepper in 1506.²⁸ Thereafter no theological works by Hungarian authors were published in Paris. However, in 1571 a commentary on St John's Apocalypse by the internationally-known Pauline monk Gregorius Coelius Pannonius—who had been active at the beginning of the century—was published (Michael Julianus).²⁹

The discovery of America gained wide coverage in print, and one of the contributors was a young writer—allegedly from Hungary—who was a member of Charles V's circle and who has become known among historians as Maximilianus Transylvanus.³⁰ He published a work—*De molocis insulis*—describing Magellan's voyage. The work was published in many languages, and so it comes as no surprise to find a Latin edition, published by Petrus Viart in 1523.³¹ In 1551, Michel Vascosan published

²⁶ G. Borsa, *Michael de Hungaria*.

²⁷ Az RMK III gives a complete bibliography.

²⁸ RMK III, 5051 (Verard); RMK III, 5055 (Trepperel).

²⁹ RMK III, 609.

³⁰ Instead of providing details of the debate, I would merely point out that the most recent biographical summary also places him in Hungary: *Régi magyarországi szerzők, I: A kezdetektől 1700-ig (RMSz)* [Old authors in Hungary, vol. 1, From the beginnings to 1700], ed. by P. J. Vásárhelyi et al. (Budapest 2008), 527. Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maximilianus_Transylvanus, accessed on 10 September 2013.

³¹ RMK III, 5123.

an *Oratio* on a philosophical theme by Imre Kolozsvári, a student studying in Paris. The work was dedicated to Cardinal Jean Du Bellay.³²

In the sixteenth century, the works of several humanists from Hungary with international reputations were published in Paris. Of particular interest is an outstanding rhetorical work by Márton Berzeviczy, which includes a speech written on the death of Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, in 1564,³³ and a medical tract by Joannes Manardus, a native of Ferrara who was active in Hungary (Christian Wechel, 1528).³⁴ Other major works include Matthaeus Fortunatus's edition of Seneca (Michel Vascosan, 1539)³⁵ (Fortunatus was a young man from Hungary who had studied in Padua), and Johannes Sambucus's internationally acclaimed theoretical work on imitation (*De imitatione Ciceroniani dialogi tres*, published by Aegidius Gorbinus, 1561).³⁶ The second and third editions of this latter work were published in Antwerp (1563, 1568).

Regarding Hungary, readers in France were particularly interested in the Ottoman question as well as the potential for exploiting anti-Habsburg sentiment among the Hungarians and Bohemians. Therefore, it is no surprise to find, among the works published in Paris in the sixteenth century, titles such as *Tractatus de Turcis* by "Anonymous of Sebes"³⁷ (Georgius de Hungaria) (published by Henri Estienne, 1509, and again in 1511), another anonymous tract entitled *Thurcice spurciciae et perfidiae suggillatio* (Josse Bade, 1514),³⁸ and Bartholomaeus Georgievic's *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, which ran to more than 50 editions. This latter work was published in both Latin and French by Charles Langelie in 1545 and then in Latin only by Hieronymus Mornef in 1567 and 1568.³⁹ After the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary, it was republished in French, signalling an eastward shift in the focus of French foreign policy.⁴⁰

Intellectuals in France were aware of the Ottoman threat. The year 1521 saw the publication of a letter sent by King Louis II of Hungary to Pope Leo X concerning the gravity of this threat. We know of one French edition and seven Latin editions of the letter published between 1521 and 1525. After the Hungarian king's death at the Battle of Mohács in 1526,

³² RMK III, 405.

³³ RMK III, 540.

³⁴ RMK III, 5157.

³⁵ RMK III, 328.

³⁶ RMK III, 487.

³⁷ RMK III, 173.

³⁸ RMK III, 194.

³⁹ Langelie: RMK III, 5211, 5212; Mornef: RMK III, 562, 576.

⁴⁰ Paris: Pierre Herissant, 1695. RMK III, 7038.

four more editions were published (three in 1527 and one in 1528). All this revealed to the public the indifference shown both by the Pope and by the great powers in the West.⁴¹

An examination of books on Hungarian topics (or with Hungarian input) published in Paris in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries demonstrates that in most cases the Turkish threat to Christendom was one of the topics presented. This is true both of publications serving a renewal of religious life and of the scholarly works of the humanists. Few students from Hungary attended the University of Paris or other French higher educational institutions.⁴² This fact renders the number and quality of the aforementioned publications even more striking. There can be no doubt, however, that after the first third of the sixteenth century there was a great shift in the history of the *peregrinatio academica* to Paris and in the literature published in Hungary on the Ottomans. Conditions in Hungary—the Ottoman conquest and the rapid advance of the Protestant Reformation—would seem to explain this change. It is no accident that the main points of contact between French and Hungarian intellectuals were those places in Germany and the Netherlands with a high number of French exiles (Heidelberg, the Dutch universities, and—at the end of the seventeenth century—Berlin and Saxony).

Basel

The number of students from Hungary who chose to study in Basel was not markedly higher than in Paris. Study tours are obviously not the reason for the town's outstanding role in the history of Hungary-related publications. In fact, in the period prior to Théodore de Bèze's death in 1605, only a very small proportion of the 753 students from Hungary and Transylvania who studied at Swiss institutions of higher education in the early modern period attended university in Basel: the exact number was 40 students.⁴³ Accordingly, reflecting the small number of students enrolled at Basel University, we know of only six thesis books dating from the

⁴¹ RMK III, 5111, 5115, 5117, 5118, 5119, 5120, 5122, 5132, 5149, 5150, 5151, 5156.

⁴² Cf. V. Frankl, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. Században* [Education in Hungary and abroad in the 16th century] (Budapest 1873), 268–269, 276.; A. L. Gabriel, *The University of Paris and its Hungarian Students and Masters during the Reign of Louis XII and François I* (Notre Dame, IN 1986).

⁴³ Á. Hegyi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526–1788 (1798)* [Hungarian students at Swiss universities and academies, 1526–1788 (1798)] (Budapest 2003).

latter two decades of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Even so, in the literature on the history of relations, emphasis is often given to the sixteenth century. This also applies to the most recent summary work: two-thirds of Jan-Andrea Bernhard's book on the Swiss influence on the consolidation of the Calvinist faith and denomination in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is concerned with analysing the history of relations in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

In general, Swiss publishing houses sought to distance themselves from works that might have incited political or even religious sentiment. This was particularly true of publishers in Basel. While scholarly debate was acceptable to them, they eschewed the passionate expression of opinions. This meant, however, that the Ottoman issue was only dealt with in the publications as a scholarly issue. It is true, however, that Georgius Agricola's work *Oratio de bello adversis Turcam suspiciendo* was published in Basel (1538).⁴⁶ In the work, the Hungarian king John Szapolyai (Zapolya) is depicted as the embodiment of evil, because he is fighting against Ferdinand of Habsburg.⁴⁷ In contrast, the period also saw the publication of an *oratio* by Ferenc Frangepán, Archbishop of Kalocsa, which had been addressed to Christian Europe at the time of Buda's occupation in 1541 and described the inaction of the West and the consequences of its hypocrisy.⁴⁸

Even so, in Basel, the *turcica* literature tended to be treated as a historical and rulership issue and was generally addressed in scholarly

⁴⁴ Five of these were on a medical theme (Jacobus Gregorius [2], Samuel Spielenberg, Johannes Hertelius and Laurentius Schwechert) and one was a theological work (Gallus Rhormann): RMK III, 746, 5470 (Jacobus Gregorius); RMK III, 895 (Spielenberg); RMK III, 5471 (Hertilius); RMK III, 7439 (Schwechert); RMK III, 7446 (Rhormann).

⁴⁵ J.-A. Bernhard, "Die Bedeutung der ungarisch-schweizerischen Kontakte für die Konsolidierung des reformierten Bekenntnisses im Reich der Stephanskronen. Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte zwischen Ungarn und der Schweiz in der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1700)" (Habilitationsschrift, University of Zurich, 2013).

⁴⁶ *Hungarica*, 268.

⁴⁷ J. Bessenyei, "Agricola Oratio de bello adversus Turcam suspiciendo című röpirata és a 16. század első felének törökellenes publicisztikája" [The pamphlet entitled *Agricola Oratio de bello adversus Turcam suspiciendo* and the anti-Turkish publications in the first half of the 16th century], in *Agricola évszázada. Georgius Agricola (1494–1555) születésének 500. évfordulója alkalmából tartott ülés-szak előadásai*, ed. by L. Zsámboki (Miskolc 1994), 15–22, G. Heckenast, "Adatok Agricola recepciójáról a 16. századi Magyarországon" [Data on the reception of Agricola in 16th-century Hungary], in *Agricola évszázada*, 57–60.

⁴⁸ RMK III, 330.

anthologies or in summary works for those who could read German. Authors from Hungary also featured in such works. There were hundreds of editions, published throughout Europe, of the works by Georgius de Hungaria (*De Turcarum moribus*)⁴⁹ and Bartholomaeus Georgievic, both of which described Ottoman customs and mentality.⁵⁰ Two great anthologies—published in Basel and Zurich—continued to be present in European libraries throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: works by Antoine Geuffroy (*Aulae Turcicae ... descriptio*)⁵¹ and Nicolaus Höniger (*Hoffhaltung Des Türckhischen Keisers und Othomannischen Reichs Beschreibung*).⁵² In connection with the *turcica* literature, it is worth mentioning that in 1573 Pietro Perna published a German translation of Giovanni Pietro Contarino's description of the great victory over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Originally published in Italian and then in Latin, Contarino's work was translated into German by Georg Henisch, a German humanist living in Hungary.⁵³

Let us now return to the circle of humanists active during the reign of Matthias Corvinus and to their works published in Basel.⁵⁴ In 1517, Johannes Frobenius published a treatise entitled *De homine* by the Italian humanist Galeotto Marzio, who, in the period 1461–1486, spent much time at Matthias's court in Buda. Frobenius also published Georgius Merula's explication of the work.⁵⁵ Another Italian humanist from Matthias's court, Lippo Brandolini, achieved a reputation with his texts on fifteenth-century politics and on the principles of royal government.⁵⁶ His work *De humanae vitae conditione* was prepared for publication in Basel (in 1541 and 1543) by the humanist Martin Brenner, who hailed from northern Hungary.⁵⁷ Brenner also organised the publication of Antonio Bonfini's history of the Hungarians, which the Italian author had written for Matthias: he prepared for publication the first three decades of Bonfini's

⁴⁹ Basel 1543: RMK III, 5197; Basel 1550: RMK III, 5227.

⁵⁰ Basel 1545, 1551, 1573, 1577, 1578 – RMK III, 361, 392, 628, 5375, 5386.

⁵¹ Basel 1577: RMK III, 5375

⁵² Basel 1578: RMK III, 5386.

⁵³ RMK III, 628.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Renaissance Year, 2008, Guide to the Exhibitions for the 550th Anniversary of King Matthias' Accession to the Throne*, ed. by Á. Mikó (Budapest 2008); *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and art in the early Renaissance*, ed. by P. Farbaky and L. A. Waldman (Florence 2011).

⁵⁵ RMK III, 5089.

⁵⁶ *Republics and Kingdoms Compared by Aurelio Lippo Brandolini*, ed. and trans. by J. Hankins (Cambridge, MA 2009).

⁵⁷ RMK III, 331, 345.

Rerum Ungaricarum decades (Basel, Robert Winter, 1543).⁵⁸ The publication seems to have aroused considerable interest, because in nearby Colmar, Hieronymus Boner, who had published Plutarch and Thucydides, translated it into German, and this German version was then published in Basel three times in a single year by Ruprecht Winther (1543).⁵⁹ News of the Ottoman occupation of Buda (1541), the Hungarian royal seat, led to an evident surge in demand for the work.

Subsequently, the level of interest was maintained, at least with regard to Bonfini's text. However, it was almost 20 years later that Johannes Oporinus, assisted by Johannes Sambucus, could publish the entire work (1568).⁶⁰ Clearly, there was much interest in this lengthy work, as two editions were published in a single year. Four years later, Sambucus arranged for the publication by Oporinus of the text of the *Symposium*, which had taken place at the royal court in Buda and had been written down by Bonfini. The work details the viewpoints of the two sides on virginity and on the purity of married life.⁶¹

A highly esteemed figure among the humanists in fifteenth-century Hungary was Janus Pannonius (1434–1472). The well-known scholar Beatus Rhenanus of Schlettstett on the Rhine obtained a manuscript by Janus,⁶² and in 1518 he had the text of a now famous panegyric published by Johannes Frobenius, which addressed Janus's Ferrara professor Guarino da Verona.⁶³ Janus's talent was also greatly valued by a young Basel humanist poet named Hilarius Cantiuacula (Hilaire Chansonette), who likewise published Janus's poetry (Venice 1553).⁶⁴ Two years later Johannes Oporinus of Basel published two reprints based on the Venice version.⁶⁵ Publishers in Basel and in Geneva then each published a poem by Janus, albeit they regarded him first and foremost as the author of texts suitable for thematic anthologies rather than as a humanist working in Hungary. The year 1553 saw the publication in Basel

⁵⁸ RMK III, 344.

⁵⁹ RMK III, 5206, 5207, 5208.

⁶⁰ RMK III, 570, 5318.

⁶¹ RMK III, 616.

⁶² C. Munier, "Beatus Rhenanus et Janus Pannonius," *Annuaire des amis de la Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat* 59 (2009), 7–18; 60 (2010), 35–49; 61 (2011), 49–58.

⁶³ RMK III, 220.

⁶⁴ RMK III, 418. Ágnes Ritoók-Szalai, "Janus Pannonius kiadója, Hilarius Cantiuacula" [Janus Pannonius's publisher, Hilarius Cantiuacula], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84 (1980), 125–136.

⁶⁵ RMK III, 426, 5253.

of a poem by Janus entitled *De paparum creandorum ritu* in Thomas Naogeorgus's collection *Sylvae carminum in nostri temporis*.⁶⁶ There followed an anthology by Johannes Baleus (*Acta Romanorum Pontificum*), which also features a poem by Janus Pannonius about Paul V (*Pontificis Pauli testes ne Roma requiras*). This anthology was first published in 1558 by Oporinus, but we also know of two further Latin editions and two German editions *sine loco et sine typographo*, as well as a Frankfurt editio.⁶⁷ A poem by Janus entitled *Pro pace* was also published in 1563 separately by Oporinus, as a part of Adam Silber's anthology (*Pietas puerilis, ex diversis doctorum monumentis collecta*).⁶⁸ Subsequently, Janus's poems featured in several anthologies, including, for instance, Johannes Ravisius Textor's anthology (Basel 1585) and in a polemical collection on the history of the Papacy, published by Philippe de Mornay in Saumur in 1611.⁶⁹

Several Transylvanian and Hungarian scholars spent many years travelling around Europe, thus significantly prolonging their study tours. During their travels they established contact networks. The native of Kolozsvár Tamás Jordán attended the medical university in Montpellier 20 years after Conrad Gessner, but on his journey to Italy he visited Zurich (1562) in order to become acquainted with Gessner. The influence exerted by Gessner on Jordán is manifest in the fact that while the former completed a description of the mineral resources and thermal waters of Graubünden, Jordán, who later settled in Moravia, made a similar description of such resources there. In Basel, however, Jordán established a reputation, not through his work as a physician, but by means of the publication of Johannes Dubravius's history of Bohemia and the Czech lands (Pietro Perna 1575).⁷⁰ Just like Bonfini's history of the Hungarians, the various editions of Dubravius's Bohemian history were present in Europe's libraries.

⁶⁶ RMK III, 5247.

⁶⁷ RMK III, 7364, 7369, 7372, 7380, 7396.

⁶⁸ RMK III, 5391.

⁶⁹ *Epithetorum Ioannis Ravisii textoris nivernensis opus absolutissimum* (Basel: Leonhardus Ostenius, 1585, 1592, 1594, and Andreas Cellarius, 1599); Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *Mysterium iniquitatis seu historia papatus* (Saumur: Thomas Portaeus, 1611), 167 ["Iohannis Pannonii versus quis nescit? *Non poterat quisquam reserantes aethera claves...*"; "Pontificis Pauli testes..."] (RMK III, 5856). We know of eight other editions of this publication in Latin, French and English and dating from the following half century. Pierre Albert published a French translation of it in Geneva in 1612 (RMK III, 5867).

⁷⁰ RMK III, 646.

It is indisputable, however, that three men—Johann Honter, Johannes Sambucus and Georg Henisch—deserve special attention in the sixteenth-century history of relations among the humanists living in Hungary and Transylvania. All three fostered close relations with scholarly circles and printers in Basel and Zurich. Researchers have already dealt extensively with two of them (Honter and Sambucus). Here I merely mention that it was in Basel that Johann Honter (1498–1549) learnt lettering and printing. He then became the most important humanist printer in his hometown of Brassó (today Braşov, Romania).⁷¹ His map and cosmography of Hungary was published separately or as part of an anthology in eight Basel and 13 Zurich editions between 1532 and 1597. Two other cases are worth mentioning, however, for they underscore Honter's knowledge of Greek philology. The year 1536 saw the publication in Johannes Bebelius's Basel workshop of a collection of epigrams by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c. 393—c. 457)⁷² which Honter had prepared in a textual-philological sense for publication. Having returned to Transylvania, Honter himself sought out texts that were unknown to European scholars. In a Wallachian monastery, he discovered a text by Nilus of Sinai, the fifth-century bishop, which he then published in his own Brassó workshop in 1540. The books published in this small workshop did not, however, reach the European university centres. Honter sent the publication—together with the manuscript it seems—to his Basel friend Michael Neander. The latter, having included in the preface some details about Honter's role in the manuscript's discovery, arranged for the text's publication in Greek and in Latin by Oporinus in 1559.⁷³ Even today, classical philology regards this latter publication as the *editio princeps*.⁷⁴

Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) spent much of his life travelling. He was in contact with all the major scholars in Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Basel, Paris and northern Italy. He himself published numerous books in several towns. His efforts resulted in the publication of 31 editions of texts

⁷¹ L. Binder, *Johannes Honterus, Schriften, Briefe, Zeugnisse*, ed. by G. Nussbächer (Bucharest 1996); G. Nussbächer, *Beiträge zur Honterus-Forschung*, 3 vols. (Kronstadt 2003–2010).

⁷² RMK III, 7355.

⁷³ RMK III, 463.

⁷⁴ I. Monok, "La seule édition princeps d'un texte classique en Transylvanie au XVI^e siècle," in *Strasbourg, ville de l'imprimerie. L'édition princeps aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Texte et images, innovations et traditions*. Colloque international, Strasbourg, 23–24 Mar. 2012, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire (forthcoming).

by Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Latin authors.⁷⁵ From his private library, which contained many manuscripts (including medieval and humanist codices),⁷⁶ he also lent, upon request, text relics and text variants to publishers. His links with Switzerland were manifold, and he fostered close relationships with humanists in Zurich, Geneva and Basel. His most important contact, however, was a former fellow student, the Basel polymath Theodor Zwinger. The two men had studied together in Padua. Zwinger's uncle—Oporinus—published a work by Sambucus when the latter was only 21 years old.⁷⁷ Sambucus also worked with the publishers Pietro Perna and the Epsicopius officina.⁷⁸ In addition to the full edition of Antonio Bonfini, he also published in Basel texts by Xenophon, Vegetius and Theodore II Dukas Laskaris, as well as the collection of texts entitled *Epistolarum conscribendi methodus*.⁷⁹ This outstanding humanist, as one of the organisers of humanism in sixteenth-century Hungary, directed attention to Swiss book publishing not only through his publications and with the Basel collection of his own library, but also through his correspondence on these volumes.

A lesser known figure in the international literature is Georg Henisch (1549–1618).⁸⁰ He worked primarily with Pietro Perna, although his edition of Hesiod was published in Johannes Oporinus's workshop (1574).⁸¹ A native of Bártfa (today Bardejov, Slovakia), Henisch left Hungary at a young age, attending a grammar school in Linz and then studying at Wittenberg. His mentor was Hieronymus Wolf, a pupil of Melancthon. A further influence on Henisch was the Augsburg patrician Markus Welser. After studying at university in Leipzig and Paris, he moved to Basel, where he received a degree in medicine in 1576. He spent most of

⁷⁵ G. Almási and G. F. Kiss, *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates, II: Johannes Sambucus* (Turnhout 2014).

⁷⁶ H. Gerstinger, "Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler," in *Festschrift des Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna 1926), 250–399; *Die Bibliothek Sambucus, Katalog*, after the transcription of P. Gulyás, ed. by I. Monok and P. Ötvös (Szeged 1992).

⁷⁷ RMK III, 402.

⁷⁸ G. Almási and G. F. Kiss, *Humanistes du bassin*, 7–80.

⁷⁹ RMK III, 403, 616, 639. Theodorus Ducas Lascaris, *De communicatione naturali libri VI* (Basel 1571). See also the Basel second editions: RMK III, 504, 571, 649, 5388. RMK III, 5548 with a preface by Sambucus.

⁸⁰ Cf. L. Lenk, *Augsburger Bürgertum im Späthumanismus und Frühbarock (1580–1700)* (Augsburg 1968), 175–182. For an account of his textual/philological work, see P. Ekler, *Humanistes du Bassin des Carpates, III* (Turnhout 2015) (forthcoming).

⁸¹ RMK III, 638, and later in 1580 (RMK III, 690).

his life in Augsburg, where he taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Rhetoric at the Protestant grammar school and where he also practised medicine. In the history of libraries, Henisch was the first to publish a public library catalogue—the catalogue of the Augsburg library, an institution which he directed for a time.

Almost 70 books by Henisch were published in print, 14 of them in Basel. In addition to Hesiod, he also published Gemistus Pletho's neo-Platonic writings and Dictys Cretensis's texts. I have already mentioned his translation of Contarino's work on the Ottomans, but his works on medicine were particularly favoured by readers.⁸² He published, in German, many volumes on minerals and the use of plants, as well as medical textual relics from antiquity. He kept in contact with members of his family still living in the Kingdom of Hungary and with teachers and pastors there. He was also in contact with members of the imperial court that came from Hungary. He dedicated his publications to wealthy burghers in Augsburg, to members of the Fugger family, and to Lazarus Schwendi, a military leader who had fought in Hungary.⁸³

Whereas most humanists in Hungary and Transylvania came into contact with publishers in Basel and Zurich by way of one of the university centres (Vienna, Cracow, Wittenberg or Padua), for others the Swiss Reformation was the main consideration. For instance, Leonard Stöckel, a humanist who won his status in Europe by improving the quality of teaching at the Bártfa school, came to Oporius with a *Loci communes* commentary (Melanchthon) (1561).⁸⁴ Another of Melanchthon's pupils, the teacher of Ciceronian rhetoric Christoph Preyss, a native of Pozsony, also published in Basel (in 1550 and 1555).⁸⁵ The scholar and theologian Andreas Dudith, who had earlier represented the Hungarian church at the Council of Trent as a prelate and was a favoured consultant among contemporary religious scholars, had a rather ambiguous presence on the Basel book market. In addition to three editions of his very popular treatise on comets,⁸⁶ it was in Basel that his translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸⁷ was published, as well as the editions (published under a

⁸² RMK III, 628.

⁸³ In chronological order: RMK III, 627, 628, 5347, 635, 636, 637, 638, 7404, 645, 5358, 7406, 660, 690, 5420.

⁸⁴ RMK III, 5284.

⁸⁵ RMK III, 427, 5229.

⁸⁶ RMK III, 677, 689 (1579 and 1580).

⁸⁷ RMK III, 5388 (in 1579).

pseudonym) of his letter treatise to Theodore de Bèze concerning the question of whether heretics can be killed.⁸⁸

Alongside the humanists from Hungary and Transylvania, we also find in the Swiss books centres fervent Protestant Hungarian writers. Similar to the bestseller successes of the two Franciscans scholars (Osvaldo de Lasko and Pelbartus de Temesvár) at the turn of the sixteenth century, in the second half of the sixteenth century István Szegedi Kis scored successes with his *Loci communes* and a work entitled *Speculum Pontifici Romani*, while Izsák Fegyverneki's *Loci communes* also became popular. The former two books and a theological tract by Szegedi Kis saw eight editions in Basel, two editions in Geneva, a single edition in Schaffhausen and a further one in Zurich.⁸⁹ Fegyverneki achieved five Basel editions of his work, in addition to the editions published in Germany.⁹⁰ Alongside these two Calvinist theologians, other names that are important to Hungarian literary history appear in books published in Basel, Zurich and Geneva, such as Péter Laskói Csókás, Gáspár Pilcius, Péter Beregszászi, Máté Skaricza and Bálint Szikszai Fabricius.⁹¹

Venice

The major monographs on the history of books emphasise the fact⁹² that several towns—including Antwerp, Lyon, Vienna, Augsburg, Nuremberg and especially Venice—became successful printing centres because the surrounding areas were lacking in printing presses. In such cases, publications that needed to be printed en masse but were not always of the best technical standard—religious ordinances, school textbooks, etc.—were ordered by institutions in such areas from printers in the book centres. The taking of such orders and the delivering of the finished products were good opportunities for making contacts and for acquainting customers with the full range of books available on the Venetian book

⁸⁸ RMK III, 5442 (in 1584). The same Basel publisher had already published the letter in the booklet *Mini Celsi Senensis Disputatio in haereticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat* (1577).

⁸⁹ Basel, 1585, 1586 (twice), 1593, 1595, 1598, 1599 (twice): RMK III, 740, 747, 748, 832, 5543, 914, 931, 932; Geneva, 1573, 1576: RMK III, 631, 651; Zurich, 1584: RMK III, 5452; Schaffhausen, 1592: RMK III, 827.

⁹⁰ Basel, 1586, 1589, 1595 (twice), 1596: RMK III, 745, 787, 846, 847, 5564.

⁹¹ Basel: RMK III, 5284, 759, 5491, 810, 811, 812; Geneva: RMK III, 729, 742.

⁹² H.-J. Martin and L. Fèbvre, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris 1999), 258–270; F. Barbier, *L'Europe de Gutenberg. Le livre et l'invention de la modernité occidentale* (Paris 2006), 202–218.

market and for informing interested parties about the state of affairs in Hungary and Transylvania.

This statement is self-evident to a degree, and it is not surprising that the towns listed above were the information centres in Europe during the period.⁹³ Venice shared a border with the Kingdom of Hungary; everyday contacts between areas that now form part of Croatia and the city of Venice extended to areas such as domestic items, materials, food supplies, books and information gathering. The importance of Venice as a book publishing centre differed among the various neighbouring states. Influencing factors included the level of development of printing in the various countries, their geographical proximity to Venice, and the religious make-up. In the period 1490–1530, authors and publishers from Hungary were particularly active in ordering publications in Venice.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Venice's links with Central Europe were related primarily to the Ottoman threat and the common struggle against the Turks.⁹⁴ Political and historical thinking in Central Europe, which naturally prioritised the Ottoman question, counted on Venice as an ally and also benefited from the knowledge of the Venetian historical schools.⁹⁵ Even so, the close relations between Hungary and Venice at the turn of the sixteenth century reflected not only the Ottoman threat; an additional factor was the support provided to humanists in Hungary by means of their contacts in Venice.⁹⁶

The desire of the humanist publishers—above all Aldus Manutius—to foster relations with humanists in Hungary was motivated in part by the rich stock of ancient and early medieval texts held by the Bibliotheca Corvina, the royal library.⁹⁷ Such interest on the part of the Venetian

⁹³ Cf. R. Pieper, “Informationszentren im Vergleich. Die Stellung Venedigs und Antwerpens im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Kommunikationsrevolutionen. Die neuen Medien des 16. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. North (Cologne 1995), 45–60.

⁹⁴ There is much literature on this issue. See, for the most recent conference material, *I Turchi il Mediterraneo e l'Europa*, ed. G. Motta (Milano 1998); *L'Europa centro-orientale e il pericolo turco tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. G. Platania (Viterbo 2000).

⁹⁵ T. Klaniczay, “Réforme et transformation culturelles en Hongrie,” in *Les réformes enrachement socio-culturel, XVI^e colloque international d'études humanistes Tours*, ed. by B. Chevalier and R. Sauzet (Paris 1982), 48–65.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Rapporti veneto-ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento*, ed. by T. Klaniczay (Budapest 1975); C. Coco, *Da Mattia Corvino agli ottomani. Rapporti diplomatici tra Venezia e l'Ungheria, 1458–1541* (Venice 1990).

⁹⁷ Cf. D. Nebbiai, “Les réseaux de Matthias Corvin,” in *Contribution à l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Europe: réseaux du livre, réseaux des lecteurs*, ed. by F. Barbier and I. Monok (Budapest and Leipzig 2008), 17–28.

humanist publishers gave rise to the personal contacts that resulted in the publication in the early stages of book printing of books destined for Hungary or concerning Hungarian themes. Twenty-two of the 126 printed *hungaricums* that are known to us from the fifteenth century were produced by Venetian printing presses.⁹⁸

It should also be noted that after a brief period of printing activity in Hungary prior to 1500, the book traders of Buda provided the country—in particular the ecclesiastical institutions—with a supply of books. And the book traders not only traded in books, but also published some works.⁹⁹ Fifty-five of the 61 books financed by them were printed in Venice. (Nuremberg also saw a significant number of publications, while only a few titles were printed in Vienna, Cracow, Lyon and Paris.) All the publications were for the direct use of the church: service books, council decisions and the lives of Hungarian saints.

In addition to the book traders of Buda, some aristocrats and prelates had contacts in Venice whereby authors based in Hungary could publish their works there. A poem by Janus Pannonius, the bishop of Pécs, who was highly esteemed in Italy, was published in a Polybius edition in 1498.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, in 1502, Matthaues Fortunatus's Seneca was also published in Venice.¹⁰¹ Several Hungarians contributed as patrons to the publication of humanist works. Aldus Manutius dedicated his Athenaeus (1514) to Janus Vyrtesius Pannonius and the 1521 Cicero edition to the humanist diplomat Fülöp Móró.¹⁰² For his part, Raphael Rhegius dedicated his 1513 Ovid to the Hungarian king, Ladislaus.¹⁰³ Further, two works by the Benedictine Ambrosius Pannonius concerning the rules of everyday monastic life were printed by Lucantonio Giunta and Petrus Lichtenstein.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ See the volumes of RMK III.

⁹⁹ *A budai könyvvarusok kiadványai 1480–1525* [Publications of the Buda book traders, 1480–1525] (material compiled by G. Borsa and edited by S. Dörnyei), in *Régi Magyar Könyvtár. III-dik kötet. Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve, Pótlások, kiegészítések, javítások*, vol. 5 (Budapest 1996), 249–282; cf. G. Borsa, “L’Activité et les marques des imprimeurs de Buda avant 1526,” in *Le livre dans l’Europe de la renaissance. Actes du XXVIII^e Colloque internationale d’études humanistes de Tours*, ed. by P. Aquilon and H.-J. Martin (Paris 1988), 170–181.

¹⁰⁰ RMK III, 5038.

¹⁰¹ RMK III, 262.

¹⁰² *Hungarica*, nos. 96, 146.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁰⁴ RMK III, 204 (1515), RMK III, 225 (1518).

An examination of the works of Hungarian authors printed in Venice reveals that—similarly to Paris—a major setback came in the 1530s. The explanation lies above all in the Ottomans' partial occupation of Hungary and the rapid spread of the Protestant Reformation in the country. The same process can be observed among Polish authors; only the Croatian authors maintained a constant presence, albeit their number was not great: in the sixteenth century, Dražen Budiša recorded 16 works in Croatian and 35 works in Latin authored by Croatians.¹⁰⁵ Virtually all these authors were from Dalmatia. Indeed, many of them were members of the Dubrovnik Petrarchist circle, headed by Marko Marulić.

The number of authors from Hungary decreased significantly. We know of only 22 publications in the period before 1600. Most of these were authored by the humanists (Andreas Dudith, Antonius and Faustus Verantius, Farkas Kovacsóczy, and Ferenc Hunyadi, etc.).¹⁰⁶ Other works included the popular works of monks, including the Pauline Gregorius Coelius Pannonius's commentaries on the Apocalypse and Saint Augustine. These books became popular both in Hungary and elsewhere because they were easy to understand.¹⁰⁷

A surprisingly small amount of Hungary-related *Turcica* literature was published in Venice. In contrast, the Venetian archives hold a significant amount of material related to Hungary and in particular the Ottoman advance. The texts that were published also appeared in many other countries: the letters of King Ladislaus V of Hungary to Pope Nicholas¹⁰⁸ and to Skanderbeg,¹⁰⁹ and the memoirs—a classic in the genre—of Bartholomaeus Georgievic (in eight editions), as an appendix of the Turkish historical summaries by Giovanantonio Menavio¹¹⁰ and Francesco Sansovino.¹¹¹ The only military event in Hungary to be recorded in a Venetian publication—*Historia di Zigeth* (1570)—was Miklós Zrínyi's battle at Szigetvár, in the course of which Süleyman died in his tent (1566).¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ D. Budiša, *Hrvatske knjige tiskane*, 12–14, 39–48.

¹⁰⁶ RMK III, 519, 610, 611, 625, 722, 967, 5439, 5450, 5485, 5630, etc. It is worth mentioning that both Dudith and Verancsics were of Croatian extraction.

¹⁰⁷ RMK III, 320 (1537), RMK III, 372 (1547).

¹⁰⁸ RMK III, 5026 (1487).

¹⁰⁹ RMK III, 5252 (1554), III, 5373 (1568), III, 5406 (1580).

¹¹⁰ RMK III, 5218 (1540), III, 5219 (1540), III, 5282 (1560).

¹¹¹ RMK III, 5298 (1564), III, 5322 (1568), III, 5430 (1582), III, 5648 (1600), III, 5649 (1600).

¹¹² RMK III, 603.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it is worth pointing out that by the end of the fifteenth century the Kingdom of Hungary had developed the institutional structure that was characteristic of the cultural communities in Western Europe, albeit the density of the network—the number of the various institutions (churches, schools, printing presses, baronial courts, towns)—did not match what we see in Western Europe and in Italy during the period. The *devotio moderna*, humanism and the spirit of the Renaissance were present in the country, and the protagonists in these processes had contacts reaching to the extremities of Western Christianity. Such contacts enabled authors in Hungary to achieve successes even in distant book markets (Paris, Strasbourg and Basel). Meanwhile, students at schools in Hungary acquired the basic knowledge that enabled them to attend universities abroad and then become partners in humanist philological endeavours. The circle of patrons—aristocrats and prelates—who supported such individuals also came into contact with the leading figures in the humanist publishing workshops (Aldus Manutius, Erasmus Rotterdamus, Henri Estienne, etc.). The Protestant intellectual groups of the sixteenth century grew out of such humanist circles; their patrons often came from the same aristocratic families that had supported humanist contacts in the Jagellionian era. Their contacts were built in part on those of the preceding generation, and it was through these contacts that they could arrange for the works of authors in Hungary to be published abroad.

Although—as I have argued—the Turkish threat was the main motive for interest in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania in the sixteenth century, nevertheless this is only partially reflected in the activity of the foreign publishers relating to these areas. Indeed, publishing activity and the interest shown in Hungary seem to have been influenced to a greater degree by intellectual contacts than by political interests. In terms of the historical effect of intellectual thought, it is interesting that the publishing activity related to Hungary changed in a similar way and to a similar extent in the sixteenth century (based on spiritual and humanist currents) in the Rhenish area (Basel, Strasbourg and Hagenau), in a university centre not frequently attended by students from Hungary (Basel), and in a city-state (Venice) in geographical proximity and with a strong and complex network of relations stemming from the late medieval period. (Paris seems to be the exception, where it was only in the first decades of the century that there was an increase in book publishing activity relating to Hungary.)

Surprisingly, of the three publishing centres under investigation, Basel carries the greatest weight in terms of the publication of material on Hungary and the publication of works by authors living in Hungary. The explanation for this appears to lie in the town's special book publishing strategy. In order to minimise the risk of outside interference, the town's leadership introduced regulations governing the publishing sector which prevented publishers from publishing or disseminating political or religious propaganda. Wherever possible, they were not to publish the non-scholarly writings of warring parties, while theological works were to be published in Latin rather than in German or in other vernaculars.¹¹³ All this resulted in the emergence of a series of publishers focussed on the publication of antique texts, the works of the church fathers, and works by fifteenth-century and contemporary humanists (the Amerbach, Frobenius, Oporinus, Perna, Petri families, etc.). In this way, Basel differentiated itself from Paris. The Badius, Estienne, Colines and Petit workshops began to compete in a noble fashion with their Basel contemporaries, whereby all of them sought to establish the best circle of authors, to publish the highest quality philological texts, and to discover contemporary authors who wrote in accordance with the classical and medieval tradition but added their own genuine thoughts. Although Paris, thanks to its university, was theoretically in a better position, nevertheless Basel lay closer to the German and Italian regions that were the location of libraries with many codices. Moreover, Basel also gave space to freethinkers, having recognised the early achievements and nature of the Protestant Reformation. Another factor was Basel's proximity to Central Europe, which made it a favoured place of publication for works destined for countries embarking on the path of the Protestant Reformation. Basel, as a centre for exiles, made good use of the intellectual capacities at its disposal, meeting also the intellectual demands of people in Hungary and Transylvania.

¹¹³ P. Bietenholz, *Der italienische Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel. Die Basler Drucke italienischer Autoren von 1530 bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel 1959), cf. "Einleitung"; C. Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600. Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt* (Basel 1985), 18–22.