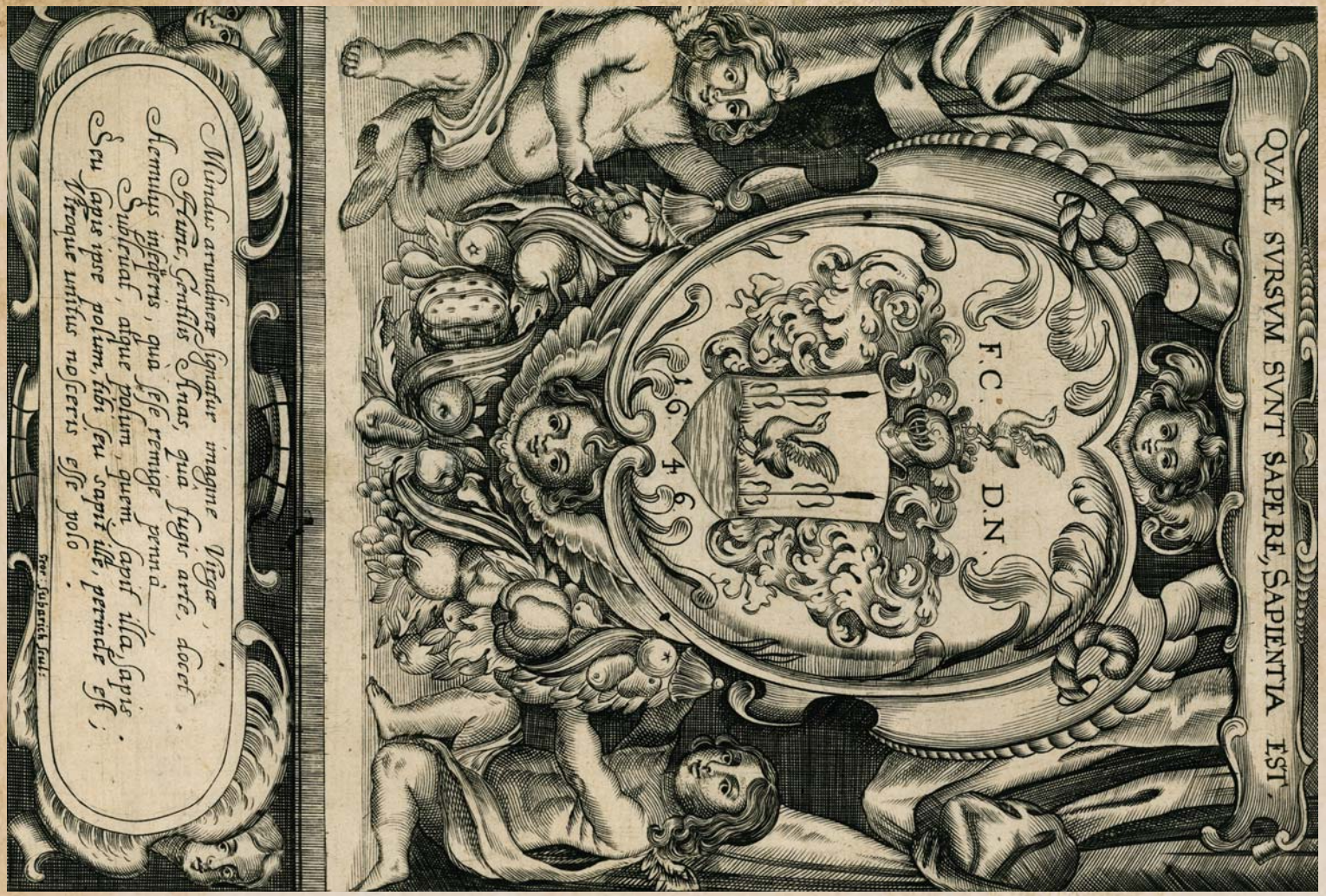
International travelling exhibition



Frangepán–Zrínyi ✦ Valvasor ✦ Bánffy ✦ Nádasdy ✦ Batthyány
Esterházy ✦ Pálffy ✦ Thurzó–Illésházy ✦ Révay

Blue Blood, Black Ink

Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700


Excell.mo ac Illustr.mo Comiti ac Dnō,
Dnō FRANCISCO DE NADASD,
perpetuo Terræ Fogaras, ac Comitatus Castriferrei Supremo Comiti, Præfidiorum
Alſo. Lendua. et Nempkÿ ſupremo ac hereditario Capitaneo; Equiti Auratæ; S.C.
Reg. Maj.ti intimo Conſiliario, Camerario, ac per Hungariam Curiæ Regiæ
Iudici, etc. Domino ac Prono Colendiſſimo.
Norum hanc Regni Hungariæ Tab. D.D.D. Joannes Blaeu.
Amsterdami
Apud Johannem Blaeu 1664.
MORAVIÆ PARS.
PARS AVSTRIÆ SUPERIORIS.
PARS AVSTRIÆ INFERIORIS.
PARS HUNGARIÆ.
PARS CROATIÆ.
BOSNIÆ PARS.
Occidens
Septentrio
Meridies
Barſienſis com.
Comaien com
Schutt.
Sopron. comit.
Castri ferrei com.
Verthes als Schultzperg
Mont Bacon
Novicradiensis com.
Honth com.
Albensis com.
Im Schumat
Simigiensis com.
Im Sigeth
Posegiensis com.
Valkonensis com.
Ratzen marck
Ratzen
Sirmiensis com.
Pesthiens. com.
Peſſienſ. com.
Cumanus Campus.
Bathiensis com.
Waranien. com.
Zagrabiensis com.
Risiensis comit.
Warasdiensis comit.
Turocz comit
Liptoviensis com.
Cepusienſ.com
Gewinariensis comitatus.
Torneni. comit.
Abaviwari enſ. com.
Borſodienſ com.
Heweſienſ. com.
Bodroghiensis comitat.
Bachmeg deſerta
Zolnocen
Tranchint com.
Poſon com. Poſnien
Chalekes
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Wien
Cremſir
Olmütz
Brünn
Troppau
Teutſchbrod
Iglau
Budweis
Linz
Paſſau
Salzburg
Leoben
Grätz
Marburg
Cilley
Laybach
Carlſtadt
Fiume
Agram
Peterwardein
Eſſeck
Mitrowitz
Semlin
Belgrad
Waradin
Großwardein
Temeſwar
Arad
Segedin
Peſth
Ofen
Raab
Comorn
Gran
Neuhäuſel
Eperies
Caſchau
Kaſchau
Leutſchau
Tokay
Erlau
Agria
Debrecz
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Colocza
Fünfkirchen
Eſſegg
Peterwardein
Mitrowitz
Zeng
Carlſtadt
Fiume
Buccari
Segna
Zara
Sebenico
Spalatro
Ragouſa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Scutari
Alessio
Dulcigno
Antivari
Cetina
Narenta
Mostar
Trebigne
Ragouſa
Cattaro
Montenegro
Albania
Romania
Bulgaria
Servia
Rascia
Bosnia
Croatia
Dalmatia
Sclavonia
Transylvania
Moldavia
Wallachia
Hungaria
Austria
Moravia
Bohemia
Silesia
Poland
Turkey
Adriatic Sea
Danube
Save
Drave
Theiß
Maros
Körös
Temes
Waag
Gran
Eipel
Sajo
Hernad
Bodrog
Tarcza
Poprad
Dunajec
Vistula
Oder
Elbe
Moldau
Inn
Enns
Mur
Drau
Sau
Una
Kulpa
Narenta
Boyana
Lake Balaton
Lake Neusiedl
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Maggiore
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Lake Iseo
Lake Trasimeno
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Lake Trasimeno
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Lake Vico
Lake Bracciano
Lake Albano
Lake Nemi
Lake Fucino

Blue Blood, Black Ink

Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700

Blue Blood, Black Ink

Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700



International travelling exhibition

Zagreb, Martin, Bratislava, Budapest, Burg Forchtenstein

Fall 2005-Fall 2007

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Introduction

There is much talk nowadays about European co-operation, which is quite natural. It is just as natural as this co-operation was in the Early Modern age, although it was not called European co-operation at that time.

Basically, there are political obstacles to common thinking. The rapprochement that has been achieved is mainly due to the work of institutions and private individuals. True, political agreements are needed to provide a frame for this work. Institutional co-operation generally precedes political rapprochement, because the work done together rests on disciplinary foundations.

The present exhibition is a result of the co-operation of four countries. The aim of each of the scholarly workshops and public collections – Slovak National Library, Croatian University and National Library, Burgenland State Library, Esterházy Private Foundation, National Széchényi Library – is to study the cultural heritage entrusted to its care, document its history and not least of all, present it to readers and visitors. The basic message of the exhibition is precisely that we can only work in an effective and truly expert way for the attainment of these aims if we place the realities of the past beside those of the present. The families whose collections this exhibition attempts to present never gave any thought to which future, 19th–21st century nation's past they would belong to. As subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary they served its king and strove to ease its main problems. The overriding concern in the Early Modern age was unification of the country and expulsion of the Turks, in the cultural field it was raising the general civilizational level of the country's population, tending their spiritual needs, in other words, supporting the churches. These families were not simply Croatian, Hungarian, Austrian, Slovenian or Slovak families but, through their members, they formed an integral part of the European aristocracy. Husbands and wives and their families originating from the Italian, Czech, German, Polish, French and other nations ensured this network of connections. On this basis the institutions maintained and supported by individual families – schools, churches, printing houses, etc. – achieved the kind of European co-operation that we are now striving for today.

István Monok
Director General of the National Széchényi Library

Milieus, regions, periods, families and persons all have their recognisable features and characteristics, affected by many factors, at the same time enabling the recognition of such milieus, regions, periods, families and persons. One of these factors is indubitably culture, and libraries, guardians of the written heritage, are certainly indicators of the cultural maturity of a given milieu, and also of the period, the region, family and person.

This is, among other things, a reason for the mounting of *the Blue Blood, Black Ink – Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700* jointly organised by the National and University Library in Zagreb, the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, the Slovak National Library in Martin, and the Esterházy Private Foundation in Burgenland.

From Croatia, there will be an exhibition of a selection of books from the Zrínyi family library, some extant copies of works of individual members of the Frangepán family, and a selection of books from the Library of Janez Vajkard Valvasor, the Slovene nobleman, which has been kept since the end of the 17th century in the Metropolitana, the library of the Archiepiscopate of Zagreb. As for the Zrínyi Library, it is worth pointing out that this library (500 volumes and 29 manuscripts that have been extracted) is kept as a special unit in the National and University Library, and has been since 1892, when it was purchased by the then Croatian National Government. Together with the books, some other emblems of these families are on show, and the books and libraries of aristocratic families from Austria, Hungary and Slovakia will be displayed in a similar manner.

This exhibition conveys many but two main messages. The noble or aristocratic families, both those from Croatia and those from the other countries mentioned, were not only political but also social and economic pillars of the society of the time. Many historical sources tell us beyond a shadow of doubt that in one way or another they were also an essential factor in cultural life, in the broadest sense, and not just in their own courts. One of the most reliable and vivid indicators is actually in their libraries, which were not just an embellishment to their courts, but also indicators of their cultural maturity. They were indicators of their awareness of the importance of books, as sources of practically timeless knowledge and information, and also as sources of the knowledge that they themselves used, which means that they were genuinely cultural people, in the broadest sense of education and science, and not just book fans, bibliophiles. All this imparts a separate dimension to their overall work and importance, which in historical evaluations sometimes receives inadequate focus.

This exhibition too vividly confirms and bears witness to a common – not just in cultural terms – Central European space, which has for centuries been shaped and informed by almost the entire life of these countries and milieus, those participating in this exhibition, to such an extent that it has shaped what can be called the Central European spirit, even today recognisable as a common heritage, a vital inspiration of the whole area.

There can be no doubt that the noble families of the area, particularly those whose libraries are shown at this exhibition, made vital contributions to this sense of commonalty, the spirit and identity. One might say, in fact, most of all by their overall cultural activities.

And that only culture does not pass, but lives on, is shown in this exhibition. It will take us only apparently back to the past, while in fact remaining yet another spur to becoming more aware of what is in fact in a way within us, or rather, is an indelible part of our very selves.

Josip Stipanov
Director General
of the National and University Library in Zagreb

The exhibition *Blue Blood, Black Ink* – with the participation of the National Széchényi Library (Budapest), the National and University Library (Zagreb), the Esterházy Private Foundation (Eisenstadt) and the Slovak National Library (Martin) – offers an excellent opportunity to present the book culture in the Middle Ages and the early modern times in a European context.

The 16th century was the period of library development in Europe. In addition to the enormous development of church, aristocratic and school libraries, book collecting among private persons is unique in this period, especially regarding the population in the cities. From the next century on reading became an organic part of everyday life. The history and accession of noble family libraries in Slovakia reflect this fact very well. Prominent representatives of the aristocracy – Palatines, Commanders and Princes – participated in a significant degree in the struggles against Turcs, Hungary's development, from the Austrian side in the consolidation of the situation in Hungary after the Turkish occupation, in the cultural and educational development in the Pannonian region, including development of the book culture.

As it is steadily confirmed by the newest researches, the Thurzó, Illésházy, Révay and Pálffy families, whose relation to the culture and books is shown at the present exhibition, played a significant role in this context. The other noble families' – Bánffy, Batthyány, Nádasdy, Esterházy, Zrínyi, Frangepán, Valvasor – libraries document the high degree of education and book culture not only in Hungarian, but also in European context. Accession of these libraries was always assured by family members – even in such complicated times, like the Turkish expansion, political struggles and uprisings or the climate full of conflicts (Reformation and Counter-Reformation) – through purchasing of works from all over Europe.

The rich collections of the above-mentioned families were steadily increasing during the decades, their location has often been changed. They proove the high cultural and educational level achieved by the magnates and owners, and through the libraries the prominent family members' political, economical, social and cultural influence in Hungary and Austria, certifying the close connection between the knowledge and the executive rule, between culture and politics.

The outstanding book collections from the 16th–17th centuries, centralised to the residence of noble families – in castles and palaces – almost in entire Slovakia bear witness to the participation of Slovak book culture in the context of Hungarian, Croatian and Austrian aristocratic libraries, situated in Budapest, Zagreb, Vienna and in other centres.

By means of these book collections enriches Slovakia the treasure of European book culture in a significant degree.

Dušan Katuščák
Director General
of the Slovak National Library

After the Gutenberg Bible was printed in 1452, book printing spread rapidly throughout Europe. Suddenly a growing number of scholars and noblemen had access to reading material that had previously been found almost only in monasteries.

As the intellectual trend towards humanism gained ground, the library was a fixed canon for every scholar; it stimulated thought and experimentation, was a status symbol and place of retreat, and the wealth of knowledge assembled there was thought to hold the key to power.

Little is known about the libraries that were formed in the frequently besieged Pannonian region of Central Europe in early modern times. The lack of an intellectual centre in Hungary impeded the development of book collections, which first peaked with the library of King Matthias and then seemed to break off when Buda was conquered in 1541.

Nevertheless, the Hungarian aristocracy built up a remarkable number of book collections, which are being displayed in an exhibition in Zagreb, Bratislava, Budapest, Martin and Burg Forchtenstein from 2005 to 2007.

For the Esterházy family and Esterházy Private Foundation, the collection of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana, comprising early Baroque books of the Palatine Count Miklós and of Prince Paul I Esterházy, is both a priceless treasure and special obligation. As one of the few collections of that time in the Kingdom of Hungary to have survived almost in its entirety, the library of the Esterházy family occupies a special position among the collections on display in this exhibition. Moreover, it is the only one to have remained in its original private ownership to this day.

The collection, which evolved over three centuries, not only forms the bases of today's Esterházy Library in Eisenstadt, but also reflects the interests of the founders of today's family of princes: Count Miklós and Prince Paul. The collection tells us almost as much about religious, non-conformist and reformatory ideas under Count Miklós in the first half of the 17th century as about the broad knowledge and range of interests of the "uomo universale" Prince Paul in the second half of the 17th century.

The richly illustrated exhibition presents to the public unknown collections of books in historical context. The books of the libraries of the Hungarian aristocracy, which are being considered this way for the first time, show the high level of education in the Carpathian Basin and reflect the political and religious upheavals of early modern times.

The exhibition also bears witness to the great, common past of the present-day countries of Central Europe and, for the collections and national libraries involved in Austria, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia, it is an effective way to demonstrate academic cooperation within the European Community.

Melinda Esterházy

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Pál Esterházy: Speculum immaculatum, Viennae, Leopold Voigt, 1698.

István Monok

ARISTOCRATS AND BOOK CULTURE AT THE BORDER OF TWO EMPIRES IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The Muslim expansion had been a political issue in Europe ever since the 7th century. Their first conquering momentum was stopped near Poitiers in 732. However, a considerable part of the Iberian Peninsula remained under Moorish rule until the end of the 15th century. The Turkish expansion towards Europe was for a long time checked in the Balkans but in 1543 the Turks occupied Constantinople. The Kingdom of Hungary which was at the height of its power in the 15th century (during King Matthias' reign) became a loser in the European power game by the beginning of the 16th century and thus suffered a fatal blow in 1526 at the battle of Mohács. The occupation of the Royal capital (Buda) in 1541 and at the same time the invasion of one-third of the country while another third (Transylvania) was turned into an independent state created and maintained for 150 years a situation where the main task for the leading politicians of the region was the reunification of the country. This idea became a determining factor for political thinking. This reunification came about by the end of the 17th century in a way that the medieval Hungarian Kingdom became a part of the Habsburg Empire while Transylvania gained the status of an archduchy. During the struggle, which lasted almost two centuries, the Carpathian Basin often became a battlefield with particularly fierce fighting during the Fifteen Years' War (1592–1606).

Protestant ideas spreading from the beginning of the 16th century soon became known in Hungary[1]. Almost the entire hierarchy of the Catholic Church died at the battle of Mohács. The German inhabitants who were in a majority in the free royal towns were sympathetic to Luther's teachings. The rivalry of the two kings, the Habsburg ruler Ferdinand I and János Szapolyai was coloured by religious debates although both died as Roman Catholics. Those opposing the Habsburg king rejected Catholicism as the religion of the "Austrians". By the end of the 16th century the majority of the population followed one or other of the Protestant creeds although a movement to reconvert the country to Catholicism also began, led by the Jesuit order and directed by Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Esztergom. A considerable part of the aristocracy became Protestant too, mainly Lutheran although Calvinism enjoyed a considerable following among the Hungarian population. The aristocratic families residing near the borderline of the Turkish Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, along the line of Ozaly, Zagreb, Csáktornya, Alsólindva, Kanizsa, Sárvár, Monyorókerék, Németújvár, Léka, Esterháza, Fraknó, Kismarton, Pozsony, Vöröskő, Biccse, Trencsény, Szklabinya became mainly Luthe-

1 Tibor Klaniczay: *Réforme et transformation culturelles en Hongrie.* In: *Les réformes: enracinement socio–culturel. XXVe colloque international des études humanistes* Tours, 1–13. juillet 1982. Etudes réunies par Bernard Chevalier, Robert Sauzet. Paris, 1982.; Mihály Balázs: *Einleitung.* In: *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles.* Éd. par André Séquenny. Tom. XII. Baden–Baden, 1990. /Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana. CXXI./

ran for a few generations and Calvinist in a few cases. However, the contemporaries of Péter Pázmány almost all reconverted to Catholicism. Catholicism thus consolidating its power by the 1660s and assisted by the Habsburg state went as far as imposing conversion by force which was otherwise unknown in contemporary Hungary.

Large numbers of the population, mainly Serbs, Croats and Hungarians, fled to the North to escape the Turkish occupation[2]. This is when the rich families of Szeged and Makó appeared in Nagyszombat, Kassa, Nagyvárad and other towns. At the same time, a great number of Croatian villagers moved to the former villages and towns of Zala, Vas, Sopron and Moson counties while a great many Protestants, coming from the Habsburg's hereditary dominions and, later on during the Thirty Years' War, from Silesia, Bohemia, Württenberg, Pfalz, Bavaria, and also from Vienna (Hernals), settled down in the same area in the second half of the 16th century. The bourgeoisie moved mostly to Sopron, Ruszt and Kőszeg.[3] The Czech exulants settled down mainly in the territories inhabited by Slovaks (Trencsény, Szakolca). This area consequently became quite complex in terms of ethnicity, language and religion.

Considering the history of the cultural institutions,[4] all this means that the school system, the libraries and other ateliers connected to book culture established and running smoothly by the end of the 15th century were all destroyed. By the beginning of the 17th century a well-organised school system was built up in the spirit of Protestantism mainly due to the responsible thinking of the nobility and the leadership of the towns. It was all destroyed once again during the Fifteen Years' War and by the wars waged against the Habsburg emperors by the archdukes of Transylvania, as well as by the raids of the Turks (by the big invasion of Transylvania by the Tartars in 1658) and by the Thököly and Rákóczi uprisings. Since the Catholic institutions that had been reviving in the 17th century were also destroyed during these wars the 18th century was indeed the century of reconstruction on all sides.

When describing the book culture of the aristocratic families[5], it is important to emphasise the pattern-setting role of the court culture as well as the fact that the organisational part played formerly by the Hungarian royal courts was consciously taken over by the magnates, not only by the big families presented at this exhibition but also by their relatives: the Mikulich, Erdődy, Istvánffy, Perényi, and the Czobor families. Their main task, in fact, was to defend the borders. All their activities, such as supporting a particular church, establishing schools, housing and offering work to an itinerant printer, financing the studies of promising young people abroad, building fortifications and castles, spreading garden culture as well as new plants (both ornamental and useful plants), inviting foreign architects, musicians, artists and schol-

2 For a summary, see: József Bessenyei*: A menekültek és a magyarországi városhálózat kialakulása a török hódítás kezdeti periódusában.* In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére.* Ed: Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy, István György Tóth. Bp., 2002, MTA TTI (*Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kötetek 2.*) 75–86.

3 István Monok: *Die Bibliothek des Johann Jacob Knaus. Die Reste einer württenbergischen protestantischen Bibliothek in Güssing.* In: *Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Kulturinstitutes in Stuttgart.* Hrsg. von Gyula Kurucz. Stuttgart, 2003. 138–146.; – : *Württenbergi exulánsok Batthyány Ferenc udvarában. Magyar Könyvszemle*, 2003. 205–211.; – : *Die kulturvermittelnde Rolle des Batthyány-Hofes an der Wende vom XVI. zum XVII. Jahrhundert.* In*: Deutsche Sprache und Kultur, Literatur und Presse in Westungarn/Burgenland.* Hrsg. von Wynfrid Kriegleder, Andrea Seidler. Bremen, 2004, Edition Lumičre, 75–90.; – *: Exulanten aus Bayern, Oberpfalz und Pfalz am Batthyány-Hof an der Wende des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.* Ungarn Jahrbuch 2004 [2005] 178–189.

4 Tibor Klaniczay: *Les intellectuels dans un pays sans universités (Hongrie: XVIe siècle).* In: *Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois.* Ed. par Béla Köpeczi, Jacques Le Goff. Budapest–Paris, 1985. 99–109.; –*: Die Soziale und institutionelle Infrastruktur der ungarischen Renaissance.* In: *Die Renaissance im Blick der Nationen Europas.* Hrsg. von Georg Kaufmann. Wiesbaden, 1991. /Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung. Bd. 9./ 319–338.

5 István Monok: *A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században.* CaféBábel, 14. kötet (Gyűjtés). 1994/4. 59–68.; – : *Über die höfischen Bibliotheken des XVI–XVII. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken.* Acta Comeniana 15–16 (2002) [2003] 127–140.

ars,[6] can only be interpreted from this perspective; priority was always given to the defence of their estates and the protection of the country.

From the prefaces written to books published in the 16th and 17th centuries in Hungary[7] and the dedications of students studying abroad ("peregrinus"),[8] it is possible to follow the change in cultural taste through the generations of the aristocratic families living in this area, as well as the steadfastness or, on the contrary, change in their religious faith. Basic books like the manuals of some highly respected authors from Wittenberg, Heidelberg and Tübingen were published to help the establishment of Protestant churches in Hungary as well as books, school manuals and some occasional pieces of ministers active in the magnates' courts and other intellectuals. Until the end of the 16th century an increase in the proportion of books of non-religious themes can be observed among the publications while in the first half of the 17th century the emphasis is again primarily on theological writings.[9] This is due to the increasingly heated disputes with the representatives of the Catholic Church but also to the growing difference in opinion among the Protestant churches. It was only at the beginning of the 17th century that the Calvinist and the Lutheran Churches of Transdanubia were finally separated.[10] It is remarkable how actively Ferenc Nádasdy ("the Black Lord"), Pál Nádasdy, Ferenc Batthyány, Miklós Bánffy, György Zrínyi, István Illésházy and Kata Pálffy, or Péter Révay influenced the disputes with the help of the printers operating on their estates. The reconverted members of these families (Ferenc Nádasdy, Ádám Batthyány, Kristóf Bánffy, Miklós Esterházy, etc.) transformed the cultural profile of the region by no longer financing the Protestant ministers, their schools or their printing shops and by providing space for the Franciscans, the Jesuits or, in the region where our attention is now focused (the former Western Hungary), for the Cistercian order.

The history of the libraries belonging to the aristocratic families – and especially the composition of these libraries – precisely reflects this change. In general, we can state that by the end of the 16th century these libraries gathered a humanistic collection of books (authors of Antiquity, critical editions of the Church Fathers, contemporary humanists), early Protestant literature independent of their denomination (Luther, Melanchthon, Bu-

6 The classical literary history follows in structure the courts: János Horváth: *A reformáció jegyében*. Bp., 1957; –: *A Perényiek csoportja, János király körül, Nádasdy csoportja, Az Enyingi Török-család kötelékében* and a source edition of modern view: *Magyar udvari rendtartás. Utasítások és rendeletek 1617–1708*. Edited by András Koltai. Bp., 2001, Osiris Kiadó.

7 Károly Szabó: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* I. kötet (RMK I.). *Az 1531-től 1711-ig megjelent magyar nyelvű hazai nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*. Bp., 1879; Károly Szabó: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* II-dik kötet (RMK II.). *Az 1473-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű hazai nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*. Bp., 1885; *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* (RMNy). *1473–1600* by Gedeon Borsa, Ferenc Hervay, Béla Holl, István Käfer and Ákos Kelecsényi. Akadémiai Kiadó, Bp., 1971; *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* (RMNy). *1601–1635* by Gedeon Borsa, Ferenc Hervay and Béla Holl, with the help of József Fazakas, János Heltai, Ákos Kelecsényi and Judit Vásárhelyi. Akadémiai Kiadó, Bp., 1983.; *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* (RMNy). 1636–1655 by János Heltai, Béla Holl, Ilona Pavercsik and Judit P. Vásárhelyi, with the help of Sándor Dörnyei, Judit V. Ecsedy and István Käfer. Akadémiai Kiadó, Bp., 2000.

8 *Régi Magyar Könyvtár. III-dik kötet. Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve*. Written by Károly Szabó and Árpád Hellebrant. Bp., 1898; *Régi Magyar Könyvtár. III-dik kötet. Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve*. Written by Károly Szabó and Árpád Hellebrant. *Pótlások, kiegészítések, javítások. 1–5. kötet*. by Dörnyei Sándor and Irma Szálka under the direction of Gedeon Borsa. Budapest, 1990–1996, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.

9 Katalin Péter: *Aranykor és romlás a szellemi műveltség állapotaiban*. In: K. P.: *Papok és nemesek*. Bp., 1995, Ráday Gyűjtemény. 77–97.; For a more recent study see: János Heltai*: A XVII. század első felének (1601–1655) kiadványstruktúrája Magyarországon (Az egyházi-vallási művek funkcionális és használati műfaji rendszere: Műfajteremtő elvek és célok, nyomtatott műfajok)*. unpublished, 2003. For a summary study cf.: János Heltai*: A 17. század első felének kiadványszerkezete: Műfajteremtő elvek és célok.* In: *Fejezetek 17. századi nyomdászatunkból*. ed.: Judit P. Vásárhelyi, Budapest, 2001.

10 István Monok: *Nyugat-magyarországi olvasmányok a XVI–XVII. században.* Muratáj 2002. [2003] 51–66; István Monok: *Lesende Magnaten und Bürger im Westungarn*. In: *Bibliothekar und Forscher. Beiträge zur Landeskunde des burgenländisch-westungarischen Raumes. Festschrift für Norbert Frank zum 60. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von Felix Tobler. Eisenstadt, 2003. (Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderband XXV.) 179–190.

genhagen, Calvin, Beze, Zwingli, etc.), Latin, German, Italian and especially French historical literature, legal manuals, as well as the publications of the printing shops financed by the respective family. The magnates who themselves were involved in church organization (István Illésházy, Ferenc Batthyány, György Thurzó) purchased large numbers of books in this field, even ones dealing with details of these issues.

Besides administering a serious blow to the institutional network of the country, the Fifteen Years' War focused the attention of the European powers on the necessity and the urgency of driving the Turks out of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans. This is why the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries was in part marked by the idea of combined efforts by the Christian powers. In theology it was the Irenic thoughts, in philosophy the Christian Neo-Stoicism, while in political thinking the books of "unio christiana" that became popular. The ideas and plans, mainly of French origin, for an alliance to expel the Turks reached the libraries of the Hungarian aristocrats in different forms. This is not surprising since the plans suggesting the alliance of the French king and the Habsburg emperor as the basis of "unio christiana" broke away from the traditional idea of one great power defeating the other. Unfortunately the Thirty Years' War made this latter the prevailing reality. For Hungarian and Transylvanian politics it meant that the choice narrowed down to "either with the Habsburgs or without them" and there was no unanimity on the answer to be given. Péter Pázmány tried to influence the young generation of aristocrats to think in other terms. For him, as well as for Miklós Zrínyi, Ferenc Nádasdy, Miklós Pázmány and others, later on, the alternative of an alliance with the Habsburgs and Protestant Transylvania, without this latter being defeated, was a plausible one. It is no wonder then that the aristocrats who collected books enriched their knowledge and their libraries in the field of political science. When preparing for the war they did not forget about books on modern fortification and the art of war.[11]

By the middle and the second half of the 17th century there was a change of lifestyle among the aristocrats of the Western region of Hungary in the sense that they devoted increasing attention to modernizing their environment and way of life. They studied languages. Besides German and Italian, French was more widely used. They focused the education of their children on civilizational matters and on teaching them the knowledge that would be of use to them as adults in politics (geography, political science, military strategy, fencing, dancing, etc.). Accordingly, the stock of the libraries became more modern.

Ending our Preface we can thus state that by the end of the 17th century most members of the families present at this exhibition acquired an education similar to that of their contemporary Austrian and Bohemian aristocrats with ties to the imperial court.[12]

11 Tibor Klaniczay: *Korszerű politikai gondolkodás és nemzetközi látókör Zrínyi Miklós műveiben.* In: *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században.* Ed.: Béla Varjas, Bp., 1987, Akadémiai Kiadó, 337–400; Péter Ötvös: *Pázmány Miklós gróf könyvei.* In: *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv.* Ed.: József Jankovics, Bp., 1994, Balassi Kiadó, 344–364.

12 Cf.: *Adel im Wandel.* Austellung. Horn, 2-5. Juli 1990. Hrsg. von Helmuth Feigl. Wien, 1991. *(Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde*; 15)



Sebacher, Johannes Capistran: Der Zum Vierten Erbaute Tempel Salamon,
Das ist: Höchst-Schuldigst-Demüthige Danck-Lob-Ehr und dedications-predfb/ Von der Zum Vierten Höchst-Kostbar von Ihro Hoch-Fürstl: Durchleucht Paulo Esterhasy Erbauten Kirchen dess weit-berühmten Gnaden-Orths Maria Auf der Haydt Hinter dem Ungerischen See-Förto…, Tyrnaviae, Johann Andreas Hörmann, 1703.



Luca Assarino: La rivolutioni di Catalogna, 1648. – Book-plate of Miklós Zrínyi 1646.

Ivan Kosić

THE BIBLIOTHECA ZRINIANA

Thanks to the Croatian government of the day, at the beginning of 1892, the library of the Zrínyi family arrived in the building of the Royal University Library from Vienna. It had been purchased from the Viennese book dealer S. Kende, who had found it in the castle of the noble Daun family close to the city of Bítov in Moravia, in what is today part of the Czech Republic.

Today the Bibliotheca Zriniana contains 500 volumes, among which there are five incunabula; it is kept as a whole unit in the Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books of the National and University Library in Zagreb. Twenty-nine manuscripts have been taken out of the holdings of the library and put into the manuscript section of the Bibliotheca Zriniana.

According to the research of Hungarian experts, 202 books have vanished from this library, including five manuscripts.[1]

The history of the Zrínyis

This Croatian aristocratic family, which produced a number of extremely celebrated Croatian statesmen in the 16th and 17th centuries, stems from a branch of the princes of Bribir, from the Šubić clan, mentioned in the 11th century, whose seat was in the Bribir county. In the 13th and 14th centuries they became the most powerful feudal family in Croatia, expanding their rule to the cities of Dalmatia and to Bosnia; they also owned Hum and part of the Princedom of the Neretva. Nevertheless, their power gradually declined, and in 1347 they were obliged to surrender the fortress of Ostrovica to King Louis I Angevin (of Hungary); in exchange they received estates between the Una River and the Korana River, including the burg of Zrin[2].

The most prominent individual in this branch of the Croatian aristocracy was Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566)[3], who in 1543, while he was Croatian ban (governor), obtained from King Ferdinand I the gift of the estate of Muraköz (Međimurje) with the city of Csáktornya (Čakovec); henceforth, this was to be the seat of the Zrínyi family. In 1566 Miklós commanded 2500 soldiers, most of them Croats, in the fortress of Szigetvár (Siget), which was under siege from the Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent; he died heroically during the defence.

His great-grandsons Miklós (1620–1664)[4] and Péter (1621–1671)[5] were also Croatian bans, and

1 Gábor Hausner–István Monok–Géza Orlovszky: *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története*. In*: A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya*. Ed. Tibor Klaniczay. Bp., 1991, Argumentum Kiadó–Zrínyi Kiadó, (Zrínyi Könyvtár, IV).

2 Jekoslav Klaić: *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*. Zagreb, 1897, Naklada „Matice hrvatske".

3 Jaroslav Šidak: *Kroz pet stoljeća hrvatske povijesti*. Zagreb, 1981, Školska knjiga, 61–70.; Vjekoslav Klaić: *Povijest Hrvata*. Knj. 5. Zagreb, 1988, Nakladni zavod „Matice hrvatske", 328–332.

4 Sándor Sík: *Zrínyi Miklós*. Bp., 1940, Franklin-Társulat.; Dragutin Pavličević: *Povijest Hrvatske*. 2. izd. Zagreb, 2000, Pavičić, 190–193.

5 Ferdo Šišić: *Pregled povijesti hrvatskoga naroda*. Zagreb, 1962, Matica hrvatska, 297–307.; Šidak 1981: 148–167; Pavličević 2000: 193–198.

distinguished themselves in the fighting against the Ottomans and in the Thirty Years' War. In 1664 Miklós was the ringleader of the "Zrínyi and Frangepán Conspiracy"[6], the aim of which was to take the Croatian and Hungarian lands away from the Habsburgs. After his death in Kursanec Wood near Csáktornya, the conspiracy was led by his younger brother Péter, together with his brother-in-law Kristóf Frangepán and some Hungarian magnates, Archbishop of Esztergom György Lippay, Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi, court magistrate Ferenc Nádasdy and the Styrian feudal magnate Erasmus Tattenbach. The plotters first of all sought the help of the French, then the Poles, and in the end from the Turks. The court of Vienna, and Leopold I, found out about the conspiracy from the Ottomans, and from Nádasdy himself; and the plotters died on the scaffold in 1671.

At the battle of Szalánkemén (Slankamen), 1691, Miklós' son Ádám[7] was killed, and in 1703 Péter's son János died in prison; thus ended the line of this famous Croatian family.

The history of the library

Poet, general and statesman Miklós Zrínyi founded the library, its core being made up of books listed in the *Catalogus* that was drawn up in 1662, according to which the personal library of Miklós Zrínyi constitutes more than three quarters of the entire holdings of the Bibliotheca Zriniana.

Miklós inherited a very small number of books from his grandfather, György (1549–1603) and his father, also György (1598–1626), also a poet. On April 21, 1636 Zrínyi set off for Italy, embarking on a journey that was to last eight months. During this trip he visited Rome, where Pope Urban VIII signed for him his own collection of Latin poems. He took many books home to Csáktornya from Italy.

After this journey, Zrínyi increasingly bought his books through his agents[8]. There are no precise data about who all the people buying books for Zrínyi were, but in Venice it might have been Alessandro Moro, who received on his behalf 10 000 talirs, donated by Louis XIV as reward for his successful wars against the Turks. Then there was the distinguished Venetian publisher and bookseller Marco Ginammi, and probably Zammaria Turrini, who in 1660 published Péter's Croatian version of the book *The Siren of the Adriatic*. In Vienna he might have used the printer and publisher Matthaeus Cosmerovius as agent, for in 1651 this printer published in Vienna the Hungarian edition of Miklós' poem *Adriai tengernek Syrenaia*. In 1671, also in Vienna, this same printer published a document about the trial of Péter Zrínyi, Kristóf Frangepán and Ferenc Nádasdy.

As for the places of publication of the books, Italy accounted for the largest number, then Germany and Austria and so on.

At that time the library holdings were increased on the whole by the acquisition of other already existing libraries, by inheritance, purchase or gift. According to the book plates, only the collection of the Liszty family[9], which included about 100 volumes, came into the Zriniana collection as a unit. Miklós Zrínyi was a frequent guest of the Draskovich family, from which his first wife Eusebia came; in this family's library there was the fine collection of MSS and printed works of Miklós Istvánffy. Some of the volumes also came to the library at Csáktornya through other persons. The previous owners of the popular book of Jacques Bongars *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* were Péter Erdődy and György Ráttkay while the epoch-making work of Sigismund Herberstein *Rerum Moscoviticarum comentarii* was once owned by István Balassa. A work about the history of the house of Habsburg had previously been owned by Ferenc Kéry, whose brother János spoke the eulogy over the poet's grave. In the fortress of Belec, Aleksandar Mikulić had a much larger library than the Zriniana,

6 Ferdo Šišić: *Zavjera Zrinsko-Frankopanska* (*1664–1671*). Zagreb, 1926, Tisak Jugoslovenske štampe d. d.
7 Emilij Laszowski: *Adam grof Zrinski*. Vjesnik Kr. državnog arkiva u Zagrebu, N. s. Zagreb, 1937, VII., 79–101.
8 Tibor Klaniczay: *Zrínyi Miklós*. Bp., 1964, Akadémiai Kiadó.
9 András Komáromy: *Liszty László munkái*. Bp., 1891, Franklin Kiadó, 3–112.

and one of his books that ended up on the shelves of the Csáktornya library shows that he had lent it to Miklós, although the two of them were not on very good terms.

The Dutchman Jacob Toll, accompanied by Count Pötting, visited Miklós Zrínyi in his court at Csáktornya, and mentioned the library in passing. In his letter to Nicolas Witsen, Toll boasted that at parting, Miklós Zrínyi had bestowed "three Turkish books" upon him, among other things[10].

According to the schedule of 1670, the books were located in four cupboards. One of them might be that shown in the engraving with Ádám Zrínyi that Tobias Sadler made around 1680.

In 1662 Zrínyi had a proper catalogue made. Kende[11] considered the Catalogue Zrínyi's own work and writing, but the schedule was actually probably drawn up by some not entirely well-educated scribe who did not work from the title on the spine, rather took the book down from the shelf and copied from the frontispiece. In case of longer titles he copied only the part(s) enhanced typographically, but he hasn't changed the word order. If the name of the author was not given on the frontispiece, then the printer might be quoted as being the writer. After the catalogue description of the opus came a note about the condition of the work and its size. The division into genres was probably made by Miklós Zrínyi himself, and consisted of: I. *Historici antiqui Romani et alii*; II. *Historici omnis generis et nationis mixtim*; III. *Historici Pannoniae et Orientalium*; IV. *Politici*; V. *Militares*; VI. *Geographi et Cosmograhi* (!); VII. *Poetae Latini*; VIII. *Poetae Itali*; IX. *Scholastici*; X. *Domesticae*, *Oeconomicae*; XI. *Miscellanei*.

The biggest books were placed on the lowest shelves of the cupboards, with books of smaller formats on the top shelves. The numbers on the spines from the schedule of 1662, which go up to 501, show that the library might have consisted of about 500 volumes at that time, while on the books acquired from the Liszty family the highest number is 617, meaning that before Miklós' death the holdings of the library exceeded 600 items.

Most of the books were bound in white parchment, while some volumes were uncut and unbound, and inserted into a paper wrapping. Zrínyi preserved the bindings of the previous owners, while he had the books that he deemed to be particularly valuable bound in maroon leather.

In 1646 Zrínyi commissioned the Viennese engraver Elias Widemann to make book plates for him containing his portrait and his motto *Nemo me impune lacesset*, and had them pasted into the books, usually inside the front boards[12]. On December 27, 1647 the proclaimed Zrínyi Croatian governor, and then he had a new motto, *Sors bona nihil aliud*, written in fine calligraphy under the book plates already pasted in. In 1652, Widemann made a new book plate incorporating the new motto.

In his will, Zrínyi left strict instructions for the use of the archives, but not for how the library was to be used. Thus it is not known who had the care of the library, who was allowed to borrow the books from it, or use them inside the library. It was mentioned earlier that the library was visited by the Dutchman Jacob Toll. In the mid-1640s, the Croatian scholar György Križanić[13] spent some time in Nedelice by Csáktornya and made use of the stocks of the library.

In the volumes extant we can find notes of Ferenc Liszty and the easily recognisable handwriting of Miklós Zrínyi[14]. He wrote with his own hand his motto *Sors bona nihil aliud* into his favourite books, while on the inside of the cover, on the first pages or the binding he would enter some short sayings. In a collection of the engraver Jacob Schrenck von Notzing he wrote a Latin epigram below the portrait of his great-grandfather,

10 *Zrinski i Europa* / uredila Jadranka Damjanov. Sv. 1. Zagreb, 2000, Društvo mađarskih znanstvenika i umjetnika u Hrvatskoj,151–158.
11 S. Kende: *Bibliotheca Zriniana: Die Bibliothek des Dichters Nicolaus Zrinyi.* Bécs, 1873, Verlag von S. Kende.
12 Gizella Cenner Wilhelmb Gizella: *A Zrínyi család törökellenes harcai a XVI-XVIII. század képzőművészetében.* Bp., 1966.
13 Ivan Golub: *Križanić*. Zagreb, 1989, Kršćanska sadašnjost.
14 Sándor Iván Kovács: *Zrínyi epigrammái*. Bp., 1982, Európa Kiadó–Helikon Kiadó.

and on the cover of the horticultural manual of Vincenzo Tanara he noted his own practical ideas about grafting. He entered his notes in the same language in which the work was written, but sometimes he suddenly changed into Hungarian. There is no theological literature in the library. Zrínyi must have given books treating theological issues, which he had probably received as a present, to the Paulist monastery in Szentilona keeping the family vault and to the Fransiscans in Csáktornya settled by himself in 1658. Three groups of books surpass the libraries of the time in terms of theme: works about the art of warfare, political theory and contemporary Italian poetry.

More than half of the books in the collection are written in Latin, a third in Italian, with the rest in French, Hungarian, German, Czech, Spanish and Croatian with several multilingual dictionaries.

Of the Croatian authors in Miklós' library, there are today the following works: *Historia od Troie / History of Troy* (1622, manuscript) by Ivan Derechkay; *Historia Tersattana / History of Trsat* (Udine, 1648) by Franjo Glavinić; *Breve succinto racconto del viaggio* (Vienna, 1661) by Lovro Kurelić and *Il regno de gli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601) by Mavro Orbini. The following works by Croatian authors have been lost: *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (Lugduni, 1553) of Bartul Đurđević, *Vazetje Sigeta grad / The Siege of Siget Burg* (Venice, 1584) by Brno Karnarutić; *De conscribendis epistolis tractatio* (Venice, 1573) by Franjo Niger; *Dictionarium septem diversarum linguarum* (Prague, 1605) by the Bohemian Benedictine Petar Loderecker (actually this is the 2nd edition of the *Petojezični rječnik / Dictionary of Five Languages* by Faust Vrančić printed in 1595 in Venice) and *Memoria regum et banorum* (Vienna, 1652) by György Ráttkay.

The books of Péter Zrínyi

Miklós Zrínyi died in Kursanec Wood, and his two-year-old son Ádám and five-year-old daughter Mária Katalin were now in the care of his widow, Maria Sophia Löbl. Péter Zrínyi took over all the political and legal honours and military positions vacated by his elder brother, and soon moved into Csáktornya fortress.

At the beginning of 1670 Péter was negotiating with the Turks, proclaimed an uprising in Muraköz, and prepared for a war against Styria. On March 13 he required Miklós' widow Maria Sophia to move out of Csáktornya, and she and the children moved to Varasd (Varaždin), into the house of János Draskovich. On March 16 envoys of the Zagreb Cathedral drew up a detailed list of the chattels of the widow that had been left at Csáktornya. The schedule mentions the library, and the books arrayed in four cupboards.

On March 30 the court proscribed Péter Zrínyi and sent down an army led by Paris Spankau. On April 14 the imperial troops arrived in Csáktornya, finding there only Katalin Frangepán, who surrendered the fort to them without resistance. Spankau's men sacked and looted the Zrínyi estates. Soon began the official confiscation of the belongings of Péter Zrínyi. The envoys of the Pozsony Hungarian Chamber, Petar Prašinski and Franjo Špoljarić arrived in Csáktornya on May 20, 1670 and took up residence in the part that belonged to Maria Sophia Löbl. The imperial executors respected the property of the widow, who during the hearing had voluntarily surrendered the chattels of Katalin Frangepán that had been left for her to look after.

Some of Péter's property was confiscated on two occasions (May 20 and July 21, 1670); the minutes several times mention his books. The notebook that is attached contains a list of the seized books of Péter Zrínyi[15].

These books are mainly in Latin and Italian. Medical books figure very largely: works of surgery, anatomy, pharmacy and those connected with the care of horses. The authors of Antiquity were also present. In comparison with the library

15 *Izprave o uroti bana P. Zrinskoga i kneza Fr. Frankopana* In*: Acta coniurationem bani Petri a Zrinio et com. Fran. Frangepani illustrantia* / collegit: skupio Fr. Rački. Zagreb, 1873, Jugoslavenska akademija, 556–586, br. 634.

of his older brother, Péter's library is poorly furnished with works of military science, politics and history. Seven copies of the *Putni tovaruš* (*Traveller's Companion*), a prayer book in Croatian by Katalin Frangepán, issued in Venice, were seized. On June 22, 1670, the Venetian copies of Péter's Croatian version of the *Siren* were confiscated in Bakar. In a document of 1672, the chattels that various persons illegally removed from the estates of the Zrínyis are listed, including two hundred books from Ozalj. The major part of the Ozalj library was looted by the soldiers, and the books in Csáktornya were seized by the Chamber. A Latin edition of the *Odyssey* escaped the fates of the other books of Péter's collection, by having been put before 1662 among the books of Miklós Zrínyi.

The library in the time of Ádám Zrínyi

Ádám was born on November 24, 1662, his mother being Miklós' second wife Maria Sophia Löbl, and he was later counted as *Viennensis* in the register of Vienna University[16].

At the end of 1673 he was already to be found in a Viennese Jesuit college, where he was enrolled in the poetics class. In the spring of 1676, after the end of poetics and rhetoric, his education came to a close in the gymnasium section. Most of his gymnasium and university books came into the Zriniana.

Ádám stayed in Vienna until summer 1679, and did not spend his time only at his books, but also lived the life of the court nobility, which is shown by his own notes in the books. He took part in the courtly receptions and weddings, including the marriage of Charles of Lorraine and Princess Eleonora Maria Josepha in 1678. This was entered into a little notebook of eight pages which was found in a book about the Belgian wars, a book that also comes from the library of Miklós Zrínyi. The notes that can be found there about the Belgian events show that Ádám was carefully preparing himself for the journey to Flanders.

After he had been personally received by Leopold I, in 1679 he left Vienna. At the beginning of 1680, Ádám Zrínyi set off to complete his studies in the law. Louvain University was founded in 1425–1426, and in 1669 János, the son of Péter Zrínyi, had spent time there. According to a manuscript in French, *De la fortification militaire*, dated beginning of April 1681, it would seem that he attended lectures on fortifications, which had a great tradition in the lands of the Germans and the Flemish.

On December 28, 1680 Leopold I pronounced Ádám of age, and after his return to Csáktornya he set about putting the title deeds to his estates in order[17]. Following the example of his forebears, and above all of his father Miklós and uncle Péter he became involved in the war against the Turks. Because of his outstanding military successes he was soon court chamberlain and Councillor, and on July 1, 1684 the king proclaimed Ádám Zrínyi Captain of Legrad[18]. He married Katharina Maria Lamberg, from an ancient Austrian family, probably in 1684.

His rapid rise was interrupted by the battle of Slankamen, on August 19, 1691. Close to the place where the Tisa flows into the Danube, the Christian army commanded by Ludwig Wilhelm I (1655–1707) joined battle with the army of Mustafa Köprülü. Colonel Ádám Zrínyi lost his life in this battle[19]. Since he was shot in the back, there were some suspicions about how he had actually met his death[20]. According to Paulist tradition, his body was interred in the family tomb in the church of the Paulist monastery of Szentilona near Csáktornya[21].

16 Laszowski 1937. 83.
17 Laszowski 1937. 89.
18 Sándor Takáts: *Régi magyar kapitányok és generálisok.* – Bp., 1922, Genius, 344–374.
19 Rudolf Schmidt: *Podaci o Adamu grofu Zrinskom iz Austrijskoga ratnoga arkiva*, Vjesnik Kr. državnog arkiva u Zagrebu, N. s., Zagreb, 1937, VII, 102–127.
20 Laszowski 1937. 97–98.
21 Emil Kisbán: *A magyar pálosrend története (1225–1711).* I. Bp., 1938. 51.; Hausner et al. 1991. 61.; Damiš 1994. 141–142.

The books of Ádám Zrínyi are today to be found together with those of his father Miklós; the first to attempt to separate them was Heinrich Daun, according to some source we do not know of.

Before Miklós' death, there were over 600 volumes in the library's holdings, and when an inventory was being drawn up of the property of Ádám Zrínyi, there were more than 800 volumes.

Since Ádám Zrínyi died without heirs, the Hungarian Chamber declared the line of the Zrínyis extinct, and started listing its assets. After long negotiations, his widow accepted an annuity of 50 000 forints, and after the end of the mourning period, remarried. The movable assets of Ádám Zrínyi, i.e. the treasury, weapon collection, pictures and the library, went with her to Moravia, to a castle by the village of Bítov, where her new husband lived[22].

In Bítov

Bítov, or Vöttau in German, is today a summer resort not far from the Austrian border. The castle, which is on the top of a wooded hill, is half an hour's walk from the village. The first information about this castle derives from the 11th century. From the early 16th century it was owned by the ancient Moravian family z Vlašime. Maximilian Arnošt II, the great-grandson of Bedřich z Vlašime, who founded the Bítov branch of the family, became the second husband of the widow of Ádám Zrínyi. Two daughters were the issue of this union. Since the elder daughter had no children with either of her husbands (she was married first to Count Kaunitz, and later to a man of Cavriani), Bítov eventually came into the hands of Count Heinrich Josef Daun, who married the younger daughter, Maria Leopoldina[23]. After that the estate of Bítov was handed down through the members of the Daun family.

The Daun family was of ancient origin, and had given some excellent soldiers. Johann Jakob Daun, the brother of Heinrich Josef, was the vice-king of Naples.[24]

The Dauns did not enrich the library. In Bítov only one important legacy was mixed up with the books from Csáktornya, and this was the library of Ignac Hynek z Vlašime. His signature is found on 33 volumes, and two autographs of his are preserved.

At the time of the death of Ádám Zrínyi, the library contained more than 800 volumes, and in Bítov at the beginning of the 18th century, about 850 items. Since about 320 copies disappeared in the Bítov period, it can be assumed that the two daughters of Maria Katharina Lamberg shared the moveable property after their mother's death, among which must have been the library itself.

In the second half of the 19th century, Heinrich Daun found a small part of the library in one of the dampest rooms of the castle. He carefully classified the scattered and dilapidated books and put them into a special room.[25]

In Zagreb

The young Hungarian priest László Szluha who was the tutor of the son of Alfons Pallavicini in Vienna, went in summer 1873 on an excursion and wound up in Bítov, where on the shelves of the library he found the *Catalogus* of 1662, and informed Ferenc Toldy, the then chief secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of this fact; however, Ferenc Toldy died shortly after. Work on the library waited for László Szluha, who set about the job with great enthusiasm, but soon afterwards fell seriously ill and died on May 31, 1879. On the anniversary of his death, László Toldy[26] (the son of Ferenc Toldy) gave a lecture to the Historians Society entitled "Reminiscences of László Szluha

22 Laszowski 1937. 98–99.
23 Laszowski 1937. 100–101.; Štátni archiv v Brně. *Průdovce po archivních fondech. Svazek 3.* Ed.: Vladimír Voldán, Prague, 1966.
24 Franz-Lorenz von Thadden: *Feldmarschall Daun Maria Theresias grösster Feldherr.* Wien; München, 1967. Verl. Herold.
25 Géza Orlovszky: *A Zrínyi-könyvtár öt katalógusa.* In: *Zrínyi Dolgozatok I.* Bp., 1984, ELTE BTK, 8–71.
26 László Toldy: *Szluha László emlékezete és a Zrínyi-könyvtár.* Bp., 1880, Rudnyánszky.

and the Zrínyi Library" – which excited very great interest. The election assembly of the society charged the codicologist János Csontosi to travel to Bítov[27], which he did, but only in September 1881. He never published his notes and comments.

On January 2, 1890, the director of the Hungarian National Museum, Ferenc Pulszky, found out about the death of Heinrich Daun, and also of the intention of the heirs to sell the estate at auction. He at once sent Béla Majláth to Moravia, who arrived late, in spite of all the haste he made. Apart from the weapons of several knights from Miklós' train, he managed to acquire an original oil portrait, the poet's bust, on his deathbed. He found the Bítov books in Vienna, in the second-hand bookshop of S. Kende, who allowed him to study some interesting copies, and to copy some unknown autographs of Zrínyi. Kende published a catalogue entitled *Bibliotheca Zrinyiana* and sent it to some celebrated Hungarian libraries and private collectors. It was valued at 12 000 forints. Since no institution was found in Hungary willing to pay what was a very large sum of money at that time, the then Government of Croatia took advantage of the indecision of the Hungarians, and bought the whole of the library from Kende, depositing it in the Royal University Library.[28]

The National and University Library in Zagreb drew up a special collection entitled "Bibliotheca Zriniana". The manuscripts were removed from the collection, and several of the printed books were moved to other departments of the library.

The Hungarian scholars Gábor Hausner, Tibor Klaniczay, Sándor Iván Kovács, István Monok and Géza Orlovszky reconstructed the library of the Zrínyi family and issued a grand catalogue in Budapest in 1991 entitled *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya* (The History and the Stocks of the Bibliotheca Zriniana), and during 2001 and 2002 the library was digitalised by István Monok and Károly Kokas, and in 2003 was presented in the premises of the National and University Library.

The history of the Frangepán family[29]

The Frangepáns were one of the most important noble families in Croatia. They were mentioned for the first time in the 12th century as Princes of Krk and in later documents are written as the Francapani, Frangepani, Frangipani and so on. They took the surname of Frangepán in 1430, wishing to show their descent from the Roman family of the Frangipans, from whom they also took their coat of arms.

The first known representative of the family was Dujam (Doimus) I (1118–1163), whose sons Bartul I and Vid I entered in 1163 into a treaty with Venice, according to which they retained Krk, but were bound to give the Venetians 350 Byzantine sequins. The third son of Dujam, Bartul II (obit 1209) went into the service of King Béla III, who in 1193 gave him the county of Modrus, and in 1225 his descendants were given Vinodol by King Andrew II. The Frangepáns were more and more linked with the Árpád dynasty, and strengthened their position on the mainland, expanding their estates to the south. In 1271 they were chiefs of Zeng, and princes in 1302, and annexed Gacka with Otočac, and in 1323 acquired Drežnik and Slunj. The powerful political rise of the Frangepáns started at the time of Louis I the Great, when they were liberated from the suzerainty of the Venetians, and soon became the most powerful magnates in Croatia. Ivan V (obit 1393) received from King Sigismund the gift of Cetin, and in 1392 became governor. And his son, Miklós IV, took over all the estates of the Frangepáns, and received from the king the gage of almost the whole of Croatia; from 1426 to 1432 he held the office of ban of Dalmatia and Croatia. Because of dis-

27 László Toldy: *XVII. századbeli szakácskönyv*. In: *Történelmi Tár*. 1881. 367–371, 569–581; 1882: 188–200, 380–387.

28 Laszowski 1937. 100.

29 Vjekoslav Klaić: *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*. Zagreb, 1901, Izdanje „Matice hrvatske"; *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*. Sv. 4. Zagreb, 1998, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 387–427.

sensions among themselves, his sons divided the vast family estate, and in 1449 founded eight branches, and the renown of the family started its sudden slide. King Matthias Corvin took Gacka with Otočac away from them, and part of the Croatian Littoral (the northern coastline) and Zeng. Ivan VII, the last scion of the Krk branch, surrendered Krk to the Venetians in 1480. At the end of the 16th century only the Tržak branch of the Frangepáns was left, and it became extinct with the death in 1671 of Kristóf.

The Frangepáns left a vast heritage of architecture, manuscripts and traditions in Croatia. They built many churches and monasteries (the Franciscan monasteries at Trsat and Košljun) and persistently defended and promoted Glagolitic, championing its consistent use in public services and private life and in the Old Slavonic liturgy. Thus, thanks to them, a large part of the area of Croatia managed to maintain its independence. Many major manuscript monuments are connected with this family, both legal, literary and economic. The Frangepáns are connected with the origins of the *Vinodol Code* (*Vinodolski zakonik*, 1288), the *Krk Statute* (*Krčki statut,* 1325) and the first Croatian book was prepared for printing in their time: the *Missal according to the Law of the Court of Rome* (*Misal po zakonu Rimskogu dvora*, 1483), a masterpiece of Glagolitic printing; and the Frangepáns were also the owners of the *Glagolita Clozianus* (*Kločev glagoljaš*), a codex of the 11th century, part of which is now in Innsbruck, and part in Trento.

The Frangepán family produced a number of eminent Croatian statesmen, generals and church dignitaries. Among them is Prince Bernardin of Ozalj (1453–ca 1530) who was in the service of Matthias Corvin, who dubbed him knight. He distinguished himself in the fighting against the Turks, particularly at a battle on the Una, on November 6, 1483, while at the battle of Krbava 1493 he was lucky to escape with his life. In 1533 he gave a speech in Nuremberg called *Oratio pro Croatia*, before the German magnates, asking for help in the fight against the Turks. The Slovene educator and Protestant theologian Primož Trubar mentions that Bernardin had his own scriptorium in which he had the whole of the Bible translated into Croatian, and that this translation was used in Protestant editions of the Scriptures.

Kristóf I of Brinj (1482–1527), son of Prince Bernard of Modruš, was in the service of Emperor Maximilian I, and fought against the Venetians. He took almost the whole of Friuli, and was captured in 1514, and imprisoned in Milan, but managed to escape in 1519. During his incarceration, at his own cost, he had a book of hours printed in German in Venice, illustrated with woodblocks; one of them shows Kristóf and his wife Apollónia, who is said to have translated the work from Latin. János Szapolyai (1487–1540) named him governor of Croatia and Slavonia, and Supreme Captain of Hungary between the Danube and the Drava.

Ferenc Frangepán (obit 1543), Franciscan and Archbishop of Kalocsa, was minister to János Szapolyai and Ferdinand I. His speech in front of Charles V and the German estates was printed in 1541 in Augsburg and Wittenberg.

Prince Vuk I of Brinj (obit 1546) was with his brother Kristóf II among the Croatian noblemen who on January 1, 1527 in Cetin chose Ferdinand I of the Habsburgs the king of Croatia. They distinguished themselves in battles against the Turks, and in front of the German Magnates in Augsburg, on August 24, 1530, he gave a celebrated speech in Latin in the presence of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand I, in which he set out the eighty-year-long wars of the Croats with the Turks and asked both of them for help. This speech was printed the same year in Augsburg.

Ferenc Slunjski (1536–1572) was ban together with György Draskovich, and took part in many battles against the Turks.

Miklós IX of Tržak (1584–1647) was appointed ban of Croatia in 1616, but resigned the position in 1633, and left in his will a wealthy foundation for the establishment of the Frangipaneum, meant for the pupils of the "people, particularly the Croatian or Illyrian".

Vuk II Kristóf of Tržak (1588–1652) was promoted to general in 1626 and was the military com-

mander of the whole of Croatia and the coastal Marches, the only Croat in such a position. He made his name in fighting against the Turks.

Fran II Kristóf of Tržak (1643–1671), the son of Vuk Kristóf, was educated in Italy and in Rome. He married the noblewoman Julia Anna de Naro, niece of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Together with his brother-in-law Péter Zrínyi, he distinguished himself in fighting against the Ottomans, particularly in 1663, in the battle of György's Cliffs, by Otočac. He joined the conspiracy headed by his brother-in-law Péter Zrínyi, and after it was betrayed, he was executed on April 30, 1671 in Wiener Neustadt, together with Péter. Kristóf left a manuscript of poems *A little garden to while away the time* (*Gartlic za čas kratiti*), written in the spirit of the Italian poetry of the times.[30]

Also worth mentioning is Anna Katalin (1625–1673), sister of Kristóf and wife of Péter Zrínyi, who gave moral and financial assistance to writers in the Kaikavian variant of Croatian; she herself wrote a prayer book, the *Traveller's Companion* (*Putni tovaruš*), which was printed in 1661 in Venice.



Priorato Gualdo: Vite et azzioni di personaggi militari, e politici, 1674.
Book-plate of Miklós Zrínyi 1652.

30 Mihovil Kombol: *Povijest hrvatske književnosti.* 2. izd. Zagreb, 1961, Nakladni zavod „Matice hrvatske",

1.



DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. Portrait of Miklós Zrínyi *(Unknown painter, 17th century)*
Oil, canvas, 222×139 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 560

2. Jakob Schrenck von Notzing: *Imperatorum regum atque archiducum, principum necnon comitum, baronum, nobilium clarissimorum virorum imagines … Oeniponti, excudebat Joannes Agricola, 1601. 2° [130] ff., illustr. NSK BZ 1*

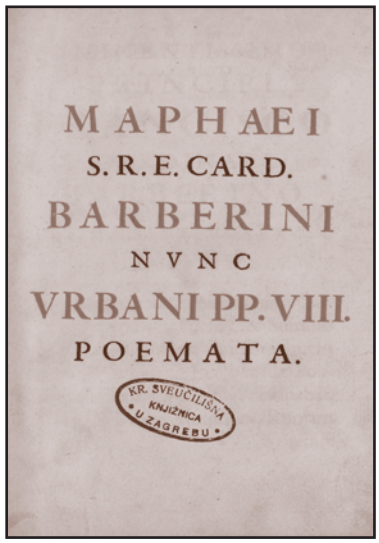


Jakob Schrenck von Notzing (obit 1612) dedicated this collection of engravings to Emperor Rudolph II (1552–1612) and the Spanish King Philip II (1578–1621), and included in it the figures of the leaders of the Austrian archducal house with short biographies, as well as a figure of Mehmed-Pasha Sokolović (1509–1579), the Grand Vizier. On folio 76 there is an engraving with a full length portrait of Miklós Zrínyi, that is, the great-grandfather of Miklós Zrínyi, done by Giovanni Battista Fontana (1524–1587) and Dominicus Custos (1550–1612). By the side of the engraving, at the bottom, the poet and commander Miklós noted this Latin epigram: *Una est et verax summa uirtutis imago / Viuere cum possis non timuisse mori.*



3. Hartmann Schedel: *Liber chronicarum. Nuremberge, Anton Koberger, 1493. 2° NSK BZ 3*
Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) German humanist and physician, divided this history of the human race, as it were, into six parts, modelling it on the Bible: from the creation to the flood, Abraham, David, the Babylonian captivity, the birth of Christ, and Schedel's time. Schedel assigned particular importance to a description of the most important German and West European cities, and also makes mention of the lands of the Croats. The chronicle is embellished with 1809 woodcuts, and is considered to be the most richly decorated book of the 15th century. Some German art historians hypothesise the involvement of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) in some of the woodcuts. The book was printed by the German Anton Koberger (1440/1445–1513), one of the greatest printers of the beginnings of printing with moveable types.

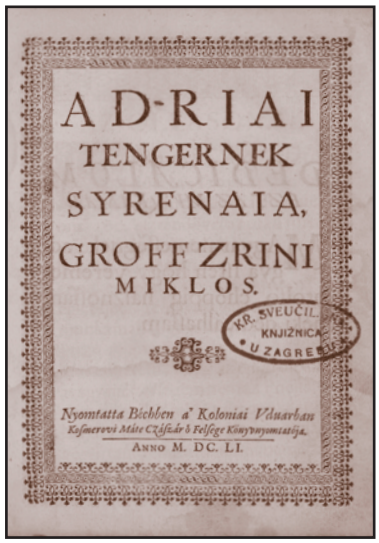
4. Pope Urban VIII: *Poemata. Antverpiae, Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1634 4° NSK BZ 38*
On April 21, 1636 Miklós Zrínyi set off for Italy, on a journey that was to last 8 months. He visited Rome, where Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, 1568–1644) signed with his own hand on the back of the half-title page of his book of poems in Latin: *Hunc librum donauit Author ipse Vrbanus VIII Comiti Nicolao de Zrin, dum iuuenis adhuc praetextatus Romae fuisset, prolatis illis Horatij uersibus.*



/ Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis. / Est in iuuencis, est in equis / Patrum virtus, nec imbellem feroces / progenerant aquilae columbam. Miklós set great store by this book, which he evinced by having it bound in dark red leather.

5. **Portrait of Péter Zrínyi** *(Unknown painter, 17th century)*
Oil, canvas, 89,5×70,5 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 1524





6. **Miklós Zrínyi:** *Adriai tengernek Syrenaia. Nyomtatta Béchben a' Koloniai vduarban Kosmerovi Máte, 1651. 4° NSK BZ 47 (RMK I 842)*
Miklós Zrínyi wrote the foreword to this first edition of his *Siren*, and states in it that, like Homer and Virgil, he had no time to polish his verses, because he wrote them during the course of a single winter in a spell between battles with the Turks, holding the pen in one hand and his sabre in the other. Viennese printer-publisher Matthäus Cosmerovius (1606–1674), whose printed works were much admired by the Hungarian higher aristocracy, probably was an agent in the procurement of books for the library of Miklós Zrínyi, and in 1671 in Vienna he printed an account of the trial of Péter Zrínyi and Kristóf Frangepán.

7. **Vittorio Siri:** *Il Mercurio Ouero Historia de' correnti tempi … In Casale, Per Christoforo della Casa, 1644. 4° NSK BZ 51 / I-II*
Vittorio Siri (1608–1685) dedicated this history to Gaston of Bourbon, Duke of Orleans. On the first flysheet, Miklós entered his new book plate "Sors bona nihil aliud" in his own hand, and below he added: Ex numero libror(um) Comitis Nicolai a Zrinio Regnor(um) Dalmatiae Croatiae et Sclavoniae Bani. For King Ferdinand III (1608–1657) had on December 17, 1647 proclaimed Miklós Croatian Ban, and he took his oath of office in the spring of 1648. Probably not entirely satisfied with the symbolic message of his first book plate "Nemo me impune lacesset" he had a new one made, and this was done in 1652 by Elias Widemann (1619–1652), the celebrated Viennese engraver.

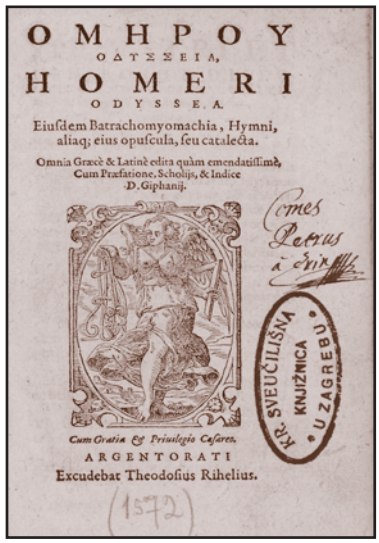


8. **Lipsius Justus:** *De constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipuè continent in publicis malis. Quinta editio, melior et notis auctior. Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1591. 8° NSK BZ 67*



In his book on Juraj Križanić (1617/1618–1683) Academician Ivan Golub states that after defending his doctoral dissertation in theology and his return to his homeland in 1642, Križanić "went to be parish priest in Nedelišće, probably so as to be as close as possible to the Csáktornya library of Miklós Zrínyi, which abounded in economic, political, linguistic and literary works." In his own works Križanić quotes many of the books to be found in the holdings of the Zrínyi library, among them works of Joest Lips (1547–1606), the celebrated Dutch humanist. Križanić wrote about him in the foreword to his own *Politics*: "Lipsius was a philosopher and a man of great intelligence. His works are exceptionally famous".

9. **Homer:** *Homeri Odyssea eiusdem Batrachomyomachia, hymni, aliaque eius opuscula seu catalecta. Omnia Graecè & Latinè edita quàm emendatissimè, cum praefatione, scholijs et indice D. Giphanij. Argentorati, Excudebat Theodosius Rihelius, 1572. 8° NSK BZ 80*



A document of 1672 of the chattels that were looted by soldiers and removed from the Zrínyi estate after the discovery of the Zrínyi-Frangepán plot, mentions two hundred books from Ozalj, while the books in Csáktornya were seized by the chamber. This Latin translation of the *Odyssey* escaped the fate of the other books of Péter Zrínyi, because it had been placed among the books of Péter's brother Miklós before 1662. A large part of the holdings of Péter's library consisted of books of medicine, from the fields of surgery, anatomy, pharmacy, and those related to the care of horses, and the works of the writers of Antiquity were also very well represented.

10. **Niccolo Machiavelli:** *Commentariorum de regno aut quovis principatu recte et tranquillè administrando. Libri tres, in quibus ordine agitur de consilio, religione et politia, quas princeps quilibet inditione sua tueri et observare debet … Argentorati, Sumtpibus Lazari Zetzneri bibliop., 1611. 12° NSK BZ 104*

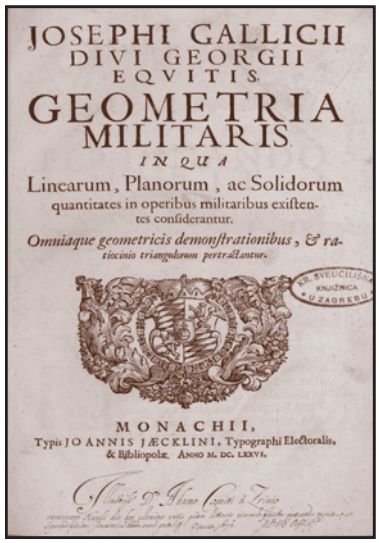


Italian writer and politician Nicolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) printed his work *Il Principe* for the first time in 1513, with a brilliant exposition of his thinking about politics, and about the need for a strong and absolute monarchy directed to the good of the majority. He championed the unity of Italians. His work soon became a catechism in absolutist courts, and the term Machiavellianism in politics became a synonym for unscrupulousness in the achievement of personal and general objectives. In 1973 Tibor Klaniczay published a study in which he compared Miklós Zrínyi and Niccolo Machiavelli.



11. **Paolo Giovio:** *Opera quotquot extant omnia. A mendis accuratè repurgata, vivisque imaginibus eleganter & opportunè suis locis illustrata. Basil(eae), P. Pernae typ., 1578. 2° NSK BZ 121*
Reading this history of Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), Miklós reacted angrily to the exposition of the murder of Ivan Katzianer, invoking Miklós Istvánffy. For his great-grandfather, Miklós Zrínyi, hero of Szigetvár, had been accused of having had the Austrian general, Katzianer, who had provided him with hospitality and surrendered the town to him, murdered in Kostajnica in 1539. So in the second part of the book, on p. 354, Miklós recorded his reaction thus: *mentiris falsissime senex, quia numquam uel nummum attigit Zrinyi, proditoris Vide Istuanfium.*

12. **Joseph Gallicius** *Geometria militaris. In qua linearum, planorum, ac solidorum quantitates in operibus militaribus existentes considerantur. Omniaque geometricis demonstrationibus, et ratiocinio triangulorum pertractantur. Monachii, Typis Joannis Jaecklini, typographi electoralis, et bibliopolae, anno 1676. 2° NSK BZ 126*



Joseph Gallicius (17th century) personally gave this copy of his work on military geometry to Ádám Zrínyi with a birthday dedication: *Illustriss(imo) D(omin)o Adamo Comiti a Zrinio recurrente Natali die hoc pleniore vobis quàm litteris vindulo fausta precatur omnia et superatur feliciter climacterium 2dum annum gratulatus. Viennae 1676. J. D. S. G. Pr(o)f(esso)r G(eometri)ae*



13. **Giulio Ballino:** *De' disegni delle più illustri città, & fortezze del mondo. Parte I; la quale ne contiene cinquanta: con una breve historia delle origini, et accidenti loro, secondo l'ordine de' tempi; raccolta da M. Giulio Ballino. Venetiis, appresso Bolognino Zaltieri, 1569. 8° NSK BZ 145*
Giulio Ballino (obit around 1592), in this collection of vistas of the best known cities and fortresses in Europe, the Near East, and the northern part of Africa, included a view of Szigetvár Fortress, on the cartouche of which is printed: *Siget, fortezza nel paese d'Ongheria, preso del campo de turchi l'anno 1566. alli 14. sett. essendo stato lungamente difeso dal conte Sdrino gran capitano onghero.* On a view of Rome, Miklós recorded: *roma gran bella citta*, and on folio 94v the name of Ivan Krstitelj Bedeković is recorded as the owner of the work: *Finis sattis pro peccatis 1815. Joannis Bapt. Bedekovich Logidici absoluti.*

14. **Vincenzo Tanara:** *L'economia del cittadino in villa … libri VII. In questa terza impressione riueduta, ed accresciuta in molti luopghi dal medesimo autore, con l'aggiunta delle qualità del cacciatore. Bologna, per gli eredi del Dozza, 1651. 4° NSK BZ 159*



Turning over the pages of this manual by Vincenzo Tanara (obit 1667) on the cultivation of cereals and vines as well as horticultural crops, Zrínyi had some practical ideas about the grafting of fruit, and during his reading recorded them on the reverse side of the front covers and on the flysheet, mainly in Hungarian, and mentions some Croatian varieties of pears: *memoriale … Pri Kollarichu koszmache hruske … nagy Ruchich es santauec … gozpodszke hruske …* At the end the author described the characteristics and the obligations of the hunter.

15. **Franjo Glavnić:** *Historia Tersattana, ove si contiene la vera relatione della traslatione della Santa Casa hereditaria della Vergine Gloriosa da Nazareth a Tersatto, e da Tersatto a Loreto, quando, come, perchè, e da chi fosse trasportata. Con alcune cose più particolari pertinenti alla chiesa, e monasterio Tersattano. Raccolta delle antiche, e moderne historie, annali e traditioni, per il m. r. p. Francesco Glavinich istriano … In Udine, appresso Nicolo Schiratti, 1648. 8° NSK BZ 180*

The Franciscan historian Franjo Glavinić (1585–1652) wrote this work in 1647 and described in it the history of the Monastery of Trsat, of the shrine and the Nazareth house.



He intended to re-establish in Rijeka the Glagolitic printing house (almost a hundred years after Kožičić's), hoping that 24 crates of impounded Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic types from the Protestant printing house in Urach would be taken to Rijeka. But Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) sent the crates to Rome, for the newly founded printing shop of the Congregation of the Faith.

With the help of Ban Miklós IX of Tržak Frangepán (1584–1647), Glavinić restored and expanded the monastic church of Our Lady of Trsat, and dedicated his first Croatian-language work *Çetiri poszlidnya çlovika* (Venice, 1628) to Miklós and Péter Zrínyi.

16. **Athanasius Kircher:** *Oedipus Aegyptiacus. Hoc est universalis hieroglyphicae veterum doctrinae temporum iniuria abolitae instauratio. Opus ex omni orientalium doctrina & sapientia conditum, nec non viginti diversarum linguarum authoritate stabilitum, felicibus auspiciis Ferdinandi III. … consecratum. Tom. I-II. Romae, Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1652–1654. 2° NSK BZ 249 / I-III*



Athanasius Kircher (1602–1690), German Jesuit and polyglot, dealt in particular with the question of a universal script, and was a friend of Juraj Križanić, whom he had met in Rome. In the introduction to his work about Egyptian hieroglyphs, Kircher published five poems by Križanić, three in Croatian, one in Old Church Slavonic, and one in Turkish, all poems being simultaneously published in Latin. Kircher was also connected with Križanić by their mutual interest in music. This copy was dedicated by the author to the Archbishop of Esztergom György Lippay (1600–1666) with the dedication: *Celeberrimo Principi Archiepiscopo Strigoniensi donum Authoris.* Archbishop Lippay was an active participant in the Zrínyi-Frangepán plot, and it was probably he who later gave the book to Miklós Zrínyi.

17. **Virgilio Malvezzi:** *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito. Venetia, Presso Marco Ginammi, 1635. 4° NSK BZ 285*

On the pages of a little notebook sewn in before the title page of this work by Virgilio Malvezzi (1595–1653), Miklós recorded his



impressions during reading, first of all marking them down in the margins of the book himself. For instance on p. 174 he noted events related to Selim's inheritance of the throne after the death of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), and sought an appropriate place in Miklós Istvánffy, noting on the edge of the page the exact reference, and recording his own opinion about this event: *Ego credo quod Mehmetes ideo mortem Sulimani occultavit ut prius Selimus filius quam Paiazetes sciat, et Regnum accipiat.*

18. **Guillaume Rouillé:** *D. Mem. S. Prima parte del prontuario de le medaglie de piu illustri, & fulgenti huomini & donne, dal principio del mondo infine al presente tempo, con le lor vite in compendio raccolte. P. I-II. Lione, Appresso Guglielmo Rovillio, 1553. 4° NSK BZ 295*

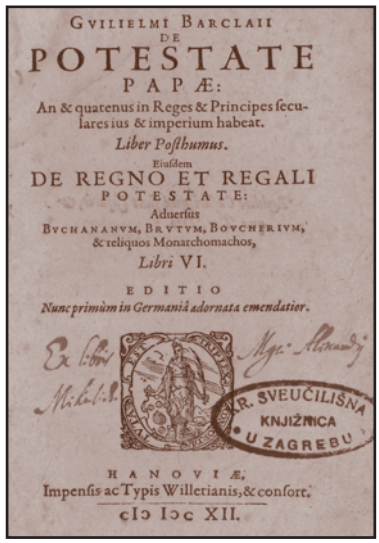


The learned Dutchman Jacob Toll who had visited Miklós at his Csáktornya palace, writes that in the treasury he had seen "a copious amount of old coins". In his library, Miklós had four numismatic handbooks, which would tend to confirm his interest in this area. This work by Guillaume Rouillé (ca 1518–1589), French bookseller and writer who spent his whole working life in Lyons, was dedicated to French Queen Catherine (de Medicis, 1519–1589), wife of King Henri II (1519–1599), and it was published the same year in French, Italian and Latin.

Reading this manual, Miklós left many marginalia; thus on p. 112, beside the biography of Emperor Constantine we can read this note: *Constantinus in pecunia est NB*, which leads to the conclusion that Miklós had a coin in his collection bearing the portrait of this ruler.

19. **William Barclay:** *De potestate papae: an & quatenus in reges & principes seculares ius & imperium habeat. Liber posthumus. Eiusdem De regno et regali potestate: aduersus Bvchananvm, Brvtvm, Bovcherivm, & et requos monarchomachos, libri VI. Editio nunc primùm in Germania adornata emendatior. Hanoviae, Impensis ac typis Willerianis, & consort., 1612. 4° NSK BZ 316*

Scottish lawyer William Barclay (1545–1608) dedicated this work of his concerning the spiritual government of the Papacy through the ages to Pope Clement VII. As a thirty-year-old in Bourges, France, he was already lecturing in law. Because of disputes with the Duke of Lotharingia in 1604 he went to



London, where he spent a short time at the court of King James I (1566–1625). Since he did not wish to convert to Anglicanism, he became a professor of law at the University of Angers. On the title page of this work is penned by hand *Ex libris Mgri Alexandrj Mikulich*, which confirms that the landowner Aleksandar Mikulić had lent the book to Miklós Zrínyi, and that it had afterwards become a part of the stock of books in Miklós' library in Csáktornya.

20. **Quintus Curtius Rufus:** *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni Macedonum regis historia. Aucta nunc ac locupletata. Quae autem huic editioni accesserint, sequens docebit pagella. Lugduni, Apud Ant. Gryphium, 1573. 12° NSK BZ 355*

This history of life and work of Alexander the Great by the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st century BC) was given to György Zrínyi, Miklós' father, by the priest István Szilágyi who wrote on the inside of the front cover the following dedication: *Illustrissimo Heroi ac D(omi)no D(omi)no Georgi Comiti perpetuo a Zerinio, Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Equiti Aurato etc. Domino ac Moecenati suo gratiosissi(m)o et benignissi(m)o dono datum aeternae memoriae ergo. Steph. Szilagyi Presbiter Ecclesiae S. Michaelis etc. mppa.* Above the dedication the year is recorded: 1618. This is one of the few books that Miklós inherited from his father.

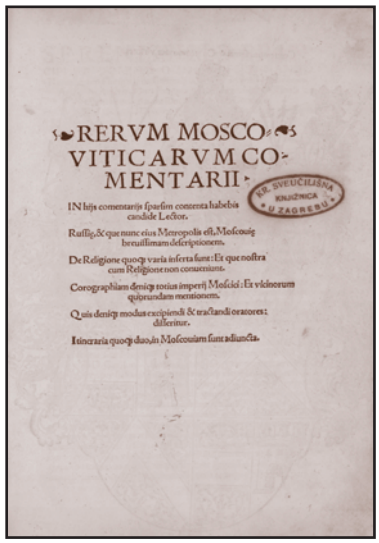


21. **Miklós Istvánffy:** *Historiarum de rebus Vngaricis libri XXIV. Nunc primùm in lucem editi. Coloniae Agripinae, Sumptibus Antonii Hierati, anno 1622. 2° NSK BZ 366*



Turning the pages of the books in the holdings of his library, Miklós paid particular attention to the facts and articles that concerned the history of his family, and would often comment testily on what he had read, correct the author or debate his statements. Reading this first edition of the history of Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615), on p. 623, where Istvánffy states that Karamehmed (Mehemetes Niger) was by origin from Pherae in Thessaly, he recorded: *Male correxisti Dne Doctor*, which shows something of his sense of humour. The rich collection of manuscripts and printed works of Miklós Istvánffy was kept in the library of the Draskovich family.

22. **Sigismund Herberstein:** *Rerum Moscoviticarum comentarii. In hijs commentarijs sparsim contenta habebis, candide lector, Russiae, et que nunc eius metropolis est, Moscoviê breuissimam descriptionem, de religione quoq(ue) varia inserta sunt : et que nostra cum religione non conueniunt, corographiam deniq(ue) totius imperij Moscici … Itineraria quoque duo, in Moscoviam sunt adiuncta. Viennae Austriae, [typ. Singrenius], 1549. 4° NSK BZ 380*



In this epochal work Sigismund Herberstein (1486–1566), the Slovene diplomat, gave a very systematic geographical account of Russia of the time. In the first part he described the Duchy of Muscovy, and in the second part the region subject to Muscovy. He mentioned by name 132 rivers and the names of the fish that lived in them. He also included a topographical map of Moscow produced by the engraver and geographer Augustin Hirschvogel (1503–1553) in 1549. This copy was owned, in 1570, by István Balassa, who on sheet IV*v* of the first travelogue recorded in his own handwriting: *Miserere mei Deus. Steph. Balassa ma(nu) sua Anno 1570.*

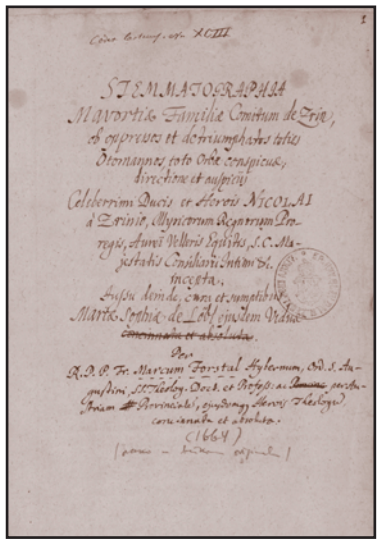
23. **Mavro Orbini:** *Il regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni. Historia di don Mauro Orbini Rauseo … nella quale si vede l'origine quasi di tutti i popoli, che furono della lingua slava, con molte, et varie guerre, che fecero in Europa, Asia et Africa; … E in particolare veggonsi i successi de' re, che anticamente dominarono in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosna, Servia, Rassia, et Bulgaria. Pesaro, appreso Girolamo Concordia, 1601. 4° NSK BZ 392*


D. MAVRO ORBINI A' LETTORI.

24. **Torquato Tasso:** *Il Goffredo, overo Gierusalemme liberata. Poema heroico… Con l'allegoria universale del istesso, et con gli argomenti del signor Horatio Ariosti. Aggiantovi (!) i cinque canti di Camillo Camilli. Amsterdam, 1652. 12° NSK BZ 418*


IL
GOFFREDO,
Overo
GIERVSALEMME
LIBERATA,
POEMA HEROICO
Del Signor
TORQVATO TASSO.
CON
L'allegoria universale del istesso:
ET
Con gli Argomenti del Signor
HORATIO ARIOSTI:
Aggiantovi i cinque canti del
CAMILLO CAMILLI.
M DC LII.
KR. SVEUČILIŠNA
KNJIŽNICA

25. **Marc Forstall:** *Stemmatographia Mavortiae Familiae Comitum de Zrin, ob oppressos et triumphantes toties Otomanos toto Orbe conspicuae. Directione et auspiciis celeberrimi Ducis et Herois Nicolai a Zrinio … incepta iussu deinde cura et sumptibus Mariae Sophiae de Löbl eiusdem viduae per R. P. P. Tr. Marcum Forstal Hybernum ord. s. Augustini … concinnata et absoluta. 1664. 31,5×21 cm, NSK R 3031*

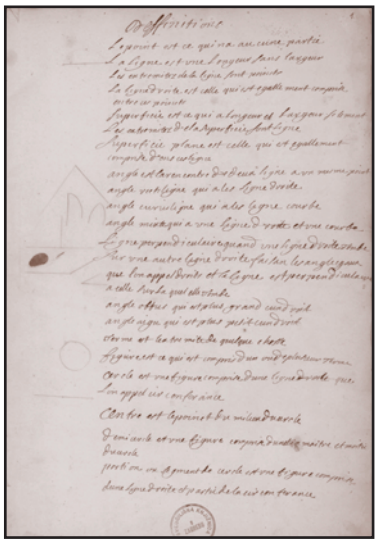

STEMMATOGRAPHIA
Mavortiæ Familiæ Comitum de Zrin,
ob oppressos et de triumphantes toties
Otomannos toto Orbe conspicuæ,
directione et auspiciis
Celeberrimi Ducis et Herois NICOLAI
à Zrinio, Mynicorum Regnorum Pro-
regis, Aureæ Vellerisi Equitis, S.C. Ma-
jestatis Cæsarei, Intimi Di-
incepta,
Jussu deinde, Cura et sumptibus
Mariæ Sophiæ de Löbl ejusdem Viduæ
concinnata et absoluta.
Per
R. P. Fr. Marcum Forstal Hybernum, Ord. S. Au-
gustini, SS. Theolog. Doct. et Profess. in Romana porta-
Jam de Provincialis, ejusdem Ordinis Theologus
concinnata et absoluta.
(1664)

Mavro Orbini (around 1550–1614), former Benedictine, attempted in this work to present the history of all the Slavs, considering them a single united nation. He made use of all the literature available at that time, archival material and oral tradition, but his work today is considered unreliable. He provided interesting information about the history of the lands in the hinterland of Dubrovnik from the 14th and 15th centuries. On pp. 46 and 47 he sets out a complete Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic alphabet. Orbini translated the *Chronicle of Priest Dukljanin* into Italian, and had an influence on the beginnings of modern Bulgarian historiography.

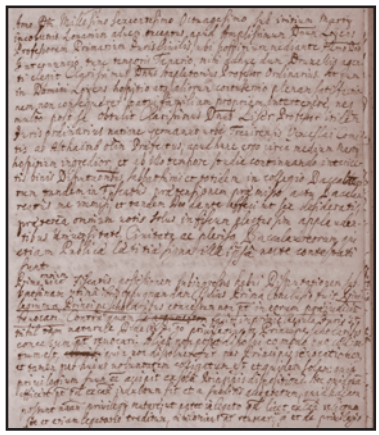
The Italian Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) was the favourite poet of Miklós Zrínyi, who used this work as a model for his poem *Obsidio Sigethiana.* Tasso finished his poem in 20 cantos about the First Crusade (1096–1099) in 1575, and called the poem *Il Goffredo*, after the leader of the first Crusade Godfrey IV of Boulogne (ca 1061–1100), who in 1099 liberated Jerusalem and was proclaimed king. Tasso wanted to give Italy a modern epic, on the models of Homer and Virgil, based on the faith and on Christian unity, which had been achieved through the conflict with Islam. Although he used literary and historical sources, the poetic focus is nevertheless on private dramas of an autobiographical nature. In the period of the Baroque and Romanticism, the poem was extremely popular in entire Europe.

Marc Forstall (obit 1685), Irish Augustine and secretary of Miklós and Péter Zrínyi, wrote this historical and genealogical debate in 1664, putting into it a general survey of the Zrínyi family. The description of Miklós' death begins with a pastiche of the first verses of Virgil's Aeneid (Arma virumque fleo …), he then describes the history of the Zrínyi clan (claiming that they stemmed from Gothic or Slavic kings). At the end he wrote of Miklós Zrínyi, ending with a copy of a dedication that Pope Urban VIII had written with his own hand in his book that he gave to Miklós Zrínyi during his stay in Rome in 1636.

26. **Ádám Zrínyi:** *De la fortification militaire, vol. I-III, 1681., 44×29,5 cm & 34,5×29 cm, NSK R 3573*



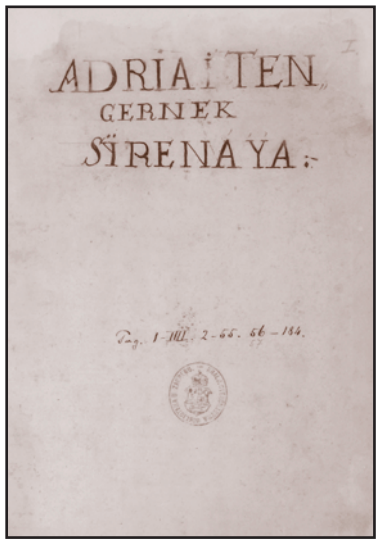
Judging from this French manuscript dated at the beginning of April 1681, Ádám Zrínyi during his study of law at Louvain University had also attended lectures about fortifications, in which the German and Flemish regions had a great tradition. All three volumes give various ground plans of forts.



27. **Ádám Zrínyi:** *Diarium Lovaniense, 1680–1681., 20×15,5 cm, NSK R 3492*

According to this manuscript we learn that Ádám (1662–1691), at the beginning of 1680, spent his time first in Brussels, and then in March moved to Louvain to the legal faculty of the Academy, where on April 13 the following note was written in the register: "Illustrissimus dominus Comes Adamus a Zrinio etc. maiorennis". During his studies he twice took part in what were called "Saturday disputes" and then acquired his bachelor's degree. The last record of his stay in Louvain has the date January 16, 1681.

28. **Miklós Zrínyi:** *Adriai Tengernek Sÿrenájja, 1st half of the 17th century, autograph, 31,7×20,8 cm, NSK R 4090*



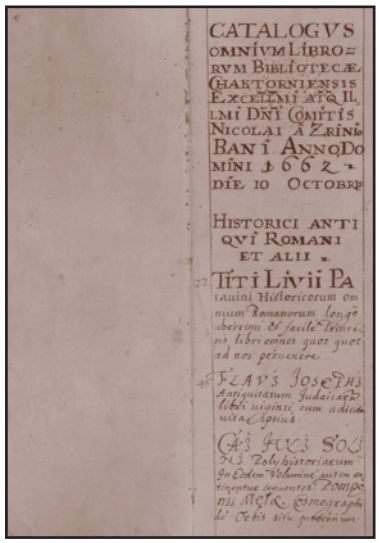
Miklós wrote this collection of poems in the first half of the 17th century in Hungarian, and it placed him among the leading Hungarian poets. On pp. 9–151 the poem *Obsidio Sigethiana* is written; in it Miklós sang of his great-grandfather Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566) who, with 2500 soldiers, mostly Croats, defended Szigetvár for a full month, and in the final assault on a much stronger Turkish host died heroically on September 7, 1566. The main model for Miklós' epic poem about the battle of Szigetvár was Torquato Tasso, much-loved among the Croats, and he also knew the work *Vazetje Sigeta grada* that Brne Karnarutić (ca 1515–1572/1573) had dedicated to Miklós' grandfather GyörgyZrínyi (1549–1603), son of the hero of Szigetvár.

29. **Miklós Zrínyi:** *Adrianszkoga mora Syrena. [trans.:] Groff Zrinszki Petar. Ù Beneczih, Pri Zamarij Turrinu, 1660. 4° NSK R II D - 4° - 1*


ADRIANSZKOGA
MORA
SYRENA:
GROFF ZRINSZKI
PETAR.
STAMPANA ù BENECZIH.
Pri Zamarij Turrinu. Leta M.DC.LX.
Dopuſcheniem Obchinſzkim.

This is the Croatian version of Miklós' Hungarian work *Adriai Tengernek Syrenáya* done by Péter, Miklós' year-younger brother. Miklós dedicated his work to the Hungarian and Péter to the Croatian nobility. After the unveiling of the Zrínyi-Frangepán plot, the major part of Péter's library in Ozalj was plundered by the soldiers, while the books in Csáktornya were impounded by the chamber. In Bakar, on June 22, 1670, Venetian copies of Péter's Croatian version of the *Siren* were seized.

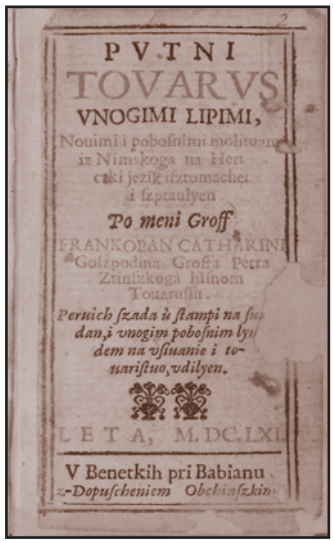
30. **Miklós Zrínyi:** *Catalogus omnium librorum Bibliotecae Chaktorniensis … comitis Nicolai a Zrinio bani anno Domini 1662 die 10 Octobris, 30,3×10 cm, NSK R 3579*


CATALOGVS
OMNIVM LIBRO=
RVM BIBLIOTECÆ
CHAKTORNIENSIS
EXCELLMI AC Ill.
MI DNI (OMITIS
NICOLAI A ZRINI
BANI ANNO DO
MINI 1662.
DIE 10 OCTOBR.
HISTORICI ANTI
QVI ROMANI
ET ALII.
TITI Livii Pa
tauini Hiſtoricorum om
nium Romanorum longe
uberrimi & facile Princi
pis libri omnes quot quot
ad nos peruenere.
FLAVII IOSEPHI
Antiquitatum Iudaicarū
libri uiginti, cum adiecta
uita Ipſius.
C. IVLII SOLI
Polyhiſtor id est
Eiusdem Volumine quàm ex
tinctæ diuersitatis. Pompo
nij MELÆ Cosmographi
de Orbis ſitu priscorum.

In 1662, Miklós Zrínyi had a proper catalogue of his library drawn up. The Viennese second-hand bookseller S. Kende, who bought up the Zrínyi Library, held this catalogue to be in Miklós' own hand, but the list was probably drawn up by some less well educated scribe, while the division into categories was probably done by Miklós Zrínyi himself. This is the division: [I.] *Historici antiqui Romani et alii*; [II.] *Historici omnis generis et nationis mixtim*; [III.] *Historici Pannoniae et Orientalium*; [IV.] *Politici*; V. *Militares*; [VI.] *Geographi et cosmographi* (!); [VII.] *Poetae Latini*; [VIII.] *Poetae Itali*; [IX.] *Scholastici*; [X.] *Domesticae oeconomiae*; [XI.] *Miscellanei*.

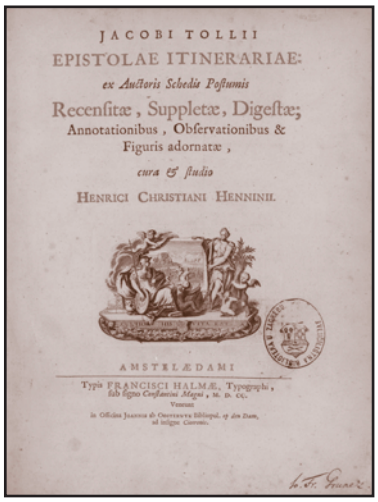
The catalogue was bound in hard board covers clad in two sheets from the work *Summa quae vocatur Catholicon* of the Italian Dominican Giovanni Balbi (Ioannes de Ianua, obit 1298), which was printed in 1486 in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger. This is actually a kind of grammatical encyclopaedia cum dictionary, which was very popular and copied many times; from 1460 to 1500 it went through 23 editions in moveable types.

31. **Anna Katalin Zrínyi:** *Putni tovarus vnogimi lipimi nouimi i pobosnimi molituami iz nimskoga na heruaczki jezik isztomachen i szpraulyen. Po meni groff Frankopan Catharini… Peruich szada u stampi na suitlo dan … V Benetkih, pri Babianu, 1661. 16° NSK R II D-16°-1*


PVTNI
TOVARVS
VNOGIMI LIPIMI,
Nouimi i pobosnimi molituami
iz Nimskoga na Heru
czki jezik isztomachen
i szpraulyen.
Po meni Groff
FRANKOPAN CATHARINI
Gozpodina Groffa Petra
Zrinſzkoga hiinom
Tovarusu.
Peruich szada u stampi na suitlo
dan, i vnogim pobosnim lyu
dem na vsiuanie i to
varistuo, vdilyen.
LETA, M.DC.LXI.
V Benetkih pri Babianu.
Dopuſcheniem Obchinſzkim.

Anna Katalin Zrínyi born Frangepán (ca 1626–1673) was the older half-sister of Fran II Kristóf Frangepán, and wife of Péter Zrínyi, and she wrote the prayer book *Putni tovaruš/ Traveller's companion*, printed in 1661 in Venice. This prayer book was a favourite among the congregation, and contains prayers to particular saints, litanies, a selection from the psalms, and is ornamented by five extremely artistic prints. Nikola Dešić, Katalin's chaplain, printed this prayer book in 1660 in Padua under the name *Hortulus animae, which is to say Paradise of the Soul*, while in Vienna it was published by Baltazar Milovac under the title of *Dvoi dušni kinč*. After the Zrínyi-Frangepán plot was revealed, among the real estate and chattels of Péter Zrínyi seized, seven copies of the *Putni tovaruš* were also impounded.

32. **Jacob Toll:** *Epistolae itinerariae : ex auctoris schedis postumis recensitae, suppletae, digestae; annotationibus, observationibus & figuris adornatae, cura et studio Henrici Christiani Henninii. Amstelaedami, Typis Francisci Halmae, in Officina Joannis ab Oosterwyk, 1700. 8° (Jacobi Tollii Epistola itineraria VI. Iter Graziense & Hospitium Serinium: ad nobilissimum splendidissimumque dominum Nicolaum Witsen, p. 237.) NSK 52.041*


JACOBI TOLLII
EPISTOLAE ITINERARIAE:
ex Auctoris Schedis Postumis
Recensitæ, Suppletæ, Digestæ;
Annotationibus, Observationibus &
Figuris adornatæ,
cura & studio
HENRICI CHRISTIANI HENNINII.
AMSTELÆDAMI

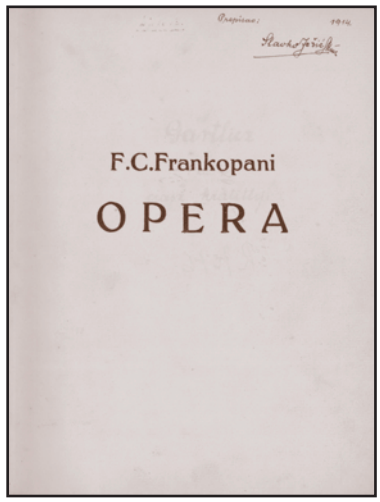
Accompanied by Count Pötting, the Dutchman Jacob Toll (obit 1696) visited Miklós Zrínyi in his Csáktornya court and spent "more than ten days" there. In his sixth letter (July 19 1660) sent from Graz to his friend Miklós Witsten he writes: "On the third or fourth day of our stay we were conducted into the library, which was remarkable and full of an abundance of books". Then he went on to write of the heroism of Miklós Zrínyi "whose frequent and successful assaults on the region under Turkish rule deserved to be heard of in the whole Christian world, while the Turks quailed at the very name of Zrínyi. For this reason among the Turks the crying of children is halted by the very word that Zrínyi is coming". At the end of the letter he says that on parting Miklós gave him "three Turkish books and … in addition, a precious Damascene sabre".

33. **Breviarium.** *Ein End hat das deutsch römisch Breuier welliches ausz de(n) lateinischen römische(n) Breuier noch rechtem woren gemainen deutsche(n) (durch Kosten dessz obgemelten edelen hoch gebornen Hern Hern Christofel von Frangepa(n) Fürst vnd Graff zu Zeng Vegel vn(d) Madrusch etc. Mit Sampt seiner hochberuempten Gnade(n) eelichen Gemahel Fraw Appolonia wolberuempte aller wirdigste Gräffin zu Frangepan: gerechtfertiget vn(d) ausz zoge(n) vn(d) zudrucken verodnet ist) … Zu Venedig, durch den Erbere(n) Meister Gregoriu(m) de Gregoriis, 1518. 8° NSK R II F – 8° - 1832*

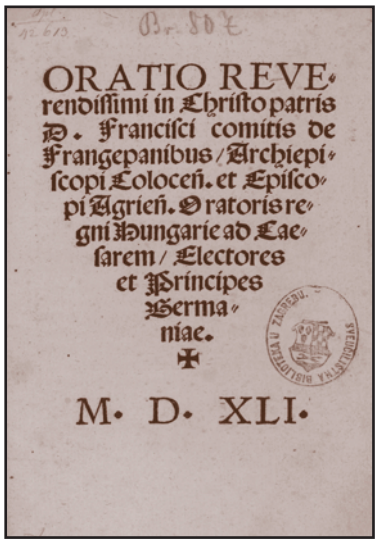


Kristóf I of Brinje (1482–1527), son of Prince of Modruš, Bernardin, was in the service of Emperor Maximilian I and fought against the Venetians. He took almost the whole of Friuli and in 1514 was captured and imprisoned in Milan; however, in 1519 he managed to escape. During his imprisonment, he provided the means to have printed in Venice a book of hours in German, embellished with woodcuts; one of the woodcuts shows Kristóf and his wife Apolonia, who is said to have actually translated the breviary from Latin.

34. **Fran II Kristóf Tržački Frangepán:** *Opera (Croatian, Latin and Italian) / edited and transcribed by Slavko Je ić. – 1914–1922, 22,3×16,5 cm NSK R 7076*


F.C.Frankopani
OPERA

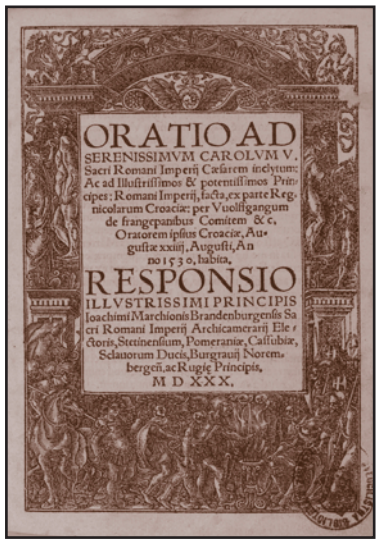
Fran II Kristóf of Tržak Frangepán (ca 1643–1671) was educated in Italy. He left a collection of poems in manuscript called *Gartlic za čas kratiti*, a collection of proverbs *Sentencije vsakojaške,* a collection of riddles *Zganke za vrime kratiti* and some other poems. Of his prose compositions, the following should be mentioned: the incomplete *Trumbita sudnjega dneva* [Trumpet of the Judgment Day] and the translation of Scene 1 of Molière's comedy *Georges Dandin* (*Jarne bogati*). His works in Croatian were written in a language close to the Ozalj linguistic and literary circle, the base of which was Chakavian with elements of Shtokavian and Kaikavian. Slavko Ježić completed a copy from the original of the work of Kristóf Frangepán in Vienna on January 16, 1922.


ORATIO REVE-
rendiſſimi in Chriſto patris
D. Franciſci comitis de
Frangepanibus / Archiepi-
ſcopi Colocen. et Epiſco-
pi Agrien. Oratoris re-
gni Hungarie ad Cae-
ſarem / Electores
et Principes
Germa-
niae.
M. D. XLI.

35. **Ferenc Frangepán:** *Oratio reverendissimi in Christo patris d. Francisci comitis de Frangepanibus, archiepiscopi Colocen. Et episcopi Agrien… ad caesarem, electores et principes Germaniae. <Habita Ratisponae… IX Iunii anno MDXLI.> [S. l., s. a.], 1541. 8° NSK R II F-8°-79*

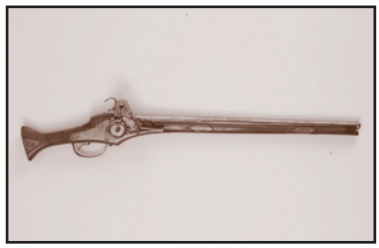
The Franciscan and Archbishop of Kalocsa Ferenc Frangepán (obit 1543) was the minister of John Zapolya and Ferdinand I. His speech before Charles V and the German estates was printed in 1541 in Augsburg and Wittenberg; however, it is not known where this edition was printed, or who the printer was.

36. **Vuk I Brinjski Frangepán:** *Oratio ad serenissimum Carolum V… ac ad illustrissimos et potentissimos principes Romani imperii. Facta ex parte regnicolarum Croatiae per Vuolffgangum de Frangepanibus comitem etc. oratorem ipsius Croaciae, Augustae XXIIII Augusti anno 1530. habita. Responsio illustrissimi principis Ioachimi, marchionis Brandenburgensis… MDXXX. <Augustae Vindelicorum, In officina Alexandri Weyssenhonn, 1530.> 8° NSK R II F-8°-100*


ORATIO AD
SERENISSIMVM CAROLVM V.
Sacri Romani Imperij Cæſarem inclytum:
Ac ad Illuſtriſſimos & potentiſſimos Prin-
cipes: Romani Imperij, facta, ex parte Reg.
nicolarum Croaciæ: per Vuolffgangum
de frangepanibus Comitem &c.
Oratorem ipſius Croaciæ, Au-
guſtæ xxiiij. Auguſti, An
no 1530, habita.
RESPONSIO
ILLVSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS
Ioachimi Marchionis Brandenburgenſis Sa
cri Romani Imperij Archicamerarij Ele-
ctoris, Stetinenſium, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiæ,
Sclauorum Ducis, Burgrauij Norem-
bergen. ac Rugię Principis,
M D XXX.

Prince Vuk I of Brinje Frangepán (obit 1546) was, with his brother Kristóf II, among the Croatian noblemen who on January 1, 1527 in Cetin elected the Habsburg Ferdinand I king of Croatia. He achieved prominence in battles against the Turks, and on August 24, 1530 in Augsburg gave a celebrated speech to the German estates in front of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand I, in which he laid stress on the eighty years in which the Croats had fought against the Turks, and begged both of them for assistance.

37. **Pistol, with a flint and wheel system,** *Augsburg, 16th century, HPM/PMH 11611, Croatian History Museum*



The barrel is octagonal, becoming round, and smooth on the inside. At the rear part of the barrel the stamp of the workshop is impressed. The firing mechanism is a wheel system, with a scanty engraving of a small circle and a depiction of the sun. The stock is of pear wood, inlaid with tablets of ivory and an incised motif of a net. According to the carved inscription on one of the tablets, which was still visible when it was first put into the inventory by Marija Šercer BA, 15 NIC COM ZR 51, the pistol is assumed to have been owned by Miklós Zrínyi of Szigetvár.

One tablet was incorporated subsequently. The pistol was bought as part of the collection of arms of Milan Praunsperger that was purchased.

38. **Globe,** *wood, pressed paper, h. 53 cm, circumference 108 cm, early 17th century, Amsterdam, Viliam Janszoon Blaeu, HPM/PMH 23846, Croatian History Museum*

A model of the earth on which the distribution of the continents and oceans as far as they were known at the beginning of the 17th century is shown. On the wooden hoop there are the following data arranged in concentric circles: degrees of latitude, astrological signs with appropriate signs and Latin names, a parallel calendar with dates according to the Gregorian calendar and the old manner of



counting the days, and a calendar of phases of the moon. The names of saints are associated with the days in the calendar. Alongside a wind rose with Greek and Latin names, there are also the Dutch names for the points of the compass. On the globe itself are vignettes lauding the great explorers of the earth, Columbus, Vespucci, Magellan, Cortes and da Gama, with the years of their discoveries. As well as a dedication of the author to the gentlemen of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, an instruction is given to the viewer, with a note that the globe is made on totally new bases.

It is assumed that the globe comes from the Zrínyi Library in Csáktornya, although all data about its origin have been lost.

39. **Coins from the early 17th century**

a) **Silver denarić of the Dubrovnik Republic,** *minted between 1620 and 1761, dimensions 17 mm, damaged. HPM/PMH 32630, Croatian History Museum*

On the obverse, in the centre, is the figure of St Blaise, in robes and with an aureole, holding in his left hand a model of the city of Dubrovnik. At the side is the year 16… and around him runs the inscription: S. BLASIUS RAG…; on the reverse in the centre is the figure of Jesus standing, surrounded by stars, and around the figure runs the inscription: T… SALVS.



b) **Silver denarić of the Dubrovnik Republic,** *1620–1761, dimensions 17 mm, fairly much damaged. HPM/PMH 32631, Croatian History Museum*

On the obverse is a figure of St Blaise in robes with his crosier. In his left hand he is holding a model of the city of Dubrovnik. At the side there is an illegible year, and around the figure runs the inscription: S. BLASIVS… on the reverse there is a standing figure of the Virgin, with stars around her and an inscription that can be read only with difficulty: TVTA S…





40. **The will of Miklós Zrínyi,** *April 6 1662, HR-HDA-785 kut. 5*

In his will, Miklós after the invocation mentions first the Paulist Monastery of Szentilona, site of the family vault of the Zrínyis; then the Franciscans, whom Miklós had brought to Csáktornya in 1659, then the Zagreb and Ptuj Capuchins, his second wife, and Maria Sophia Löbl. He mentions the keeping of the documents and privileges of the Zrínyi family in the palace in Csáktornya, and the division of the estates between himself and his brother Péter. The will was drawn up on Csáktornya on April 6, 1662. At the end, Zagreb bishop Petar Petretić gives his hand in witness that Miklós had shown him the provisions of his last will and testament.



Janez Vajkard Valvasor: Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain: Das ist (...) Belegen- und Beschaffenheit dieses (...) römisch-keyserlichen herzlichen Erblandes..., 1689. – Portrait of Janez Vajkard Valvasor – copper engraving

Vladimir Magić

THE JANEZ VAJKARD VALVASOR LIBRARY

The Valvasor Library, which was originally housed in Slovenia, in Bogensperg, was purchased in 1690 by Bishop of Zagreb Sándor Ignác Mikulich, and brought to Zagreb to become a component part of the Metropolitana, i.e., the library of the Archiepiscopate of Zagreb.[1] According to a contract of 1914, this library was placed in the National and University Library Zagreb, and since 1996 it has been in the same building that now belongs to the Croatian State Archives.

The Valvasor Library today has 1530 volumes, with more than 2 600 titles.[2] Sometimes the literature sources state that Bishop Mikulić purchased 10 000 books from J. V. Valvasor.[3] But this cannot be correct. There is no record anywhere in the past of such a large number of books having vanished from the library. The number of 10 000 came into the sources because the individual prints that Bishop Mikulić also bought from Valvasor (about 7 300 of them) were added to the number. If the sketch-books for certain of Valvasor's works are counted together with the prints, then altogether there are about 8 000 works of graphic art, which, with the number of books already quoted, might amount to about the number of 10 000 documents.

We know of the many journeys made by J. V. Valvasor. He travelled through many celebrated places in Europe of the time, and acquired a great number of friends. Valvasor was a creative man, and a great creator at that.[4] He was never content with the merely average. He rounded off the considerable education he had been given in the Jesuit college with the observations of his travels. Travelling from land to land, he became acquainted with the customs and the laws, conversed with learned people, wishing to take advantage of other people's knowledge, not taking anything the while for granted, but considering it all maturely and then drawing his conclusions. On these journeys he acquired literature to confirm what he had heard, and also to create the foundations for his cultural work. He travelled through almost the whole of Europe, and spent time in Africa as well. Thus there is no reason to wonder that in his library we can find books from almost all the major printing centres of Europe. He had periods of residence in such centres as Lyon, Amsterdam, Paris, Nuremberg and Venice. Most of the books come from the most important printing trade cities: from Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Venice, Basel and others. From this it can be gathered that most of the books were from the German lands, in German, and printed in black letter. After this come books from Holland and France, but there are also books from Bohemia, from Slovenia of course, and one printed in Croatia.

1 Ljudevit Ivančanin: *Metropolitanska knjižnica u Zagrebu*, Narodna starina, Zagreb, 4/1925, vol. 10 Ljudevit Ivančanin: *Zagrebački kaptol 1093–1932.* Croatia sacra, Zagreb, 2/1932.

2 Božena Kukolja, Vladimir Magić: *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana katalog knjižnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja kat.* Ljubljana, 1995.

3 Silvo Kranjec: *Valvasor Janez Vajkhard, Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, 8.* Zagreb, 1971.; Petar Radich: *Johann Wikhard Freiher von Valvasor.* Leibach, 1910.

4 Branko Reisp: *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor.* Ljubljana, 1983.

Today in the Metropolitana there are five works from his printing house in Bogensperg[5]:
– *Topographia arcium lambergianarum*, Wagenspergi i Carniolia, 1679
– Ovidius Naso Publius, *Metamorphoseos icones*, Wagensbergi 1680
– *Topographia Carinthiae Salisburgensin*, luci editu Wagenspergii, 1681. In truth, this work is incomplete, because are missing the title-page, plates 1–5, 8, 23 and 26. It is however one of the few extant copies of the work.
– *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, Wagensperg, 1681
– *Topographia archiducatus Carinthiae modernae*, Wagensperg, 1681.

It is not at all clear how the *Misal hrvacki / Croatian Missal*, the only Croatian Glagolitic book in the Valvasor Library actually found its way there. This is a book that was printed in Rijeka, in the printing shop of Šimun Kožić, in 1531. The particular value of the copy lies in the fact that it is a very rare work, extant today in only 12 known copies.

In a review of the Valvasor Library, I noticed that on more than 40 copies there was a handwritten exlibris for *P. C. VINCKHER* and his coat of arms on the inside of the front cover, over which Valvasor had stamped his own coat of arms.[6] The inscription on the coat of arms runs: PETER CARL VINCKHER VON ERCKHEIM RÖM: KAY: MAY. RATH UND ZEI GLEITENANT. The motto is as follows: *Plus etre que paroistre*. This man was a royal Councillor and an officer of the artillery.

What the relations of Valvasor with this person were remains to be studied, but it can be concluded that Valvasor bought or acquired from him quite a large number of books. Vinckher's books can be divided into three parts: works of history, the art of warfare and the philosophic domain.

Book Fair

In the Valvasor Library there are two volumes of catalogues of the annual book fairs in Frankfurt. These fairs provided the greatest opportunities for advertising and selling books. The largest fairs were in Frankfurt, Leipzig and Cologne. Here publishers from the whole of Europe gathered twice a year, in spring and autumn. Book people met at the fair and did deals, while at the same time the production of books made great progress through the sheer fact of competition.[7]

From 1589 on, an official catalogue of the Frankfurt Fair came out, the costs of which were met by the burghers. In the Valvasor Library there are two volumes of these catalogues. It would be of some interest to find out how many of the books in the library were advertised in these catalogues. However, here I shall cite just a few titles of works from the catalogues that are kept in this ample library today. Thus in the Metropolitana we can find the valuable Boechler book about heraldry advertised in the catalogue of the fair for 1688 (*Ars heraldica, das ist: die hoche edle teutsche Adels-Kunst…*, Nuremberg, 1688). This work was announced in the volume for the Frankfurt Spring Fair of 1688, and is located in the Metropolitana at signature: M 9047. Also in the fair catalogues are advertisements for many topographies and travels of M. Zeiller, which are also in the Metropolitana today.[8] It is true that from the description of the books in these catalogues we do not know the year when a given book was issued, but we can assume that it was for the current or the next year. An example confirming this statement can be found in the volume for the 1688 fair. Here is an announcement of the life's work of Valvasor: *The Fame of the Duchy of Carniola*, which was to be printed the following year. It is

5 Miroslava Depot: *Nekoliko vrijednih kulturnohistorijskih djela XVII vijeka. st. zagrebačke Metropolitane, Bulletin Instituta za likovne umjetnosti, Zagreb, 5/1975.*; Franjo Iveković: *Knjižnica prvostolne crkve Zagrebačke.* Katolički list, Zagreb, no. 42/1902.
6 Janko Barlè: Valvasorjeva knjiga grbov (Valvasor's Book of Coats-of-Arms) Izvestija društva za Kranjsko. Ljubljana, 8/1989, 47–60.
7 Josef Benzing: Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet 2. verb. Aufl. Wiesbaden, 1982.
8 Antun Markov: Metropolitanska knjižnica, Kulturnopoviestni zbornik Zagrebačke nadbiskupije. Zagreb, 1944.

possible that Valvasor announced the book at the fair for that year, but had been unable to complete it in time.[9]

Bindings

From the nature of the materials and the bindings, it can be concluded that Valvasor had the books bound himself. Most of the books have the same binding: boards covered in brown leather, while a few of the books are bound in parchment or in a sheet of codex (the so-called metropolitan binding). The spine is divided by ribs into 3, 4 or 5 fields. On the inside of the front cover of almost all the books is Valvasor's book plate. We know that Bishop Mikulić had the metropolitan books bound, but Valvasor's are bound in a particular way, and on the spine of almost each one is a large alphanumeric marking in white paint, of the kind that cannot be found on the other books in the Metropolitana, and accordingly we can conclude that they belonged to his library.

Many of these books were printed in Valvasor's time, and if he did have them bound, there was no reason for Bishop Mikulić to do it as well. Looked at overall, these bindings are in good condition.

Colligated books

Looking at the copies of the books in the Valvasor Library, we can see a large number of volumes in which there are several books or several independent units. These are compilations of books bound together in a single volume. In this library there are more than a thousand titles bound in this way. We know that books were very often sold unbound. The purchaser or new owner would have the work bound himself. In order to save on materials (leather, boards, glue) and perhaps because of the appearance, the owner might bind a number of smaller works in a single volume. The Valvasor Library has more than 1500 volumes today, but there are 2630 separate titles. Thus Valvasor used binding materials only for 1500 volumes.

Analysing the contents of the works that are in a single volume, it can be noticed that works of similar contents are often found bound together (histories or travelogues), but often there are works on very different subjects. This tells us that there was no single criterion for binding works together into a single volume. This leads us to the conclusion that the books in the Valvasor Library were arranged according to format, and not according to contents.

This manner of binding created certain difficulties in the handling of the catalogue. For in the Valvasor Library there are several works repeated, bound in different volumes, which is occasionally hard to spot. These, even the same works, remained in their own signatures, with just a single catalogue description, with the remark that copy "b" or "c" is to be found at another signature. There are also examples of two identical works being bound in a single volume, but in different places (e.g., insert 2 and insert 6), which is also noted in conjunction with the description.

Illustrations

A particular value attaches to the Valvasor Library by reason of the many illustrations.[10] Many of the books contain numerous prints and drawings. Book production, of course, flourished in the 16th century. This was also the time of the development of cities, trade, the age of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, the religious conflicts and wars, and a great many discoveries and inventions. All these events are mirrored in the books of the time, and book illustration is connected with them. There are many books with Turkish themes, enriched with pictures of governors, armies, wars, weapons and the like.

9 Valvasor Proceedings: 300th Anniversary of Publication of Die Ehre des herzogtums Krain, papers presented at the Symposium in Ljubljana 1989, 1990.

10 Milan Pelc: *Biblija priprostih.* Zagreb, 1991.

As a consequence of the great discoveries, there are many travelogues with depictions of cities, geographical works, books about the manners of given peoples and so on. Many of the books of the library have, alongside the title-page, a frontispiece, often engraved. Both of the sides are richly illustrated and thus form a single artistic composition. We can understand the desire for a richly illustrated title-page, because we know that this page served as an advertisement during the sale of the book.

In the 16th century a framed title in the form of a Renaissance-cum-antique portal was used. Such title-pages are filled with stylised arches, floral ornamentation and allegorical figures. Byzantine miniatures and Arab decorative drawings are also to be found.

A special place was occupied by medicine and richly illustrated books of anatomy, to which artists devoted great attention, endeavouring to depict the human body as accurately as possible. We can find in the Valvasor Library richly illustrated works dealing with fauna and flora, geometry and physics.

Among the illustrators of these books there are important names such as Matthias Merian, Johann Theodor De Bry, Solis Virgil and others. There are excellent Merian prints in the *Theatrum Europaeum* and in two editions of Gottfried's *Archontologica cosmica* (1638 and 1647). A cornucopia of Merian illustrations is to be found in the many topographies and travelogues of Martin Zeiler. Merian often also figures as publisher (*Topographia Franconiae, Topographia Westphaaliae* and others).

Incunabula

The value of the Library is increased by four incunabula. The first is the *Büchlein der Titel aller Stände*, from around 1490. This incunabulum has on the reverse of the front cover the Valvasor book plate. The initials in it are printed. It is actually the third colligated book in the volume. The book as a whole is bound in white parchment.

The second incunabulum is the *Erklärung der zwölf Arrtikel des Christlichen Glaubens*, Ulm, 1485. The initials are in red and are done by hand, but there are also some in woodcuts. At the top of the first page there is an inscription: *Parochiae Radkerspuagensis (Radgona) catalogo inscriptus A 1615*, and immediately below that *1561, Thaman v. Khatschich*, and a drawing of scales, with the initials *T v N*. On the back of the first page, over the text is the inscription: *Inventario parochiali ascriptus A 1692*. The book is bound in wooden boards covered in brown leather. The beginning of each Article is embellished with a woodcut over the whole page. The lining on the covers is a sheet of an incunabulum on which Valvasor pasted his exlibris.

The third and most valuable incunabulum with the Valvasor book plate is the well-known chronicle of Schedel: Schedel, Hartman: *Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten,* Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493 (HC 14510). This chronicle is known for the numerous woodcuts of cities, the genealogical trees, the scenes from everyday life, the fantastic scenes, maps and other things. The incunabulum has 1809 woodcut illustrations.

The fourth incunabulum is: Jacobus de Voragine: *Passional oder Leben der Heiligen /Legenda aurea/* Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1488. 2°.

The classification of the books according to their contents

We can learn from the contents of the library's holdings that Valvasor was a man of broad education. It can be seen that there is not a single science of the time that is not represented in the library by some work or other.

The material of the Valvasor Library is catalogued and an alphabetical catalogue has been printed. On each sheet there is a Roman numeral indicating to which science the given book belongs. According to this division, we can classify the material into the following groups: 1) general, bibliographies, dictionaries; 2) philosophy, occult sciences, psychology, magic; 3) theology, ecclesiastical history; 4) political works; 5) economics; 6) law; 7) education; 8) art, history of art; 9) philology, history of writing; 10) literature; 11) history and historical disciplines; 12) geography

and travelogues; 13) mathematics; 14) natural sciences: chemistry and geology; 15) medicine and health; 16) technology, metallurgy and architecture; 17) mechanics; 18) agriculture; 19) commerce and seafaring; 20) military science; 21) sport, gymnastics and games.

A numerical analysis of these disciplines will automatically place the spotlight on works of history, chronicles, military works, calendars and travelogues.

Chronicles, almanacs and calendars

Of the many chronicles kept in the Valvasor Library, the *Gottfried Chronicle*[11], printed in Frankfurt in 1675 ha to be mentioned. The author described in this chronicle, according to parallel sources of the time, the most important events of world history, from the creation of the world down to 1617. The chronicle is an interesting and rare source for understanding conditions and circumstances in and around South-Eastern Europe. The author refers to events of the time of the Turkish wars, lingers on events related to the incursions of the Turks in the 15th century, and deals in some detail with the Siege of Szigetvár in 1566. The author is deeply impressed by the heroism of Miklós Zrínyi and describes his death.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the *Hungarian Chronicle* appeared, created by the German print artist and chronicler Dilich Wilhelm. This book came out in three editions – of 1600, 1606, 1609, which is some indication of the interest it created. In the second edition, extant, there are scenes of Petrinja and Sisak. The *Chronologia oder historische Beschreibung* of Ortelius Hieronymus came out in several editions. In the Valvasor library there is an edition printed in Nuremberg in 1620. Here several battles and fortified cities are presented – Szigetvár (1566), Sisak (1593) and Petrinja.

Something should also be said about the very valuable *Theatrum Europaeum*. In the Valvasor Library there are only 11 volumes of the work, while in the National and University Library in Zagreb there is a set of 21 volumes.[12] The almanac with this name came out in Frankfurt between 1633 and 1738. The events that are covered in it deal with the time period between the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 to the Peace of Požaravec in 1718. The involvement of the Croats in this long-lasting war is described, and there is also an account of the great 1667 Dubrovnik earthquake, and other historical phenomena and vicissitudes. The edition is decorated with fine and very valuable engravings done by Mathaeus Merian the Elder.

Atlases, travelogues, topographies

From the end of the 16th to the end of the 17th century, cartography flourished, and increasing numbers of atlases were produced. It was then when the great works of cartography whose authors are renowned mapmakers were produced: those of Mercator, Ortelius and Janszon, among others. As already stated, Valvasor was not content with the mediocre, but always looked for the best, and was well aware of which works are worth to order. The biggest name of the age is Abraham Ortelius. After ten years of preparation, the famed atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarium* appeared. The first edition of this atlas came out in 1570 in Antwerp, and a copy is to be found in the Valvasor Library. Here one more atlas is also kept, a German edition, published ten years later.

The library contains many topographies by the best-known authors. Special value is attached to the works because many of them were decorated with fine engravings of Mathaeus Merian, one of the best known engravers.

Among the topographies we should particularly mention the work: *Topographia provinciarum Austriacarum*, Frankfurt, 1649. It describes the Austrian provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Tyrol. Some of the other titles of interest in this division are certainly the *Topographia Bohemiae,*

11 Aleksandar Stipčević: *Povijest knjige*, Zagreb, 1985.
12 Antun Markov 1989.

Moraviae et Silesiae, 1650 and the *Topographia Braunschweig*, Frankfurt, 1645. Here we must mention the name of Martin Zeiler, who wrote the text. Then there are the works of the famous Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, decorated with fine engravings.

The library also contains the work of the English physician, natural historian and traveller Edward Brown (1644–1708), *Durch Niederland, Teutschland, Hungarn, Serbien… sonderbare*, Nuremberg 1685, which contains descriptions of the cities of Belgrade and Osijek. He also travelled throughout Slovenia, visiting Cerkniško Lake and the mines of Idria, as well as other natural features of interest in Slovenia. He published his observations in the journal *Philosophical Transactions* of 1669. It is not known whether Valvasor was personally acquainted with Brown, but he certainly made use of his texts in the writing of the *Fame.*

Leafing through book after book, we find a great deal of materials from architecture, mechanics, agriculture, hunting and, as I said above, almost all the scientific disciplines. Of considerable interest is the work: *Bier Brau Kunst*, Leipzig-Gotha, 1688, a disquisition on the art of brewing beer decorated with many illustrations. Also highly interesting is the book of the Danish venery expert, Johann Taentzer: *Der Dianen Hohe under Niedere Jagt Geheimnnesz*, which he published in Copenhagen in 1686 (2nd ed.), showing various snares for animals.

We might also include the following work in the collection of materials of a graphic nature: *Opus insignium armorumque Regum et regnorum, nec nom tam aliarum quam et Carniolia Principum, Baromum, nobilium civitatem et opidum…* in which 2134 coats of arms are depicted.[13] The title tells us that the coats of arms of the kings and kingdoms, counts, barons, noblemen were collected by J. W. Valvasor, and were drawn by Jernej Ramschussel.

Here it is worth mentioning that this valued collection of coats of arms was bound in Zagreb. This conclusion can be arrived at from a comparison of the binding and the binding of some of the most valuable of the Metropolitana codices. Both these codices and the coats of arms have wooden boards covered with brown leather. A decoration of four lines is impressed into the edge of the cover. For the paste-down of the heraldic work, marbled paper is used, which exists nowhere else in the Valvasor, but can often be found in the other works of the Metropolitana holdings. It is of very great importance that a facsimile of this valuable work has been published.

Sketch-books[14]

Four so-called sketch-books are to be found in the Valvasor Library. This valuable material enables us to track certain phases of the making of his works. The sketch-books were described by Branko Reisp in his book on Valvasor.[15] In the Metropolitana there are sketch-books for the topography of Carniola and Carinthia; *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* and books of preparatory drawings for the *Fame of the Duchy of Carniola.*

The artistic value of these books must be left to more expert opinions, but it has to be admitted nevertheless that they are extremely important for the understanding of individual places and the depiction of historical events, as well as for their insight into human relationships.

13 Janko Barlè 1944.
14 France Stele: *Valvasor, Kulturna skica.* Čas, Ljubljana, 7/1913.
15 Branko Reisp: *Kranjski polihistor J. W. Valvasor*, Ljubljana, 1983, 138–139. p.



Janez Vajkard Valvasor: Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain: Das ist (...) Belegen- und Beschaffenheit dieses (...) römisch-keyserlichen herzlichen Erblandes..., 1689. – Contemporary copper engraving on Zagreb

1.

Der wahre und erneuerte

Æsopus:

Das ist:

Das gantze Leben und Fabeln Æsopi / so ihme pflegen zugeeignet werden.



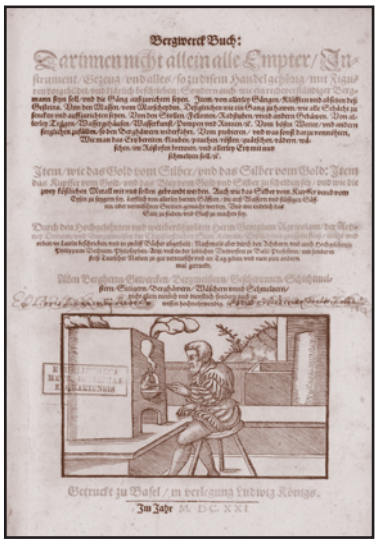
Alles klärlich und nutzlich zusammen getragen / und anjetzo an vielen Orten verbessert.

Zuvor niemals also gedruckt.

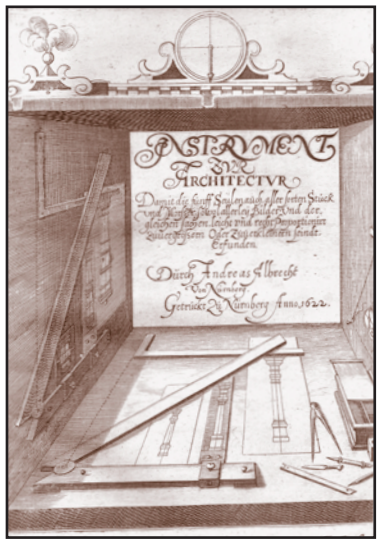
E BIBLIOTHECA MUTH. ECCLESIAE KARLSRUHENSIS

DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. Aesopus: *Der wahre und erneuerte Esopus. Das ist: Das gantze Leben und Fabeln Esopi, so ihme pflegen zugeeignet werden… an vielen Orten verbessert. Zuvor niemals also gedr. [S. l., s. a.] 8° HDA M 3443-8°*
The Valvasor Library has five editions of the Greek writer Aesop (6th century BC), some of which are finely illustrated. This version was illustrated by Virgilius Solis (1514–1562), German painter and engraver.



2. Georg Agricola: *Bergwerckbuch. [Orig: De re metallica]. Darinnenn nicht allein alle Empter, Instrument, Gezzeug und alles so zu disem Handel gehörig, mit Figuren vorgebildet und klärlich beschrieben: Sondern auch wie ein rechtverständiger Bergmann seyn soll und die Gäng auszurichten seyen… Durch Georgium Agricolam… in Latein beschrieben und in XII Bücher abgetheilt.. Durch Philippum Bechium… verteutscht und an Tag gegeben und nun Zum andern mal getr. … Basel, Getr. in Verlegung Ludwig Konigs, 1621. 4° HDA M 11569-4°*
The German physician and natural scientist Georg Agricola (1494–1555), in this German edition, gives a detailed description of the metallurgical and mining technology of his time. The book is amply illustrated with many depictions of minerals and mining operations.



3. Andreas Albrecht: *Instrument zur Architectur damit die fünff Seulen auch aller Sorten Stuck und Morsser, sowol allerley Bilder und dergleichen Sachen leicht und recht proportionirt zu vergrössen oder zu verkleinern seind erfunden. Durch Andreas Albrecht… Nürnberg, {Gedr. bey Ludwig Lochnern}, 1622. 8° HDA M 7307-8°*
The author Andreas Albrecht (17th century) illustrated this work with instruments for use in architecture.



4. Ulisse Aldrovandi: *De quadrupedibus solipedibus, volumen integrum. Joannes Cornelius Uteruerius … collegit et recensuit. Francofurti, Typis Ioan. Hoferi, 1623. 2° HDA M 23783–2°*
Ulisse Aldrovandi (ca 1522–1605), Italian natural scientist, lawyer and physician, wrote many works from the area of zoology, particularly of animal anatomy. This work is rich in illustrations. There are five two-volume works on this topic in the Valvasor Library.

5. **Hochnutzbar** *und bewahrte edle Bier–Brau–Kunst lehrend die rechte Arth und Weise gut, wohlschmeckend, gesund und kraeftig Bier zu brauen,… Leipzig und Gotha, 1688. 16° HDA 8907–16°*



The anonymous author gives a detailed description of the production of beer, the details of which are shown on the title-page.

6. **Vincenzo Maria Coronelli:** *Historische und topographische ausfuerliche Beschreibung der Reiche Morea und Negroponte, wie auch der Insulen und hafen selbigen Meeres bis an Salonich,… Franckfurt am Mayn, [s. a.] 8° HDA M 7187–8°*

The well-known Italian geographer and cosmographer Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718) founded the Academy of the Argonauts in Venice. In his works he describes and provides fine illustrations of the Croatian coastline from Istria to Kotor.



7. **Johann Joachim Becher:** *Parnassus medicinalis illustratus, oder:… Thier-Kräuter- und Berg-Buch, sampt der Salernischen Schul, cum Commentario Arnoldi Villanovani und den Praesagiis Vitae et Mortis Hippocratis… In 4 Th. beschrieben und mit 1200 Figuren gezieret durch Johann Joachim Becher… Ulm, in Verlegung Johann Görlins, 1662–1663. 4° HDA M 10410-4°*

The German physician and chemist Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682) had this four-volume work illustrated with more than 1200 prints.




MANUALE ARCHITECTURÆ MILITARIS,
Oder
Handbüchlein über die Fortification
und Vestungs Baukunst
Erster Theil.
Darinnen die vornehmste Stücke/Regeln/und
Vortheilen / so bey der Fortification nothwendig zu
wissen/so wol in Praxi als Theoria, sampt derselbigen
Inn- und Aussenwercken/ offensivè und defen-
sivè angewiesen werden.
Allen verständigen Liebhabern dieser Kunst zu gefallen
colligirt, anietzo auffs neue corrigirt, und vermehrt/
zum dritten mahl an Tag gegeben durch
Georg Andream Böcklern,
Architect. & Ingenieur.
Franckfurt am Mayn / bey Thomä Matthäi Götzen
Seel. Erben, 1672.

8. Georg Andreas Böckler: *Manuale architecturae militaris, oder Handbüchlein über die Fortification und Vestungs Baukunst … colligirt … corrigirt und ver., zum dritten mahl an Tag gegeben durch Georg Andream Böcklern … Franckfurt am Mayn, [Theil 1, 4:] bey Thomae Matthia Götzen seel. Erben, [Theil 2, 3:] bey Thoma-Matth. Götzen, 1660–1674. Approx. 16° sv. 1-4 HDA M 9784-16°*

9. Georg Andreas Böckler: *Neues und zuvor nie also eingerichtetes vollkommenes Seulen-Buch, worinnen die Seulen zu der edlen Bau Kunst, wie selbige vom Vitruvio, Archimede, Palladio, Scamozzo, Vignola, Serlio, Hans Blumen und andern… Baumeistern aus rechten Fundament in gewisse Lehrsätze und Regeln abgefasset und begriffen. Anjetzo aber auffs neue… erkläret und mit daru-gehorigen 40 Kupffer-Figuren zum erstenmal vorgestellet durch Georgium Andream Böcklern… Franckfurt am Mayn in Verlegung Johann Ziegers, gedr. bey B. Chr. Wusten, 1684. 4° HDA M 11566-4°*

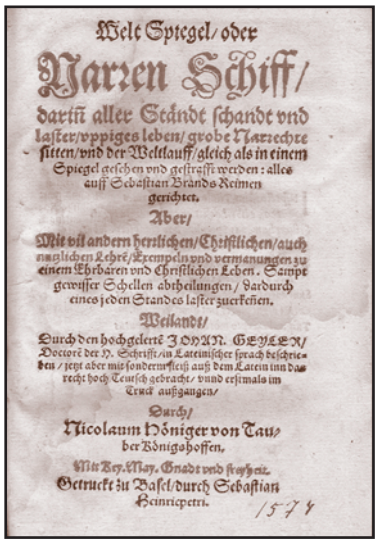

Neues
Und zuvor nie also eingerichtetes
vollkommenes
Seulen-Buch/
Worinnen die 5. Seulen zu der edlen
Bau Kunst wie selbige vom Vitruvio, Archimede,
Palladio, Scamozzo, Vignola, Serlio, Hans Blumen und andern
berühmten vortrefflichen Baumeistern aus rechtem Fundament
in gewisse Lehrsätze und Regeln abgefasset und
begriffen.
Anjetzo aber auffs neue allen Liebhabern dieser
hochedlen Kunst/ insonderheit allen Baumeistern/ Steinmetzen/
Schreinern/ Zimmerleuten/ und andern/ so sich dieser Kunst befleissigen/
aufsführlich erkläret und mit darzu-gehörigen 40. Kupff-Figuren
zum erstenmal vorgestellet/
Durch
GEORGIUM ANDREAM Böcklern/
Architect. & Ingenieur.
Franckfurt am Mayn/
In Verlegung Johann Ziegers/ Buchhändlers in Nürnberg.
Gedruckt bey Balthasar Christoph Wusten/
Im Jahr M. DC. LXXXIV.


Georg Andreas Böckler
Archit. & Ingenieurs,
Schola Militaris Moderna
Oder
Neu-vermehrte
Kriegs-Schule/
Darinnen
Von den nothwendigsten Sachen
die zum Krieg gehören/ so wohl defensivè
als offensivè gehandelt wird/
Als da seynd:
Kriegs-Künsten/
Franckfurt am Mäyn/
Bey Georg Heinrich Oehrligen.
Anno M. DC. LXXXV.

10. Georg Andreas Böckler: *Schola militaris moderna, oder Neuvermehrte Kriegs-Schule … Franckfurt am Mäyn, Bey Georg Heinrich Oehrligen, 1685. 8° HDA M 8874-8°*

The German engineer Georg Andreas Böckler (1644–end of the 17th century), is better known as a learned writer in his profession than as an architect. The Valvasor Library holds 11 of his works, decorated with numerous prints, some of which are particularly valuable works of military architecture.

11. **Sebastian Brant:** *Welt Spiegel, oder Narren Schiff, darin aller Sätndt, Schandt und Laster… gestrafft werden. Alles auff Sebastien Brands Reimen gerichtet. Aber mit vil adern … christlichen, auch nutzlichen Lehrenn, Exempeln und Vermanungen zu … christlichenb Leben … durch … Johan Geyler in lateinisher Sprach beschrieben, jetz … in das … hoch Teutsch gebracht und erstmals im Truck aussgangen durch Nicolaum Höniger von Tauber Königshoffen, … Zu Basel, Getr. durch Sebastian Heinrichpetri, (1574.) 8° HDA M 3679-8°*



German poet and humanist Sebastian Brant (1457–1521) studied in Basle, and in this well-known work, very popular in the 15th century, described the follies and vices of this world.

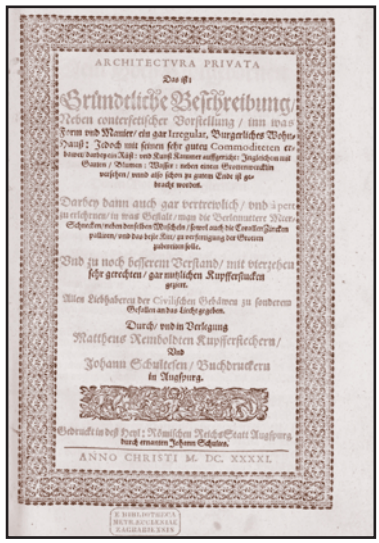


12. **Catalogus universalis** *pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus et vernalibus de anno 1619–1661. Hoc est: Designatio omnium librorum qui hisce nundinia … vel novi, vel emendatiores et auctiores prodierunt. Das ist Verzeichnus aller Bucher, so zu Franckfurt in der Herbst- und Oster-Mess … verkaufft worden. Francofurti, impensis Haeredum Sigismundi Latomi, 1619-1661. 8° HDA M 7329-8°*

The Valvasor Library holds two volumes of catalogues of this book fair, the world's oldest one, in which are listed the books at the autumn and spring fairs of 1619–1661, among which the works of Marko Marulic are listed, as well as the work "Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain" of Valvasor himself.

13. **Joseph Fürttenbach:** *Architectura navalis, das ist von dem Schiff, Gebäw, auff dem Meer und Seeküsten zugebrauchen… Sampt vielen Abrissen… und Kupfferstücken… beschrieben durch Josephum Furttenbach. Ulm, Getr. durch Jonam Saurn, 1629. 4° HDA M 6707-4°*

The German architect Joseph Fürttenbach (1591–1667) was a builder in Ulm, and a mediator of artistic forms. He also wrote the works *Architectura civilis* and *Architectura recreationis.*

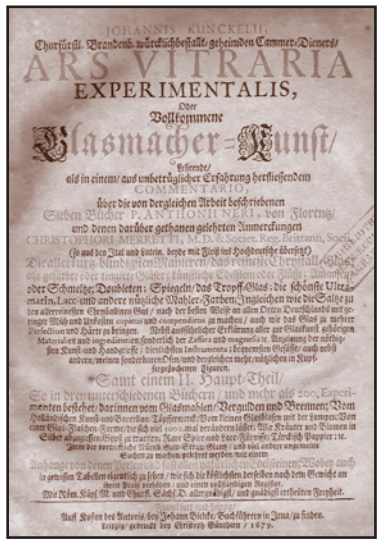


15. **Casperus Gevartius:** *Pompa introitus honori serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Austriaci … in urbem Antverpiam… Antverpiae, Apud Ioannem Meursium, 1641. 2° HDA M 24729 -2°*
The Dutchman Casper Gevartius (1593–1666) worked at one time as city notary in Antwerp. In 1644 he obtained the title of Imperial Councillor and historian for a splendidly decorated work in honour of the arrival of Archduke Ferdinand in Antwerp. This is one of the most opulently illustrated works of the 17th century.



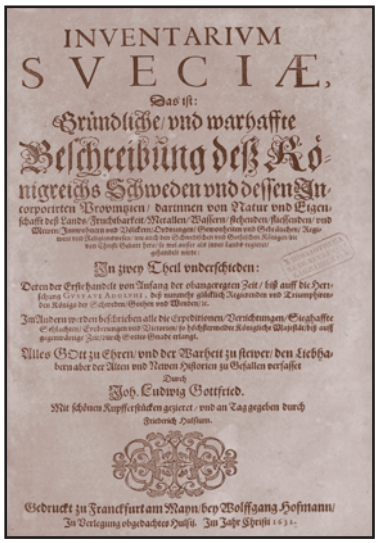
14. **Conrad Gesner:** *Das Thier-Buch. [Historia animalium.] Getruckt zu Zurich bey Christoffel Froschouwer, 1575–1589. 2° HDA M 24785-2°*
Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), Swiss natural scientist and physician, founded a scientific library and was the first to classify plants by their flowers and fruits. The Valvasor Library holds four of his works.





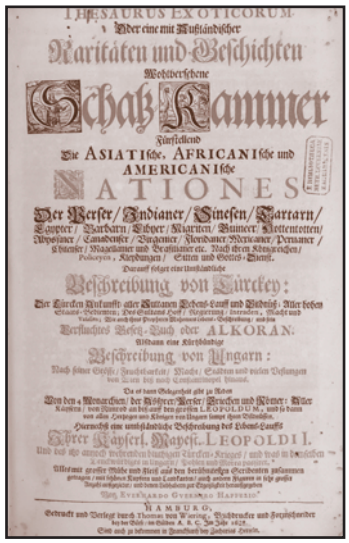
16. **Johannes Kunckel:** *Ars vitraria experimentalis, oder vollkommene Glasmacherkunst … so aus den Ital. Und Latein. beyde ins Hochdeutsches ubers… Frankfurt und Leipzig, gedr. Bey Chr. Gunther, 1679. vol. 1-2 8° HDA M 6565- 8°*
The German chemist Johann Kunckel (1630–1703) dedicated himself to pharmacy and was supervisor of a laboratory in Dresden, and worked as a mining consultant in Stockholm. In this illustrated work, he writes on the production of glass.

17. **Johann Ludwig Gottfried:** *Inventarium Sveciae, das ist Gründliche und warhaffte Beschreibung dess Königen Schweden und dessen Incorporirten Provintzien … darinnen von … den Schwedischen und Gothischen Königen die von Christi Geburt hero … regieret, gehandelt wirdt … Durch Joh. Ludwig Gottfried … Franckfurt am Mayn, Gedr. bey W. Hofmann, in Verlegung Hulsii, 1632. vol. 1-2 4° HDA M 7542-4°*


INVENTARIVM
SVECIÆ,
Das ist:
Gründliche/ vnd warhaffte
Beschreibung deß Kö-
nigreichs Schweden vnd dessen In-
corporirten Provintzien/ darinnen von Natur vnd Eigen-
schafft deß Lands/ Fruchtbarkeit/ Metallen/ Wassern/ fliessenden/ flaessenden/ vnd
Meeren/ Innwohnern vnd Sitten/ Ordnungen/ Gewonheiten vnd Gebräuchen/ Reg-
iment vnd Regierungsweise/ wie auch den Schwedischen/ Gothischen Königen zu
den Christi Geburt hero/ in was ansehen sie einer jeden Landes gewesen/
gehandelt worden:
In zwey Theil vnderschieden:
Deren der Erste handelt von Anfang der obangeregten Zeit/ biß auff die Herr-
schung GVSTAVI ADOLPHI, deß numehr glücklich Regierenden vnd Triumphi-
renden Königs der Schweden/ Gothen vnd Wenden/ ꝛc.
Im Andern werden beschrieben alle die Expeditionen/ Verrichtungen/ Sieghaffte
Schlachten/ Eroberungen vnd Victorien/ so höchstermelter Königlicher Mayestät auff
gegenwärtige Zeit durch Gottes Gnade erlangt.
Alles GOtt zu Ehren/ vnd der Warheit zu stewer/ den Liebha-
bern aber der Alten vnd Newen Historien zu Gefallen verfasset
Durch
Joh. Ludwig Gottfried.
Mit schönen Kupfferstücken gezieret/ vnd an Tag gegeben durch
Friderich Hulsium.
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/ bey Wolffgang Hofmann/
In Verlegung obgedachtes Hulsij. Im Jahr Christi 1632.

The German historian Johann Ludwig Gottfried (obit 1636) wrote under various names. In this work he addressed the history of Sweden and its regions; his work *Historische Chronika* was considered one of the best works of world history.

18. **Eberhard Werner Happel:** *Thesaurus exoticorum, oder eine… Schatz-Kammer fürstellend die Asiatische, Africanische und Americanische Nations… Beschreibung von Türckey … Verfluchtes Gesetz-Buch oder Alkoran… Eine kürtzbündige Beschreibung von Ungarn … Eine umbständliche Beschreibung des Lebens-Lauffs Ihrer Kayserl. Mayest Leopoldi I. und des itzo annoch wehrenden bluthigen Türcken Kreiges und was in demselben Denckwürdiges in Ungarn, Pohlen und Morea passiret. Alles… aus den berühmtesten Scribenten zusammen getragen, mit… Kupfern und Landkarten auch andern Figuren… ausgezieret und… hrsg. von Everhardo Guernero Happelio. Hamburg Gedr. und verlegt durch Thomas von Wiering, 1688. 4° HDA M 7282-4°*


THESAURUS EXOTICORUM
Oder eine mit Wahrheit
Raritäten und Geschichten
Wohlversehene
Schatz Kammer
Fürstellend
Die ASIATISCHE, AFRICANISCHE und
AMERICANISCHE
NATIONES
Der Perser/ Indianer/ Sinesen/ Tartarn/
Egypter/ Barbarn/ Mohren/ Arabien/ Mauren/ Hottentotten/
Abyssiner/ Canadenser/ Turganer/ Floridaner/ Mexicaner/ Peruaner/
Litauer/ Moscowiter/ Tartarn etc. Nach ihren Königreichen/
Provintzen, Häfen/ Sitten und Gottes-Dienst.
Darauf folget eine umbständliche
Beschreibung von Türckey:
Der Türcken Ankunfft/ aller Sultanen Lebens-Lauff und Todtsig/ Aller hohen
Staats-Bedienten/ Des Gantzen Hof/ Regierung/ Interessen/ Macht und
Stärcke/ Wie auch der Janitscharen Ursprung/ Satzung/ und ein
Verfluchtes Gesetz-Buch oder ALKORAN.
Nebens einer Kürtzbündige
Beschreibung von Ungarn:
Nach seiner Grösse/ Fruchtbarkeit/ Macht/ Städten und andern Denkungen
von Türcken bis nach Constantinopel Pleno.
Da es dann Gelegenheit gibt zu Reden
Von den 4 Monarchien/ der Assyrer/ Perser/ Griechen und Römer: Wie
Königreich/ vom Anfang an bis auf den grossen LEOPOLDUM, und so dann
von allen Ursprung an Königen von Ungarn biß auf Ihro Mayestät.
Hierauch eine umbständliche Beschreibung des Lebens-Lauffs
Ihrer Kayserl. Mayest. LEOPOLDI I.
Und das ihr annoch währenden blutigen Türcken-Krieges/ und was in denselben
Allesamt grosser Städte und Vest/ auch der beschwehrlichen Gefechten zusammen
getragen/ mit schönen Kupffern und Landtafeln/ auch andern Figuren in sehr grosser
Anzahl ausgezieret/ und denen Curieusen zu Ergötzlichkeit herausgegeben
Von EVERHARDO GUERNERO HAPPELIO.
HAMBURG,
Gedruckt und Verlegt durch Thomam von Wiering, Buchdrucker und Formschneider
bey der Böh- an der Hellinge. A. & C. Im Jahr 1688.
Sind auch zu bekommen in Franckfurt bey Johannis Hollio.

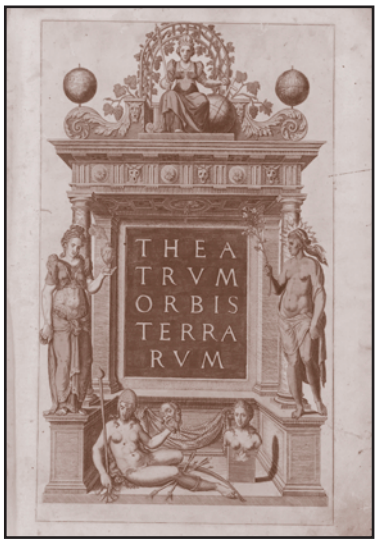
The German Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690) studied mathematics, medicine and law. In this work he describes events in Europe and elsewhere, and mentions the lands of the Croats. Five of his works are to be found in the Valvasor Library.

19. **Athanasius Kircher:** *Ars magna sciendi, in XII libros digesta, qua nova et universali methodo per artificiosum combinatiounum contextum de omni re proposita plurimis et prope infinitis rationibus disputari, omniumque summaria quaedam congnito comparari potest. … Amstelodami, Apud J. Jansonium à Waesberge et viduam E. Weyerstraet, 1669. 2° HDA M 9407-2°*

The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) studied mathematics and Hebrew, and later turned his attention to hieroglyphics and archaeology. Several of his works have been preserved in the Valvasor Library.


ARS MAGNA SCIENDI
sive
COMBINATORIA
AMSTELODAMI

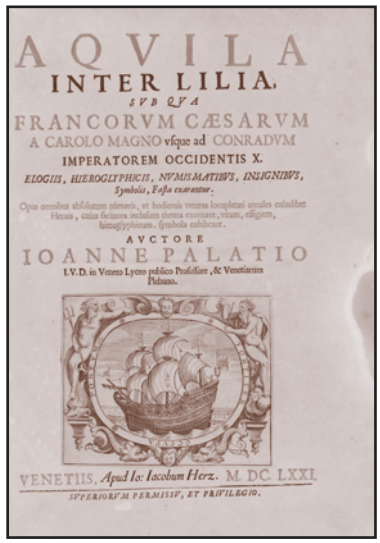
20. **Abraham Ortelius:** *Theatrum orbis terrarum ab Abrahamo Ortelio elaboratum. Francicsci Hogenbergi artificiose manui tabulae caelate sunt. Catalogus auctorum tabularum geographicarum… Antverpiae, Christophor Plantin, 1570. 2° HDA M 9425 – 2°*



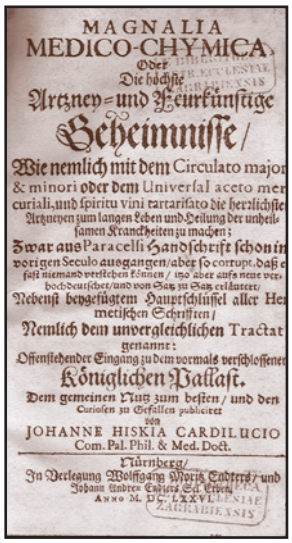
The Dutch geographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) is the author of a collection of maps of the world; this is the first edition, printed in the famed Plantin press in Antwerp; it contains a collection of maps of the lands of the Croats during the 16th century. The 1580 German edition of this work is also to be found in the Valvasor Library.



21. **Publius Ovidius Naso:** *Illustrissimo Dno Wolfgango Engelberto… has Ovidii Metamorphoseos icones d. d. c. q. devotissimus cliens loas Weichardus Valuasor. A. Trost f[ecit]. Wagensbergi, [Valvasor] 1680. 16° HDA M 5995-16°*
The Valvasor Library has five works of Ovid (43-18 BC), and this is one of the first that Valvasor had printed in his own printing factory in Wagensberg (Bogenšperg). Some of the prints are described in German and in Latin.



22. **Giovanni Palazzi:** *Aquilae Austriacae, in qua imperatores Austriaci ab Alberto II Honorifico usque ad Fernandum III. et IV. Occidentis imperatorem L. Elogiis, hieroglyphicis, numismatibus, insignibus, symbolis, imaginibus… et… historiarum serie exarati… Auctore Joan ne Palatio… Venetiis, Ex Typographia Andreae Poleti, sumptibus Auctoris, 1679. 2° HDA M 11521-2°*


MAGNALIA
MEDICO-CHYMICA,
Oder
Die höchste
Artzney- und Feurkünstige
Geheimnisse/
Wie nemlich mit dem Circulato majori
& minori oder dem Universal aceto mer
curiali, und spiritu vini tartarisato die herrlichste
Artzneyen zum langen Leben und Heilung der unheil-
samen Kranckheiten zu machen;
Zwar aus Paracelsi Handschrift schon in
vorigen Seculo ausgangen/aber so corrupt, daß e
faßt niemand verstehen können/ itzo aber aufs neue ver-
hochdeutschet/und von Satz zu Satz erläutert/
Nebenst beygefügtem Hauptschlüssel aller He
metischen Schrifften/
Nemlich dem unvergleichlichen Tractat
genannt:
Offenstehender Eingang zu dem vormals verschlossene
Königlichen Pallast.
Dem gemeinen Nutz zum besten/ und den
Curiosen zu Gefallen publiciret
von
JOHANNE HISKIA CARDILUCIO
Com. Pal. Phil. & Med. Doct.
Nürnberg/
In Verlegung Wolffgang Moritz Endters/ und
Johann Andreä Endters Sel. Erben/
Anno M. DC. LXXVI.

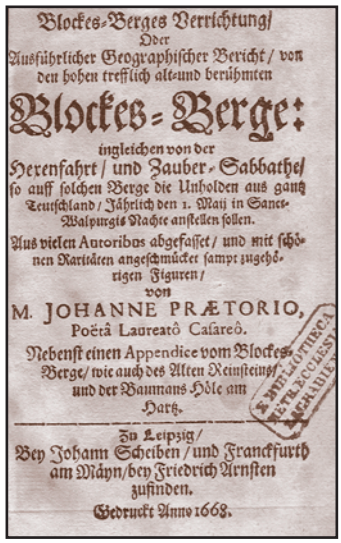
23. **Paracelsus:** *Magnalia medico-chymica, oder die höchste Artzney- und Feurkünstige Geheimnisse… Zwar aus Paracelsi ausgangen… itzo aber aufs neue verhochdeutschet und… erläutert. Nebenst… dem… Tractat genannt Offenstehender Eingang zu dem vormals verschlossenen Königlichen Pallast… publiciret von Johanne Hiskia Cardilucio… Nürnberg, In Verlegung Wolffgang Moritz Endters und Joh. A. Endters sel. Erben, 1676. 8° HDA M 7378-8°*

The Swiss-German physician, natural scientist and philosopher Paracelsus (Philipp Theophrast von Hohenheim, 1493–1541) applied a method of treatment based on observations in nature. In the Valvasor Library there are 5 of his works.

24. **Francesco Petrarca:** *Trostspiegel in Glück und Unglück [Orig.: De remediis utriusque fortunae] Francisci Petrarchae… Trostbücher von Rath, That und Artzney in Glück und Unglück … Auss dem Lateinischen… verteutscht und mit vielen … Figurren gezieret und in Truck von newem verfertiget … Franckfurt am Mayn, Getr. bey J. Bringers sel. Wittib, in Verlegung Vincentij Steinmayers, 1620. 4° HDA M 11740-4°*


Trostspiegel in Glück und Unglück/
Francisci
Petrarchæ
Deß Weitberühmten Hoch
gelehrten fürtrefflichen Poeten und Oratorn Trostbücher/
Von Rath/ That/ und Artzney in Glück und Unglück/ Nemblich/ wie
sich ein jeder vernünfftiger Mensch halten soll/ In seiner Widerwärtigkeit
nöhtigen/ Obligationen und Unglück/ Widerwärtigkeiten/
Angst und Noth zu ertragen seyn.
Allen ehrliebenden Regenten/ Personen/ Hausfrauen/ und jedermänniglichen
hoch und Standes sie seyn mögen/ zu Rath und Trost aus dem Lateinischen mit fleiß
vornewerdt/ und mit vielen schönen künstlichen Figuren gezieret/ und
in Truck von newem verfertiget.
Cum Gratia & Privilegio Imperiali.
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/ bey Johann Bringers
seligen/ Wittib/ in verlegung Vincentij Steinmayers.
ANNO M. DC. XX.

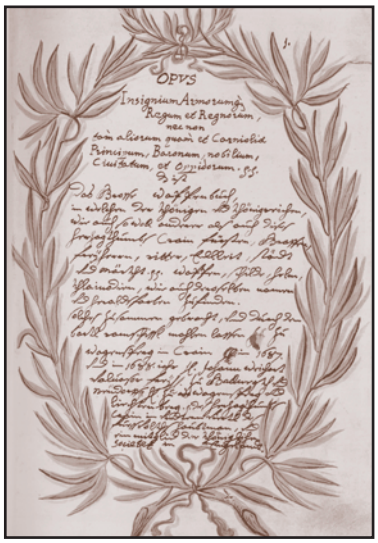
The Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) is represented in the Valvasor Library only by a German translation of one of his Latin works: *De remediis utriusque fortunae.*


Blockes-Berges Verrichtung/
Oder
Ausführlicher Geographischer Bericht/ von
den hohen trefflich alt- und berühmten
Blockes-Berge:
ingleichen von der
Hexenfahrt/ und Zauber-Sabbathe/
so auff solchen Berge die Unholden aus gantz
Teutschland/ Jährlich den 1. Maij in Sanct-
Walpurgis Nachte anstellen sollen.
Aus vielen Autoribus abgefasset/ und mit schö-
nen Raritäten angeschmücket sampt zugehö-
rigen Figuren/
von
M. JOHANNE PRÆTORIO,
Poëtâ Laureatô Cæsareô.
Nebenst einen Appendice vom Blockes-
Berge/ wie auch des Alten Reinsteins/
und der Baumans Höle am
Hartz.
Zu Leipzig/
Bey Johann Scheiben/ und Franckfurth
am Mäyn/ bey Friedrich Arnsten
zu finden.
Gedruckt Anno 1668.

25. **Johann Praetorius:** *Blockes-Berges Verrichtung, oder Ausführlicher Geographischer Bericht von… Blockes-Berge: ingleichen von der Hexenfahrt und Zauber-Sabbathe… Aus vielen Autoribus abgefasset… sampt zugehörigen Figuren von M. Johanne Praetorio… Nebens einen Appendice vom Blockes-Berge, wie auch des Alten Reinsteins und der Baumans Höle am Hartz. Zu Leipzig, Bey Johann Scheiben; und Franckfurth am Mayn, bey Friedrich Arnsten zu finden, gedr. 1668. 8° HDA M 5578-8°*

German writer and ethnographer Johann Praetorius (1630–1680) was particularly engaged in the study of magic and superstitions; there are a score of his works in the library.

26. **Jernej Ramschüssel:** *Opus insignium armorumque regum et regnorum nec non tam aliorum quam et Carnioliae principum, baronum, nobilium, civitatum et oppidorum. Das ist das grosse Wappenbuch… solches zusammen gebracht durch Johann Weichardt Valvasor und durch den Bartl Ramschissl mahlen lassen 1687–1688. Paper 19×30.7 cm, Goth. and Hum. cursive 17th century, bound in wooden boards covered with brown leather; the spine is decorated with floral ornaments and has a label with the inscription I. W. Valvasor. Insignia Carniolae. Both of the metal clasps have fallen off, and inside the front cover there is the Valvasor book plate. HDA MR 160*



The work has 2134 coats of arms of different towns, noblemen, dukes, kings and kingdoms and so on. Valvasor had some of them done according to report. The drawings were done by Jernej Ramschüssel (17th century). In 1993, a facsimile was produced in Ljubljana.



27. **Pavao Ritter Vitezović:** *Nova musa, sive Pars artificiosa operum poeticorum, {quae annuo ablegationis suae ad caesaream aulam tempore concinnabat} anni MDCLXXXII. [Sadr ava:] Grates pro gratiis. – Sacer chorus, seu Applausus metricus a Phoebo et musis celebratus. – Columna Ecclesiae. – Corona lauro-palmaris a Phoebo et musis connexa. – Pietas honorata. – Nova equestris imago cum alia equestri imagine. – Novus Skender-beg. Viennae Austriae, 1683. 8° HDA MR 11381-8°*

There are several works by Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713) in the Valvasor Library. Vitezović was a Croatian linguist, writer and printer. Vitezović learned the trade of printing in the workshop of Valvasor, a soldier of Péter Zrínyi. It was probably thanks to his agency that Bishop Mikulić bought the Valvasor Library.

28. **Gaspar Schott:** *Magia universalis naturae et artis, sive Recondita naturalium et artificialium rerum scientia… Opus quadripartitum. Singularium epitomen sequens praefatio obiter accuratius vero uniuscujusque peculiare praeloquium exponit. Cum figuris aeri incisis. Bambergae, Sumpt. Joh. M. Schönwetteri, [Pars 4.:] Herbipoli, Sumpt. Haeredum J. G. Schönwetteri, 1659–1677. 8° HDA M 12172-8°*


P. GASPARIS SCHOTTI
REGIS - CURIANI,
E SOCIETATE JESU,
Olim in Panormitano Siciliæ, nunc in Herbipolitano
Franconiæ Gymnasio ejusdem Societatis Jesu
Mathesios Professoris
MAGIA
UNIVERSALIS
NATURÆ ET ARTIS,
sive
Recondita Naturalium & Artificialium
rerum Scientia, cujus Ope per variam Applicationem
activorum cum passivis, admirandorum effectuum Spectacula,
abditarum ope inventionum Miracula ad varios humanæ vitæ
usus exurgunt,
OPVS QVADRIPARTITVM.
Continet
Pars I. OPTICA. | III. MATHEMATICA.
II. ACOUSTICA. | IV. PHYSICA.
Singularum Epitomen sequens Præfatio obiter, accuratius verò
uniuscujusque peculiare Prælogium exponit.
Cum Figuris Æri incisis,
Et Privilegio Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis.
BAMBERGÆ,
Sumpt. JOH. MARTINI SCHÖNWETTERI,
Bibliopolæ Francofurtensis.
M. DC. LXXVII.

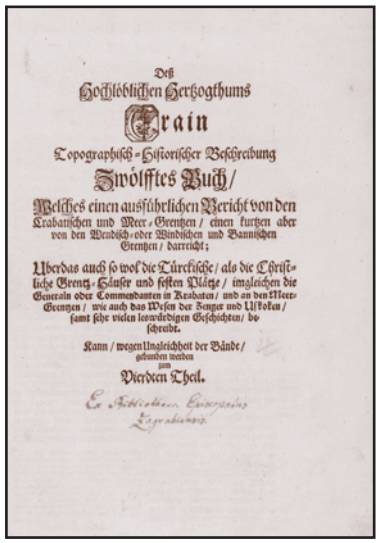
The German Jesuit Gaspar Schott (1608–1666) was a professor of moral theology and mathematics. Several of his works are kept in the Valvasor Library, while the second volume of the Magia is in the Parish Library in Pokupsko.

29. **Theatrum Europaeum,** *oder Aussführliche und warhafftige Beschreibung aller und jeder denckwürdiger Geschichten in Europa auch in den überigen Welt-Theilen so wol im Religion als Prophan-Wesen. Franckfurt am Main, [Theil 1, 3, 4, 5:] Verlegt durch M. Merian, [Theil 2, 10, 11:] Im Verlag M. Merian (C. Merian) und Th. M. Götzens sel. Erben, [Theil 6, 7, 8:] Auf Kosten meyl. M. Merians sel. Erben, 1635–1682. 4° HDA M 9322-4°*

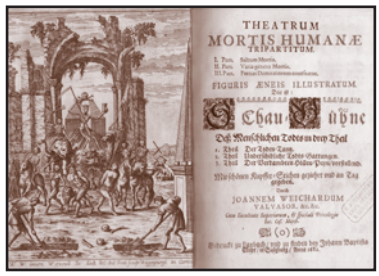


This is a kind of almanac that kept up with European events for decades, starting with the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 to the Peace of Požarevac in 1718. Twenty-one volumes came out, furnished with the engravings of Matthaeus Merian (1621–1687) and Eosander. They keep up with the events in Croatia too, and the great Dubrovnik earthquake of April 1667 is described. Eleven volumes of the almanac are to be found in the Valvasor Library.

30. **Janez Vajkard Valvasor:** *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain: Das ist… Belegen- und Beschaffenheit dieses… römisch-keyserlichen herzlichen Erblandes; anjetzo vermittelst… Erzehlung aller seiner Landschafften… und historisch-topographische Beschreibung in 15, wiewohl in 4 Haupt-Theile unterschiedenen Büchern wie auch häuffigen Abrissen und zierlichen Kupffer-Figuren ausgebreitet von Johann Weichard Valvasor… In reines Teutsch gebracht… mit Erklärungen erw. durch Erasmum Francisci … [Text in German and Latin] Laybach – Nuernberg, Zu finden bey W. M. Endter, Buchhändlern in Nürnberg, 1689. 2° HDA M 11249-2°*


Deß
Hochlöblichen Hertzogthums
Crain
Topographisch-Historischer Beschreibung
Zwölfftes Buch/
Welches einen ausführlichen Bericht von den Crabatischen und Meer-Grentzen / einen kurtzen aber von den Windisch- oder Windischen und Bannischen Grentzen / darreicht;
Uberdas auch so wol die Türckische / als die Christliche Grentz-Häuser und festen Plätze / imgleichen die Generals oder Commendanten in Kroabaten / und an den Meer-Grentzen / wie auch das Wesen der Zenger und Ulfoken / samt sehr vielen denckwürdigen Geschichten / beschreibt.
Kann / wegen Ungleichheit der Bände / gebunden werden
zum
Vierdten Theil.

Slovene polyhistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693) had his own printing house in Bogenšperg, near Litija in Slovenia. During his lifetime he collected a large library and more than 7000 prints. He wrote many works history. He sold his valuable library and his prints to the Bishop of Zagreb, Mikulić, using the money to complete his chef d'oeuvre *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain.* In the Valvasor Library in Zagreb there are five works that were printed in Bogenšperg.



31. **Janez Vajkard Valvasor:** *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum, figuris aeneis illustratum. Das ist Schau- Bühne des menschlichen Todts in 3 Theil, mit schönen Kupffer-Stichen geziehrt und an Tag gegeben durch Joannem Weichardum Valvasor etc. etc. [Text in Latin and German]. Laybach, Gedr. und zu finden bey Johann Baptista Mayr in Saltzburg, 1681–1682. 8°. HDA MR 6603-8°*



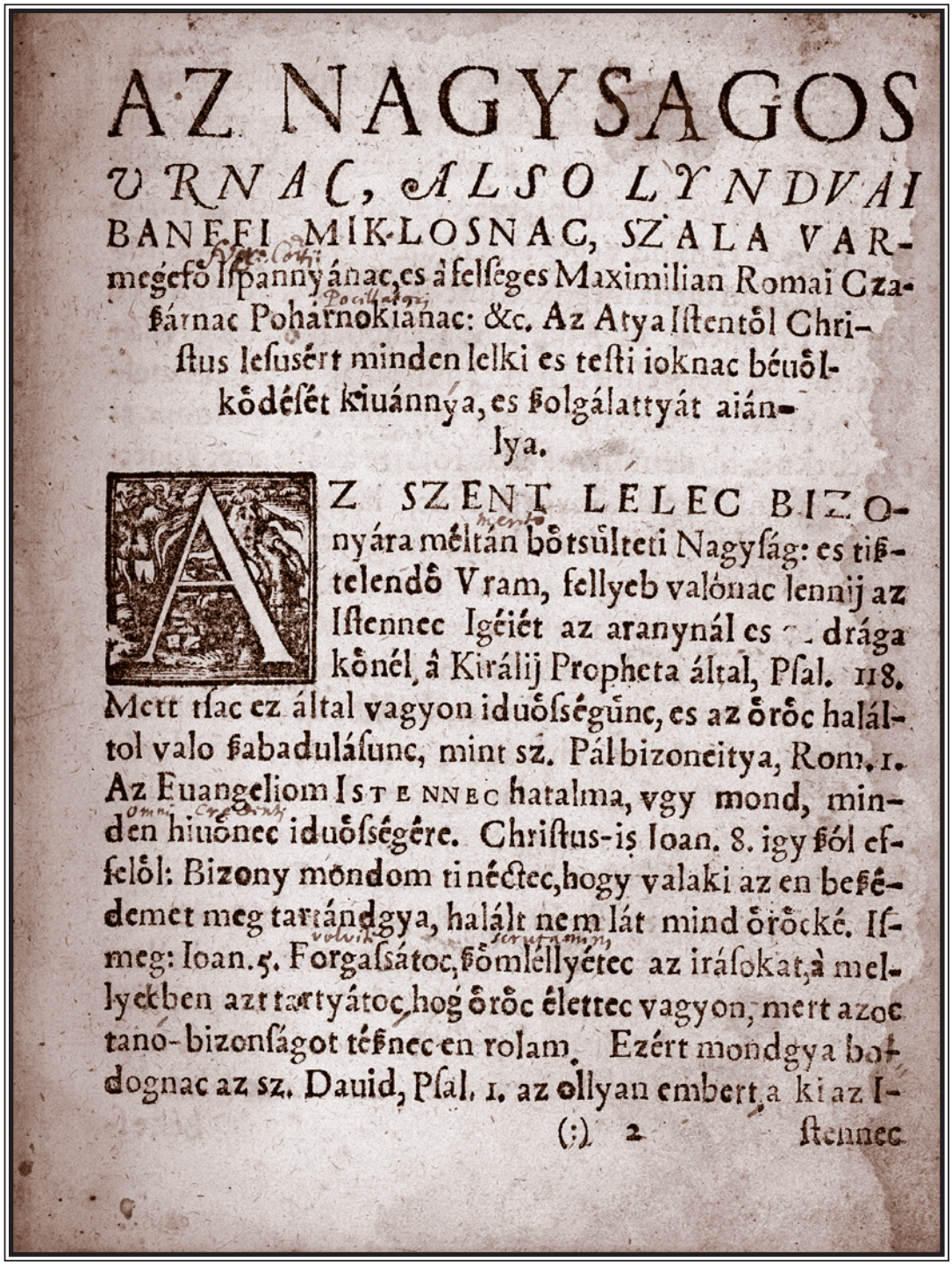
32. **Janez Vajkard Valvasor:** *Topographia archiducatus Carinthiae modernae, das ist: Contrafee aller Stätt, Märckht, Clöster undt Schlössen, wie sie anietzo stehen in dem Ertz-Hertzogthumb Khärndten, heervorgebracht zu Wagensperg in Crain im jahr 1681. … durch lohann Weichardt Valvasor {[Uz to:]} Pauli Ritter de Segnia ad archiducalem Carinthiae nympham de novo illustrissimi… domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor… Topographiae suae libro carmen. Zu Laybach, Gedr. bey Johann Baptista Mayr, 1681. 8° HDA M 11640-8°*

33. **Janez Vajkard Valvasor:** *Topographia arcium Lambergianarum, id est: Arces, castella et dominia in Carniolia habita ad vivum iconizata quae olim sedificabant, possidebant et partim ad praesens possident comites a Lamberg. Luci edita per loannem Weichardum Valvasor. Bagenspergi, 1679. 8° HDA M 11650-8°*





34. **Koran.** *16th century, paper, 302 ff., 28.5×12 cm, vocalised Arabic script, original binding in brown leather, complete text, containing all the chapters (shuras); inside the front cover there is Valvasor's book plate. HDA MR 32*



AZ NAGYSAGOS
VRNAC, ALSO LYNDVAI
BANFFI MIKLOSNAC, SZALA VAR-
megéfő Ispanny ánac, es á felséges Maximilian Romai Cza-
fárnac Poharnokiánac: &c. Az Atya Istentől Chri-
ſtus Iesusért minden lelki es testi ioknac béuől-
kődését kiuánnya, es ſolgálattyát aián-
lya.

AZ SZENT LELEC BIZO-
nyára méltán bőtsülteti Nagyság: es tiſz-
telendő Vram, fellyeb valónac lennij az
Istennec Igéiét az aranynál es [illegible] drága
kőnél, á Királij Prophéta által, Psal. 118.
Mert tsac ez által vagyon iduősségünc, es az őrőc halál-
tol valo ſabaduláſunc, mint sz. Pál bizonsitya, Rom. 1.
Az Euangeliom ISTENNEC hatalma, vgy mond, min-
den hiuönec iduősségére. Christus-is Ioan. 8. igy ſól ef-
felől: Bizony mondom tinéctec, hogy valaki az en beſé-
demet meg tartándgya, halált nem lát mind őrőcké. Is-
meg: Ioan. 5. Forgalsátoc, ſőmlellyétec az iráſokat, á mel-
lyekben azt tartyátoc, hog őrőc élettec vagyon, mert azoc
tanó-bizonſágot tésnec en rolam. Ezért mondgya bol-
dognac az sz. Dauid, Psal. 1. az ollyan embert, a ki az I-

(:) 2 ſtennec

György Kulcsár: Postilla, 1574. RMNy 334, OSZK RMK I 114 – Dedication to Miklós Bánffy

István Monok

THE BÁNFFY FAMILY'S COURT IN ALSÓLINDVA AND ITS BOOK CULTURE

The Protestant churches in the period of their establishment and consolidation in the Western part of Hungary owed a lot to the intermarrying and closely affiliated aristocratic families. This area calls for special attention from the point of view of church history because the organizational separation of Protestant churches did not start until the end of the 16th century and ended at the Synod of Csepreg (1612). In addition to the Zrínyis, the Nádasdy, Istvánffy, Batthyány, Thurzó and Révay families, it was up to the Bánffy family of Alsólindva to influence the changes in religion to keep it away from extremism while maintaining all the institutions of cultural life. Since there is no contemporary list left of the Bánffy library, their book culture can only be described through studying the history and the publications of the publishing house they patronized as well as examining the Protestant intellectual circle of their court.[1]

The ancestors of the Bánffy family arrived in Hungary in the 12th century. The family soon rose and members held important offices by the end of the 15th century.[2] The genealogy details the branches of (Alsó)Lindva and Bolondóc. In the Alsólindva branch the bearer of the highest office is János Bánffy who held the title of Palatine from 1530 up to his death in 1534. His son, István Bánffy (1522–1568)[3], Lord Chief Justice and the Chief Bailiff of Zala county (1560–1568) was Protestant. His grandson, Miklós Bánffy (1547–1593)[4], Supreme Cupbearer became a pillar for the Protestant church in the region. Similarly to other aristocratic families in Hungary, Kristóf, the head of the family (1577–1644) at the beginning of the 17th century who became Chief Bailiff of Somogy and Zala counties (1622–1643) while holding the position of Keeper of the Treasury and later Supreme Cupbearer, converted to Catholicism. Literature states that the conversion to Catholicism took place in 1598 when he called Simon Bratulich, a Paulian friar to his court[5]. In spite of the fact that Kristóf had 12 children from his two wives he survived all of them. With him the branch of Alsólindva died out.[6] Alsólindva was acquired for a short

1 The most useful publications for studying the history of the Bánffy family of Alsólindva are the following: Elek Séllyei: *Alsólindvai Bánffy nemzetség naplója*. In: *Tudománytár*, Új folyam 5. év. Kötet. Buda, 1841. 252–260., 321–325. (SÉLLYEI 1841); Sándor Horváth: *Alsólendva múltja és jelene*. Alsólendva, 1942. (HORVÁTH 1942); József Németh: *Lendva kulturális és irodalmi jelentősége*. In: *Naptár '87*. Murska Sobota, 1986; Béla Tantalics: *Lendva kulturális emlékei a 16. század második feléből. Kulturne znamenosti Lendave v drugi polovici 16. stoletja*. Zalaegerszeg, 1988. (TANTALICS 1998); György Kultsár: *Az halálra való készületről rövid tanóság*. Introduction by Tibor Fabiny. Bp., 1990. Ráday Gyűjtemény; Ferenc Tőke: *Spira doktor hitehagyása. Szigeti győzedelem*. Introduction by Ferenc Tőkei. Bp., 1996, Eötvös József Kiadó (Eötvös Klasszikusok, 9) (TŐKEI 1996); Lajos Bence: *A XVI. századi irodalom és nyomdászat*. Muratáj, 2000. 177–182; Ildikó Hubert: *Kulcsár György az alsólindvai prédikátor*. Lendva, 2001, Galéria-Múzeum Lendva (HUBERT 2001).

2 Iván Nagy: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel nemzedékrendi táblákkal*. I. kötet , Pest, 1857. 160–162. (reprint: Bp., 1987, Kossuth Kiadó; electronic edition (CD-ROM) Bp., 1999, Arcanum Kiadó).

3 Married to Magdolna Guthi Országh.

4 He was married to Orsolya Zrínyi. His daughter Anna became János Révay's wife.

5 HORVÁTH 1942. 36–41.

6 His first wife was Anna Mérey and the second was Ilona Draskovich. HORVÁTH 1942. 36.

period by Ferenc Nádasdy but after his decapitation and the confiscation of his property (1671) the Esterházy family took it over.[7] In the meantime the Bolondóc branch of the Bánffy family also died out with the death of the Protestant László Bánffy, Master of the Royal Horses and Lord High Commissioner (died in 1584) following the early deaths of his sons (1569–1579).[8]

Paul Eber's *Calendarium historicum* was published several times in Wittenberg and enjoyed popularity in Protestant circles. Many surviving copies show that, like the Bible, these were used to record important events in people's family life. István Bánffy who converted to Protestantism bought a copy published in 1551 and from then for generations events in their families and the ones close to them were recorded in it, often from memory. It became a source of information for the period between 1522 and 1617 for the study of this family and also for the age they lived in. Unfortunately the original is lost so only the text published in 1841 is known today. [9] Books from the Bánffy Library have also been lost but it is very likely that they must have possessed copies of the ones published in Alsólindva as well as the books dedicated to members of their family or written in their court.

In 1571 István Báthori prohibited the publication of Protestant books on his estates. This was the year when Rudolf Hoffhalter came of age and moved his press to Alsólindva, owned by Miklós Bánffy. In 1574 Hoffhalter was ordered to leave upon Maximilian II's decree and was taken in by György Zrínyi in Nedelic.[10] Four publications are known from the years in Alsólindva, of which three were teachings written by György Kulcsár, the minister at the court[11] while the fourth one was a chronicle of the victory at Szigetvár written by Ferenc Tőke. There is no copy left of this latter work.[12]

Most probably György Kulcsár was originally from Slavonia. His family fled the Turks and moved to the North to Zala, he himself to Northern Hungary.[13] He was appointed as schoolmaster (magister) in Miklós Bánffy's house on August 28, 1573. He, however, experienced his stay in Alsólindva as an "exile". The school he taught in must have been there since the 14th century as a parish building.[14] Four Protestant teachers preceded him there according to the diary of the Bánffy family: György Rácz of Orbona (from 1544?), András Zuhodolyi, Farkas Bakács of Szentgyörgyvölgy and István Beythe.[15] The latter was a teacher there between 1559 and 1564, then moved to Sárvár to the Nádasdy family for a short time. In 1565 he was called back to Alsólindva as a minister where he stayed until 1574 when he moved to Sopron and then to Németújvár.[16] His successor was György Kulcsár as a minister in Bánffy's court until his death in 1577.[17] Mention must also be made of Ferenc Tőke who lived in Alsólindva between 1553 and 1556. Whether he was a schoolmaster or a minister is not known[18] but he wrote two of his

7 HORVÁTH 1942. 36-41.

8 Pál died in 1576 and János in 1594.

9 SÉLLYEI 1841.

10 The most recent summaries based on Gedeon Borsa's fundamental study (*Rudolphus Hoffhalters Typographie in der gegend von Mur und Drau.* Vjesnik Bibliotekara Hrvatske, 1968. 26–34) are the following: Judit V. Ecsedy*: A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában 1473–1800.* Bp., 1999, Balassi Kiadó, 62–63., and Judit V. Ecsedy*: A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és díszei 1473–1600.* Bp., 2004. Balassi Kiadó (Hungariae Typographica I.) 91–98.

11 RMNy 319: *Az halálra való készöletröl rövid tanossag*; RMNy 320: *Az ördögnek a penitencia tarto bünössel valo vetekedeseröl*; RMNy 334: Postilla.

12 RMNy 321: *Historia obsidionis regiae, Sygeth.*

13 The most complete summary of his life with bibliography and translations in Slovenian and German: HUBERT 2001.

14 TANTALICS 1988. 15.

15 SÉLLYEI 1841., HOVÁTH 1942. 24–25.? TANTALICS 1988. 15.

16 ÚMIL 227. (Heltai János).

17 Apart from them the only known Protestant minister active in Alsólindva was János Gál, still at work in 1616. Cf. HORVÁTH 1942. 28.

18 TANTALICS 1988. 21–25.; TŐKEI 1996. (with complete bibliography).

books there. One of them was most probably published by the Hoffhalter press (*Historia obsidionis regiae Sygeth*),[19] while the other one (the story of Francesco Spira) came out as a part of Péter Bornemisza's hymn-book in 1582.[20]

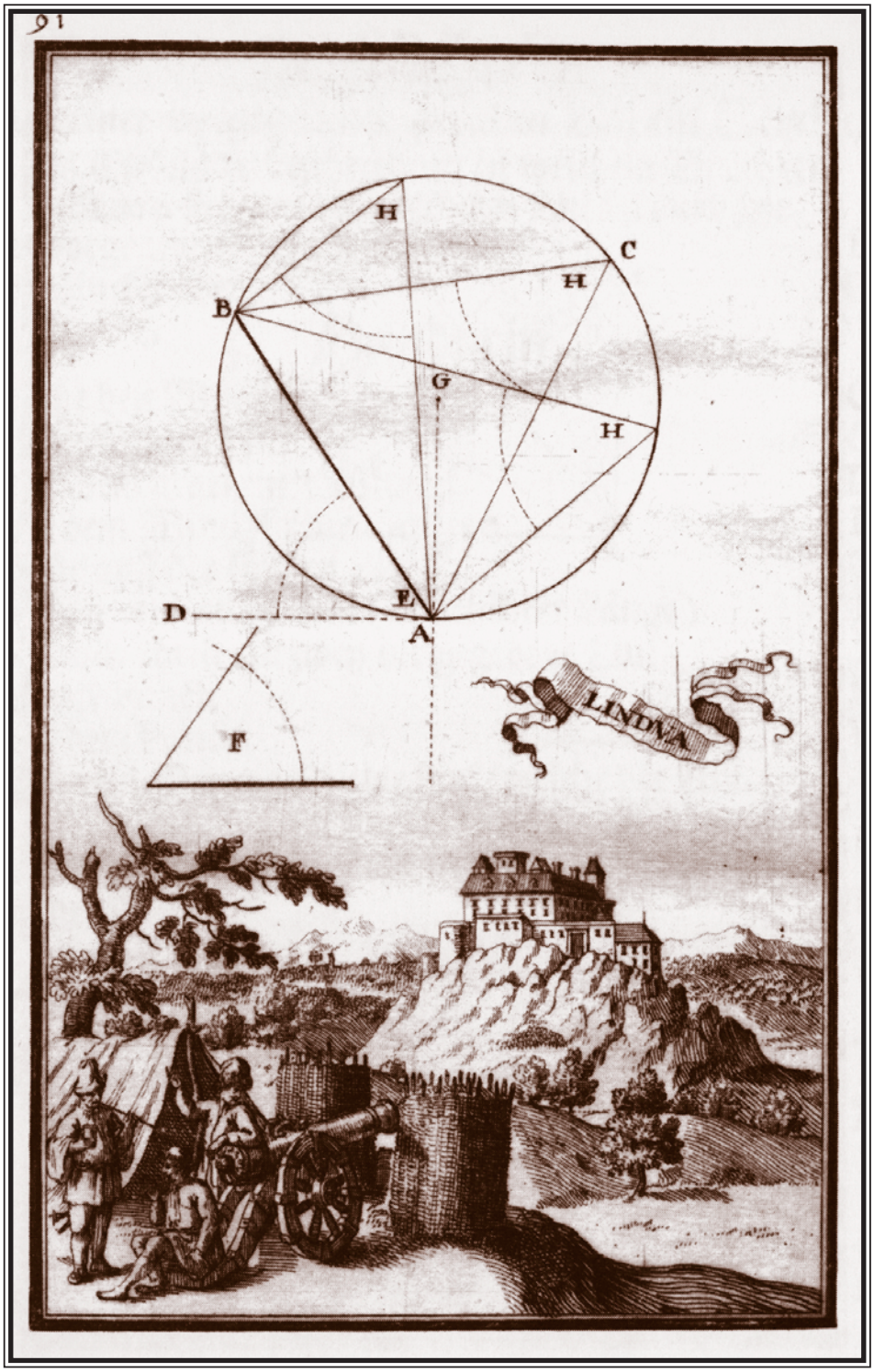
When listing the intellectuals living in Alsólindva mention must also be made of Gáspár Ráskai who visited the Bánffy family between 1551–1552. It is here he wrote his story of the brave Francesco and his wife (*Egy szép história az vitéz Fransiscoroul és az ő feleségéről*) which was later published in Debrecen in 1574.[21] Another intellectual who is thought to have stayed in Alsólindva is Nicholaus Mednienski who is also mentioned as "rector Beckoviensis" and secretary to László Bánffy in the collection entitled *Libellus exercitiorum poeseos scholasticorum* by the Lutheran teacher Valentius Mader of Trencsén.[22]

Apart from the above-mentioned books, the Bánffy Library must have had copies of the books dedicated to various members of the family. The relationship between the Bánffy family and Péter Bornemisza is also worth noting. Bornemisza mentions the support he received from László Bánffy and his wife Borbála Somy in the first part of his five-volume book (*Postilla*),[23] while he dedicated the second volume to them.[24] One of the first successes of the Fifteen Years' War was the battle at Gyurgyevó on October 30, 1595. Péter Pellérdi, the major-domo of Zsigmond Báthori, the Prince of Transylvania gave a description of this victory in a letter addressed to an aristocrat in Hungary. The letter was published in Németújvár in 1596 by the Joannes Manlius press dedicated to Kristóf Bánffy, the master of Alsólindva, the neighbouring castle.[25]

In every aristocratic court there were a number of 'familiares' and bailiffs in charge of directing the farms. The cultural pattern was laid down for them by the aristocratic family and they themselves bought books depending on their financial means and personal inclination. It was a good marker of the intellectual level of the aristocratic court if there were some literate bailiffs around the aristocratic family. Several examples can be cited, such as György Perneszith[26] or Ákos Csányi[27] at the Nádasdy court, or István Jóna[28] at György Zrínyi's court. Tamás Komlós of the village called Böde in Zala county was such a major-domo for László Bánffy. One of Komlós' books survived in the Franciscan library of Németújvár: Alexander de Villa Dei: *Doctrinale, cum commentariis Hermanni Torrentini*… Venetiis, 1519, printed by Petrus Lichtenstein for Urban Keym, a merchant of Buda.[29]

19 RMNy 321; TŐKEI 1996.
20 RMNy 513; TŐKEI 1996.
21 RMNy 344; TANTALICS 1988. 16-21.
22 RMNy 611.
23 Sempte, 1573 RMNy 333.
24 Sempte, 1574 RMNy 355.
25 RMNy 785.
26 His booklist from 1560: *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak, I: 1533–1657*. Ed.: András Varga. Bp.-Szeged, 1986 (ADATTÁR 13.) 13–14.
27 Sándor Őze: *500 magyar levél a XVI. századból. Csányi Ákos levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz 1549–1562*. I–II. kötet. Budapest, 1996, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum.; cf. Elemér Májusz: *A Nádasdy levéltár magyar levelei 1531–1549*. Levéltári Közlemények, 1923; Géza Istványi: *A magyar nyelvű írásbeliség kialakulása*. Budapest, 1934; László Papp*: Magyar nyelvű levelek és okiratok a XVI. századból*. Budapest, 1964. (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések.44.)
28 Of his 15 books cf.: *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya – History and Stock of the Bibliotheca Zriniana*, written and edited by Gábor Hausner, Tibor Klaniczay, Iván Kovács Sándor, István Monok, Géza Orlovszky, ed. Tibor Klaniczay. Budapest, 1992. Argumentum-Akadémiai Kiadó. (Zrínyi Könyvtár 4.)
29 Güssing, Franziskanerkloster 3/130

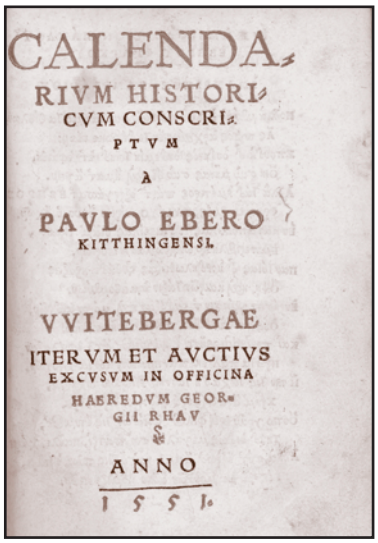
1.



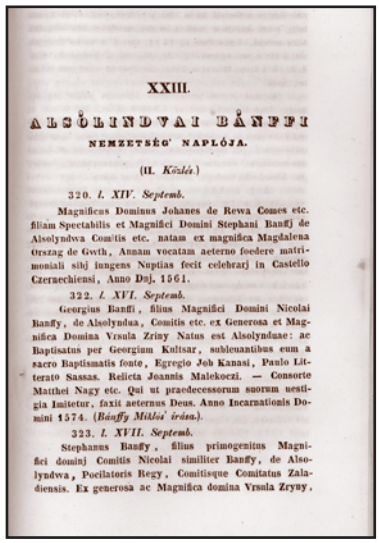
DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

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

2. Eber, Paul: *Calendarium historicum. Witebergae, in officina haeredum Georgii Rhau, 1551, 8°, OSZK Ant. 7557*


CALENDA-
RIVM HISTORI-
CVM CONSCRI-
PTVM
A
PAVLO EBERO
KITTHINGENSI.
VVITEBERGAE
ITERVM ET AVCTIVS
EXCVSVM IN OFFICINA
HAEREDVM GEOR-
GII RHAV
ANNO
1551.

Paul Eber, one of the classics of the Protestant philosophy of history at Wittenberg, published an almanac every year where lessons in history and teachings mingled with traditional elements of a calendar. Many copies of these almanacs served as album amicorum, Stammbuch or family diary. The members of the Bánffy family recorded the most important family events in an almanac published in 1551, some from memory often decades after the event had taken place. Unfortunately the original copy has been lost. First it was kept at the town parish in Légrád, then at the National Museum in Budapest.


XXIII.

ALSÓLINDVAI BÁNFFI
NEMZETSÉG' NAPLÓJA.

(II. *Közlés.*)

320. *l. XIV. Septemb.*

Magnificus Dominus Johanes de Rewa Comes etc. filiam Spectabilis et Magnifici Domini Stephani Banffj de Alsolyndwa Comitis etc. natam ex magnifica Magdalena Orszag de Gwth, Annam vocatam aeterno foedere matrimoniali sibj iungens Nuptias fecit celebrarj in Castello Czernechiensi, Anno Dnj. 1561.

322. *l. XVI. Septemb.*

Georgius Banffi, filius Magnifici Domini Nicolai Banffy, de Alsolyndua, Comitis etc. ex Generosa et Magnifica Domina Vrsula Zrinj Natus est Alsolyndnae: ac Baptisatus per Georgium Kultsar, subleuantibus eum a sacro Baptismatis fonte, Egregio Job Kanasi, Paulo Litterato Sassas. Relicta Joannis Malekoczi. — Consorte Matthei Nagy etc. Qui ut praedecessorum suorum uestigia Imitetur, faxit aeternus Deus. Anno Incarnationis Domini 1574. (*Bánffy Miklós' írása.*)

323. *l. XVII. Septemb.*

Stephanus Banffy, filius primogenitus Magnifici dominj Comitis Nicolai similiter Banffy, de Alsolyndwa, Poeilatoris Regy, Comitisque Comitatus Zaladiensis. Ex generosa ac Magnifica domina Vrsula Zrynyj.

3. Elek Séllyei: *Alsó-lindvai Bánffy nemzetség naplója. Tudománytár, 9. kötet, 1841. OSZK copy.* The original of the Bánffy family's diary is lost (See item 2) but the text is known through Elek Séllyei's publication.

4. György Kulcsár: *Az halálra valo készöletröl rövid tanossag … Lyndvae, Rudolf Hoffhalter, 1573, 8°, RMNy 319, OSZK RMK I. 96*


AZ HALAL-
RA VALO KESZÖ-
LETRÖL RÖVID TA-
NOSSAG: MELYBEN AZ
KÖRÖSZTIEN EMBERNEC,
acki az Istenorßágát akaria ke-
resni, életének rendi irat-
tatic meg.
AZ
Alsó Lindvai Kultsár György
Mester által à sent irásbol, es
tudos Doctoroc irásibol
fedettetett.
2. TIMOTH: 3.
Minden irás mely az Istentöl es az ö ihlétt
Szöböl vagion, haznos az tanitásra, meg fedés-
re, meg iobbitásra, es oktatásra, mely az igasság
ban lezön, Hogy az Istennec embere ép legyen
mindön Jele iö czelekö detökre kéßitetuén.

Lutheran meditations on the preparation for death. György Kulcsár was a Protestant teacher, and later a minister who dedicated this piece to *Nicolao Banfi de Alsolindva.* There is a chapter on eternal happiness and damnation at the end of the book addressed to the readers (*Ad lectorem*).


AZ ÓR=
DÖGNEC A PE-
NITENCIA TARTO
Bűnössel való vetekedéséről: es az kétségbe essés
ellen az Reménségről
való tanusság:
IRATTATOT:
Az
Alsó Linduai Kvltsar
Gyórgy Mester által.
LVC: 22.
Imé az Satan kézbe kiuánu titet: hogy meg rostállyon mint egy gabonát: de en könyörgéc erőttetőc, hogy meg ne fogiatkozzéc az ti hitetők:

5. **György Kulcsár:** *Az ördögnec a penitencia tarto bünössel valo vetekedéséről es az kétségbeesés ellen az reménségről valo tanusság. Also Linduán, Rudolf Hoffhalter, 1573, 8°, RMNy 320, OSZK RMK I. 97*

Lutheran meditations in the form of a dialogue between the tempter and the sinner. It is dedicated to the members of the Zrínyi family, György, Kristóf and Miklós. The book is a translation of Urbanus Rhegius's *Dialogus inter satanam et precatorem poenitentem*. Frankfurt am Main, 1545, published by Peter Braubach.

6. **György Kulcsár: Postilla,** *az az evangeliomoknac, mellieket esztendö által a kereszténec gyöleközetibe szoktac oluasni es hirdetni, prédicatio szerint valo magyarázattia … Also Lyndvan, Rudolf Hoffhalter, 1574, 4°, RMNy 334, OSZK RMK I. 114*

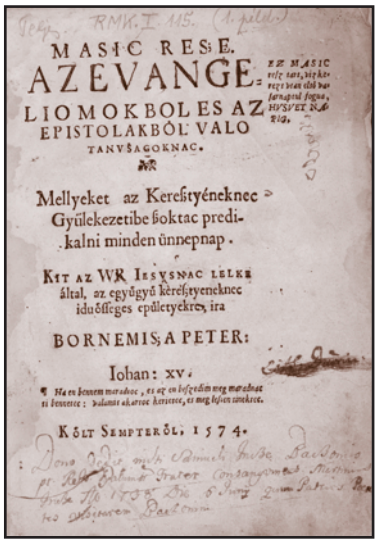

POSTILLA,
AZ AZ
EVANGELIOMOK
NAC, MELLIEKET ESZTEN-
dö általa kereſztyénec gyöleközetibe ſoktac oluaſnies hirdetni, Prédicatio ſerint valo Magyarázattia, az Régies Moſſani ſét irásbéli Doctorok-nac iráſokbol, irattatott
Az
Kultsár György, Alsó Lyndvai
Prédicator által. 1574
eſtendöben.

A Lutheran collection of sermons and commentary on the books of the Bible. The author dedicated his book to Miklós Bánffy. It enjoyed great popularity in the 16th century. New editions: Bártfa, 1579 (RMNy 426), and Bártfa, 1597 (RMNy 793).


EGY SZEP HISTO-
RIA AZ VITEZ FRANCISCO-
rul, es az ő Felesegeről.
M. ACADEMIA KÖNYVTÁRA
DEBRECEMBE,
Nyomtatattot Komlos Andras által.
Anno 1574.

7. **Gáspár Ráskai:** *Vitéz Francisco históriája. Debrecembe, 1574, Komlós András, 4°, RMNy 344, MTAK RMK I. 108*

Gáspár Ráskai was a nobleman, probably the son of the Chief Bailliff of Nógrád, Gáspár Ráskai (? –1526) who died at the battle of Mohács. Gáspár Ráskai, jr. lived at the Bánffys' court in Alsólindva between 1551 and 1552. It is here that he translated the romance of the brave Francisco (a courtly tale well-known in Europe) from Latin into Hungarian.


MASIC RESE.
AZ EVANGE-
LIOMOKBOL ES AZ
EPISTOLAKBÓL VALO
TANVSAGOKNAC.
Mellyeket az Keresztyéneknec
Gyülekezetibe soktac predi-
kalni minden ünnepnap.
KIT AZ WR IESVSNAC LELKE
által, az együgyü kereſztyeneknec
idueſſeges epületyekre, ira
BORNEMISA PETER:
Iohan: xv.
KÖLT SEMPTERÖL, 1574.

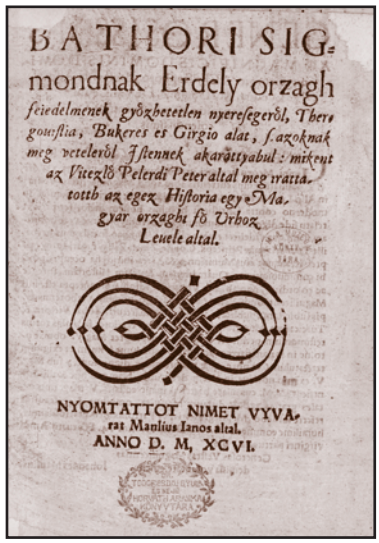
8. **Péter Bornemisza:** *Masic része az evangeliomokbol es az epistolakbol valo tanusagoknac … Sempte, 1574, typis Bornemisza, 4°, RMNy 355, OSZK RMK I. 115*

Péter Bornemisza (1535–1584), one of the most influential writers of the Lutheran church in Hungary in the 16th century, dedicated his epistles to Borbála Somi, the wife of László Bánffy de Alsólindva.


ENEKEC,
HAROM RENDBE: KV-
LÖMB KÜLÖMB FELEC.
I.
ELSÖBE: Röuid diczeretec vadnac. Kiknec ſzamoc CXCVIII. kic közzül ſoc, Predikatioc melle valoc.
II.
MASIKBA, Hoſzabbac vadnac: az ſzent Iras inteſi es magyarazati ſzerint. Kic Predikatioc gyarant oktatnac. Kiknec ſzamoc aproual elegy LX.
III.
HARMADIKBA: Az Biblianac ki valogatot fö fö XVIII Hiſtoriaibol valoc. Rendeltettec
BORNEMISZA PETER ALTAL.
PSALM: 103.
Aldgyatoc az VVrat minden ö feregi,
DETREKOE VARABA,
M D LXXXII.

9. **Enekek harom rendbe** … *Rendeltettec Bornemisza Peter altal. Detrekoe, 1582, typis Bornemisza, 4°, RMNy 513. Our copy is a facsimile.*

One of books of Ferenc Tőke who lived in the court of the Bánffys between 1553 and 1556. The history of Francesco Spira is known in Hungary only from this 16th century edition. Spira was an Italian scholar in jurisdiction who became a Protestant but later was forced to reconvert to Catholicism. God, however, punished him for his lack of steadfastness.


BATHORI SIG-
mondnak Erdely orzagh
feiedelmenek győzhetetlen nyerefegeröl, Ther-
gouiſtia, Bukares es Girgio alat, ſ. azoknak
meg veteleröl Iſtennek akaratyabul: mikent
az Vitezlö Pelerdi Peter altal meg iratta-
totth az egez Hiſtoria egy Ma-
gyar orzaghi fö Vrhoz
Leuele altal.
NYOMTATTOT NIMET VYVA-
rat Manlius Ianos altal.
ANNO D. M. XCVI.

10. **Péter Pellérdi:** *Bathori Sigmondnak, Erdely orzagh feiedelmenek győzhetetlen nyeresegeröl Thergouistia, Bukares es Girgio alat … historia … Nimet Vyvarat, 1596, Johannes Manlius, 4°, RMNy 785, OSZK Sztripszky I 1838/45*

Péter Pellérdi, Báthori's major-domo, gives an eye-witness account of the battle against the Turks at Gyurgyevó (October 30, 1595) in his historical epistle. The printer dedicated the book to Kristóf Bánffy.


Prima pars doctrinalis Alexandri cuz sen
VRBANI KEYM
LIBRARIE VDE

11. **Alexander de Villa Dei;** *Torrentinus, Hermannus, comm.: Doctrinale … Venetiis, 1519, Petrus Lichtenstein für Urban Keym in Buda. – Grammatica Venetiis, 1509, Petrus Lichtenstein für Johannes Pap (in Buda). 4° Güssing OFM 3/130*

It is characteristic of the intellectual level of the court in Alsólindva that the intendant of the court, Tamás Komlós of Böde in Zala county owned the collection which survived. Komlós's inscription: *"Suo Jure possidet me Thomas Komlos de Bewde … Prefectus Bonorum Magistri Domini Ladislai Banffy de Alsolyndwa"*



Ferenc Nádasdy, without date, OSZK App. M. 391 – copper engraving

Monok István

THE NÁDASDY COURTS IN SÁRVÁR AND POTTENDORFF AND THEIR BOOK CULTURE

In the first half of the 16th century a number of new families rose to aristocratic rank and, especially after the battle of Mohács which took a heavy toll on Hungarians, several of the illustrious medieval families died out in the male line or lost their importance in leading the country.

The ancestors of the Nádasdy family originate from the time of the Hungarian Conquest. The role they played then is proved by charters from the times of the Árpád Dynasty.[1] However, they did not achieve key positions in the country's life until Tamás Nádasdy married Orsolya Kanizsai. The Kanizsai family passed on their properties in the female line so the road to the highest positions opened up for Tamás Nádasdy with his legendary marriage for love. He became Major-domo (1532), Keeper of the Treasury (1536–1543), Croatian Ban (1537–1548), Lord Chief Justice (1543–1554) and Palatine (1554–1562). He had to assume the responsibility that went with these titles since organizing the defence against the Turks fell mainly to the Nádasdy family (their lands were situated on the borderline of the Turkish Empire). Tamás was appointed Captain General and his son Ferenc (1565–1604), "the Black Bég" named and feared by the Turks, became the Chief Bailiff of Vas and Sopron counties as well as the Chief Master of the Royal Horses and between 1598 and 1604 Captain General of Transdanubia.[2] His son, Pál (1598?–1633) also held the title of Captain General of Transdanubia while acquiring new ones such as Royal Supreme Chancellor and Councillor. In 1625 he was given the title of count. The family became very influential with his son, Ferenc (1623–1671) who was the Chief Bailiff of Vas, Zala, and Somogy counties, Royal Councillor, Supreme Major-domo and Lord Chief Justice from 1655 until his death. In 1671 he was charged with conspiracy against the king and executed after being stripped of his titles and possessions. The major part of his fortune was acquired by the Esterházy family. The family survived through his children[3] and relatives from the side branches of his family[4] and played an important part in expelling the Turks from Hungary as well as in reorganizing the Catholic church and the Hungarian cultural institutions in the 18th century.[5]

1 Iván Nagy: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel nemzékrendi táblákkal.* VII. kötet, Pest, 1860. 19–26. (reprint: Bp., 1987, Kossuth Kiadó; electronic edition (CD-ROM) Bp., 1999, Arcanum Kiadó), Zoltán Fallenbüchl*: Magyarország főméltósága.* Bp., 1988, Maecenas Kiadó, Fallenbüchl: *Állami (királyi és császári) tisztségviselők a 17. századi Magyarországon.* Bp., 2002, OSZK, Gondolat Kiadó, 207–208.

2 He was married to Erzsébet Báthory.

3 Ferenc, István, Flórián, Tamás, László, Erzsébet and Magdolna.

4 The only brother of his father Pál had died as a child while his sister Anna became the first wife of Miklós Zrínyi and his other sister, Kata married György Drugeth. Ferenc had only one sister (Anna Mária), who became a nun.

5 They established an important book collection in Léka at the beginning of the 18th century. They founded and financially supported a Servite nunnery in Vátszentkút and also donated them a significant collection of books (1764). However, in the 19th century the main family residence was Nádasdladány where they established their collections of legendary fame and riches which stayed there until World War II. At the end of the war the Soviet troops looted the residence and then the Hungarian communist regime nationalized the collections which even in torso added to the richness of several public collections.

Tamás Nádasdy was the first Protestant in the family. He belonged to the circle around Chancellor László Szalkai and was a friend of Miklós Oláh, historian and humanist, Archbishop of Esztergom while maintaining connection with several well-known figures of contemporary humanism (Ursinus Velinus, Georgius Logus, Jacobus Piso). Instead of the old castle of Léka,[6] and the fortress of Kanizsa which he acquired through his marriage and which was uncomfortable and dangerous as a residence, Tamás Nádasdy established his court in Sárvár for himself and his entourage.[7] The young ladies living in the court surrounding Orsolya Kanizsai learnt a number of social skills (conversation, dancing and table skills, etc.) and acquired practical knowledge concerning supervising the household and farming, especially gardening (caring for the flowers and plants, tending the vegetable garden and the fruit trees). The Protestant school established in Sárvár-Újsziget, the church and the parish – home to the new religion, Lutheranism – and the press founded in 1539 are all Hungarian cultural institutions which make the Nádasdy court outstanding among the contemporary aristocratic centres.[8] These institutions and the intelligentsia working there needed books, which were purchased by the aristocrat or his learned major-domo (such as György Perneszith, Ákos Csányi, Gábor Szentgyörgyi).[9] György Perneszith is worth mentioning since his will including a booklist of 62 items survived.[10] The description of the contents of his library may give an insight into the one in the court of the aristocrat Tamás Nádasdy.

Authors of the ancient world played an important part in his library. This phenomenon, widespread in the Carpathian Basin, is partly due to the fact that in a country where the official language was Latin classical reading were more popular and enjoyable than in others where these authors served only as a tool for language learning. Another reason may be that ancient ethical writings served as sources of ethical and moral knowledge for a long time since more modern treaties on ethics did not replace them. Books by the church fathers of early medieval and medieval times are present in great numbers in the collection while theological works can often be found although the confessional profile of the Perneszith collection is neutral. We can find Luther and Melanchthon – first of all the humanist writings of the latter – as well as Calvin. The library is not rich in books on cosmology and sciences although there are a few items of these. History is represented by chronicles, mainly of Hungary and the neighbouring regions. There is a total lack of modern studies on the theory of the state, on politics, philosophy, military strategies, or fortification.[11]

6 The list of all the movables of Léka Castle in 1533 also mentioned books: *Lesestoffe in Westungarn II. Forchtenstein (Fraknó), Eisenstadt (Kismarton), Güns (Kőszeg), Rust (Ruszt)*. Ed.: Tibor Grüll, Katalin Keveházi, Károly Kokas, István Monok, Péter Ötvös, Harald Prickler. Szeged, 1996, (*Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 18/2. – Burgenländische Forschungen.* Sonderband XV.) 200–201.

7 See the bibliographical summary of the numerous studies in the volume published after the last conference in memory of Tamás Nádasdy as well as in the János Sylvester Bibliography: *Nádasdy Tamás (1498–1562) emlékezete. 500 éve született Magyarország nádora.* Ed.: István Söptei. Sárvár, 1998 (SÖPTEI 1998); *Sylvester János bibliográfia.* by Lilla Piroska-Nagy. Introduction: Lajos Kuntár. Sárvár–Szombathely, 1987 (PIROSKA 1987)

8 About the Nádasdy courts see Ferenc Szakály: *A sárvári "provinciális humanista kör" és a reformáció kezdetei.* In: *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára.* Ed.: Ferenc Glatz. Budapest, 1993, MTA Történettudományi Intézet. 83–96.; Katalin Péter: *Nádasdy Tamás mecénási tevékenységéről.* In Katalin Péter*: Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból.* Budapest, 1995, (A Ráday gyűjtemény tanulmányai. 8.) 56–65.

9 The library list has not survived but some of the documents related to the purchase of books have. Cf: *Kultúrtörténeti szemelvények a Nádasdiak 1540–1550-es számadásaiból.* Ed.: Bernát L. Komorovicz, Erzsébet M. Kállai, Mária Belényesy, Alice Gádorján. Fasc. I–II. Bp., 1959, (Történeti és néprajzi füzetek, I.); Sándor Őze: *500 magyar levél a XVI. századból. Csányi Ákos levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz 1549–1562.* I–II. kötet. Budapest, 1996, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum; Elemér Mályusz*: A Nádasdy-levéltár magyar levelei 1531–1549.* Levéltári Közlemények, 1923.; Géza Istványi*: A magyar nyelvű írásbeliség kialakulása.* Budapest, 1934.; László Papp: *Magyar nyelvű levelek és okiratok a XVI. századból.* Budapest, 1964. (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések. 44.)

10 *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I.* (1533–1657). Ed.: András Varga. Bp.–Szeged, 1986*, (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 18/2.*) 12–14.

Compared to the Perneszith collection, the Nádasdy Library must have been richer in contents. Literature on medicine was by all means well represented there, since the family correspondence on their regular health problems is known as well as the fact that these problems were tended by Gáspár Szegedi Kőrösi, one of the leading doctors of contemporary Hungary.[12]

Phillipp Melanchthon recommended Mátyás Dévai Bíró (1500?–1545) to Tamás Nádasdy who became his patron.[13] Nádasdy supported Péter Mélius Juhász who later became the most influential Calvinist preacher, as well as the chronicler bard-minstrel Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos. The most well known scientist in the court was undoubtedly János Sylvester (1504? – 1552). His work defined the scholarly disputes on Hungarian literary language and grammar for centuries.[14] All four known books published by the press established in 1539 are his. The press was operated by Johannes Strutius (Strauss), and later by Benedek Abádi.[15] The first title published was his Grammatica Hungarolatina, then upon Nádasdy's request a bull by Paul III came out in Hungarian followed by a paraphrase of Genesis written in Hungarian verse.[16] Since no copies remained of these latter two, the first book printed in Hungary in Hungarian is Sylvester's major achievement, the complete translation of the New Testament published in 1541 and financed in full by Tamás Nádasdy.[17]

The Palatine's late son, Ferenc Nádasdy is mainly known in history as a soldier, although the literature emphasizes his thorough knowledge of modern military strategy, which he could not have acquired only through practice.[18] A number of contemporary publications appeared on his battles[19] – these must have been present in the library at Sárvár – while Elias Berger, the Court Chronicler dedicated a whole book to his military virtues.[20] The court of the "Black Lord or Bég" feared by the Turks did not lose its splendour after the death of his father, Tamás Nádasdy.[21] The baron participated at the theological and church organizational disputations taking place on his estate, as well as the Synod of Csepreg in 1591[22] where the followers of the Calvinist and the Lutheran confession decided to part and to build separate churches. Nádasdy himself stayed in the Lutheran church[23] and financed the studies of young men wishing to become ministers. These young men sent him

11 Cf. István Monok: *A 16. századi köznemesség műveltségéről*. In: SÖPTEI 1998. 105–115.

12 "*Szerelmes Orsikám…" A Nádasdyak és Szegedi Kőrös Gáspár levelezése*. Selected, edited and notes provided by Tivadar Vida, with epilogue written by Tamás Grynaeus. Bp., 1988, Szépirodalmi Kiadó

13 For the numerous works of literature see *Recommended Bibliography of Mátyás Dévai Bíró*, compiled by Ilona Bartók. Sárvár, 1989.

14 Besides the still useful bibliography (Balázs János: *Sylvester János és kora*. Bp., 1959) see Lilla Piroska's bibliography (PIROSKA 1987), and the more recent study by István Bartók: *Sylvester János elrejtett kincsei. Szempontok a Grammatica Hungarolatina új kiadásához*. Magyar Könyvszemle, 1998. 325–335.; Bartók*: A Nádasdy-mecenatúra hatása az irodalmi gondolkodásra*. In: SÖPTEI 1998. 117–130.

15 For a summary see Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában 1473–1800*. Bp., 1999, Balassi Kiadó (ECSEDY 1999), 37–40., and Judit V. Ecsedy: *A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és díszei 1473–1600*. Bp., 2004, Balassi Kiadó (Hungariae Typographica I.) (ECSEDY 2004) 44–52.

16 RMNy 39, 47, 49

17 RMNy 49. The first books in Hungarian were published in Cracow (1532 és 1533, the translation of Saint Paul's letters by Benedek Komjáti) and in Vienna (1536, Gábor Pesti's translation of the four gospels).

18 László Nagy: *Az erős fekete bég Nádasdy Ferenc*. Bp., 1987, Zrínyi Kiadó, (NAGY 1987) 235–274.; On the knowledge of the art of war in Hungary in this period, see: György Domokos–Gábor Hausner–László Veszprémy: *Eruditio militaris.* Iskolakultúra 1997/5. 40–47. (with bibliography)

19 A few of the works dedicated to him: Nicolaus Gabelmann, Padua, 1590 (RMK III. 5502), or his letters: RMK III. 5572, 7464, 7465 (Nürnberg, 1596); RMK III. 7482 (Frankfurt am M., 1600)

20 Prague, 1603 (RMK III. 1004)

21 NAGY 1987. 49–62.

22 About the synod see RMNy 653, and the foreign sources RMK III. 5517, 5518.

23 See the epilogue written by László Makkai: *Magyari István: Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól*. Ed. Tamás Katona. Bp., 1979, Magyar Helikon

their theses printed and dedicated to the magnate.[24] Assumptions can be made of his intellectual horizon based on the study of the books and knowledge of István Magyari (? – 1605), his court minister, since the minister must have used the library in Sárvár as source of his books.[25] The publications of the printing shop financed by Ferenc Nádasdy – which must have enriched the family library – were meant to serve the above-mentioned confessional disputations and the fight against the Catholic campaign lead by Péter Pázmány. Johannes Manlius operated the press in both Keresztúr (1599, 1601, 1603–1605) and Sárvár (1600, 1602).[26] Besides almanacs, he published a Lutheran Agenda (1598)[27] and articles of faith (1598),[28] as well as István Magyari's books (1602)[29]. With the support of Nádasdy the press played its part in the late humanist intellectual movements of the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. A Latin-Hungarian-German dictionary came out (Balázs Szikszai Fabricius, 1602)[30], as well as a number of translations of contemporary Lutheran theologians: Aegidius Hunnius (Tamás Esterházy, István Kürti, 1602)[31], Gottfried Rabe (János Fabricius, 1603)[32], Andreas Osiander (Mihály Zvonarics, 1603)[33]. Furthermore, it was in this press that most of the funeral poems and sermons written upon the death of the patron Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) were published.[34]

At his death, his son Pál was still a minor so the widow Erzsébet Báthory managed the family's business. In his will Nádasdy requested György Thurzó, the next Palatine to be the patron of his children and counted on the solicitous attention of György Drugeth of Homonna, the husband of his daughter, Kata. The guardian of his children, however, turned out to be Imre Megyeri, another relative of the Darabos branch of the family. The next generation of the Nádasdy family had strong ties to the Révay family (Pál married Judit Révay, while Erzsébet, Kata's daughter became the wife of László Révay), as well as to Miklós Zrínyi who married Anna, the sister of Pál and Kata. The history of the trial of Erzsébet Báthory charged with numerous murders and cruelty has still not been satisfactorily clarified, even less the influence it must have had on her son Pál.

No catalogue has survived of the Library in Sárvár from the times of Pál and Ferenc Nádasdy so new acquisitions can only be assumed per analogiam. Pál stayed Lutheran until his death, his most influential advisors were his two distinguished ministers, Mihály Zvonarics and István Lethenyei. He received exulant Protestants from abroad, such as Wolfgang Mangelburg and Gregor Gerber.[35] Pál Nádasdy financed the study of the above-mentioned Lethenyei. No wonder Lethenyei dedicated his books to him.[36] The disputations of four more students of Wittenberg appeared with dedications either to him or to his widow Judit Révay.[37] Pál Nádasdy was a patron of the emblematic volumes of one of the most interesting figures of Hungarian late humanism, Kristóf Lackner, Mayor of Sopron,

24 Imre Zvonarics, Wittenberg, 1601 (RMK III. 983); Gergely Czenki, Wittenberg, 1603 (RMK III. 5677)

25 Beside the study by Makkai mentioned in the last but one footnote see József Turóczi-Trostler*: Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól. Forrástanulmány Magyari István könyvéről.* In: Turóczi-Trostler: *Magyar irodalom – világirodalom.* I. kötet. Bp., 1961. 150–166.; Imre Bencze: *Magyari István sárvári prédikátor élete és munkái.* Bp., 1995, Evangélikus Országos Múzeum.

26 ECSEDY 1999. 72–73., ECSEDY 2004. 121–122.

27 RMNy 833

28 RMNy 834

29 RMNy 890, 913

30 RMNy 891

31 RMNy 888

32 RMNy 901

33 RMNy 902

34 RMNy 910 (Georg Hartlieb), 912 (Benedek Nagy), 913 (István Magyari), 914 (Joannes Ruland), 915 (a collection of panegyrics)

35 Cf. RMNy 1492, also 2027

36 RMNy 1027A, 1028; cf. RMK III. 1611

37 István Lossics (1614, RMK III. 1135), István Potyondi (1614, RMK III. 1140), Miklós Galgóczi (1619, RMK III. 1265), András Horváth (1637, RMK III. 1532, 1533)

both abroad (Frankfurt am M., 1617),[38] and in Hungary, in the press supported by the Nádasdy family.[39]

Even after the death of Ferenc Nádasdy (1604) the former Manlius press, whose printer was Imre Farkas at the time, operated in Keresztúr from 1608 to 1620 and later on in Pápa until 1643 when Ferenc Nádasdy, Pál's son converted to Catholicism and thus the press remained without a patron.[40] It was this press that published Pál Nádasdy's prayer book[41], a number of almanacs, and the Lutheran Agenda, while its most significant publications were the ones which concerned the most important issues in theology (the holy communion and Irenic theology) and politics. The partners participating in the disputation were Imre and Mihály Zvonarics, and István Lethenyei on the Lutheran side, János Kanizsai Pálffy and István Pathai on the Calvinist side and Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Esztergom representing the Catholics.[42]

Ferenc Nádasdy followed the tradition established by his great-grandfather in his household in Sárvár. Promoting the Lutheran church and its establishments[43] and being a patron of the contemporary humanist literature[44] were the most important aspects of his cultural policy. He announced his conversion to Catholicism at the synod of Csepreg in 1643[45], which meant that the Protestants of Western Hungary lost their last important patron, since Miklós Esterházy and Ádám Batthyány had already followed Péter Pázmány's call.

Despite the conflicts among the Catholic aristocrats at the head of the country at the middle of the 17th century, they were unanimous in their intention to define Hungary as a kingdom of the Habsburgs with a Christian church established independently from the Habsburgs with its own saints and heroes.

Nádasdy moved his household to Pottendorff.[46] He established presses both here and in Lorettom, another estate he had where he published books partly to satisfy the needs of the local Catholic communities (in Lorettom it was the Servites) and partly to publish his own book.[47] He widened the network of his court a great deal and became an active patron of literature and the arts while being a writer himself. His best known book entitled Mausoleum depicting the Hungarian kings in verse, rich in engravings, was first published in Nuremberg in 1644[48] and three years later also in Pottendorff.[49] He supported the publication of many books in Amsterdam, Vienna and Frankfurt-on-Main, of which the most important are the ones related to Hungarian history.[50] Péter Révay's still useful book on the Hungarian crown came out twice in 1659 in Frankfurt financed both times by Nádasdy.[51] He published two academic disputations on Saint Ladislaus, the Knight King and

38 RMK III. 1189
39 RMNy 1133
40 ECSEDY 1999. 103–104.
41 RMNy 1494
42 RMNy 1059, 1061, 1072, 1091, 1324, 1380, 1560, 1602.
43 RMNy 1637, 1991
44 Special mention should be made of his support for the work of David Frölich, mathematician and astronomer of Késmárk: RMNy 1680, 1758, 1820
45 RMNy 1990
46 A monograph by Noémi Viskolcz on the part the court in Pottendorff played in cultural history will be published soon. The present study is partly based on the findings of her still unpublished*: Nádasdy Ferenc pottendorffi udvara és könyvtára*. Bp., 2007, *(A Kárpát-medence koraújkori könyvtárai)* – in progress.
47 ECSEDY 1999. 137–138.
48 RMK III. 2254, Nóra Etényi: *A nürnbergi nyilvánosság és a Nádasdy Mausoleum*. In*: Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére.* Ed.: Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy, István György Tóth. Bp., 2002, MTA TTI (Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kötetek. 2.) 121-137.
49 RMK III. 2397
50 Here we will not provide a list of the occasional publications connected to the members of the Nádasdy family.
51 RMK III. 2058, 6387

the Miles Marianus[52]. Miklós Falusy wrote one of them (1648),[53] Ferenc Pakay the other (1667).[54]

On 3 September 1670 Ferenc Nádasdy was arrested and charged with conspiracy against the emperor and on 30 April 1671 he was executed in Wiener Neustadt.[55] Several people wished to acquire the Pottendorff Library of the baron who was sentenced to death and confiscation of property. The first selection was made for the Imperial Library although the books did not reach the Library in Vienna until 1678.[56] Another part was given to Paul Hocher von Hochengrün, Imperial High Chancellor while the rest was offered to the Servitan monastery in Lorettom. Out of this latter lot further books were selected for and taken to the emperor's library in 1678.[57] The old stock of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek was selected several times and the surplus items were sold while the books of the Servite monastery in Lorettom were transported to the University Library of Budapest in 1787 out of which stock many books were lost over the centuries. Thus the Nádasdy Library of Pottendorff containing more than 1000 books was scattered. So far less than 50 books have been discovered. The archival sources reveal a modern collection in many languages (Latin, German, Italian, French and Hungarian). Theological books still held an important position in the library but these were mainly written by contemporary authors. There were books on history, the modern theory of the state and politics, while numerous works of literature and art books enriched the collection. The books were lined up in thematic order on the shelves so we venture to say that it was the first library in Hungary where the intention was to create a treasury as well as establish a useful and diverse library.

52 The tradition of „Hungary as Mary's land" was revived in the second half of the 17th century and strengthened into a campaign in the 18th century.

53 RMK III. 1694

54 RMK III. 2384

55 The news of the execution and its official justification was reported in most European languages at the time.

56 ADATTÁR 13/2. 101–106.

57 ADATTÁR 13/4. (in progress)



Execution of Péter Zrínyi, Ferenc Nádasdy and Ferenc Frangepán, without date, OSZK App. M. 362, copper engraving

1.



DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. **Portrait of Tamás Nádasdy** *(Unknown painter, 16th century) Oil, canvas 226×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.8*



2. **Portrait of Orsolya Kanizsay** *(Unknown painter, 16th century) Oil, canvas 227×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.2*

3. **Biblia Sacra** *ad optima quaeque veteris, ut vocant, translationis exemplaria summa diligentia, parique fide castigata. Lugduni, 1558, Joannes Tornaesius. 8° University Library, Budapest, M 342*

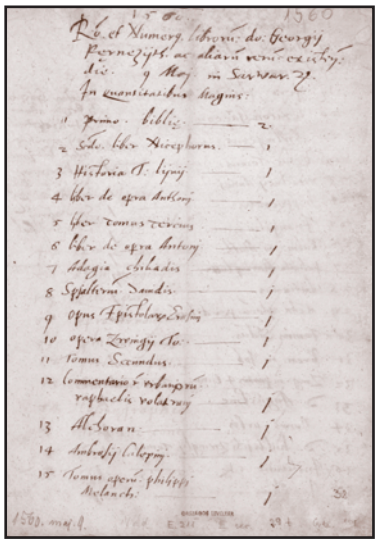


This book was owned by György Csirke who must have bought it either in Vienna or Wittenberg where he studied with and stayed in the home of Melanchthon. György Csirke returned to Hungary in 1560 and gave this book as a gift to Tamás Nádasdy's son, the young Ferenc. The book contains the dedication as well as the autograph notes of several professors of Wittenberg such as Georg Maior, Joachim Camerarius, Paul Eber and that of the Master, Philipp Melanchthon. See: Ágnes Ritoók Szalay: *Albani Csirke György, Melanchthon magyar tanítványa*. Diakónia, 1980/2. 15–21.; Katalin Keveházi: *Melanchthon-autográfok a történeti Magyarországon*. In: *Tanulmányok a lutheri reformáció történetéből*. Ed.: Tibor Fabiny. Bp., 1984. 165–180. II. 4.

4. **Sylvester János**, *transl.: Vy Testamentum magyar nyelwen … (Sárvár) Vyszigethben, 1541, Joannes Strutius, Abádi Benedek. 8° RMNy 49, OSZK RMK I. 15 and facsimile*



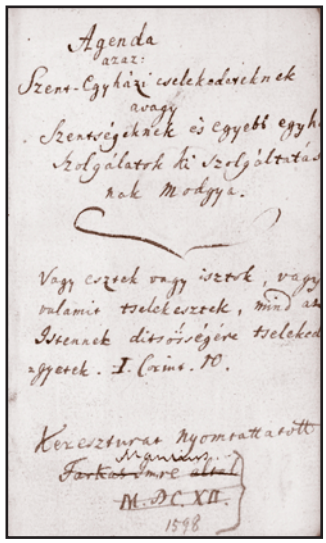
The publication of the first complete New Testament in Hungarian is connected to the book culture of the court in Sárvár. The translation followed the principles of Erasmus. One of Sylvester's main aims was to prove the expressiveness of the Hungarian language rather than serving the purposes of the Reformation. It is dedicated to Francis I, King of Hungary. The united coat of arms of Tamás Nádasdy and Orsolya Kanizsai can be found on the last page.



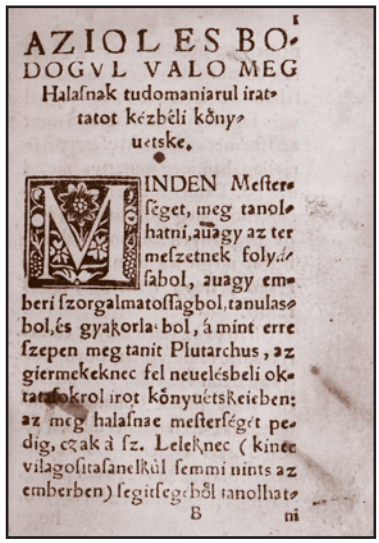
5. **The book list of György Perneszith** (?–1560) *Hungarian National Archives, E 211 Lymbus III. ser. 29. t. Nr. 6.; ADATTÁR 13. 12–14.*

Perneszith, the intendant in Sárvár often travelled to Vienna, Graz or perhaps even Venice to purchase goods (spices, stationery, cloth and tapestry, etc.). His book list suggests that he must have been a man of culture considering his status in society. His reading in humanism and the literature of the early Reformation is outstanding. This may have characterised the Nádasy court, too.

6. **Agenda,** *azaz szent-egyházi cselekedeteknek avagy szentségeknek és egyéb egyházi szolgálatok kiszolgálásának módja. Keresztur, 1598, Johann Manlius. 8° RMNy 833, OSZK RMK I. 433*



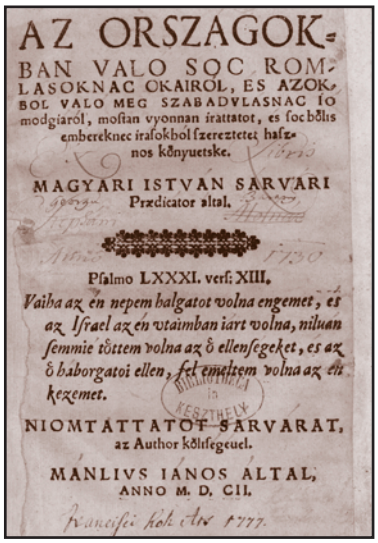
Lutheran Agenda used by the ministers residing on the Nádasdy estates and in the neighbourhood of Sopron. A reprint is known to have come out in 1620 from the print shop of Csepreg also financed by the Nádasdy family (RMNy 1221).



7. **Magyari István,** *transl.: Kezbeli könyuetske az iol es bodogul valo meg halasnac mesterségeröl. Mostan vyonnan Beust Ioachimnac irasabol magyarra fordittatot … Saruarat, 1600, Johannes Manlius. 8° RMNy 869, OSZK RMK I. 315*

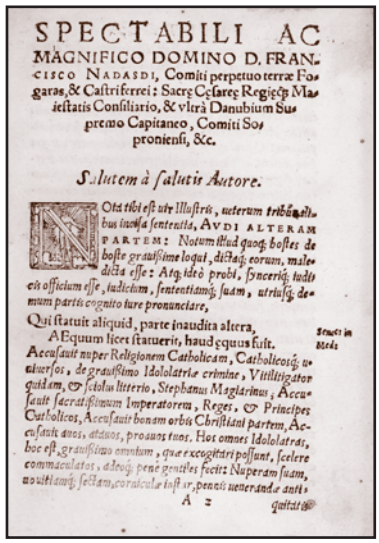
István Magyari (?–1605) was a minister in the Sárvár court. The fact of the translation indicates planned cultural activities and the Nádasdy Library must have had a copy of it: Joachum Beust: *Enchiridion de arte bene beatique moriendi.* Lipsiae, 1593, Johannes Beyer. Mihály Zvonarics (1570?–1625) also worked at the court and published Andreas Osiander's *Papa non papa, hoc est papae et papicolarum de praecipuis Christianae doctrinae partibus Lutherana confessio* (originally published in Tubingae in 1599 by Georg Gruppenbach) (RMNy 902) in Manlius's print shop in Keresztúr.

8. **István Magyari:** *Az országokban valo soc romlasoknac okairol, es azokbol valo meg szabadulasnac io modgiarol … hasznos könyuetske. Sarvarat, 1602, Johannes manlius. 4° RMNy 890, OSZK RMK I. 379*


AZ ORSZAGOK-
BAN VALO SOC ROM-
LASOKNAC OKAIROL, ES AZOK-
BOL VALO MEG SZABADVLASNAC IO
modgiarol, mostan vyonnan irattatot, es socbolis
embereknec irasokbol szereztetet hasz-
nos könyuetske.
MAGYARI ISTVAN SARVARI
Prædicator altal.
Psalmo LXXXI. vers: XIII.
Vaiha az én nepem halgatot volna engemet, es
az Israel az én vtaimban iart volna, niluan
semmie töttem volna az ö ellenségeket, es az
ö haborgatoi ellen, fel emeltem volna az en
kezemet.
NIOMTATTATOT SARVARAT,
az Author költségeuel.
MANLIVS IANOS ALTAL,
ANNO M. D. CII.

The book dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy is a disputation, following the premise of the historical school at Wittenberg: "the Turks as God's scourge" (Turca Dei flagellum). Magyari suggests to the magnates of the country a way of winning liberation from the Turks by staying faithful to true Lutheranism and by ceasing to live in sin and dissension. The leading figure of the Catholics, Péter Pázmány responded to this:

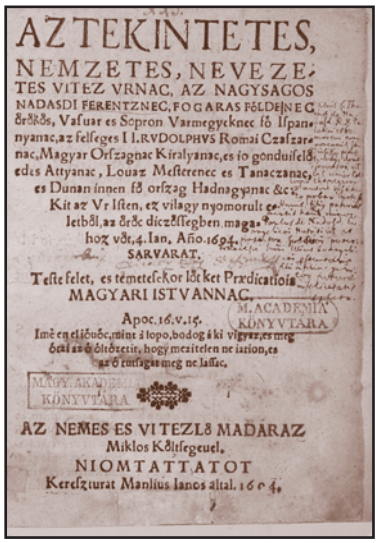
9. **Pázmány Péter:** *Felelet az Magiari Istvan sarvari praedicatornak az orzag romlasa okairul irt könieuere … Nagyszombatban, 1603, typis Capituli Strigoniensis. 4° RMNy 905, OSZK RMK I. 385*


SPECTABILI AC
MAGNIFICO DOMINO D. FRAN-
CISCO NADASDI, Comiti perpetuo terræ Fo-
garas, & Castriferrei: Sacræ Cæsareæ Regiæq; Ma-
iestatis Consiliario, & vltrà Danubium Su-
premo Capitaneo, Comiti So-
pronienſi, &c.
Salutem à ſalutis Autore.
Salutem in Christo
A 2

10. **Benedek Nagy:** *Naeniae … Kerezturini, 1604, Johannes Manlius. 4° RMNy 912, OSZK RMK II. 321*

Elegy for the death of Ferenc Nádasdy, "the Black Lord" in 1604:

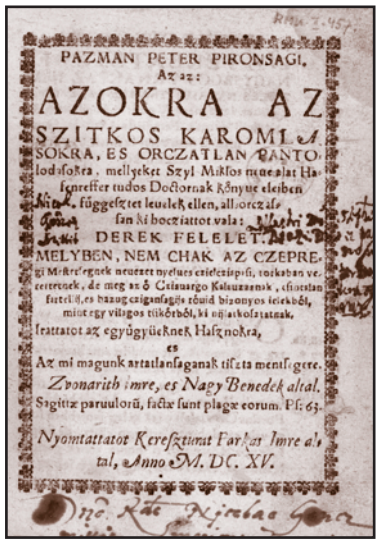

NÆNIÆ
VAS, INOBITVM
SPECTABILIS AC MAGNI-
DOMINI, DOMINI COMITIS
FRANCISCI DE NADASD PERPETVO TER-
rz Forgatas, nec non Commitatuum Castriferrei, & Soproni-
ensis Comitis, Agazonum Regalium in Hungaria Magistri
Sac: Cæs: Regiæq; Maiest: Consil: & partium Cis Danu-
bianarũ Generalis Capitanei, qui hoc anno currente,
1604 Ianuarij 4 die, inter 3. & 4 horas pomeri
placidè in Christo obdormiuit gratitudi-
nis & memoriæ ergò Lachrymis
rigauit,
BENEDICTVS NAGY,
Rector Nicopolitanus.
KEREZTVRINI,
IMPRESSVM TYPIS IOANNIS MANLII.
M. DC. IV.


AZ TEKINTETES,
NEMZETES, NEVEZE-
TES VITEZ VRNAC, AZ NAGYSAGOS
NADASDI FERENTZNEC, FOGARAS FÖLDJENEC
örökös, Vasuar es Sopron Varmegyeknec fö Ispa-
nyanac, az felseges I. I. RVDOLPHVS Romai Czaszar-
nac, Magyar Orszagnac Kiralyanac, es fö gondviselö
edes Attyanac, Louasz Mesterenec es Tanaczanac,
es Dunan innen fö orszag Hadnagyanac &c.
Kit az Vr Iſten, ez világy nyomorult ce-
letből, az örök dicsöſſegben maga-
hoz vött, 4. Ian. Anno 1604.
SARVARAT.
Teſte felet, es temetéſekor löttek Prædicatiok
MAGYARI ISTVANNAC.
Apoc. 16. v. 15.
Imè en eljövök, mint á tolvaj, boldog á ki vigyáz, es meg-
örzi az ö öltözetit, hogy mezitelen ne iarion, es
az ö futtsága meg ne lassac.
AZ NEMES ES VITEZLÖ MADARAZ
Miklos Költſegeuel.
NIOMTATTATOT
Kereſztúrat Manlius Ianos által. 1604.

11. István Magyari: *Az tekintetes … Nadasdi Ferencnek … teste felet es temetesekor lött ket praedikatio …. Kereszturat, 1604, Johannes Manlius. RMNy 913, MTAK*

Elegies in a number of languages were published in several print shops commemorating the death (on 4 January, 1604 in Sárvár) of the general known all over contemporary Europe. A few examples are shown:

12. Imre Zvonarics, Benedek Nagy: *Pazman Peter pironsagi, az az azokra az szitkos karomlasokra es orczatlan pantolodasokra, mellyeket Szyl Miklos neve alatt Hafenreffer tudos doctornak könyue eleiben függesztet leuelek ellene all-orczassan ki boczaittot vala, derek felelet … Kereszturat, 1615, Farkas Imre. 4° RMNy 1091, OSZK RMK I. 457.*


PAZMAN PETER PIRONSAGI,
Az az:
AZOKRA AZ
SZITKOS KAROMLA-
SOKRA, ES ORCZATLAN PANTO-
lodasokra, mellyeket Szyl Miklos neve alat Ha-
fenreffer tudos Doctornak Könyue eleiben
Nit. függesztet leuelek ellen, all orczás-
san ki boczaittot vala:
DEREK FELELET.
MELYBEN, NEM CHAK AZ CZEPRE-
gi Mitre'ognak neueztet nyelues czifcziposi, torkaban ve-
certeznek, de meg az ö Czimurgo Kuluzsaink, chiczlan
futtelli, es hazug czigansagiks tövid bizonyos feiekből,
miut egy világos tükörből, ki nyilatkoztatnak.
Irattatot az együgyüeknek Haſznokra,
es
Az mi magunk artatlanſaganak tiſzta menteſ gere.
Zvonarith imre, es Nagy Benedek által.
Sagittæ paruulorū, factæ ſunt plagæ eorum. Pſ: 63.
Nyomtattatot Kereſztúrat Farkas Imre al-
tal, Anno M. DC. XV.

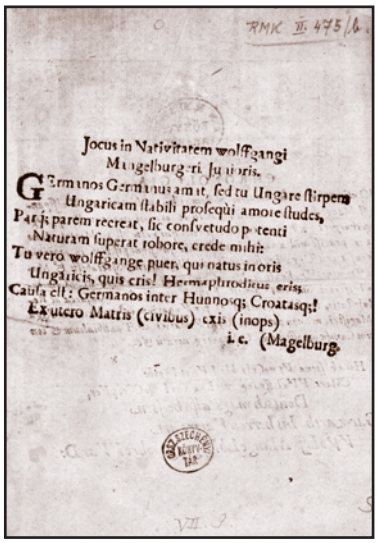
István Lethenyei (1580?–1643) and Imre Zvonarics (1575?–1721) ministers patronised by Pál Nádasdy were able to participate in serious disputations, with the help of the print shop of Csepreg, with Péter Pázmány, the best known figure among the Catholics. Among Pázmány's books, his *Kalauz* (Pozsony, 1613, RMNy 1059) and his writings attacking the Lutheran ministers active on the Nádasdy estates, especially *Csepregi mesterség* (Bécs, 1614, RMNy 1061) evoked strong responses. Zvonarics translated Matthias Haffenreffer's *Loci theologici, certo methodo ac ratione in tres libros tributi*. Tubingae, 1600, Georg Gruppenbach (Keresztur, 1614, RMNy 1072), and wrote *Pazman Peter pironsagi* in 1615.


DISPUTATIO LOGICA
TERTIA DECIMA.
De
ARGUMENTI DIA-
LECTICI INVENTIONE,
ET SEDE,
Quam in
Illuſtri Witebergenſi Academia
PRÆSIDE
Dn. IACOBO MARTINI,
Logices & Philoſophiæ Practicæ
Profeſſore publ.
proponit
STEPHANUS LOSSITS
CHAKTHORNIENSIS, SALADIENUS.
Ad diem 1. Maij, horis locoq; conſuetis.
WITTEBERGÆ,
Typis Iohannis Gormanni, Anno 1614.

13. István Csáktornyai Lossics, *resp.; Jacobus Martin, praes.: Disputatio logica … De argumenti dialectici inventione … Wittenberg, 1614, Johannes Gormann. 4° OSZK RMK III. 1135*

Lossics's patrons were Pál Nádasdy, the court minister Mihály Zvonarics and the teacher of the court Jakab Mockius. Pál Nádasdy financed the studies of numerous students abroad and seems to have been constantly active at church organization and in supporting the education of young ministers and teachers. Many of his alumni are known, such as István Potyondi (Wittenberg, 1614, RMK III. 1140), Miklós Galgóczi (Wittenberg, 1619, RMK III. 1265), and István Csáktornyai Lossics.

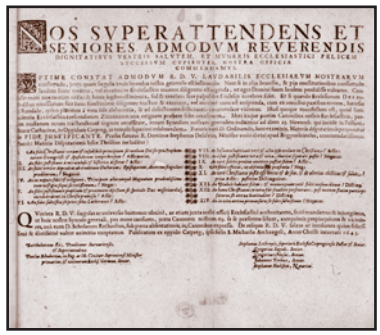
14. **Jocus in nativitatem** *Wolfgangi Mangelburgeri junioris. Csepreg, 1631–1632, Farkas Imre. OSZK RMNy 1492*



Similar to other Protestant magnates of Western Transdanubia, Pál Nádasdy received European refugees who were persecuted in their countries for their religious beliefs. One of these refugees was Wolfgang Mangelburger and his family who found asylum in Sopronkeresztúr, another was the Saxon Gregor Gerber who lived on Pál Nádasdy's estate in Porgelin from 1617 until 1620 when he left for Upper Hungary (RMNy 2027).

15. **Portrait of Ferenc Nádasdy** *(Unknown painter) Oil, canvas 228×131 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 53.5*





16. **Nos superattendens et seniores** *admodum reverendis dignitatibus vestris salutem et muneris ecclesiastici felicem successum cupiens nostra officia commendamus … synodum nostram generalem indicimus ad diem 25. Novembris, … in oppidum Csepreg … 1643. Csepreg, 1643, Farkas Imre. Fol. RMNy 1990, OSZK RMK II. 618/a*
Invitation to Lutheran Synod. The interesting feature of this publication is that it was at this synod that Ferenc Nádasdy announced his intention to reconvert to Catholicism.

17. **Atlas Maior**, *sive Cosmographia Blaviana, qua solum, salum, coelum accuratissime describuntur. Tom. 1-11. Amstelodami 1662, Labore et sumptibus Ioannis Blaeu. OSZK Map Collection TA 360/1-11*



The most beautiful and probably the most comprehensive cosmography of the 17th century was printed in Amsterdam, edited and financed by Joannes Blaeu. This huge undertaking was the crowning of the activities of not one person but the whole of the big Blaeu family's officina in the field of map printing. Similarly to other Dutch publishing houses, the map printing of the Blaeu officina was only in part the result of their own original map-making. Most of the maps they printed were based on the publications of other print shops. The large book in eleven volumes written in Latin, comprising 1000 different map sheets and other prints was preceded by the successive publications of an atlas which came out in different numbers of volumes. This huge atlas, in fact, is a snapshot of the knowledge of the 17th century. Joannes Blaeu dedicated the Latin version published in 1662 to Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Hungary. The title-pages feature the printing insignia of the Blaeu family the central motif of which is an armillary sphere, a tool of astronomers referring to Willem Jansszoon Blaeu, astronomer and instrument-maker, the founder of the officina. The majority of the surviving copies of this beautiful atlas were illuminated in the workshop of the officina, bound most often in white parchment adorned with gold. These luxury atlases must have been the jewels of any library. In the copy possessed by the National Széchényi Library there is a modern stamp from the 20th century referring to the fact that it probably belonged to Duke Esterházy's Library in Tata before entering the public collection. On the beautifully coloured pages of our copy there are hardly any stains so its former owners must have taken special care of it. Ferenc Nádasdy's Library also possessed a copy of this *Atlas maior.*

18. **Regni Hungariae** *nova et exactissima delineatio. Amstelodami, 1664, Joannes Blaeu, 49×47 cm, OSZK Map Collection TR 7 080*
Two years after the publication of the Latin *Atlas maior,* Joannes Blaeu came out with a new map of Hungary dedicated to the then Lord Chief Justice, Count Ferenc Nádasdy. In the dedication the printer calls Nádasdy his



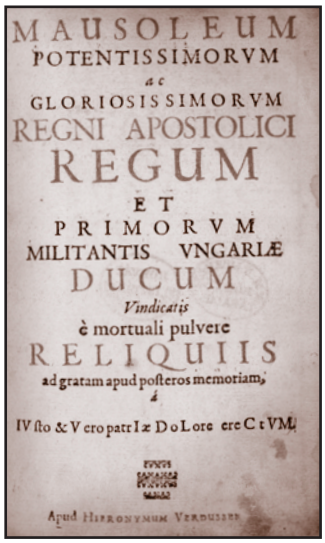
patron which makes us believe that the Lord Chief Justice and count must have been a highly esteemed client of the Blaeu Officina in Amsterdam. This map differed from the other contemporary maps of Hungary. Most researchers consider that Count Nádasdy must have been behind these changes. Their assumption is reinforced by the fact that most of the differences compared to former maps of Hungary happen to be regarding Transdanubia and the Western part of Hungary where the Lord Chief Justice had most of his estates. When carefully studying the differences between the earlier map of the Blaeu Officina and the one dedicated to Nádasdy it is easy to see a book containing new data as a source of the atlas which came out in 1664. This new source was Martin Stier's book entitled *Landkarten des Königreich Ungarn, und dennen andern angrantzenten Königreiche, Fürstenthumen, und Landschafften* …published in Vienna also in 1664. A recent researcher (Zoltán Fallenbüchl, OSZK Évkönyv, 1978. Bp., 1980. 357–389) assumes that the *Atlas maior* which belonged to Count Ferenc Nádasdy's Library and the special edition of the map of Hungary printed on parchment and dedicated to him must have been acquired by the Esterházy family. Duke Pál Esterházy was the brother-in-law of the Lord Chief Justice Count Ferenc Nádasdy and bought his confiscated estates and castles in Western Hungary along with all the properties there. This assumption is even further reinforced by the following two facts: first, this special edition of a map of Hungary printed on parchment can now be found among the archival material of the Duke Esterházy family in the National Archives of Hungary and second, that the *Atlas maior* in eleven volumes used to belong to the Tata branch of the Esterházy family.

19. **Nádasdy Ferenc,** *dedication; Nicolaus Avancini, verses in Latin, Sigmund van Birken, verses in German: Mausoleum … Regni Apostolici Regum et … Ungariae Ducum … Norimbergae, 1664, Michael et Joannes Fridericus Endtner. 2° RMK III. 2254, OSZK*


MAUSOLEUM
POTENTISSIMORUM
ac
GLORIOSISSIMORUM
REGNI APOSTOLICI
REGUM
&
PRIMORUM
MILITANTIS UNGARIAE
DUCUM
Vindicatis
è mortuali pulvere
RELIQUIIS
ad gratam apud posteros memoriam,
à
PIO ET IVSTO PATRIÆ DOLORE ERECTVM
Cum versione Operis Germanicâ
NORIMBERGÆ
Apud Michaëlem & Joannem Fridericum Endteros.

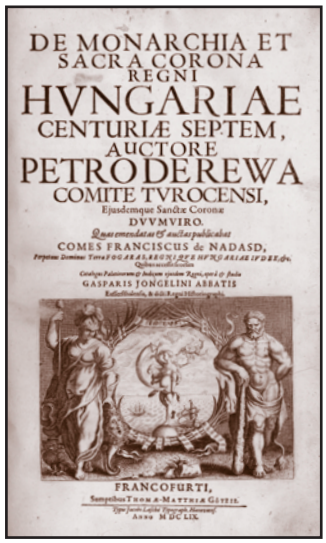
Nádasdy dedicated this book to the estates of Hungary. His intention was to promote the idea of the independent Hungarian Kingdom by introducing the kings and marshals of old times. He wrote a separate panegyric in Latin and German for each king and marshal.

20. **Nádasdy Ferenc,** *dedication; Nicolaus Avancini, verses in Latin, Sigmund van Birken, verses in German: Mausoleum … Regni Apostolici Regum et … Ungariae Ducum … Pottendorff, 1667, Hieronymus Verdussen. 8° RMK III. 2397, OSZK*


MAUSOLEUM
POTENTISSIMORUM
ac
GLORIOSISSIMORUM
REGNI APOSTOLICI
REGUM
ET
PRIMORUM
MILITANTIS VNGARIÆ
DUCUM
Vindicatis
è mortuali pulvere
RELIQUIIS
ad gratam apud posteros memoriam,
á
IVsto & Vero patrIæ DoLore ereCtVM,
Apud Hieronymum Verdussen

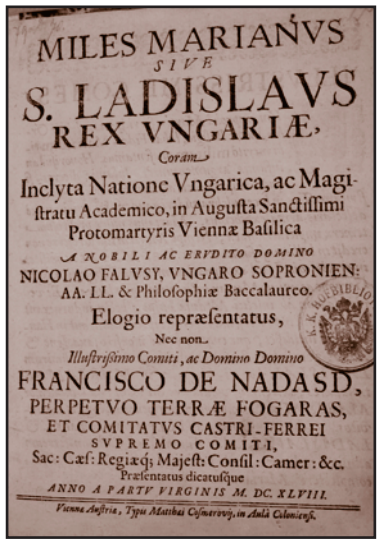
Nádasdy had the text of the Mausoleum published in Nuremberg reprinted in 1664 in the print shop established at his court (RMK III. 2254).

The idea of Hungary as a Christian kingdom independent from the Habsburgs was expressed in many ways. Péter Révay wrote a monograph of the Holy Crown, Melchior Inchofer outlined Hungarian church history and also revived the idea of "Hungary as Mary's Land", while others wrote dissertations on Saint Ladislaus, the Hungarian Saint Knight. All these publications were financed by Ferenc Nádasdy. Later Pál Esterházy also adhered to this idea.


DE MONARCHIA ET
SACRA CORONA
REGNI
HVNGARIAE
CENTURIÆ SEPTEM,
AUCTORE
PETRO DEREWA
COMITE TVROCENSI,
Ejusdemque Sanctæ Coronæ
DVVMVIRO.
COMES FRANCISCUS de NADASD,
GASPARIS JONGELINI ABBATIS
FRANCOFURTI,

21. **Péter Révay:** *De Monarchia et Sacra Corona Regni Hungariae centuriae septem … ejusdemque Sanctae Coronae dvvmviro, quas emendatas et auctas publicabat Comes Franciscus de Nadasd … Quibus accessit seorsim Catalogus Palatinorum et Iudicum ejusdem Regni, opera et studio Gasparis Jongelini … Francofurti, 1659, Jacobus Lasché. RMK III. 2058, OSZK.*

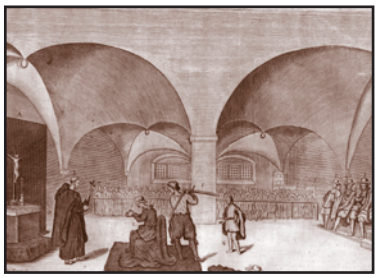
The publication of the book was financed by Ferenc Nádasdy. It was reprinted in the same print shop in the same year in a new edition (RMK III. 6387).


MILES MARIANVS
SIVE
S. LADISLAVS
REX VNGARIÆ,
Coram
Inclyta Natione Vngarica, ac Magistratu Academico, in Augusta Sanctissimi
Protomartyris Viennæ Basilica
A NOBILI AC ERVDITO DOMINO
NICOLAO FALVSY, VNGARO SOPRONIEN:
AA. LL. & Philosophiæ Baccalaureo.
Elogio repræsentatus,
Nec non
Illustrissimo Comiti, ac Domino Domino
FRANCISCO DE NADASD,
PERPETVO TERRÆ FOGARAS,
ET COMITATVS CASTRI-FERREI
SVPREMO COMITI,
Sac: Cæs: Regiæq; Majest: Consil: Camer: &c.
Præsentatus dicatusque
ANNO A PARTV VIRGINIS M. DC. XLVIII.
Viennæ Austriæ, Typis Matthæi Cosmerovij, in Aulâ Collegiatâ.

22. **Miklós Falusy:** *Miles Marianus, sive S. Ladislaus Rex Ungariae … Viennae Austriae, 1648, Matthaeus Cosmerovius. RMK III. 1694, ÖNB*

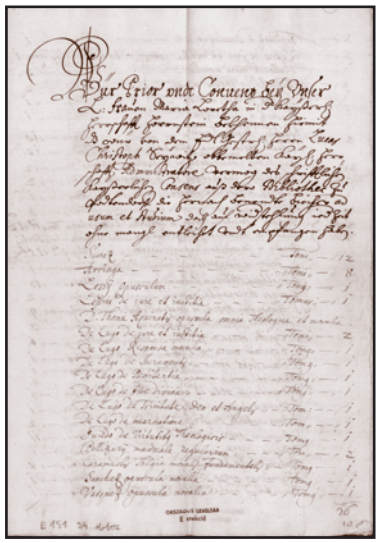
Miklós Falusy, a student in Sopron participated in a disputation in 1648 for his baccalaureate. He dedicated his thesis to Ferenc Nádasdy.

23. **The execution of Ferenc Nádasdy,** *1671. Copper engraving, 170×275 mm (C. Meysens) Vera et deducta descriptio criminalium processuum et secuti supplicii in tres reos comites Franciscum de Nadasd, Petrum a Zrin et Franciscum Christophorum Frangepani. Viennae Austriae, 1671, Matthaeus Cosmerovius. Fol. RMK III. 2550, OSZK*



Numerous books were published about the execution of Ferenc Nádasdy, Péter Zrínyi and Kristóf Frangepán in 1671 and 1672. These are, for the most part, publications of Habsburg propaganda justifying the execution.

24. **A part of Ferenc Nádasdy's confiscated library** *was taken to Lorettom, 1672–1673. Hungarian National Archives, E 150 Acta Ecclesiastica, Irregestata, 20 t. Nr. 2–3. Fasc. M.*
These booklists mention only a part of the books since another part was directly taken to Vienna to the Library of the Emperor while a third part was acquired by other families.

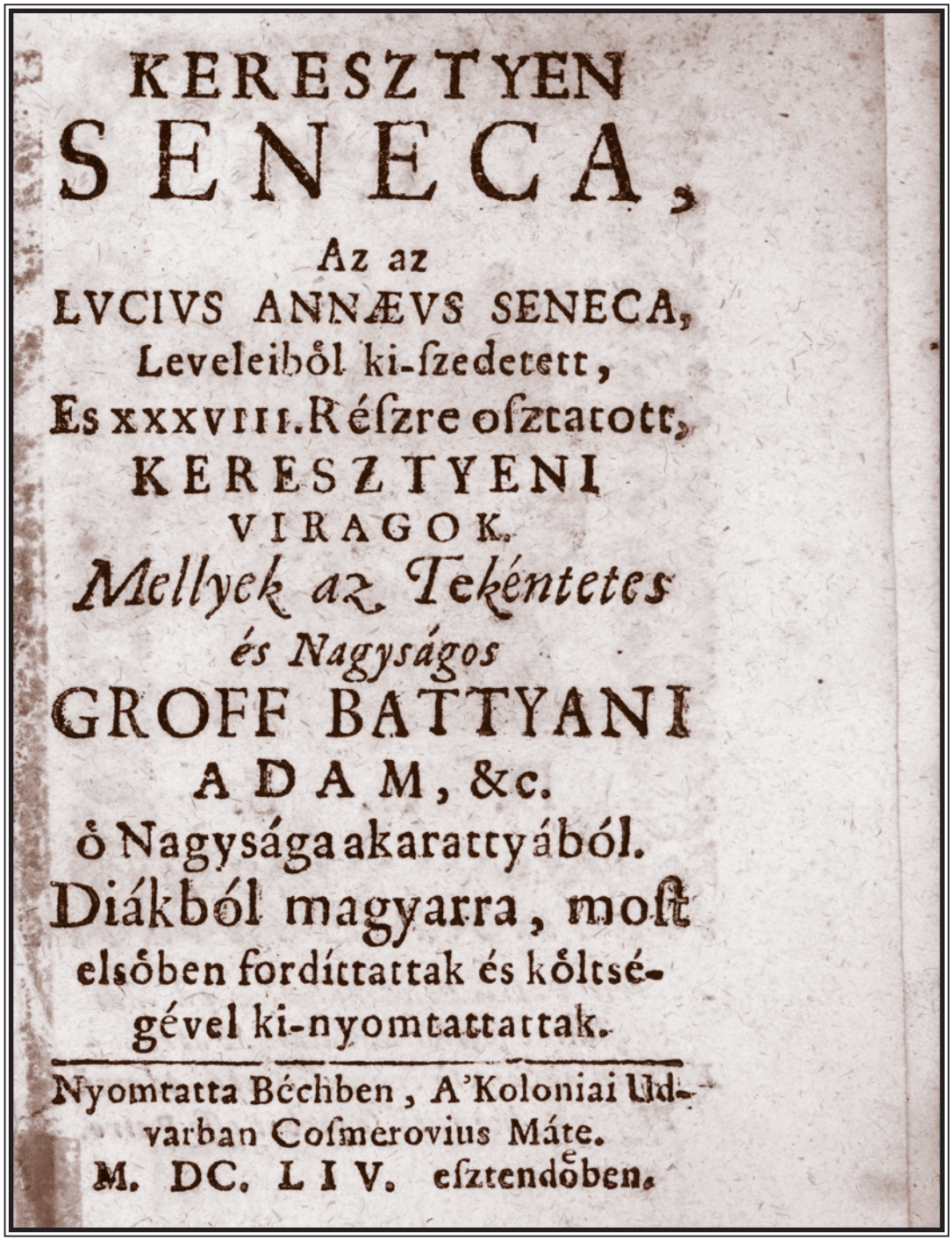




25. **Tariffa, über das Fein-Silber** … *durch Johann Haintzelmann … calculiert … Augsburg, 1622, Johann Ulrich Schönigk. University Library, Budapest, Bar. Ec 20*
This book deserves special attention since in other contemporary libraries we cannot find a manual on how to estimate the value of silver. The oldest known Nádasdy book plate survived in this book discovered by Gábor Farkas.


TARIFFA,
Vber das FeinSilber/
Darin gar bald
zusehen/wieviel Fein in jedem
Stuck Silber sich befinde/ das Stuck
wege gleich sovil als es jnner wölle/ vnd auff
was halt Feins/auch gleich die
Marck bestehe.
Durch
Johann Haintzelmann den Aleern/
Burgern/Schül- vnd Rechenmeistern in
Augspurg Calculiert.
Vnd inn Verlegung/
Jeremiæ Peffenhausers/auch Bur-
ger zu Augspurg/Welcher von der Röm.
Kan: May: gnädigste Bewilligung vnd Priuilegi.
um erhalten auffechen Jahr/diß/noch andere sei-
ne Werck nit nachzutrucken/bey grosser Straff/
Nach Inhalt Röm. Kay: May: wer-
fertigte vnd gesigelte Schreiben.
Gedruckt zu Augspurg/bey Johann Vlrich
Schönigk/ Jm Jar 1622.

26. **Ex libris Francisci de Nadasd,** *1646. OSZK 502 040*
This book plate commissioned by Ferenc Nádasdy in 1646 survived glued into a book of later date: Mátyás Bél: Apparatus ad historiam Hungariae … Posonii, 1735, Joannes Paulus Royer. It is possible that the old engravings still in the family's possession were customarily used by later generations as a mark of ownership. Noémi Viskolcz's discovery.



KERESZTYEN
SENECA,
Az az
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
Leveleiből ki-ſzedetett,
Es XXXVIII. Réſzre oſztatott,
KERESZTYENI
VIRAGOK.
Mellyek az Tekéntetes
és Nagyságos
GROFF BATTYANI
ADAM, &c.
ő Nagysága akarattyából.
Diákból magyarra, moſt
elsőben fordíttattak és kőltsé-
gével ki-nyomtattattak.

Nyomtatta Béchben, A'Koloniai Ud-
varban Coſmerovius Máte.
M. DC. LIV. eſztendőben.

Sámuel Kéri transl.: Keresztyen Seneca..., 1654. RMNy 2510, OSZK RMK I 882
Sámuel Kéri translated this work at Ádám Batthyány's request.

István Monok

THE BATTHYÁNY COURT IN NÉMETÚJVÁR AND ITS BOOK CULTURE

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

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

This present exhibition will focus on the book culture of three generations of this family. Boldizsár Batthyány (1537–1590)[2] became Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia from 1568 on. His son, Ferenc (1573–1625)[3] was Master of the Royal Horses, Chief Bailiff of Sopron county, Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia while his grandson, Ádám (1610–1659)[4] held the title of Chancellor of the Emperor, the King's Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of Transdanubia.

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

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

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

2 His wife was Dorottya Zrínyi.

3 Married to Eva Poppel Lobkowitz.

4 His wives were Aurora Formentini and then Catharina Wittmann.

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

cided in 1629 to convert to Catholicism and in 1640 he invited Franciscan friars to Németújvár.[6]

A number of prominent figures visited Németújvár, stayed or settled down there for shorter or longer periods[7] due to several factors: the changes in the Batthyány family's religious views, the locality of the Batthyány property – situated at the border of the Austrian hereditary provinces, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Turkish Empire – and most of all Boldizsár's intellectual openness[8], and the entourage accompanying Ferenc and Ádám's brides. The Protestant school supported by Boldizsár and Ferenc, the press and Ádám's "court school" were all attractive institutions for the contemporaries.[9] Given the tight framework of the present study it is impossible to give a complete list of all these persons but the most prominent ones should be mentioned. Among the Protestant ministers István Beythe, István Pathai, and János Pálffy of Kanizsa[10] are outstanding but a number of exulants from Styria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Pfalz, Wurttemberg and Bavaria who were employed on the estates should not be forgotten either.[11] Many of them donated books to the family and the school's libraries.[12] With Ádám Batthyány's conversion to Catholicism a new network was built around the court. Among the Catholic ecclesiastics residing in Németújvár the Jesuit Mátyás Vernich, the parish priest Mihály Lónyi and the Franciscan friars Antal Nagy, Sámuel Kéri and Gergely Malonfalvay deserve mentioning. It is to be noted that the modernity of Ádám's court and the education of his sons (Kristóf and Pál) was noticed by foreign contemporaries.[13]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 RMNy 535, and RMNy 811

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ferenc Batthyány and his widow stood by the Protestant church of Western Hungary in the midst of growing Catholic attacks while it was dividing into two churches. The disputes between Lutheran and Calvinist priests became the strongest when Ádám Batthyány converted to Catholicism and withdrew his support from the Protestants.[29] Ferenc Batthyány was well aware of the need to establish a press for the church he was supporting and that is why he bought, on advice from János Kanizsai Pálffy, the Viennese Johann Fidler's press in 1615.[30] Between 1617 and 1619 Máté Szepesváraljai Bernhard was the printer when four publications are known to have appeared although a copy of only one, István Pathai's introduction to the Helvetian Confession has survived.[31] The publications are definitely Calvinist in nature (the press was supervised by Imre Beythe, István Beythe's son). The next publications came out in Pápa in 1624 where the press stayed until 1632. In 1626 Éva Poppel, the widow of Ferenc Batthyány rented the press to János Zsigmond Wechel (this is the way the name of the printer as lessee is put on the publications). Wechel was a descendant of André Wechel, the Huguenot printer from Frankfurt and the younger brother of Andreas Wechel, the Viennese bookseller who visited Ferenc Batthyány's court in Németújvár.[32] The Wechel family had been in touch with the Hungarian Protestant family ever since Boldizsár Batthyány's stay in Paris so it is no coincidence that Albert Szenci Molnár's translation of Calvin's *Institutio* was published by the successful printing house of the Wechel family in Hanau.[33] Fifteen of the books published by the press in Pápa are known, including writings of important Calvinist authors as well as almanacs and school readers. Among the authors whose books were published in the press, it is worth mentioning the name of János Samarjai who was the most significant Hungarian representative of Irenism, the tolerant theological trend of the time.[34] The press was out of use in Németújvár in 1634 which means that Ádám who converted to Catholicism must have removed it from Pápa. Later on the press was owned by the Protestants (most probably owing to Éva Poppel, Ferenc Batthyány's widow) and was used by Wechel in Tejfalu between 1637 and 1645. His son, András took it over in 1650 in Somorja and later on in Kőszeg (1651–1668?).[35]

28 Cf. Note 8 in MONOK 2004.

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

30 ECSEDY 1999. 105-109.

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

32 EVANS 1975.

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

34 KATHONA 1939.

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

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

Ádám Batthyány was still a minor at his father's death so he could exercise his property rights over his estates only with limitations. His childhood was burdened with the bad relationship he had with his mother, which was even further complicated by his conversion to Catholicism.[38] Like other aristocratic young boys of his generation, Ádám read traditional theological works, chronicles and legal books while contemporary modern history as well as literature in military strategy and fortification also appear in his library. Following in his father's footsteps in paying attention to Hungarian culture, he purchased a large number of Hungarian publications (the proportion of Hungarian books on his book lists is well over the contemporary average). His activity as a patron supporting Hungarian-language Catholic literature and the publication of occasional issues is also significant.[39]

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

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

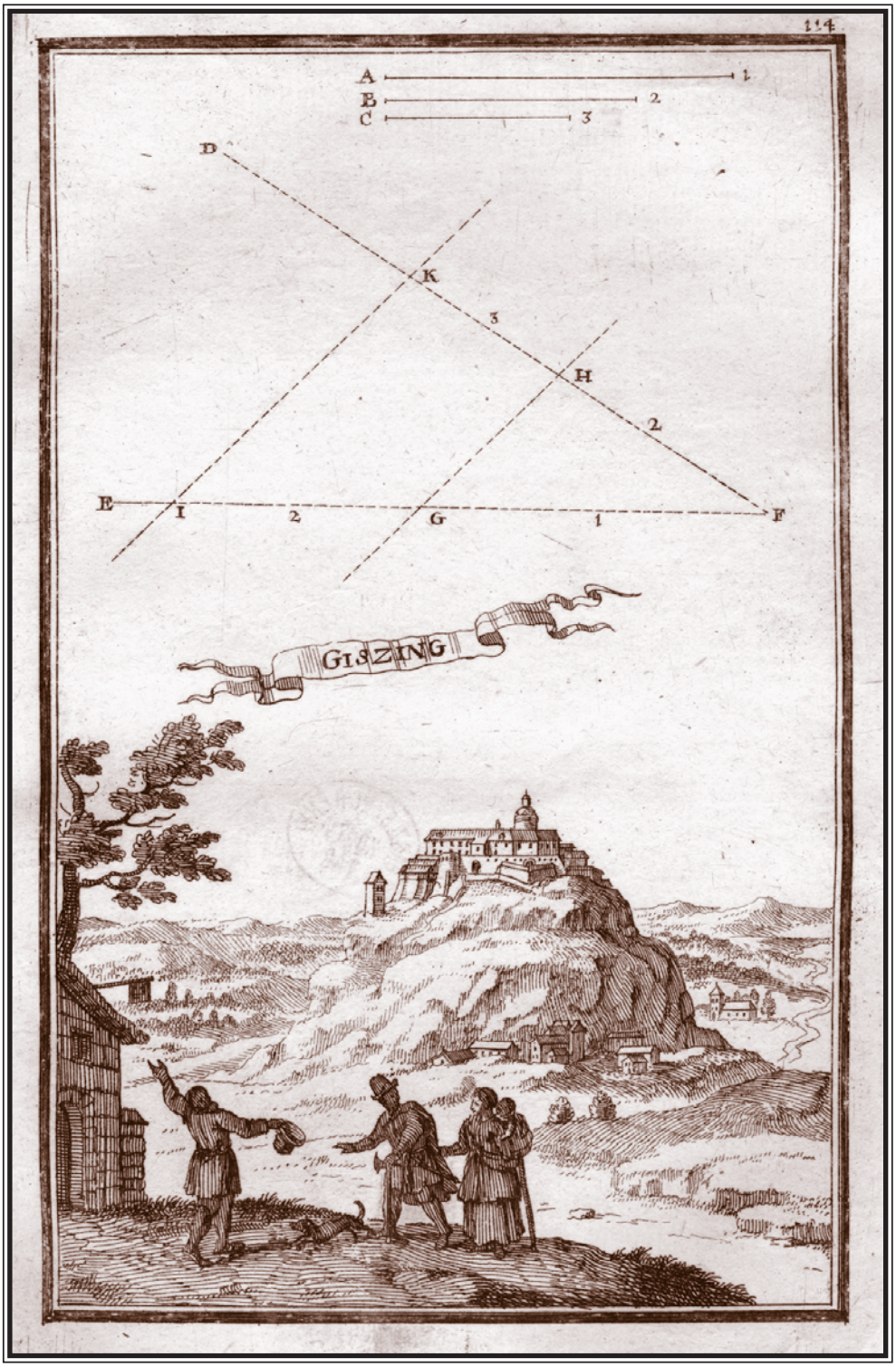
37 A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei I. 1527–1625. Iványi Béla anyaggyűjtése. Ed.: László Szilasi. Szeged, 1990. (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 29/1.) 322–329.

38 KOLTAI 2002. 20–29.

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

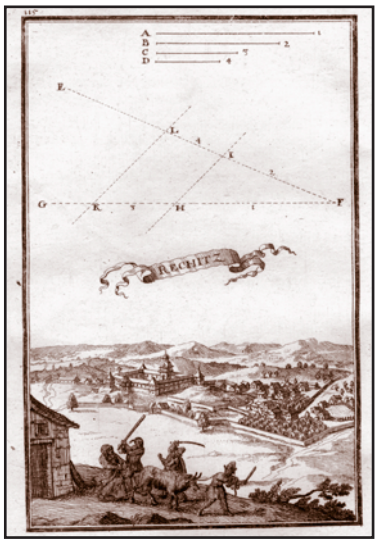
40 KOLTAI 2002. 269.

1.



DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

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

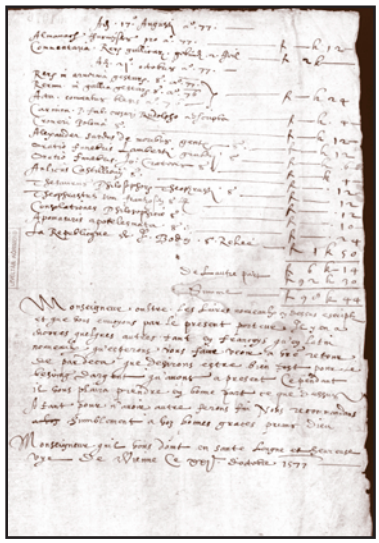


2. Depiction of Rohonc *(Rechnitz) Copper engraving, 170×115 mm (Justus van der Nypoort) Burckhard von Birckenstein, Anton Ernst: Ertzherzogliche Handgriffe dess Zirckels und Linials. Wien, 1686. – OSZK App. H. 1217*



3. Boldizsár Batthány III, *(Unknown painter, 17th century) Oil, canvas 223×140 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 561*

4. The book invoices of Jean Aubry, *the bookseller in Frankfurt and Vienna for Boldizsár Batthyány, 1588 The original: Hungarian National Archives, P 1314 Batthyány család Lt. Missiles, Nr. 1073–1079.*



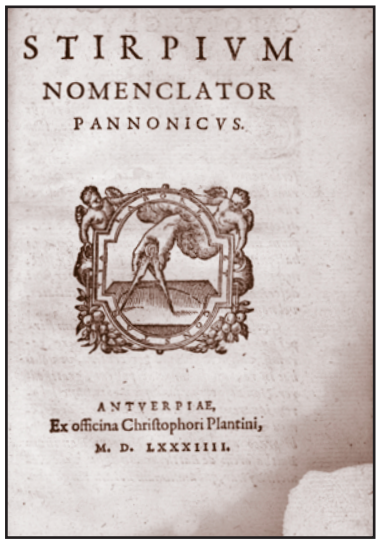
Jean Aubry was a son-in-law of André Wechel (? – 1581), the Huguenot printer who fled from Paris and moved to Frankfurt-on-Main (the other son-in-law was Claude de Marne). Jean Aubry was in charge of the Central European network of clientele. Boldizsár Batthyány was one of his first clients in Hungary. It was in the print shop of Aubry's sons in Hanau that Albert Szenci Molnár's translation of Calvin's *Institutio* was printed (1624, RMNy 1308). The Wechels stayed in close connection with Ferenc Batthyány at the beginning of the 17th century and after his death operated the Protestant Batthyány print shop: András Wechel (Tejfalu, 1637–1645), János Zsigmond Wechel (Somorja, 1650, Kőszeg, 1651–1668?). Cf: R. J. W. Evans: *The Wechel Preses: humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627.* Oxford, 1975, Past and Present Society; Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában, 1473–1800.* Budapest, 1999, Balassi Cop. 105–109.

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



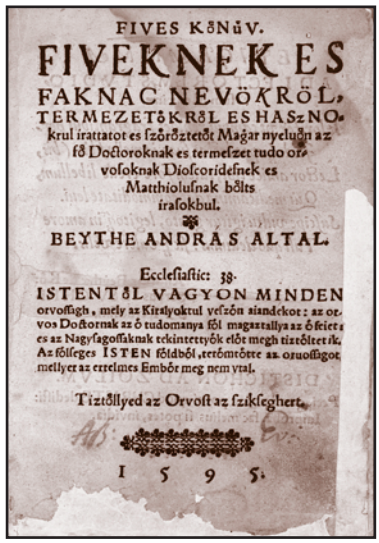
Lutheran teachings on confession. *Jeremias Hombergerus … provincialis ecclesiae, quae Augustanae confessionis est pastor* dedication *adolescentulo d. Francisco … Balthasaris Budiani liberi baronis in Gyssingen, domini in Slenningen etc. Rom. caesareae majestatis consiliarii, reg. majest. Hungar. archidapiferi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

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



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

7. András Beythe: *Fives könüv. Fiveknek es faknac nevökröl, termezetökröl es hasznokrul irattatot, es szöröztetöt magar nyeluön az fö doctoroknak es termeszet tudo orvosoknak Dioscoridesnek es Matthiolusnak bölts irasokbul Beythe Andras altal. Nymet Vivaratt, 1595 Johannes Manlius, 4° RMNy 766, OSZK RMK I 278*
A medicinal herbal. It lists the well-known Hungarian and Latin names of 275 plants along with the variants of their Hungarian names, their healing properties and applica-



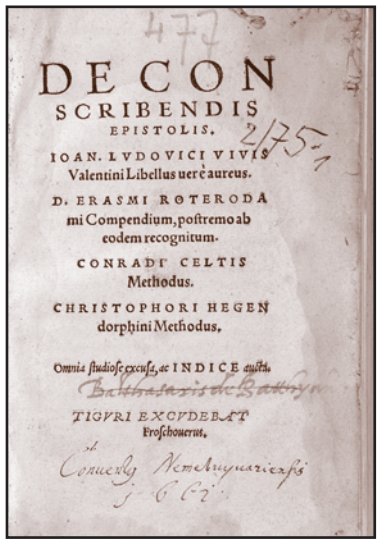
tions in healing. The author, the son of István Beythe, scholar-minister, calls himself the servant of the Protestant parish in Németújvár.

8. **István Beythe:** *Az zentök fö inepiiröl valo evangeliomok, magyarazattyokkal özue, eztendö altal. … – Fö innep napocra valo epistolak magyarazatij eztendö altal, … Nimöt Vij Várat, 1584, Johannes Manlius, 4° RMNy 554, OSZK RMK I 213, RMK I 214*


Fö INNEP
NAPOCRA VA-
LO EPISTOLAK MA-
gyarazatij, eztendö altal, irattanak
Beythe István
Prædicator altal.
NYOMTATOT NY-
mötVij Varat, Manlius Ianos altal,
Karachon honak 17.
napyan.
M. D. LXXXIV.

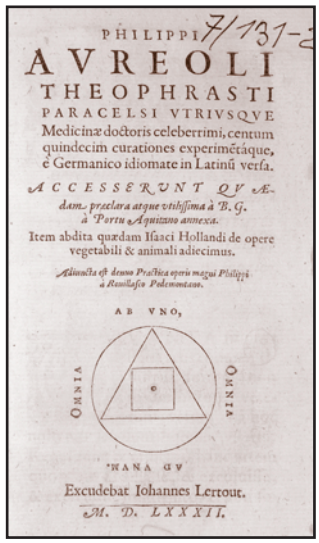
Lutheran epistles. After the first title-page of the two-volume book there is István Beythe's dedication to Lady *Dorottya Zrini, wife of Boldizsár Batthyani*…dated December 1, 1584 in Németújvár. The first part explains the gospels of the Saints' days. At the end there is an epigraph to the *faithful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

9. **Johannes Ludovicus Vives; Erasmus Roterodamus, Desiderius, ed.:** *De conscribendis epistolis Ioann. Ludovici Vivis Valentini libellus vere aureus. D. Erasmi Roterodami compendium postremo ab eodem recognitum. Conradi Celtis methodus. Christophori Hegendorphium methodus. Omnia studiose excusa, ac indice aucta. Tiguri, s. a., Christophorus Froschoverus. – Gualterus, poeta; Eck, Oswald ab, ed.: Alexandreidos … Libri Decem. Ingolstadii, 1541, Alexander Weisshorn. 8° – Güssing OFM 2/75*


DE CON
SCRIBENDIS
EPISTOLIS.
IOAN. LVDOVICI VIVIS
Valentini Libellus uere aureus.
D. ERASMI ROTERODA
mi Compendium, postremo ab
eodem recognitum.
CONRADI CELTIS
Methodus.
CHRISTOPHORI HEGEN
dorphini Methodus.
Omnia studiose excusa, ac INDICE aucta.
TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT
Froschouerus.

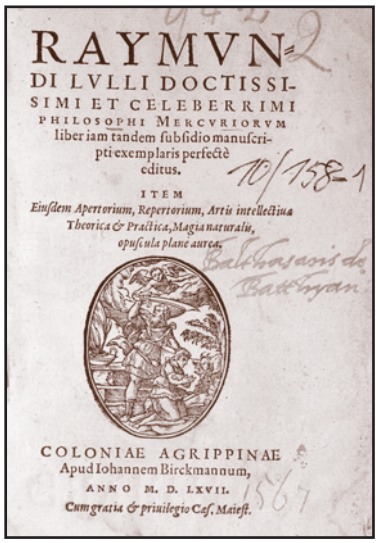
Inscriptions on the cover page: (1) *Balthasaris de Batthyan*; (2) *Conv(entus) Nem(etujvariensis)* This book is a good example of Boldizsár Batthyány's humanist culture and proves that the aristocrat donated the manual, which is very useful in teaching to the Protestant school of Németújvár. The school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

10. **Johannes Sporisch:** *Idea medici, cum Tractatu de symptomatibus crudelissimis, quae sacrificationi et curcurbitularum usui Brunae incolis in Marchionatu Morauiae superuenerunt: et De debre epidemis anni ab incarnatione Servatoris nostri 1580. Francfurti, 1582, apud haer. Andreae Wecheli. – Paracelsus, Theophrastus: Philippi Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi … Centum quidecim curationes experimentaque e Germanico idiomate in Latinum versa. Accesserunt qvaedam praeclara atque utilissima a B.G. a Portu Aquitano annexa. Item abdita quaedam Isaaci Hollandi de opere vegetabili et animali adiecimus. Adiuncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi a Rouillasco Pedemontano(!) Genevae, 1582, Johannes Lertout. – Paracelsus, Theophrastus; Dorn, Gerard, interpr.: Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum, ex omnibus quae de his ab ipso scripta reperire licuit hactenus. Accesit Genealogia mineralium atque metallorum omnium eiusdem autoris. Francfurti, 1581, Andreas Wechel. 8° – Güssing OFM 7/131*


PHILIPPI
AVREOLI
THEOPHRASTI
PARACELSI VTRIVSQVE
Medicinæ doctoris celeberrimi, centum
quindecim curationes experimẽtáque,
è Germanico idiomate in Latinũ versa.
ACCESSERUNT QV Æ-
dam praeclara atque vtilissima à B. G.
à Portu Aquitano annexa.
Item abdita quædam Isaaci Hollandi de opere
vegetabili & animali adiecimus.
Adiuncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi
à Rouillasco Pedemontano.
AB VNO,
OMNIA
OMNIA
MANA GV
Excudebat Iohannes Lertout.
M. D. LXXXII.

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

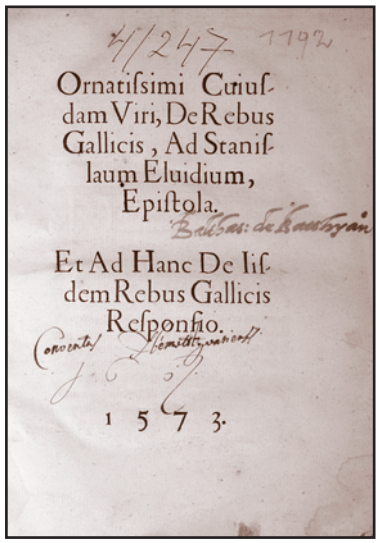
11. **Lullus Raimundus:** *Mercuriorum liber iam tandem subsidio manuscripti axemplaris parfecte editus. Item Eiusdem Apertorium, Repertorium, Artis intellectiuae Theorica et practica Magia naturalis opuscula plane aurea. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1567, Johann Birckmann. – Raimundus, Lullus: De secretis naturae,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


RAYMVN
DI LVLLI DOCTISSI-
SIMI ET CELEBERRIMI
PHILOSOPHI MERCVRIORVM
liber iam tandem subsidio manuscri-
pti exemplaris perfectè
editus.
ITEM
Eiusdem Apertorium, Repertorium, Artis intellectiuæ
Theoricæ & Practicæ, Magiæ naturalis,
opuscula planè aurea.
COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE
Apud Iohannem Birckmannum,
ANNO M. D. LXVII.
Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæs. Maiest.

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

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

12. **Guy Dufaur de Pibrac; Stanislaus Elvidius:** *Ornatissimi cuiusdam Viri de Rebus Gallicis ad Stanislaum Eluidium Episola. Et ad hanc de iisdem Rebus Gallicis Responsio. Paris, 1573, Frédéric Morel. 4° – Güssing OFM 4/247*


Ornatiſsimi Cuiuſ-
dam Viri, De Rebus
Gallicis, Ad Staniſ-
laum Eluidium,
Epiſtola.
Et Ad Hanc De Iiſ-
dem Rebus Gallicis
Reſponſio.
1 5 7 3.

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

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



13. **Potrait of Ferenc Batthány II** *(Unknown painter, 17th century) Oil, canvas, 217×125 cm, Hungarian National Museum lt. 566*

14. **István Pathai:** *Az helvetiai confession való köröztyén praedikátoroknak Dunán innen, az egyházi szolgálatban való rend tartásokrol irattatot könjvechke … Németújvár, 1617, Bernhard Máté, 8° RMNy 1143A, University Library, Debrecen 753.536*

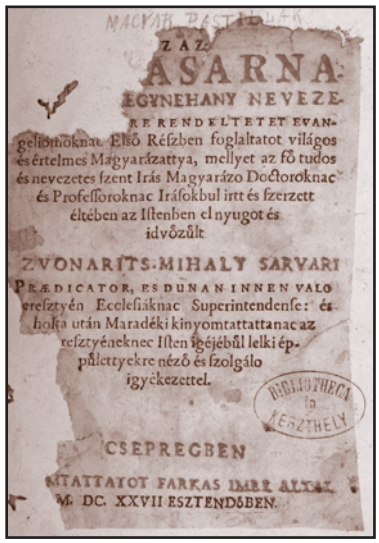
A Calvinist agenda. The publication of this book shows that Ferenc Batthyány's court in 1617 was of Helvetian orientation in spite of the fact that his wife, Éva Lobkowitz Poppel was Lutheran. Pathai, the author (1555–1632) strove to reconcile the two Protestant churches with his writings.


AZ HELVETI-
AI CONFESSION
való Köröztyén Prædi-
kátoroknak Dunán innen, az egy
házi szolgálatban való rend tartá-
sokrol irattatot Kónij-
vechkeu.
PATHAI ISTVAN
WEZPREMI PRÆDIKA-
tor es Superintendens altal.
1. Cor. 1. ỳ 10.
Kerlek titöket attyamfiai, az mi
Urunk Iesus Christusnak nevére,
hogy azont mondgyátok mind-
nyáian, es ne legienek thi közteiök
hasonlások: legietek penig meg
erösitetvén eö benne, azon el-
mével es értelömmel, &c.
M. DC. XVII.

15. **György Zvonarics:** *Rövid felelet, mellyben Pecseli Imrenec, ersec ujvari calvinista praedicatornac tanacsa meghamisséttatic, és az több doctoroc irásira-is válasz adatic im ez kérdés felöl: az keresztyén embernec kellessége lutheranusnac avagy calvinistánac neveztetni…, mellyet… közönségesse tött sarvari Zvonarits György. Csepregben, 1626 Farkas Imre. RMNy 1354, 4° Esterházy-Bibliothek, Eisenstadt*

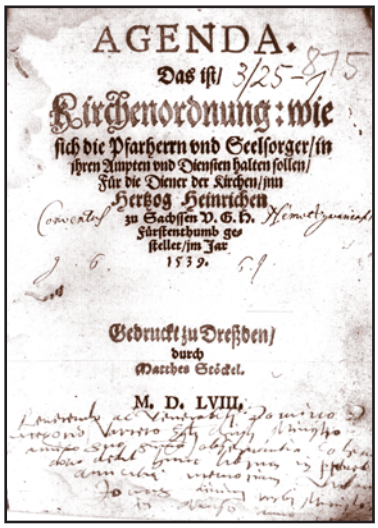

RÖVID FELELET
MELLYBEN PE-
CSELI IMRENEC, ERSECUYVA-
RI CALVINISTA PRÆDICATORNAC TANACSA
meghamisséttatic, és az több Doctoroc
irásira-is válasz adatic, im ez
kérdés felöl:
Az keresztyén Embernec kellessége Lutheranusnac
avagy Calvinistánac neveztetni ez végre, hogy
az igaz tudomány avagy hitnec vallása
miátul meg különböztessék?
Mellyet Isten igéjébül, és az frent irás magyarázo ke-
resztyén Doctoroknac irásokbul fredegetes és
az egyigyü hiveknec eppülettyekre kö-
zönségesse tött
SARVARI ZVONARITS GYÖRGY.
CSEPREGBEN
FARKAS IMRE NYOMTATTA
1626. Esztendöben.

16. **Mihály Zvonarics:** *Magyar postilla, az az az vasarnapokra es egynehany nevezetes innepekre rendeltetet evangeliomoknac elsö részben foglaltatot világos és értelmes magyarázattya, mellyet az fö tudos és nevezetes Szent Irás magyarázo doctoroknac és professoroknac irásokbul irtt és szerzett éltében az Istenben elnyugot és idvözült Zvonarits Mihaly sarvari praedicator es Dunan innen valo keresztyén ecclesiáknac superintendense, és holta után maradéki kinyomtattattanac… Csepregben, 1627, Farkas Imre. 4° RMNy 1380, OSZK RMK I. 560*


MAGYAR POSTILLA
AZ
ASARNA
EGYNEHANY NEVEZE-
RE RENDELTETET EVAN-
geliomoknac Elsö Részben foglaltatot világos
és értelmes Magyarázattya, mellyet az fö tudos
és nevezetes szent Irás Magyarázo Doctoroknac
és Professoroknac Irásokbul irtt és szerzett
éltében az Istenben el nyugot és
idvözült
ZVONARITS MIHALY SARVARI
PRÆDICATOR, ES DUNAN INNEN VALO
keresztyén Ecclesiáknac Superintendense: és
holta után Maradéki kinyomtattattanac az
resztyéneknec Isten igéjébül lelki ép-
pülettyekre nézö és szolgálo
igyekezettel.
BIBLIOTHECA
KESZTHELY
CSEPREGBEN
MTATTATOT FARKAS IMRE ALTAL
M. DC. XXVII ESZTENDÖBEN.

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

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


AGENDA.
Das ist/
Kirchenordnung: wie
sich die Pfarherrn vnd Seelsorger/in
jhren Ampten vnd Diensten halten sollen/
Für die Diener der Kirchen/jnn
Hertzog Heinrichen
zu Sachssen V. G. H.
Fürstenthumb ge-
stellet/jm Jar
1539.
Gedruckt zu Dreßden/
durch
Matthes Stöckel.
M. D. LVIII.

17. **Justus Justus,** *Georgius Spalatinus, Casparus Creutziger, Fridericus Mylius, Justus Menius, Johann Heinrich Hertzog Weber zu Sachssen: Agenda. Das ist, Kirchenordnung: wie sich die Pfarrherrn und Seelsorger, in jhren Ampten vnd Diensten halten sollen, Für die Diener der Kirchen, jnn Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachsen V. G. H. Fürstenthumb gestellet, jm Jar 1539. Dreßden, 1558, Matthias Stöckel. –Heinrich Herzog v. Braunschweig d. Jüngere: Hoffgerichte ordnung des … Hern Heinrichs des Jüngeren Hertzogs zu Braunschweig und Lünenburg etc. Newlich geordnet und auffgreicht. Wolfenbüttel, 1556, Henning Rüden's Erben. – August Sachsen, Kurfürst: Die Ehe wirdt vornemlich, von wegen der Glutfreuntschafft, Darnach auch von wegen der Schwegerschafft, wie folgend zusehen, verboten. Dreßden, 1557(?), Matthias Stöckel. – General Articul und gemeinder bericht, wie es in den Kirchen mit den Pfarherrn, Kirchendienern, den Eingepfarten, und sonst allenthalb ordentlich, auff Hertzogen Augusten Churfürsten zu Sachsen etc. in jüngst verschienen Fünff und verordente und beschehene Visitation, behalten werden soll. M.D.LVII. Dresden, 1557, Matthias Stöckel. – Ferdinandus, I., rex: Abdruck des Passawischen Vortrags: so den andern Monats tag Augusti/Anno Lij etc. auffgericht worden. Dresden, ca. 1555, Matthias Stöckel. 4° – Güssing OFM 3/25*
The presence of this book in Németújvár clearly indicates Ferenc Batthyány's interest in the organisation of the church in Germany and the patterns of court life there. The churches in Lower Saxony in the 16th century were organised according to the Church Rules (Kirchenordnung) of Johann Bugenhagen. The Elector paid special attention to implementing these rules. The court in Wolfenbüttel was one of the most modern courts where a special college for nobles (Adelschule) was established in the 17th century.


Sendschreiben
Ardie glor-
würdige Brüderschaft
des Hochlöblichen Or-
dens vom Rosen-
Creutze.
Von einem derselben
besondern Liebhaber
gestellet.
ANNO M. DC. XV.

18. **Thomas Naogeorgius:** *De dissidiis componendis, ad Mathiam Bredenbachium, ... Libri II. Thomae Naogeorgi. Adiuncta est etiam Satyra, aute annos aliquot scripta, in Ioannem Del'la Casa, archiepiscopum Beneuentilum, Sodomiae patronum: eodem Thoma Naogeorgo autore. Basileae, 1559, Johannes Oporinus. – Proverbia Salomonis versibus descripta. Frankfurt am Main, 1578, Nicolaus Bassaeus. – Eurymachaera, Casparus; Helmbold, Ludouicus: Parva Biblia, Hoc est: Carmen Elegiacum In Singula Utriusque Testamenti Capitula. Autore Casparo Eurymachaera Guttenbergens. Addita sunt Monosticha in Singula Sacrorum Bibliorum Capita M. Ludouici Helmboldi Mülhusini. Lipsiae, 1615, Justus Jansonius für Henning Gross. – Weigelius, Valentinus: Informatorium Oder kurtzer Unterricht, welcher gestalt man duch drey Mittel den schmalen Weg zu Christo sich führen kan lassen. Gestellet durch M. Valentinum Weigelium, gewesenen Pfarrherrn zu Zschopan(!). Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1616, durch Johann Knuber. – S. F.: De christiani cosmoxeni Genitura iudicium. Montisbelgardi, 1615, Jacobus Foillet. – Guazzus, Stephanus; Wisaeus, Melchior, transl.: Gnóthikszeauton, dass ist, Ein sehr lehrreiches und nützliches Gesprech Von Erkäntnuss Seiner selbst. Erstlich in Italianischen Sprach von dem Hodigelarten Herren Stephano Guazzo beschrieben, Jetzt aber von Herren Melchiore Wisaeo Rectore in Habelschwerda in Schlesien in deutsche Sprach verdolmeschet. Mühlhausen, Johann Stang für Jakob Apel, 1616. – Sendschreiben an die glorwürdige Brüderschaft des Hochlöblichen Ordens von Rosen-Creutze. S. l., 1615, s. Typ. – Campis, Julianus de: Sendbrieff oder Bericht an Alle welche von der Newen Brüderschafft des Ordens vom Rosen Creutz genant, etwas gelesen, oder von andern per modum discursus der Sachen beschaffenheit, vernommen. Es sind die in Schrauchen bauffen, etliche aber gewinnen nur das Kleinot. Darumb ermalme? Ich Julianus De Campis O. G. D. C. R. F. E. Daß die je..en, welche von einer glücklichen direction, und gewünschliter impression guberniret werden?, … nicht durch ihre selbst eygenen dissidens, oder uppiger? Leute unartiges judiciten, wenig machen lassen. Milita bonam militiam, seruans fidem et accipies coronam Cloriae? S. l., 1615, s. Typ. – Tschirnessus, Valentinus: Assertio Oder Bestetigung der Fraternitet R.C. welche man des Rosen Creutzes nennet, von einem derselben Fraternitet Mitgesellen, in Lateinischen Versen beschrieben, Und dem Deutschen Leser zum besten, in dieses Deutsch, schlecht ubergesetzet. Item: Schnelle Botschafft, an die Philosophische Fraternitet vom Rosen Creutz. Durch Valentinum Tschirnessum Gorlicerum Germanum Phil. et Med. Licentiatum. Erstlich Gedrucht zu Dantzig, 1617, durch Andream Hünefeldt. – Schweighart, Theophilus: Sub umbra alarum tuarum, Jehova. Pandora sextae aetatis, sive speculum gratiae. Das ist: Die gantze Kunst vnd Wissenschafft der von Gott Hocherleuchten Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz … wie fern sich dieselbige erstrechte, auff was weiß sie tuglich erlangt, und zur Leibs und seelen gesundheit von uns moege genutzt werden, wider etliche derrselben Calumniauten … der Universae – weißheit und Goetlichen Magnalien waren liebhabern, treuherziger meynung entdeckt. Durch Theophilum Schweighart Constantiensem, Pansophiae Studiosum MDC XVII. S. l., 1617, s. Typ. – Siverti, Johannes: Endeckte Mummenschantze oder Nebel Kappen. Das ist, Christliche Widerlegung der nechst von Cassel aussgeflognen Stimpel Confession der Newen Krugs Brüder, oder wie sie sich nennen Rosen Creutzer darinnen bewiesen wird, daß … Leute nicht auß Gott, sondern auß dem Vater der tugen und verwirnung gutes Policey und seyn. Allen recht … Christen zur warnung in Durch verfertiget … Durch Johannem Siverti Aegl. S. l., 1617, s. Typ. 8° – Güssing OFM 8/130*

19. **Valentinus Weigel:** *Ein nützliches Tractätlein Vom Ort der Welt. Geschrieben von Dem Ehrwürdigen, etc. in Gott ruhendem M. Valentino Vveigelio weyland Pfarrern zu der Tschopaw. Hall in Sachsen, 1614, Christoph Bissmarck für Joachim Krusicken. – Weigel, Valentinus: Nosce teipsum. Erkenne dich selbst. Zeiget vnd weiset dahin, dass der Mensch sey ein Microcosmos, das gröste Werck Gottes, unter dem Himmel. Er sey die kleine Welt, und trezt alles in ihme, was da funden wird, in Himmel und Erden, und auch darüber. Gestellet von Dem Ehrwurdigen, etz. in Gott ruhendem M. Valentino Weigelio, Weyland Pfarrherrn zu der Tschopaw. Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1615, Johann Knuber. – Weigel, Valentinus: Der güldene Griff, Das ist: Alle Ding ohne Irrthumb zuerkennen, vielen Hochgelehrten unbekandt, Und doch allen Menschen nothwendig zu wissen. Durch M. Valentino Weigelio gewesenen Pfarrherrn zu Zschopaw. Gedruckt zu der Newenstatt, 1616, bey Johann Knuber. – Weigel, Valentinus: Christlich Gespräch vom wahren Christenthumb. Neustadt, ca. 1616?, Johann Knuber. 4° – Güssing OFM 8/156*


ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥ-
ΤΟΝ.
Noſce teipſum.
Erkenne dich ſelbſt.
Zeiget vñ weiſet dahin/ daß der Menſch
ſey ein Microcoſmus, das gröſte Werck Gottes/ vnter dem
Himmel. Er ſey die kleine Welt/ vnd trezt alles in jhme/
was da funden wird im Himmel vnd Erden/
vnd auch darüber.
Geſtellet von
Dem Ehrwürdigen/ ꝛc. in Gott ruhendem M. Va-
lentino Weigelio, weyland Pfarrherrn zu der
Tſchopaw.
Gedruckt zu der Newenſtatt/ durch
Johann Knuber/ Im Jahr
M D C XV.

20. **Potrait of Ádám Batthyány** *Copper engraving, 150×120 mm. Elias Wideman: Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae. – Wien, 1652. – OSZK App. H. 848*





21. **Portrait of Ádám Batthány** *(Unknown painter) Oil, canvas 234×140 cm – Hungarian National Museum lt. 569*



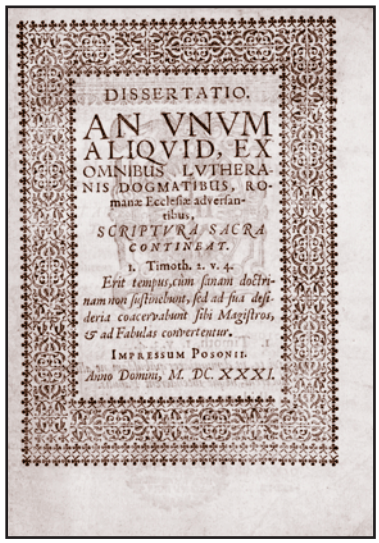
22. **Potrait of Péter Pázmány** *Copper engraving. Lajos Vayer jr: Pázmány Péter ikonográfiája. Budapest, 1935, Egyetemi Nyomda, OSZK 117 802*

23. **Péter Pázmány:** *Bizonyos okok, mellyek erejetül viseltetven egy fö ember az uj vallasok töreböl kifeslet, es az romai ecclesianak kebelébe szállott. Posonban, 1631, typ. Societatis Jesu. 4° RMNy 1511, OSZK RMK I 603*

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


BIZONYOS OKOK,
MELLYEK
EREJETVL VI-
SELTETVEN EGY
FÖ EMBER, AZ UJ VAL-
LASOK TÖREBÖL KI-
feslet:
ES AZ ROMAI
ECCLESIANAK KEBE-
lébe feállot.
1. Petri 3. v. 15.
Kiszékmindenkor az elég-tételre mindennek valaki Okot kérd tölletek arrúl a' Reménségrül mely bennetek vagyon.
NYOMTATTAK POSONBAN.
M. DC. XXXI.
ESZTENDÖBEN.

24. **Péter Pázmány:** *Dissertatio, an vnvm aliqvid ex omnibus Lvtheranis dogmatibus, Romanae Ecclesiae adversantibus, Scriptvra Sacra contineat. Posonii, 1631, typ. Societatis Jesu, 4° RMNy 1512, OSZK RMK II 472*


DISSERTATIO.
AN VNVM
ALIQVID, EX
OMNIBUS LVTHERA-
NIS DOGMATIBUS, RO-
manæ Ecclesiæ adversan-
tibus,
SCRIPTVRA SACRA
CONTINEAT.
1. Timoth. 2. v. 4.
Erit tempus, cùm sanam doctri-
nam non sustinebunt, sed ad sua desi-
deria coacervabunt sibi Magistros,
& ad Fabulas convertentur.
IMPRESSUM POSONII.
Anno Domini, M. DC. XXXI.

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

25. **Ordinari Reichs Zeittungen,** *sine loco 1646, n° 1346. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., 375) 1646, n° 1350. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., 368)*


1346.

Ordinari Reichs Zeittungen /
Anno 1646.

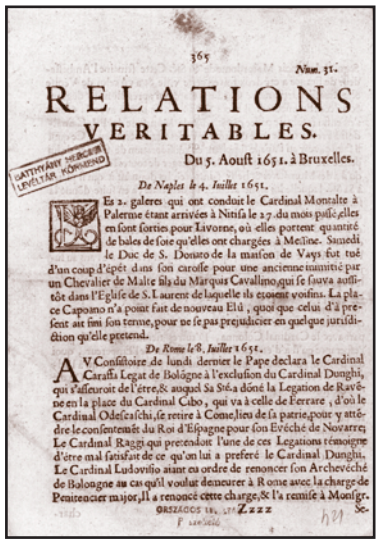
Extract Schreibens auß Nodenbach/ vom 16. Junij.

Wie ferndt vor 4. Tagen mit der Bayrischen: Armada vnd dem Bayrischen Succurs von 10000. Mann allhier angelangt/Gen. Wrangel darüber sich anfangs gestellt, als wolte er Giessen attaquiren, jedoch bald abgelassen/vnd sich gegen Herrn Landgraff Georgen Neutral erzeigt/ vnd seine Armada zu Wetzlar verschantzt. Vor 2. Tagen ist Loureine mit 7000. Mann den Rhein auch passirt/ vnd hinüber gangen/als daß sie sich ständlich conjungiren können/wie verlaut sollen sie noch die Königsmarck vnd der Hessen erwarthen/alßdann resolvirt seyn/den graden Weeg auff vns zugehen/hergegen verhoffen wir / es werden sich die vbrige Bayrische Völcker innerhalb wenig Tagen mit vns gleichmäßig conjungiren / werden alßdann erwarthen müssen was Gott schickt/ Morgen gehen wir mit der Baudr Armada auff Aschaffenburg / die Fourage vnd Brode gehet allgemach nahe zusammen / der Allmächtige Gott wolle den gerechten Waffen beystehen.

Extract Schreibens auß Franckfurth/ vom 12. Dito.

Es haben sich nunmehr beederseits Armeen selbiger Orthen gezogen/ vnd logiren die Hessischen vnd Chur-Bayrischen zwischen Oberhausen vnd Hanaw / die Schwedische aber (mit welchen auch die Hessischen / wie gleichfalls die zu Bacharach vbergesetzte Frantzosen sich conjungire) vmb Giessen vnd Buttbach haben/wie man sagt/ Ihrer Fürstl: Gnaden zu Hessen Darmbstatt die Neutralitet zugemuthet / welchen nun dieselbe sich erklären möchten/

26. **Relations veritables,** *Bruxelles, par Guillaume Scheybel. 1651, n° 31. (Hungarian National Archives, P 1336, 9. cs., ff. 421–422)*


365 Num. 31.

RELATIONS
VERITABLES.

Du 5. Aoust 1651. à Bruxelles.

De Naples le 4. Juillet 1651.

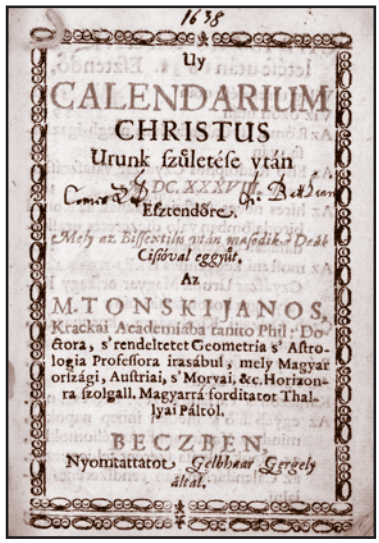
Es 2. galeres qui ont conduit le Cardinal Montalte à Palerme étant arrivées à Nitisa le 27. du mois passé, elles en sont sorties pour Livorne, où elles portent quantité de bales de soie qu'elles ont chargées à Messine. Samedi le Duc de S. Donato de la maison de Vays fut tué d'un coup d'épée dans son carosse pour une ancienne inimitié par un Chevalier de Malte fils du Marquis Cavallino, qui se sauva aussitôt dans l'Eglise de S. Laurent de laquelle ils estoient voisins. La place Capoano n'a point fait de nouveau Elû, quoi que celui d'à present ait fait son terme, pour ne se pas prejudicier en quelque jurisdiction qu'elle pretend.

De Rome le 8. Juillet 1651.

AV Consistoire de lundi dernier le Pape declara le Cardinal Carafa Legat de Bologne à l'exclusion du Cardinal Donghi, qui s'asseuroit de l'être, & auquel Sa Stée a donné la Legation de Ravêne en la place du Cardinal Cibo, qui va à celle de Ferrare, d'où le Cardinal Odescalschi, se retire à Come, lieu de sa patrie, pour y attendre le consentement du Roi d'Espagne pour son Evêché de Novarre; Le Cardinal Ragzi qui pretendoit l'une de ces Legations témoigne d'être mal satisfait de ce qu'on lui a preferé le Cardinal Donghi. Le Cardinal Ludovisio atant eu ordre de renoncer son Archevêché de Bologne au cas qu'il voulut demeurer à Rome avec la charge de Penitencier major, il a renoncé cette charge, & l'a remise à Monsgr.

ORSZÁGOS LEVÉLTÁR Zzzz

27. **Jan Tońki, Tállyai Pál,** *transl.: Uy calendarium Christus Urunk születése után MDCXXXVIII. esztendõre, mely az bissextilis után második, a deák cisióval eggyüt, az M. Tonski János, krackai academiába tanito phil. doctora rendeltetet geometria s astrologia professora irasábul, mely magyar országi, austriai s morvai etc. horizonra szolgall, Bécs, 1637, Gregor Gelbhaar. 8° RMNY 1667, OSZK RMK I 666a*

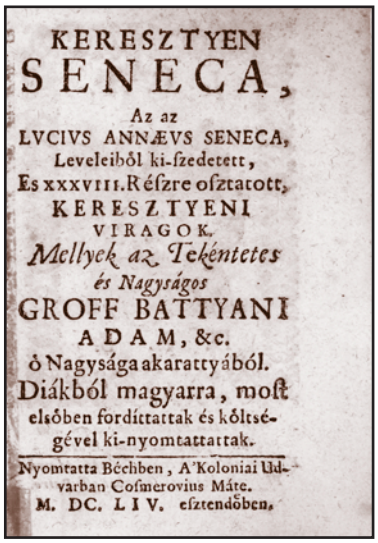

1638

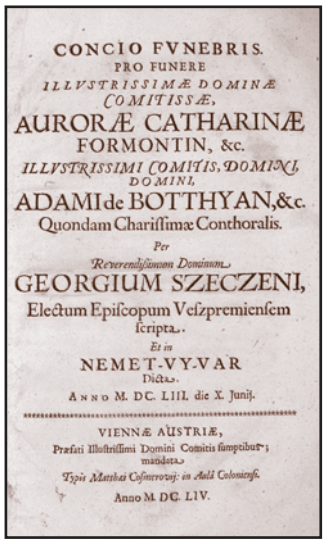
Uy
CALENDARIUM
CHRISTUS
Urunk születése után
DC. XXXVIII.
Esztendõre.
Mely az Bissextilis után második Deák
Cisióval eggyüt,
Az
M. TONSKI JANOS,
Krackai Academiába tanito Phil. Doctora, s' rendeltetet Geometria s' Astrologia Professora irasábul, mely Magyar orizági, Austriai, s' Morvai, &c. Horizonra szolgall. Magyarrá forditatot Thallyai Páltól.
BECZBEN,
Nyomtattatot Gelbhaar Gergely által.

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

28. **Sámuel Kéri,** *transl.: Keresztyen Seneca, az az Lvcivs Annaevs Seneca leveleiböl ki-szedetett és XXXVIII részre osztatott keresztyeni viragok, mellyek... groff Battyani Adam etc önagysága akaratyából diákból magyarra most elsöben fordittattak és költségével kinyomtattattak. Béchben, 1654, Cosmerovius Máté. 1fol. RMNy 2510, OSZK RMK I 882*

A piece of Christian stoic ethical teaching. On the verso of the title-page there is a woodcut depicting a pelican with the inscription *I. C. D.* on top and *D. A.* at the bottom. Since the pelican is an old symbol of Christ and it features in the coat-of-arms of the Batthyánys the probable meaning of the monogram is Iesu Christo Domino Dedicat Adamus de Batthyan. Below there is a Latin poem about Ádám Batthyány. The dedication following the poem is addressed to *Adam Battyani, the hereditory Lord of Német-úy-vár, Szalónak, Borostyán.* Sámuel Kéri (originally named Zorád or Szorád) became a Franciscan novice in 1645 and it is then that he changed his name to Kéri. After being ordained, he was appointed to the monastery in Németújvár and became the chaplain to Ádám Batthyány. He died in 1671 in Pozsony (Pressburg). The original of his translation was the popular book of the German Jesuit Johann Baptista Schellenberg (1586–1645) entitled *Seneca Christianus,* first published in Augsburg in 1637 and reprinted many times.


KERESZTYEN
SENECA,
Az az
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
Leveleiből ki-szedetett,
Es xxxviii. Részre osztatott,
KERESZTYENI
VIRAGOK.
Mellyek az Tekéntetes
és Nagyságos
GROFF BATTYANI
ADAM, &c.
ő Nagysága akaratyából.
Diákból magyarra, most
elsőben fordíttattak és költsé-
gével ki-nyomtattattak.
Nyomtatta Béchben, A' Koloniai Ud-
varban Cosmerovius Máté.
M. DC. LIV. esztendőben.


CONCIO FVNEBRIS.
PRO FUNERE
ILLVSTRISSIMÆ DOMINÆ
COMITISSÆ,
AURORÆ CATHARINÆ
FORMONTIN, &c.
ILLVSTRISSIMI COMITIS, DOMINI,
DOMINI,
ADAMI de BOTTHYAN, &c.
Quondam Charissimæ Conthoralis.
Per
Reverendissimum Dominum,
GEORGIUM SZECZENI,
Electum Episcopum Veszpremiensem
scripta...
Et in
NEMET-VY-VAR
Dicta...
Anno M. DC. LIII. die X. Junij.
VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,
Præfati Illustrissimi Domini Comitis sumptibus;
mandata...
Typis Matthæi Cosmerovij: in Aulâ Coloniensi.
Anno M. DC. LIV.

29. **György Széchényi:** *Concio fvnebris pro funere... comitissae Aurorae Catharinae Formontin... comitis... Adami de Botthyan... quondam charissimae conthoralis per... Georgium Szeczeni, electum episcopum Veszpremiensem scripta et in Nemet-Vy-Var dicta anno MDCLIII. die X. Junij. Viennae Austriae, MDCLIV praefati... comitis sumptibus... typis Matthaei Cosmerovij. fol. RMNy 2512, Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár*

A funeral oration in Hungarian. Bishop György Széchényi gave this funeral oration at the funeral of Count Ádám Batthyány's wife, Auróra Katalin Formentini on June 10, 1653. There is no dedication in the publication but the cover page states the fact that it was printed at the expense of Ádám Batthyány. The theme of the sermon is the praise of good wives: the appreciation of the moral virtues which the deceased had possessed. The sermon closes with a woodcut depicting a pelican feeding its young with its own blood.



Elias Widemann: Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae, Viennae, 1652., OSZK App. H. 848, rézmetszet

Stefan Körner

THE BIBLIOTHECA ESTERHÁZYANA

Committed, Catholic, regimented in military style, and a little uncouth – this in a nutshell was the court of one of the most ambitious, upwardly mobile personalities of Hungary in early modern times. In the fortified Renaissance palace of Count Miklós Esterházy in Lackenbach (then Lakompak) in Western Hungary (today Austria) the gates were closed at midday[1] and everyone, from the serving maid and pages to the noble guests and members of the Esterházy family, gathered to read to one another:

"Every day before lunch... any persons who are able should read for at least an hour; a story, or another book his lordship [Miklós Esterházy] puts into their hands; this is to be practised moreover for one or two hours after lunch."[2]

The Lackenbach court instructions of around 1627 specify that Count Miklós selected the literature for this custom of reading out loud from the inventory of his library. As the power, wealth and prestige of the House of Esterházy increased, the library was constantly augmented, enlarged and tended over the following twelve generations. The Esterházy family's stock of books has thus grown for around 400 years and is today one of the largest private libraries in Austria and Hungary and one of the still unknown treasures of the Pannonian region.[3]

The following pages will pursue this collection and its creation under the Hungarian Palatines Miklós (1582–1645) and Pál Esterházy (1635–1713). This will incidentally reveal how the collecting of books by an ascendant family reflects the religious and political turmoil as well as religious tolerance of Western Hungary in the 17th century, and the baroque reconstruction of the country in the early 18th century.

I. Palatine Count Miklós Esterházy de Galántha

Count Miklós Esterházy[4] was not only the founder of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana, but also the founder of the present-day princely family. In his role as Palatine and negotiator with the Turks, the occupying power in the country, Miklós played a decisive role in Hungarian history. As talented as he was ambitious, he founded and consolidated the legendary family dependencies and possessions in what was then Hungary (in parts of present-day

1 Cf. Józef Kovác: *Adelige Höfe, hochadelige Hofhaltungen, Nikolaus Esterházys Hofhaltung*; in: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum Eisenstadt (ed.): *Adelige Hofhaltung im österreichisch–ungarischen Grenzraum*, Eisenstadt 1998, pp. 125–135, p. 134.

2 Ferenc Döry (ed.): *Gróf Esterházy Miklós nádor udvari rendtartása*; in: *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle*, vol. 8 (1901), part 4, pp. 224–230, point 29.6 court etiquette. Cf. Józef Kovács*: Esterházy Miklós udvara és a nyugat-magyarországi reneszánsz*; in: Ágnes Várkonyi (ed.): *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, Budapest 1978, pp. 184–187, p. 187.

3 Key article: Theresia Gabriel: *Die fürstlich Esterházysche Bibliothek – Zeugnis einer bewegten Vergangenheit*; in: Wolfgang Gürtler–Gerhard J. Winkler (ed.): *Forscher-Gestalter-Vermittler. Festschrift für Gerald Schlag*, Eisenstadt 2001, pp. 119–130.

4 References / Miklós Esterházy: Csaba Csapodi: *Esterházy Miklós*, Budapest 1942. Katalin Péter: *Esterházy Miklós*, Budapest 1985.

Hungary, Austria, Slovakia and Ukraine). His loyalty to the Habsburg imperial house and the Catholic Church and his active commitment to both are the key co-ordinates in the ascendancy of this charismatic member of the petty nobility from what was actually a Protestant family.

Born in the county of Pressburg (now Bratislava), Miklós' situation was ideal, his mother being the sister of the later Palatine István Illésházy (1540–1609), who was to become one of the richest representatives of the Hungarian aristocracy. After Miklós had converted at the age of 18, thus causing his father to disown him, Illésházy made the young and ambitious man his protégé and supported him in every way.[5] The existing documents and very early date of his conversion – still before the many politically motivated conversions of the Hungarian nobility to the faith of the ruling house – demonstrate Miklós' strong commitment to the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The ambitious Esterházy was introduced by his uncle into court circles and from 1608 onwards profited from administrative assignments in the attendance of Illésházy, now Palatine.

When the latter died unexpectedly in 1609, Miklós offered his services to another relative, Ferenc Mágochy (circa 1580–1611). The wealthy aristocrat and supporter of the Habsburgs was the main commander over the North Hungarian fortifications and thus a key figure in the defence of Hungary against the Turks. Miklós Esterházy quickly became his confidant and representative in official affairs, and in the end his successor in private life as well: a year after Mágochy's death, the 29-year-old Miklós married his widow Orsolya (circa 1575–1619). Orsolya Mágochy not only became a Catholic for Miklós, but as daughter and heiress of the Barons Dersffy also brought great wealth into the marriage, a fact subsequently receiving much attention in the history books – not without scorn and derision.

However, marriage into the "cooling bed" was not a rare occurrence in 17th century Hungary and a frequent means of elevation in rank for families of the petty nobility, who thus came into enormous fortunes.

Book collecting in Lackenbach

The Dersffy estate went to Miklós at Orsolya's death in 1619 and included the dependencies and considerable revenues of Munkács (Upper Hungary, today Mukachevo in Ukraine), Landsee and Lackenbach (the latter in Western Hungary, today Austria), which all came into the ownership of the Esterházys. Catapulted into such an eminent position and endowed with an astronomical fortune, Miklós took up residence in Lackenbach Castle in 1620, where his son István (1621–1642) was reared. Miklós became Palatine of Hungary in 1625 and his castle on the plain of Central Burgenland housed a great circle of the nobility, court household and personnel, and also the military, on account of the constant threat of the Turks.

Palatine Miklós invested extensively in building to create a residence worthy of his position; after all, it was the abode of the king's representative. A royal household and court had been lacking in Hungary since the Habsburgs had acceded to the Hungarian throne; Miklós' court in Lackenbach compensated for this.[6] The regulations were set down in a comprehensive catalogue specifying strict etiquette for the members of the court, not forgetting a list of draconian penalties. Surrounded by Renaissance gardens and a moat, a fortified four-winged structure hedged in the old arcaded castle, which probably contained Miklós' residential rooms and the collection of books.[7] Given the significance

5 Cf. Zsigmond Bubics–Lajos Merényi: *Herceg Esterházy Pál Nádor*; In: Akadémia történelmi bizottságának segélyezésével kiadja a magyar történelmi társulat (ed.): *Magyar Történeti életrajzok*, vol. 1895, no. 1, book 1, II.

6 Cf. Bubics– Merényi 1895, book 2, II.

7 Only a part of the old palace is preserved today, the so-called Granarium (cf. Judith Schöbel: *Schloß Lackenbach. Zur Rekonstruktion einer ungewöhnlichen Schlosserweiterung*; in: Österreichischer Kunsthistorikerverband (ed.*): Kunstrealitäten. Blinde Flecken der Kunstgeschichte, conference pamphlet, 9th Austrian Art Historians Day 1997*, vol.13/ 14 (1997/ 1998), pp. 17–23).

8 Cf. András Koltai: *Adam Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, Eisenstadt 2002, p.104.

of Miklós Esterházy's library, we can assume that it was located in close proximity to its owner, as is known of the library of the Protestant Count Batthyány in Güssing (Southern Burgenland), where the library was set up next to the master's bedchamber.[8] Just as Güssing was a not insignificant centre of Central European humanism in the 16th century, Lackenbach under Miklós can be described as the seat of a widely influential theological circle.[9] Many Jesuits who were also authors of spiritual works enriched Miklós' court, without ever turning it into a hotbed of the aggressive Counter-Reformation. The tolerant climate of Western Hungary in the era of religious conflicts manifested itself in unforced denominational coexistence at the Lackenbach court. Thus Protestant court employees were allowed to pray in Miklós' court chapel at the same time as the Catholic Mass was being read;[10] meanwhile, denominationally nonconformist works and reformed and Protestant writings had a place in his Lackenbach library. In this way Miklós' court clearly reflected the liberal theological climate of other aristocratic courts in Western Hungary: the threat and siege of the Turks pushed problems of faith in Hungary into the background in this age of religious conflict in Europe.

Sources of the inventory

The inheritance of Baroness Orsolya Dersffy brought to Lackenbach the library of the Archbishop of Esztergom Miklós Oláh (1493–1568), who left his entire estate to his close relative.[11] This laid the foundation for the Bibliotheca Esterházyana. Although there is no clear knowledge of its exact share within the Esterházy collection, the archiepiscopal private library[12] was itself of great significance – Oláh, the Hungarian Grand Chancellor and Archbishop, was noted as one of the foremost personalities in the mid–16th century. As head of the Church in Hungary, he took pains to reform the Catholic Church, which had taken much battering, and as close confidant of Emperor Ferdinand I was at the centre of a Central European humanist circle, which included Erasmus of Rotterdam.[13] An exceptional number of texts by authors of Antiquity in the library are marked with his book plate.

But Miklós was also notable as a patron of printed works: thus he funded Count Miklós Zrinyi's *Adriai tengernek Syrenaia*, first printed in 1651,[14] and in 1644 published the *Intő levelek* addressed to György I Rákóczi, which record Miklós' letters to the Prince of Transylvania against the backdrop of the Turkish Wars.[15] Like his contemporaries Count Ádám Batthyány, János Draskovich, Pál Nádasdy and Gábor Illésházy, Esterházy also translated, wrote and edited pastoral works. He took the stage as a patron of religious literature by commissioning the Jesuit priest Mátyás Hajnal (1578–1644) to compile a Catholic prayer book[16] containing hymns of the old Hungarian Church.[17] This was intended for Miklós' second wife Baroness

9 Cf. Vera Zimányi: *Die Hofhaltung und Lebensweise der Esterházy im 17. Jahrhundert*; in: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum Eisenstadt (ed.): *Adelige Hofhaltung im österreichisch–ungarischen Grenzraum*, Eisenstadt 1998, pp. 257–276, p. 258f.

10 Cf. Döry 1901: point 2 of court etiquette: *"Wenn der Herr um 8 in der Früh zur Messe geht, müssen die katholisch sind mitgehen, und die die nicht katholisch sind, dürfen auch in der Kapelle beten."* (If his lordship goes to morning Mass at 8, the Catholics are obliged to go with him, and the non-Catholics are allowed to pray in the chapel as well.)

11 It was through his nephew Miklós Oláh-Csázár (obit before 1574) that Miklós Oláh's inheritance came to Orsolya Császer de Lanzser (obit 1593), the former's daughter and heiress. Her marriage to Ferenc Dersffy de Szerdahely produced Orsolya Dersffy, who married Miklós Esterházy.

12 Cf. László Szelestei Nagy: *Oláh Miklós könyvtáráról; in: Program és mítosz között. 500 éve született Oláh Miklós*, 9–10/1/1993, Budapest 1993, pp. 51–69.

13 Cf. Colomannus Eperjessy–Ladislaus Juhász (ed.): *Nicolaus Olahus. Hungaria-Athila* (*Bibliotheca Scritorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Saeculum XVI*), Budapest 1938. Cf. Richard Perger*: Das Palais Esterházy in der Wallnerstraße zu Wien*, Vienna 1994, p. 17ff., p. 82f.

14 Cf. Koltai 2002, p.137. Miklós Zrínyi: *Adriai tengernek Syrenaia* (Adriatici maris Syrene), Vienna 1651.

15 Count Miklós Esterházy: *Wegen Ablegung der jetzt gegenwertig entstandenen Kriegs-Schwürigkeiten zu Georg Ragozky gegebenen Schreiben (Letter to György Ragozky concerning the current war problems),* Vienna 1644.

16 Cf. Josef Rittsteuer: *Palatin Nikolaus Esterházy und die Jesuiten*; in: Wolfgang Gürtler–Gerhard J. Winkler (ed.): *Forscher-Gestalter-Vermittler. Festschrift für Gerald Schlag*, Eisenstadt 2001, pp. 363–368, p. 364.

17 Cf. Bubics–Merinyi 1895, book 2, III.

Krisztina Nyáry de Bedegh (1604–1641), to confirm the faith she had adopted for their marriage in 1624.

Krisztina added another rich legacy to the family possessions through her daughter from her first marriage, Countess Erzsébet Thurzó (1621–1642); this included a fresh inventory of books for the Esterházy collection.

Erzsébet was the heiress of her grandfather, Palatine Count György Thurzó de Bethlenfalva (1567–1616). Miklós, ever mindful of dynastic strategies, married her to his son István from his marriage to Orsolya. The books of the Palatine Thurzó from this part of the legacy must have enriched the Bibliotheca Esterházyana enormously; Thurzó was noted as a man of universal education, who corresponded with the most prominent personages of his time, including King James of England and the Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony; he was also renowned for his great library in Bytca (today Slovakia), which Cardinal Peter Pázmány had tried to acquire, but in vain.[18] As a champion of the orthodox Lutheran orientation he was in contact with the most influential minds of Wittenberg University, which was under the influence of Luther and Melanchthon. Thurzó's son and Erzsébet's father Kálmán studied here. In 1615 he even became principal of Wittenberg University and his estate brought more Protestant works into the Esterházy library.

Another source of works by Luther, Melanchthon and Erasmus of Rotterdam in the Esterházy library – several in the inventory are first editions[19] – must have been Miklós' brother Tamás Esterházy de Nebojsza (1570–1615/16). Tamás had studied at Wittenberg and was the author of a great number of Protestant works, some of which he had dedicated to István Illésházy[20], and some of which were also published in the press of the Counts of Nádasdy. While there are no books from Tamás' pen in the Bibliotheca Esterházyana today, there is an unusually large assortment of prints of anti-Catholic works by his teacher and sponsor Aegidius Hunnis, who taught at Wittenberg.

Miklós' priorities in acquiring books were probably for works on mysticism and scholasticism – the formative material for his spiritual life.[21] Besides 15 incunabula, there are today almost 1000 printed works of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the library, among them book plate of members of the Ceglédy, Liszty and of course Esterházy families.[22] One can also find books marked as belonging to Bánffy, Count Boldizsár Batthyány and Count Ferenc Nádasdy, Protestant aristocrats with important book collections. The works no doubt came into the inventory through exchange and gifts, the convention at courts of the nobility: accordingly, there are also books marked as belonging to Miklós Esterházy[23] in the former Batthyány library in Güssing.

Collecting books at Forchtenstein Castle

Besides the enlargement of the library inventory and the establishment of a treasure cabinet – which still exists today – Palatine Miklós continued to

18 Cf. Tibor Grüll–Katalin Keveházy–Károly Kokas, et al. (ed.): *Lesestoffe in Westungarn 1535–1740*, part 2 (Kőszeg, Rust, Eisenstadt, Forchtenstein), Szeged 1006, p. 11.

19 Cf. Gabriel 2001, p.119f.

20 Count Tamás Esterházy dedicated the Protestant pamphlet *Epistola dedicatoria* to István Illésházy and his spouse Katalin Pálffy (cf. Gábor Hausner–Tibor Klaniczay / Iván Kovács Sándor, et al. (ed.*): A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya*, [Budapest] 1991; no. 88, p. 40.

21 Cf. Katalin Péter: *Miklós Esterházy*; in: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung (ed.): *Bollwerk Forchtenstein*, exhib. cat., Eisenstadt 1993, pp. 36–41, p. 37.

22 The library inventory records the following owner notes in the books: Johann Altmann; György Branik; Paul Cegled (Professor in Tyrnau [Trnava] and Heidelberg), Joannis and Stephan Cegled; Petrus Codicillus; Alexander Ebeczky; Ferenc, Iván, János, István and László Esterházy; Johannes Falkenperger; Bernhard Feulner; Clemens Hizler of Ravensburg; Bartholomei Horberger; Joan Kühn; Ferenc, Tamás and János Liszty; Nicolaus Pettendorfer; Rutger Resti; Johann Sterbeck; Ruprecht von Stotzing; Stephan Szikozay (secretary to the Palatine); Stephan Szuhay; Gerardi de Taxis; Franciscus Trimmel; Johann Vieigandus of Magdeburg; Thomas Walperger of Monte S. Mariae (cf. inventory of the book collection formerly in the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt and taken over by the domain and housed in Eisenstadt Palace. So-called Bibliotheca Esterházyana, 1937; Esterházy Private Foundation, Archivum C.P. Esterházy, Prot. 6341.

play a major role in Hungarian politics: during the insurrection of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, he was a committed supporter of the Empire, although most of his dependencies were located in Transylvania. Well-informed as he was, Miklós knew that Bethlen's fate hinged on the success of the Protestant alliance in Europe and the support of the Ottomans.

For his loyalty to the House of Habsburg and as compensation for the possessions lost in Eastern Hungary, in 1622 Miklós received the county of Forchtenstein (Fraknó) and jurisdiction over Eisenstadt (Kismarton) (today both in Austria), each of which became part of the Esterházy inheritance in 1626 and 1649. As "comes in Frachno aliter Forchtenstein", Miklós resided from the 1630s onwards in the castle at the edge of the Rosalien mountains, exploited the proximity of the Viennese court and gathered a circle of young politicians around him. Among these so-called Esterházyans were Miklós Zrinyi, poet and military man, Count Ferenc Wesselényi and also Count Ferenc Nádasdy. Forchtenstein Castle was for 20 years the headquarters of the Hungarian Palatine's central administration, meeting place for the future masterminds of Hungarian politics, who surely knew Miklós' collections of curios, treasures and books. At his death in 1645 this inheritance went to his heir Count Pál, who enlarged it considerably.

Miklós' great goal, the liberation of Hungary from the Turks with imperial aid had meanwhile come to grief. At the end of his life, a resigned Miklós withdrew from politics and repeatedly requested to be relieved of the office of Palatine, unable as he was to win stronger commitment from the emperor for Hungary.

Miklós' library testifies both to the great role of education for a politically and socially upwardly mobile person and to the liberal theological climate in Hungary in the 17th century. The committed Catholic Esterházy did not seek the greatest possible advantage in his denominational orientation, or to play the denominations and churches off against each other, but tried to use all the powers at Hungary's disposal in the struggle against the Turkish occupation. Consequently Catholic and Protestant books are placed on equal terms with each other in his library, the dimensions and significance of which were second to none among West European aristocratic libraries of this period.

II. Palatine Prince Pál I Esterházy de Galántha

As "uomo universale" with a special Hungarian profile, in Pál Esterházy[24] there was a mixture of arch-catholic, baroque piety, a worldly sense of prestige, and a strong feeling of national identity blended with a certain earthy allegiance to native tradition. Like most of the aristocracy in Hungary, he engaged in the religiously-motivated status race after liberation from the Turks; this involved not only the establishment of religious orders, schools, church and palatial buildings, but also the increased sponsoring of illustrated and written printed works. This initiative underpinned both the development of Hungary into a Catholic Habsburg nation after 1683, as well as the reputation of the aristocratic patron.

Pál, from 1687 onwards the first Prince Esterházy, is notable for being the most important artistic patron in the family; he was one of the richest and most influential aristocrats in the Habsburg Empire and, as an author of printed works on religion and music, stands at the beginning of an indigenous – though belated – Hungarian baroque culture, which oriented itself on the Viennese court, yet stressed its Hungarian identity. Thus he became just as famous as a power politician in the

23 Cf. Koltai 2002, p.116.

24 Cf. Sigismund Bubics: *Fürst Paul Eszterházy. Palatin von Ungarn*, manuscript, Vienna ca. 1895; cf. Adolf Mohl: *Herceg Esterházy Pál nádorispán*, Sopron 1924; cf. Endre Csatkai: *Emlékezés Esterházy Pál nádorra*, Sopron 1935; cf. Andreas Angyal: *Fürst Paul Esterházy*; in: *Südostdeutsche Forschungen*, vol.4 (1939), p. 339; cf. István Fazekas: *Paul Esterházy*; in: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung (ed.): *Bollwerk Forchtenstein*, exhib.cat., Eisenstadt 1993, pp. 42–51.

emperor's service as for his legendary brilliance in performing Hungarian folk dances.[25]

Pál had been strictly brought up as a Catholic since his childhood and was greatly influenced by the Jesuits: eminent Jesuit priests provided the educational foundations for the tenth child of Count Miklós; after his father's death he was sent to the Jesuits in Graz, where he attended the grammar school (*Gymnasium*) along with the imperial princes Ferdinand and Leopold. From 1649, he studied at the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (now Trnava), where he resolved to take up a career in the Church. Besides studying in the faculty of philosophy at Nagyszombat, he was also an enthusiastic actor in the biblical plays performed there.[26]

He was not able to finish his third year of studies: forced to assume the regency of the House after four Esterházys at once fell at the Battle of Vezekény in 1652, at the age of seventeen the position as head of the family was thrust upon him. With dynastic strategies in mind like his father – consolidating and augmenting possessions by marriage – soon afterwards Pál married his niece Orsolya (1641–1682), the daughter of his stepbrother István and heiress to the aforementioned Thurzó estate. Orsolya was still a minor, so the marriage had to be kept secret and could only be consummated in 1655 after papal dispensation. This shows what status the Esterházys meanwhile enjoyed in Rome and the influence they had been able to "acquire" through their financial possibilities.[27] Their possessions were also greatly increased through Pál's second marriage to Baroness Éva Thököly de Késmárk (1659–1716).

Having made an early official debut in Hungarian politics, Pál Esterházy participated in the Imperial Assembly in Regensburg in 1653, which crowned Ferdinand IV as the German King. Accompanied by his brother-in-law Count Ferenc Nádasdy, on the way back he visited Freising, Fürstenfeld, Augsburg, Ulm and Passau and was received in Munich by the Bavarian elector.[28] Pál and Ferenc were deeply impressed by the baroque monuments and art collections, which must have included the major art cabinet and antiquities collection of the Wittelsbachers.

Pál's influence on Hungarian politics was of great significance; the personal advantage of his allegiance to the emperor equally so. As military commander of Southern Hungary (1668), he had participated in the confiscation of domains and property of former Protestant aristocrats, which increased his already enormous possessions even more.

Pál played a decisive role for Emperor Leopold I in the negotiations for Hungary's rapprochement with the House of Habsburg. For the emperor, the loyal supporter Esterházy was an excellent mediator in conciliating the conflicting parties of the Civil War through conceding to assign key offices to Hungarian magnates. In 1681 at Leopold's proposal, the diet elected Pál Palatine of Hungary, an office administered by an imperial viceroy since the Wesselényi insurrection. As royal representative, Pál was able to win major dispositional rights for the Hungarian estates in public affairs, nevertheless, he could not solve the crucial religious issues.

Palatine Pál's prediction of an attack by the Turks in 1683, with the impending threat to Vienna, persuaded the imperial house to call up a major military offensive against the Ottomans: Pál took part in the Relief of Vienna and in 1684 as supreme commander in the re-conquest of Buda. However, the emperor's aid in forcing back the Turks from Hungary hinged on asserting the right of the male Habsburg line's succession to the Hungarian crown, which Pál was able to accomplish in the Diet of Sopron. In 1687, the year of the coronation of the first hereditary king of Hungary, Pál was rewarded by being elevated to the rank of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

25 In the course of the coronation celebrations for Empress Leopoldine as Queen of Hungary in 1647, Paul performed Hungarian and Croatian folk dances (cf. Bubics–Merényi 1895, book 2, VI).

26 Cf. Bubics–Merényi 1895, book 2, VI.

27 On the financial payments to the Holy See and the sister-in-law of Pope Innocent X, see: László Berényi: *Wolfgang Esterházy*, in: *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*, vol. 62 (2000), no. 3, pp.43–52, p.47f.

As Prince and Palatine, Pál henceforth played a major role in the country's reconstruction after 150 years of devastation during the Turkish occupation. As "uomo universale", his interest was not centred solely on the political and administrative consolidation of the country, but also on the establishment of a culture designed to evoke the age of King Matthias Corvinus. Pál, one of the most influential patrons of the arts of early modern times in Hungary and ardent champion of the Counter-Reformation, was the founding patron not only of ecclesiastical buildings, but also supported and commissioned many secular works of art. The former were to benefit the salvation of his soul; and both activities would enhance his political and social prestige and that of the still infant House of Esterházy. The representation of power residing in a magnate vested with the highest positions of office, also his flaunting of family wealth, can be assigned to a special phenomenon: the ritual practice, stimulated by social expectations, of putting power, money and influence on show for image enhancement. It was a means of manifesting the position one had a claim to in society. The patronage of literature, the fine arts, music and science was linked to this phenomenon and part of the lifestyle canon of an educated baroque prince.

Libraries in Forchtenstein Castle and in Eisenstadt Palace

Besides Pál's famed treasure and curiosity cabinet in Forchtenstein Castle, the library stands out for its unique value. The castle remained Pál's most frequent – since safest – residence until the end of the Turkish Wars and was rebuilt under his rule. The large room of the treasure cabinet with the document archive was located here during this period. It would be logical to assume that the library rooms were situated in the immediate vicinity of the closely guarded treasure cabinet, but this cannot be verified. The world of 17th century ideas regarded art and curiosity collecting along with libraries as a unity: rooted in humanistic learning – which had a significant part to play in the creation of art cabinets in Europe – part of its ethos was to cast a critical eye on medieval scholasticism. Philosophical truths should be critically reviewed by studying real phenomena from nature, art and science. Ancient authors described the collections of the Romans and reawakened ideas about the power of proof through direct perception. To obtain access to knowledge, collections of all the world's phenomena should be observed in combination with handed-down written sources, thus increasing the degree of information on both.

Pál's interest since the 1660s revolved more and more around the castle in Eisenstadt, which he transformed into a prestigious princely court. The reconstruction of the fortress into a baroque palace at the very edge of the line of combat with the Turks testifies to the overriding desire for courtly representation and to the optimism that the country's liberation was in sight. The first baroque palace in Hungary was a challenge to the other magnates, who till then had lived only in strongly fortified castles: Pál had the courts of Europe as his model and his architecture fully demonstrated his state-of-the-art standing. The evidently very large library hall was situated on the main storey of the Eisenstadt Palace, near the gallery in the former south-west tower.[29] As recorded in the 1721 palace inventory, which illustrates the basic state Pál left the palace in at his death, the library contained globes and numerous paintings. The small treasure cabinet in the Eisenstadt Palace also housed a number of books in addition to the works of art and precious objects, among them the certificate of the elevation to princely rank.

28 Cf. Fazekas 1993, p.44.

29 Determined according to the palace inventory: *Ordentliche Beschreibung und Inventierung Fürst Esterhazyschen Gschloß Eysenstatt, und deren darinnen sich befindenten Mobilien und Farnussen, März bis Juni 1721* (Classified description and inventory of Prince Esterházy's Eysenstatt Palace and the goods, chattles and moveables herein, March to June 1721) (published in: Johann Harich: *Über das Schloß Esterházy zu Eisenstadt und die Burg Forchtenstein. Unbekannte Archivdokumente*, in: *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*, vol. 34 [1972], no. 4, pp. 145–169).

The library inventory

The character of Pál's[30] library already seems to have surpassed by far the libraries of the Hungarian magnates of his father's generation: the books were acquired in a market that ranged far beyond the Hungarian borders and the collection no longer had the character of a court library compiled by local alumni. The European book market could be fully exploited to cover Pál's interests in the current topics of the day; he had at his disposal both the financial means and the scholars entrusted with the care and enlargement of the library.[31] Its foundation lay in the book collections of Miklós Esterházy, György Thurzó and Miklós Oláh, and can be termed modern to the extent that it contained works from all fields of knowledge in the world at that time.

For the construction of a fountain on one of the Esterházy properties, 20 to 30 works on hydrography were acquired, which the master builder could use as illustrative material.[32]

The library also reflects the wide range of its owner's interests: Apart from 100 medical publications, Pál's stock of books lists nearly all the major works on alchemy of his time; he was himself known as an alchemist.[33] As holder of the office of commander of Pápa, Pál Esterházy had the task of supervising technical works on the fortifications, and he collected books on military science and fortification construction.[34] Another of the Prince's favourite topics was astronomy, as is shown in his drawing of a comet seen over Eisenstadt.[35] It is thus no surprise to find in his catalogue a work by Tycho Brahe,[36] court astronomer to Emperor Rudolf II.

The study of Roman historians and philosophers had been part of the firm canon of his educational curriculum ever since his student days: for a recitation from Cicero, Pál wrote in his diary in 1650 that he had received a very beautiful book from the Jesuit priests of Nagyszombat.[37]

Besides gifts, among the books incorporated into the prince's inventory were the approximately 100 volumes comprising the library of Francis Orsolini, the Eisenstadt chaplain.[38] The preserved catalogue of the cleric, who died in 1700, contains a great many ancient and modern Italian authors, among them an edition of Machiavelli.[39]

Inventories

Two catalogues exist of Prince Pál's library, each of which was drawn up after his death.

From the time around 1718, we have the records of Sebastian Ferdinand Dobner on Prince Pál's library, which primarily list works on geography and hydrography[40] and were probably kept in Eisenstadt Palace.

The more comprehensive catalogue, probably covering the major part of the library, was made in 1756 and expressly records the stock of Prince Pál's books – *Cathalogus Bibliothecae ad exigenti-*

30 Key reference for the catalogue of books: Géza Orlovszky: *Esterházy Pál könyvjegyzéke*; in: Andrea Kazinczy–Iván Kovács Sándor (ed.): *Zrínyi-dolgozatok*, vol. 2, Budapest 1985, pp. 125–126.

31 Cf. Grüll–Keveházy–Kokas et al. 1996, p.18.

32 In 1680 Paul was offered the chemistry book of Archduke Karl Ferdinand (cf. Grüll–Keveházy–Kokas et al. 1996, p.18).

33 Cf. Fazekas 1993, p.50.

34 Cf. Bubics–Merényi 1895, book 3, IV.

35 Figura Cometa kismartony visit Die 26 Decembris Anno MDCLXXX A Comite Paulo Esteras observati Die 27 Dici Mensis, pen on paper (Esterházy Private Foundation, Archivum C.P. Esterházy)

36 Tycho Brahe: *Historia coelestis ex libris commentariis manuscriptis observationum vicennalium*, Augsburg 1666.

37 Cf. Bubics–Merényi 1895, book 3, I.

38 Cf. István Fazekas: *Francesco Orsolini várplébános hagyatéki leltára 1700-ból*; in: Péter Dominkovits–Éva Turbuly (ed.): *Házi Jenő emlékkönyv*, Sopron 1993, pp. 309–312.

39 Cf. *Specificatio librorum pie defuncti domini Orsolini*, 1700 (Hungarian National Archives, Esterházy Family Archive, Prot. 108, fasc.C., no. 64. (published in: Grüll–Keveházy–Kokas et al. 1996, pp.189–192).

40 List in: Henricus Schaevius: *Sceleton geographicum*, vol.4, Brunswick 1671 – handwritten entry by Sebastian Ferdinand Dobner (Hungarian National Archives, Esterházy Family Archive P108, rep.46, Mf.14536); published in: Grüll–Keveházy–Kokas et al. 1996, pp.159–161.

am Testamenti Principis Condam Pauli Eszterházy. According to his last will and testament, these were to be taken charge of by the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt, which Count Miklós Esterházy had founded in 1625. In his will of 1696, Pál calls his book collections "a beautiful library collected with not a little effort."[41] He wished it to be set up after his death in the Franciscan Friary, in the good care of the friars, with a foundation to provide for its enlargement. Pál decreed that "any visiting […] scholar"[42] may be permitted to look into the library. He obligated the legal heirs of the Esterházy estate to supervise its conservation and protection. Within terms of the entailment of the estate *(fideikommiss)* which he established, the so-called Bibliotheca Esterházyana was now legally established as inalienable and inseparable family property.

This manner of assigning the library into the charge of a clerical order was known to Pál from the foundation of the Counts Batthyány in Güssing, who had moved their famous library to the Franciscan Friary in Güssing in the mid-seventeenth century.[43] However, the Eisenstadt foundation was first implemented in 1756; the large catalogue was issued for this purpose.[44] Furthermore, there are documents from around this time reporting deliveries of boxes of books from Forchtenstein Castle to the friary.[45]

The catalogue is divided into two parts, which are housed today in Forchtenstein and Budapest.[46] The title *Cathalogus Liborum in Arce, & Bibliotheca Fraknó repositum* infers that the total stock of books was received into Eisenstadt Palace (Arce) and the library in Forchtenstein (Hungarian: Fraknó). The catalogues encompass around 1500 titles, mostly in Latin, Hungarian and German, a few in Italian, French and Greek. All fields of knowledge are included, the major part devoted to religious and historical literature.[47] One interesting aspect is that it corroborates the juxtaposition of Protestant – in the catalogue "Haeretici" – with Catholic – "Ecclesiastici" – literature known from Miklós Esterházy's library; they are more or less equal in quantity.

Pál Prince Esterházy as a writer and editor

Prince Pál transformed the small city of Eisenstadt into a temple of the muses that profited both from Vienna, the baroque-intellectual centre of Europe, and from Budapest, the gateway to the East. The prince commissioned around 1690 buildings, altars and works of art, which mediated between the conceptual world of Central European baroque and the evolving Hungarian identity.

41 Prince Pál Esterházy I: *Testamentum Principis Pauli Eszterházy Palatini super, cum tuto triplici Majoratu in Bonis suis Anno 1695 conditum, cum subnexo codicillo ejusdem de Anno 1696 per Imperatorem et Regem Leopoldum primum Anno 1699 confirmatum*, 2 March 1695, point XIII. (Hungarian National Archives, Esterházy Family Archive, E 148, NRA fasc. 353/1, fol. 40b-41a.; published in: *Volk und Heimat*, vol.VI [1953]).

42 Idem.

43 Cf. Koltai 2002, p.100ff.

44 The inventory of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana is not mentioned in the 1722 inventory of the Franciscan library (cf. Michael Weiss: *Geschichte der Bibliothek im Franziskanerkolster zum hl. Michael in Eisenstadt*, manuscript, Eisenstadt 1979 [Esterházy Private Foundation]).

45 Cf. *Litterae Joannis Smiliar ex Fraknó 1756* (archive of the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt, Sig. AII13, fasc. 26, no. 2. [cited after Weiss 1979, p. 183]).

46 Part 1: *Cathalogus Bibliothecae ad exigentium Testamenti Principis Condam Pauli Eszterházy Venerabili Conventuj P.P. Franciscanorum ad S. Michaelem in Civitate Kismartony Sub 16a & 17a Men 7bris Anni 1756. resignatorum, & per manns traditorum* (Esterházy Private Foundation, Archivum C. P. Esterházy, fasc. C Nr. 46, repos. 8).
Part 2: *Catalogus Librorum in Arce, & Bibliotheka Frakno repositorum* (Hungarian National Archives, formerly Esterházy Family Archive, Sig. P 108, fasc. C 1, no. 56, repos. 800 [published in: Grüll–Keveházy–Kokas et al. 1996, pp.162–181]).

47 The following groups were codifed in the catalogues: Ecclesiastico-Historici, Ecclesiastici, Haretici, Scholastici, Juridici, Medici, Politici et Historici, Militares et Geometrici, Historici de diversis animalibus, Libri botanici, Canonici, Diversi antiqui oratores, Astrologici, Mathematici et Chymici, Geographici, Topographici.

However, particularly in the last two and a half decades of his life, promotion of the arts in stone and marble ebbed in favour of his intensified activities as a writer and commissioner of written works.

By 1711, fourteen religious books had been published from Pál's pen alone.[48] Their theme was almost always the Mother of God and they reflect Pál's enormous devotion to the Virgin Mary. While still a child, he wrote the epilogue to Martin Kopcsányi's book *The Life of the Holy Virgin*[49] (*A Szent Szűz élete*).

In the context of his innumerable pilgrimages to Mariazell in Austria, Pál donated the new altar for the shrine's statue of the Madonna, an object of special devotion for the Hungarians. In a programme to match his position as the highest constitutional dignitary of Hungary, the prince commissioned an engraving of the altar with the richly decorated Esterházy coat of arms and included it in his well-known compendium of the most famous miraculous images of the Madonna in Hungary and the whole world, which he published in 1690.[50] The *Mennyei korona*, published in Hungarian and richly illustrated, was noted as being especially popular in appeal and received much acclaim.[51] Its lavish illustrations assured it of its relatively wide renown.[52] In 1696, it was reprinted in a considerably enlarged edition.

Pál's collection of 52 prayers to the Virgin Mary appeared between 1691 and 1858 in seven impressions and four languages. Pál moreover wrote a prayer book, the *Via lactea* (Vienna 1691), two litanies, one to the Conversion Saints (Nagyszombat 1693) and a Litany of All Saints (Nagyszombat 1698); he was furthermore a patron of book projects on the Virgin Mary.

The theme of the "regnum Marianum", particularly popular in Hungary, also played a prominent role in Prince Pál's major work of ecclesiastical music, the *Harmonia Caelestis*[53]. Pál, who played several keyboard instruments, here compiled several cantatas based on motifs from Central European folk songs and embellished with the sophisticated harmonies of contemporary Spanish court music. Whether or not Pál himself was the composer, or only commissioned it, the *Harmonia Cælestis* is the first major work of Hungarian church music after the liberation from the Turks. The cantatas clearly show just how significant the west-oriented magnate's court of Pál Prince Esterházy was for Hungary's cultural renaissance. The fact that European high culture and Pannonian folk traditions were blended here in an idiosyncratic and refined symbiosis is characteristic of the princely patron and Hungarian baroque culture.

Pál's verses and poems – first published in the 20th century – also testify to the high standard of his princely dilettantism.[54]

If Pál's religious works set up a monument to himself and his soul's salvation, his other publishing activities were devoted to the worldly well-being of his family: the projects were almost compulsively focussed on the legitimisation of the Esterházys through "blue" and above all "genuine Hungarian blood". Immense genealogies, galleries of ancestors on canvas and carved in stone testify to this, as do the almost 300 pages of the *Tropheum domus Estoriane*, which appeared in 1700. The proof of noble ancestry was judged indispensable when assuming major office, especially in the torn, occupied and devastated multinational country of Hungary. It was normal in other European countries of the time to receive privileges through favour of the sovereign ruler; in Hungary, however, nobility of blood carried far more weight, since it reflected the independence of self-respecting magnate families.

48 Cf. Karl Semmelweis: *Die gedruckten Werke des Palatins Paul Esterházy*; in: *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*, vol.23 (1961), no. 1, pp.32–42.

49 Cf. Bubics–Merényi 1895, book 2, III.

50 Prince Pál Esterházy I*: MENNYEI KORONA az az Az egész Világon levö Csudálatos Boldogságois Szüz Képeinek rövideden föl tett EREDETI,* Tyrnau 1690.

51 Cf. Gábor Tüskés–Éva Knapp: *Der ungarische Atlas Marianus*; in: *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, vol. 1995, pp. 35–56.

52 Cf. Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, vol. III, Budapest 1994, p.32 f.

53 Ágnes Sas (ed.): *Pál Esterházy. Harmonia caelestis*; in: *Musicalia Danubiana,* vol.10 (1993).

54 Cf. Fazekas 1993, p.50.

The mainly invented family history of Prince Pál was based on this compulsion to emblazon his ancestors among the founders of the Hungarian nation and culture, and it is not alone among printed works on other Hungarian family histories – for instance, the Festetiches and Zrínyi. However, what is unique in the history of Hungarian baroque culture is the juxtaposing of portraits of real ancestors next to fictional ones and their biographies.

Pál had recognised early on the great propagandist effect of graphic illustration and planned the first illustrated topography of the Kingdom of Hungary with his book project "Topographica Regni Hungariae". Although the project never got beyond printing a number of copper engravings of the Esterházy properties from the 1680s, it must still be praised as an extraordinary pioneering achievement by an amateur publisher; such a work was not accomplished for Hungary until the 19th century.[55]

The only political work by Prince Pál Esterházy, the *Mars Hungaricus* remained unpublished for a long time. Alone among his contemporaries, Pál wrote a chronicle of the events of the Turkish Wars, probably aiming at a readership outside Hungary as well.[56] Pál proved himself to be a well-read compiler and zealous artist: thus the Latin manuscript shows clear parallels to the narrative poem by Ladislaus Listius and contains illustrations from his own hand, for example of a Turkish general's tent.[57] The *Mars Hungaricus* was not published, probably at Pál's own wish, since his criticism of the Viennese Court and the dissatisfaction after the Treaty of Vasvár could not be suppressed; the work was first published in 1989.[58]

The Press

It is not generally known that an Esterházy court press had existed in Eisenstadt Palace since around 1611, the "Typis Residentiae Kismartoniensies". The few preserved printed works from the press of the printer to the court Johann Baptist Hübschlin (1677–1713)[59] were limited to everyday prints such as panegyrics and instructions[60], also the "ODEN TRAGICA seu DOLORIS PEGMA" on Pál's death in 1713; this of course meant the loss of the press's sponsor and it was closed down shortly afterwards.

III. Subsequent fate of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana

The subsequent fate of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana is a story of neglect and erring paths: transferred to the Franciscan Friary 43 years after Pál's last will and testament, the inventory was scantly tended, scarcely enlarged, and increasingly mixed up with the friars' books. This state of affairs was the source of constant rebuke from the Princes Esterházy,[61] but it never really improved. In 1884, the library was described as being in a "complete mess".[62] Especially damp had caused serious damage, still seen today on many of the books.

55 Cf. Géza Galavics: *Fürst Paul Esterházy als Mäzen*; in: Bundesdenkmalamt Wien/ Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien (ed.): *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. XLV (1992), pp. 121–290, p. 131. The engravings by Jakob Hoffmann and Matthäus Greischer served as models for: Anton Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein*: Ertz-Herzogliche Handgriffe des Zirckels und Linials, oder außerwehlter Anfang zu denen Mathematischen Wissenschaften*, Vienna 1686.

56 Cf. Galavics 1992, p.126.

57 Paul's manuscript has been preserved: Prince Pál Esterházy I: *Mars Hungaricus sive Tractatus de bello turcio eiusdemque primordio ac fine* (Hungarian National Archives, Esterházy Family Archive, Prot. 125, 702 cs, no. 11895).

58 Emma Iványi: *Mars Hungaricus*; in: *Zrinyi könyvtár*, vol. III., Budapest 1989.

59 Cf. André Csatkai: *Die fürstlich Esterházyschen Druckereien in Eisenstadt*; in: *Burgenländisches Heimatblatt*, vol.5 (1936), p.4; cf. Gedeon Borsa: *Ein Beitrag zur Eisenstädter Druckerei des 18. Jahrhunderts*; in: *Burgenländisches Heimatblatt*, vol. 18 (1956), p. 188.

60 *INSTRUCTION Vnd Form Die PROFESSION Einer Closter Jungfern abzulege!/ Schloß Eysen-Stadt/ gedruckt bey Johann Baptist Hübschlin / Ihro Hoch Fürstl. Durchl. Palatinischen Hoff-Buchdruecker* (Instruction and form to be submitted for the profession of a convent nun!/Eisenstadt Palace printed by Johann Baptist Hübschlin / Your Most Royal Highness's Palatine Court Book Printer).

61 Cf. Letter from Miklós I Prince Esterházy to the Guardian, 1782 (archive of the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt, Sig. AII13, fasc. 26, no. 3 [cited after Weiss 1979, p. 183f]).

62 Chronicle of the Franciscan Friary III. (archive of the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt, Sig. AII13, fasc. 26, no. 13, p.6 and p.40f. [cited after Weiss 1979, p. 185]).

Several attempts to save the library failed, for reasons unknown.[63] Probably the value of the collections was not sufficiently recognised. It was only in 1936 that the last son and heir to the family, Prince Pál V Esterházy (1901–1989), had the books packed up and brought back to Eisenstadt Palace.[64] These boxes, containing around 2000 volumes, were never unpacked and were carried off to Moscow by Russian troops in 1945, where a major part of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana is stored today in the Library of Foreign Literature. A second inventory which landed in Hungary via the former GDR during the post-war years was transferred back to the private estate of the Esterházy family in 2003 and is being shown for the first time in the scope of this exhibition.

IV. Later libraries of the Princes Esterházy

Besides the foundation of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana, new libraries were set up over the centuries and housed in the palaces and castles of the Esterházys.

The executor of Prince Pál's will, Prince Pál II Antal (1711–1762), was noted for his library while still a student at Liège University.[65] He was an enthusiastic collector of French literature and above all music manuscripts, on which he spent enormous sums. Pál II Antal went down in music history by engaging Joseph Haydn in 1761 as *Kapellmeister* of the princely court orchestra, a sign that the hitherto consistently Hungarian stamp of the Esterházy court had fully adapted to European models.

Prince Miklós I the "Magnificent" (1714–1790) maintained a large library in his Eszterháza Palace near Fertőd, the Hungarian Versailles. The inventory of one hall at the start amounted to around 7 500 books, along with the Prince's select reference library with important manuscripts on Hungarian history, and it was constantly enlarged[66] – by 1786, it was supposed to have already grown to 22 000 volumes.[67] Besides literature on horticulture and architecture, a focus of Miklós' library would certainly have been on the military sciences.[68]

The Esterházy library reached its zenith in gathering and cultivating knowledge in book form under Prince Miklós II (1765–1833), who in 1800 amalgamated the meanwhile huge library inventories, first in the palace of the Hungarian Guard and afterwards in the family palace in Mariahilf in Vienna. The inventory was reviewed, catalogued and classified under the librarian Ludwig Wieland, the son of Christoph Martin Wieland.[69] In the Mariahilf Palace, the library and the prominent painting collection – later to form the basic holdings of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts – was open to the culture-conscious public of the Austrian Late Enlightenment.

The continual growth of the library forced a move back to Eisenstadt in 1862. The libraries from the various palaces and princes were combined in the princely chancellery in the palace to total around 70 000 volumes.[70]

The reorganisation of assets after the division of the Esterházy estate into a Hungarian and an Austrian part caused the huge library to be relocated again to Eisenstadt Palace, where it is stored today approximately where Prince Pál set up his Eisenstadt library in the 17th century.

Recognition

The 16th century was a boom time in Europe for private libraries: people of every class acquired far more books than ever before in history. Though

63 Cf. Weiss 1979, p. 185ff.

64 Cf. Weiss 1979, p. 187; after: Chronicle of the Franciscan Friary III.; archive of the Franciscan Friary in Eisenstadt, Sig. AII13, fasc. 26, no. 13, p. 166.

65 He is supposed to have sent several cabinets full of books to Hungary (cf. Gabriel 2001, p.123).

66 Cf. *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterháß im Königreiche Ungern*, Pressburg (Bratislava) 1784, p.19f.

67 Johann Matthias Korabinsky: *Geographisch-historisches- und Produkten-Lexikon von Ungarn, Pressburg 1786, p.166f.*

68 *Cf. Gabriel 2001, p.123.*

printing technology gave the crucial impulse in connection with the Lutheran Reformation, it was the intellectual movement of pietism that caused the practice of reading to become embraced on a massive scale in the society of the late 17th century.

The library of the princely family of the Esterházys – still in existence today – goes back in its roots to this era and shows that the Pannonian region was also part of a development primarily assigned to Western Europe.

The Bibliotheca Esterházyana can be traced back to the first half of the 17th century. In this period, Count Miklós Esterházy, the founder of the library, also laid the foundations for the ascendancy of the family. The collections grew constantly and frequently changed location, yet demonstrated the great influence of family members in politics, industry, society and culture in Hungary and Austria, and prove how close the connections were between knowledge and power.

The early collecting phase was especially characterised by the inheritances of the wives of Count and later Palatine Miklós, but it also reflects the intellectual climate of Western Hungary during the Turkish siege. Thus the books both of the Archbishop of Esztergom Miklós Oláh and of the Protestant Palatine Georg Count Thurzó found equal access into the inventory. The book plate of the Esterházy books show not only Heidelberg scholars as former owners, but of course also many Hungarian magnates and members of the German aristocracy. The almost equal number of Protestant and denominationally non-conformist works indicates the atmosphere of religious liberty in the torn and occupied country. Furthermore, the book production of the strict Catholic Miklós and of his brother Tamás Count Esterházy, eminent as the author of Protestant pamphlets, is evidence of the almost equal co-existence between the denominations in Hungary. The Esterházy library profited from the rich book collections of the Protestants, who in 17th century Hungary as well – the same is true of the whole of Europe – owned much larger libraries than the Catholic aristocracy and bourgeoisie. A great number of Hungarian Protestants regarded the book as part of their cultural and religious identity.

Although secular books were naturally of less significance in this early phase of the Bibliotheca Esterházyana – as in the rest of Europe – the range of topics was extended around the turn of the century: Pál Esterházy invested in targeted collecting from all fields of knowledge and interests pertaining to a baroque person, of which the first Prince of the family was a classic example.

Collecting books from all parts of Europe increasingly became part of a baroque status race; the book was also valued more and more as a capital asset. In combination with the important art and curiosity cabinet – cut off from the outside world in Forchtenstein Castle – the books formed part of an incomparably intimate ambience. The library proved to be a retreat, a place of meditation and study par excellence, and found a place in Prince Pál's main residences, in Forchtenstein Castle and Eisenstadt Palace.

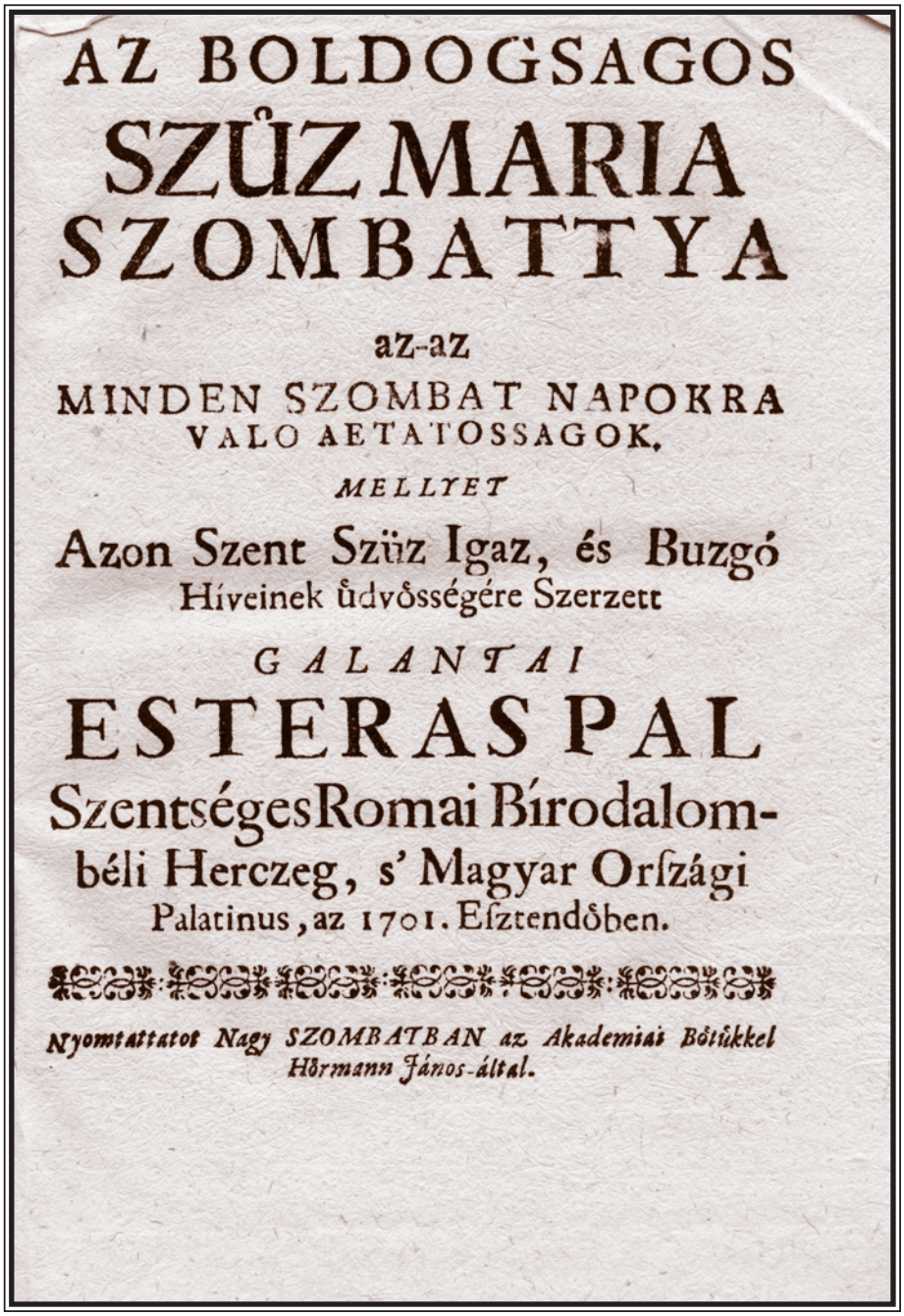
The great number of Pál's own writings and other prominent written works testifies to the baroque sense of self and mission: his works on the Virgin Mary represent the devout Catholic, the – unpublished – political and topographical works the eminent statesman and patron of Hungary's reconstruction after liberation from the Turks. His genealogical studies demonstrate his role as vindicator of the family's legendary rise to the highest offices and social rank in Hungary, and his compilation of music even marks the birth of Hungarian church music.

The Palatines and Princes of the House of Esterházy played a major role in Hungary's development after the liberation from the Turks and profited by it. With their influence, their ideas, and their connections to Europe, they were decisive in consolidating the awakening nation of Hun-

69 *Cf. Gabriel 2001, p.125.*
70 *Cf. Gabriel 2001, p.129.*

gary, a process in which Austria played a prominent and formative role. Their libraries were always outstanding examples of the high level of education and the cultural sense of identity and mission in the Pannonian region.

The "beautiful library collected with not a little effort" of the Palatine Pál and his father is today the only library of this scale and significance in private ownership still in existence in Central Europe. As a mirror to the impressive ascendancy of the House of Esterházy, as a testimonial of the theologically liberal ethos in the age of European religious conflicts, and of the far-reaching European connections and the cultural renaissance of Hungary, it forms an outstanding part of the cultural heritage of the Pannonian region.



AZ BOLDOGSAGOS
SZŰZ MARIA
SZOMBATTYA

az-az

MINDEN SZOMBAT NAPOKRA
VALO AETATOSSAGOK,

MELLYET

Azon Szent Szüz Igaz, és Buzgó
Híveinek üdvösségére Szerzett

GALANTAI

ESTERAS PAL

Szentséges Romai Birodalom-
béli Herczeg, s' Magyar Országi
Palatinus, az 1701. Esztendőben.

Nyomtattatot Nagy SZOMBATBAN az Akademiai Betűkkel
Hörmann János-által.

Prince Pál Esterházy: Az boldogsagos szűz Maria szombattya, Nagyszombat, Johann Hörmann, 1701. 4° RMK I. 1638
Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P

Expeditis g° magis et v̄/
sus patriam regressis ad
huc stat dña mūdi cū pu/
ero hiesu z nutricio ei9 io
seph aput p̄sepe ī illo loco
llo pacīēter z hūilit vsq; ad .xl. diē ac
si q̄is mulier alia de populo z puer
hiesus homo pur9 esset et legis obſ/
uācia īdigēt. Stabat g° dña vigilās
z attēta sup custodia dilecti filij sui O
cū quāta sollicitudine z diligētia ip̄m
gubernabat ne vel ī mīmo esset defe
ctus cū quāta etiā reuerentia cautela
et pio timore ipsū cōtractabat quem
sciebat esse deū suū et dominū suū. flex
is genubꝫ accipiebat/ipsuz et repone/
bat in cunis. Cū quanta etiā iocūdita
te cōfidētia z auctoritate materna ip
sum āplexabat' osculabat' stringebat
dulciter et delectabat' in eo quē cerne
bat esse filiū suū/q̄ sepe q̄ curiose in
tuebat' in vltu z in singulis ptibꝫ ei9
sacratissimi corporis q̄ serioſe et pru/
dēt tenella mēbra eius fastīās com
ponebat/sicut etenz fuit humilima sic
fuit et prudentissima. Dñs in singulis
officijs et obsequijs vigilāti z dormiē
ti sedulī ministrabat. O quaz libenter
eū lactabat vir fieri potuit quin mag
nam et alijs feminis in exptam dulce
dinē in talis filij lactatōe sentiret. Hz
et de sancto sene ioseph refert. Ḧerñ.
q; puez hiesum sup genua tenebat z
eidem frequēt arrisit. Stante g° dña
aput p̄sepe sta et tu cū ea iuxta p̄sepe
z delectare frequēt cū puero hiesu q;
vtus exīt abipso. Quelibꝫ aīa fidelis
et maxime religiosa a die natiuitatis
dñi vsq; purificatōem deberet saltem
semel ī die aput dictū p̄sepe dnām vi/
sitare et adorare puez hiesū z matrē
affectuose meditari de pauptate hūi
litate z benignitate ipoz. Didisti quo
mō beata vgo inſordente stabulo pa/
cienter multis diebꝫ perseuerabat vñ
non debēt nobis difficile esse nec mag
num videri in monasterio et in secre
to nostro ꝯsistere. Ad quod hortatur
nos hugo de sancto victore ad mona
chos dicens/liber a culpa non est qui
alienum vsurpat officium. Si mona/
chus es quid facis ī turba. Si amas
silencium cur declmatōibus assidue in
teresse declmaris/tu semper ieiunijs
fletibus īsistere debes et tu pphetari
queris/simplicitas monachi philoso
phia est. Sed docere inquis alios vo
lo/non est tuum docere sed plangere
Si tamē doctor esse desideras audi q̄d
facias. Vilitas habitus tui et simplici
tas vult9 īnocēcia vite et sanctitas cō
uſatōis tue docere debēt hoies melius
fueg̃ēdo q̄ sequēdo ¶ De purificatōe
domine nostre.

Aduemente autē q̄dragesi
ma die put ī lege statutū
erat exīt dña cū pue° suo
hiesu et ioseph et iuerūt
de bethlehē ī iherusalez q̄
sūt abinuicē quinq; miliaria vt scōm
legē sisterēt eū dño idē p̄sētarēt. Va
de et tu cum eis et adiuua portare pu
erum. Adducūt ergo dominum tem/
pli ad templum dommi. Cumq; itra
ssent templuz emerūt duas turtures
aut duos pullos columbarū ut offer/
rēt p eo sicut p pauperibꝫ fiebat. Et
q; erant paupes credendum est ma/
gis de pullis colūbarum q; facilius et
p minori p̄cio inuenīūtur et ideo ī le/
ge ponūt' vltimo loco. Et euāgelista
tacet de agno q̄ erat oblatio diuitum
¶ Et ecce symeō iust9 ī spū venit ī tē
plū z sicut respōsū acceperat vt videret
christū dñm añq; moreret'. Cū autē
festīnāt' vemēs vidisset eū statī ogno
uit pphetico spū z accelerans genua
flexit z adorauit eum īt brachia ma
tris. Hz mī itelligēs filij volūtatē po/
rexit symeoī. Ille aūt gaudēt' in vltis
suis eū sustinēs surrexit bñdicens deū
z dicēs. Nūc dimittis puū tuum dñe
Et pphetisās de passione xp̄i ayt ad
mariaz. Et tuā ipsi9 aīmam ptran/

1.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. **Hugo de Prato Florido:** *Sermones dominicales super evangelia et epistolas, Reutlingen circa 1478. (HC 8998; BSB-Ink H 413) – Ludolphus de Saxonia: Vita hiesu a venerabili viro fratre Ludolpho Cartusiensi edita incipit feliciter (Vita Christi in compendium redacta), Nuremberg 1474 to 1478. (HC 10302) fol. Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 865*

Note: Conventus Kismartoniensis

This is probably the oldest colligat (i.e. small-scale printed publication as part of a miscellaneous volume) of the Biblioteca Esterházyana from Eisenstadt, and unites the sermons of Hugo de Prato Florido (obit 1322) with the Vita Christi by Ludolphus de Saxonia (circa 1295 to 1378).

2. **Methodius of Olympus:** *Methodius primum olimpiade et postea Tyri civitatum episcopus sub diocletiano Imperatore Jn calcide civitate ... coronatur: ... passus fuit quartadecima Kalendas octobris. De revelatione facta Ab angelo beata Methodio in carcere detento, Basle 1516. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 401*



Note: Anno 1612. 24 Aprilis Dono datus liber a G. D. Emirico Lehoczki Paulo Szenthjwanj in sui Memoria (in ink in front cover); In manibus sorsque salusque mea Melchioris Zenth Jwanij m. p. Anno 1620 (in ink on title); Stephanus Bornemisza de Pesth Anno 1635. (in ink on title); Pulchra quidem Lectu sunt sed non omnia vera // In sese quid quid continet iste Liber. J. D. (in ink on title); Joannes Duchaj pro tunc Parochus Dioaschanenses(?) (in ink on back endpaper).

Numerous annotations in text vellum binding (re-use of Gothic manuscript) on pasteboard.

3. **Hessus, Eobanus Helius (transl.):** *Psalterivum Davidis. Carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum. Cum Annotationibus Viti Theodori Noribergensis… Accessit Ecclesiates Salomonis…, Leipsia, 1546. 8° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 14 666*

Note: Sum Joannes Glathar von Illiengen (in ink in front inside cover over previous writing); in manu Domini sortes meae (in ink in front inside cover).

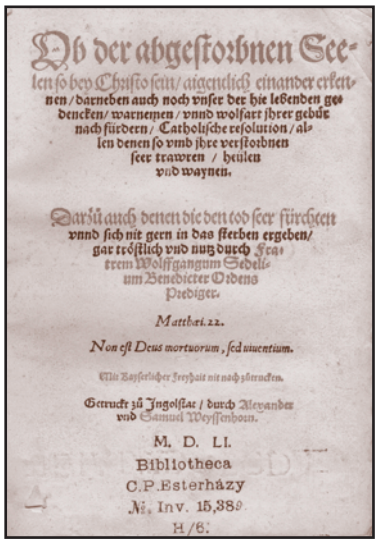
Pigskin on wooden cover of 1565.

This fragment of a work from the 16th century is from Eobanus Helius Hessus's (1488–1540) translation of the King David Psalter. Hessus's



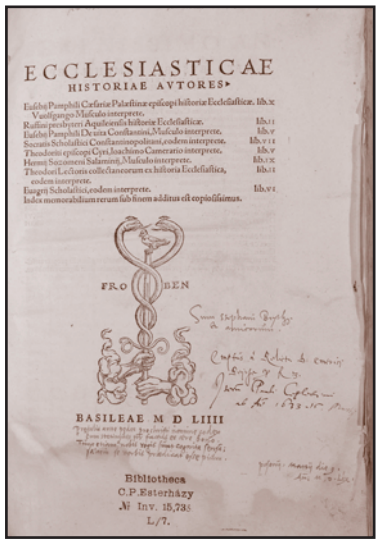
work was published together with a text of the preacher Solomon between 1538 and circa 1567 in more than 20 impressions. The elegant, almost poetic Latin verses are annotated by the theologian Veit Dietrich (1506–1549).

The Erfurt humanist, reformer and writer Hessus was a teacher at the Nuremberg Ägidiengymnasium (grammar school) founded by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). The latter appears alongside Martin Luther (1483–1546) with letters of dedication in the front matter of the book. The text of the King David psalms is dedicated to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony (1503–1554) and the Solomon text to Landgrave Philipp of Hesse (1504–1567). Both rulers, surnamed "The Magnanimous", were noted as the pre-eminent political leaders of Protestantism and promoted Martin Luther and his teachings. The volume thus unites the most significant intellectual and political protagonists of the Reformation in Germany.

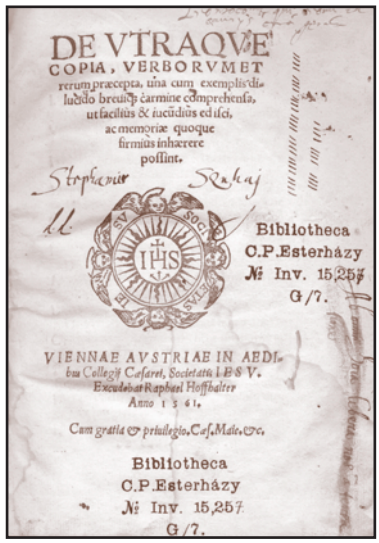


4. **Seidel (also Sedelius), Wolfgang:** *Ob der abgestorbnen Seelen so bey Christo sein, aigentlich einander erkennen, darneben auch noch vnser der hie lebenden gedencken… Catholische resolution… Ingolstadt Alexander and Samuel Weyssenhorn, 1551. – Fabri, Johannes: Etliche schöne Christenliche Predigt von dem Glauben… Gepredigt zu Augspurg im Thumbstifft Anno M.D… Durch den Hochwürdigen Fürsten nund Herrn Herrn Michaelem Bischoff zu Merßburg; Dillingen, Sebald Mayer, 1551. – Hoffmeister, B. Johann: Drey Christliche und vast nützliche predigten beschehen in der Christlichen und Fürstlichen Stat München disen September im 1546, Ingolstadt Alexander Weissenhorn, 1547. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 389*
Note: Joannes Groner. 1.5.5.6. (in title in front cover, crossed out), 1556 Eustachis Taffner. (in ink in front cover, crossed out), Sum ex libris Alberti Rosbell Parochi in Ralsperg m. p. (in ink on flyleaf)

5. **Ecclesiasticae historiae avtores:** *Eusebij Pamphili Cæsariae Palaestinae episcopi historiae Ecclesiasticae: lib.X Vuolfgango Musculo interprete. Ruffini presbyteri Aquieleiensis historiae Ecclesiastcae: lib.II. Eusebij Pamphili De uita Constantini, Musculo interprete: lib. V …, Basel, Hieronymus Froben, 1554. 2° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 738*
Note: Sum Stephani Bejthe et amicorum (in ink on title); Emptus á Relicta D. Emerici Bejthe pro fl. 3. Iterum Pauli Cegledini ab Anno 1633. 15 Martij (in ink on title Posonij Martij die 9. Anno MDLIX. (in ink on title).



6. **André des Freux, called Frusius:** *De utraque copia, verborum et rerum praecepta… carmine comprehensa…, Wien, Raffael Hoffhalter, 1561. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 257*
Note: Stephanus Szuhaj (on title-page), Magister Joannes Mollensis ultima Februarij 1583 finem fecit (on last page) Demetrius Napragi (on the inside of the back cover)



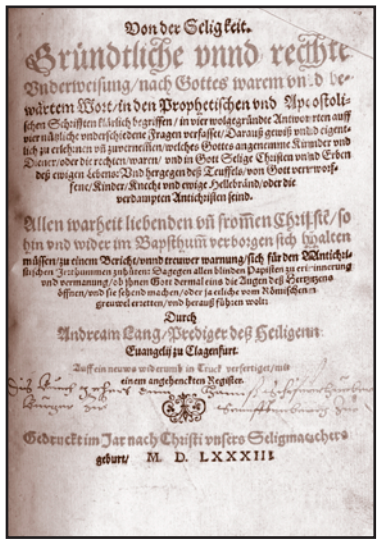
Numerous German, Latin and Greek entries in book and on endpapers.
Contemporary pigskin FZ 1580
The rhetorical text by André des Freux, called Frusius, a Jesuit from the circle close to the founder of the order Ignatius Loyola, was probably written in the Jesuit College in Messina where Frusius taught Greek.
The book contains numerous notes by owners, the most remarkable of which is the handwritten entry by István Szuhai (1551–1607). Szuhai had studied in Nagyszombat and Vienna and from 1585 was invested with the office of Archbishop in Vác, Eger, Nyitra and Kalocsa. He played a major part at the side of the Habsburgs in trials against the Protestant magnates in Hungary. The book came into the ownership of Szuhai when, as a young canon, he lived in Esztergom. He was probably responsible for the numerous notes on text layout and typography.



7. **Zacharias Praetorius:** *Das ist Materienbuch aller handt predigten für einen Christlichen Pfarherr und Seelsorger, 2. Bde., Magdeburg, Matthaeus Giseken, 1575. fol. Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 611*

This book, a collection of sermons for pastors and heads of families, was written by Zacharias Praetorius (1535 – after 1575), Protestant minister in Eisleben (formerly county of Mansfeld in Thuringia).

8. **Andreas Lange:** *Von der Seligkeit. Gründtliche unnd rechte Unterweisung nach Gottes warem und bewärtem Wort in den Prophetischen und Apostolischen klärlich begriffen… [s.1.] 1583. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 632*


Von der Seligkeit.

Gründtliche vnnd rechte

Vnderweisung/nach Gottes warem vnd bewärtem Wort/in den Propheticschen vnd Apostolischen Schrifften klärlich begriffen/in vier wolgegründte Antworten auff vier nötliche vnderschiedene Fragen verfasset/Darauß gewiß vnd eigentlich zu ersehen/ wie zuverneimen/welches Gottes angenemme Kinder vnd Diener/oder die rechten/waren/ vnd in Gott Selige Christen vnnd Erben deß ewigen lebens/Vnd hergegen deß Teuffels/von Gott verworffene/Kinder/Knecht vnd ewige Hellebrand/oder die verdampten Antichristen seind.

Allen warheit liebenden vñ frommen Christen/so hin vnd wider im Bapsthum verborgen sich halten müssen/zu einem Bericht/vnnd treuwer warnung/sich für den Antichristischen Irrthummen zuhüten: Gesetzen allen blinden Papisten zu erinnerung vnd vermanung/ob jhnen Gott dermal eins die Augen deß Hertzens öffnen/vnd sie sehend machen/oder ja etliche vom Römischen greuwel erretten/vnd herauß führen wölle.

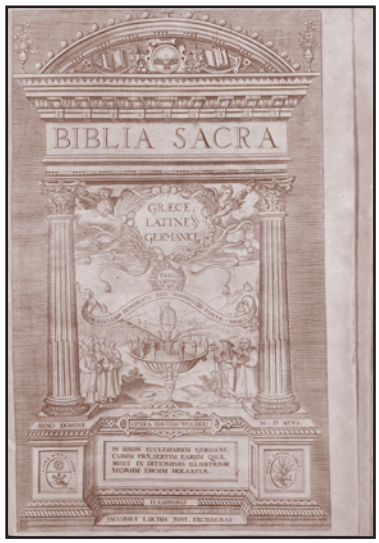
Durch

Andream Lang/Prediger deß Heiligen Euangelij zu Clagenfurt.

Auff ein newes widerumb in Truck verfertiget/mit einem angehenckten Register.

Gedruckt im Jar nach Christi vnsers Seligmachers geburt/ M. D. LXXXIII.

Note: Dies Buch gehört dem Hannß Schiferbinder Bürger zur Sunnfftenberg zur (in ink on title); 1590 Herz Dein Will Geschicke ist/ Hannß Schiferbinder zur/ geherig. (in ink on flyleaf Was Gott will Erquickhen/ Das kann Niemandt Erstickenn (in ink on flyleaf). The book is intended as a reformative system of instruction on behaviour and was published by the Klagenfurt clergyman Andreas Lange. He was one of a group of theologians who were called to Carinthia in the mid-sixteenth century to teach at the "Collegium Sapientiae et Pietatis", an educational institution of the estates, influenced by Luther.


BIBLIA SACRA

GRÆCE, LATINE, GERMANICE

9. **David Wolder, St. Pagninus, Theodor von Beza, Martin Luther:** *Biblia sacra. Graece, latine et germanice, Hamburg Jakob Lucius jr., 1596. Fol. Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 858 Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 475*

The trilingual Holy Bible is known as the "Hamburger Polyglott".

10. **Jeremias Drexel:** *Opera spiritualia, Doubus Tomis comprehensa, Douai, Baltazar Belleri, 1636. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 475*



Note: Comitis Stephani Esterhazi Anno 1639 (in ink on title), Supralibros: C(omitis) S(tephani) E(sterházy)

The writings of Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638), the principal of the Jesuit College in Munich and chaplain to the court of Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria, were extraordinarily popular, even among Protestants. According to his own hand-written entry on the title-page, the book came into the ownership of Count István Esterházy (1616–1641) in 1639. As the first-born son of Miklós Esterházy de Galanthás, who led the family back to Catholicism, Stephan was brought up in strict accordance with Counter-Reformation mysticism and scholasticism. It was probably through Stephan's daughter Orsolya – later to marry Prince Pál Esterházy – that the "Opera spiritualia" came into the Bibliotheca Esterházyana in Eisenstadt.

11. **András Illyes:** *A' keresztyeni eletnek peldaja vagy tüköre, Nagyszombat, Mátyás Srensky, 1682. 4° RMK I. 1291 Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 355*

Note: Tobias Magáth olvasvan e könyvet 1875 ben (in ink in front cover);); Magáth Tobias (in pencil on endpaper of part 5);); Fr Ozsvaldus Schäffer Geboret im jahr 1849. in Pusta Gyimoth Eingekleidet im jahr 1874 in Eisenstadt, Hic liber es meus testis est deus hic (…) erit (in ink in back cover); Magath Tobias, Magath, Tobias Magáth 1875, Magáth Tobias (in ink in back cover)



The Archbishop of Esztergom, György Szelepcsényi, had encouraged the Pozsony (Bratislava) canon András Illyés (1637–1712) to translate the lives of the saints from Italian into Hungarian. The latter had previously been sent to Rome as ambassador in order to receive from Pope Clement IX the cope of the Archbishop who was to be consecrated, and bring it to Esztergom.

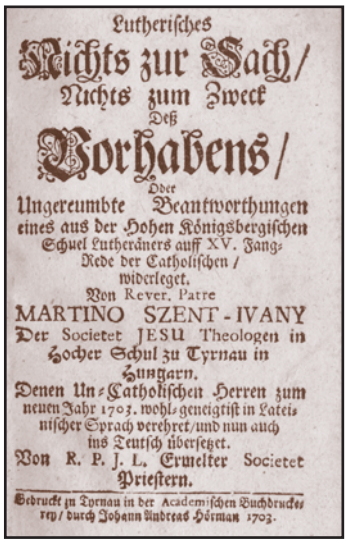


12. **Stephan Pilarik jun.,:** *Höchst-nöthiger und nützlicher Catechistischer Lehr-Grund/ Zu Bezeugung seines danckbaren Gemüthes gegen dem Grund-frommen GOTT…, Johann Christoph Jacob Brieg, 1687. 8° RMK III. 3435 Bibliotheca Esterházyana 14 418*

Note: Conventus Kismartoniensis: 777. (in ink on front inside cover)

The frontispiece portrait of István Pilarik shows a devil on the subject's shoulder whispering in his ear, the beard is drawn longer in caricature.

István Pilarik (1647–1710) was a Protestant minister in the region of Upper Silesia and Lower Hungary. The first edition of the Pilarik catechism was produced in the year of the concessions to the Hungarian Protestants through the resolutions of the Ödenburg Diet in 1681. These granted religious freedom once more to the Hungarian nobility and townships.


Lutherisches
Nichts zur Sach/
Nichts zum Zweck
Deß
Vorhabens/
Oder
Ungereumbte Beantworthungen
eines aus der Hohen Königsbergischen
Schuel Lutheräners auff XV. Fang-
Rede der Catholischen /
widerleget.
Von Rever. Patre
MARTINO SZENT-IVANY
Der Societet JESU Theologen in
Hocher Schul zu Tyrnau in
Hungarn.
Denen Un-Catholischen Herren zum
neuen Jahr 1703. wohl-geneigtist in Latei-
nischer Sprach verehret/und nun auch
ins Teutsch übersetzet.
Von R. P. J. L. Erwelter Societet
Priestern.
Gedruckt zu Tyrnau in der Academischen Buchdruck-
rey/ durch Johann Andreas Hörman 1703.

13. **Martin Szent-Ivany:** *Lutherisches Nichts zur Sach/ Nichts zum Zweck Deß Vorhabens/ Oder Ungereumbte Beantworthungen eines aus der Hohen Königsbergischen Schuel Lutheraners auff XV. Fang-Rede der Catholischen/ widerleget, Nagyszombat, , Johann Andreas Hörman, 1703. 8° RMK II. 2189 Bibliotheca Esterházyana 14 263*

The exceedingly productive Hungarian Jesuit Martin Szent-Ivany (1633–1705) was a teacher of mathematics and theology at the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), where he was also dean.


L'EXERCICE
DE LA
CONSTANCE
CHRESTIENNE.
Bibliotheca
C.P.Esterházy
№ Inv. 14,986
F/2.
à PRAGUE, M.D.CC.VII.
Maria Christina Comtesse
de Trauthson ao 1710

14. **René de Cerisiers:** *L'exercice de la constance chrestienne, Prague 1707. 8° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 14 986*

Note: Maria Christina Comtesse de Trauthson AD 1710 (in ink on title)

This work on Christian perfection is an excerpt from the original French edition by Louis XIV's military chaplain, René de Cerisiers (1603–1662). The Bibliotheca Esterházyana edition has the Sporck family coat of arms on the title-page and was printed in 1707, probably at their press in Prague. This was the year that Marie Eleonora Franziska Sporck (b. 1679), a nun of the order of the Celestial Annunciates and daughter of the notable Count Franz Anton von Sporck, published a German translation of Cerisiers' work. Both were linked by their allegiance to Jansenism.

15. **Stephanus Csete (ed.):** *Doudecim Stephani heroes vngariae, Nagyszombat 1681. 4° RMK II. 1490 Eisenstadt Palace Library, V/P/3*


DUODECIM
STEPHANI
HEROËS VNGARIÆ.
Excellentissimo Domino Domino Comiti
PAVLO
ESTERHASI
DE GALANTHA &c.
NEO-PALATINO.
Inscripti,
Ab Illustrissima, Spectabili, Magnifica, & Generosa Rheto-
ricæ Tyrnaviensis Juventute,
SUB
R. P. JOANNE NEXINGER è SOCI-
ETATE JESU AA. LL. & PHILOSOPHIÆ DOCTORE
EJUSDEMQUE PROFESSORE EMERITO, AC p. t. FA-
CULTATIS PRÆNOMINATÆ SENIORE,
Oblati
Honori Reverendorum, Nobilium, ac Eruditorum. D.D.
NEO-MAGISTRORUM.
Cùm in Alma Archi-Episcopali Universitate
Tyrnaviensi, supremâ Philosophiæ Laureâ Con-
decorarentur.
Intra oCtoVaM fuIt VtatIs EIVs regIs stephanI, I. apostoLI Vngarlæ.
Excudebat Tyrnaviæ Typis Academicis Matthias Syrnensky.

This collection of biographies was probably financed by Pál von Esterházy and is a compilation of 10 rulers and generals with the name of István (Stephen) who were pre-eminent in Hungarian history: the Hungarian Kings Stephen I to Stephen V, the Polish King István Báthori (1533–1586), Palatine István Szapolyai (obit 1499), the Prelate of the Temesvar Monastery István Losonczi (d. 1552) and the courtier István Esterházy (obit 1444).

The endpaper engraving shows the bust of Pál Esterházy in front of festive baroque architecture, which is adorned with military equipage and the busts of kings and warriors. The scene is surmounted by an emperor aloft in the clouds while, at the side of the pedestal, the six students of the aristocratic contingent studying rhetoric at the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava) who are the authors of the biographies pay homage to the princely portrait.

16. **Johann Stilting:** *Vita sancti Stephani regis hungariae ex latinus et graecis… Jaurinum, Gregor Johannis Streibing 1747. 2° Petrik III. 445. Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 729*


VITA
SANCTI
STEPHANI
REGIS HUNGARIÆ
EX LATINIS & GRÆCIS,
ALIARUMQUE GENTIUM MONUMENTIS
COLLECTA, DIGESTA,
COMMENTARIIS & OBSERVATIONIBUS
ILLUSTRATA
In qua
Joannis Schwartzii Hungari heterodoxi adversus initia Religionis apud Ungaros Christianæ & Angelicum Regni Ungariæ Coronam calumnias refutantur,
à
JOANNE STILTINGO
SOC. JESU THEOLOGO,
CONTINUATORE JOAN. BOLANDI.
JAURINI,
Typis Gregorii Joannis Streibig, privil. Reg. & Episc. Typogr.
Bibliotheca
C.P. Esterházy
Nº Inv. 15,729
L/7.

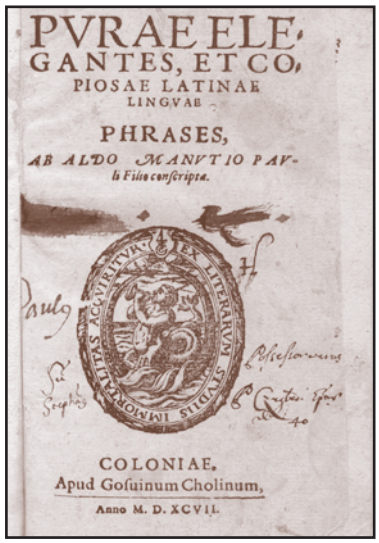

De modis sig.
Circa quartum
Circa tertium
Circa sextum

17. **Thomas de Erfordia:** *De Modis Significandi: seu Dramatica Speculatia, Venetia, Simon de Leure, 27 August 1499. (HCR 6453) – Petrus Aureoli: Aurea ac pene divina totius sacre pagine Commentaria compendiose edita per… Petrum Aureolum…; Venetia, Lazarus de Soardi, 29 October 1507. 4° Biblioteca Esterházyana 14 319*

Note: Lucae Frölich (in ink on title)

The treatise "De Modis significandi" (On the significant modes of language) is held to be the concluding work of the school of speculative grammar, a branch of Late Medieval linguistics. According to the theory of Thomas von Erfurt (circa 1300/1310), the same grammatical forms and functions can be found in all languages, thus could be universally described as the significant modes of language (modi significandi).

18. **Aldo Manuzio:** *Pvre elegantes, et copiosae latinae linguae phrases, Cologne, Goswin Cholinus 1597. – Theodoricus Morellus: Enchiridion ad verborvn copiam havd infrvgiferum, denuo multo quám antea, auctius emaculatiusque in lucem datum, Cologne, Fabrizio Gualthero, 1560. 8° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 002*


PVRAE ELE-
GANTES, ET CO-
PIOSAE LATINAE
LINGVAE
PHRASES,
AB ALDO MANVTIO PAV-
li Filio conscriptæ.
COLONIAE,
Apud Gosuinum Cholinum,
Anno M. D. XCVII.

Note: 1646/ M Stephani Czegled./ A Emptus den. 40./ Anno 1642. (in ink on front endpaper); Paulus/ H (in ink on title of first book); Sum/ Possessor vedus/ Stephanus/ P Czegled. Emptus/ 40 (in ink on title-page of first book); Sono dedit hunc libellum/ ego Paulus Zondág Stepha-/ no Beniamin Szylagi Fr(atr)i suo/ clarißimo, Deus optimus/ maximus qum promoueiat in/ studijs d(oct)r(in)a christiana, Amen (recto of last page of first book)

19. **Giovanni Battista Podesta:** *Dissertatio academica, Continens specimen triennalis profectûs in linguis orientalibus, Arabica nempè, Persica & Turcica, cui varia curiosa & scitu digna intermiscentur…, Vienna, Leopold Voigt, 1677. 4° Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 404*

The Italian linguist Podesta (circa 1625 to 1698) was from 1671 onwards secretary for Oriental languages to Emperor Leopold I.


DISSERTATIO ACADEMICA,
Continens specimen triennalis profectûs in linguis orientalibus, Arabica nempè, Persica & Turcica, cui varia curiosa & scitu digna intermiscentur,
SUB GLORIOSISSIMIS AUSPICIIS
POTENTISSIMI & INVICTISSIMI ROMANORUM IMPERATORIS
LEOPOLDI I.
CÆSARIS SEMPER AVGVSTI,
GERMANIÆ, HUNGARIÆ, BOHEMIÆQUE, &c. REGIS, ARCHIDUCIS AUSTRIÆ, &c.
Deferente
PRÆNOBILI, DOCTISSIMO, CONSULTISSIMOQUE VIRO,
D. JOANNE BAPTISTA PODESTA, AA. LL. & Philosophiæ Magistro, Utriusque Juris Candidato; Imperiali Authoritate, Arabicæ, Persicæ, Turcicæque linguæ Professore publico; Sac. Cæs. Regiæq; Majestati in linguis orientalibus à Secretis,
Publicè exhibenda
à
NOBILIBUS & DOCTISSIMIS DOMINIS LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM AUDITORIBUS.
VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,
Typis Leopoldi Voigt, Universitatis Typographi, Anno 1677.

20. **Laurent Beyerlinck:** *Magnvm theatrum vitae hvmanae: hoc est rervm divinarvm, hvmanarvmqve syntagma catholicvm, philosophicvm, historicvm et dogmaticvm, 6 volumes, volume 1 (A-B), Lyon, , Johann-Anton Huguetan, Marc-Anton Ravaud, 1656. fol. Bibliotheca Esterházyana 15 794*



The encyclopaedia by Beyerlinck (obit 1627), the administrator of the Episcopal Seminary in Antwerp, is part of a six-volume set.
The copper engraving on the second titlepage of the encyclopaedia alludes to diverse baroque emblems that convey an easily understandable, moralising message to the reader.

21. **Johannes Capistran Sebacher:** *Der Zum Vierten Erbaute Tempel Salamon, Das ist: Höchst-Schuldigst-Demüthige Danck-Lob-Ehr und dedications-predſh/ Von der Zum Vierten Höchst-Kostbar von Ihro Hoch-Fürstl: Durchleucht Paulo Esterhasy Erbauten Kirchen deß weit-berühmten Gnaden-Orths Maria Auf der Haydt Hinter dem Ungerischen See-Förto…, Nagyszombat, Johann Andreas Hörmann, 1703. 2° RMK III. 2183 Eisenstadt Palace Library V-E-7in*



When Miklós von Esterházy assumed the rule of Eisenstadt and the county of Forchtenstein in 1622, he was also endowed with the patronage of all the churches, monasteries, convents and chapels in the region, and with this the responsibility for their building and conservation.
This hereditary family patronage first ended in 1963 and was practised with special devotion by Prince Pál.
1694 saw the reconstruction of the pilgrimage church of Frauenkirchen near Neusiedler See. The Italian architect Francesco Martinelli and Italian stucco craftsmen were assigned to carry out the baroque design. The building was rededicated on 19 November 1702. The occasion of the illustratio gave rise to the thanks giving sermon of Father Johannes Capistran Sebacher, which was dedicated to Prince Pál Esterházy.
The large engraving of 1702 shows the baroque south façade of the church. Visible to the left of the church is the re-erected Franciscan friary, also a foundation of Prince Pál. The Mount Calvary in front of it still exists today, unlike the chapels on the right side. The pilgrimage church is surmounted by the so-called miraculous image of Frauenkirchen. An eagle, surrounded by inscription scrolls, carries the portrait of the princely patron wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece. The emblem of the order, however, has with great self-assurance been replaced by the Esterházy coat of arms.

22. **Carolus I.** *Superatis aemulis hungariar rex electus Tyrnaviae, Typ. Academicis, 1712. 4° Petrik. 395 Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P-2*


CAROLUS I.
SUPERATIS ÆMULIS
HUNGARIÆ REX
ELECTUS,
AC
HONORI
CELSISSIMI SACRI ROM. IMP.
PRINCIPIS,
PAULI
ESZTERHAZI
DE GALANTHA,
Perpetui Comitis in Frakno, Regni Hungariæ Palatini, Judicis Cumanorum, Aurei Velleris Equitis, Comitatuum Sopronienſis, Peſt, Pilis, Zold Supremi Comitis, Partium Regni Hungariæ ultra Danubianarum, ac Confiniorum Antemontanorum Supremi Generalis, Sac. Cæſ. Regiæq; Maj. Actualis Intimi Conſiliarii, Arcis & Præſidij Czobanez Supremi ac Hæreditarij Capitanei, & per Hungariam Locumtenentis, &c.
DOMINI, DOMINI
AC
MOECENATIS GRATIOSISSIMI,
Dom
Bene meritæ de re literaria Juventuti munificentiſſimè præmia decerneret: In Alma Archi-Epiſcop Soc Jeſu Univerſ. Tyrnaviensi
In Scenam datus.
Die Menſis Auguſti. Anno M. DCC. XII.
Tyrnaviæ, Typis Academicis.

The theatre play "Carolus I" by the students of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), where Pál Esterházy had also studied, was performed in 1712, its scenario based on the conflicts surrounding the succession to the throne after the death of the Hungarian King András III in 1301. The text was published in Latin and Hungarian and is dedicated to Prince Pál I. He himself had taken part in historical plays during his time as a student and now played a role in the printing of the text.

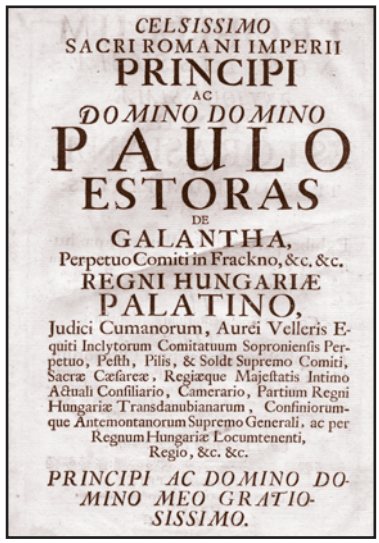


23. **Prince Pál Esterházy,:** *Speculum immaculatum, Viennae, Leopold Voigt, 1698, 4° RMK III. 4080. Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P*

Pál's discourse in the 13 chapters of his dogmatic work is on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. His argumentation demonstrates his excellent knowledge of medieval scholasticism.

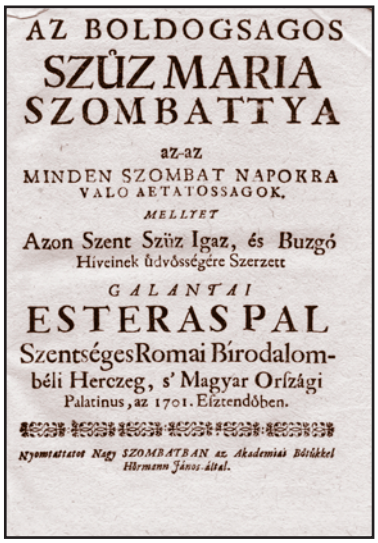
The copper engraving on the endpaper with the motif of the protective Immaculate can be found in a number of prints on religious subjects which Pál wrote or funded. In doing this, the prince placed not only his patronage but also the emblem of his power under the protection of God and the Catholic Church.

24. **Prince Pál Esterházy (ed.):** *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae domus estoriane in tres partes: Exhibet pervetustam Illustrissimae hunjus Familiae Genealogiam…, II. Continet Commentarium…, III. Complectur Donationes, Officiorum…, Viennae, Leopold Voigt, 1700. 2° RMK III. 4171. Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P*

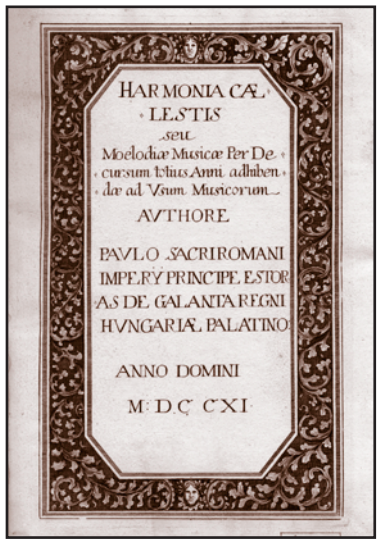

CELSISSIMO
SACRI ROMANI IMPERII
PRINCIPI
AC
DOMINO DOMINO
PAULO
ESTORAS
DE
GALANTHA,
Perpetuo Comiti in Frackno, &c. &c.
REGNI HUNGARIÆ
PALATINO,
Judici Cumanorum, Aurei Velleris Equiti Inclytorum Comitatuum Sopronienſis Perpetuo, Peſth, Pilis, & Soldt Supremo Comiti, Sacræ Cæſareæ, Regiæque Majeſtatis Intimo Actuali Conſiliario, Camerario, Partium Regni Hungariæ Transdanubianarum, Confiniorumque Antemontanorum Supremo Generali, ac per Regnum Hungariæ Locumtenenti, Regio, &c. &c.
PRINCIPI AC DOMINO DOMINO MEO GRATIOSISSIMO.

The "Trophaeum Nobilissimae ac Antiquissimae Domus Estorianae" is the main baroque work of genealogical research on the House of Esterházy and a creative example of the glorification of an ascending family through a hotchpotch compilation and falsification of history. The work was commissioned by Palatine Prince Pál I Esterházy and published in 1700; it is wholly typical of the baroque preoccupation with prestige and legitimisation of rank by defining in black on white the proof of "blue blood".

25. **Prince Pál Esterházy:** *Az boldogsagos szûz Maria szombattya, Nagyszombat, Johann Hörmann, 1701. 4° RMK I. 1638 Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P*


AZ BOLDOGSAGOS
SZŰZ MARIA
SZOMBATTYA
az-az
MINDEN SZOMBAT NAPOKRA
VALO AETATOSSAGOK,
MELLYET
Azon Szent Szüz Igaz, és Buzgó
Híveinek üdvösségére Szerzett
GALANTAI
ESTERAS PAL
Szentséges Romai Birodalom-
béli Herczeg, s' Magyar Országi
Palatinus, az 1701. Esztendőben.
Nyomtattatot Nagy SZOMBATBAN az Akademiai Betükkel
Hörmann János által.

This work with 52 prayers to the Virgin Mary to be said each Saturday of the year appeared between 1691 and 1858 in 7 impressions in Hungarian, Croatian, German and even Russian. The work in the Esterházy library in Eisenstadt Palace is the second Hungarian impression of the first Hungarian edition by Pál Esterházy, and was published in Nagyszombat. A Croatian version had already been published in 1696 in Zagreb, translated by Countess Mária Magdolna Nádasdy (obit 1692), the widow of the Imperial Count János Draskovich. A third Hungarian impression, a second Croatian and a German as well as a Russian version appeared as late as 1858, published by Alois Bucsánszky.


HARMONIA CÆ-
LESTIS
seu
Moelodiæ Musicæ Per De-
cursum totius Anni adhiben-
dæ ad Vsum Musicorum
AVTHORE
PAVLO SACRI ROMANI
IMPERY PRINCIPE ESTOR
AS DE GALANTA REGNI
HVNGARIÆ PALATINO
ANNO DOMINI
M: D C CXI

26. **Esterházy, Prince Pál von:** *Harmonia cælestis seu Moelodiae Musicae Per Decursum totius Anni adhibendae ad Vsum Musicorum, Viennae 1711. Engraved by Jakob Hoffmann and Johann Jakob Hermundt. 2° RMK III. 4758 Eisenstadt Palace Library V-P-5*

Prince Pál I Esterházy clearly pointed the way as a self-assured prince conscious of rank and prestige not only in material splendour, but also as the first Esterházy patron of court music: the Esterházy family would subsequently pursue a well-organised and sophisticated standard of music patronage that would reach the height of international significance through the appointment and employment of Joseph Haydn.

The work of church music that he commissioned, "Harmonia Cælestis", is a cantata cycle of hymns for one or several voices for all feasts of the year. The additional hymns to Our Lady with their 35 to 50 verses correspond to the contemporary cult of the Virgin Mary and in part have a patriotic, Hungarian slant. They unite texts of South German, Czech, Hungarian and Polish hymns.



Miklós Pálffy, without date, OSZK App. M. 1033 – copper engraving

Eva Frimmová

THE PÁLFFY LIBRARY

The Pálffys as a significant noble family and its Erdődy branch set up in the territory of present-day Slovakia in the 16th–18th centuries. Originally a yeoman's family, whose beginnings date back to the 14th century, started to strengthen politically, economically as well as socially – its members gradually reached the highest positions in the country such as Palatine, Country Judge, Governor, County Head or Hungarian Crown Treasurer. The Habsburgs properly appreciated these services but first of all their loyalty to the court and participation in campains against the Ottomans by granting them noble titles and estates. At the same time the Pálffys' relation to culture, education and spiritual life as a whole can be observed. One of the best testimonies of such a relation can be considered their activities connected with their library collection development, supporting book publishing and founding schools. It is necessary to have in mind important military, administrative and economic offices they held as well as their family links with other significant noble families – the Thurzós, the Fuggers, the Erdődis, the Illésházys that resulted in increasing their influence over the entire life in the country[1].

The Pálffy library belongs to rare and relatively well-preserved noble family libraries in Slovakia, however, it is not complete at present. Over the course of generations, the family members branched out into three lines, namely that of Vöröskő, Stomfaborostyánkő and Bajmóc, or Bazin. The books were gradually inherited and the collection was both developed and changed. From the point of view of research into book culture in Slovakia, the most important library is that in Vöröskő Castle, although it, as many other historical collections, was damaged by the so-called "book gatherings" that took place in the years 1948–1949 and 1952. The destiny of the library collection in Bajmóc Castle that was in possession of the younger branch of the family was also unfavourable. Along with the collection from Pálffy Palace in Bratislava, it was offered for sale in Prague in March 1926 as can be seen in Zinka's auction catalogues preserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague[2].

Research into the library has not been completed till present, for the library's unique rare books from the earlier period have been preserved in various places. Another reason is that historical book collections in Slovakia have not been properly processed yet. The library can be reconstructed on the basis of nine preserved 17th and 18th century manuscript catalogues, archival materials or an analysis of already processed books published in catalogues of incunables, manuscripts, 16th cen-

1 The Survey of the newest literature to family history with bibliography: Géza Pálffy: *A Pálffy család felemelkedése a 16. században.* In: *Pálfiovci v novoveku*. Zostavili Anna Fundárková, Géza Pálffy. Bratislava – Budapest, 2003, s. 17–36.

2 Literature tu cultural-historical significance of the library: Eva Frimmová*: Fuggerovsko–Pálfiovská knižnica v kultúrno-historickych súvislostiach.* In: *Pálfiovci v novoveku.* Zostavili Anna Fundárková, Géza Pálffy. Bratislava – Budapest, 2003, s. 118–129.

tury prints and others[3]. These consistently record any possesor's and provenance records but also various personalities to whom the books were dedicated that deepens the knowledge of the studied libraries. According to the heuristics results, today is possible to point out some rare books the family acquired, owned for generations that are from various reasons placed in different places, mainly in Slovakia. Of rare prints they are first of all incunabula, 16th century prints, 17th century prints, but also manuscripts of the modern era[4].

The Renaissance and humanism are the period of the rise of great European libraries and in this respect members of the Pálffy family left a remarkable trace in Slovakia. If we trace the entire development of the family library, it seems inevitable to point out the beginnings and circumstances of its rise that undoubtedly influenced an approach of single family members to the book. Therefore it is necessary to go back to the 16th century when the well-known fighter against the Ottomans Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600) plays a significant role. After marrying Mária (1566–1646), daughter of Mark Fugger (1529–1597), he gained by marriage and partially purchased their family residence in Vöröskő[5]. Part of estate transactions was also a book collection of Anton Fugger's family branch (1473–1560).

The destiny of this part of the library was connected with Slovakia since the period of the joint Fugger-Thurzó copper enterprise in Besztercebánya, established in 1494. Jakob Fugger (1459–1525) and his nephew Anton were extremely capable enterpreneurs and bankers, they operated in Besztercebánya for a longer period and later they purchased Vöröskő estate. To trace the library developed by Anton Fugger, with some volumes after Uncle Johann Jakob moved from Besztercebánya to Vöröskő, is very demanding, as the books were divided among his sons and grandsons[6]. Many of them, however, became the property of the Pálffy family. There are some suggestions that several books were kept in Vöröskő Castle but today they are beyond redemption. Rare medieval codices were acquired for the Fuggers by the well-known humanists Johann Derschwam (1494–1568)[7], Johann Sambucus (1531–1584)[8] or Ludovit Carino who worked in their services as preceptors or factors. L. Carino purchased books in Lyon and Basel and after his death in 1569, all his library was sold to the Fuggers for 600 guldens. Ján Derschwam also purchased 12 Greek medieval codices for the family.[9]

The catalogue of the library from 16th century is lost, in spite of it are for us known records which presents Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600) for shopping

3 To rich Slovak editorial activities in the area of issuing of the catalogues and bibliographical descriptions of an individual catalogue: István Monok: *Vingt ans de recherche sur la culture du livre dans le bassin des Carpathes. – Dvacet let vyzkumu knižní kultury v Karpatské pánvi.* In: *K výzkumu zámeckých měšťanských a cirkevních knihoven. (Pour une étude des bibliothèques aristocratiques, bourgeoises et conventuelles.)* Ed. Jitka Radimská. Opera romanica. Vol. 1. Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis. České Budejovice, 2000 [2001], s. 53–85; extended: István Monok: *Vingt ans de recherche sur la culture du livre dans le bassin des Carpates.* In: *Revue française d'histoire du livre.* Genève, Droz, 2001 [2002], s. 199–222.

4 Cf.: Michaela Kujovica: *Šľachtická knižnica Pálfiovcov na hrade Červený Kameň*. In: *Pálfiovci v novoveku*. Zostavili Anna Fundárková, Géza Pálffy. Bratislava – Budapest, 2003, s. 105–117.

5 The sources to the sales contracts: Pál Jedlicska: *Adatok Erdődi Báró Pálffy Miklós… életrajza és korához.* Eger, 1897. s. 83, 93–95; Marián Skladany: *Rybnikárstvo na fuggerovskom panstve Červený Kameň v 16. storočí*. In *Historické štúdie*, 1965, č. 10, s. 27; Viliam Čičaj: *Obilninárstvo na panstve Červený Kameň za Mikuláša Pálffyho v rokoch 1583 až 1600*. In: *Agricultura*, 1983, č. 15, s. 5–19; *Pálfiovský rod – dejiny, osobnosti, stavebné aktivity, mecenášstvo a zbierky*. In: *Zborník príspevkov zo sympózia usporiadaného pri príležitosti výstavy Pálfiovci v Bojniciach*. Ed. Katarína Malečková. 2000,Bojnice: SNM – Múzeum Bojnice

6 Paul Lehmann: *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken. I– II*. Tübingen: Paul Siebeck, 1956, 1959.

7 See the papers about his library from Jenő Berlász, resp. Catalogue from 1552: *A Dernschwam-könyvtár. Egy magyarországi humanista könyvjegyzéke. Kisérőtanulmánnyal közreadja Berlász Jenő*. Ed.: Katalin Keveházi–István Monok. Szeged, 1984. (*Adattár XVI – XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 12.*)

8 Anton Vantuch: *Ján Sambucus. Život a dielo renesančného učenca*. Bratislava 1975. SAV, 1975; The Sambucus's library was saled by his widow in 1583 to Emperor library: *Zsámboky-könyvtár katalógusa. Gulyás Pál olvasatában. Bev. Ötvös Péter. Bibliográfia*: András Varga – Ed. István Monok. Szeged, 1992. *(Adattár XVI – XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 12/2.*)

9 The curator of the exhibition remarks that he doesn't know about any document verifying the above statement. (István Monok)

of the books for his sons – István, Pál, János, Miklós – during their studies in Vienna. It was the works of the antique authors and theological works.[10] Miklós during his further studies regarded his friend from studies Franciscus Maximilian Calch of Milan in time, when he defended his thesis at Georg Clainer in Ingolstadt.[11] Certainly, also this print was involved to the family library.

In connection with the family residence in Vöröskő Castle, it is possible to present an interesting book made to order. Anton Fugger, having in mind the castle purchase, had "an expert opinion" made at first. He addressed his relative Szaniszló Thurzó, Bishop of Olomouc (d. 1540), who sent him his secretary Jan Dubravius. Dubravius in his work *De piscinis et piscium, qui in illis aluntur, naturis, libri quinque* (fist edition: Vratislavas, 1547, Andreas Vinglerus), dedicated to Anton Fugger, devotes some interesting passages to the castle. In the tractate, on one hand he gives his opinion about the present state of the castle and the possibility to reconstruct it, on the other hand, it can be appreciated from today's point of view as a unique work of the period dealing with building fish ponds, when fish-pond cultivation was about to develop, first of all in Southern Bohemia.

Family traditions of the Anton Fugger branch in Slovakia were taken over also by his descendants – the Pálffys. Their generous patronage consisted in confessional engagement, founding monasteries, schools, libraries and supporting students. Neither Miklós Pálffy stood aside – worth mentioning is the work of the Pozsony and Esztergom canonist András Monoszlói (1552–1601) *De cultu imaginum*[12] that appeared due to Miklós Pálffy and the author dedicated it to him as head of Bratislava County. The liberating of the Győr Castle from under Turkish domination in the year 1598 was the all European event. No wonder, that many of Pálffy – Duke's contemporaries try glorified him in the Latin and Hungarian celebrating poems.[13] Pálffy's correspondence and mentioned celebrating writings were also involved in the family library.

The son of Miklós Pálffy and Mária Fugger, the Palatine Pál Pálffy (1590–1653), the biographers talk about as a man who had a positive impact on unfriedly confessional groups of the nobility, he did exceptionaly and efficiently appeal on the confesionally ill-dispossed camps of the nobility. But on the basis of contemporary prints is evident, that he was also the significant pillar of Catholic Church. In the year 1628 for him published celebrating poem by Joannes Ignatius Veszleniczy[14] both students of Szepeshely Jesuit grammar school dedicated him the school drama – from the gratefull for support of the school.[15] He supported also other students on their studies.[16] Probably in the Palatin's library were located also this small prints, resp. others which were dedicated to him. Or such ones, which are reasoning with its. For example general lector of the Franciscans Orde in Bratislava Bonaventura Hocquard dedicated him his own theological work published in Vienna.[17] This reasoning the writing of Lutheran Zachariáš Kalinka published in the year 1652 in Trencsén.[18] It is hard to imagine, that he had not publication about the

10 Pál Jedlicska: *Eredeti részletek Gróf Pálffy-család okmánytárához 1401–1653* s *Gróf Pálffyak életrajzi vázlatai.* Budapest, 1910, s. 6–14.

11 Ingolstadt: Andreas Angermaier, 1610 (RMK III. 5809).

12 Nagyszombatba: Typis Capituli, 1589 (Čaplovič 1911; RMNy 632).

13 Ján Bocatius, Košice judge wrote in Latin (Bartphae: Jakub Klöss, 1599 – Čaplovič 87; RMNy 846); and Márton Gyulai in year 1599 the celebration writing on this victory – it was published in year 1619 in Debrecen by Pál Rheda (RMNy 1173). Foreign responses on this Győr victory: RMK III. 5572 (Nürnberg, 1596), RMK III. 7461 (Frankfurt am Main, 1596), RMK III. 7462 (Köln, 1596), RMK III. 7464–7465 (both Nürnberg, 1596), RMK III. 7468–7469 (both Dresden, 1597).

14 Viennae: Matthaeus Formica, 1628 (RMK III. 1419).

15 Leutschoviae: Laurentius Brewer, 1649 (Čaplovič 959; RMNy 2272); Leutschoviae: Laurentius Brewer, 1650 (Čaplovič 968; RMNy 2322).

16 For example he was patron of Joannes Wolphius, which dedicated him the celebrating speech *Hungaria* (Viennae: Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1653) – (Čaplovič 1959; RMNy 2480).

17 Viennae: Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1648, 1649 (RMK III. 7617, 7621).

18 Trenchenii: Laurentius Benjamin ab Hage, 1652 (Čaplovič 1816; RMNy 2443).

sculpture of Pietat and about wonders connected with it, because he deserved at his installation in Pozsony. Its description was published by Mihály Kopcsányi (?–1646) in the year 1643 in Latin, Hungarian and lately both in German,[19] lately again in German language in Augsburg.[20]

In the year 1653 founded Pál Pálffy a Franciscan monastery in Malacka, nearby his estate in Plavec Štvrtok. He donated also some books to the Franciscans[21]. His relation to the monastery is witnessed by the fact that his heart stored in a silver box is placed in the Malacka Church crypt. Pál Pálffy's spouse Franciska, born Khuen, went on in his recatholization efforts after her husband's death. She founded a Piarist monastery in Prievidza in 1666 and built a church as well[22]. She appealed to the Polish order provincial Václav Opatovský to settle conditions of their mission in the Bajmóc estate providing 25 000 guldens for the monastery and school. She donated a number of books to the monastery in Prievidza, 9 bibliographic items of incunables in 15 volumes with some bound books and a 16th century print can be stated.

In the 16th century great feelings for the Lutheran Church were sporadically observed in the Pálffy family, e.g. at Miklós Pálffy's sister Katalin Pálffy (1542–1616), the widow of the late Ján Krušič and of the late first Protestant Palatine István Illésházy (1541–1609). Libraries situated in the family seats reveal any information about her education, both Trencsén collection of István Illésházy,[23] both books dedicated to Katalin Pálffy.[24]

The Vöröskő collection of manuscripts comprises interesting items that were owned or elaborated by members of the family during their studies at Nagyszombat University (1635–1777); at the beginning of its existence it was attended by several Pálffys: Ferdinánd, Tamás and Miklós.[25] They are, i.e. copies of lectures, verses or occasional works that also appeared in print, from which many items preserved the family library.[26] The example can be Tamás Pálffy (?–1679) significant church dignitary, patron of students,[27] and also author of the funeral sermons.[28] A certain group of manuscripts arose at the Franciscan monastery in Malacka. In the time the monastery was supported by the Hungarian Councillor and Country Judge Miklós Pálffy (1730–1773)[29]. From the 18th till the early 20th century there were also other reasons why some manuscripts by family members or inspired by them arose, e.g. Ferenc Pálffy was the author of a legal document of 1706. From the 18th century are already preserved also the catalogues of the library.

During the era of the Pálffys there were some outstanding personalities who gained recognition for the library development. It was Rudolf Pálffy (1719–1768) from the Vöröskő branch of the family whose military career was connected with his love of horse breeding and antiques collecting – he laid the foundations of an art collection and

19 In Jesuit printing house in Bratislava were published in the year 1643: Čaplovič 346, 347; RMNy 2018, 2018A, 2019.

20 1643, Andreas Aperger (RMK III. 1600).

21 Cf: Vševlad Jozef Gajdos: *Františkánska knižnica v Malackách*. Bratislava, 1943, s. 119; Vševlad Jozef Gajdos: *Františkáni na Záhorí*. In: *Almanach Spolku záhorských akademikov so sídlom v Malackách.* Brno, 1938, s. 22–35.

22 Július Valach*: Vplyv školstva na vývoj gymnaziálnej knižnice v Prievidzi v rokoch 1666 – 1918*. In: *Kniha '87*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1988, s. 94–100. Najnovšie údaje: András Koltai: *A Pálffyak és a piaristák: a bajmóci uradalom katolizációja és a privigyei piarista kollégium első évei.* In: *Pálfiovci v novoveku.* Zostavili Anna Fundárková, Géza Pálffy. Bratislava–Budapest, 2003, s. 74 – 104.

23 See the part about the Illésházy's library in this catalogue.

24 *Evangéliumok és epistolák… Detrekő*, 1581, Typis Petri Bornemisza (Čaplovič 1686, RMNy 486).

25 Alojz Zelliger: *Pantheon Tyrnaviense*. Trnava: Typis Soc. S. Adalberti, 1931.

26 Ferdinánd Pálffy: Čaplovič 313, 334, 335; RMNy 1694, 1747, 1845, 1846; Miklós Pálffy: Čaplovič 334, RMNy 1845.

27 For exemple he supported the studies of Ferenc Kopeczky in Nagyszombat (RMNy 2543).

28 Viennae: Matthaeus Cosmerivius, 1643, 1653 (RMK III. 1662; RMK III. 1830); Trenchenii: Laurentius Benjamin ab Hage, 1648. (Čaplovič 1786; RMNy 2246).

29 His patron activities there reflects also the title of this manuscript containing name index of Franciscans in Malacka: *Liber generationis filiorum… s. Francisci… in venerabili conventu Palfianae… Malackensi.*

influenced the character of the library, the books acquired in his days have scientific contents. He may be considered the founder of the family library. He provided a uniform book binding that is of the Baroque style, made of leather with gilded ornamental blind blocking on the book spine, the books were labeled with lettering pieces and the book plate *CRP* (= Comes Rudolphus Pálffy), he had a list of books made, chose their place in the so-called cabinet and finally, in his testament of 1765, he obliged his heirs to preserve the library as a whole and also determined the way of lending books and further inhereting the library. In some books there occurs the family's coat of arms as a book plate depicting a deer jumping out of a wheel. Another stuck in book plate based on a copper engraving bearing the inscription *Ex Libris Leopoldi II. Comitis Pálffy ab Erdöd etc.* was used by the secret councillor Lipót Pálffy (1739–1799) coming from the Stomfa branch of the family. The letter "P" used in the upper right corner of the title page in many books indicates the high state official and landowner István Pálffy's book ownership (1828–1910).

We confined ourselves to the earliest period of the development of the Pálffys'and partly the Fuggers' relation to the book but there are also some samples of the later period in regard to significant cultural activities of some members of the Pálffy family. The structure, contents as well as language representation of the collection reflect needs, interests and taste of this magnate's family within a wider time horizon and preserve the legacy of its outstanding individuals. The family that stood firmly on the side of the Catholic Church and in services of the Habsburgs.

1.

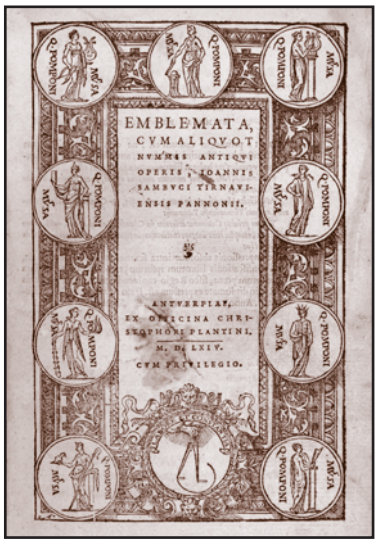

PAVLVS PALFFY ab ERDOD PERP.a DE TERRE MO COMIT. MAC. HOS. SVP. CAP. R. HVNG. PALATINVS. SCR. M. INT. CONS. CAM. et per HVNG. LOCumten:
IOVT AVEC LE TEMPS
E. Widrman scalp.


COM: STEPHAN. PALFFY ab ERDOD perp.a VERORSKO COMIT. MAC. HOSON. SVP. CAP. SCLAVONIAE
CVOR FORTE ROMPE CATTIVA SORTE
Elias Widemann scalp.


COM. IOANN. PALFFY ab ERDOD COMIT. COMAR. SVP. COMES. MVR. S. C. R. M. CONSC. AVLAE. REGiae H. MAGnae nunc S. COR. H. CONSERvator.
HVC REFERPRINCIPIVM ET FINEM
1644.
E. Widnman scalp:

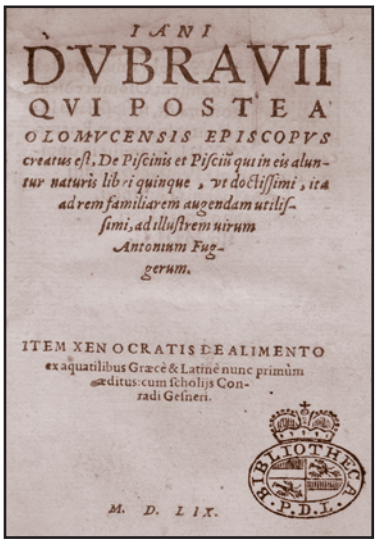
DESCRIPTION OF THE EXHIBITS

1. Portrait of Pál, István and János Pálffy
From the album of Elias Widemann: Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae (Viennae, 1652) OSZK App. H. 848



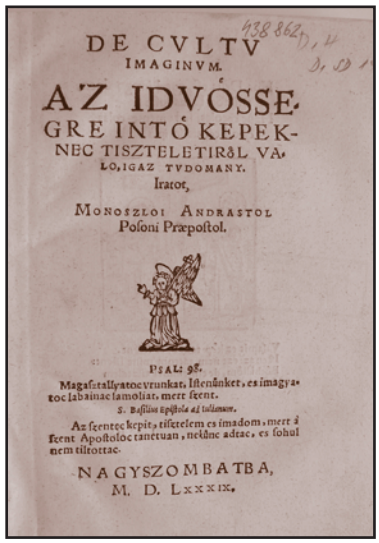
2. Johannes Sambucus: *Emblemata. Antverpiae, ex off. Christophori Plantini, 1564. 8° SNK SD 44574; OSZK RMK III. 526*
Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), well-known humanist and ancient manuscripts editor coming from Nagyszombat and later operating at the imperial and royal court in Vienna as physician and historiographer, entered the Fuggers' services in Augsburg already in 1563.

3. Johannes Dubravius: *De piscinis et piscium, qui in eis aluntur, naturis, libri quinque. Zürich, Andreas Gessner, 1559. 8° Bratislava, University Library LG 38; OSZK App. H. 2547 a*



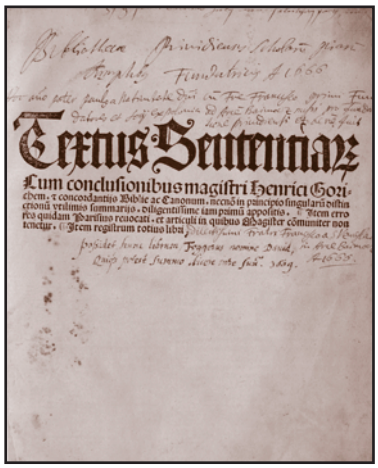
A dedication to Anton Fugger and a description of Vöröskő Castle. Jan Dubravius, was the secretary of Szaniszló Thurzó, Bishop of Olomouc (?–1540).

4. András Monoszlói: *De cultu imaginum. Az idvössegre intö kepeknec tiszteletiröl valo igaz tudomany. Nagyszombatba, typis Capituli, 1589. 4° SNK SD 14249; OSZK RMK I. 230, RMNy 632*



The author dedicated his work to the head of Pozsony County Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600).

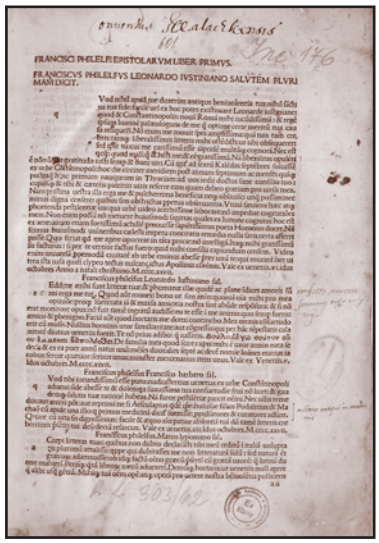
5. **Petrus Lombardus:** *Sententiarum libri quattuor. Basileae, Nicolaus Kessler, 1498. fol. Bratislava, University Library Inc 251 (HC 10198)*



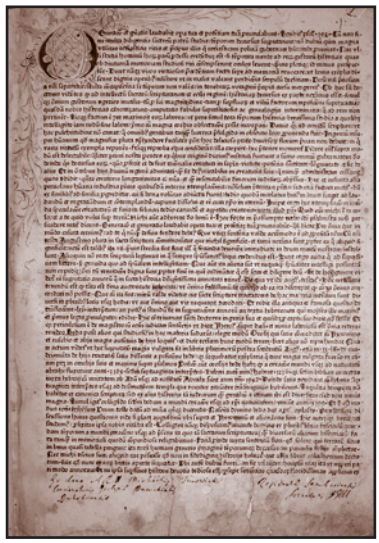
The handbook of Peter Lombard (obit about 1160) was no longer used in the 17th century, but the friar teachers had to know it. On the title page there is a manuscript record on the arrival of Father Pál and Brother Ferenc at Bajmóc Castle in 1660. They were called from Poland by Franciska Pálffy to operate a Piarist monastery in Privigye as its first founders. The record: *Bibliothecae prividensis scholarum piarum sumptibus fundatricis A. 1666. Hoc anno pater Paulus a Nativitate Domini cum fratre Francisco primi fundatores et socii ex Polonia ad Arcem Baimocz missi pro fundatione prividiensi et bene fuit dilectissimi fratri Francesco a S. Venceslao in arce Baimocz Anno 1660.*

6. **Francesco Filelfo:** *Epistolae. Venetiis: Johannes Rubeus, 1488. fol. Bratislava, University Library Inc 176 (HC 12938)*

The Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) worked as a professor of the academy in Florence as well as an ambassador of the Venetian Republic in Istanbul. The last folio bears the manuscript record *Paulus Pálffy Comes Perpetuus* and *Conventus Malaczkensis* that documents the book was donated to the Franciscans in Malacka.



7. **Rolewinck, Werner:** *Fasciculus temporum. Coloniae : Henricus Quentell, 1479. fol. Bratislava, University Library Inc 306 (HC 6923)*



In his work Werner Rolewinck summarizes historical and geographical knowledge of European countries. The incunabulum comes from the library of István Pálffy at Vöröskő Castle.

8. **Hartmann Schedel:** *Chronica. Cum xylographis Michaeli Wolgemut et Wilhelmi Pleydenwurf. [Germanice]. Trad. Georgius Alt. Norimbergae, Antonius Koberger pro Sebaldo Schreyer et Sebastiano Kammermeister, 23. XII. 1493. fol. Bratislava, University Library Inc 350 (H 14510)*



It is one of the most beautiful and illuminated incunabula. The German humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) as the author and editor of this world's chronicle summarized information of mankind's history from ancient authors to present scholars focused on the latest research into natural sciences. The incunabulum comes from the library of István Pálffy at Vöröskő Castle.



9. **Gerard Mercator:** *Atlas, sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura. Dusseldorpii, excud. Albertus Busius, 1595. 4° SNK IA 550*

The outstanding Dutch cartographer Gerard Mercator (1512–1594) elaborated and published two volumes of complete maps. The third volume was accomplished by his son Rumold who published the entire *Atlas* comprising 107 maps. The book comes from the Pálffy library at Vöröskő Castle.

10. **Theodor Kerckring:** *Spicilegium anatomicum. Amstelodami, 1670. 4° SNM Museum Vöröskő 724*

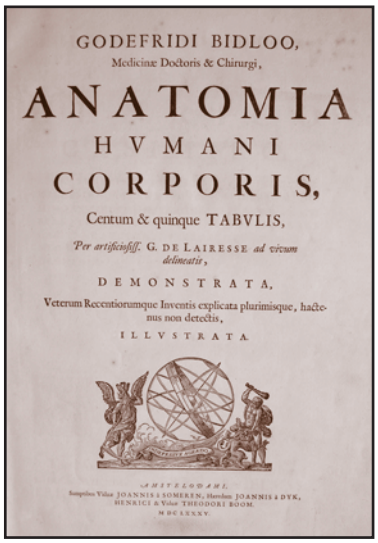


In his writing the physician Theodor Kerckring (1640–1693) gives an encyclopedic selection of knowledge of human anatomy supplied with a number of pictures and drawings. The book comes from the Pálffy library at Vöröskő Castle.

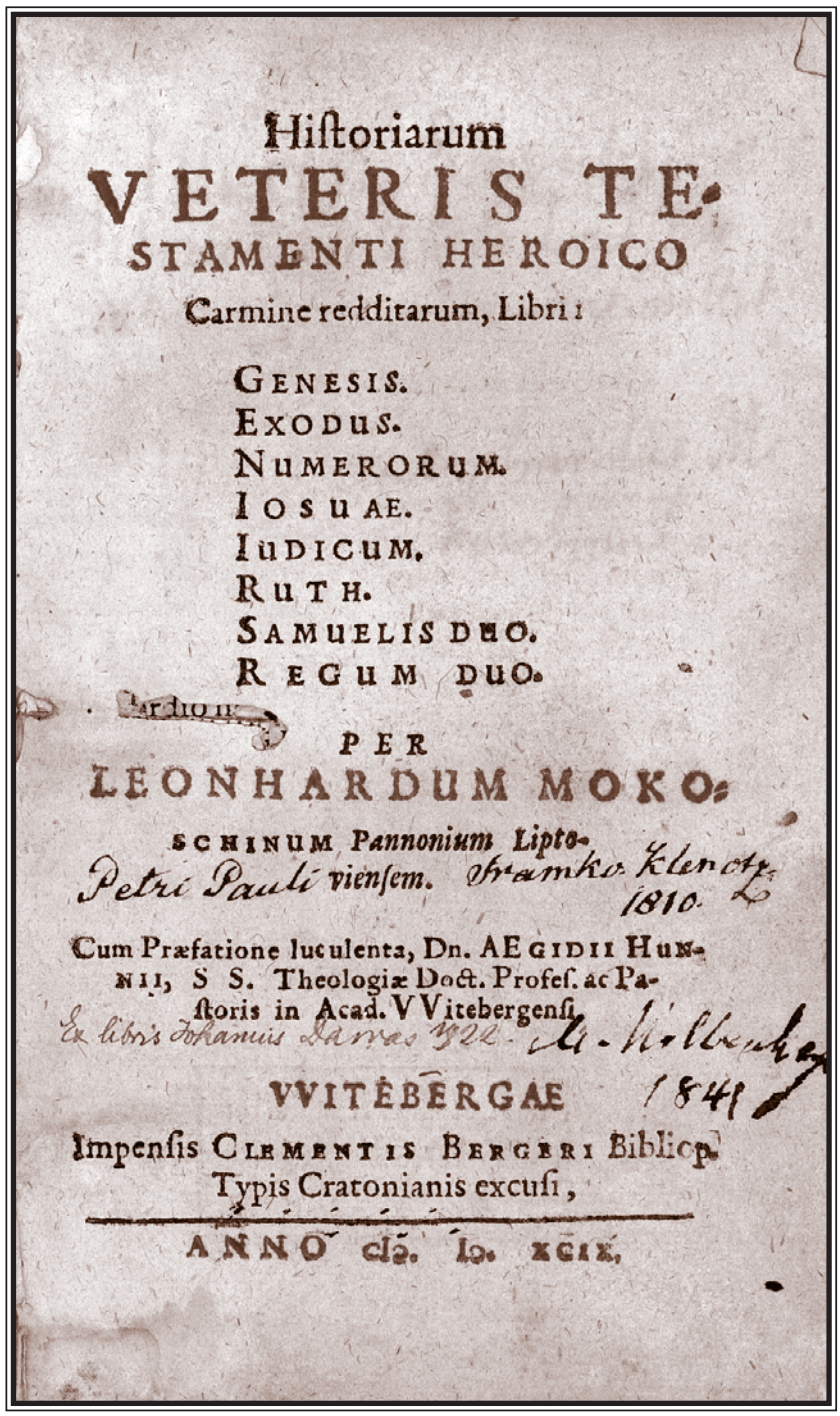
11. **Georg Agricola:** *De re metallica libri XII. Basileae, Emanuel König, 1657. fol. SNM Museum Vöröskő 52*



The natural historian and physician Georg Agricola (1490–1555), Georg Bauer by his real name, came from Glauschau, Germany and was founder of modern mineralogy and metallurgy. In his significant work on mining and metallurgy *De re metallica libri XII*, comprising rich pictorial material, he dealt partially with mining in mining towns in central Slovakia – Besztercebánya, Selmecbánya, in Szomolnok and Spis. He had never been to Slovakia personally, his information of mining pumps or ore adjustment he gained mainly from his friends' letters, e.g. from Johannes Dernschwam, the Fuggers' factor in Banska Bystrica. The book comes from the Pálffy library at Vöröskő Castle.


GODEFRIDI BIDLOO,
Medicinæ Doctoris & Chirurgi,
ANATOMIA
HVMANI
CORPORIS,
Centum & quinque TABVLIS,
Per artificiosiss. G. DE LAIRESSE ad vivum delineatis,
DEMONSTRATA,
Veterum Recentiorumque Inventis explicata plurimisque, hactenus non detectis,
ILLVSTRATA.
AMSTELODAMI,
Sumptibus Viduæ JOANNIS à SOMEREN, Hæredum JOANNIS à DYK, HENRICI & Viduæ THEODORI BOOM.
M DC LXXXV.

12. **Bidloo, Govard:** *Anatomia humani corporis, centum et quinque tabullis. Amstelodami, 1685. fol. SNM Múzeum Vöröskő 3130*
The work of the physician Govard Bidloo comprises 105 human anatomy pictures and drawings. The book comes from the Pálffy library at Vöröskő Castle.


Historiarum
VETERIS TE-
STAMENTI HEROICO
Carmine redditarum, Libri :
GENESIS.
EXODUS.
NUMERORUM.
IOSUAE.
IUDICUM.
RUTH.
SAMUELIS DUO.
REGUM DUO.
PER
LEONHARDUM MOKO-
SCHINUM Pannonium Lipto-
Petri Pauli vienſem.
Cum Præfatione luculenta, Dn. AEGIDII HUN-
NII, S S. Theologiæ Doct. Profeſ. ac Pa-
ſtoris in Acad. VVitebergenſi.
VVITEBERGAE
Impenſis CLEMENTIS BERGERI Biblicp.
Typis Cratonianis excuſi,
ANNO cIↃ. Io. XCIX.

Mokoschinus Leonhardus: Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Heroico Carmine redditarum ... 1599.
Volume dedicated to István Illésházy

Helena Saktorová

THE LIBRARY OF PALATINE GYÖRGY THURZÓ AND THE FAMILY LIBRARY OF THE ILLÉSHÁZYS

The Thurzós played an important role in political, economic and cultural life of Hungary since the second half of the 15th to the first half of the 17th century. The Thurzó family was divided into several branches, the two main branches were the Szepes one and the Biccse-Árva one. Members of the Biccse-Árva branch significantly presented themselves in political, church and cultural life of the country. The greatest significance of the family line reached Palatine György Thurzó[1].

The Thurzós on the base of close family connections with Fuggers from the end of the 15th century firmed their influence in Hungarian, Bohemian, and Polish political life. The Church courts in Olomouc and Boroszló fulfilled the significant role at forming of the education contemporary Central European space during influences of Thurzós.[2]

The data known so far from the beginning of 16th century are related to Sempte, Augsburg, Szepes and Biccse library. The part of Sempte book collection of Elek Thurzó (1489/1490–1543)[3] was probably located in University Library of Nagyszombat, based by Péter Pázmány in the year 1635.[4] The Catalogue of library from Augsburg seat of Thurzós, conscripted after the death of Szaniszló Thurzó (1531–1586) is also preserved. This book collection (111 volumes) contained Humanistic writings and philosophical works.[5] The part of holdings located in the Szepes libary of Kristóf Thurzó (?–1607) was written after his death, it was the list of the books deverted by Szaniszló Thurzó (1576–1625).[6] In the frame of Thurzós court libraries the most important and best known is library of Palatin György Thurzó, deposited in his Biccse Castle.

György Thurzó was born in1567 in Zsolnalitva Castle, in the wealthy family of Ferenc Thurzó (1512–1574), hereditary head of Orava County, high chamber officer and church dignitary, and Katalin Zrínyi (1548–1585), daughter of the Croatian Ban Miklós Zrínyi. First he was raised by a Saxon

1 About the culture-historical relevance of Thurzós: Kurt Bathelt*: Die Familie Thurzo in Kunst und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (1450–1640).* In: *Deutsche Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwart des Ostdeutschtums*, 1940/3–4. 115–127.

2 Monographic processing relevance of Thurzós in the framework of the book culture is under preparation by: Helena Saktorová: *Turzovské knižnice v ranom novoveku* (manuscript of the book is prepared for publishing).

3 Gabriella Erdélyi: *Egy kivételes karrier Mohács előtti kezdetei: Bethlenfalvi Thurzó Elek.* In: *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére.* Ed.: Péter Tusor. Budapest : ELTE BTK, 1998, 118–132.

4 The first date is from year 1533: *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése.* Ed.: János Herner and István Monok. Szeged, 1983, 34. Nr. 51. (*Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 11. / ADATTÁR 11.*); About Péter Pázmány: *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése* Ed.: János Herner and István Monok. Szeged, 1983, *ADATTÁR 11.* 210–211. Nr. 335; Pál Gulyás: *A könyv sorsa Magyarországon.* III. kötet. Budapest, 1961, 177.

5 Béla Iványi: *Egy magyar főúr könyvtára a XVI. században.* In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1909, 94–95; the same article in: *ADATTÁR 11.* 480–490.

6 We know just the signature of the lost catalogue. Cf.: *ADATTÁR 11.* 530. The same Szaniszló Thurzó is known as the patron of Lutheran theolog in Szered - Miklós Pálházi Göncz. Pálházi Göncz translated to Hungarian language the work of Wittenberg book printer Georg Rhaw, which was published in Keresztúr in printing house of I. Farkas, sponsored by Nádasdy family (RMNy 1090).

pedagogue and physician, later was prepared for military and diplomatic career at the court of the Austrian Archprince Ernest. In 1585 he settled down on the family estate at Biccse, that was along with Orava estate in his father's[7] possession. Since 1585 György used the title of hereditary Head of Orava County, since 1598 he was Royal Councillor. He manifested his personal abilities in military campaigns against the Ottomans. This was the reason he was appointed captain of the pre-Danubian troops in 1601, at the same time he became commander of the Nové Zámky military crew, in 1606 he was promoted to the rank of Count. His prominent social position of the country's magnate was strenghtened in 1609 when after István Illésházy's (1541–1609) death he became Hungarian Palatine. During this period, marked by complex domestic and foreign political events such as uprisings of the nobility against the Habsburgs and first of all the Ottoman danger, he took part in important diplomatic negotiations. His authority helped to keep peace in the country as well as to make relative peace with the Ottomans. György Thurzó significantly entered history of the Evangelical Church in Hungary and was considered its laic head. He supported the development of Protestantism, participated in forming the church organisation and co-acted at establishing Evangelical parishes and church schools, mainly in the territory of today's Slovakia. He had great connections Wittenberg university, where with his support studied many of students. His son Imre Thurzó (1598–1621), due to the circumstances became the rector of this institution in his young age.[8] Despite his clear religious orientation, György Thurzó remained loyal to the Habsburgs and enjoyed Emperor Rudolph II's, later Matthias II's confidence.

Palatine György Thurzó ranked among enlightened noblemen of the period. He kept contact with outstanding scholars in the country as well as abroad, supported spreading humanistic thoughts and the development of Renaissance art. With his interest in humanistic learning that had traditions in the wider family environment, he created a significant cultural centre at his court in Biccse. At the court there lived outstanding poets and writers such as János Rimay (1569/73–1631), native to Alsósztregova, János Fanchali Jób (?–1613), collector of Slovak and Hungarian poems of his contemporaries, Eliáš Láni (1570–1618) who operated here as a court preacher. The court was visited by Albert Szenci Molnár (1574–1634), the royal historian Elias Berger (1562–1644) and others. Under the Thurzós, their court in Biccse gained political importance as well. As the Thurzós held high state offices, many prominent personalities of Hungarian political, cultural and spiritual life used to stay at their court[9].

Integral part and the pride of the Biccse Renaissance court was Palatine Thurzó's rich library. This large and unique collection had been probably formed in a wider family library as also other members of the family owned precious book collections and were known as patrons of literature, learning and culture at all not only in domestic but also in foreign relations. The library was placed in rooms situated at the southwest rotunda of Biccse Castle, where György Thurzó had his studies. In one of the rooms there is an inbuilt wardrobe preserved up today in which were probably kept the most valuable books and documents. This Renaissance book collection in Biccse Castle was not dead inventory or just accessories of the Thurzó court. György Thurzó manifested himself as a purposeful collector, he developed his library systematically, in accordance with his professional interests. In 1611 he charged his Kassa secretary Samuel Hamel to arrange the library and prepare its catalogue[10].

7 KOČIŠ, Jozef. *Bytčiansky zámok.* Martin: 1974, Osveta,

8 *A Thurzó család és a wittenbergi egyetem. Dokumentumok és a rektor Thurzó Imre írásai 1602–1624.* Ed.: Edit Dományházi, Zsuzsa Font, Gizella Keserű, Miklós Latzkovits. Szeged : JATE, 1989. (Fontes rerum Scholasticarum I.)

9 László Sziklai: *Thurzó György udvara késő reneszánsz irodalmi és tudományos központ.* Budapest. Helikon, 1971, 393–400.

10 Helena Saktorová: Knižnica palatína Juraja Turzu. In: *Kniha `81.* Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982, 73–82; Mária Ludányi: *Könyvtárrendezés Thurzó György nádor udvarában 1611–ben. Collectanea Tiburtiana.* Ed.: Géza Galavics, Bálint Keserű, János Herner. Szeged, 1990, 271–277. *(Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 10.*)

The catalogue entitled *Index geminus bibliothecae, ab Illustrissimo Comite ac domino, domino Georgio Thurzo Comite supremo ac Perpetuo de Arwa, Regni Hungariae Palatino, Judice Cumanor/um/, Sacr/atissimae/ Reg/iae/ maiestatis Locumtenente et intimo Consilario etc. Comparatae, Pro unico eoque charissimo filio, Magnifico Comite Emerico Thurzo de Arwa, in tutis ac fidis librorum castris tum militante: Quorum alter Alphabeticum Auctorum ordinem, alter situ set collacationis seriem continent. Conscriptus in arce Bytchensis, Anno DIVo PaLatIno LaVs CresCat. LaVs qVoqVe Nato; CresCFat Io NatVs VIVat VterqVe DiV* is stored in the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest.[11] The chronogram 1610 is embedded in the catalogue's title but as can be seen from György Thurzó's correspondence with[12], the catalogue was compiled in 1611. The text of the manuscript catalogue documents that it was not written by the only individual but there occur some additions in it written by another hand and in another time. The catalogue comprises ca 450 entries listed first alphabetically by authors or titles of works and in the second series by book size. The form of single book entries in the catalogue is of the period, in many cases it contains only brief data on the print, many times the author is omitted, sometimes only the title is given but the publisher's data are omitted almost regularly that makes bibliographic identification of a work extremely difficult.

Palatine György Thurzó's library formed a rich collection of works of significant humanistic authors and scholars of domestic and foreign provenance. It comprised works of outstanding authors from the area of theology, history, philosophy, law, medicine, geography, cosmography, astronomy, botany and other scientific areas of the period and it concentrated many literary monuments of European importance. Part of the collection were numerous and rare editions of classical writings as an inspiration source of humanism and the Renaissance. A special group of the collection consisted Reformation literature of Luther's orientation of domestic provenance the publishing of which was supported by György Thurzó and later his wife Erzsébet Czobor. Integral part of the library was also occasional poetry written by Hungarian poets who celebrated his patron Palatine György Thurzó in their works. Students supported by him at schools and universities also dedicated their works to the palatine. An important source of knowledge referring to important events in family, public and political life of the Thurzós are calendars from the years 1596–1616, stored in Biccse Castle, now a seat of the State Regional Archives, in which are diary records of the palatine and his son Imre Thurzó. From a typological point of view, the library of György Thurzó comprised manuscripts, incunables, the core of the library was formed by 16th century prints and some items from the 17th century. Naturally, the library of Palatine György Thurzó has not been preserved as a whole but doing research into it we succeeded in identifying a torso of the library. We applied the fact that books of the collection were marked with possessor's identification features – a manuscript signature and supralibros. On the title page of each Thurzó's print dominates an authentic manuscript record starting with a Latin sentence expressing György Thurzó's creed *Vive ut vivas* followed by his signature written by tiny handwriting and complemented by a year of acquiring. The supralibros contains Thurzó's name initials and his political and social ranks, it is stamped on the front book cover and has variant forms, the best-known of which are: *C G T R H P* [Comes Georgius Thurzo Regni Hungariae Palatinus], *G T D B F* [Georgius Thurzo de Bethlenfalva]. The year when the book was acquired is generally part of the supralibros. During our research we identified Slovak, Hungarian, Croatia, Romanian Libraries two 15th century rare manuscripts, four incunables and approximately 150 items of 15th–17th century prints. The identified prints themselves and possessor's

11 Edition: ADATTÁR 11. 505–535

12 It is deposited in the State regional archives in Biccse. (Štátny oblastný archýv v Bytči)

records preserved in them create a unique database for the knowledge of the library's destinies. The library was developed through gifts of the palatine's relatives, in 1587 his tutor Imre Forgács (1539–1599) donated to him a work of the ancient historian Alexander Appianus (Basel 1577), works of the Italian humanistic historian Paolo Giovio (Basel 1577) and a history of Poland by the historian Marcin Kromer (Cologne 1589). Dániel Kubinyi donated to György Thurzó as his patron Harmann Schedel's Chronicle of the World (Nuremberg 1493). György Thurzó's library was well-known not only in the family circle and close friends but gained reputation of significant personalities of Hungarian cultural and spiritual life who visited Thurzó's court in Biccse. The collection was enriched also by a donation of Demeter Náprágyi, Bishop of Kalocsa (1556–1619). He sent Thurzó a rare manuscript from the second half of the 15th century – a tractate on the wife's duties by the Venetian patrician Francesco Barbaro *De re uxoria*. On both pages of the first folio there is a manuscript record by György Thurzó and a donation manuscript note by the Archbishop of Kalocsa for Palatine György Thurzó dated 1611: "*Vive ut vivas. Comes Georgius Thurzo Comes perpetuus de Arva Regni Hungariae Palatinus 1611,*" *"Illustrissimi ac magnifici domini domini Comitis Georgij Thurzo de Bethlehem falva Regni Hungariae Palatini Bibliothecae Bitsensi Inscripsit Demeterius Napragi Arciep. Colocensis... Anno Dni MDCIX"*, as well as a manuscript and printed book plate of the Illésházys from the 18th century: *"Comitis Josephi Illeshazy Cathalogo inscriptus 1728."* Today the codex is preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest[13]. György Thurzó also owned one of first works about Hungarian history from the 15th century compiled in the spirit of the Renaissance. Its author was Petrus Ransanus, Bishop of Lucerne and Ambassador of Naples to Hungary (1428–1492) who wrote a survey of Hungarian history entitled *Epitome rerum Hungaricum*[14] for King Matthias Corvinus. First the book was part of the royal library, later Vladislav II Jagello became its owner, followed by Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom and Palatine György Thurzó: *"Comes Georgius Thurzo regni Hungariae Palatinus. 1611."* The last owner of the codex after the Illésházys was Miklós Jankovich in 1830. In 1835 the codex became part of the National Széchényi Library's collection in Budapest.

It is impossible to give an in-depth account of the library contents in this paper and present all known facts about the complex history of the book collection. On the basis of the preserved set of books from the library of György Thurzó we can state that most books he acquired as the palatine and most supralibros and manuscript records are dated 1611. It is possible, however, that in 1611 during the stocktaking, György Thurzó ordered to bind a major group of prints and stamp supralibros on the bindings or to mark older bindings with supralibros in which the palatine rank of the collector is encoded.

After György Thurzó's death his library was divided among his heirs – his wife, daughter and the only son Imre Thurzó as can be seen from possessor's records in the preserved books. Owing to branched family ties of the Thurzó family, some portions of the library found themselves in family collections of the Esterházys, the Jakusics, the Thökölys and by the marriage of the palatine's daughter Helen with Gáspár Illésházy (1593–1648) in 1614, many precious prints enriched the Illésházy family library in Máriatölgyes.

*

The Illésházys, originally a yeoman family from Csallóköz, were granted a coat of arms for their merits in political, public and spiritual life of Hungary and ranked among significant noble families

13 Emma Bartoniek: *Catalogus Bibliothecae Musei Nationalis Hungarici. XII. Codices manus scripti Latini. Vol. I. Codices Latini Medii Aevi.* Budapestini, 1940, 271–272, Nr. 294.

14 BARTONIEK 1940, 222. Nr. 249; Csaba Csapodi: *The Corvinian Library. History and Stock.* Budapest, 1973, (Studia Humanitatis, 1.) Nr. 565.

in Hungary. The family members were hereditary heads of Trencsén and Liptó counties and sporadically of Orava county as well. Besides, they reached high positions in the country administration and had influence on social and political life in the country. They held various highest offices such as Hungarian Palatine, County Vice-head and Head, diplomat, Hungarian Chamber Councillor and military ranks. Besides political, military and public activities they were also engaged in cultural life. They manifested themselves as generous patrons of writers, supported art, science and learning. They founded schools, organized foundations for students who studied at home as well as abroad and they devoted themselves to the development of bookprinting in their area. The Illésházys owned large estates in the territory of Slovakia. Besides Trencsén Castle, their main residence was a manor house with an adjacent park in Dubnic (Máriatölgyes, Trencsén County)[15], built by Gáspár Illésházy (1593–1648) where the family permanently settled at the end of the 17th century. The Dubnic residence was the place where the family met significant personalities of cultural, spiritual and political life of Hungary. The Illésházys had an excellent education they gained at domestic schools and foreign universities. Part of this prestigious cultural environment was also their precious family library. The rich book collection comprising some 6 000 volumes in 1835, was developed by almost all members of the family and each collector left a lasting impression on it. Besides active acquisition marked by professional and personal interests of the collectors, the library grew larger through gifts from well-known and significant personalities of the country and many books became part of the library through family relations.[16] The foundations of the library were laid by István Illésházy (1541–1609). He became famous as a fighter against the Ottomans, as a politician he was King Matthias II's follower and in 1608 he became the first Lutheran to be elected Hungarian palatine. He supported the Reformation and evangelical schools in his surroundings and many of the works was published thanks his support.[17] These activities realised also his wife Anna Pálffy.[18] He manifested himself as a humanistic scholar, was active in literature and left several manuscript works. His book collection is documented in preserved printed materials from sessions of the Hungarian diet in Pozsony entitled *Articuli Posoniensis* István Illésházy was given as a participant of the diet in the years 1596–1599 and 1601. They are assigned to Palatine István by a manuscript note, having the signature of King Rudolph II, the seal and signature of a high church dignitary as well as that of a Royal Chamber officer. Today they are stored in the collections of the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár) in Budapest. In the 1603 was István Illésházy implicated in the crime about an affront of Majesty. He lived in Polish exile. He wrote his wife and in this letters are the meanings about the literature, which he red.[19] At confiscation of his property November 11, 1603 was written both books, which were deposited on Trencsén castle.[20] On the base of this list we can characterise cultural horizon of Palatin as the representative of Lutheranism. Similary as the György Thurzó he actively watched the polemics in the framework of Luthers theology, it's possible

15 Eva Frimmová: *Vzťah Ilešháziovcov ku knižnej kultúre*. In: *Kniha 2000–2001*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2002, 415–428.

16 Katarina Babičová–Vlastimil Hábl–Daniela Učniková: *Ilešháziovci. Rodová zbierka obrazov.* Trenčín, Trenčianske múzeum, Laugar, 1998.

17 There belongs for example also thesis of Leonard Mokoschinus with the topic of Old Testament, which was published in Wittenberg in the year 1594 (RMK III. 938).

18 Like the widow of János Krusics she supported of Péter Bornemissza at publishing of the *work Evangéliumok és epistolák* (Detrekő, 1581, RMNy 486), than as the wife of István Illésházy in the year 1602 she suported the publishing of the Aegidius Hunnius´s work (it was translated by Tamás Esterházy and István Kürti), which was published at Johann Manlius' workshop in Sárvár (RMNy 888).

19 *Pálffy Kata leveleskönyve*. Ed.: Péter Ötvös, István Monok. Szeged, 1991. *(Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 30.*) with complete bibliography of literature to Illésházy family history.

20 84 book titles. *ADATTÁR 11.* 149–151. Nr. 229.

to say, that he had actual knowledges about opinions and meaning of Wittenberg orthodox theologs, about meanings of Tübingen, Heidelberg university professors, which was from the point of view contemporary comprehension opened, both also about Irenic spiritual courses. It is logic, that his life fate got him to ideology of Anthic Stoicizm, which reflects the works of Neostoicizm representatives preserved in his library.[21]

Gáspár Illésházi (1593–1648), a nephew of István Illésházy went on to develop the library. Gáspár Illésházi, as many other members of the family, made a significant career. He inherited the rank of head of Trencsén, Liptó and Orava counties, he became imperial and royal councillor. Between the years 1626–1648 he led the Orava compossessorate. He was Gábor Bethlen's (1580–1629) follower, took part in negotiations that resulted in signing a peace treaty in Nikolsburg. After Betlen's death he joined the Habsburgs.

Gáspár Illésházi ranked among outstanding personalities of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary. He supported schools, Evangelical preachers and Bohemian exulants operated on his estates. He devoted himself to literary creation, compiled a book of morals for his children. He translated a work by Joachim Beust *Enchiridion de arte bene beateque moriendi*[22] into Hungarian *(A jó és boldog kimulás mesterségéről)*, he published the collection of Latin proverbs.[23] He sponsored publishing works of Slovak Evangelical scholars who dedicated their works to him as a manifestation of their respect and gratitude. He supported mainly publishing of Latin, Hungarian, and Czech calendars (Dávid Fröhlich, János Bandorkovicz),[24] occasional poems, funeral speeches (Ján Kalinka, Adam Wolfius, Daniel Remeň).[25] More important was his financial support at publishing of Lőcse, Bártfa and Trencsén lutheran school thesis (Alexander Hadik, Ján Kučera, Dávid Láni, Elias Splenius, Ján Graca)[26] and czech prayer books.[27] Contemporary Luthers authors (Zachariáš Láni, Ján Hodik, Florián Duchoň)[28] and Catholic clergymen (Péter Pázmány, Mihály Kopcsányi)[29] his polemic works dedicated to Gáspár Illésházy, but he was of course the supporter of the Lutheran side. Its necessary to say, that all prints from Czech exile printing house of Václav Vokál and his widow Dorotea was published thanks financial support of Gáspár Illésházy.[30] Hard to imagine, that these prints would be missing in family library. In his days the library of the Illésházy family was enriched with the mentioned rare manuscript works by Francesco Barbaro and Petrus Ransanus, eighteen 16th century prints and five prints from the beginning of the 17th century on legal topic that along with the catalogue of the Biccse library were brought by his wife Ilona Thurzó as her dowry. The books in his possession are marked with supralibros *CCI PDT M DC XLIII* [Comes Casparus Ileshazy Perpetuus Dominus a Trenchin]. His part in forming the family library had also Gáspár Illésházy's son György Illésházy (1625–1689). He studied in Rózsahegy, he held high offices such as Head of Trencsén and Liptov Counties, imperial and royal Councillor and Chamberlain and others. He was originally a Lutheran[31] but he converted to Catholicism and became a bastion of

21 The book culture of Illésházys analysed in details Péter Ötvös: *Egy főúri könyvtár a XVII. század elején.* In: *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a 16–17. században.* Ed.: István Zombori. Szeged, 1988, 139–148.

22 Debrecen, 1639, Menyhért Fodorik (RMNy 1763).

23 Trenchenii, 1643, Dorota Vokálová (RMNy 2031).

24 RMNy 1550, 1557, 1570, 1806

25 RMNy 1751, 1754, 1954, 2086–RMNy 2245 funeral poem written on the occasion of his death (Joannes Meltzel, 1648)

26 RMNy 1858, 1869, 1908, 1941, 2011, 2029, 2067, 2082, 2190

27 RMNy 1796

28 RMNy 1401, 1520, 1910

29 RMNy 1512, 2020

30 Judit V. Ecsedy: *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában 1473–1800.* Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 1999, s. 98–99.

31 In the year 1642 he published his philosophical lecture at Vokál´s printing house (RMNy 1965).

the Counter-Reformation. We don't know, when he converted in his religion, because still in the year 1658 was currently published in Trencsén and Lőcse school thesis and prayer books dedicated to him.[32] He focused his recatholization activities mainly in Trencsén and its surroundings where he supported Jesuit schools. He donated a number of books to the Jesuit grammar school. The existence of this book collection is documented by some preserved works with György Illésházy's possessor's records. Some of them are in the collections of the University Library (Egyetemi Könyvtár) in Budapest, e.g. the third volume of the renowned work of Gaius Plinius *Secundus Historia mundi* (Geneva 1601) that originally comes from the library of György Thurzó and others.[33]

Besides other members of the family, it was mainly József Illésházy (1700–1766) who paid greatest attention to developing the family library of the Illésházys. In the end of his life he entrusted the intellectual and pastor in Dubnic – Ján Baltazár Magin (1681–1734) to cataloguing in this time already rich book collection of Illésházys. Next member of Illésházy family – János Baptista Illésházy (1737–1799) and his son, István Illésházy (1762–1838) increased the library further and developed it to a significant Enlightenment library. The remarkable library was together with rare artistic monuments the decoration of the castle (6 000 works in 8 000 volumes, numerous rare manuscripts, among them Dubnic Chronicle about Hungarian history between 1479–1583).[34] István Illésházy decided to donate his collection to the Hungarian national library. Gifted testament was signed on 22 June 1835 in Nagyszarva. The donation act was realised by his friend Palatin József Habsburg. According the meanings of the Hungarian scientist from the area of the book culture Jenő Berlász, Illésházy Library in Dubnic is one of the few libraries reflecting the cultural-intellectual evolution of a leading noble from the 16th to the first half of the 19th century.[35]

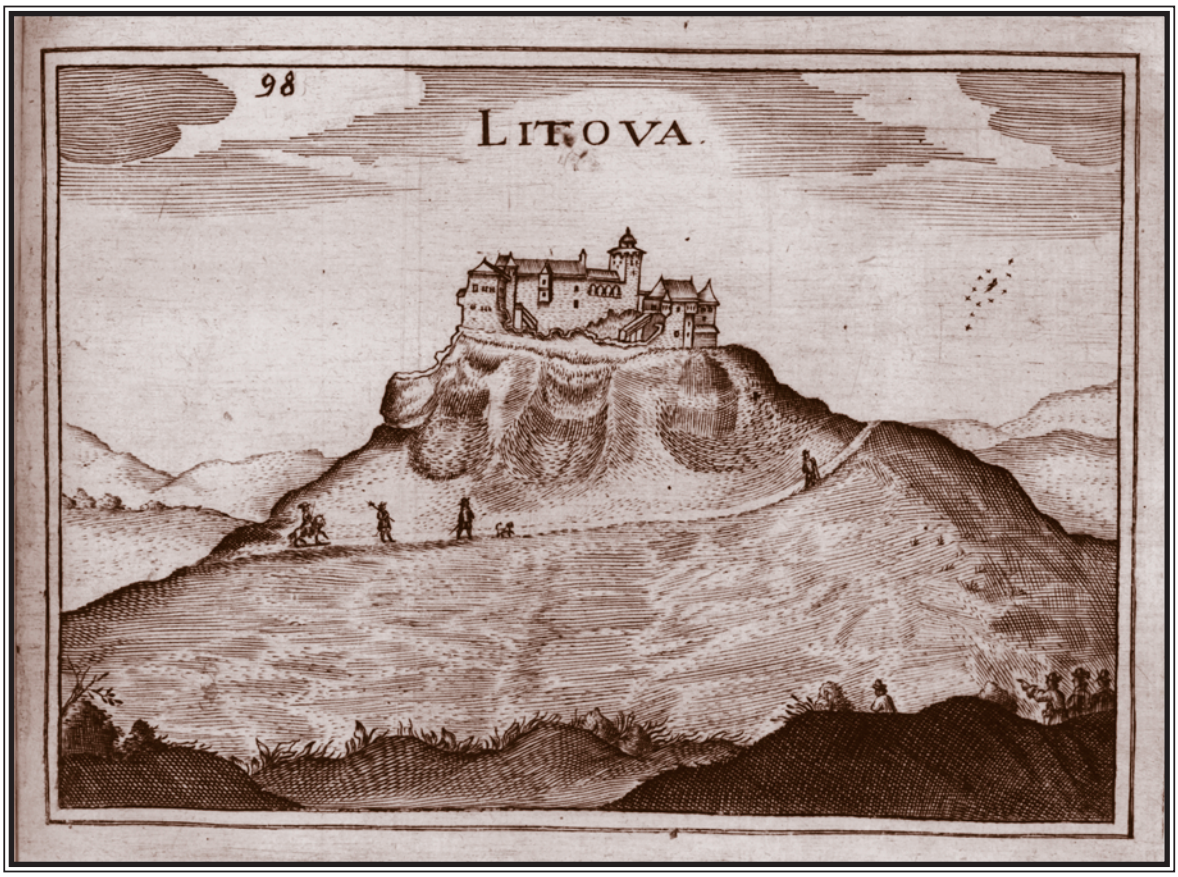
32 RMNy 2293, 2344, 2348, 2588

33 Genevae, 1601, Jacobus Stoer (BEK Ec 1188).

34 Julius Sopko: *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická*. Budmerice : RAK, 2004.

35 Jenő Berlász: *Az Illésházy könyvtár. Fejezet az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár állomány történetéből.* In: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár évkönyve. 1967*. Budapest: OSZK, 1969, s. 57–95.

1.



1. Zsolnalitva Castle *Copper engraving, 155×200 mm Priorato, G. Gualdo: Continuatioene dell'Historia di Leopoldo Cesare. Wien, 1676. – OSZK App. H. 985*

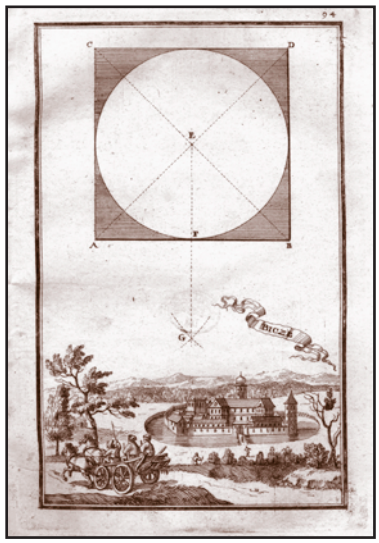
The Zsolnalitva Castle, built in the Gothic style in the 14th century, was one of backup points of Matthew Csák III's (of Trencsén) estate (1260–1321). Through marriage of Borbála (obit 1561), Miklós Kosztka's daughter to the Chamber dignitary and royal Councillor Ferenc Thurzó (1512–1574) the castle and other estates became the property of the Thurzó family. After the death of Ferenc Thurzó the castle was inherited by his son György Thurzó (1567–1616) and later György's son Imre Thurzó (1598–1621). After the death of György and Imre Thurzós the Zsolnalitva estate fell to their relatives and was divided into four parts among György Thurzó's daughters and sisters.



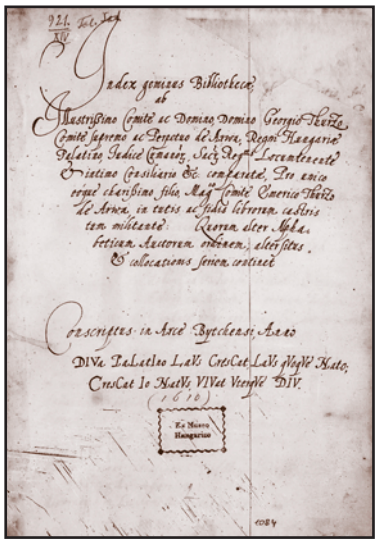
2. Portrait of György Thurzó *Copper engraving, 117×124 mm OSZK App. M. 541*

3. Biccse Castle *Copper engraving, 170×115 mm (Justus van der Nypoort) Burckhard von Birckenstein, Anton Ernst: Ertzherzogliche Handgriffe dess Zirckels und Linials. Wien, 1686, Johann Van Ghelen. 4° – OSZK App. H. 1217*

Ferenc Thurzó purchased Biccse estate together with the castle in 1563. The castle was damaged and unsuitable to meet the noble family's needs therefore Ferenc Thurzó decided to build a new one. (1571–1574).

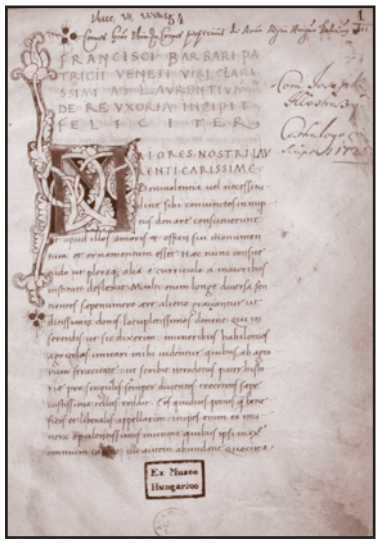


4. **Palatine György Thurzó's library catalogue** *Hungarian National Archives, E 554 Városi és Kamarai iratok, Fol. Lat. 921/a, 1610*



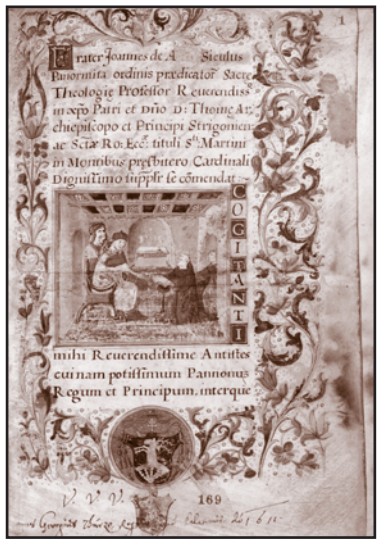
The library catalogue was compiled by his secretary in Kassa Samuel Hamel at the end of September and early October 1611.

5. **Francesco Barbaro:** *De re uxoria. Manuscript, second half of the 15th century. OSZK Cod. Lat. 294*



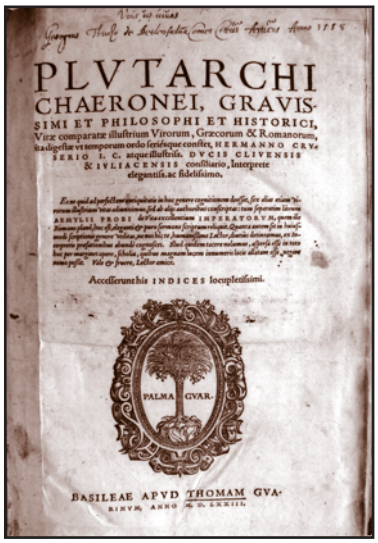
A tractate on a wife's duties was written by the Venetian patrician and humanist Francesco Barbaro (1390–1455). Pietro Paolo Vergerio (Capodistria/Koper, 1370 – Buda, 1444) addressed the letter attached to the tractate to the physician Nicolao Leonardo. Pietro Paolo lived in Hungary from 1418 and operated as tutor of János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom. The manuscript arrived to Hungary presumably through his intervention. Demeter Náprágyi (1559–1619), Bishop of Győr sent it to György Thurzó after his visit to Biccse in 1611. The book with the dedication *Illustrissimi... domini Comitis Georgij Thurzo de Betlehemfalva. Regni Hungariae Palatini... Bibliothecae Bitsensi Inscripsit Demetrius Napragi Arciep. Colocensis... Anno Dni and* along with an accompanying letter it was delivered to Biccse by Demeter Náprágyi's messenger. Later on the rare manuscript became on the basis of family relations of the Thurzós and the Illésházys part of the family library of the Illésházys in Máriatölgyes. József Illésházy (1700–1766) marked it with his autograph *Comitis Josephi Illeshazy Cathalogo inscriptus 1728.* A printed book plate is placed on the reverse side of the codex binding *Illéshazianae Bibliothecae Dubniczensis.*

6. **Petrus Ransanus:** *Epitome rerum Hungaricum. Manuscript. 15th century. OSZK Cod. Lat. 249*



The author of the work is the humanist historian Petrus Ransanus (1428?–1492), Bishop of Luzern, who operated at the Hungarian royal court as the ambassador of Ferdinand of Aragon, the King of Naples, between 1488 and 1490. He wrote a history of the Hungarian Kingdom first in Buda, and completed it in Naples. The owners of the rare manuscript were Matthias Corvinus' successor Wladislaus II Jagello (obit 1516), then the Archbishop of Esztergom Tamás Bakócz (1442–1492). The manuscript later got into Palatine György Thurzó's (1567–1616) library. A manuscript book plate bears witness to the Thurzós' ownership: *Viue ut vivas. Comes Georgius Thurzo Regni Hungar. Palatinus Ao 1611.* From the Thurzó library the manuscript got into the Illésházy library. The last owner of the codex was Miklós Jankovich and since 1835 it has been kept in the collections of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

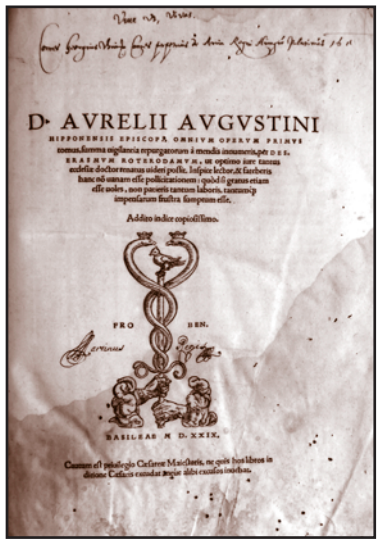
7. Plutarchos: *Vitae comparate illustrium virorum. Basileae, Thomas Guarinus. 1573. fol. SNK IA 845*



Among ancient writings in the library of Palatine György Thurzó there was also the well-known biographical work by the Greek writer and eclectic philosopher Plutarch (around 50–around 120) György Thurzó gained this volume in the time he became hereditary head of Orava County and the wording of the record is like this: *Vive ut vivas. Georgius Thurzo de Betlenfalva Comes Cottus Arviensis. Anno 1588.* The richly decorated Renaissance binding bears an impressed supralibros with the text *Georgius Turzo de Bethlemffalwa.*

8. Aurelius Augustinus: *Opera omnia. Basileae, Johannes Frobenius. 1528–1529. fol. SNK IA 337/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10*

The work of the most significant Latin Christian philosopher, theologian and top representative of medieval patristics Aurelius Augustinus (354–430) had a lot of editors since inventing the printing press. In György Thurzó's possession there was a complete edition divided into 10 volumes, edited and notes prepared by Erasmus Desiderius (1469–1536). Of the original 10 volumes in the Slovak National Library collections there have been preserved 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 9th and 10th volumes. Title pages of



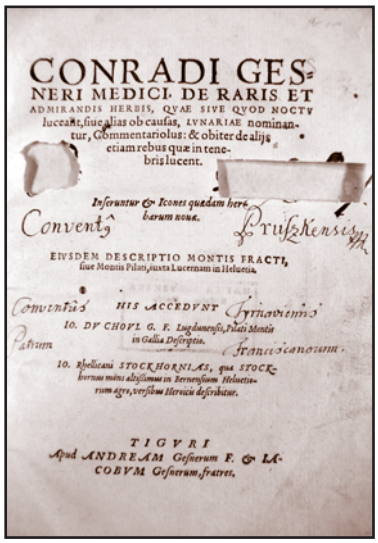
the preserved copies bear the following text: *Vive ut vivas. Comes Georgius Thurzo Comes perpetuus de Arva Regni Hungariae Palatinus 1611* and the Renaissance book binding bears the initial supralibros *C G T R H P* [Comes Georgius Turzo Regni Hungariae Palatinus]. At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries the books became the property of the religious writer Martin Regis (1668?–1737?), and later became part of the library of Learned Society of Kishont, founded at the initiative of Matej Holko (1757–1832).

9. Paolo Giovio et alii: *Elogia virorum literis illustrium. Basileae, Petrus Perna, 1577. fol. SNK TR 24148*

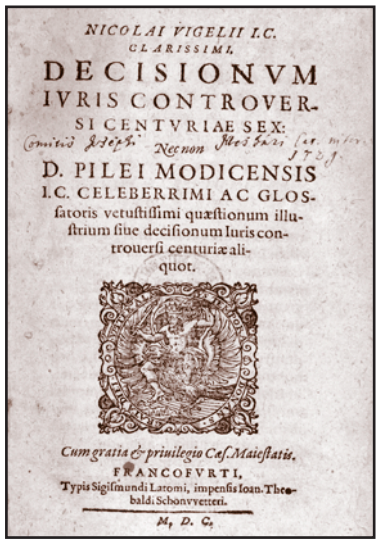


This volume by the Italian historian, physician and bishop Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) was purchased by Hugo Blotius (1553–1608) librarian of the imperial library in Vienna in 1585, later it was in the possession of the humanist scholar and county dignitary Imre Forgács (1539–1599) who donated it to György Thurzó in 1588 and after his death it got into the Franciscan library in Nagyszombat.

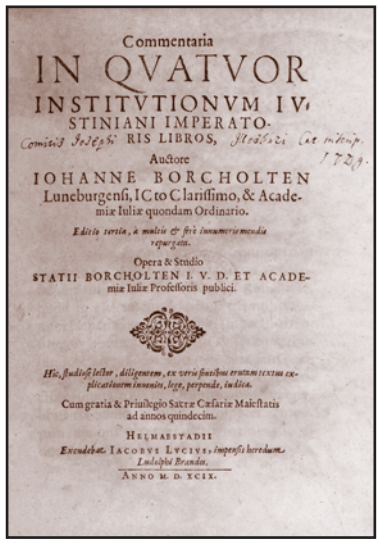
10. **Konrad Gesner:** *De raris et admirandis herbis. Tiguri, Andreas Gesnerus et Jacobus Gesnerus fratres, 1555. 8° SNK IC 74336*


CONRADI GES-
NERI MEDICI DE RARIS ET
ADMIRANDIS HERBIS, QVAE SIVE QVOD NOCTV
lucent, siue alias ob causas, IVNARIAE nominantur, Commentariolus: & obiter de aliis etiam rebus quæ in tenebris lucent.
Inseruntur & Icones quædam herbarum nouæ.
EIVSDEM DESCRIPTIO MONTIS FRACTI,
siue Montis Pilati, iuxta Lucernam in Helvetia.
HIS ACCEDVNT
IO. DV CHOVL G. F. Lugdunensis, Pilati Montis in Gallia Descriptio.
IO. Rhellicani STOCKHORNIAS, qua STOCKhornum mirti altissimum in Bernensium Helvetiorum agro, versibus Heroicis describitur.
TIGVRI
Apud ANDREAM Gesnerum F. & IACOBVM Gesnerum fratres.

This work on natural sciences of the Swiss polyhistor Konrad Gesner (1516–1565) has a Renaissance wooden cover. Supralibros: *CGT RHP,* and on the title page there is a possessor's record of the Franciscan Order in Nagyszombat.

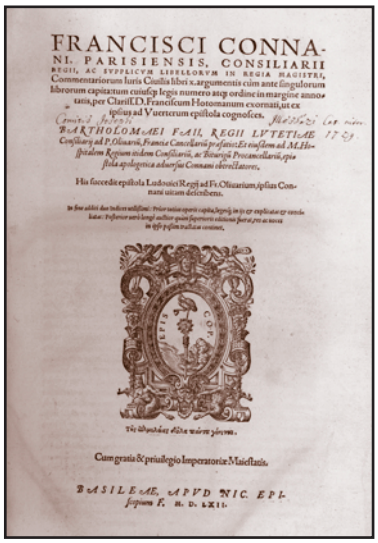

NICOLAI VIGELII I.C.
CLARISSIMI,
DECISIONVM
IVRIS CONTROVER-
SI CENTVRIAE SEX:
Necnon
D. PILEI MODICENSIS
I.C. CELEBERRIMI AC GLOSsatoris vetustissimi quæstionum illustrium siue decisionum Iuris controuersi centuriæ aliquot.
Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæs. Maiestatis.
FRANCOFVRTI,
Typis Sigismundi Latomi, impensis Ioan. Theobaldi Schönvvetteri.
M, D. C.

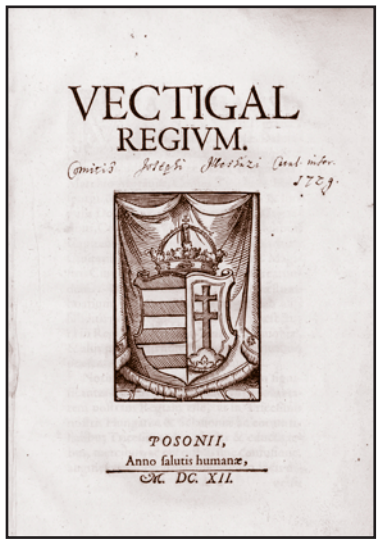
11. **Nikolaus Vigel:** *Decisionum juris controversi centuriae sex. Francofurti, typ. Sigismundi Latomi, imp. Joannis Theobaldi Schönwetteri, 1600. 8° OSZK Ant. 5931*
Among the books that got into the Illésházy library as the dowry of Ilona Thurzó, married to Gáspár Illésházy, were numerous writings and manuals by German, French and Hungarian authors. Among them there are works by lawyers like Nikolaus, Jakob Curtius, Antonio Piaggio and Peter Gilkens. The title page of Vigel's work bears the manuscript record *Comitis Josephi Illésházi Cat. Inscript. 1729* and the book binding bears the supralibros of György Thurzó *CGT RHP 1611.*


Commentaria
IN QVATVOR
INSTITVTIONVM IV
STINIANI IMPERATO-
RIS LIBROS,
Auctore
IOHANNE BORCHOLTEN
Luneburgensi, IC to Clarissimo, & Academiæ Iuliæ quondam Ordinario.
Opera & Studio
STATII BORCHOLTEN I. V. D. ET ACADEmiæ Iuliæ Professoris publici.
Cum gratia & Priuilegio Sacræ Cæsariæ Maiestatis ad annos quindecim.
HELMAESTADII
Excudebat IACOBVS LVCIVS, impensis heredum Ludolphi Brandis.
ANNO M. D. XCIX.

12. **Johannes Borcholten:** *Commentaria in quatuor Institutionum Iustiniani imperatoris libros. Helmaestadii, Jacobus Lucius, imp. Heredum Ludolphi Brandes, 1599. 4° OSZK Ant. 4060*
The third edition of Johann Borcholten's (1535–1593) work was gained by György Thurzó, later the book became part of the Illésházy library. Beside György Thurzó's supralibros *CGT RHP 1611,* there is a record on the title page: *Comitis Josephi Illésházi Cat. Inscript. 1729* and the destiny of the book is documented also by the printed book plate *Illésházianae Bibliothecae Dubniczensis.*

13. **François de Connan:** *Commentariorum juris civilis libri X. Basileae, apud Nicolaum Episcopium, 1562. fol. OSZK Ant. 356*
György Thurzó must have benefited from reading this work by the French lawyer François de Connan (ca 1508–1551) with commentaries of another French lawyer François Hotman (1524–1572). (Supralibros *CGT RHP 1611*). The book got to Dubnic, and from there to the national library in Pest: *Comitis Josephi Illésházi Cat. Inscript. 1729* and the stuck in book plate *Illésházianae Bibliothecae Dubniczensis.*


FRANCISCI CONNA-
NI. PARISIENSIS, CONSILIARII
REGII, AC SUPPLICUM LIBELLORUM IN REGIA MAGISTRI,
Commentariorum Iuris Ciuilis libri x. argumentis cùm ante singulorum
librorum capitatum ciuisq; legis numero atq; ordine in margine annotatis, per Clariss. I. D. Franciscum Hotomanum exornati, atq; ex
ipsius ad Vuerterum epistola cognosces.
BARTHOLOMÆI VALI, REGII LVTETIÆ
Consiliarij ad P. Olearii, Franciæ Cancellarij profanct. Et eiusdem ad M. Hospitalem Regium itidem Consiliarii, ac Bituriq; Procancellarii, epistola apologetica adiunctus Connani obtrectatores.
His accedit epistola Ludouici Regij ad Fr. Oliuarium, ipsius Connani uitam delineans.
CUM GRATIA & PRIVILEGIO IMPERATORIÆ MAIESTATIS.
BASILEÆ, APVD NIC. EPI.
Anno M. D. LXII.



14. **Vectigal regium.** *Posonii, Typis archiepiscopalis, 1612. 4° OSZK RMK II 349; RMNy 1041*
Vectigal regium was a royal price list. On the title page there is a copper engraving of the coat of arms of King Matthew II (1608–1619) and at the end of the edition there is also a royal signature. This official document got into the Illésházy library from the Thurzó collection. On the title page possessor's records of both owners have been preserved, the binding bears the supralibros *CGT RHP 1611,* the title page bears the autograph of József Illésházy *Comitis Josephi Illésházi Cat. Inscript. 1729* and the stuck in book plate *Illésházianae Bibliothecae Dubniczensis.*



15. **Trencsén** *Copper engraving, 155×200 mm Priorato, G. Gualdo: Continuatioene dell'Historia di Leopoldo Cesare. Wien, 1676. – OSZK App. H. 985*
The castle built in the 11th century, and later on renovated several times became the property of the Thurzós at the end of the 14th century. István Illésházy became its owner in 1600.

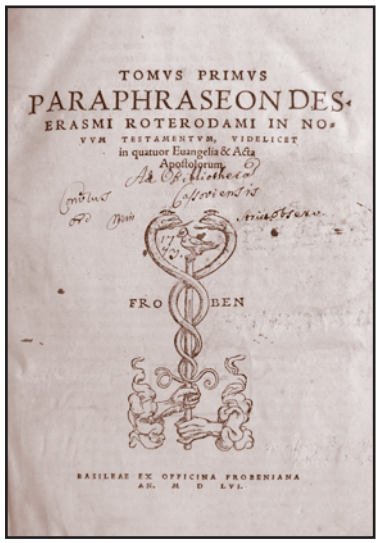

RMK I. 689.

KEZBEN VISELŐ
KÖNYV.
A' IO ES BODOG
KI-MULASNAK ME-
sterſegeről.
Mellyet,
Elöſzer BEUST IOACHIM
Deakul irt:
Most pedigh,
A' TEKINTETES ES
NAGYSAGOS GROF
ILLYESHAZI GAS-
PAR, THRENCSEN VA-
rának örökös ura, es azon Vármegyének, Liptonak es Arvának
örökös fő Ispánya, &c. ſerelmes gyermekinek,
Az T. es NAGYSAGOS Groff
ILLYESHAZI GABORNAK
ES
GYÖRGYNEK, &c.
Lelki kefületekre Magyar nyelvre
forditott, es ki-bocsattatott.
DEBRECENBEN
Nyomtatta FODORIK MENYHART
M. DC. XXXIX. Eſtendőben.

16. **Gáspár Illésházy (transl.):** *Kezben viselö könyv a io es bodog kimulasnak mestersegeröl, mellyet elöszer Beust Joachim deakul irt … Debrecenben, 1619, Fodorik Menyhart, 1619. 8° OSZK RMK I. 689*

This volume has been dedicated by János Laskai (1605?–1657) to Gábor and György. The source of the translation was the work of Joachim von Beust: *Enchiridion de arte bene beatique moriendi*, Lipsiae, 1593 (cf. RMNy 1763).

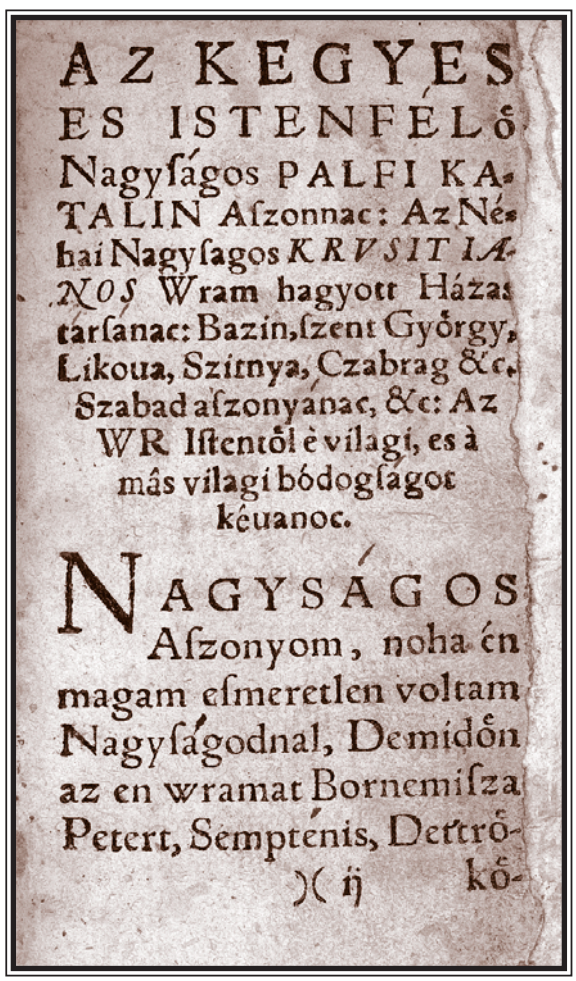
17. **Erasmus, Desiderius:** *Tomus primus (– secundus) Paraphraseon … in Novum Testamentum. Basileae, Hieronymus Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopius, 1556. 4° SNK IB 39569/1*


TOMVS PRIMVS
PARAPHRASEON DES-
ERASMI ROTERODAMI IN NO-
VVM TESTAMENTVM, VIDELICET
in quatuor Euangelia & Acta
Apoſtolorum.

FRO BEN

BASILEAE EX OFFICINA FROBENIANA
AN. M D LVI.

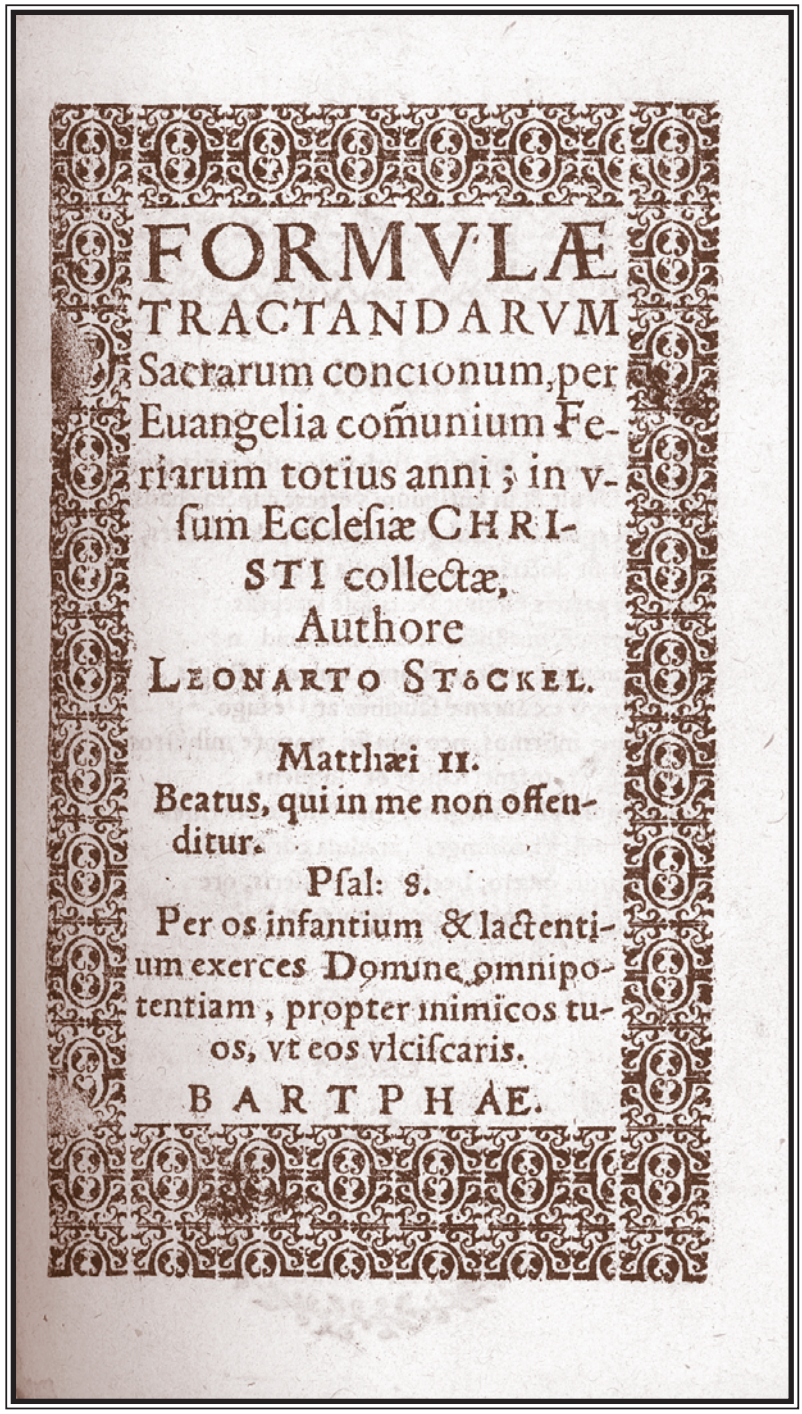
This book was a gift from Michael Ascanius to Gáspár Illésházy. *Illustris. Ac Celsiss. Comiti ac Domino Domino Caspari Ileshazi de Ilieshaza Comiti perpetuo Sacrae Cesarei Majestati Consiliario, Equiti aurato artium et scientiarium aestimatori sapientissimo [...] hac sacrata magni Desiderij Erasmi Roterodami monumenta dat. Dicat. Trenchinij 2 Augusti Anno 1647 [...] Michael Ascanius Doctor medicinae.* Michael Ascanius, born in the early 17th century in Zsolna, since 1630 he studied medicine at the university of Jena, Basel and Tubingen. He was the court physician of György Rakóczi I, Prince of Transylvania, later he performed medical practice in Trencsén and Szakolca where he died in 1700. Besides his medical practice he devoted himself to writing Latin occasional verses.



AZ KEGYES
ES ISTENFELŐ
Nagyſágos PALFI KA-
TALIN Aſzonnac: Az Né-
hai Nagyſagos *KRVSIT IÁ-*
NOS Wram hagyott Háza-
társanac: Bazin, ſzent György,
Likoua, Szitnya, Czabrag &c.
Szabad aſzonyánac, &c: Az
WR Iſtentől è vilagi, es à
más vilagi bódogſágot
kéuanoc.

NAGYSÁGOS
Aſzonyom, noha én
magam eſmeretlen voltam
Nagyſágodnal, Demidőn
az en wramat Bornemiſza
Petert, Sémptenis, Detrő-
)(ij kő-

Evangéliumok és epistolák.
Detreko 1581–1582 Farinola typ. Bornemisza impensis Erhardi Hillerii, civis ac bibliopolae Viennensis.
Book dedicated to Katalin Pálffy



FORMVLÆ
TRACTANDARVM
Sacrarum concionum, per
Euangelia cõmunium Fe-
riarum totius anni; in v-
sum Ecclesiæ CHRI-
STI collectæ,
Authore
LEONARTO STÖCKEL.

Matthæi 11.
Beatus, qui in me non offen-
ditur.

Psal: 8.
Per os infantium & lactenti-
um exerces Domine omnipo-
tentiam, propter inimicos tu-
os, vt eos vlciscaris.

BARTPHAE.

Stöckel Leonhard: Formvlae tractandarvm sacrarum concionum ..., 1578.
Title page of a book published with a support of Ferenc Révay

Klára Komorová

THE LIBRARY OF THE RÉVAY FAMILY

The Révay family ranked among the oldest Hungarian noble families. The family originally came from Szerém region, from Réva Castle and they derive their pedigree from Jakab Révay who lived at the beginning of the 13th century. They came to the territory of present-day Slovakia after the Battle of Mohács and settled down in Turóc Region[1].

To first significant representatives of the family belong Ferenc Révay (1489–1553) and his brother István (16th century). Ferenc Révay as a representative of the high Hungarian nobility participated in battles against the Ottomans. After the defeat of the Hungarian troops at the Battle of Mohács in 1526, he joined Ferdinand I. For his merits and loyalty to the Crown, he acquired as a royal grant one-half of the Szklabinya Castle estate in Turóc county in 1527. Along with his brother István, he acquired other estates in Fejér county and marrying Borbála Gyulai those ones in Baranya, Tolna and Somogy counties. In 1538 he was granted another important castle estate in Turóc county – Blatnica and his second marriage with Anna Czobor brought him the Czobor estates in Holics, Sasvár and Éleskő. The other owners of part of the Szklabinya estate were the Macedón family and Ferenc Révay succeeded to acquire this part of the estate from the widow of Miklós Macedón. Then the family became the only owners of the estate. Ferenc Révay became founder of the Szklabinya-Blatnica branch of the Révay family and his brother István of that of Trebosztó. Ferenc Révay held various crucial political functions and in 1532 he was appointed Head of Turóc county. He was an educated and enlightened man and is considered one of the pioneers of the Reformation. Under the influence of Calvin's teaching he expressed some doubts over the Lutheran Reformation to Martin Luther himself. Martin Luther wrote him a letter warning him not to be allured by false teachings[2]. Ferenc Révay took care of proper education of his sons, although both of them went on farming on the family estates. Between the years 1539 and 1544 he sent his sons – Mihály, János, Lőrinc and Ferenc Révays – to study to the city school in Bártfa, to its rector, the renowned humanist Leonard Stöckel (1510–1560)[3]. After finishing their studies in Bártfa, they left for Italy and enrolled at the University of Padua. In 1546 they entered their names to the university register[4]. They were supposed to have merits in the rise of the family library. The son of Ferenc

1 Összefoglalóan: Iván Nagy: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* vol. VIII. Budapest, 1862. 690–699; Jozef Novák: *Rodové erby na Slovensku. III. Petkova zbierka pečatí*. Martin, 1986, Osveta; Branislav Varsik: *Otázky vzniku a vývinu slovenského zemianstva.* Bratislava, 1988, Veda; *Slovenský biografický slovník. 5.* Martin, Matica slovenská. 1992.

2 This letter was published in one Lutheran polemic writing of Severín Škultéty in year 1599 in Bártfa (Čaplovič 96; RMNy 854).

3 Ferenc and Mihály Révai supported the issue of Stöckel's collection of sermons (Bártfa, Dávid Gutgesell. 1578 – Čaplovič 14; RMNy 406). Next edition from the end of 16th century was supported by Gábor Révai (?–1598) (Bártfa, 1596 – Čaplovič 62; RMNy 773).

4 These documents "peregrinatio academica" was published by Vilmos Frankl (Fraknói). *Révai Ferencz nádori helytartó fianak hazai és külföldi iskoláztatása 1538–1555.* Pest, 1873.

Révay – Mihály (1531?–?) and later Ferenc (?– ca 1602) became hereditary Heads of Turóc county and they also held high offices at the royal court. In 1556 they were both promoted to the rank of Baron. The Révay family was a widely branched family having a number of descendants. Ferenc supported the issuing of the polemic Lutheran writing of Eliáš Láni[5] and funeral poems of Pavol Mala[6], which were published in the year 1601 in Bardejov printing house of Jakob Klöss.

Among the most significant representatives is Péter Révay (1568–1622)[7]. He attended the city school in Bártfa by Thomas Faber. Three years he spent in grammar school in Igló, leaded by Johannes Ursinus. Lately with her brothers – Ferenc and Mihály – he leaved to Vienna (1584) and although like the Lutheran, he was educated by Jesuits there. In spite of it he had the Lutheran teacher from Augsburg. From his three year staying in Vienna are preserved three volumes of the philosophical remarks.[8] His teacher there was Johannes Molensis. In the year 1588 we can meet him in Strassburg, when he was influenced mainly by Johannes Sturm a Melchior Junius.[9] He was practically in hands of Lutheran teachers. In the year 1588 he took the magister degree, but in this town he spent another next three years. From this times is preserved the one volume of his remarks which is deposited in Esztergom.[10] In the year he adressed his letter to one from the significant humanist this era – Justus Lipsius, which was at this time teacher in Leiden. Péter Révay after his returning to Hungary built friendhips (for ex. János Rimay), with supporters of Christian Neosticism finding the relevant solutions of problems in their homeland.[11] After the travelling through German country he came home and he was hereditary head of Turóc county. At the same time he held high state offices such as the Hungarian crown treasurer, royal councillor and others. As a representative of the Hungarian nobility at the political negotiations in Prague in 1608, he met Johannes Jessenius and kept friendly contacts with him. He wrote the tractate on the Hungarian crown *De sacre coronae Regni Hungariae ortu, virtute, victoria, fortuna*[12], in which he attributed to the Hungarian crown almost magic power and impact on historical events in the country. He considered it the only symbol of the royal majesty and power. This work of his was the basis for his more extensive writing on Hungarian history *De monarchia et sacra corona Regni Hungariae centuriae septem*[13]. For writing this work he used earlier historical writings (except Hungarian historians Marcin Kromer, Philippe Bosquier, Nikolaus Lagmann, Gerardus de Roo, Niccolo Macchiavelli, Justus Lipsius etc.), chronicles, archival materials as well as his own experience[14]. He narrates Hungary's history since the arrival of the Huns to Europe till his present. In this work he presented history of Hungary as the history of various and equal nations. He also involved in it a geographical description of Hungary and its provinces. This work of his is the first apotheosis of Slavdom in Hungarian historiography, despite the fact the Slovaks did not have their

5 Čaplovič 94; RMNy 852

6 Čaplovič 103; RMNy 872

7 From his life was publicated monograhies. The most modern with bibliographical letter about his life both with the bibliographic catalogue: György Bónis: *Révay Péter*. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. (Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek). (BÓNIS 1981)

8 Esztergom, Érseki Könyvtár Ms. II. 224, 272, 273.

9 We know his two disputations from Strassburg. The first was under the praeses Paul Graseccius *De mutuo materia* (1591, RMK III. 816) and the second by Melchior Junius from Physics (1592, RMK III. 5526; the second publicated: Monbéliard, 1595, RMK III. 5553).

10 Esztergom, Érseki Könyvtár Ms. II. 253.

11 Cf: Tibor Klaniczay: *Az akadémiai mozgalom és Magyarország a reneszánsz korában.* In: Tibor Klaniczay: *Pallas magyar ivadékai*. Budapest, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1985, 26–31; Tibor Klaniczay*: Az arisztokrácia és Justus Lipsius politikai gondolkodása.* In: Tibor Klaniczay: *Stílus, nemzet és civilizáció*. Ed.: József Jankovics. Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2001, 236–50.

12 Augustae Vindelicorum, Christoph Mangus, 1613 (RMK III. 1118). Viennae Austriae, Matthaeus Cosmerovius, 1652 (RMK III. 1795).

13 It was published twice in the year 1659: Francofurti ad Moenum, Jacob Lasché, 1659 (RMK III. 2058) and in the same year the next variant (RMK III. 6387).

14 Sources to his two most important works were analysed by BÓNIS 1981.

own administration in that time. He explained that the Slavic peoples are ancient ones, stressed their significance in Pannonia, recorded their number, large territorial coverage of their seats and spreading their language. His relation to Slavdom was certainly marked by the origin of the Révay family in Croatia as well as by his living on the Turóc estates. His mastering the Slovak language in speaking and writing is witnessed in his correspondence with Turóc county officials that was written in the cultivated Slovak language. No archival materials have been preserved as to Péter Révay's relation to the development of the Révay library. Some archival materials relating to the family library come from later periods. Both its hard to imagine, that library uncontained the issues of the works supported by Révay's,[15] the books which was used by him during his studies, the books the historians, which he cited in own works, respectively also works of his favourite – admired Lipsius.

In the archives of the Turóc convent credible place there is a document dated 10 October 1561,[16] in which Ferdinand III orders to make a list of books from the private library of Ferenc Révay that was stored in Szklabinya Castle in that time. Ferenc (?–1657) was the son of Gábor Révay and Kalatin Thurzó (Palatine György Thurzó's sister). In the years 1598–1599 he probably studied at the University of Cracow. After his return home he stayed in Szklabinya Castle and farmed on the family estates as a hereditary head of Turóc county. Under the influence of the family situation and his studying in Cracow, he collected a relatively rich book collection for that period. The sovereign issued the mentioned order to meet the request of Dániel, Imre, Miklós and István Révay, the sons of Ferenc Révay. The Turóc convent sent Márton Dragovics who made a list of books dated 21 October 1561[17]. The reason for making the list is uncertain, it can be supposed only that the sons of the head of Turóc County worried about the family library's destiny. That is to say that father was not satisfied with his sons' behaviour and even asked Turóc County in his letter of December 31, 1649 not to elect any of his sons head of Turóc County after his death. This could be the reason why his sons asked to make a list of books from the family library. Ferenc Révay changed his mind even in 1657 and recommended to the county to elect one of his sons its head.

The origin of the library cannot be ascribed just to Ferenc Révay's efforts, it probably arose through collection activities of the family generations.[18] The library of the Révays has not been preserved as a whole. Analysing the library we can start only with the list of 1651, which reflects also literary interest of Révays. According to the list of 1651, the library consisted of 321 books, the majority of them were theological works. This numerous group is first of all represented by editions of the Bible. Worth mentioning is a Hungarian edition of the Bible, however, its year of publishing cannot be traced from the catalogue. Besides the library *comprised Biblical commentaries, the psalms of David and editions of the Old Testament parts.* Among the most significant theological works are those of the scholasticist Albert the Great and works of Thomas Aquinas in which Christian morality and dogmatics are explained. The earliest theological writings are represented by works of ancient church authors – Epiphanius, St. Hieronymus and the greatest of Church Fathers St. Augustine represented by several works.

15 Just several exemplars: Elias Berger (Bécs, 1607, RMK III. 1044), Jacobus Szelecky (Basel, 1615, RMK III. 1147), Gáspár Szunyogh (Wittenberg, 1615, RMK III. 1162), Christoph Lackner (Frankfurt am Main, 1619, RMK III. 1246).

16 Slovenský národný archív, Hodnoverné miesto Turčiansky konvent, Autentický protokol H (1651–1652).

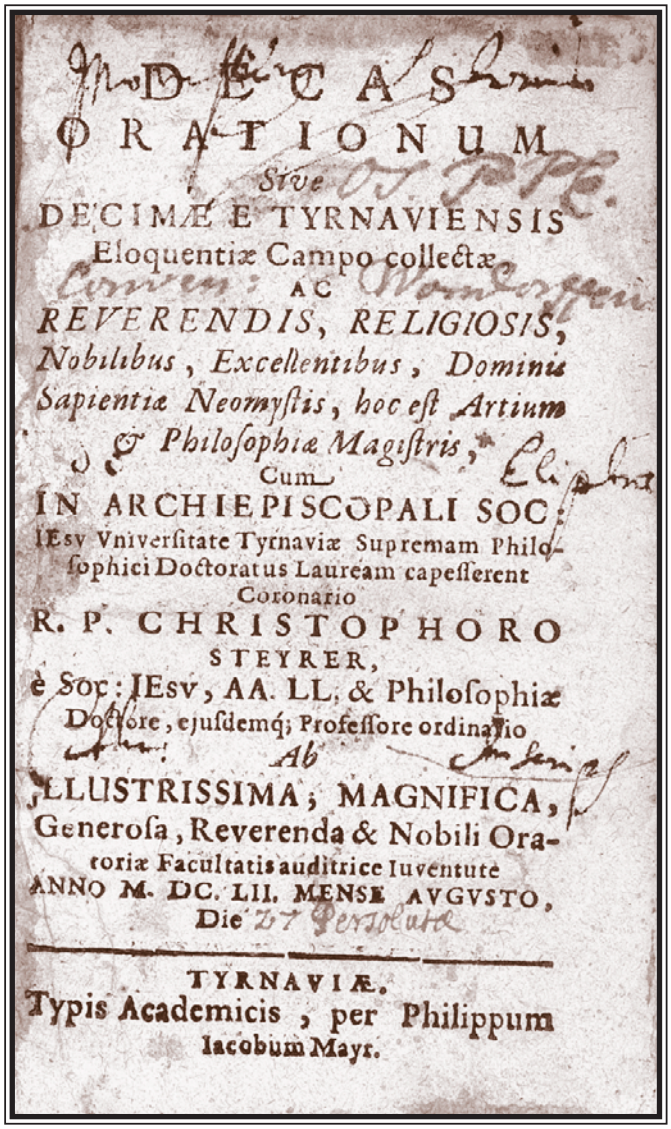
17 Catalogue was published by Dénes Mednyánszky (*Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1881, s. 336–345), in corrected version *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. 1533–1657.* Ed. András Varga. and István Monok. Postface: István Monok, András Varga. Budapest – Szeged, 1986. 157–164 *(Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 13)*, then published again Frederik Federmayer, – Ingrid Kušniráková: *Súpis kníh z knižnice turčianskeho župana Františka Révaia z roku 1651.* In: Kniha '97–'98. Martin, 2000, 333–342.

18 Its pieces can be found in different institutions in Hungary and Slovakia (Slovak National Library, Martin, University Library Pozsony, University Library Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, etc.)

Of the later period we can mention the Bishop of Paris Peter Lombard and his *Libri quatuor sententiarum* that became the most widespread theological handbook in the Middle Ages. In the library collection there was also an unspecified work of the foremost representative of the Catholic Church in our territory, the Archbishop of Esztergom and founder of the Nagyszombat University Péter Pázmány. The library of the Révay family was a family library of the Reformation supporters, no wonder we can find there also works of the Reformers – mainly Martin Luther's and those of his close collaborator Phillip Melanchthon. The structure of the library is from modern aspects of Protestant theology old-fashioned. As to different branches of science the Révay library is extremely rich in law literature. We can find here fundamentals of Roman law, manuals of the Civil law, next collections of the Canonic norms, Gregory the Great's decrees, abstracts from Gratianus as well as statutes of the Bohemian and Polish Kingdoms and the *Práva a zřízení zemské Království Českého* [Rights and the Establisment of the Czech Kingdom]. Historical writings are represented by works of the ancient Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides, the ancient Rome by *the* Annals by Tacitus, the work Sallustia, biographies of great individuals from the Roman period, various chronicles dealing with wars, the history of the Ottoman Turks and the Ottoman Empire, history of the world, German history and two works of the Italian historian Paolo Giovio.The history of the Jews is outlined by one of the most significant Jewish historian Josephus Flavius. The work of Antonio Bonfini relates to Hungarian history and that of Jan Dubravius to Czech history. Geographical works are represented by the popular handbook *Cosmographia* universalis by Sebastian Münster, then an unidentified German geography and the work *Orbis terrae.* Of interest is the work by Niccolo Macchiavelli *De republica* and three books by the Belgian historiographer Justus Lipsius in whose works is involved history, politics and geography. The library is similar to other noble family libraries, including various textbooks the owners probably used in their descendants'education. We can mention, for example, textbooks in philosophy, fundamentals of Latin and Greek grammar, fundamentals of arithmetics, rhetoric, etc. Natural sciences are represented in the collection by a small number of works, in some of them it is difficult to identify the subject. We can mention the German pharmacological work *Arzneybuch.* Worth mentioning is an unspecified work by the 13th century English mathematician John Holywood who also devoted himself to astronomy.

Révay family was divided in the 17th century to more branches. She was related to many nobility families. Members of the family supported activities of many Hugarian printing houses, they were also patrons of many students. Its very difficult to gain information about concrete branches of the family, which are presented in books only in the surname form "Révay" as the patron, and also the confession of the individual persons. The daughter of Pál Révay, Katalin, which was the wife of Mátyás Osztrosics, was until 1654 probably Protestant, because she was patron of the issue school drama of Andreas Sartorius (Trencsén, 1654)[19] and in the year 1683 was also Mihály Révay supporter of Lutherans, which sponsored Wittenberg education of Johannes Keweri.[20] Elek Gábor Révay was sure Catholic in 50-ties of the 17th century, because he sponsored the publications of Jesuits in Nagyszombat.[21]

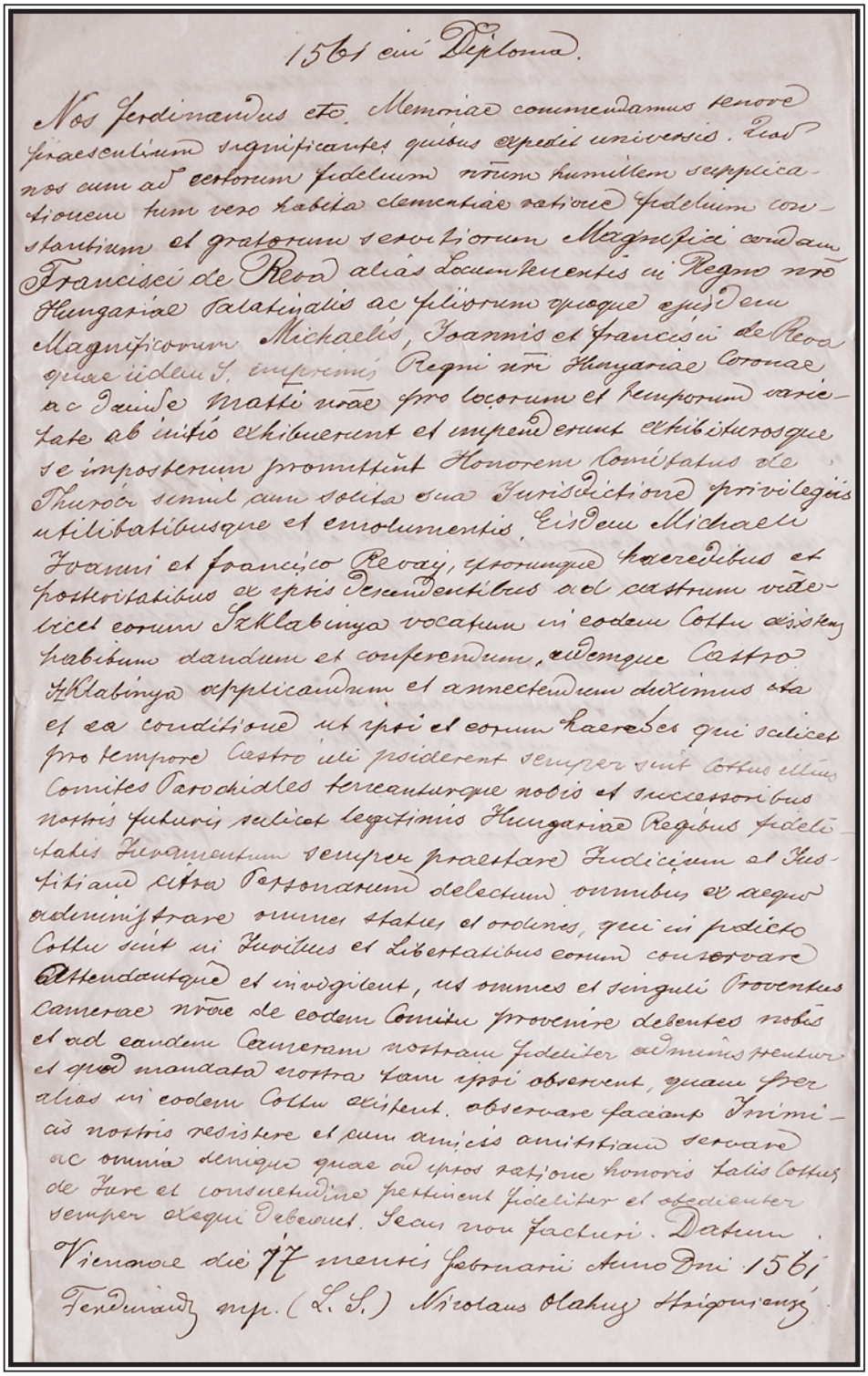
19 Čaplovič 1832; RMNy 2557.
20 RMK III. 3264.
21 Čaplovič 1954, 1955; RMNy 2389, 2425.



DECAS
ORATIONUM
Sive
DECIMÆ E TYRNAVIENSIS
Eloquentiæ Campo collectæ,
AC
REVERENDIS, RELIGIOSIS,
Nobilibus, Excellentibus, Dominis
Sapientiæ Neomystis, hoc est Artium
& Philosophiæ Magistris,
Cum
IN ARCHIEPISCOPALI SOC:
IEsv Vniversitate Tyrnaviæ Supremam Philosophici Doctoratus Lauream capesserent
Coronario
R. P. CHRISTOPHORO
STEYRER,
è Soc: IEsv, AA. LL. & Philosophiæ
Doctore, ejusdemq; Professore ordinario
Ab
ILLUSTRISSIMA, MAGNIFICA,
Generosa, Reverenda & Nobili Oratoriæ Facultatis auditrice Iuventute
ANNO M. DC. LII. MENSE AVGVSTO,
Die
TYRNAVIÆ,
Typis Academicis, per Philippum
Iacobum Mayr.

Decas Orationum Sive Decima e Tyrnaviensis Eloquentia Campo collecta..., 1652.

Publication supported by Ferenc Révay



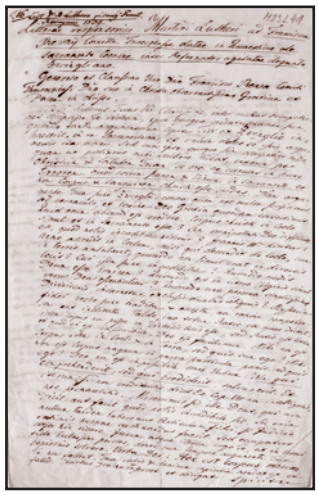
1561 ciri Diploma.

Nos Ferdinandus etc. Memoriae commendamus tenore
praesentium significantes quibus expedit universis. Quod
nos cum ad certorum fidelium nrōrum humillem supplica-
tionem tum vero habita clementiae ratione fidelium con-
stantium et gratorum servitiorum Magnifici condam
Francisci de Reva alias Locumtenentis in Regno nro
Hungariae Palatinalis ac filiorum eiusque ejusdem
Magnificorum Michaelis, Joannis et Francisci de Reva
quae iidem S. impresmis Regni nri Hungariae Coronae
ac Domus Matti nrae pro locorum et temporum varie-
tate ab initio exhibuerunt et impenderunt exhibiturosque
se imposterum promittunt Honorem Comitatus de
Thurocz simul cum solita sua Jurisdictione privilegiis
utilitatibusque et emolumentis. Eisdem Michaeli
Joanni et Francisco Revay, eorumque haeredibus et
posteritatibus ex ipsis descendentibus ad castrum vide-
licet eorum Szklabinya vocatum in eodem Comitatu existens
habitum dandum et conferendum, eidemque Castro
Szklabinya applicandum et annectendum duximus eta
et ea conditione ut ipsi et eorum haeredes qui scilicet
pro tempore Castro illi praesiderent semper sint Comitatus illius
Comites Parochiales tenenturque nobis et successoribus
nostris futuris scilicet legitimis Hungariae Regibus fideli-
tatis Juramentum semper praestare Judicium et Jus-
titiam citra personarum delectum omnibus et aequo
administrare omnes status et ordines, qui in predicto
Comitatu sunt in Juribus et Libertatibus eorum conservare
Attendantque et invigilent, ut omnes et singuli Proventus
Camerae nrae de eodem Comitatu provenire debentes nobis
et ad eandem Cameram nostram fideliter administrentur
et quod mandata nostra tam ipsi observent, quam per
alios in eodem Comitatu existent. observare faciant. Inimi-
cis nostris resistere et cum amicis amicitiam servare
ac omnia denique quae ad ipsos ratione honoris talis Comitatus
de Jure et consuetudine pertinent fideliter et obedienter
semper exequi debeant. Sicus non facturi. Datum
Viennae die 27 mensis Februarii Anno Dni 1561
Ferdinandus mp. (L. S.) Nicolaus Olahus Strigoniensis.

1.

1. Blatnica Castle *Ferdinand I's decree, 1561. Martin: SNK 183 F 35*

Blatnica Castle in Turóc Region was built in the 13th century by royal command. King Ferdinand I donated it to Ferenc Révay in 1538. King Ferdinand I's donation contract confirms the inheritance after Ferenc Révay to his sons Mihály, János and Ferenc. As to the Turóc population intelligence is concerned, it is important to mention the oldest written document on the existence of a school in the region. In the portal list of Blatnica Castle facilities of 1534 it is stated *ecclesia et domus plebani in schola* – the denotation refers to the parish premise at the church in Sebeslavce (part of Blatnica estate) in which a parish school was situated.



2. Martin Luther's letter to Ferenc Révay I. *SNK 183 B 12*

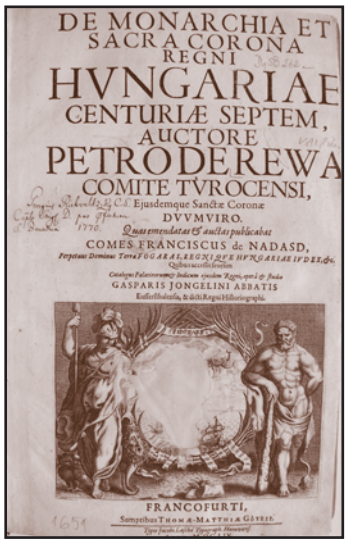
Ferenc Révay was one of the pioneers of the Reformation. He was a friend and fellow worker of Elek Thurzó and Péter Perényi. Under the influence of Calvin's teaching he passed his doubts in five points to Martin Luther himself. Luther wrote him a letter warning him not to be allured by false teaching.

3. Péter Révay: *De sacrae coronae regni Hungariae ortu, virtuti, victoria, fortuna... brevis commentarius. Augustae Vindelicorum, excudebat Christophorus Magnus, 1613. 4° SNK: SD 8831; OSZK RMK III. 1118*

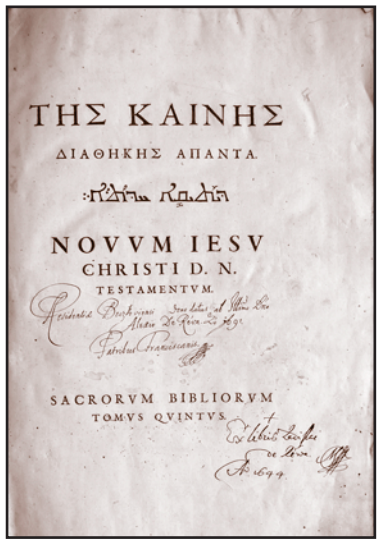
The fundamental work of the most significant member of the Révay family, writer Péter Révay (1568–1622) on the Hungarian crown. The Hungarian crown is depicted on the reverse title page followed by the author's dedication to the Hungarian crown of 1613. At the end of the work we can find a letter from the historian Elias Berger to the author.



4. **Péter Révay:** *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae centuriae septem. Frankfurt am Main, Sumptibus Thomae-Matthiae Götzii, Typis Jacobi Lasché. 1659. 4° SNK: SB 262 D1; OSZK RMK III. 2058*


DE MONARCHIA ET SACRA CORONA REGNI
HVNGARIAE
CENTVRIÆ SEPTEM,
AUCTORE
PETRO DE REWA
COMITE TVROCENSI,
Ejusdemque Sanctæ Coronæ
DVVMVIRO.
COMES FRANCISCUS de NADASD,
GASPARIS JONGELINI ABBATIS
FRANCOFURTI,

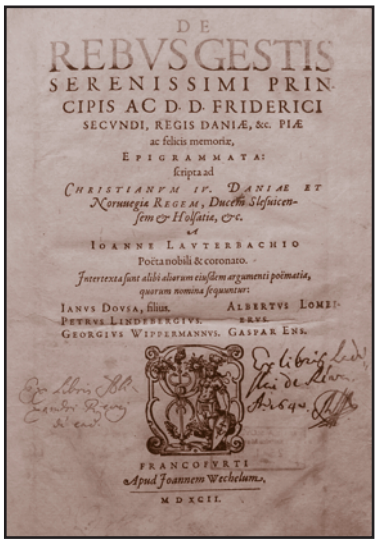

D. O. M. Æ.
ORATIO FVNEBRIS
D. PETRI DE REVA,
supremi ac perpetui Comitis
Comitatus Thurocen: Dapiferorum Regalium per Hungariam Magistri, Sacræ Cœsar: Regiarumq; Majestatum RUDOLPHI II. MATHIAE II. FERDINANDI II. Consiliarij, nec non Divæ Regni Hungar: Coronæ vsq; ad mortem Conservatoris fidelissimi, &c. Domini sui gratiosissimi
A
RAPHAELE HRABECIO, Ecclesiæ DEI ad ædem D. Helenæ Ministro, Venerandi Contubernij Decano, nec non inclutæ aulæ REVAIANÆ Concionatore.
CASSOVIÆ,
Ex Officina Typographica, DANIELIS SCHULTZ Bartphen: Anno Domini, 1623.


THΣ KAINHΣ
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ
NOVVM IESV
CHRISTI D. N.
TESTAMENTVM.
SACRORVM BIBLIORVM
TOMVS QVINTVS.

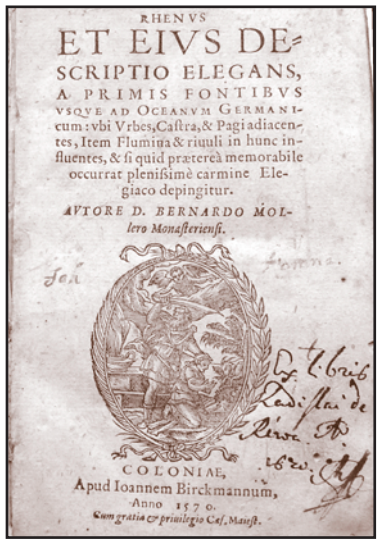
5. **Rafael Hrabecius:** *Oratio Fvnebris In solennibus exequiis ... Petri de Reva ... Habita in loco sepulturae ... in templo Martinopolitano Comitatus Thurocensis 17. Julij, Anno ... M.DC.XXII... Cassoviae, Ex Officina Typographica, Danielis Schultz Bartphen: Anno Domini, 1623. 4° OSZK RMK II. 427; RMNy 1287; Èaplovič 504*
After finishing his studies at home Rafael Hrabecius (1587–1630) probably studied at the University of Wittenberg. After his return home he operated as a rector of the school in Privigyexand Alsókubin, in 1614 he was a Lutheran priest in Szucsány, in 1615 in Szentilona (both mentioned places are located in Turóc). At the same time he functioned as Turóc dean and court preacher to the Révays.

6. **Biblia sacra** *Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine. Ed. Benedictua Arias Montanus. Antverpiae, Christophorus Plantinus. 1570–1572. fol. 1., 4., 5., 7. tomus. SNK IA 6031,3,4,5,7*
The Bible belonged to basic accessories in every noble family library. Title pages of single volumes of the Bible bear possessor's records of the family members: *Oblatus a Magg. Dno Elexio Reuay Contus Sctae Catharinae 2. Aug. Ao 1643.* All volumes comprise also records by László Révay *Ex libris Ladislai de Rewa mp. 1644.* In the exhibited volume there is a donation record of Elek Révay to the Franciscan library in Beckó – *Residentiae Beczkoviensi dono datus ab Illmo Dno Alexio de Reva. Ao. 1691.*

7. **Lauterbach, Johann:** *De rebus gestis serenissimi principis ac D.D. Friderici Secundi, regis Daniae. Francofurti, apud Joannem Wechelum. 1592. 4° – Ens, Caspar: Rerum Danicarum Friderico II. gestarum historia. Francofurti, Impensis Petri Fischeri. 1593. 4° SNK IB 35573*
Johann Lauterbach (1531–1593) and Caspar Ens depicted in their work life, destinies and significant deeds of the Danish sovereign. Provenance records in the book document its relation to the Révay family – *Ex Libris Alexandri Revay* and *Ex Libris Ladislai de Reva Ao 1641.*


DE
REBVS GESTIS
SERENISSIMI PRIN-
CIPIS AC D. D. FRIDERICI
SECVNDI, REGIS DANIÆ, &c. PIÆ
ac felicis memoriæ,
EPIGRAMMATA:
scripta ad
CHRISTIANVM IV. DANIÆ ET
Norvvegiæ REGEM, Ducem Slesvicen-
sem & Holsatiæ, &c.
a
IOANNE LAVTERBACHIO
Poëtanobili & coronato.
Intertexta sunt alibi aliorum eiusdem argumenti poëmatia,
quorum nomina sequuntur:
IANVS DOVSA, filius. ALBERTVS LOMI-
PETRVS LINDEBERGIVS. BENE-
GEORGIVS WIPPERMANNVS. GASPAR ENS.
FRANCOFVRTI
Apud Joannem Wechelum.
M D XCII.

8. **Bernhard Moller:** *Rhenus et eius descriptio elegans. Coloniae, apud Ioannem Birckmannum. 1570. – Poetae Germani et exteri ... Gorlicii, Ambrosius Fritsch. 1574. – Vocabula Rei Numariae ponderum et mensurarum Graeca, Latina, Ebraica ... Witebergae, Vitus Creutzer. 1563. 8° SNK IE 5961*


RHENVS
ET EIVS DE-
SCRIPTIO ELEGANS,
A PRIMIS FONTIBVS
VSQVE AD OCEANVM GERMANI-
cum: vbi Vrbes, Castra, & Pagi adiacen-
tes, Item Flumina & riuuli in hunc in-
fluentes, & si quid præterea memorabile
occurrat pleniſsimè carmine Ele-
giaco depingitur.
AVTORE D. BERNARDO MOL-
lero Monaſterienſi.
COLONIAE,
Apud Ioannem Birckmannum,
Anno 1570.
Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæſ. Maieſt.

Bernard Moller (16th century) canon and author of poetical works. In his work he devotes himself to a geographical description of the Rhineland. Provenance records on the title page document the book's relation to the Révay library. Manuscript possessor's records of several family members can be found here – the first one bears the name of Ladislav – *Ex libris Ladislai de Rewa Ao. 1620. mp.* then Elek is recorded – *Emptus per me Alexium de Rewa Ao. 1674* and the last one indicates Ferenc Xavér's possession – *Ex Libris Al Exlibris Xav: de Reva. 1765.*

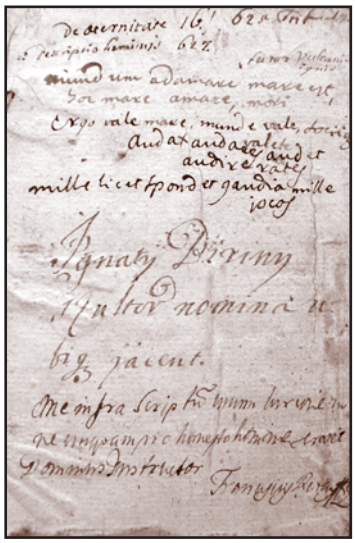
9. **Josephus Flavius:** *Opera. Francofurti Ad Moenum, Impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendt. 1580. 4° SNK IA 585*
Works of the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (37/8–around 100), writing in ancient Greek, were well known also in the Carpathian Basin. Provenance record found in the book – *Ex*


OPERA
IOSEPHI VIRI IN-
TER IVDAEOS DOCTISSI-
MI AC DISERTISSIMI, QVAE AD
NOSTRAM AETATEM PERVENERVNT,
OMNIA, NIMIRVM
DE ANTIQVITATIBVS
IVDAICIS LIBRI XX. QVIBVS IN FINE
FRANCOFVRTI

Libris Caroli de Rewa obtulit Contui Beczko Ao. 1751 –points out to the book donation to the Franciscans of Beckó, there is also a record referring to the Esterházy family – *Hic Liber Spectat ad Illmam Dominam Comitissimam Sophiem Ludovicam, Amaliam, Wilhelminam, Crestentiam Esterhazy de Galantha.*

10. **Publius Ovidius Naso:** *Fastorum libri VI. Tristium libri V. De Ponto libri III. De Hebdomada. Claudii Ptolemaei Innerantium stellarum significationes per Nicolaum Leonicum a Graeco translatae. Basileae. Ex Aedibus Henrici Petri, 1534. 8° SNK IE 4887*

This work of Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C. – 17 A.D.) was used also as a school book, but this edition was a more deepened, Humanist one. In this copy we can find a record of Ferenc Révay (it is impossible to identify which one) – *Franciscus Revay.*



11. **Bartolo da Sassoferrato:** *Opera Omnia. Basileae, Ex Officina Episcopiana. 1588–1589. 4° 5 tomi, SNK IA 6093,4*

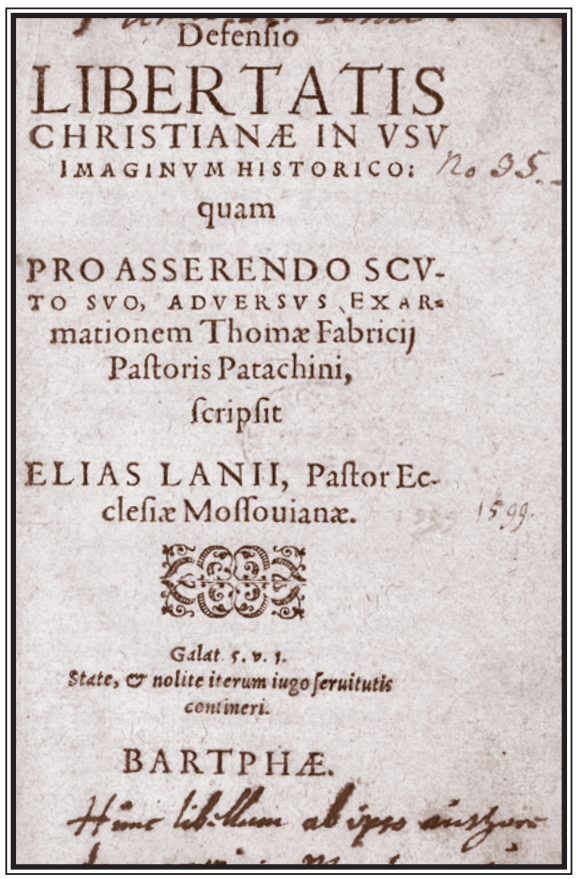


Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314–1357) was an Italian lawyer. The Révays as highest representatives of political and administrative power of the county were probably supplied also with law works. The book belonged to the family book collection that is equipped with stuck in book plates of János Révay (1748–1806). After his studies in Nagyszombat, János Révay devoted himself to studying law at the university of Vienna, theology in Milan, Rome and Naples. In 1774 he became Szepes canon, in 1776 the Chapter Dean, in 1783 Grand Prior of Nyitra. His book plate – *Familiae De Reva Dono Ioannis C. De Reva Can. Scep. 1779.*



12. **Godefroy, Denis:** *Pandectarum praxeos civilis liber secundus ... Francofurti ad Moenum, impensis Petri Fischeri. Apud Ioannem Feyerabend. 1591. 4° SNK IA 5912*

In the mentioned work of the French lawyer Denis Godefroy (1549–1622) that belonged to the Révay library, he deals with civil law. Its possession is documented by a manuscript record of Ladislav Révay – *Ex libris Ladislai de Réwa Ao 1641.*


Defensio
LIBERTATIS
CHRISTIANÆ IN VSV
IMAGINVM HISTORICO: No 95.
quam
PRO ASSERENDO SCV-
TO SVO, ADVERSVS EXAR-
mationem Thomæ Fabricij
Pastoris Patachini,
scripsit
ELIAS LANII, Pastor Ec-
clesiæ Mossouianæ. 1599.
Galat. 5. v. 1.
State, & nolite iterum iugo seruitutis
contineri.
BARTPHÆ.
Hunc libellum ab ipso auctore

Láni, Eliáš: Defensio libertatis Christianae in vsv imaginvm historico …, 1599.
Eliáš Láni's work was supported by Ferenc Révay

Abbreviations

OSZK – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library)
MOL – Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives)
MTAK – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
ÖNB – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (National Library of Austria)
SNK – Slovenská Národná Knižnica (Slovak National Library)
SNM – Slovenské Národné Múzeum (Slovak National Museum)
NSK – Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Knjižnica (National and University Library, Zagreb)
HPM – Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej (Croatian Historical Museum)
HDA – Hrvatski Državni Arhiv (Croatian National Archives)

H – HAIN, Ludovicus. *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographia inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur.* Stuttgartiae, 1826 – 1838.

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BUDA
LOCKENHAUS
RECHNITZ
SÁRVÁR
GÜSSING
LENDAVA
ČAKOVEC
BOGENSPERK
ZAGREB
OZALJ

Concordance of Family Names

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN
Abádi			
Bakócz		Bakóc	
Balassa		Balaša	
Balassi		Balaša	
Bánffy	Bánffy	Bánfi	Banić
Bandorkovicz			
Báthori		Bátori	
Báthory	Báthory	Bátori	
Batthyány	Batthyány	Baťán	Batthyany
Bél		Bel	Bel
Bethlen	Bethlen	Betlen	
Bethlenfalvi Thurzó		Turzo	
Beythe	Beythe		
Bornemisza	Bornemisza	Bornemisa	Bornemisa
Ceglédy	Cegléd		
Csák		Čák	Čak/Csaky
Csányi			
Csirke			
Csontosi			
Czobor		Cobor	
Daun	Daun	Daun	Daun
Dersffy	Dersffy	Deršfi	
Dévai Bíró			
Dragovics			Dragović
Draskovich	Draskovich	Draškovič	Drašković
Erdődy		Erdődi	Erdödy
Esterházy	Esterházy	Esterházi	Esterhazy
Falusy			
Fanchali Jób		Fančali-Jób	
Farkas			Farkaš
Festetich	Festetich	Festetič	Festetić

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN
Forgách	Forgách	Forgáč	Forgač
Formontini			Formontini
Frangepán	Frangpán	Frankopan	Frankapan
Fugger	Fugger		Fugger
Galgóczi		Galgóci	
Hajnal	Hajnal		
Homonnai Drugeth		Druget	
Hunyadi		Huňady	Hunjadi
Illésházy	Illésházy	Ilešházi	
Illyés			
Istvánffy	Istvánffy	Ištvánfi	
Jakusics		Jakušič	Jakušić
Jóna			Jona
Kanizsai		Kanižai	
Kanizsai Pálfi		Pálfi	
Kéri			
Késmárki Thököly	Thököly de Késmárk	Tököli	
Kéry			
Khuen	Khuen		Khuen
Komlós			
Kopcsányi		Kopčáni	
Kosztka		Kostka	Kosztka
Krusics		Krušič	Krušič
Kubinyi		Kubíni	
Kulcsár			
Kürti			Kürti
Lackner			Lackner
Lamberg	Lamberg		Lamberg
Láni			
Laskai			
Lethenyei			
Lippay	Lippay	Lipai	Lipaj/Lippay
Listi	Listi	Listi	
Liszty			
Lobkowitz Poppel	Lobkowitz-Poppel	Lobkowitzová Poppelová	
Löbl			Löbl
Lónyi			
Losonczi		Lošonci	
Macedón		Macedónsky	Makedonski
Magáth			
Mágochy	Mágochy	Magóči	
Magyari			
Malomfalvy			

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN
Megyeri			
Mélius Juhász			
Mikulich	Mikulić	Mikulić	Mikulić
Mockius			
Monoszlói		Monosloi	
Nádasdy	Nádasdy	Nádašdy	Nadasdy
Nagy	Nagy		Nagy
Náprágyi		Nápradi	
Nebojszai			
Nyáry		Ňári	
Oláh	Oláh		Olah
Orbonai Rácz György			
Osztrosith		Ostrožič	
Pakay			
Pálffy	Pálffy	Pálfi	Palffy
Pallavicini	Pallavicini		Pallavicini
Pathai			
Pázmány	Pázmány	Pázmáň	Pazmany
Pécseli Király			
Pellérdi			
Perényi		Peréni	
Perneszith			
Pilarik		Pilárik	
Potyondi			
Rákóczi	Rákóczi	Rákoci	Rakoczi
Ráskai		Raškai	Raškaj/Raskai
Ráttkay		Ratkai	Ratkaj/Rattkay
Révai			
Révay	Révay	Révai	Revai/Revay
Rimay		Rimai	
Samarjai			
Somy			
Sylvester			Sylvester
Szalkai			
Szapolyai		Zápoľský	Zapolja
Szegedi Kőrösi Gáspár			
Széchényi	Széchényi		Szechenyi
Szelepcsényi		Selepčéni	
Szenci Molnár		Senci Molnár	
Szentgyörgyi			
Szentgyörgyvölgyi Bakács Farkas			
Szentiványi		Sentiváni	
Szepesváraljai Bernhard Máté			

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN
Szikszai Fabricius Balázs			
Szuhai		Suhai	
Thököly	Thökoly	Tököli	
Thurzó	Thurzó	Turzo	
Tinódi Lantos			
Tőke			
Valvasor	Valvasor		Valvasor
Vernich			Vernić
VitézJános		JánzoSredny	Yvan Vitez od Sredne
Wechel			Wechel
Wesselényi	Wesselényi	Vešeléni	Wesselenyi
Zrínyi	Zrínyi	Zrínsky	Zrinski
Zsámboki		Sambucus	Sambocki/Sambucus
Zuhodolyi András			
Zvonarics			Zvonarić

Concordance of Place-names

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN	LATIN
Alsókubin	Unterkubin	Dolný Kubín	Donji Kubin	
Alsólindva	Unter-Limbach	Dolná Lindava	Donja Lendava	
Alsósztregova		Dolná Strehová	Donja Štrigova	
Árva (vár)megye	Arwa	Orava, Oravská župa	Orava	Arva
Ausztria	Österreich	Rakúsko	Austrija	Austria
Bajmóc	Weinitz	Bojnice		
Bajorország	Bayern	Bavorsko	Bavarska	Bavaria
Baranya megye	Baranya	Baranská župa	Baranja	Comitatus Baranyensis
Bártfa	Bartfeld	Bardejov		Bartpha
Bazin		Pezinok		Bazinum
Beckó, Bolondóc	Beckow	Beckov		
Bécs	Wien	Viedeň	Beč	Vienna Austriae
Bécsújhely	Wiener Neustadt	Viedenské Nové Mesto	Bečko Novo Mjesto	Neapolis Austriae
Belec			Belec	
Belgrád	Belgrad	Belehrad		Belgradum
Besztercebánya	Neusohl	Banská Bystrica		Novum Zolium
Bethlenfalva	Bethlensdorf	Betlanovce		
Biccse	Grossbitsch	Bytča		
Bítov	Vöttau	Bítov	Bitov	
Blatnica		Blatnica		
Bogenšperg, Smartno pri Litiji	Wagensperg	Bogensperg	Bogenšperg	
Bojnice		Bojnice		
Borostyán, Borostyánkő	Beilenstein	Stupava		
Borostyánkő	Bernstein	Pajštún		
Boroszló (Pl. Wrocław)	Breslau	Brestov	Breslau, Wrocław	
Böde				
Bribir			Bribir	
Brieg (Pl. Brzeg)				
Brno	Brünn		Brno	
Buda	Ofen	Budín	Budim	Buda
Burgenland	Burgenland		Gradišće	

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN	LATIN
Cenk	Zinkendorf			
Cerknica				
České Budejovice	Budweis	České Budějovice		
Cetin			Cetin	
Csáktornya	Tschakaturn	Čakovec	Čakovec	
Csepreg	Tschapring	Csepreg	Čepreg	
Danzig	Danzig	Gdańsk	Gdanjsk	
Debrecen	Debrezin	Debrecín	Debrecin	Debrecinum
Detrekő	Blasenstein	Plavecký Hrad		
Dobra	Neuhaus	Dobra	Dobra	
Dráva	Drau		Drava	Dravus
Drezda	Dresden	Drážďany	Dresden	
Drežnik			Drežnik	
Dyje, Thaya				
Eger	Erlau	Jáger	Eger/Jager	Agria
Éleskő	Scharfenstein	Ostrý Kameň		
Erdély	Siebenbürgen	Sedmohradsko	Erdelj	
Eszterháza, Fertőd	Esterhas	Esterháza		
Eszék	Essek	Osijek	Osijek	Colonia Aelia Mursa
Esztergom	Gran	Ostrihom	Ostrogon	Strigonium
Fejér megye	Fejér	Fejérska župa		Comitatus Albaregalensis
Fertő-tó	Neusiedlersee			Lacus Fertő
Fiume	Rijeka	Rijeka	Rijeka	
Fraknó, Forchtenstein	Forchtenstein	Forchtenstein	Fortnava	
Fölöstöm	Fürstenfeld			
Gacka			Gacka	
Galánta	Galanta	Galanta	Galanta	
Genf	Genf	Ženeva	Ženeva	
Genova	Genua	Janov	Genova	
Glauchau	Glauchau			
Győr	Raab	Ráb	Đur	Iaurinum, Arrabona
Gyurgyevó	Giurgewo			
Holics	Weisskirchen	Holíč		
Horn				
Horvátország	Kroatien	Chorvátsko	Hrvatska	Croatia
Hum			Hum	
Idrija	Adria			
Igló	Neudorf	Spišská Nová Ves	Novo Selo	Nova Villa
Isztria	Istrien	Istria	Istra	
Itália, Olaszország	Italien	Taliansko	Italija	Italia
Kalocsa	Kalotscha, Kolotz	Kaloča	Kaloča	Calotsa, Colocza
Kanizsa (Nagykanizsa)	Kanischa	Kaniža	Kanjiža	Canisia
Karintia	Kärnten	Korutánsko	Koruška	Carinthia

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN	LATIN
Kassa	Kaschau	Košice	Košice	Cassovia
Keresztúr		Keresztúr		
Kismarton	Eisenstadt	Eisenstadt	Željezno	Kismartonium
Klagenfurt	Klagenfurt		Celovec	
Konstantinápoly	Konstantinopel	Konštantinopol	Carigrad	Constantinopolis
Koper, Capodistria	Koper		Kopar	
Koppenhága	Koppenhagen	Kodaň	Kopenhagen	
Korana			Korana	
Košljun			Košljun	
Kotor			Kotor	
Körmend	Kirment	Körmend	Kermend	
Kőszeg	Güns	Kőszeg	Kiseg, Kisek	Ginsium
Krajna	Carniolien	Krajna	Kranjska	Carniola
Krbava		Krbava	Krbava	Corbava
Krk, Veglia	Krk	Krk	Krk	
Kursanec		Krušatec	Kuršanec	
Lakompak, Kicléd	Lackenbach	Lackenbach	Lakimpuh	
Lánzsér	Landsee	Landsee	Lanžir	
Légrád	Legrad	Legrad	Legrad	
Léka	Lockenhaus	Lockenhaus	Livka	Leuca
Liptó		Liptov		
Ljubljana	Leibach	Ľubľana	Ljubljana	Laibacum, Labacum
Lorettom	Maria-Laureten	Loretto	Lovreta	Lauretum
Lőcse	Leutschau	Levoča	Levoča	Leutsovia
Magyarország	Ungarn	Maďarsko	Mađarska	Hungaria
Makó		Makov		
Malacka	Malatzka	Malacky	Malacka	
Máriacell	Mariazell	Mariazell	Mariazell	
Máriatölgyes, Dubnic		Dubnica nad Váhom		
Modrus		Modruš	Modruš	
Mohács	Mohatsch	Moháč	Mohač	
Monyorókerék	Eberau	Eberau	Eberava, Majkerek	
Moson megye	Miesenburg, Wieselburg	Mošonská župa		Comitatus Mosoniensis
Munkács	Munkatsch	Mukačevo	Munkač	
Mura			Mura	
Muraköz		Medzimurje	Međimurje	
Muraszombat	Oisnitz	Murska Sobota	Murska Sobota	
München	München	Mníchov	München	
Nádasdladány				
Nagyszarva		Rohovce		
Nagyszombat	Tyrnau	Trnava	Trnava	Tyrnavia
Nagyvárad		Varadín	Varadin	Varadinum
Drávavásárhely		Nedelicz	Nedelišće	

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN	LATIN
Németalföld				
Németlövő	Deutsch Schützen		Livir, Nimške Šice	
Németújvár	Güssing, Gissing	Güssing	Novi grad, Güssing	
Neretva		Neretva	Neretva	
Nógrád	Neograd	Novohrad		Neogradum
Nyitra	Neutra	Nitra	Njitra	Nitria
Felsőlövő	Oberschützen		Gornje Šiče	
Olmüc (Alamóc)	Olmütz	Olomouc	Olomouc	
Ostrovica	Ostrau	Ostrovica	Ostrovica	
Otocsán	Ottochatz	Otoč	Otočac	
Ozaly, Ozalj		Ozalj	Ozalj	
Pápa	Poppa, Papa	Pápa	Papa	Papa
Pest	Pesth	Pešť	Pešta	Pestinum
Petrinya		Petrinja	Petrinja	
Palocsa	Plautsch	Plaveč		
Pottendorff	Pottendorf			
Pozsony	Pressburg	Bratislava (Prešporok	Požun, Bratislava	Istropolis, Posonium
Privigye	Priwitz	Prievidza		Prividia
Ptuj	Pettau	Ptuj	Ptuj	Petovium, Petovia
Raguza	Ragusa	Raguza	Dubrovnik	
Rajna	Rhein	Rýn	Rajna	Rhenus
Réva vára		Hrad Réva		
Rohonc	Rechnitz	Rechnitz	Rohunac	
Rozália-hegység	Rosaliengebirge	Vrchovina Rozália		
Rózsahegy	Rosenberg	Ružomberok		
Ruszt	Rust	Rust	Rušta	Rustinum, Rusthum
Sárvár	Rotenthurn	Sárvár	Šarvar/Sarvar	
Sasvár	Schossberg	Šaštín		
Selmecbánya	Schemnitz	Banská Štiavnica		Schemnicium
Sempte	Schintau	Šintava		
Somogy megye		Šomoďská župa	Šomoď/Somogy	Comitatus Simighiensis
Somorja	Sommerein	Šamorín		Samaria
Sopron	Ödenburg	Šopron	Šopron	Sopronium, Suprunium, Sempronium
Sopronkeresztúr	Deutschkreutz	Deutschkreutz	Kerestur	
Stomfa	Stampfen	Stupava		
Szakolca	Skalitz	Skalica		Sakolcinum
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Szeged	Segedin	Segedín	Segedin	Segedinum
Szepes	Zipser-Haus	Spiš		Scepusium
Szepeshely	Zipser-Kapiterl	Spišské Podhradie		Capitulum-Scepisiense
Szerbia	Serbien	Srbsko	Srbija	Serbia, Servia
Szered		Sereď		

HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	SLOVAK	CROATIAN	LATIN
Szerémség		Sriem	Srijem	
Szigetvár	Gränz-Sigeth	Siget	Siget	Magno-Sigethinum, Neonesium
Sziszek, Sisak	Sisseg	Sisak	Sisak	Segestica, Siscia
Szkálnok		Skálnik		
Szklabinya		Sklabiňa		
Szlavónia	Slawonien	Slavónia	Slavonija	Sclavonia
Szlovákia	Slowakien	Slovensko	Slovačka	
Szlovénia	Slowenien	Slovinsko	Slovenija	
Szombathely	Steinamanger	Szombathely	Sambotel	Sabaria
Szomolnok	Schmölnitz	Smolník		
Szucsány		Sučany		
Tata	Totis, Dotis	Tata		
Tejfalu	Milchdorf	Mliečno		
Temesvár	Temeschwar	Temešvár	Temišvar	Temesvarinum
Tersatto		Trsat	Trsat	
Tolna megye	Tolnau	Tolnianská župa	Tolna	Comitatus Tolnensis
Trebosztó		Trebostovo		
Trencsén	Trentschin	Trenčín	Trenčin	Trentschinium
Tersác			Tržac	
Turóc		Turiec		
Turóc (vár)megye		Turčianska župa		Comitatus Thuroczensis
Túrócszentmárton	Sankt Martin	Martin	Martin	
Ukrajna	Ukraine	Ukrajina	Ukrajina	
Una			Una	
Vác	Waitzen	Vacov	Vac	Vacium
Varasd	Warasdin	Varaždín	Varaždin	Varasdinum
Vas megye		Vašská župa		Comitatus Castriferrei
Vasvár	Eisenburg	Eisenburg	Vašvar	Castrum Ferreum
Vátszentkút				
Velence	Venedig	Benátky	Venecija, Mletci	Venetia
Veszprém	Wesprim	Vesprím	Vesprim	Veszprimium
Vezekény		Vozokany		Vezekenum
Vinodol		Vinodol	Vinodol	
Vöröskő	Rothenstein	Červený Kameň		
Zágráb	Zagreb	Záhreb	Zagreb	Zagrabia
Zala megye		Zalašská župa		Comitatus Saladiensis
Zalaegerszeg	Egersee	Zalaegerszeg		
Zengg		Senj	Senj	Segnia
Zrin		Zrín	Zrin	
Zsolnalitva		Lietava		


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Turocz. comit.
Liptoviensis com.
Torneni comit.
Abaviwari enſ. com.
Zemlinienſ. com.
Vngh. com.
Mon amarunſienſ. com.
Perigiensis comit.
Vgo ghiensis comit.
Zatmarien. com.
Borſodienſ. com.
Zabolciensis com.
Bihoriensis com.
Heweſienſ. com.
Novicradiensis com.
Hontenſ. com.
Peſthienſ. com.
Albensis com.
Ratzen marck
Simigiensis com.
Cumanus Campus.
Bathiensis com.
Zolnocenſ. com.
Toranta lienſ. com.
Orodienſ. comit.
Chonadienſ. com.
Temeſienſ. com.
Bodroghiensis comitat.
Bachmeghe deſerta.
Waranien. com.
Valkonenſ. com.
Poſegiensis com.
Ratzen
Sirmienſis com.
Marons Campus.
TRANSYLVANIÆ PARS.
HVNGARIA
TVRCIA
CROATIA
SCLAVONIA
STRIA
DALMATIA
Amſterdami
Apud Johannem Blaeu 1664.
Milliaria Germanica.
Milliaria Hungarica.

The menace of the Turkish Empire
leaded to a permanent
preparedness for war in Austria,
Croatia, Slovakia and Hungary
in the Early Modern Age.
Cultural historical works on the period
mention often the Latin phrase:
Inter arma silent Musae,
in other words
Among arms the Muses are silent.
However the history of aristocratic
families living in the period
is not verifying this statement:
they took care of their childrens'
education, they lived a plentiful court life
and created book and art object
collections which still can be considered
as rich ones. The exhibition intends
to present these aristocratic
book collections, situated
along Austria's borders of today,
in form of travelling exhibition.

Frangepán–Zrínyi ✦ Valvasor ✦ Bánffy ✦ Nádasdy
Batthyány ✦ Esterházy
Pálffy ✦ Thurzó–Illésházy ✦ Révay

BLUE BLOOD, BLACK INK BOOK COLLECTIONS OF ARISTOCRATIC FAMILIES FROM 1500 TO 1700

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