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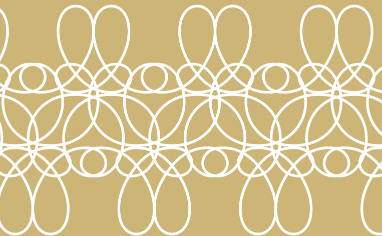
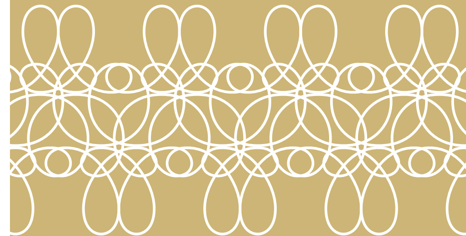

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities,
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Hungarian Historical Review

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Early Humanism in Hungary and in East Central Europe

Farkas Gábor Kiss
Special Editor of the Thematic Issue

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Origin Narratives: Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings of Hungarian Humanism

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Earlier studies have attributed a pivotal role to Pier Paolo Vergerio Sr in transmitting the fundamental ideas of humanism to the writer Johannes (Vitéz) of Zredna, the first acolyte of Renaissance humanism in Hungary. This paper investigates the possible contacts between Pier Paolo Vergerio Sr and Johannes of Zredna, mapping the channels through which Johannes of Zredna first encountered humanist rhetoric. Whereas many of these possible connections turned out to be historical fictions that proved to be untenable in the form they are described in later historiography, there seems to be a genuine core to the embellished stories. I argue that his direct use of Italian early humanist texts (Guarino's translation of Plutarch, Gasparino Barzizza's letters) and an avid reading of Livy's historical work (witnessed by the ms. Cod. 3099 of the Austrian National Library) are the earliest testimonies of his humanistic interests.

Keywords: Pier Paolo Vergerio, Johannes (Vitéz) of Zredna, humanism

The appearance of Renaissance Humanism in Hungary is closely connected to the most decisive political events of the first half of the fifteenth century in Europe. First, the Council of Constance (1414–1418) succeeded in eliminating the schism in the Catholic Church and brought religious peace to Europe, with the exception of conflicts with the Hussites. The meetings of the emperor, kings, church prelates, and ambassadors created numerous occasions for cultural exchange between north and south, Italy and the rest of Europe. Italy's new "cultural capital," Renaissance Humanism, could infiltrate northern courts through the agency of the representatives of the states by spreading new stylistic ideals in Latin composition and new interest in the discovery of long-lost, ancient texts.[1] The following efforts to resolve the conflict between the Council and the Pope and to unify Eastern and Western Christianity (the Council of Basel in 1431–32[2] and the council of Ferrara and Florence in 1438–39) offered further

1 Helmrath, "Diffusion des Humanismus," 9–54.

2 My study summarizes the results of Kiss, "A magyarországi humanizmus" and "Konstanztól Budáig." On the importance of the Council of Basel to the evolution of Humanism in Hungary, see Pajorin, "A bázeli zsinat," 3–26.

opportunities to generate new diplomatic and intellectual ties. Thus, intellectual exchanges were created in a new context, in the field of politics and diplomacy, and not limited to the scholasticism of the university and or to the monastic environment.

The other important element of change, which became especially important for Hungary, was brought about by the new political situation following the first Battle of Kosovo (1389) and the Battle of Nicopolis. After these two clashes, the rising Ottoman empire became a direct threat to Western Christianity. The organization of a common resistance resulted not only in collective political action but also in a mutual exchange of ideas and a redifinition of a political and social identity (e.g. the idea of Europe, or the Respublica Christiana), which could be perceived as a common ground for Western and Central European political powers. These ideas became a primary touchpoint for the intellectuals of the regions which were most exposed to the Ottoman expansion, i.e. Italy (mostly Venice and the Papacy), Hungary, the Empire, and Poland.

The idea of a Europe primarily not as a geographical but as a cultural and political unity was created in the writings of the Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) from the perception of a common threat. It reached back to the ideology of the Crusades.[3] Two parallel theories tried to describe the process of how Renaissance Humanism took root in Hungary, which, although they did not contradict each other, put emphasis on different events and personalities in this process. In his classic work, "The Revival of Classical Antiquity" (*Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 1859, revised in 1893), Georg Voigt (1827–1891), a professor at the prestigious university of Leipzig, identified Enea Silvio Piccolomini in his role as the secretary to Emperor Friedrich III as the most important instigator of Renaissance Humanism in Hungary.[4] Voigt's conception of the genesis of Humanism was entirely based on the nineteenth century nationalistic idea of a competition between nations which tried to outdo each other by absorbing various cultural and political agendas in order to reach a higher intellectual rank. As Voigt writes, Hungarians were generally open to ideas coming from Italy, as they had shared sympathies with Italians, and they were

3 Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*; Helmrath, "Pius II. und die Türken," 79–137; Pajorin, "Keresztes hadjáratok," 3–14.

4 Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, vol. 2, 315. About the role of Enea Silvio Piccolomini in the introduction of Humanism into Central Europe, see Luger, *Humanismus und humanistische Schrift*, 49–64; Helmrath, "Vestigia Aeneae imitari," 99–141; Zippel, "Enea Silvio Piccolomini," 267–350.

politically distant enough in order to avoid any conflicts of interest.[5] Accordingly, the early acceptance of Humanist ideas was facilitated by the agency of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who was an Italian, even if he was acting on behalf of the German Emperor, and thus more sympathetic among the Hungarians than a German would have been. Thus, according to Voigt, the lack of a conflict of interest between an Italian movement and the Hungarian national spirit explains at least in part the early acceptance of Humanist ideas brought to Hungary by Piccolomini.

Another theory supposed a more direct connection to Italian Humanism in the person of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder. The Hungarian literary historian József Huszti saw the importance of Vergerio in the fact that he was the first Humanist to join the chancellery of the Hungarian king (and later Emperor) Sigismund I, which helped spread Humanist ideas in the scriptoria of Hungary.[6] As he wrote in his monograph on the poet Janus Pannonius in 1931, "I cannot explain the Humanism of John Vitéz [of Zredna] without Vergerio […] I think that John Vitéz [of Zredna] could not have existed without Vergerio, and Janus Pannonius could not have existed without John Vitéz [of Zredna]."[7] Sigismund of Luxembourg, the king of Hungary and emperor from 1431, received book dedications throughout his life from Italian Humanists, but especially during his travels in the last decade of his life. Just to name the most significant authors, Ciriaco d'Ancona, Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vegio, and Antonio Beccadelli (whom he crowned poet laureate in 1432) all dedicated works to him. Nevertheless, only Pier Paolo Vergerio came to Hungary and settled in the country. Hence, Huszti stressed that Vergerio's Humanist ideas may not only have exerted a lasting impact on the style of Vitéz of Zredna's official and private letters, but also may have influenced the Humanist education which King Mathias and Janus Pannonius received under the guidance of Vitéz of Zredna. Furthermore,

5 "*Die Neigung der beiden Völker, der Magyaren und der Italiener, war eine gegenseitige, obwohl es nicht leicht sein möchte, die verbindenden Elemente herauszufinden* [my italics]. Vielleicht standen sie einander örtlich und politisch fern genug, um Collisionen zu vermeiden, während doch der Ungar stets mit Frömmigkeit und Ehrfurcht nach Gräbern der Apostelfürsten blickte und nach dem Lande überhaupt, in welchem einst die Sprache seiner Geschäftsführung und seiner Landtage als Muttersprache geredet worden." Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, vol. 2, 318.

6 Huszti, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 521–33.

7 Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 20. My translation in the following, unless otherwise stated. John Vitéz of Zredna used only the name form "Iohannes de Zredna" in his writings, and the family name "Vitéz" is only a result of a mistake in Bonfini's late fifteenth-century historical work, which was nevertheless perpetuated in later scholarship. Thus, I use the form John/Iohannes Vitéz of Zredna everywhere. See Pálosfalvi, "Vitézek és Garázdák," 15.

he assumed that after his death, Vergerio's books might have become integral parts of Vitéz of Zredna's library, thus forming the first Humanist library in Hungary.[8] A similar theory was exposed by Leonard Smith, the scholarly editor of Vergerio's letters in 1934. In a long footnote to his work, he claimed that both the "father" of Hungarian Humanism (John Vitéz of Zredna) and the "father" of Polish Humanism (Gregory of Sanok) were students of Vergerio,[9] although there was no direct proof of such a relationship between any of them. The same thesis became the foundation for József Huszti's speech held on the occasion of becoming a full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1941 (although it was published as an article only in 1955),[10] and the idea of a direct link between Vergerio and Vitéz became a cornerstone of Tibor Kardos's history of Humanism in Hungary.[11]

In comparison with the theory which posits the local origins in the influence of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, this hypothesis might have seemed to suggest "autochtonous" origins, with Vergerio being present in the Buda court. Nevertheless, there were serious problems with its foundations. There was hardly any proof of direct personal contact between Pier Paolo Vergerio and John Vitéz of Zredna, not to speak of any exchange of letters or any contemporary written documents.[12] Whereas Vitéz of Zredna was a member of Sigismund's chancellery at least from 1437,[13] Vergerio, who died in 1444, did not seem to have had any influence on the official literate culture of the court, and he did not have the title of *secretarius*. There survives one single reference as to his official activity in Hungary from a contemporary Bolognese copyist of his famous letter against Carlo Malatesta, addressed to Lodovico Alidori (1397). According

8 The same theory was put forward by Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, who identified twelve manuscripts which might have belonged to Vergerio and then went on to the library of John Vitéz of Zredna (Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek*.). Nevertheless, the scientific criteria applied in her research were rather vague, and the identifications were often based on the presence of red ink annotations in a manuscript. As both the late Gothic bastarda and the Humanist minuscule scriptures are very widespread and generic, only the cases in which there is serious external proof of the identity of the annotator should be accepted as authentic manuscripts of writings by Vergerio or Vitéz. The current catalogue of "authentic" Corvin manuscripts only accepts Oxford Bodleian I.F.14. and Paris, BnF Lat. 6390 from these twelve manuscripts as authentic Corvinas, although in both cases the identity of the annotators is unclear, and neither of them bears an ownership mark of Vergerio or Vitéz. Cf. [Anonymous], *A hiteles Corvinák listája*. Hence, Csapodi-Gárdonyi's suggestions cannot be a-critically accepted.

9 Vergerio, *L'Epistolario*, 390.

10 Huszti, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 521–33.

11 Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus*.

12 This point was already stressed by Pajorin, "Vitéz János," 533–40.

13 Szakály, "Vitéz János," 11.

to the explicit of this copy (Vatican, Barb. Lat. 1952, 110r), Vergerio was a "referendarius," a referendary of the Emperor at the time of copying, which is otherwise unknown.[14] It seems that Vergerio did not participate actively in politics after 1426, and King Sigismund did not him take him along anymore on his frequent travels after this date.[15] How can the scarcity of written documents be reconciled with the importance attributed to Vergerio's presence in the Buda court? The aim of my paper is to reconsider these ideas in the light of recent research on early Humanism in Hungary.

In order to understand how Vergerio could have had such a pivotal role in the evolution of Humanism in Hungary, it is worthwhile to give a summary of his literary output. The first phase of this Capodistrian Humanist's career is closely connected to Padua and its ruling family, the Carraras, at the end of the fourteenth century. In his youth, Vergerio compiled a historical work on the deeds of the family,[16] and his most popular text, *On noble character and liberal studies of youth* (c. 1402), was in fact a pedagogical guide for Ubertino Carrara, the son of Padua's lord, Francesco Carrara. Vergerio's cultural canon was entirely secular, and it completely ignored theological subjects. In addition to raising questions of moral philosophy, he emphasized the importance of Ciceronian "civilis Scientia," rhetorics, poetics, and the seven liberal arts, and he also held the practical sciences, such as military knowledge and sports, in high esteem.[17] His treatise became one of the bestsellers of the fifteenth century, transmitted by more than one hundred manuscripts and printed at least 30 times until 1500, mostly in Italy.[18] Vergerio was the author of the first Renaissance Latin school

14 Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 1952, 110v: "nunc serenissimi Imperatoris referendarium." The same Humanist hand copied the folios 79r –121v, including Poggio's *De nobilitate* (79r–92v), the *De amicitia* of Lucian, translated by Giovanni Aurispa (97r–107v), *Vita Pauli Aemilii* by Plutarch, translated by Bruni (110v–121v). Banfi, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 17. The note is critically evaluated by Kiséry, *Et poetis ipsis*, 147–48. The ms. is now accessible online https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.1952 (accessed on October 5, 2019).

15 Banfi, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 17–21.; cf. Vergerio, *L'Epistolario*, 379. On Vergerio, see also Solymosi, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 147–63.

16 The authorship of the *Historia principum Carrariensium* was disputed by Leonard Smith, the publisher of Vergerio's letters. See Vergerio, *L'Epistolario*, 492, but it was defended by Marchante*, Ricerche*. For an edition of the text, see Vergerio, "De principibus Carrariensibus."

17 On its circulation, see Robey, "Humanism and Education," 27–58. For a new English translation, see *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 1–45. The Latin text is available in Vergerio, "Ad Ubertinum de Carraria."

18 Ld. Robey, "Humanism and Education," 56–57. For the incunable editions, I have used the data of the Incunable Short Title Catalogue. Apart from the *De ingenuis moribus,* the only printed text published from Vergerio in the fifteenth century was the Latin translation of Hippocrates' oath (*Iusiurandum*).

comedy, entitled *Paulus*.[19] His translations of the history of Alexander the Great by Arrianus, and the Hippocratic oath demonstrate his knowledge of Greek, although we do not know how and when he learned the language. He was probably the first person in the Hungarian royal court in the fifteenth century to attain this advanced knowledge of Greek, although his translations were deemed unsuccessful by the following generation of Humanists.[20]

The Venetian conquest of Padua in 1405 meant a significant break in his career, as he had to flee the town together with the members of the Carrara family. He joined the retinue of Cardinal Francesco Zabarella in Rome, and through these ecclesiastic connections, he met King Sigismund of Hungary. The history of these contacts has been fully expounded by Florio Banfi, thus a short summary will suffice. King Sigismund started a war against Venice in the direction of Friuli in 1411–12, and he joined his army in October 1412. The war came to an end with a truce with Venice in April 1413, and Sigismund's Italian contacts were greatly intensified afterwards. In October 1413, the king started negotiations with Pope John XXIII with the participation of cardinals Francesco Zabarella and Antonio de Challant, which were terminated by an agreement in Lodi in December 1413, which specified the time and place of a general council as Constance, November 1, 1414.[21] Zabarella's retinue included not only Vergerio, but also Manuel Chrysoloras, who became so closely connected to the Hungarian king that the king named him his "familiaris" on June 15, 1414.[22] Vergerio reached Constance together with Cardinal Zabarella on October 18, 1414, followed by Pope John XXIII and his secretaries (Poggio Bracciolini, Antonio Loschi, and Leonardo Bruni) and King Sigismund himself, who arrived on December 24, 1414.

The unexpected death of Manuel Chrysoloras on April 15, 1415 had important consequences for Vergerio, his friend, who composed a funerary inscription for the Greek scholar which is still visible in the former Dominican convent in Constance.[23] As Chrysoloras was a "familiaris" of Sigismund, Vergerio could take his place. On July 15, 1415, the council elected him as one of the fourteen "procuratores generales et speciales," the special envoys who were

19 See Katchmer, *Pier Paolo Vergerio* and Hermann Walter, "Il Paulus di Pierpaolo Vergerio," 241–53.

20 On the translation of Hippocrates, see Stok, "Pier Paolo Vergerio," 167–75. On the translation of Arrianus and its impact on Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who copied information on India from it into a letter, see Tournoy, "La storiografia," 1–8.

21 Banfi, "Vergerio," (2) 2.

22 Banfi, "Vergerio," (2) 10 n. 11. Banfi refers to Loenertz, "Les dominicains byzantins," 12–16.

23 Ld. Wulfram, "Ein Heilsbringer," 94–95.

supposed to join King Sigismund on his road to Perpignan and help him reach an agreement with Antipope Benedict XIII.[24] Vergerio disappears from the records of the council of Constance between July 1415 and January 1417. Florio Banfi's suggestion that he remained part of the retinue of King Sigismund and traveled around Europe with him seems reasonable.[25] After his return to the council, Vergerio openly switched sides and changed his patrons. Sigismund and the cardinals from Northern Europe preferred to bring a conclusion to the Church reforms first and only then to elect a pope, whereas the Italian and "Latin" cardinals would have rather elected a pope first and then finished the reforms. Vergerio, representing himself both as a lawyer and a poet ("utriusque iuris ac medicine doctor necnon laureatus poeta"), suggested an open disputation and proclaimed three statements, which he attached to church doors in Constance ("affixe valvis ecclesiarum") and promised to defend on August 10, 1417: 1. those who want to elect a pope without the council support the schism; 2. it follows from the term "reformatio in capite" that church reform should precede the election of the head of the church; and 3. the negotiations concerning the election of the pope should be postponed.[26] With the publication of these three theses, Vergerio distanced himself from his former patron, Cardinal Zabarella, who was a leading figure of the "Latin" party, and began to side with King Sigismund. Nevertheless, the switch was not completely successful, as Vergerio fled from the debate when it turned out that the counterparty would present three canon lawyers and three theologians against him. Therefore, as the diary of Cardinal Fillastre indicates, "many thought that the abovementioned Pier Paolo is foolhardy, and he was derided."[27] After hearing Zabarella's moving oration, Sigismund finally accepted the plan to have the council elect a pope first. In September 1417, Cardinal Zabarella died, thus Vergerio could join the retinue of Sigismund without moral scruples. Afterwards, his name occurs in documents concerning the circles surrounding Sigismund more often: he vindicated the bull of the Crusade against the Bohemian heretics, stepped up as an orator in Prague against the Hussites, and his name occurs in several charters of Hungary in 1424 and 1425.[28]

24 Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 27, 769; Banfi, "Vergerio," (2) 13, n. 21.

25 On Sigismund's itinerary, see Engel and C. Tóth, *Királyok*, 55–159.

26 The texts have been published in Finke, *Acta*, 668–69, followed by the answers, ibid., 669–70.

27 Ibid., 203: "Ille autem Petrus Paulus fuit reputatus a pluribus temerarius et derisus."

28 See Banfi, "Vergerio," (3) 19–21.

Nevertheless, the only surviving documents which bear testimony to Vergerio's Humanist activity are his translation of Arrianus, dedicated to Emperor Sigismund and dated to 1433–37 by Smith, and the two letters (n. 140 and 141 in Smith's edition), which contain altogether three short anecdotes. Whereas the second letter (n. 141), which is addressed to Giovanni de Dominis, Bishop of Senj (Segna/Zengg), must be dated to after 1432 on the basis of the bishop's title,[29] the story comparing the Czech and the Polish (n. 140) was dated to after 1420 only because of its Central European references.[30] A recent discovery was made of Vergerio's scholarly interests in Hungary. György Galamb has called attention to a lost text which was once contained in the ms. Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3590[31] and which bore the title "Collatio D[omini] P. de Capodistri super Disputatione Fr. Iacobi de Marchia ordinis Minorum facta cum Iudeo Rabbi Ioseph in Buda, A. D. 1433. Scripta in Pelisio sine manibus. A. D. 1468 per Michaelem Ruttenstrauch" according to a catalogue from the seventeenth century.[32] Although this part was later torn out of the manuscript,[33] the description clearly states that it contained a collation (a speech or perhaps a *reportatio* or a summary) on a disputation held by the famous Observant Franciscan, James of Marchia, who was active as an inquisitor in Hungary, against the rabbi Joseph in Buda. According to the note, Pierpaolo Vergerio prepared this summary of the disputation in 1433, and the only (lost) copy was made by the otherwise unknown Michael Ruttenstrauch in 1468 in the Cistercian abbey of Pilis, which had a significant library.[34] Nevertheless, this collation was probably not a Humanist literary product, but rather a scholastic summary of James of Marchia's disputation against the rabbi of Buda.

Thus, the contemporary evidence of Vergerio's influence in Hungary is meagre and uncertain. Four decades later, in Cracow Filippo Buonaccorsi wrote a biography of his former patron, Gregory of Sanok (Gregorius Sanocensis, 1403–1477), archbishop of Lvyv. In this biography, Buonaccorsi described the symposia held in the court of the Bishop of Várad (Oradea, RO), where

29 Klára Pajorin dated it to 1435–36. See Pajorin, "Alcuni rapporti," 47.

30 Vergerio, *L'Epistolario*, 388–95. For an analysis of the short stories, see Pajorin, "Per la storia," 33–45. On the textual tradition, see McManamon, *Research Aids*.

31 Galamb, "Egy budai hitvita," 132–33.

32 Ehinger, *Catalogus*, col. 125.

33 Rauner, *Katalog*, 430.

34 Hervay, *Repertorium*, 149 (a note praising the library in 1505 from Munich, BSB, clm 19822, f. 167). The note "sine manibus" (without hands) is a common scribal joke (e.g. "Finivi librum totum sine manibus istum.").

Gregory of Sanok was supposedly also present and Vergerio was among the select participants. Unfortunately, Buonaccorsi's description conveys several chronological impossibilities, and the events could not have happened in the way the text suggests.[35] As Buonaccorsi claims, a certain John Gara, Bishop of Várad (who later was transferred to the See of Esztergom) hosted Filippo Podocataro, the Cypriot Humanist, Vergerio, and Gregory of Sanok in his court, where they held literary debates and poetic exercises. As Vergerio died in 1444 (at the age of 74), but John Vitéz became the Bishop of Várad in June 1445, the bishop in question could not have been John Vitéz, who in fact became Archbishop of Esztergom later (and whose surname was not Gara anyways).[36] On the other hand, Vitéz's predecessor, the Italian Giovanni de Dominis (Bishop of Várad from December 1440 to Nov 10, 1444, dying in the battle of Varna) was never transferred to the See of Esztergom, and he hardly could have been mixed up with the famous Humanist bishop and archbishop, Vitéz.[37] Buonaccorsi remarks that Bishop John lured Gregory of Sanok to his court because he persuaded the governor of Hungary (i.e. John Hunyadi) that his sons should be educated by someone who spoke their mother tongue, not a foreign one. The fact that the bishop was entrusted with the education of the governor's sons befits John Vitéz.[38] Furthermore, at one of the Humanist debates described by Buonaccorsi, the bishop recounted the entire history of Hungary by heart ("memoriter et ornate recensuisset varietatem fortunae utriusque Pannoniae[39] et qui mortales diversis temporibus eas tenuissent"), which implies that the bishop was a local,

35 For the text, see Callimachus, *Vita et mores*. On the historical unreliability of Buonaccorsi, see Morawski, *Histoire de l'université*, vol. 2, 20. On Gregory of Sanok in Hungary, see Toldy, "Szánoki," 183–93; Olasz, "Szánoki," 169–87; Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 305; Balázs, "Veronai Gábor," 3–9; Klaniczay, *A magyarországi akadémiai mozgalom*, 27–37. Cf. Kristóf, "Egy lengyel humanista," 21–32.

36 Pajorin, "Alcuni rapporti," 45–52; Pajorin, "A bázeli zsinat," 12–13. Florio Banfi argued that these events happened within a longer period between 1440 and 1454 in several different settings and with more participants. Banfi, "Vergerio," (3) 29, n. 31.

37 Leonard Smith tried to resolve this chronological problem by identifying the bishop with Giovanni de Dominis: Smith, "Note cronologiche," 127, which was supported with further arguments by Pajorin, "Per la storia."

38 Obviously, the part of Buonaccorsi's sentence that implies that Bishop John (and John Hunyadi) spoke the same language as the Polish Gregory of Sanok is completely false and was made up by the Italian historiographer.

39 This expression is a further mark of Buonaccorsi's anachronistic approach: probably Janus Pannonius was the first to characterize himself as "Pannonian" instead of "Hungarian" in the 1450s, followed by John Vitéz only in 1464, and Humanists started to use the Ancient concept of two Pannonias (i.e. inferior and superior) only at the end of the fifteenth century. See Klaniczay, "The Concepts of Hungaria," 173–89.

not an Italian. It is clear from Buonaccorsi's words that when he spoke of Bishop John of Várad, he meant John Vitéz, and not Giovanni de Dominis.

These anachronisms throw Buonaccorsi's historical reliability into question, and the doubts which arise are further strengthened by other arguments. According to Sabbadini, Filippo Podocataro, who must have been very young at this time, was in Ferrara in 1444, the year Vergerio died in Hungary.[40] Although Buonaccorsi claims that Vergerio was better in oral rhetoric performance, while Podocataro was prominent in poetry, and Gregory challenged both of them, no poetry by Podocataro survives to my knowledge.[41] In many respects, Buonaccorsi's descriptions of the Humanist debates do not seem to be more than fictional rhetorical exercises embellished with small details from the actual events. According to the Italian Humanist, Vergerio raised the subject in Várad (ch. 19) that, according to the law of Charondas, one who has been widowed once, should not remarry, because if his previous marriage was successful, it is not reasonable to risk his luck, but if it was bad, he must be considered foolish, because he did not learn from his experience.[42] The law of Charondas states that if one's marriage ends, that person should not remarry, because he could be blamed for foolishness, and it survives only in Diodorus Siculus' historical work (in prose: 12, 12; in verse: 12, 14).[43] When Vergerio, Podocataro and Gregory

40 Remigio Sabbadini rejects the possibility that they could have met: Sabbadini, *L'Epistolario di Guarino*, vol. 3., 510. Podocataro, who later became a schoolmate of Janus Pannonius in Guarino's school together with his brothers, Lodovico and Carlo Podocataro, is still an unexplored figure in many respects. See Huszti, "*Hans Gerstinger: Johannes Sambucus*," 185.

41 Podocataro was a student of Gasparino Barzizza and was very young at the time (whereas Vergerio was more than 70 years old): Sabbadini, "Lettere e orazioni," 572. In fact, only small portions are edited from his epithalamy, written in 1447 to Ginevra d'Este and Baldassare di Tomeo Paganelli. Sabbadini, *L'Epistolario di Guarino*, vol. 3, 508–9; Giuseppe M. Cagni B., *Vespasiano da Bisticci*, 118. In 1452, he became a schoolmaster and participated in symposia with Bernardo Bembo: "Noto quod contubernium celebratum cum Podocataro, magistro ludorum, initiatum est 12 oct. 1452. Item cum magistro Philippo de Vale romano." Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, 93. On the political importance of the family and on Filippo's sons, Livio and Cesare Podocataro, future archbishops of Nicosia, see Rudt de Collenberg, "Les premiers Podocataro," 130–82. The Podocataro archives (inventoried by Poli, *Inventario della collezione*) are extremely rich in Hungarian relations, but no trace of Vergerio appears in them. Csapodi-Gárdonyi suggests that the cod. lat. 141(Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliothek*, 94) of the Hungarian National Library belonged to him.

42 Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 38: "ne quis, cui primum matrimonium feliciter cessisset, secundum iniret, illos vero, qui infortunati fuissent in primis nuptiis, loco insanorum ducendos, si iterum ea in re fortunam tentarent." About the sources of Buonaccorsi, see Sinko, "De Gregorii Sanocei," 241–70; Miodoński, "Spicilegium Gregorianum," 204–6. The other law of Charondas cited in this debate (banning the practice of "an eye for an eye") is similarly derived from Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 12, 17).

43 In prose: Ἔφη γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτον γήμαντας καὶ ἐπιτυχόντας, δεῖν εὐημεροῦντας καταπαύειν· τοὺς δὲ ἀποτυχόντας τῷ γάμῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἄφρονας δεῖν ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι.

of Sanok were supposed to discuss these issues, the twelfth of Diodorus was not yet accessible in a prose translation.[44] Buonaccorsi's version follows the prose variant given by Diodorus word by word, and it is hard to imagine that he was not working from the original Greek text. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that Vergerio read the Greek original,[45] Gregory of Sanok remembered it, and Buonaccorsi searched the locus in Diodorus for the exact phrasing. But it is more probable that Buonaccorsi selected stories according to his own preferences, as he did in other places, where he embellished the figure of Gregory of Sanok with stories taken from Diogenes Laertius.[46] In sum, his account seems to contain more fiction than fact.

I raised the possibility of another connection between Vergerio and Vitéz in an earlier article. Johannes Tröster was an Austrian Humanist who enjoyed the patronage of Enea Silvio Piccolomini but who was forced to leave the court of Friedrich III because of a conspiracy. He turned to John Vitéz of Zredna with a letter on September 14, 1454, and tried to speak to his heart, asking for help. He started his letter, with which he introduced himself to the bishop, with the following words: "So that I would talk about domestic and contemporary people, my reverend father, many have told me that Pier Paolo Vergerio of Capodistria used to say often that there is nothing more salutary among the mortals, than to become the friend of excellent men and to be revered and loved by them."[47] Tröster, in his troubled situation, looked for a new patron in

(Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, 12, 12). In verse: Εἶτ᾽ ἐπέτυχες γὰρ φησὶ γῆμας τὸ πρότερον // Εὐημερῶν κατάπαυσον· εἶτ᾽ οὐκ ἐπέτυχες, // Μανικὸν τὸ πείρας δευτέρας λαβεῖν πάλιν. (Ibid., 12, 14.)

44 Poggio Bracciolini translated the first five books into Latin in 1449–50, which were published three times between 1472 and 1485. See Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 69–70. The law of Charondas occurs in a completely different form in Stobaeus: "the person who brings a stepmother to the family should be cursed, because he promotes his own restlessness." (Stob. *serm.* 42.)

45 Vincentius Obsopoeus attributes one manuscript of Diodorus to Janus Pannonius in his *editio princeps* (Diodorus Siculus, *Historiarum libri*, Aα 2v), which he used as the basis of his edition. This manuscript might be the ms. ÖNB Suppl. gr. 30., which was copied by Ioannes Skutariotes in Florence in 1442 (See Csapodi, "Janus Pannonius könyvei," 194.). Cf. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek*, 100–101. Csapodi-Gárdonyi identified the Greek marginalia found in this ms. as coming from John Vitéz's hand, which is of course questionable, as there is no evidence that Vitéz knew Greek.

46 See Olasz, "Szánoki," 185–86. Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 26. Unfortunately, these references are not decisive on the question of authenticity either, because Vitéz could have known the translation of Diogenes Laertius by Ambrogio Traversari, which started to circulate after 1437. See Pajorin, "A bázeli zsinat," 10.

47 "Retulere plurimi, Pater reverendissime, ut de domesticis nostrique aevi gentibus dicam, Iustinopolitanum illum Petrum Paulum Vergerium semper id in ore sol[i]tum habuisse, nihil inter mortales felicius, quam praeclarorum hominum familiaritate potiri, ab hiis observari diligique." For an edition, see Kiss, "A magyarországi humanizmus," 129–31 and Szilágyi, *Vitéz János*.

the person of Vitéz, and this gesture gives the impression that Vitéz had indeed been a close friend (*de domesticis*) of Vergerio, who could have remembered the favorite saying of the great Italian Humanist. Nevertheless, a thorough research on the sources revealed that the proverb comes not from Vergerio, but from Tröster's own master, Enea Silvio Piccolomini. In fact, it was Piccolomini, the secretary to Friedrich III, who wrote to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Archbishop of Krakow, in April 1443 that, "there is nothing more salutary among mortals than to become the friend of excellent men and to be revered and loved by them."[48] Thus, Tröster copied the sentence word for word from this Viennese patron and used it as a friendly introduction to Vitéz, putting it into the mouth of Vergerio. Upon a closer look, it turns out that several phrases in Tröster's letter to Vitéz are derived from the letters of Piccolomini. When Tröster cites from Cicero the sentence that "as Plato has admirably expressed it, we are not born for ourselves alone, but our country claims a share of our being, and our friends a share,"[49] the direct source was probably the letter collection of Piccolomini, who cites the same dictum in a letter written to Johann Eich on October 21, 1445.[50] When Tröster describes himself as a *homuncio*, a tiny man, he again imitates Piccolomini, who characterises himself as such in his letter to his father.[51] Speaking of his "small genius," his *ingeniolum*, Tröster reapplied a term that was once written down in a letter to Giuliano de Cesarini by Piccolomini in 1434.[52] Thus, he mostly used the stylistic patterns set by the imperial secretary, whose letter collection started to circulate in Central Europe in several copies after 1443, and the reference to Vergerio in his letter is nothing more than a clever imitation of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.[53]

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48 Piccolomini, *Epistolarium*, 140: "ea namque mea sententia est, ut *nihil inter mortales felicius sit, quam preclarorum hominum familiaritate potiri, ab hisque diligi et observari*."

49 Kiss, "A magyarországi humanizmus," 130; paraphrasing Cic. *de officiis* 1, 7, 22, translated by Walter Miller.

50 "Nec enim nobis nati sumus, ut Plato dicebat, sed ortus nostri partem amici, partem patria vendicant." Piccolomini, *Epistolarium*, 482.

51 Piccolomini, *Epistolarium*, 177.

52 Ibid., 39.

53 One more indirect trace of Vergerio's influence surfaced in a manuscript, the so-called "Szalkai-kódex," into which a section of the *De ingenuis moribus* was copied around 1490, attributed to Petrarch. See Lengyel, "Egy Petrarcának," 143–46. The so-called "grammar of Vergerio," hypothesized by Csapodi-Gárdonyi, has probably nothing to do with Vergerio: Domonkos, "A ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár," 121–34. The basic level of this grammar and the "barbaric" Latin style of the short annotation attributed to Vergerio by Csapodi-Gárdonyi (e.g. "infirmus ad mortem," "per antea") also contradict this theory.

The research efforts to establish a well-documented historical link between Vergerio, the "referendarius" of King Sigismund, and John Vitéz, the first Hungarian chancellor with Humanist interests, have proven fruitless. Another method of retracing the genealogy of Hungarian Humanism would be to examine the literary output of its first author, John Vitéz of Zredna, with a more thorough examination of the imitation and paraphrase of Classical and contemporary Latin sources in his texts. The method of composing epistles by paraphrasing and imitating expressions taken from earlier letter collections, formularies, and Classical texts was in widespread use in Humanist correspondence. The epistolary material was still considered a kind of *dictamen*.[54] A telling proof of this is the title appended to the letter collection in Vienna, ÖNB cod. 3330, in which Humanist authors such as Guarino Veronese and Gasparino Barzizza appear as medieval *dictatores* and the entire collection is called "epistole diversorum doctorum et excellentium *dictatorum*" (1r). Furthermore, not only letters but also basically any linguistically powerful form of expression could serve as the basis of imitation if it had a Classicizing tone. Also, Ciceronian Latinity was not an inevitable standard in the first half of the fifteenth century, especially among Central European early Humanists. Late Antique authors and Medieval texts could inspire authors like John Vitéz of Zredna just as easily as Humanist translations of Greek literature if they seemed to possess enough rhetorical force.[55] Many examples can be found of this stylistic eclecticism in Vitéz's epistolary, and some of them (e.g. his imitation of Rufinus of Aquileia) have been already analyzed.[56] His dedicatory letters in particular are well-formed rhetorically.[57] I offer the following example:

> statui mittere tibi infirma mea *legenti potiora, ut* cum inter excellentes illas litterarum veterum regiones lassus forte versaberis, ad haec remittens

54 In many respects, Humanist letter writing is a direct continuation of the Medieval practice of "ars dictaminis." See Witt, "Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis'," 1–35; Revest, "Au miroir des choses," 455; Revest, "Naissance du cicéronianisme," 219–57; Revest, "Les discours de Gasparino Barzizza," 47–72.

55 Concerning Vitéz's Latin style, it is worth taking a note of the remark of the eighteenth-century polyhistor Matthias Bél in the first edition of Vitéz's letters, who claimed that Vitéz did not want to emulate Cicero or Pliny the Younger. Rather, according to Bél, his stylistic ideals were Symmachus and Sidonius Apollinaris. Bél felt that Vitéz outmatched the second, but not the first. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 2, V.

56 Boronkai, "Vitéz János," 213–17.

57 For a rhetorical analysis, see Zsupán, "János Vitéz' Book," 117–39.

> animum iocabundus conquiescas, utque tandem, si summa miraberis, inferiora quoque probes.[58]
>
> I have decided to send you my weakest to the one who reads the better, so that when you get tired of moving around in the excellent regions of Ancient literature, you can rest your soul a bit jokingly, and so that you would approve the lower planes if you admire the summits.

It is obvious that Vitéz's sentence is built around a phrase from Gregory the Great's dedication to his homilies on Ezekiel, addressed to Bishop Martinian:

> Sed rursum dum cogito, quod saepe inter cotidianas delicias etiam viliores cibi suaviter sapiunt, transmisi minima, *legenti potiora, ut* dum cibus grossior veluti pro fastidio sumitur, ad subtiliores epulas avidius redeatur.[59]
> But again, as I ponder that amid daily delights simple food also often tastes sweet, I have delivered the least to the one who reads the better, so that when you consume cruder food, you may, as if through aversion, the more eagerly return to subtler feasts.[60]

Whereas the clausal sentence structures are clearly parallels, Vitéz imitates only one phrase word by word, "legenti potiora," and the rest of the sentence is transformed to reflect his own situation.

Another example shows him at work transforming two citations. one from Antiquity, specifically Cicero, and one from the writings of a contemporary Humanist, Guarino Veronese, into a single sentence in his:

> Igitur si tu quoque recte erudiri volueris, perge ut hos deinceps imitabundus aemuleris, ex iis velim edas paresque studia, ac demum *adiungas frequentem usum, qui omnium magistrorum praecepta superabit*. Nec amplius properes indoctam hanc scientiam consectari, qua Te ipsum facile perdes, *ad labefactandas eloquii vires procaciter obeuntem*.[61]
>
> So, if you want to achieve real erudition, you should continue to imitate and emulate these texts [Jerome and other Church fathers], because I would like you to eat from these, and prepare your studies, and *finally*

58 Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera*, 31–32. (Dated to Várad, April 24, 1445).

59 Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Ezechielem*, Patrologia Latina 76, 785; Grégoire le Grand, *Homélies sur Ezéchiel*, 48.

60 Translated by Anlezark, "Gregory the Great," 19.

61 Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera*, 31. (Dated to Várad, April 24, 1445).

> *add a bit of frequent practice to it, which surpasses the precepts of all the masters*. And do not hurry anymore to follow that ignorant science by which you would easily lose yourself, *because it cheekily comes to meet you, only to weaken the power of your eloquence*.

While the first italicized phrase was imitated from Cicero (*de oratore* 1, 15), the end of the second sentence was a clever and complicated idea ("cheekily coming to weaken someone") taken from Guarino's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great*.[62] This translation was prepared by Guarino, who was still in Constantinople, between 1403 and 1408, and he started to circulate it publicly after 1412.[63] The latter example also demonstrates how the description of a person who wanted to overthrow the empire (*imperium*) could be transformed into the abstract concept of weakening one's eloquence (*eloquium*).

The manuscripts which Vitéz used for these texts (Cicero's *de oratore*, Plutarch's *Alexander the Great*, and Gregory the Great's homilies) have not been found yet.[64] In a unique case, Vitéz's actual source manuscript could be identified. It is the cod. 3099 in the Austrian National Library, containing the first, third, and fourth *Decades* of the *Ab urbe condita* of Livy.[65] The large folio manuscript is damaged both at the beginning and the end (with one folio missing at the beginning), but the fact that it was in Vitéz's possession can be established with relative certainty, as the margins of the two-column text contain a large number of marginalia from at least three different hands. One of these hands, who often annotates the text in red ink, copied hundreds of stylistically interesting words, expressions, and phrases from Livy to the margins, and his hand resembles that of Vitéz. Livy was perhaps Vitéz's favorite author, as revealed by the number of expressions used in his letters and orations from him.[66] Many of the expressions in the margins of the ms. cod. 3099 reoccur in Vitéz's letters and speeches. Just

62 Plutarchus, *Graecorum Romanorumque illustrium Vitae*, 264v: "Inde Lysimachi et Agnones instare, qui virum affirmabant ad labefactandas imperii vires procaciter obeuntem."

63 For the dating, see Pade, "Guarino," 133–47; Pade, "The Dedicatory Letter," Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 2, 133–36.

64 In the case of Plutarch's life of Alexander the Great, the text survives in a Corvinian manuscript (ÖNB, cod. 23.), which might have been seen by Vitéz, but this precious illuminated copy was surely prepared later in Florence (1470?, cf. Hermann, *Die Handschriften*, 63) than the date when Vitéz used Guarino's text (his letter is dated to 1445). Similarly, the ms. cod. lat. 148. in the Hungarian National Library, which contains Cicero's *De oratore*, would have been prepared too late to influence Vitéz in the composition of this letter.

65 On this ms., see Pellegrin, "Notes," 190–92, and Billanovich, "Per la fortuna," 271–72.

66 Many of these were identified by Boronkai in the apparatus of his Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera*, but their number could be easily doubled through a thorough reexamination of textual sources with the tools of modern technology.

to quote a few examples, on May 28, 1448, he wrote from Buda the following sentence: "feratque opem, qui spem dedit, ne differendo elangueat res" ("let the person bring help who gave hope, so that the situation would not languish because of procrastination"), which is composed of two sentences from Cicero (pro Ligario 30) and Livy (5, 26, 3: *differendo deinde elanguit res*). The annotator of the cod. 3099 (most probably Vitéz himself) noted twice in the margins: "Nota differendo elanguit res" and "nota bene hanc rem" ("Note that the situation languishes because of procrastination" and "note well this thing"; ÖNB, cod. 3099, 57va). In a letter addressed to Pope Nicholas V on June 15, 1450 in the name of John Hunyadi and the prelates of Hungary, he used the phrase "hoc incommodo in irritum cadentis spei preter ius et phas amplius torqueremur" ("we would be further tortured by this inconvenience of the uselessly failing hope beyond what is legally allowed").[67] At the exact place where Livy uses this phrase (1, 6), Vitéz's annotation can be found in the cod. 3099 (13ra): "dolore ad irritum cadentis spei. Nota bene" ("Because of the pain of uselessly falling hope. Note well.").

Vitéz of Zredna also used Livy's phrases in his orations. Accordingly, orations were of special importance to him in his copy of the *Ab urbe condita*, and wherever a speech occurred in the text, he marked it with the sign ω. In his speech addressed to the young King Ladislaus V on October 8, 1452, he wrote: "quamvis heres esses, consenciens tamen vox populi — ut veteres dicere solebant — ratum nomen imperiumque tibi regi efficeret" ("although you are a heir to the throne, nevertheless the consenting voice of the people—as the ancients used to say—ratified your name and rule as a king").[68] The source of this expression (Livy 1, 6) is noted in red in the margin of the first surviving leaf of the ms. cod. 3099: "Consenciens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit" (1ra). In another oration, held in front of Friedrich III on March 23, 1455 in Wiener Neustadt, the emperor's task appears as "ut sociorum salutis vindex sis et custos tue" ("so that you would be a vindicator of the security of your allies and a guard of your own"),[69] which is again a phrase from Livy repeated in the margins of the cod. 3099 (12rb: "non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam inde custos fuit"). In sum, the marginalia in his Livy show how Vitéz of Zredna made use of the vocabulary of the Ancient historian and show him as a systematic and eager reader of Classical authors. These examples clearly show that Vitéz's quotations

67 Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera*, 143, 1.

68 Ibid., 225, 22.

69 Ibid., 258, 8.

from Livy could and should be doublechecked against the manuscript he used, which would lead us to a better understanding of his compilation methods. At the same time, the chronology of these Livian appropriations also demonstrates that he must have owned the Vienna manuscript cod. 3099 of Livy early in his career, already before 1445.

Along these lines, the best method to prove Vitéz's dependence on Vergerio would be to demonstrate his direct use of Vergerio's letters, which often appeared in early Humanist letter collections. Unfortunately, no unquestionable example of the imitation of Vergerio has surfaced yet in Vitéz's letters, but there are a few signs which tend in this direction. Vitéz's epistolary collection opens with a rhetorical game in which Vitéz reacts to the request of his subordinate, Paul of Ivanić, who asked him to compile a letter collection, as if it were a debt which he was forced to take upon himself:

> Rursus evocor instancia tua usum seriemque laboris repetere, quo compos efficeris debiti, superiore mea caucione polliciti. […] Sed uter nostrum initum exinde pacti genus prevaricatus sit, tu pro te videris […] At mihi multo asperior exactio ipsa visa est, quam pactio fuit, quandoquidem decidis tempore condicto, et numero adicis, atque (ut pace tua loquar) fenore in fedus irruis. Quo fiet, ut dum me debitorem huius morati federis insimulas, tu ipse fenoris expetiti reus videberis.[70]
>
> I am forced again by your perseverance to take up this long job, by which you receive back the debt, which was promised to you by my earlier provision. […] But you should see for yourself which one of us has violated this agreement which we have made […] For the retortion seemed to me much coarser than the covenant was, because you have shortened the agreed deadline, raised the sum, and (pardon my word!), you destroy the contract with usury. As a consequence, while you pretend that I am a debtor of a delayed loan contract, you actually will be sinning in usury.

Thus, the compilation of the letter collection is presented as a debt, but the repeated demands of Paul of Ivanić are usury.

Gasparino Barzizza wrote a letter to Cardinal Francesco Zabarella from Padua in August 1414 in which he used a similar leading metaphor of indebtedness, as he felt obliged to his new patron because of the praise transmitted to him by

70 Ibid., *Opera*, 37.

Vergerio. Barzizza described his feelings for his new friend, Zabarella, using the same rhetorical motifs:

> Tantum ergo hac re tibi debeo, quanti amicitiam hominis et eruditissimi facio. Qui si solvendo essem, non differrem in diem, sed statim hoc alieno aere me exolverem. Nunc vero quum nihil dicere mihi etiam religio sit, ut verbis poetae comici utar, et me ipsum superiori tempore pro multis aliis meritis tuis insolutum dederim, *faciam quod debitores non mali solent, quum non suppetentes sunt, unde suis creditoribus reddant, saltem hoc curant, diligentem calculi rationem habeant. Conficiam ergo novos calendarios, nam priores tuis creditis iam omnes sunt pleni, et a capite libri in albo, ut dicitur, scribam: 'Receptum P. P. Vergerium nostrum': Summam autem non taxabo, est enim mea sententia inextimabilis. Tu quanti voles taxabis, et ego ratum habeo*. Vale.[71]
>
> I owe you as much because of this as much I esteem the friendship of a man, and of a very learned one. If I had to pay now, I would not delay it even a day, but I would pay it even by a loan. But now, when I am scrupulous not to say anything, to use an expression of the comic poet [Ter. Heaut. II, ii, 6], and I have become insolvent to many of your honors previously, I will do what those debtors do who are not that bad: when they cannot secure the money from which to pay back their debts, at least they care for a diligent and careful payroll. Thus, I will start a new calendar, because the earlier ones are full of your credits, and on the first page of the book I will write on an empty page: "I received P. P. Vergerio." And I won't even estimate the final sum, because it is invaluable.

Was it perhaps this section of Barzizza's letter which inspired him to compose his own metaphoric dedication to his works?

This connection seems all the more probable because of some circumstantial evidence. Vitéz of Zredna's letter collection, which was edited by Paul of Ivanić, his collaborator at the royal chancery, in 1451, survives in two copies, the elegantly written Vienna manuscript cod. 431, which bears Humanist tendencies,[72] and another one in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter in Prague ms. G. XX, written in characteristic Central European Gothic *bastarda* scripture. Whereas the Vienna manuscript contains only the letters of Vitéz of Zredna, the Prague copy also includes a Humanist letter collection on folios

71 Vergerio, *L'Epistolario*, 356.

72 Papahagi, "Gothic Script," 5–14.

315^{r}-451^{v} with the works of Gasparino Barzizza,[73] Guarino Veronese, Ognibono Leoniceno, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Francesco Barbaro, Piero da Monte, Poggio Bracciolini, Carlo Gonzaga, Leonello d'Este, and others. As this part of the manuscript has not been described in detail in the catalogue of the library, no one noticed that this collection is closely related to the one transmitted in the manuscript Munich, University Library 2º ms. 607[74] and, to a lesser extent, to the mss. London, British Library, Arundel 70, and Vienna, National Library, cod. 3330.[75] This connection hinted at by Ludwig Bertalot,[76] but the contents of the Prague manuscript, which transmits these early Humanist letters and orations along with Vitéz of Zredna's letters, have been never examined. This Humanist anthology in the Prague manuscript was copied by the same hand as the letter collection of Vitéz of Zredna, and it can be safely dated to 1459 ("feria V ante festum S. Bartholomaei," 315^{r}). It is important to note that Barzizza's letter to Zabarella, which we have cited above and which might have influenced the rhetoric of Vitéz of Zredna's letter to Paul of Ivanić, is contained in the Prague manuscript (331^{r}-331^{v}: "Gasparinus Pergamensis Francisco Gabarele [=Zabarelle]"), as well.[77] Thus, it seems reasonably possible that this—probably Bohemian—copyist had access to Vitéz's letters in the same place where he had found this Italian Humanist letter collection: at the Hungarian chancery. If this hypothesis is correct, this "Humanist copybook" might have had a serious impact on the composition of Vitéz of Zredna's letter collection.

In sum, the beginnings of Hungarian Humanism can be better characterized using a philological approach and finding the codicological evidence behind the practice of textual appropriation than by looking for direct personal and historical contacts. As Humanism began to take root in Hungary, there stands a letter collection, that of Vitéz of Zredna, which relies heavily on late medieval notarial practices. His working method reflects the compiling techniques of medieval litterati: texts are basically made up of formal elements the primary function of which is to confirm the authenticity of the text, not to recognize the source

73 Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů*, vol. 2, 95–96.

74 See Natalia Daniel, Gerhard Schott, Peter Zahn, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Folioreihe, Hälfte 2*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), 107–16. Very often, the Prague Metropolitan Chapter, ms. G XX includes these texts in exactly the same order as the Munich, University Library 2º ms. 607; e.g. the series of letters of Guarino on Prague, 337r–247v and Munich, 154v–164v.

75 On this group of manuscripts, see Bertalot, "Humanistisches Studienheft," 83–161.

76 Bertalot, "Die älteste Briefsammlung," vol. 2, 41.

77 For a list of all the copies of this text, see Mazzuconi, "Per una sistemazione," 212.

or establish some kind of textual relationship. Nevertheless, in this Humanist letter collection, the most important difference from a medieval formulary is the range of texts that are considered authentic and worthy of imitation. In the case of Vitéz of Zredna, the range of these authentic authors extends from Plautus through Cicero, Livy, and Lucanus to figures of late Antiquity, such as Saint Jerome and Gregory the Great. Most probably, he also turned to contemporary Humanist authors, such as Guarino Veronese, Gasparino Barzizza, and Pier Paolo Vergerio. The final result was not yet a clean, Ciceronian Latin prose, but something that was Classical at least in its intention. One could apply the judgment of Marcantonio Sabellico on Gasparino Barzizza's Latinity to Vitéz of Zredna: "As I hear, he was the first person who cast an eye on the shadow of Ancient eloquence, because that was all that was left of this very noble subject."[78]

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78 "Est in Bergomati agro vicus obscuri olim nominis, nunc clarus suoque partu illustris, Barzizam vulgo nominant. His Gasparinus grammaticus ac rhetor sua tempestate illustris, qui in hac urbe ut audio, mox Patavii, inde Mediolani multa nominis celebritate litteras docuit magis felici consilio, quam quod tantae cladis resarciendae spes ulla praetenderetur. *Primus omnium, ut audio, ad veteris eloquentiae umbram, nam ex re tam nobili nil tum praeter id unum supererat, oculos retorsit.*" Sabellico, *De latinae linguae reparatione*, 97.

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Catullus on a Coat-of-Arms: A Pictorial Paraphrase of Catull. 11 from Late Medieval Hungary*

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The paper discusses the coat-of-arms of Mathias of Szente (or of Sáró) granted by Ladislaus V in 1456, the depiction of which includes–in my opinion–a pictorial paraphrase of a Catullian metaphor. This could offer a more satisfactory, but unusual answer to the emerging problems regarding the interpretation of the composition. The study attempts to reveal how Catullus' poem could reach Mathias of Szente, as well as the possible connotations it might have awaken on a broader range of the society.

Keywords: coat-of-arms, Mathias of Szente, Catullus

On January 31, 1456 in the town of Győr, Ladislaus the Posthumous (Ladislaus V as King of Hungary and Croatia) granted arms of nobility to the literatus Mathias of Szente, also appearing as of Sáró, and other members of his line.[1] The letters patent contains only a heraldic miniature, and no written description is presented for it. The heraldic achievement could be blazoned as follows: Azure, a Base Sable, over it a Plough Argent facing sinister with Handles Or, at its point a Tree raguly standing palewise with three Roses Gules slipped Vert issuant from its top.[2] The same tree with the roses appears as a crest on the tilting helmet mantled Gules doubled Argent.[3]

* I owe many thanks to Anton Avar (*National Archives of Hungary*) for giving advice in heraldic matters, especially on heraldic descriptions, to Dániel Kiss (*Eötvös Loránd University*) for resolving my sometimes misleading uncertainties in the stemmatics of the manuscripts, and to László Takács (*Pázmány Péter Catholic University*) for sharing his views and insights on this question.

1 The document is held by the National Archives of Hungary under the following reference code: MNL OL – Diplomatikai Levéltár [Archives of Diplomatics] 50530 (hereafter DL). The donation's text in a critical form with a brief analysis (and monochrome reproduction) was published by Toronyi, *Sárói (Szentei)-címereslevél,* 29–31. The image itself, along with a brief description, was presented by Bertényi, *Magyar címertan,* 41. (48. image); with a somewhat more detailed description by Nyulászíné Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei,* 36. (XX. table), 121; on a monochrome image it is presented too by Balassa, *Az eke és a szántás,* 299; et al. Toronyi has published a blazon, still, in this study we give a more refined version.

2 The discovery of the existence of a base in this coat-of-arms was made by Anton Avar. In the existing blazons, this element was usually referred to as a realistic (i. e. "proper") depiction of the ground or earth, and I thought of it this way too, despite the fact that I had an opportunity to examine the original miniature.

3 The color of the field in this coat-of-arms could not be defined using the various digital copies. Nyulászíné Straub considered it green in her brief description. As a matter of fact, it is more between blue

This unique heraldry of the Szentei[4] family caught the attention of historians a long time ago. Because this particularly early depiction of a heavy plough on this coat-of-arms is worth examining from the perspective of historical research on everyday life, as well as on heraldry, scholars have placed considerable emphasis on these topics.[5] They have been unable, however, to determine what could have inspired the creator or the receiver of this coat-of-arms in its making.[6] Toronyi goes the farthest in addressing this question with her claim that in the subsequent centuries these depictions usually referred to the family's scope of activities, but she does not venture any guess as to how the Szentei family related to the item depicted, because the available sources do not touch on this.

In the following, we present our hypothesis concerning this coat-of-arms' importance in literary history, as well as supporting the idea, that the heraldic symbols are connected–with a minor twist–to the family's scope of activities. Finally, we also offer an explanation as to why this instrument appeared so early on a piece of heraldry.

Our discussion begins with the fact that during the process of submitting a petition for a coat-of-arms, the would-be bearer of this heraldry could present a draft of his design or one already in use by him to the chancellery.[7] This is a well-documented custom from the Sigismund era of Hungary, because the letters patent inform us of petitioners providing drafts for the monarch.[8] Unfortunately

and green. The plough's body could be described as spotted pale grey (which is actually the base color of the painting in its flawed state), a color which could also be the product of the oxidation of silver paint. The plough's share and the rose tree's bark are gold mixed with brown. The inner side of the mantling has no distinctive color, aside from the one resembling that of butter, which was used as a base for the whole, and a blackish discoloration similar to the one on the plough's body. Thus, in contrast to Toronyi's description of the colors as red and golden they are more likely red and silver.

4 This is the common Hungarian adjective form used as their family name given after the village where they owned properties.

5 Because a depiction of an instrument used in everyday life from such an early period is very rare (Nyulászíné Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei,* 121.) and, furthermore, the turning plough depicted here is similar to the much later ones used at the beginning of the nineteenth century, meaning that it hasn't changed much during the centuries. Balassa, *Az eke és a szántás,* 300–1, quoted by Bertényi, *Magyar címertan,* 121. n. 32.

6 In addition to the aforementioned: Kálmán, *Középkori magyar armálisok*, 147–48, 155–56.

7 R. Kiss, *Természetes ábrázolás,* 50, 170. We do not have a supplication of this kind from the Middle Ages. For more information on the method of submitting other petitions: Szilágyi, *Írásbeli supplicatiók*.

8 A better known example with the words of the Cook, Franciscus of Eresztvény's grant of arms from September 16, 1414: *arma seu nobilitatis insignia in praesentium litterarum nostrarum capite depicta maiestati nostre exhibendo, ab eadem maiestatis nostre celsitudine eadem arma seu nobilitatis insignia sibi […] heredibusque et posteritatibus universis ipsorum, ex liberalitate nostra dari et conferri humiliter et devote supplicavit.* Fejérpataky, *Magyar czimeres emlékek I.,* 35. This is also present with other wording a year later in Michael Bor's grant of arms, who was Vice-master of the Horse: *Proinde ad universorum tam praesentium quam futurorum, notitiam harum serie volumus*

the letters from the years of Ladislaus V and the later ones skip this formula, and they only refer to the act of the supplication. We cannot presume the absence of this custom, however, because we know from later texts that it was common practice in the sixteenth century.[9]

Individual concepts unquestionably played an important part in the creation of the coat-of-arms for Mathias of Szente. This is confirmed indirectly by the document too, because it reveals that the petitioner requested a granting of a coat-of-arms from the king by his supporters.[10] The seemingly marginal information, namely that in the letters patent Mathias of Szente is referred to as a *literatus*, becomes decisively important in this case. In our assessment, his literacy was not simply a condition of his selection, but also an explanation for it.

What is depicted on this coat-of-arms? Its most significant attribute is the unity of the composition. A plough and a rose on a single shield are depicted on a Bavarian coat-of-arms from a much later period, but in this case they are separated on two different fields.[11] The connection of these motifs in this manner is unique. The creator of this illustration evidently wanted to capture an idea: the moment when the share cuts into the roots of the rose. Why else would the tree's stem be so clearly positioned behind the plough's share, and why would it otherwise need a base connecting the two elements into a united composition?[12] Last but not least, why is there a rose tree—or any plant—in the

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pervenire, quod coram celsitudine nostre maiestatis personaliter constituto nobili famoso ac egregio Michaele dicto Bor [...] pro eo et eius nomine ac in personis nobilium virorum [...] exhibuit nobis quandam cartam, arma seu nobilitatis insignia [lacuna] clarius continentem [...]. Supplicavitque ob hoc celsitudini nostre maiestatis predictus Michael dictus Bor, [...] vicemagister agazonum regalium nostrorum, [...] humiliter atque devote, ut predicta arma seu nobilitatis insignia sibi [...] ex plenitudine potestatis nostrae regie maiestatis atque liberalitate regia dare et concedere dignaremur. Fejérpataky, *Magyar czimeres emlékek II,* 14.

9 One of the best examples is the petition submitted by Sebastianus of Tinód (MNL OL - R 64 - 1. - No. 14/b) and his grant of arms published in Vienna on August 25, 1553 (MNL OL - R 64 - 1. - No. 14/a). His coat-of-arms is painted on his supplication, though it wasn't painted on the grant itself, probably because of a lack of money or other reasons, but its blazon is found in the text. I would like to thank Mihály Kurecskó (*National Archives of Hungary*) for bringing this example to my attention.

10 *Ad nonnullorum fidelium nostrorum humilime supplicationis instantiam [...] ipsa arma seu nobilitatis insignia [...] dedimus et contulimus, ymmo ex habundantiori plenitudine nostre specialis gratie concedimus et presentibus elargimur, […]* Toronyi, *Sárói (Szentei)-címereslevél,* 29.

11 The Oeder line (1784): a plough and a rose, Seyler, *Bayerischer Adel,* 165. (Taf. 102.); Julius Pflug (the last bishop of Naumburg 1547–1564): a share and a stem, Seyler, *Bisthümer und Klöster,* 38. (Taf. 66.); Pflug von Rabenstein: a plough and a stem, Graf Meraviglia-Crivelli, *Der Böhmische Adel,* 247–48. (Taf. 112.)

12 This realistic depiction on arms paintings and correlating with this the depictions of acts in motion are identified by R. Kiss as specifically Hungarian elements. For this reason, the notion that the base appears as a supporter is acceptable in our assessment: this idea does not interfere with the crucial parts of our hypothesis.

middle of a depiction of ploughing, when this act is the turning of soil which has already been cleared of plants?

Our questions seem instantly answered when we consider them from a different angle. This composition obviously corresponds to one of the most beautiful metaphors of classical Latin literature, the metaphor with which Catullus, deceived by the unfaithful Lesbia, captures the state in which he finds himself and depicts it in his farewell message to the girl who cannot even understand her misdeed and the extent of the loss and the value of the thing squandered:[13]

> nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
> qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
> ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
> tactus aratro est.[14]
>
> (Catull. 11. 21–24)

Looking at this obvious parallel, we might well ask how this man of the lower nobility from Nógrád County was familiar with the abovementioned poem by Catullus?[15] Because we do not know of a manuscript or florilegium from this period from which he could have learned of this poet's work, which had been rediscovered one and a half centuries earlier.[16] At first glance, we might conjecture that he must have studied abroad. Indeed, this was the case. The lists of the peregrini who studied in Vienna include a certain Mathias de Saro from 1443 who was probably our nobleman from Upper Hungary.[17] Unfortunately, Mathias seems, on the basis of the sources at least, to have ventured no further. There is no indication of him having studied in Italy or Prague.[18] However, in

13 Mayer, *Catullus' divorce,* 297–98; Wiseman, *Catullus & His World,* 144–46.

14 [L]et her not look for my love as before, she whose crime destroyed it, like the last flower of the field, touched once by the passing plough. Kline, *Catullus. The Poems,* 27.

15 On the Renaissance reception of Catullus in general see: Haig Gaisser, *Catullus in the Renaissance*; Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and His Readers.*

16 Works of Catullus can be found among the preserved Corvinas of King Mathias I, which is the first known Catullus text from Hungary. Today it is held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB Cod. 224.).

17 Tüskés, *Diákok a bécsi egyetemen,* 162. 2924th line (1443. 10. 15.).

18 Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum.* Haraszti, Kelényi, and Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok.*

Vienna, students studied the scholastic curriculum.[19] New trends only began to develop in the 1450's.[20]

Based on all these, one can hypothesize a certain degree of indirect influence, which narrows the possibilities. We do not contend that Mathias of Szente necessarily knew of Catullus's work, nor are we arguing that he had read the 11th carmen in its original form. We can only be certain of this metaphor from Catullus having reached him through some medium, perhaps without him having been aware of its origin. This doesn't lessen the importance of the metaphor: the works of Catullus seemed to have been enjoying some influence in Hungary somewhat earlier than has been thought.

But where and how did Mathias find this metaphor? Aside from the abovementioned letters patent, we have no other sources concerning his life, thus we can only rely on assumptions. The most probable place would have been the country's capital, Buda. The schools of Pest and Buda offered outstandingly high practical knowledge of Latin in the region before King Mathias I, and this knowledge was a precondition of admittance to any institution of higher education.[21] Moreover, Buda was the place where Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444)[22] resided, one of the initiating figures of Humanism in Hungary, who served at the late king Sigismund's chancellery but retired in 1426 and unquestionably knew of the neoteric poet's work. Thus, Mathias may have come across this metaphor in some form in a fortunate coincidence before having even begun his studies in Vienna, one precondition of which was the completion of studies he most likely pursued in Buda, since his family owned land in the area.[23] Vergerio's

19 Not a single one of the Catullus texts held in Vienna today was created there, and even the earliest one of the three is from around 1460. Dániel Kiss brought to my attention the fact that the view has been disproved according to which the anthology piece held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek's collection, contained in its unabridged form also the 11th carmen's text beside the 62th and which anthology could be traced back to the same source as the Codex Thuaneus, which contains the oldest Catullus manuscript (the one held in Vienna in its current state does not contain either one of the texts). This false belief was based on a faulty source recognition of a scholion by Isaac Vossius on the 11th carmen, according to which Vossius read a variant of the text (*fractus* instead of *tactus*) in the Codex Thuaneus (Kiss, *Isaac Vossius,* 344.). On disproving this thesis: Kiss, *Editions and Commentaries*. Nevertheless, this was either not available in Vienna during the period in question. Lowe, *Codices Latini,* n. 1474. On the place and time of writing these manuscripts see the online conjecture-repertorium created by Dániel Kiss. http://www.catullusonline.org/CatullusOnline/?dir=edited_pages&pageID=11.

20 Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität,* 353–54.

21 Kubinyi, *Polgári értelmiség,* 606–8.

22 Huszti, *Pier Paolo Vergerio*; Kiss, *A magyarországi humanizmus kezdeteiről,* 121.

23 The distance between Buda and Szente is 55 kilometers. The distance between Buda and Sáró is less than 75 kilometers.

Humanist erudition without doubt made a mark on intellectuals in Hungary after his death too.

Though the university in Vienna offered students no opportunity to familiarize themselves with the work of Catullus, this does not mean that Mathias did not come across the writings of Catullus in some other context in the city. It suffices to note that Enea Silvio Piccolomini served in the chancellery of Frederick III between 1442 and 1455,[24] during which time Mathias of Szente was a student (1443–1444).

If we place the time of at which Mathias coming across this motif right before the granting of arms, we come to another possible connection, this time with Janus Pannonius,[25] who visited his home twice during his student years in Italy (in 1450–1451 and for a longer period in the end of 1454 and the first months of 1455) and resided in Prague since the beginning of October 1454,[26] followed by a short stay in Várad and Buda in January 1455 and a visit to the imperial assembly in Wiener Neustadt[27] (where he met with Enea Silvio Piccolomini in person too) before returning to Italy. If we consider Mathias' loyal services to Ladislaus V mentioned in the letters patent, in theory he could have been part of the king's or his chancellor's entourage and thus may have met Janus Pannonius on the latter's arrival in Prague on October 2, 1454 or during his stay later in Wiener Neustadt.[28] If he was a member of the chancellery, they could have met in Buda too.

24 Szilágyi, *Vitéz János mecenatúrája,* 26–27.

25 Although László Török proved that Janus Pannonius knew the neoteric poet thoroughly, we find notraces of this in his poetical language among the Catullian syntagms and the tools of depiction in poetry unveiled by Török. Török, *Catullus-hatások*.

26 Kiss, *A magyarországi humanizmus kezdeteiről,* 127. n. 31.

27 Ritoókné Szalay, *Janus Pannonius és Várad,* 173. Ritoókné Szalay explained his return home as a mandatory visit to Várad to report on his studies every three years in order to obtain financial aid from the capitulum.

28 Ladislaus V was in Prague between October 2 and November 19, 1454 according to his seals and with the lack of an archontology by his letters patent published: September 30 (MNL OL – Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Photograph Collection of Diplomatics] 237481, DF in the following), October 4 (DF 263383), October 9 (DL 29081), October 11 (DF 246958), October 12 (DF 245878), October 26 (DF 210022 [the seal was lost or isn't visible]), November 10 (DL 39295), November 14 (DL 44750, 81185, 81186, 81187, DF 244803), November 15 (DL 72492), November 17 (DL 81188), November 19 (DL 14856). On December 18, he was already in Wroclaw (DL 14892). The letters we looked into did not provide any information on his whereabouts in the time between. All this is compatible with Ebendorfer's account on his arrival in Vienna (Wiener Neustadt) February 16, 1455 (Lhotsky, *Ebendorfer,* 424.8–425.15.) which is confirmed by a letter published by Ladislaus V on February 17 (DL 14971). I would like to thank Iván Kis for the source.

The coat-of-arms of Szentei (or Sárói) family, 1456.
Parchment, 98 × 122 mm.
National Archives of Hungary, State Archive.
Archives of Diplomatics, 50530.
(MNL OL - DL 50530.)

In our research, we had to exclude the possibility of the painter being responsible for the composition. The art historian Dénes Radocsay found, among the preserved pictures of arms, one from three years earlier (Leővey grant of arms, May 3, 1453) and one from barely twenty days later (Bethlenfalvy Szepesy grant of arms, February 19, 1456) which bear affinities with the Szentei grant and thus may have been works by the same painter. This relationship, however, is only stylistic and has nothing to do with the content of the compositions. Neither of the two grants mentioned above is a complex composition depicting an action in motion. The earlier one is connected through the ornament style used in the square background of the miniature and the later one through its flat drawing. The attributes of the depiction examined thus far cannot be explained by the (in Radocsy's judgement mediocre) painter's artistic perception and style.[29]

29 Radocsay, *Gótikus magyar címereslevelek,* 281a.

It is worth mentioning one of the picture's motifs, the three red roses. Aside from some other appearances,[30] these are the ancient symbols of the Szente-Mágócs line and as such are the symbols of prestigious families who likewise got their name after their land-holdings, which is almost identical with the one part of the petitioner's names. We cannot ignore the fact that the connection is only between these motifs. Thus, this offers further evidence in support of the view that the petitioner was a man of erudition, as he probably sought to connect his family with a line possessing a coat-of-arms from ancient times.

Finally, I would like to add a comment. If the supposed allusion was not clear (or could not have been clear) for the contemporary beholder, then the hint of the grant's beneficiary being a literatus is also presented on a simpler level. Formal use of the participium perfectum of the verb *exaro* (*litterae exaratae*) was frequently used as a synonym of *scribo* in the Late Medieval and Early Modern period.[31] Thus, a viewer versed in the language used by that administration could also easily recognize a simpler layer of this reference hidden in the depiction.[32]

If the abovementioned parallel is accepted, this suggests two conclusions. First, it provides further support for the notion, according to which the depiction of this unique coat-of-arms can be interpreted as a reflection of the petitioners scope of activities indirectly, because its core is a text by a classical author.[33] Second, and this is of greater importance, this pictorial paraphrase is the first sign of Catullus's reception in Hungary, as far as we know. It thus proves that Catullus was not entirely unfamiliar (if also not widely familiar) in Hungary before Janus Pannonius' return in his home country.

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30 Csoma, *Magyar nemzetségi czímerek,* 158–59.

31 *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.* Vol. 5. *(E)* Lipsiae, 1931–1953. *s. v.* exaro I. B. 1. In the Latin used in medieval Hungary its meaning was confined to this only. *A magyarországi középkori latinság szótára. III. köt.* S. v. exaro, -are [Déri].

32 Szilvia Somogyi brought to my attention the verb *peraro*, which is similar in meaning to *exaro* and also expresses the act of writing primarily, along with the phrases in which it was used (*TLL Vol. X. (P–PORRVS)* s. v. peraro, 1. a, b [Werner]), for which I am thankful.

33 We consider it possible that the grant of arms for the literatus Ambrus Mernyei of Nezde by Vladislaus II on December 8, 1498 (DL 50538), which features a green parrot with a white ribbon issuing from its beak with the word AVE repeated three times on it, was inspired by a text by another classical author and Macrobius nonetheless (Macrob. *sat.* 2. 4. 29–30). However, the uncertainties surrounding this hypothesis are too great to discuss.

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The Codices of György Handó[1]

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The Florentine bookseller and *cartolaio* Vespasiano da Bisticci included the life of three Hungarian prelates in his *Vite*, dedicated to the the lives of his most famous clients. Two of the Hungarians, the archbishop of Esztergom, János Vitéz of Zredna, and the bishop of Pécs, the poet Janus Pannonius, are well-known personalities of early humanism in Hungary and some of their codices prepared in Florence still exist. The third one, however, György Handó (c. 1430–1480), provost of Pécs cathedral chapter from 1465 until his death, is much less known. Scholars of early humanism in Hungary were unable to contextualize the information given by Bisticci on Handó's library, because no other written source could confirm his accounts, and no manuscript could been identified as a Handó codex. The present study demonstrates that contrary to the common belief that his codices had been completely lost, there are, in fact, twenty manuscripts originating from this early humanistic library. This research result is based on the identification of his coat of arms.

Keywords: György Handó, Orbán Nagylucsei, Péter Garázda, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Bartolomeo Fonzio, Piero Cennini, Corvina Library, Matthias Corvinus, Florence, Buda, humanistic book culture, illuminated books

The library of György Handó (c. 1430–1480) provost of Pécs cathedral chapter and archbishop of Kalocsa has so far been known on the basis of a single

1 This paper is only a preliminary study on a topic which needs more detailed discussion. I plan to devote a monography to the history of Handó's library, its connections with early humanistic libraries in Florence, Hungary and Central Europe, and the individual manuscripts. Taken into consideration, however, the importance of the subject and the amount of time that the writing of such a book demands, I decided to summarize and publish the most important results of my research here. To be more reader-friendly, all data and secondary literature on the individual codices are collected in the Catalogue. In the main text, manuscripts are only referred by catalogue numbers (Cats. 1–20). My research on the manuscripts of Handó's library enjoyed the support of the János Bolyai Research Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and my research travels were made possible by the Isabel and Alfred Bader Scholarship, which I received in 2014. This paper was originally published in Hungarian language in 2016, see Pócs, "Handó György könyvtára." Further research was carried out within the framework of the *Court culture and power representation in late medieval and early modern Hungary* research project (NKFIH K-129362). I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Edina Zsupán (National Széchényi Library, Department of Manuscripts), who helped me draw conclusions on some important codicological questions. I am also thankful to Eszter Nagy (Research Centre for Humanities, Institute of Art History) for the detailed photos of the two manuscripts kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Cats. 11, 12).

source. In the second half of the 1480s, ten years after his retirement, the elderly *cartolaio*, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the "king of booksellers," dedicated a collection of biographies to his famous clients, such as rulers, prelates, and humanists. His *Vite* includes three prelates from Hungary: János Vitéz of Zredna, archbishop of Esztergom, the poet Janus Pannonius, bishop of Pécs, and the abovementioned György Handó. The humanist erudition of János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius and to some extent the profiles of their libraries are well-known to scholars, and some of their manuscripts still survive. The third prelate, however, has long remained in obscurity, since his codices have not been identified yet, and apart from the few sentences by the Florentine *cartolaio* quoted below, no other written source reports on his bibliophile activity. All we learn from Bisticci is that he bought manuscripts in Florence for 3,000 florins, he deposited them in the Cathedral of Pécs, and he left a priest in charge of his library consisting of 300 codices:

> While he was in Rome he received letters from the King bidding him go to Naples to negotiate a marriage between King Ferdinand's daughter and the King of Hungary. This matter took little time, for with his prudence and dexterity he soon concluded this betrothal. He returned by the way of Florence, where he bought books to the value of three thousand florins for a library he was collecting for his provostship at Cinque Chiese [i.e. Pécs]. The King had already given him the chancellorship, and as all things passed through his hands he did what few men in his position have ever done. To the church of which he was provost he added a very noble chapel […]. He gave a very fine library to the same church, in which were books of every faculty, three hundred volumes or more, and arranged them suitably. He put this library under the charge of a priest with good salary […].[2]

2 Bisticci, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, 199–200. For the critical edition of the text, see Bisticci, *Le vite,* vol. 1, 340–41: "Istando a Roma meser Giorgio in queste pratiche, ebe lettere d'Ungheria, ch'egli andassi a Napoli a praticare col re Ferdinando il parentado della figliuola del re col re d'Ungheria. Fuvi molto onorato. Istato non molto tempo in questa pratica, colla sua prudentia et destreza d'ingegno condusse quello parentado. Conchiusolo, se ne venne alla via di Firenze, dove aveva comperati libri per più di tre mila fiorini, per fare una libreria a Cinque Chiese, a una sua propositura v'aveva. Avendo avuto dal re inanzi la cancellaria, et andando ogni cosa per le sue mani, fece quello hanno fatto pochi uomini della sua qualità. In prima, in quella chiesa dove egli era proposto, fece fare una degnissima capella, [...]. Et nella medesima chiesa ordinò una bellissima libreria, nella quale messe libri d'ogni facultà, et ragunovi volumi trecento o più, et ordinò il luogo dove avessino a stare. Ordinò sopra quella libreria uno sacerdote con buona provisione, che avessi cura de' libri, et ogni dì l'aprissi et serassi."

If we give credit to Bisticci's story about Handó purchasing books in Florence, then, after the libraries of Janus and Vitéz, Handó's was the third most significant collection of early humanistic manuscripts in Hungary. (The details of Bisticci's memoir, however, should not be taken at face-value, as he often exaggerated numbers in his other biographies. The amount of money he mentions is unrealistically high, and the number of volumes must also have been much lower.)[3] Nonetheless, not a single codex has been identified as having once been part of Handó's collection. In this paper, I will argue that his library was never actually lost. In fact, at least twenty of his manuscripts still survive. Some of them have been right in front of us for a long time, as after Handó's death, several of his manuscripts became part of the collection of the royal library in Buda.

The "Second-Hand" Books of the Bibliotheca Corvina

The stock of King Matthias's library, the so-called Bibliotheca Corvina, can be categorized in various ways. If provenance is chosen as the criterium of categorization, the manuscripts can be divided into two main groups. Many of the codices were first owned by Matthias (and his wife, Beatrice of Aragon): the luxury manuscripts commissioned for the king in Florence in the late 1480s and the codices with dedicatory texts presented to him by humanists belong to this group. On the other hand, the proportion of second-hand manuscripts, i.e. in which the king's coat of arms covers that of a previous owner, within the presently known stock of the library is strikingly high. These second-hand volumes prove that the royal library of Buda incorporated smaller or larger parts of other book collections. In addition, several of these manuscripts were certainly produced before the foundation of the royal library in Buda.

In the case of the second-hand manuscripts, the circumstances of their acquisition are often obscure, and sometimes it has been impossible simply to identify their original owners. In the late 1480s, Taddeo Ugoleto, the librarian of Matthias, certainly purchased manuscripts in Florence on behalf of the king, probably including the two volumes that ended up in the Buda library from the collection of Marino Tomacelli, the long-time ambassador of king Ferrante

3 In the early 1460s, Cosimo de' Medici commissioned Bisticci to provide the Badia Fiesolana with a new library. Employing several scribes, the *cartolaio* produced a large number of manuscripts within an exceptionally short time, but not even their number exceeded one hundred volumes, see De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci," 190–92; Dressen, *The Library of the Badia Fiesolana*, 14–16.

of Aragon in Florence.[4] It was also around this time, c. 1488, that Ugoleto bought some (to our present knowledge, at least six) exceptionally sumptuous manuscripts from the library of Francesco Sassetti, head of the Medici bank.[5] The mediator in the transaction must have been Bartolomeo Fonzio, who, as the librarian of Sassetti from the early 1470s on, coordinated the formation of the collection, determined its thematics, and, as a scribe or emendator, was often personally involved in the production of the manuscripts.[6] He had already gotten in touch with the leading figures of humanism in Hungary, János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius, in the second half of the 1460s, and he was on friendly terms with Péter Garázda, who stayed in Florence in 1468–69. Twenty years later, he participated in the development of the royal library, and he copied some of the manuscripts produced for the king in these years.[7] In 1489, he visited Buda, where he presented a collection of his works to Matthias Corvinus, and as an acknowledged teacher of the Florentine *Studio,* he also delivered an oration at the Hungarian court.[8]

The Group of Manuscripts with the Crown-and-Lily Coat of Arms

There are two significant groups in the holdings of the Corvina Library that originate from Florence and bear the coat of arms of a previous owner. One of them includes the books that once belonged to Sassetti, while the volumes of the other group contain the coat of arms of a yet unidentified possessor: parti

4 Budapest, UL, Cod. Lat. 11; BAV, Vat. Lat. 1951.

5 De la Mare, "Library of Francesco Sassetti," 186–88, cats. 66–70, 73, 78. Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 46–60, cats. 70, 85, 87, 94, 102, 116, 159. The manuscript Cod. lat. 9 of the Budapest University Library has been wrongly added to this group, most recently by Tünde Wehli in *Mátyás király,* 14–15, cat. 3. This manuscript, illuminated in the 1450s by Gioacchino de' Gigantibus, had originally belonged to the library of Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, see Dániel Pócs in *A Corvina könyvtár budai műhelye,* cat. F12.

6 De la Mare, "Library of Francesco Sassetti," 170. The purchase could take place because when the Medici bank was close to bankruptcy, Sassetti, being hard up financially, had to sell the most lavishly decorated and, thus, the most precious volumes of his library, which he had compiled with much care over the course of decades by investing a substantial amount of money. This coincided with a turn in the representation of the Buda court, which set as its primary goal the formation of a royal library consisting of luxury manuscripts.

7 Modena, BEU, Cod. Lat. 441 (=α.S.4.2); Florence, BML, Acquisti e Doni 233. His letters sent to Buda reveal his plans to have manuscripts copied for the Corvina Library in larger quantities, see Daneloni, *Bartholomaei Fontii Epistolarum Libri,* 78–85, ep. II, 11, 12, 13.

8 Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 85.1. Aug. 2°. For a recent summary on Fonzio's Hungarian connections, especially in 1488–89, see Daneloni, "Bartolomeo Fonzio." For Ugoleto's presence in Florence, see Branca, "I rapporti."

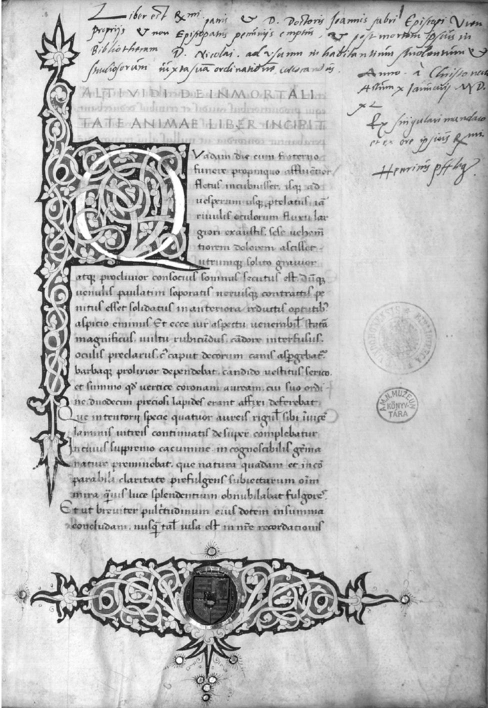

ALTIVIDI DE INMORTALI
TATE ANIMAE LIBER INCIPIT

Figure 1. *Liber Alcidi (Altividi) De immortalitate animae.*
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 418, fol. 1r

IESUS
BESSARIONIS EPISCO
PI THUSCULANI CARDIN
ALIS NICAENI, DE EA PARTE EV
ANGELII UBI SCRIBITUR SI E
UM VOLO MANERE, QUID AD
TE

Figure 2. Basilius Bessarion: *De ea parte Evangelii ubi scribitur "Si eum volo manere, quid ad te?"; Epistola ad graecos; De sacramento Eucharistiae.*
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 438, fol. 3r

per pale sable and gules with a crown or surmounted by a lily argent.[9] (The lily diverges from the form usually used in heraldry, as its side petals quasi embrace the three-lobed middle leaf of the crown.) This coat of arms with a lily and a crown appears on the title page of six manuscripts from the library of King Matthias.

9 Although the possessor of the coat of arms has not been identified yet, we can find, sporadically in the secondary literature, some—completely unfounded—guesses about its owner, which vary from Janus Pannonius to the "unknown" royal coat of arms of King Matthias Corvinus. According to Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, whose opinion led foreign research astray, the heraldic features of the coat of arms do not suggest a Hungarian owner. Her suggestion, however, was wrong, since the arrangement of the charges, the crown (a circlet with three leaves)–surmounted by a lily was not at all unknown in Late Medieval Hungary. Similar motifs appear for example on the coat of arms of Gergely T(h)akaró, titular bishop of Szörény, and his family. This coat of arms was granted by Vladislaus II, King of Hungary in 1502. The grant of arms unfortunately did not survive, but, based on an engraving, published in the nineteenth century, it must have been one of the highest quality Renaissance grants of arms illuminated in Buda, see Horvát, "II-dik Ulászló." For Gergely Takaró, see C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő-középkori főpapi archontológiája,* 102.

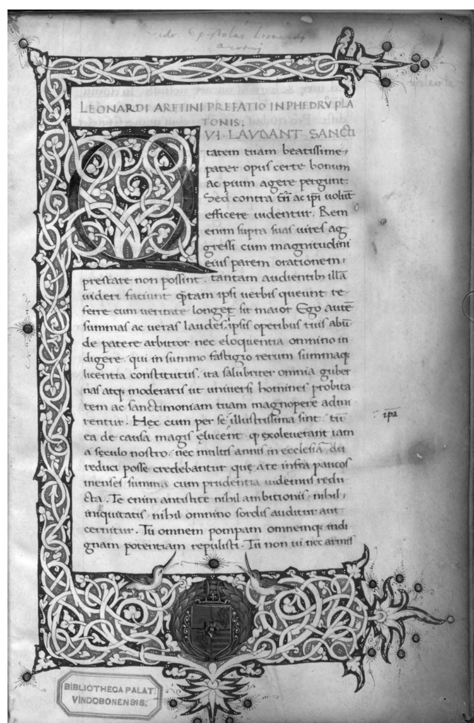


Figure 3. Plato: *Opera*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2384, fol. 1r

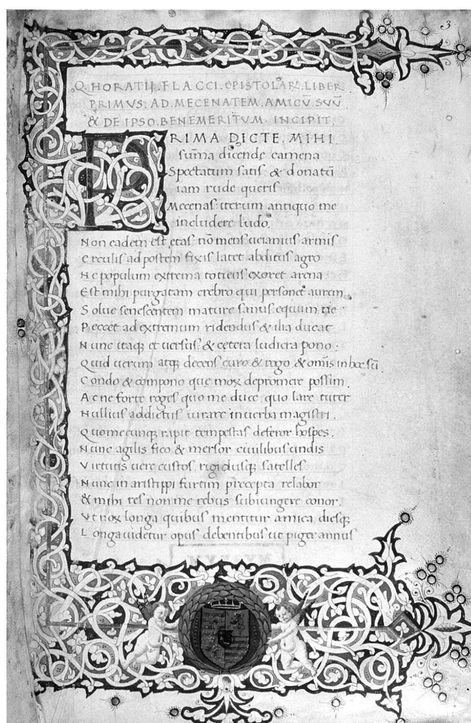


Figure 4. Horace, Juvenal and Persius: *Carmina.* London, The British Library, Lansdowne Ms. 836, fol. 3r

In four of the manuscripts, these original coats of arms were covered with the coat of arms of Matthias by the so-called First Heraldic Painter, an illuminator trained most probably in Florence and working in the Buda scriptorium in the late 1480s.[10] The four manuscripts in question are as follows: two volumes now preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, the so-called *Liber Alcidi* (or *Altividi*), a Neoplatonic dialogue entitled "De immortalitate animae" by a twelfth-century anonymous author (Cat. 3) (Fig. 1), and a manuscript containing three theological works by Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72) (Cat. 4) (Fig. 2); a Plato manuscript now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Cat. 18) (Fig. 3); and a collection of ancient Roman poetry (Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Cat. 8). (Fig. 4) Though they have been painted over, the original coats of arms are still discernible, as they were not scraped out before the addition of the new coat of arms. (Fig. 5) Thus, the originals show through the secondarily painted

10 The Florentine origins of the so-called First Heraldic Painter's style were already correctly suggested by Edith Hoffmann. Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 82–84. For the list of the manuscripts from the Corvina Library with illuminations attributed to him, see Madas, "La *Bibliotheca Corviniana,*" 45.

Figure 5. Plato: *Opera*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2384, fol. 1r, detail: *bas-de-page*

royal coats of arms and are visible even to the naked eye, and in almost every manuscript, we can make out the details in gold leaf on the verso side of the folio on which the coat of arms is painted. Furthermore, in several cases, bits of the royal coat of arms have flaked off here and there, as paint peels off easily from gold leaf surfaces, so details of the original heraldic motifs have become visible.

On the other hand, in the two Livy manuscripts held in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona, which are the most lavishly decorated codices with the crown-and-lily coat of arms, the heraldic devices of the original owner have not been painted over (Cat. 14–15). (Fig. 6–7) Although the royal coat of arms does not appear in these volumes, they certainly were part of the library of King Matthias. Their characteristic blind stamped and gold-tooled leather binding produced in the late 1480s tells of their Buda provenance. The two volumes contain the third and fourth Decades of the history of Rome by Livy, known as *Ab urbe condita.* Their title pages were painted by two different Florentine illuminators, and they were copied by Hubertus W., one of the most prolific scribes of the second half of the 1460s and the next Decade. Today, these two volumes form a series together with a third manuscript, containing the first decade of Livy's history of Rome. This volume, however, was not illuminated in Florence, but in Rome, and the crown-and-lily coat of arms does not appear on its title page.[11] Its size also differs from the size of the two other volumes, it was

11 Verona, BC, Cod. CXXXV (123). Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz,* 114, cat. 59; Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 61, cat. 162; Spagnolo, *I manoscritti,* 220; Claudia

Figure 6. Titus Livius: *De secundo bello punico (Ab Urbe condita, Decas III).*
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. CXXXVI, fols. 2v–3r. © Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona

copied by a different scribe, and its binding is not the characteristic Buda-type. It "met" the other two volumes only c. 1580 in Italy, so originally the three could not have formed a series. The original first volume, however, can be identified, and thus, the group of manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms can be extended. (The three Decades that survived from Livy's monumental work are usually contained in three separate volumes. Since the content of each volume never varies, series were often created from manuscripts of different provenance as early as the fifteenth century.)

The provenance of the third and fourth Decades suggests that the first volume originally belonging to the series should be found among the manuscripts of the Corvina Library. The stock of the royal library of Buda, as is known today, includes three codices that contain Livy's first Decade. Among these manuscripts, the copy kept in the Barberini collection of the Vatican Library is the most worthy of our attention (Cat. 7). Its fifteenth-century blind

Adami in *Nel segno del corvo,* 199–201, cat. 23. Contrary to the opinion of Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, this codex has never belonged to the Corvina Library.

Figure 7. Titus Livius: *De bello macedonico (Ab Urbe condita, Decas IV).*
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. CXXXVII, fols. 2v–3r. © Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona

stamped and gold-tooled leather binding is of the same type as the Verona manuscripts, and the parchment leaves and the text blocks are also of the same size. Furthermore, all three volumes have 32 lines per pages. In the middle of the verso of the leaf preceding the present-day incipit page, we find the same type of decoration as in four other volumes of the crown-and-lily group (Cats. 5, 9, 10, 19): a laurel wreath decorated with ribbons and framed with a double line of gold leaf contains the title written in golden Roman capitals. The white vine-stem initials inside the Vatican manuscript also show evidence of a Florentine origin and date the codex to roughly the same period as the Verona volumes. Furthermore, the scribe of the Vatican manuscript must be identified as the one who copied Livy's third and fourth Decades kept in the Biblioteca Capitolare, i.e. Hubertus.[12] Its provenance also resembles that of the Verona codices: they all left the seraglio of Istanbul around 1560, though the

12 Eight-line initials in gold leaf, with white vine-stem decoration: fols. 22v, 47r, 74v, 97r, 118v, 136r, 153v, 170v, 192r. I am thankful for Edina Zsupán, whom I asked to compare the handwriting of the Livy manuscripts in Verona and Rome and whose expert opinion confirmed my attribution of the script to Hubertus.

Vatican Livy arrived in Italy via a different path. On the basis of this evidence, the Barberini codex can without doubt be considered the first volume of a set of Livy's *Ab Urbe condita* of which second and third volumes are the Verona codices.

The coats of arms on the title page could help us identify the manuscript's first and later owner, but unfortunately this leaf is missing. The first two text leaves had already been removed before the second half of the seventeenth century. Without them, we can only assume that the crown-and-lily coat of arms was covered by that of King Matthias. This would also explain why the coats of arms in the other two volumes were not painted over by the royal devices. In the royal library of Buda, a project of unifying the previously acquired, often not or very modestly decorated manuscripts was launched in the late 1480s, within the framework of which the volumes received the characteristic, so-called Corvina bindings and the king's coat of arms was painted into the manuscripts.[13] The latter was usually necessary to indicate the new owner, King Matthias, in the second-hand codices. The primarily aim, however, was not to remove all signs referring to the previous owner completely, but rather to put the new possessor's coat of arms in the most prominent place in the manuscripts. Therefore, the previous coats of arms were painted over only on the incipit or title page and were usually left untouched elsewhere. For example, in one of the manuscripts from the library of Francesco Sassetti, the volume containing Cicero's philosophical works and decorated in the workshop of Mariano del Buono, only two of the coats of arms of the original owner (argent, a bend azure) were painted over. On six other leaves they were left untouched in the marginal decoration, like the Sassetti emblems.[14] In the two Verona codices the original coat of arms was most probably spared because placing the device of Matthias Corvinus at the

13 Mikó, "Bibliotheca Corvina," 404–6.

14 New York, PML, Ms M497. Fol. Iv: emblem of king Matthias Corvinus, fol. 1r: coat of arms and emblems of Matthias Corvinus, fol. 98r: coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus and Sassetti emblem, fols. 154r, 175r, 188r, 195r, 234r, 262r: coat of arms and emblem of Francesco Sassetti. The manuscript was copied by Hubertus in the mid- or late 1470s. De la Mare, "Library of Francesco Sassetti," 186–87, cat. 70; De la Mare, "New research," 505, cat. 32/27. Niccolò Niccoli's letter *Commentarium in peregrinatione Germaniae* was written on fols. 269v–271r in a humanistic cursive script later probably by Sebastiano Salvini. De la Mare, "New research," 489, cat. 9/14. Another manuscript from the Corvina Library, which was previously in the possession of Marino Tomacelli, presents a similar case (BAV, Vat. Lat. 1951): the coat of arms of the original owner is preserved on the incipit of the second book of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (fol. 24r), while Matthias's coat of arms was inserted in the *bas-de-page* of fol. 1r.

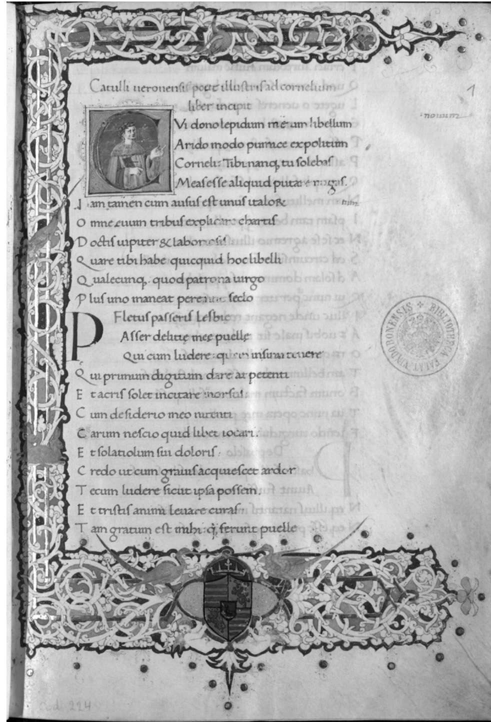


Figure 8. Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius: *Carmina*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 224, fol. 1r

beginning of the first volume of the set was considered sufficient in the Buda scriptorium.

The group of Corvina codices that originally belonged to the "crown-and-lily" owner can be further extended. There is another manuscript produced in Florence in the 1460s of the same provenance decorated with the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus. This codex contains—similarly to the abovementioned manuscript of the British Library—ancient Roman poetry, in this case the works of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (Cat. 17) (Fig. 8). On the verso of the title page, beneath the reverse of Matthias's coat of arms, the distinctive outlines of the lily faintly show through, and we can discern, even more faintly, the shape of the golden crown. This observation calls our attention to the potentials of a more thorough and comprehensive examination of the similar manuscripts from the Corvina Library, which might allow us to clarify their provenance in several cases.

While the manuscripts presented above with the crown-and-lily coat of arms have not revealed anything about their original owner, another volume—the only one not produced in Florence but in Rome—might bring us closer to him. The small codex, consisting of only fifty-six leaves and bound in a typical

Corvina leather binding in the late 1480s, contains the Latin translation of three works by Cardinal Bessarion which were originally written in Greek (Cat. 4). (Fig. 2) As for their subjects, they are all related to the Cardinal's activity at the Council in Florence in 1437–39. Thus, they urge the unification of the Eastern and Western Churches and a crusade against the Turks, but were written as late as 1463–4 and translated to Latin by the author in the following years. Since the Cardinal collected these works into manuscripts in 1467, the copy that ended up in the Bibliotheca Corvina must also have been produced in the late 1460s.[15]

The white vine-stem decoration on the title page of the manuscript can be attributed to a master active in Rome, and it was copied by Leonardus Job, a scribe who was also active in the city.[16] In the middle of the *bas-de-page,* in a medallion encircled by a laurel wreath, the coat of arms of King Matthias covers that of the author, Cardinal Bessarion (which is clearly visible on the verso), while in the

15 Apart from the Budapest manuscript, there are two groups of codices that contain—among others—the Latin translations of these three treatises and were produced under the personal supervision of Cardinal Bessarion. The first group of codices can be dated to 1467: one of these is an autograph copy (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. R. 4 sup.), the other one contains a dated colophon (Florence, BML, Plut. 54. 2., fol. 290v: July 6, 1467) and the third one is decorated on its title page with the episcopal coat of arms of Marco Barbo, who became bishop in September 18, 1467 (BAV, Chig. B. IV. 47). The codices belonging to the second group were produced around 1470–2 and contain a dedicatory introduction to pope Paul II, but all remained in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion and later, together with his library, ended up in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Their shelf marks: Cod. Lat. 133 (=1693), 134 (=1519), 135 (=1694), see *Cento codici*, 16–21, cat. 14–16. On their production, see Bianca, "Roma e l'Accademia Bessarionea," 35; for BNM Cod. Lat. 133 (=1693), see Concetta Bianca in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo,* 511–12, cat. 121; Susy Marcon in *I luoghi della memoria*, 455, cat. 65. One of the Marciana manuscripts (Cod. Lat. Z 135 [=1694]) bears the papal coat of arms of Paul II on its title page, but it has never reached him. On the creation of the texts and their Latin translations, see Monfasani, "Bessarion Latinus," 168–76.

16 The structure and style of the white vine-stem decoration distinguishes it from the Florentine examples. It resembles the *bianchi girari* illuminations of Gioacchino de' Gigantibus, the most prolific illuminator in Rome at the time (e.g. BAV. Vat. Lat. 1051, fol. 1r, Pope Paul II's dedicatory copy of the *De sanguine Christi* by Francesco della Rovere – the later Pope Sixtus IV), while some characteristics of the illumination differ from his style. The putti's figure and the colors of the ornamental details suggest that the illuminator of the Bessarion codex was most probably trained in Florence. The fact that he was active in Rome, however, is supported by another manuscript, the title page of which can be attributed to the same master with certainty (BAV, Vat. Lat. 3295, available online on http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3295, accessed on September 23, 2019.) The manuscript that contains Martial's epigrams was produced in Rome in the circle of and probably even under the supervision of Pomponio Leto, shortly after 1470 (see Pade, "Pomponio Leto"). Nolhac identified the traces of a coat of arms (azure, three crescents gules) that had been scraped out from the middle of the *bas-de-page* of the title page with the coat of arms of the Vespi family. According to him, the same coat of arms appears in another manuscript: Paris, BnF, Cod. Ital. 1394, fol. 104r, see Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini,* 199–200. The Martial manuscript now in the Vatican Library belonged to the book collection of Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) in the sixteenth century.

middle of the outer margin, in a smaller medallion, the crown-and-lily coat of arms appears underneath the partly flaked-off paint of Matthias's raven emblem. (Fig. 9) The arrangement of the coats of arms, the content of the manuscript, and its date suggest that it was a gift by the cardinal to the owner of the crown-and-lily coat of arms. Therefore, we are looking for a person who stayed in Rome in the late 1460s and whose position and contacts allowed him to get in touch with the uppermost circles of the curia. On the basis of these observations, the figure of a Hungarian patron is beginning to emerge, who visited Rome in the second half of the 1460s, presumably as a prelate and an envoy of the king, and around the same time commissioned manuscripts in Florence. Since at least eight of his manuscripts ended up in the library of Matthias Corvinus, we can assume that he passed away before the death of the king in 1490.

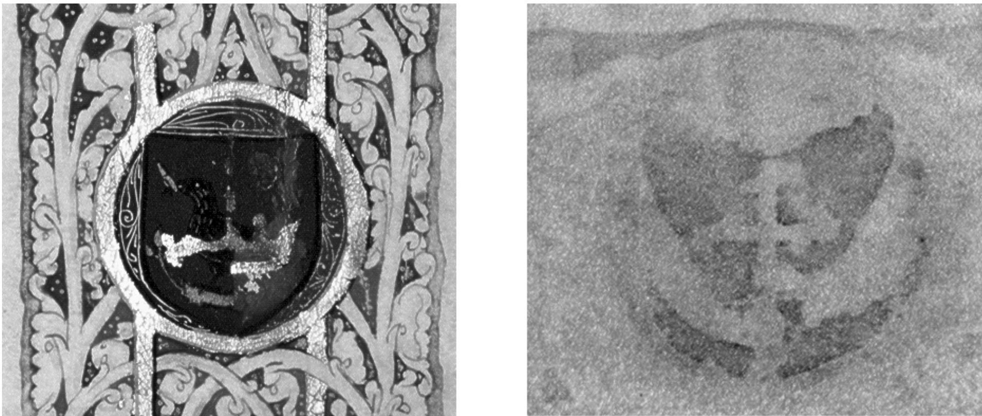


Figure 9. Basilius Bessarion: *De ea parte Evangelii ubi scribitur "Si eum volo manere, quid ad te?"; Epistola ad graecos; De sacramento Eucharistiae.*
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 438, details of fols. 3r and 3v

Hungarian research has never really dealt with this group of manuscripts, although it would have been worthy of our attention for several reasons. First and foremost, the group exceeds the eight volumes so far mentioned. Albinia de la Mare, as a by-product of her ground-breaking research on fifteenth-century Florentine scribes, listed seventeen manuscripts (eleven beyond the previously known six codices from the Corvina Library) that contain the crown-and-lily coat of arms, and she identified their first owner as a humanist from Hungary.[17] This group, which is thus of considerable size, seems surprisingly

17 De la Mare, "New research," 456. (For bibliographical references to the scribes, see the Catalogue.) Eight of the manuscripts had already been identified in the catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts of the Bodleian Library by De la Mare, although she is not named there, Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated*

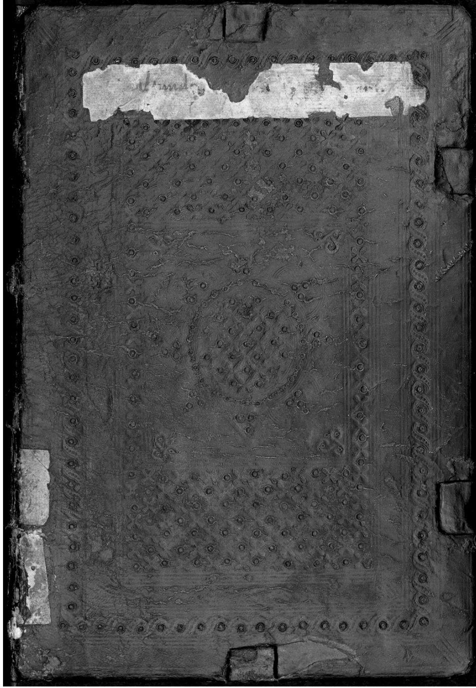


Figure 10. Florentine blind tooled leather bindings. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 418

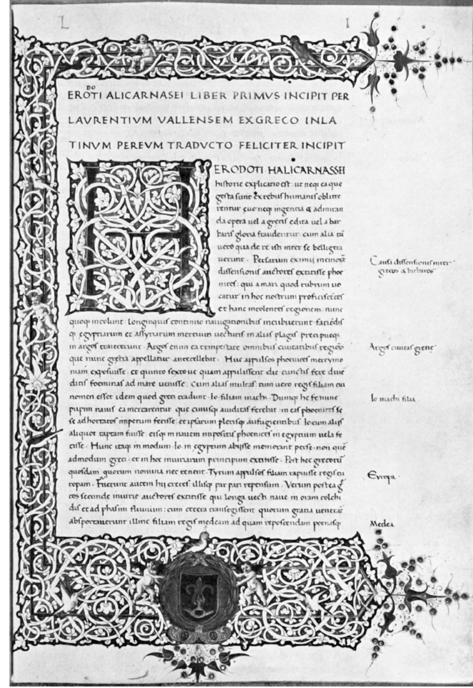
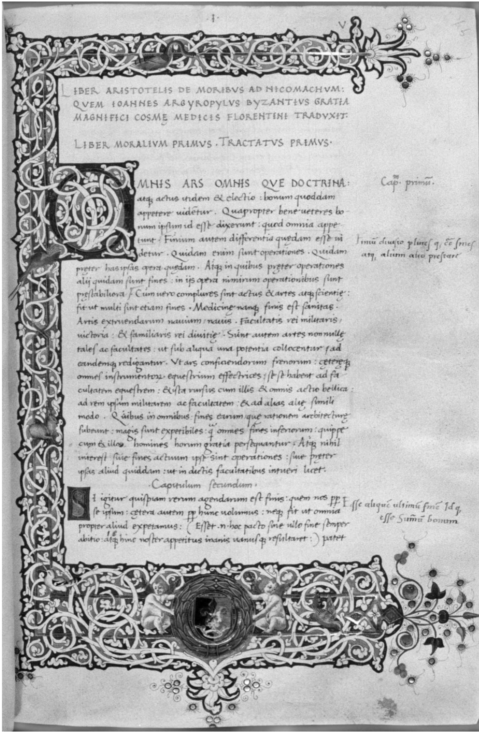


Figure 11. Herodotus: *Historiarum libri IX* The Wormsley Library (formerly: Holkham Hall, Ms. 440)

homogeneous. Apart from three manuscripts originating from Rome, the others were produced in Florence in the late 1460s, and their title pages were adorned with simple white vine-stem *(bianchi girari)* decorations. Most of them are written on parchment, and they contain exclusively Latin texts. Some of them, such as the codex containing the military treatises by Aelianus and Onosander (it is now in the Harvard University Library), the Justin manuscript in Besançon, and the *Liber Alcidi* from the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, still preserve their original, Florentine blind-tooled leather bindings (Cat. 2, 3, 5). (Fig. 9)

Manuscripts, 30, cat. 313. These manuscripts are the following: Cats. 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19. The Bodleian catalogue refers to the manuscript now in the NSZL (Cod. Lat. 418) by its old location and shelf mark (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2391). The manuscript had been kept in Vienna until it was transferred to the library of the Hungarian National Museum in accordance with the bilateral agreement on the distribution of cultural assets between Austria and Hungary, which was signed in Venice in 1932. In the cases in which the original coat of arms has not been covered, one can clearly see that it was painted together with the illumination. Before De la Mare, Edith Hoffmann had already noticed that there are manuscripts with this coat of arms beyond the stock of the Corvina Library. Her observations, however, did not become part of the secondary literature of this group of manuscripts simply because she "hid" them in book reviews, see Hoffmann, Review of *La Bibliothèque,* 139; Hoffmann, Review of *La Biblioteca,* 177. In the latter, she calls attention to the manuscript containing the works of Pseudo-Dionysius kept in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Cat. 10).


LIBER ARISTOTELIS DE MORIBUS AD NICOMACHUM: QUEM IOANNES ARGYROPYLUS BYZANTIUS GRATIA MAGNIFICI COSMI MEDICIS FLORENTINI TRADUXIT:

LIBER MORALIUM PRIMUS. TRACTATUS PRIMUS.

OMNIS ARS OMNIS QUE DOCTRINA:

Figure 12. Aristotle: *Opera.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. 289, fol. 1r © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

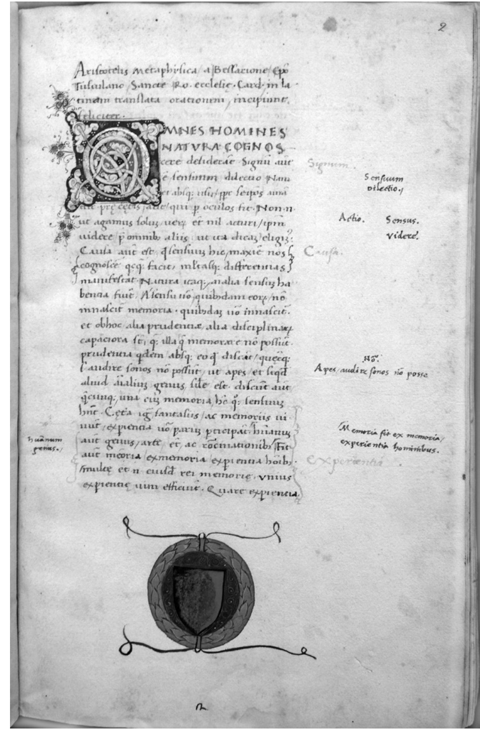
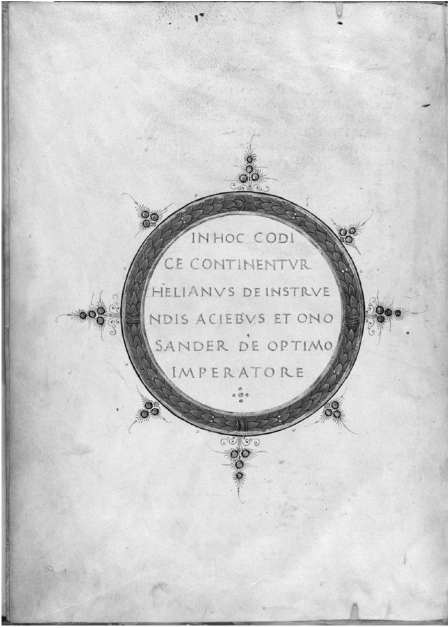

OMNES HOMINES NATURA COGNOS-

Figure 13. Aristotle: *Metaphysica* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. 292, fol. 1r. © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Photo: Eszter Nagy)

Although the subjects of the manuscripts vary considerably, it is obviously a humanistic book collection. In addition to writings by the classical Greek and Roman historiographers (Herodotus, Livy, Justin) (Fig. 11, 17), there are texts of both Pliny the Elder and the Younger, and with the exception of Virgil and Ovid, all the important ancient Roman poets are present (Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenal). Key texts of Greek philosophy (Aristotle, Plato) (Fig. 12–13) in contemporary Latin translations appear in a surprisingly high number, and the group also includes a rare medieval Neoplatonic text in the Hermetic tradition, the *De immortalitate animae* or *Liber Alcidi,* which was known, copied, and quoted by Marsilio Ficino in the 1450s. In addition, there are military treatises by Aelianus and Onosander (Fig. 14), works by texts of the early Church Fathers frequently read in the fifteenth century, such as the *Commentary on the Psalms* by Saint John Chrysostom (Cat. 13), the complete works of Pseudo-Dionysius translated by Ambrogio Traversari (Fig. 15), and the works of Lactantius. (Fig. 16) The presence of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture (Cat. 6) is of special interest.



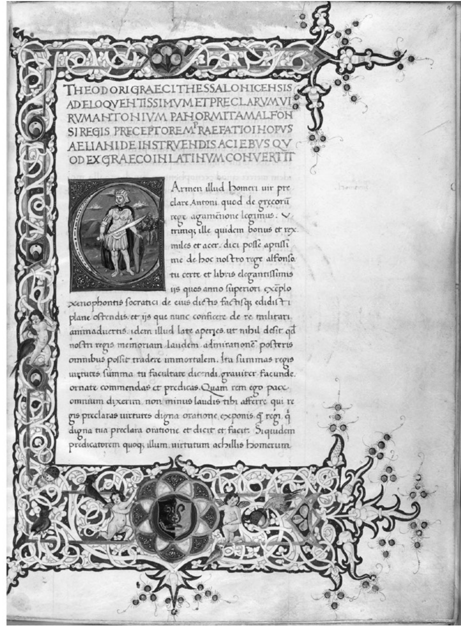
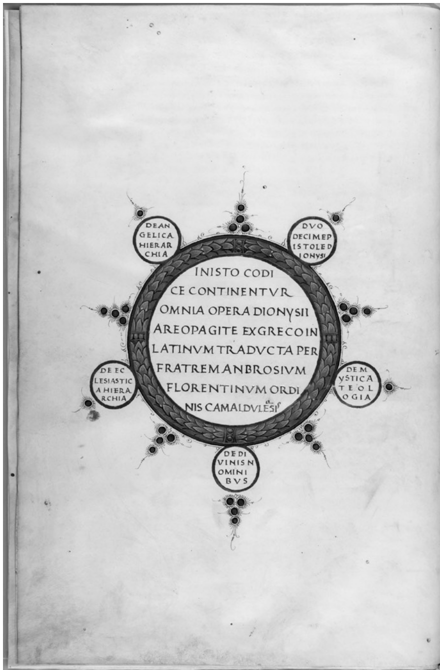


Figure 14. Aelianus Tacticus: *De instruendis aciebus*; Onosander: *De optimo imperatore.*
Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. Richardson 16, fols. 1v–2r
© Houghton Library, Harvard University



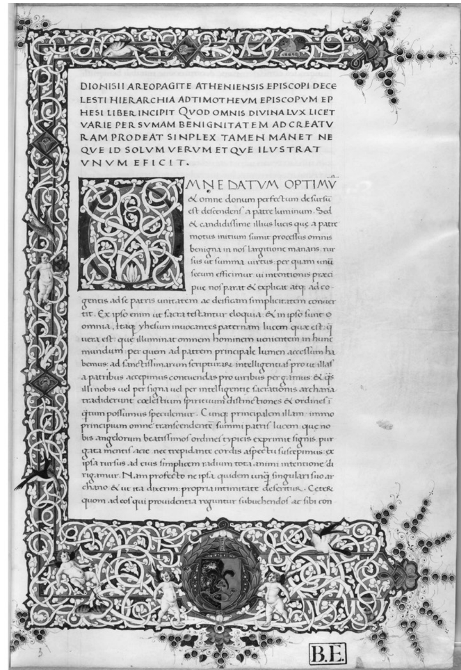


Figure 15. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *Opera*.
Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 386 (=α.H.3.12), fols. 2v–3r
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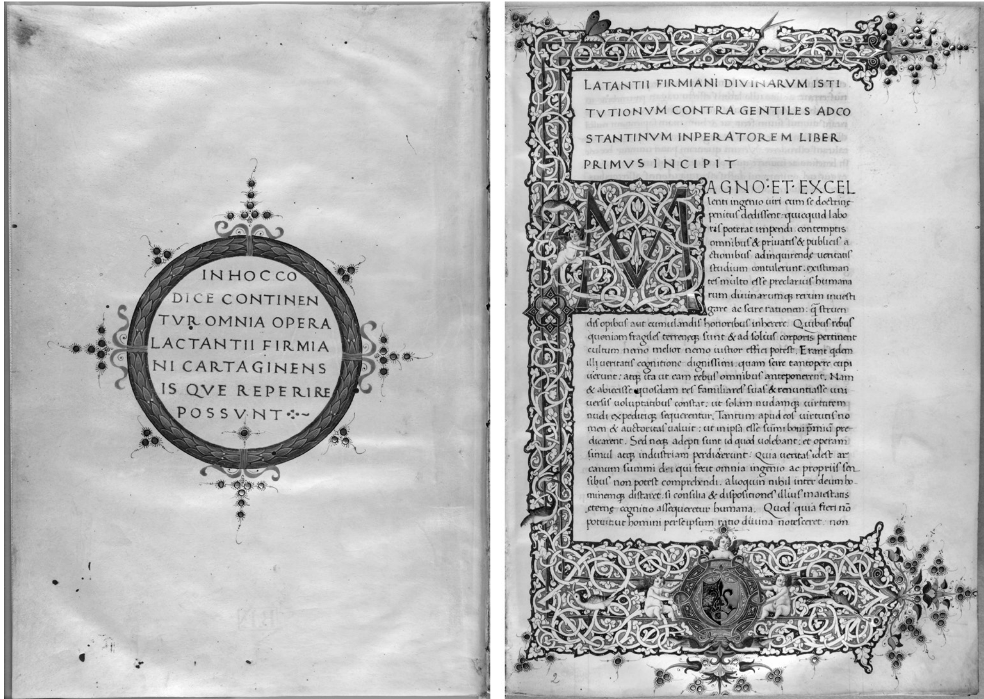

Figure 16. L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius: *Opera*.
Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 384 (=α.M.8.18), fols. 2v–3r
© Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria

Another manuscript originating from Rome figures on the list compiled by De la Mare: the paper codex from the Universitätsbibliothek of Basel, which contains the Commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest* by George of Trebizond.[18] (Cat. 1) The presence of this latter text in the group offers insights into the context of the whole library, as its author dedicated it to King Matthias Corvinus in the late 1460s, in the same period when he sent his other works and translations to János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius.[19] Although the Basel manuscript does not contain the dedication to the king, together with the Bessarion codex they suggest that their original owner belonged to the intellectual milieu of János Vitéz, which at

18 The manuscript that contains George of Trebizond's dedication to King Matthias Corvinus did not, in fact, belong to the Corvina Library, but it contains the author's autograph emendations: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Math. Fol. 24. The text of the dedication was published by Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana,* 286–87, cf. Ekler, "Adalékok a korvinák történetéhez," 273–74.

19 For a summary on manuscripts containing the works of George of Trebizond connected to Hungary, see Ekler, "Adalékok a korvinák történetéhez."

this time, when the organization of the university in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) was high on the agenda, had close contacts with two Greek scholars living in Rome: Cardinal Bessarion and George of Trebizond.[20]

The group of manuscripts was apparently produced within a very short period of time. Based on their codicological and stylistic features, all of them can be dated, with certainty, to the second half of the 1460s. It is especially telling, for example, that regarding their illumination, they exclusively contain white vine-stem decoration and no trace of the floral ornamentation that replaced the previous fashion in Florence in the first half of the 1470s. A more precise dating is difficult, because only one of the manuscripts, the Justin codex in Besançon, has a dated colophon (Cat. 2), which, however, perfectly fits into the time frame: the copying was finished in November 1468.

Based on De la Mare's research, Gabriella Mori Beltrami analysed the group, focusing primarily on the stylistic connections of the illuminations, and she concluded that the manuscripts of Florentine origin must have been produced in the workshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci.[21] She distinguished two main masters among the illuminators who worked on the manuscripts: one of them decorated Livy's third Decade now in Verona (Cat. 14) (Fig. 6), the Aelianus and Onosander manuscript (Cat. 5) (Fig. 14), and at least five other codices (Cats. 6, 9, 10, 11, 19) (Fig. 12, 15, 16), while the other illuminated Livy's Fourth Decade (Cat. 15) (Fig. 7) and the Justin manuscript in Besançon (Cat. 2).[22] (Fig. 17) The latter, in my opinion, comes from the circle of Cosimo Rosselli: the putti on the title pages of these manuscripts resemble very much the figures of children on his panel paintings dated to the second half of the 1460s and the putti in illuminated codices attributed to him and produced in the same period. These putti are drawn with firm outlines but seem oversized and overweight for the ornamental details of the border decorations, while their composition, standing in overemphasized *contraposto* with their hands resting on their hip with the palm

20 Trebizond's connections with Hungary between 1467 and 1470 were summarized by Monfasani, *George of Trebizond,* 194–98; Klaniczay, "Egyetem Magyarországon Mátyás korában," 114; Abenstein, *Die Basilius-Übersetzung*, 177–245.

21 Beltrami, "Manoscritti corviniani." For an evaluation of Bisticci's oeuvre and on the characteristics of the manuscripts produced in his workshop, see De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci as Producer." Beltrami's study focuses on the Florentine manuscripts, so she touches upon the question of the Roman manuscripts only tangentially, and she does not mention the Bessarion manuscript in Budapest at all. Therefore, her interpretation that would refer to the whole group is somewhat narrow in its focus.

22 Beltrami, "Manoscritti corviniani," 266–71.

Figure 17. M. Junianus Justinus: *Historiarum Philippicarum Trogi Pompei epitoma*
Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Cod. Lat. 832, fols. 1v-2r

turned outwards recalls Donatello's bronze David (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, c. 1440).[23] (Fig. 18)

The attribution of the miniatures in the first group presents us with a more complex issue of style criticism. Previously, Annarosa Garzelli had identified the

23 In the second half of the 1460s, Cosimo Rosselli was demonstrably active as an illuminator. The best analogies of the putti, however, can be found on panel paintings attributed to him or his workshop that were produced in the same period, primarily on a picture of the *Virgin with the Child and two Angels* held in the collection of the Museo di San Marco in Florence (Inv. 1890. n. 489), see Gabrielli, *Cosimo Rosselli,* 126–27, cat. 17. For further examples, see ibid., 141, cat. 25; 157–60, cats. 38–40. For Rosselli's and his workshop's production in the field of illumination, see ibid., 34–35 and color plates II, IVa–b, 112–14, cats. 4–7 and 11–13. Among them, on the title page (fol. 1r, *bas-de-page*) of a Ptolemy manuscript (BML Plut. 30.3.), dated between 1466 and 1468, the putto holding the coat of arms were painted, in my opinion, by the same master who illuminated the Verona Livy. Angela Dillon Bussi attempted to attribute the illumination in the fourth Decade of the Verona Livy to Cosimo's brother, Francesco Rosselli, who is a well-known figure from a later period (1478–80) of the Corvina Library's history. She recognized the influence of the Buda workshop in the vivid colors of the title page, disregarding, however, the date of the manuscript, which is much earlier than the activity of the Buda workshop. See Dillon Bussi, "La miniatura per Mattia Corvino," 109. (Dillon Bussi actually referred to the "terza decade," which is obviously a lapse. What she describes as the "vivacità cromatica del miniatore rosselliano" can only be true of the third volume, and not the third Decade.)

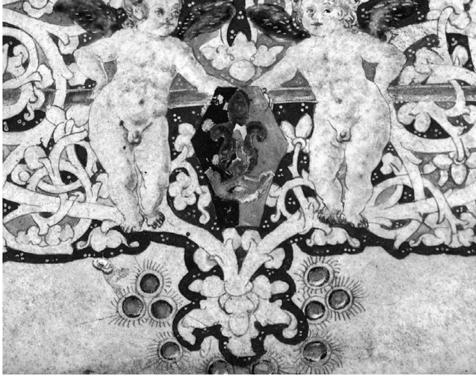

Figure 18. Details of Figs. 17. and 7.

Figure 19. Details of Figs. 6, 15 and 12, 16.

illuminator of the third Decade in Verona with the so-called Maestro delle Deche di Alfonso d'Aragona.[24] Beltrami, however, rightly pointed out that this illuminator, who was active in Florence in the 1450s, cannot be the same master who decorated the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms much later. According to her, the title pages of the Livy and the Aelianus manuscripts should be attributed to another master, namely Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido, who worked together with Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico, the leading illuminator in Florence in the 1470s.[25] I believe, however, that this attribution needs revision. First, I doubt that the Livy manuscript in Verona and the Aelianus manuscript were illuminated by the same hand, and second, this attribution seems to be unconvincing.

I can agree with Beltrami that the master of the Livy manuscript in Verona was also the illuminator of other manuscripts belonging to the first group: one of the Aristotle manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the two codices in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. The details of the miniatures on the title pages of these manuscripts (at least the details that can be taken into consideration when it comes to attribution, especially the figures, i.e. the putti) confirm that they were all made by the same hand. (Fig. 19) In my opinion, however, they are less close to the works attributed to Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido with relative certainty than to the miniatures of another, very prolific master of the period in Florence, namely Mariano del Buono.[26] At the same time, the putti of the Aelianus manuscript now at the Harvard library, which are more schematic and lack any modelling of light and shadow effects, are similar to the works of another Florentine illuminator, Ser Benedetto di Silvestro. These proposals for new attributions, however, did not affect the validity of Beltrami's conclusion: both illuminators worked intensively for Vespasiano da Bisticci in this period.

24 Garzelli, "Le immagini," vol. 2, 340, fig. 593. The so-called "Maestro delle Deche di Alfonso d'Aragona" was named after a lavishly decorated series of Livy's work, commissioned by Alfonso I. (V.) of Aragon, King of Naples and produced in the workshop of Bisticci in the mid-1450s (1454–55), but eventually it has remained in Florence (Florence, BNCF, B.R. 34, 35, 36.), see Garzelli, "Le immagini," vol. 1, 162–64; vol. 2, 340, fig. 592; Giovanna Lazzi in *Vedere i Classici,* 386–91, cats. 100–2. The documents related to the commission were published and interpreted by Hartt and Corti, "New Documents," 160 and 162–63, docs. 11/1–6, 12, and 12/11. (The authors wrongly connected the documents with another set of Livy manuscripts which was preserved in the stock of the Aragonese Library.) For further information on the commission and the payment, see Caglioti, "Fifteenth-Century Reliefs," 94, note 18 (January–April 1455).

25 Beltrami, "Manoscritti corviniani," 269–71.

26 For a comparison of the production of the two illuminators in the 1470s and the attribution of their manuscripts once belonging to the Corvina Library, especially the one originating from the Francesco Sassetti's library and attributed to Mariano del Buono, see Dillon Bussi, "La miniatura per Mattia Corvino," 106–10.

In addition to Beltrami's observations, another feature of the manuscripts containing the crown-and-lily coat of arms also supports the hypothesis that Bisticci was involved in their production: although several illuminators and scribes cooperated in their production, their general appearance is very homogeneous. The surviving original leather bindings and the illuminated decoration of the tables of content on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page, which are written in Roman capitals with gold leaves and adorned with the same type of ornaments, all suggest that this uniformity was deliberate on the part of the creators. The manuscripts produced in Bisticci's workshop in the same period for the Urbino library of Federico da Montefeltro, were also given similar, uniform decoration.[27] Another Corvina manuscript now in the Budapest University Library which originally belonged to one of the Hungarian bibliophile prelates, presumably to Vitéz or Janus Pannonius, also contains the same type of title-page decoration.[28] (Fig. 20) The peculiarity of this manuscript is that it is the only codex produced for a Hungarian patron in Florence and adorned with a white vine-stem decoration that bears the signature of the *cartolaio*: according to the note of production on the first flyleaf, it was made in the workshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci.[29] The scribes identified by De la Mare lead us to the same conclusion. Most of the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms were copied by scribes who were primarily working for Bisticci around this time, such as Sinibaldus (Cats. 8, 9), Hubertus (Cats. 5, 7, 14, 15), and the so-called "Scribe

27 The best example is the title page of a manuscript containing the treatises by Aelianus and Onosander (BAV, Urb. Lat. 881). It was copied partly by Sinibaldus (a scribe who also worked on the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms), partly by Hubertus, see De la Mare, "New research," 538, cat. 34A. On the style of illumination in the earliest manuscripts of Federico da Montefeltro's Urbino library, produced in the late 1460s and early 1470s in the workshop of Bisticci and decorated with white vine-stem decoration, see Labriola, "I miniatori fiorentini," 53–55. On the manuscripts produced for Federico da Montefeltro in the workshop of Bisticci, see De la Mare, "New research," 572–73.

28 Budapest, UL, Cod. lat. 1., see Tünde Wehli in *Mátyás király,* 28–30, cat. 17, cf. De la Mare, "New research," 544, cat. 78/2. The scribe (called "Scribe of Budapest University Lat. 1" after this very manuscript) was Bisticci's most frequently employed scribe according to Albinia de la Mare's research. Thus, he participated in Bisticci's two largest projects, the production of manuscripts for the library of the Badia Fiesolana and Federico da Montefeltro, see De la Mare, "New research," 544, cats. 78/3–4 (Fiesole), 10–11 (Urbino). Another manuscript also copied by this scribe contains the same note of production as the Budapest codex, see De la Mare, "New research," 544, cat. 78/7.

29 The text of the note: "Vespasianus librarius florentinus / fieri fecit florentie." Manuscripts produced in the workshop of Bisticci often contain a similar note, see De la Mare, "New research," 565–67, App. III/I, cats. 1–16. It is important to remark that we cannot deduce from the presence or absence of such notes in the manuscripts certainly coming from the Bisticci's workshop whether they were commissioned by someone or produced for the open market.

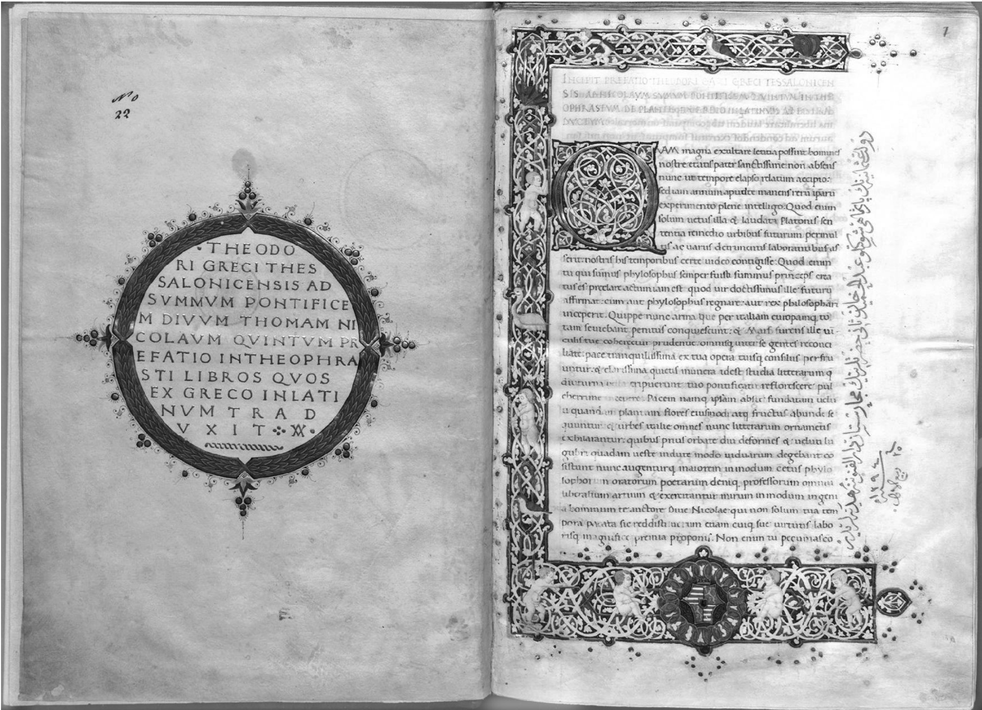

Figure 20. Theophrastus: *Historia plantarum*
Budapest, ELTE University Library, Cod. Lat. 1, fols. 6v–7r

of Venezia, Bibl. Marciana lat. Z.58" (Cat. 18, 20), who received his name of convenience after a set of manuscripts containing the works of Saint Augustin, which were produced in the *cartolaio*'s workshop for Cardinal Bessarion between 1470 and 1472.[30]

Péter Garázda and Bartolomeo Fonzio

The research of De la Mare yielded another important finding: she noted that Bartolomeo Fonzio had contributed to most of the manuscripts as emendator or the scribe of the table of contents. Moreover, one of the Aristotle manuscripts in Oxford was entirely copied by Fonzio (Cat. 11). (Fig. 12) This observation

30 On the scribes, see De la Mare, "New research," 432 and 537–38, cat. 68 (Sinibaldus), 459–60 and 504–5, cat. 32 (Hubertus), 463, 572 and 552–53, cat. 103. ("Scribe of Venezia, Bibl. Marciana lat. Z.58"). The other scribes who demonstrably worked on the manuscripts belonging to the group were also employed by Bisticci, Petrus de Traiecto, a scribe originating from Utrecht (Cat. 10), copied at least ten codices for the library of Federico da Montefeltro in the first half of the 1470s. De la Mare, "New research," 462–63 and 532–33, cat. 63; De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti," 85.

allows us to date a part of the manuscripts with more precision, or at least it provides us with a probable *terminus ante quem,* as Fonzio left Florence in summer 1469 and stayed in Ferrara until the death of Borso d'Este in 1471.[31] By all indications, his contribution to the manuscripts should be dated before his departure from Florence. It is necessary to remark, however, that De la Mare recognised Fonzio's hand only in the codices that do not bear any sign of ever having been part of the Corvina Library. Based on this alone, we cannot, for the present, set up a relative chronology within the whole group. It may be mere coincidence.

Fonzio's participation in the production of the manuscripts is important for at least two reasons. First, it supports the conclusion that Bisticci was the organizer of the work, as the young humanist, who was living in narrow circumstances at the time, worked for Bisticci's workshop as a professional scribe.[32] Second, if we suppose that the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms were produced for a Hungarian patron, and, as we have seen the texts were emended by Fonzio, then the production of this group of manuscripts may be connected to one of the most important episodes of early humanistic book culture in Hungary, i.e. the events that took place in Florence in 1468–69.

Fonzio first got in touch with Hungarian humanists at this time, when Péter Garázda, a relative of Janus Pannonius, after finishing his studies in Ferrara, arrived in Florence around 1468.[33] Garázda's stay in Florence even left a trace in the diplomatic correspondence between Florence and Matthias Corvinus: the Signoria sent two lions to the King of Hungary as a gift in December 1469, and the official cover letter addressed to Matthias mentioned Garázda as somebody whom "pro cive carum haberemus."[34] His friendship with Fonzio can also be

31 Caroti and Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio,* 12–13; Zaccaria, "Della Fonte, Bartolomeo;" Daneloni, *Bartholomaei Fontii Epistolarum Libri,* 248. (Alessandro Daneloni's commentary on Ep. I. 12, addressed to Garázda.)

32 De la Mare, "New research," 446 and 488, cat. 7/28: BAV, Urb. Lat. 203. The manuscript with a simple white vine-stem decoration was produced in Bisticci's workshop in the late 1460s for Federico da Montefeltro and contains the *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* by Calcidius.

33 On the relationship between Garázda and Fonzio, see Daneloni, "Sui rapporti," with previous bibliography; for a summary of previous literature on Péter Garázda and his biography completed with new data, see C. Tóth, "Garázda Péter," cf. C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan,* 97. Thanks to research by Norbert C. Tóth, we have to completely reconsider our view of Garázda's career after 1472. According to the new data, Garázda, who had belonged to the circle of Janus and was a relative of him, did not fall into disgrace after the Vitéz-conspiracy. On the contrary, in the following fifteen or more years, he received one ecclesiastical benefice after the other, though he never attained the episcopal rank.

34 Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei,* 241–42, Nr. 177/1 (December 23, 1469). On the lions, see Ritoók-Szalay, "Az öreg Leó"; Pócs, *A Didymus-corvina,* 250–51.

dated to this period, as indicated by his correspondence with the Florentine humanist after 1471, when Garázda left Florence, as well as by his manuscripts.[35] All four codices of Garázda that are known to us were produced in Florence, and three of them contain his coat of arms. The codicological features of the manuscripts can be interpreted as proof of cooperation between the members of a humanist fellowship: two of the manuscripts were emended by Fonzio, and the Macrobius codex in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich was not only copied and signed by him (this is the only case when he signed a work in the colophon), but the pen-and-ink drawings can also be attributed to him.[36] This circle of friends included others as well, such as the Dominican friar Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, a member of a wealthy and influential Florentine family who amassed an immense library over the course of his life. The Greek passages in Garázda's manuscripts, including the abovementioned Macrobius codex, were copied by Vespucci, who mastered the language. He is also present in the manuscripts of Hungarian humanists by means of heraldic representation: the title page of Garázda's Cicero manuscript bears the combined coat of arms of Vespucci and the Hungarian humanist as testimony of their friendship, and in the third volume of János Vitéz's lavishly decorated three-volume series of Livy, which contains marginal notes by Fonzio, some wasps *(vespe),* the heraldic animal of the Vespucci family, appear in the border decoration.[37] The Livy manuscripts

35 Fonzio's letters to Garázda: Daneloni, *Bartholomaei Fontii Epistolarum Libri,* 21–25, Ep. I. 12–15.

36 Munich, BStB, Clm 15738. Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius: *Saturnaliorum libri VII, Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis.* Colophon on fol. 293v: "Barptolemaeus fontius excripsit florentiae." The manuscript was discovered and first described by Vilmos Fraknói, who also identified its original owner and scribe, see Fraknói, "Újabb adatok," 3–4, cf. Caroti and Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio,* 83–84, cat. 38; De la Mare, "New research," 488, cat. 7/21; Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 105–6; Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz,* 118, cat. 67; Ferenc Földesi in *Star in the Raven's Shadow,* 212, cat. 43. To my knowledge, the pen-and-ink illustrations have so far been ignored by scholars. The figure identified by a legend as "Microcosmus" on fol. 156v is close to the known drawings by Fonzio in the following manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. Misc. d. 85 (Codex Ashmolensis), see Saxl, "Classical Inscriptions." On the attribution of the latter as well as of further manuscripts illustrated by Fonzio (London, BL, Ms. Add. 15819. and BAV, Urb. Lat. 1358), see Garzelli, "Le immagini," vol. 1, 90–92 and vol. 2, 343, 348–51, figs. 597, 603–7.

37 Giorgio Antonio Vespucci and Fonzio also participated in the copying of the Cicero manuscript decorated with the combined coat of arms of the Vespucci family and Garázda (Munich, BStB, Clm 15734). The heraldic motifs referring to the Vespucci family were first recognized by De la Mare, but her observation has escaped further attention, except for Alessandro Daneloni, see De la Mare, "New research," 533, cat. 106/11. ("Scribe of former Yates Thompson Petrarch," Giorgio Antonio and Nastagio Vespucci, Bartolomeo Fonzio); Daneloni, "Sui rapport," 307. On the manuscript, see also Caroti and Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio,* 129; Ferenc Földesi in *Star in the Raven's Shadow,* 210, cat. 42. For Vitéz's Livy manuscript (*Decas IV,* Munich, BStB, Clm 15733), see Edina Zsupán in *Star in the Raven's*

were probably commissioned by Garázda as a gift for the archbishop of Esztergom, which would explain why Garázda's coat of arms appears in the title page of the third volume.

Some of the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms fit well into this milieu: two of them have exactly the same content as two of Garázda's four known codices: the Lactantius held in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Cat. 9) is the pendant of a manuscript with the coat of arms of Garázda now held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Justin codex in Besançon (Cat. 2) has a twin in Prague that contains an autograph possessor's note by Garázda.[38] There are other connections among these groups of manuscripts: the other emendator of the Justin manuscript was Piero Cennini, whose friendship with both Garázda and Fonzio in this period is well documented and who copied several of János Vitéz's manuscripts, as well as other Florentine codices with white vine-stem decoration that once belonged to the stock of the Corvina Library. Based on Cennini's dated colophons, he may have been working exclusively for Hungarian patrons between spring 1467 and November 1468. Chronologically, the Justin manuscript in Besançon fits exactly to the end of this series.[39]

Shadow, 174–77, cat. 33; De la Mare, "New research," 531, cat. 62/37 (scribe: Piero Strozzi) and 488, cat. 7 (annotations by Bartolomeo Fonzio).

38 Garázda's Lactantius manuscript: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 717. Hermann, *Die Handschriften,* 66–67, cat. 19. The codex contains the works by Lactantius in the same order (fols. 1r–254v), followed by a few lines from the Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and concluded by the *Carmen de Pascha* by Venantius Fortunatus (fols. 254v–256r). The manuscript was first presented in Hungarian literature by Edith Hoffmann, who also identified the coat of arms of Garázda. Several years later, Erzsébet Soltész, who probably did not know about Hoffmann's earlier publication, "rediscovered" the codex. Sándor V. Kovács called attention to Hoffmann's publication, but he wrongly stated that the codex contains the complete *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti,* see Hoffmann, "Garázda Péter," 79; Soltész, "Garázda Péter," 120; V. Kovács, "Garázda Péter Lactantius-kódexe," cf. V. Kovács "Garázda Péter," 52; Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 257. For its scribe, see De la Mare, "New research," 545, cat. 82/6. The Justin manuscript of Garázda: Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Cod. VIII. H. 72. The manuscript and the autograph possessor's note on the back pastedown was first mentioned in the column called *"vegyes közlemények" (miscellaneous news)* of *Magyar Könyvszemle.* A year later, Jenő Ábel incorporated the data into his study on Péter Garázda, see "Prágai codexek fényképei," 268 and Ábel, "Garázda Péter," 99; cf. Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 106. This is the only one among the manuscripts of Garázda, the title page of which is adorned with floral ornamentation instead of white vine-stem decoration, so it must have been produced in the early 1470s. The place of the coat of arms, however, remained blank.

39 De la Mare, "New research," 445 and 526–29, cats. 60/13, 15, 18, 22, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33. Klára Csapodi, recognizing that colophons signed by Cennini appear in many manuscripts that ended up in the Corvina Library, attempted to present him as the scribe of King Matthias Corvinus, and she attributed the

Who could have been the patron and first owner of this important manuscript collection, which, without exaggeration, can be considered a library? A codex which has never been linked with the manuscripts containing the crown-and-lily coat of arms can bring us closer to an answer to this question. Among the early humanistic manuscripts of Hungarian provenance held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, there are two that bear the episcopal coat of arms of Orbán Nagylucsei. Both were, beyond doubt, produced in Florence in the late 1460s. Three margins of their title pages are decorated with white vine-stem illumination of exceptionally high quality, and the coat of arms in the middle of the *bas-de-page* is flanked by two winged putti. The one that contains Marsilio Ficino's commentary on Plato has rightly been related to Janus Pannonius. (Fig. 21) According to the date in the colophon of Ficino's autograph copy, the philosopher had completed the text of the *Commentarium in Platonis Convivium de amore* by July 1469.[40] A few weeks after finishing the text, Ficino added a dedication addressed to Janus Pannonius and sent his work to Hungary. The Viennese manuscript is the only one that contains this personal, probably autograph dedication. Thus, by all indications, it was the original copy of Janus.[41]

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script of several other Corvina manuscripts to him. These attributions were later rejected by De la Mare. Klára Csapodi, "Les manuscrits;" De la Mare, "New research," 529 ("Rejected attributions").

40 The autograph paper manuscript on the basis of which the modern critical edition of the text was prepared: BAV, Vat. Lat. 7705 (colophon, fol. 124v: "Anno 1469 mense Iulii Florentie"), see Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum,* vol. 1, CXXIII–CXXIV; Marcel, *Marsile Ficin,* 12–48; Devereux, "Textual History," 173–74. Sebastiano Gentile's research has considerably modified our view on the creation of the *Commentarium in Convivium:* he discovered that in the introduction of an early manuscript version of the work (Florence, BML, Strozzi 98 [olim 629, olim 363.]), the list of the people who participated in the symposium held on Plato's birthday, on November 7, 1467 was modified, as was the venue of the event: some of the words were scraped out and replaced with other names. Originally, Lorenzo de' Medici did not attend the gathering, and the *convivium* did not take place in the Villa Medici at Careggi, but in the palace of Francesco Bandini in Florence, see Gentile, "Per la storia," especially 14–16; *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone,* 60–61, cat. 46.

41 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2472. The dedicatory letter (fol. 1r–v) dated August 5, 1469 by Ficino, in which he mentions Péter Garázda, too ("…vir doctus et utriusque nostrum familiaris…"), was published by Jenő Ábel from the Viennese manuscript, see Abel, *Analecta,* 203–4. (Cod. 2472 is the only manuscript source for the dedicatory letter.) The text was also published by Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum,* vol. 1, 87–88; Marcel, *Marsile Ficin,* 265–66 (App. II); Rees, "Marsilio Ficino," 131, note 9. The text of the *Commentarium* was most probably copied by Franciscus de Ugolinis presbyter de Colle Vallis Else (Francesco Ugolini di Colle Val d'Elsa), see De la Mare, "New research," 495–96, cat. 22/7, while the handwriting of the dedication that is written on a parchment leaf inserted before the quire containing the incipit, and some of the corrections in the margins are attributed to Ficino himself. On the place of the present copy in the textual history of the *Commentarium,* see Huszti, "La prima redazione"; Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum,* vol. 1, L–LI (Vi 1) and CXXIII–CXXV; Marcel, *Marsile Ficin,* 36–37; Devereux, "Textual History," especially 178–79; Gentile, "Per la storia," 9. The identification of Nagylucsei's coat of arms on the frontispiece was published by Pál Gulyás after a note by Gyula Schönherr on the photocopy preserved in the Hungarian

The coat of arms of Nagylucsei must be a later addition, since he was appointed bishop (of Győr) as late as 1481, and here, as in every other manuscript that once belonged to him, the shield is surmounted by a mitre.[42]

The other codex (Cat. 16), the Pliny manuscript (ÖNB, Cod. 48) (Fig. 22), originates from a different owner: it has not been recorded yet that under Nagylucsei's coat of arms, traces of another heraldic device are visible even to the naked eye. (Fig. 23) On the heraldic right side of the shield (parti per bend, gules and azure), a black field appears beneath the blue paint, while on the left of the golden six-point star that belongs to Nagylucsei's coat of arms, we can see traces of another charge painted with an apparently different color of gold leaf.[43] This

National Museum in Budapest, see Gulyás, "Nagylucsei Orbán." A few years later, Edith Hoffmann, obviously unaware of Gulyás's short notice, published the Nagylucsei provenance of the manuscript as her own discovery, see Hoffmann, "Nagylucsei Orbán könyvtárának maradványai," 168, but later she has corrected herself, see Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 104, and note 247. As Hoffmann already noted (and I checked her observation by studying the original manuscript), there is no trace of a previous coat of arms under Nagylucsei's: nothing was overpainted or scraped out. Thus, the middle of the *bas-de-page* had been left blank, see Hoffmann, "Nagylucsei Orbán könyvtárának maradványai," 168; Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 104. On the manuscript, see also Csontosi, "A bécsi Udvari Könyvtár," 182; Hermann, *Die Handschriften,* 56, cat. 51; Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 256; Csapodi, "Janus Pannonius," 193–94; Ernst Gamillscheg in Gamillscheg, Mersich, and Mazal, *Matthias Corvinus,* 75–76, cat. 36; Mikó, "Nagylucsei Orbán Psalteriuma," 134; Rees, "Buda as a Center," 480. and note 19.

42 Nagylucsei's well-known grant of arms is dated February 2, 1480 (NAH, DL 105029), see Schönherr, "Nagylucsei Orbán;" Fejérpataky, *Magyar czímeres emlékek*, 63–65; Géza Érszegi, Tünde Wehli, in *Matthias Corvinus the King*, 279–80, cat. 6.7; György Rácz in *A Hunyadiak címereslevelei*, 190–1, cat. XXXI. It is less known, however, that Orbán Nagylucsei and his brothers had already received a grant of arms with a similar, but not identical design of the coat of arms, see Daróczy, "Dóczyak és Nagylucseiek;" Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder," 358; Radocsay "Gotische Wappenbilder II," 63; Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, 320; most recently György Rácz in *A Hunyadiak címereslevelei*, 134–41, cat. XXI. This document was in the possession of Géza Majláth before 1945, but it was then lost. The grant of arms was issued in Buda on May 3, 1472, and according to its text published by Daróczy, it differed from the later coat of arms. On the earlier version, the tinctures of the field (parti per bend) were reversed: the upper half was azure, a lion passant argent, with a scorpion beneath its belly, while the lower half was gules, a star or. To my knowledge, this difference has not been noticed before. The scorpion, which is not directly beneath the lion but is in the lower half of the field, appears on the tombs of several members of the family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, e.g. on the red marble tomb of Zsuzsanna Nagylucsei Dóczy in the parish church of Késmárk (Kežmarok, Slovakia) and on the epitaph of Zsigmond Nagylucsei Dóczy in the parish church of Garammindszent (Vieska, Slovakia, formerly in the Museum of Aranyosmarót [Zlaté Moravce, Slovakia]), on the latter, see Ipolyi, *Magyar műemlékek*, 89. unnumbered note.

43 Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi has already suggested that there could have been another coat of arms in the manuscript before Nagylucsei's (see Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek*, 127. cat. 80.: "Wappen: Orbán Nagylucsei, vorher Vitéz-Wappen [?]"), but based on the cited literature and their interpretation, she did not mean a previous coat of arms underneath Nagylucsei's. As for the secondary literature to which she referred, in Wilhelm Weinberger's 1929 study there is no mention of the manuscript (see Weinberger, "Erhaltene Handschriften,"), while in the catalogue of the manuscripts related to Hungary in the Royal Library of

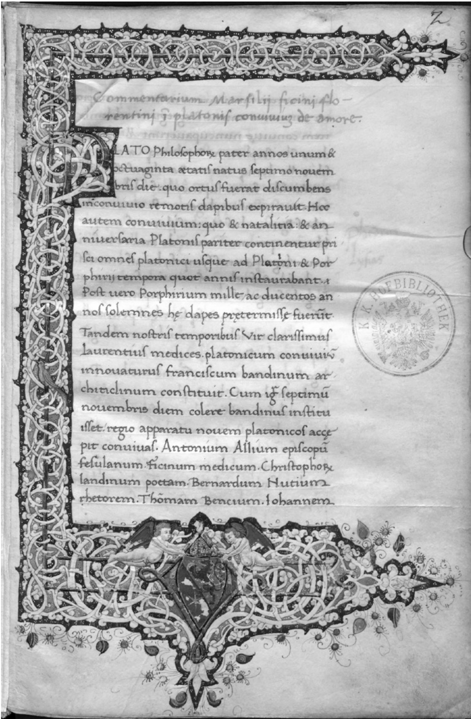

Figure 21. Marsilio Ficino: *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis de amore*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2472, fol. 2r

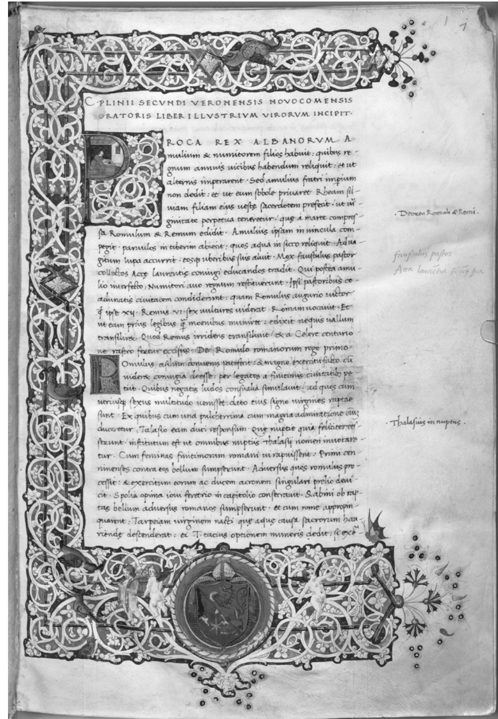

Figure 22. Pseudo-Plinius: *De viris illustribus;* C. Plinius Secundus: *Epistolarum libri*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 48, fol. 1r

tiny detail, however, can be identified with the left leaf of a crown, the heraldic motif well-known to us from the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms. An oval form is also clearly visible in the lower part of the shield: based on the crown-and-lily coats of arms in the other manuscripts, it represents, in foreshortening, the lower rim of the crown that is typically depicted from below.

Vienna, published in 1884 by János Csontosi, he did not say, contrary to what Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi states, that the manuscript once belonged to Vitéz. (According to Klára Csapodi, Csontosi confused the coats of arms of Nagylucsei and Vitéz.) Actually, Csontosi only described the content of the manuscript in detail. He did not speak of the coat of arms on the frontispiece at all. He did not even mention that there is any trace of ownership there. Regarding the provenance, all he stated, obviously wrongly, is that the codex originates from the library of János Zsámboki (Johannes Sambucus), see Csontosi, "A bécsi Udvari Könyvtár," 166: "[Sambucus-codexe]" ("codex of Sambucus"). Interestingly, Edith Hoffmann not only ignored the previous coat of arms that is easily visible even to the naked eye, but she wrote exactly the opposite: "In the case of this work, apart from the misinterpreted coat of arms, nothing justifies the assumption that the manuscript had a previous owner before Nagylucsei." See Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 130. (According to Hoffmann, Csontosi's idea of the Sambucus provenance was inspired by his misinterpretation of Nagylucsei's coat of arms as Janus's.)

Figure 23. Pseudo-Plinius: *De viris illustribus;* C. Plinius Secundus: *Epistolarum libri*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 48, fol. 1r, detail: *bas-de-page*

Furthermore, the outline of the lozenge-shaped middle petal of the lily also shows through the gules of Nagylucsei's coat of arms. The shape of the lily is even more discernible on the previous page, i.e. the verso of the front flyleaf (fol. Iv), as this motif, probably painted in silver leaf, left its print there. The manuscript was copied by Piero Cennini and his signed colophon contains the date January 11, 1469. The text was emended by Fonzio, who also wrote the table of contents on the verso of the first flyleaf (fol. Iv).[44]

György Handó

How could Orbán Nagylucsei acquire a manuscript from a collection the other items of which ended up in the royal library? To answer this question, it is worth confronting the supposed provenance of the other Viennese manuscript with the career of Nagylucsei. Assuming that the first owner of the Ficino manuscript was indeed Janus, the most plausible place where Nagylucsei could have acquired it is Pécs. Nagylucsei, who had a successful career in the royal court in the 1480s, had climbed the ecclesiastical career ladder rung by rung in the previous decade. First, he served as lector of Buda (1472), then provost of Esztergom (1473–74) and Fehérvár, finally, in 1480, a year and a half before his appointment as Bishop of Győr, he received the title of provost of Pécs cathedral chapter.[45] He would

44 It is worth noting that in the colophon, according to the formula of dating, the scribe finished his work during the papacy of Paul II (1464–71). This remark, although not without precedent in Florentine manuscripts, may suggest that the codex was commissioned by a prelate.

45 For his ecclesiastical benefices, see Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg*, 305–6. cat. 72, but the author does not mention his tenure as the provost of Pécs cathedral chapter; C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,*

have acquired Janus's manuscript most probably in the last of these positions, and it seems that there, he had access to other codices as well. As we know from the biographies of Vespasiano da Bisticci, there was, in addition to Janus's collection, another significant humanistic library in Pécs which consisted mainly of manuscripts produced in Florence: the library of György Handó.[46] The problem is that we cannot verify Bisticci's story. In contrast with his biography of Vitéz and Janus, which can be corroborated (at least in part) by other contemporary written sources and surviving codices, which thus prove that they were both bibliophiles, we know nothing about Handó's library apart from what Bisticci wrote. No other source has come to light that would support the *cartolaio*'s words. Neither Fonzio nor Garázda mentions having been in touch with anybody, apart from Vitéz and Janus, from Hungary who commissioned manuscripts in Florence in larger quantities. No manuscript is known with a possessor's note by Handó, and we have no information on any contemporary or later sources from Hungary which contain even a passing mention of this allegedly rich library so highly esteemed by Bisticci.

The desire to find the manuscripts of the Pécs cathedral's chapter library has, of course, often arisen among scholars of Hungarian humanism, and attempts have also been made to localize the place of the library,[47] but it seems as if, almost unconsciously, no one has taken Bisticci's text seriously. One reason for this skepticism, which has never been put into words but is almost tangible, is that, compared to Vitéz and Janus, the figure of Handó seems very modest. It is perplexing that we do not know of any lines by him which would suggest that he was interested in book collecting and humanist culture or that he studied ancient authors. In the shadow of Vitéz and Janus, Handó cannot be more than an obscure figure with vague outlines. This desperate situation has recently led to the (in a way logical) hypothesis that this part of Bisticci's biography does not refer to György Handó, and the *cartolaio*'s client was not the archbishop of Kalocsa, but another Hungarian, György Kosztolányi (known

40. (bishop of Győr: July 22, 1481–November 25, 1486), 35. (bishop of Eger: October 27, 1486–October 9, 1491). For his prebend of Pécs, see Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, 394–95. cat. 269.

46 Another interesting relic of humanistic book culture in Pécs in this period is a codex written in humanist book script by Miklós Besenyői, cantor of Pécs cathedral chapter, in 1469: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 438. The text of the colophon (fol. 58v): "Scriptus per me Nicolaum Stephani Angeli de Naghbesene cantorem et canonicum in ecclesia Quinqueecclesiensis, anno Domini Millesimo CCCCLXmo nono," see *I manoscritti datati* 1997. cat. 25; De Robertis, "Aspetti dell'esperienza grafica," 521–22. For further information on Miklós Besenyői, cantor of Pécs, see Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, 322. cat. 45.

47 Boda, "Handó György könyvtáráról."

as Georgius Polycarpus).[48] It seems that Bisticci did actually incorporate details of Kosztolányi's life into his memoir on Handó, and until the publication of Vilmos Fraknói's study on the diplomats of Matthias, modern historiography considered the two Györgys identical.[49] Their lives indeed bore many similarities. In the 1460s, both had successful careers as the king's ambassadors, and as such, they visited Rome several times in the second half of the decade. Kosztolányi, however, settled in Rome, married the daughter of George of Trebizond, and entered the service of the curia, while Handó's career continued very differently.

György Handó was born in Kálmáncsehi, a small country town around 1430, presumably to a civic family, or he might have risen from the ranks of the peasantry.[50] He started his studies in 1445 in the faculty of liberal arts at the university in Vienna. He continued studying in Ferrara, where he obtained a degree of doctor of canon law in 1451.[51] Handó belonged to the group of ecclesiastics who rose from low ranks, but who were able to pursue further study abroad and then made good use of their education and knowledge in court service at the royal chancellery. Like many others, Handó was most probably supported in his career by János Vitéz and perhaps also by Janus Pannonius, as the latter was bishop of

48 Mátyus, "Una lettera dimenticata," 98.

49 Alfred Reumont and Jenő Ábel considered the two Györgys identical, and when writing Handó's biography, they confused him with information related to Kosztolányi. Both studies aimed to contextualize, primarily with the help of biographic data, what Bisticci wrote about Handó, see Reumont, "Dei tre prelati ungheresi," 310–14. and Ábel, "I. György kalocsai érsek." This confusion was finally clarified by Vilmos Fraknói on the basis of documentary evidence, see Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái. I," and Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái. II."

50 His date of birth can only be deduced from the date of his university studies in Vienna. Although for the present, no documentary evidence supports the supposition, he might have been related to Domokos Kálmáncsehi, provost of Fehérvár (1474–1495), who originated from the same locality and commissioned several luxury manuscripts around 1480. The fact that Kálmáncsehi acquired Handó's house in Buda after his death, sometime between 1482 and 1484, may also suggest family ties between them, see Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, 238. cat. 3.5.8. (Árpád Mikó had already called attention to this, see *Pannonia Regia* 1994. 416. cat. IX–5.) Handó's house was situated in the former Olasz (Italian, now Országház) street, at the northwest corner of the palace of the Ministry of Finance (built in the early twentieth century), to the south of today's Fortuna köz. The plot figures as no. 163 on the map of Buda drawn by Joseph Haüy in 1687. Handó's house had been wrongly identified with the restored gothic house of today's Országház street 9, see Czagány, "Műemlékhelyreállításunk elveinek alakulása," 37–38. and note 5. cf. Czagány, "Az Országház utca 9," 130. note 2.

51 For his studies in Vienna, see Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, 98 ("Georgius Gerhardi de Chehy"), see more recently Tüskés, *Magyarországi tanulók*, 166. cat. 3026. For his studies in Ferrara, see Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók*, 358–59; Haraszti Szabó and Kelényi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 306. cat. 829. For his studies, see also Fedeles, "Pécsi kanonokok," 57. and note 48., with further bibliography. Bisticci mentions his studies in Padova and that he obtained a doctoral degree in Florence, but there is no documentary evidence in support of these claims.

Pécs, where Handó headed the chapter of the cathedral in the same period. He became provost of Pécs in 1465, and he held this benefice until 1480.[52]

In the second half of the 1460s, he visited Rome several times as the ambassador of Matthias Corvinus in order to negotiate with Pope Paul II on behalf of the king. The pope was not the only person, however, with whom he negotiated. In 1467, when he departed on his Roman mission, he armed himself with five recommendations from Matthias. These recommendations were addressed to cardinals of the papal curia, although we do not know them by name.[53] Since Handó's mission aimed to gain the support of the pope and other Italian states for a campaign against the Turks, one of the addressees must have been Bessarion, who was one of the most influential cardinals in the curia and the keenest supporter of a war against the Turks. In the last few years of his life, Handó became one of the most important figures of the royal council exceptionally quickly. From 1476 on, he was treasurer for two years. In 1478, after the death of Gábor Matucsinai, he received the archbishopric of Kalocsa and, together with it, the title of principal and privy chancellor.[54] His steeply rising career ended only with his death in 1480.

Bisticci seems to have remembered well the clients whom he had known personally. Even two decades later, he kept track of their careers. In the case of Handó, for example, he knew precisely that in his last years, he became principal chancellor and archbishop of Kalocsa, even if the most important events of the

52 Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, 360–62. cat. 136.

53 Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei,* 189–92. Nr. 127–31. According to Fraknói, the addressee of one of the documents issued in Buda on March 17, 1467 was Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, which seems likely, but there is nothing in the text he published that would confirm his assumption; Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái. II," 104.

54 Handó had already served as vice chancellor alongside Vitéz in 1466–7, see C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,* 68; treasurer: April 20, 1476–August 29, 1478; see Ibid. 30.; principal and privy chancellor: August 10, 1478–March 21, 1480, Ibid. 69. In this period, it was quite common that, in contrast with the election of the archbishop of Esztergom, the person who became archbishop of Kalocsa had not been a bishop before. Precedents for this were the appointment of István Várdai (archbishop: 1456–70) and Gábor Matucsinai (1471–78), and this was the case with the successor to Handó, Péter Váradi (1480–1501), as well. Várdai and Váradi, like Handó, only reached the rank of provost (they both headed the cathedral chapter of Transylvania). Matucsinai was elevated to archbishop from an even lower rank: he had been cantor of the chapter of Bács and rector of Buda. By contrast, among the archbishops of Esztergom, Dénes Szécsi (1440–65), János Vitéz of Zredna (1465–72), Johann Beckensloer (1472–76/80), Tamás Bakócz (1497–1521), György Szatmári (1522–24) and László Szalkai (1524–26) were all bishops before being appointed primate of the Hungarian Church. Exceptions were exclusively the foreigners who obtained the dignity thanks to their dynastic connections: Cardinal John of Aragon (1480/84–85) and Ippolito d'Este (1486–97).

biography (the purchases of manuscripts in Florence), occurred much earlier.[55] This earlier period can also be dated with certainty, as according to Bisticci, Handó bought the manuscripts when, returning from his embassy in Naples, he stopped in Florence. This embassy, the goal of which was to prepare the dynastic marriage with the House of Aragon, took place in 1469.[56] Here, of course, we have to be cautious. Although Handó visited Florence in the second half of the 1460s, we cannot confirm that he was in the city in the year suggested by Bisticci. We have no further information on Handó's presence in Florence in 1469.[57] There is no reason to doubt, however, that the *cartolaio* met Handó in personal. If Bisticci was also right about the time when Handó commissioned the manuscripts, then it coincides with the period when Garázda was in town and the codices with the crown-and-lily coat of arms were produced.

This context throws new light upon a document published by Alessandro Daneloni. The contract, which is dated January 17, 1469 and was issued in Florence by Piero Cennini as a professional notary, designates Garázda, present as one of the contracting parties, as provost of Pozsega and canon of Pécs cathedral chapter.[58] The document was issued only six days after Cennini finished the copying of the Pliny manuscript, which came into the possession of Nagylucsei, but had originally bore the crown-and-lily coat of arms. Furthermore, the document proves that Garázda had already been member of the Pécs cathedral chapter, which was headed by Handó.[59] Given this, it seems plausible that at this time in Florence, Garázda was involved in commissioning not only Vitéz's manuscripts, but also those with the crown-and-lily coat of arms. The chronological frame

55 Here, Bisticci was only wrong about one thing: he called Handó bishop and not archbishop of Kalocsa. He surely did not mix up or forget his clients. He left out Matthias from his *Vite* not because, as is often supposed, he resented the king for the tragic fate of two of his clients, Vitéz and Janus, who were kind to him, but simply because Matthias was not his client. (Bisticci retired from book trade shortly before 1480.)

56 Handó travelled to Naples in the first months of 1469, see Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái. II," 109.

57 Mátyus, "Una lettera dimenticata," 120.

58 For a presentation and short interpretation of the document (Florence, ASFi, Notarile Antecosimiano, 5029, fol. 39r–v), see Daneloni, "Sui rapport," 306. For the critical edition of the document, see Daneloni, "Egy levéltári dokumentum."

59 The other source about Garázda's benefice of cantor in the cathedral chapter of Pécs is dated 1478, see Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, 347; C. Tóth, "Garázda Péter," 5–6. and 11–12. According to C. Tóth, it was not primarily Handó, but Janus, the bishop, who helped Garázda acquire benefices in Pécs, as he had the right to appoint canons. From our point of view, however, it is not the question of jurisdiction that matters, but the observation that the context in which the humanist manuscripts were produced cannot be separated from the personal links between the owners, also reflected in their offices. For Garázda's relatives and family ties, see most recently Pálosfalvi, "Vitézek és Garázdák," 9–16.

of their production, their codicilogical features, their Florentine and Roman provenance, and their connections with Hungarian humanists and their codices all suggest that Handó could have been the patron and original possessor of the "crown-and-lily" group of manuscripts. The provenance of the Pliny manuscript with Nagylucsei's coat of arms also suggests this. When Pope Sixtus IV approved Handó's appointment as archbishop of Kalocsa, also permitted the Hungarian prelate to keep his prebend of Pécs.[60] As a result, no new provost of Pécs was appointed until the death of the archbishop of Kalocsa.[61] After Handó's death (1480), the Pécs benefice also became vacant, and since Orbán Nagylucsei followed Handó as treasurer when the latter was appointed principal chancellor, he also succeeded Handó in this ecclesiastical benefice. Thus, Nagylucsei was Handó's direct successor at the head of the Pécs cathedral chapter.[62]

The Missing Link: The Identification of the Coat of Arms

If Handó was the first owner of the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms, their fortune also becomes comprehensible. The manuscripts of the chapter library in Pécs must have remained there, even after his appointment as archbishop of Kalocsa, and after his death, Nagylucsei took possession of some of his (and perhaps Janus's) books. If this is what happened, no wonder we lack sources on Handó's library: ten years after its creation, it had ceased to exist. It logically follows that the manuscripts with the crown-and-lily coat of arms (and perhaps not only those whose Corvina-provenance is obvious)[63] ended up in the royal library in the 1480s through the intermediary of Nagylucsei, who was provably in touch with the Buda scriptorium, where he had both the illumination and the binding of his Psalter executed. This Psalter is the only known manuscript beyond the stock of the Corvina Library that was given the same type of gilded

60 Koller, *Historia episcopatus*, 411–13. (Rome, January 25, 1479). Pope Sixtus IV justified the exemption with the Turkish incursions, due to which the incomes of the archbishopric of Kalocsa and Bács fell ("et ab ipsis Turchis ipsarum Ecclesiarum possessiones pluries destructae et ville combuste fuerunt"). Therefore, in order to lead the diocese properly, Handó was allowed to keep the income of the prebend of Pécs if it did not exceed 170 golden florins a year. See also Czaich, *Regeszták*, 237–38.

61 C. Tóth, "Garázda Péter," 6.

62 For this chronology, see Fedeles, "Személyi összefonódások," 135.

63 Some of the codices listed in the Catalogue, whose Corvina-provenance cannot be proven at the moment, have been preserved in manuscript collections since the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, where we can also find codices certainly originating from the Corvina Library (Besançon, formerly Holkham Hall, Modena: Cats. 2, 9, 10, 19.) It is the task of future provenance research to clarify if they are related in some way.

leather binding as the royal codices.[64] Therefore, we probably should attribute a more important role to the treasurer in the development of the Corvina Library.

The success of our attempt to identify Handó's library and the validity of all the hypotheses formulated above stand or fall on proving one single thing: did the crown-and-lily coat of arms belong to Handó? The answer is not easy, as the grant of arms of the low-born Handó is missing, we know nothing about any constructions by him in Pécs where his carved coat of arms might come to light, and his tomb, which was probably set up in the cathedral of Kalocsa, did not survive. At the same time, Handó held important ecclesiastical and secular positions for decades, as a result of which he issued several sealed charters, some of which survive. However, those known to me are not preserved in Hungary and thus slipped the notice of researchers. On the old, black and white reproductions of charters kept abroad that can be consulted in the Photo Collection of the Hungarian National Archives (HNA, DF), the seals, often preserved whole, appear as blurred, dark stains. On the original charters, however, they are clearly discernible. The best preserved are the pendent seals attached to three charters now held in the Central Archive of Warsaw, that were issued on February 21, 1474, near the Polish border, in Szepesófalu (Spišská Stará Ves, Slovakia) on the occasion of the peace treaty between Matthias, King of Hungary and Casimir IV, King of Poland.[65] (Fig. 24) One of the six issuers

64 Budapest, NSZL, Cod. Lat. 369, see Mikó, "Nagylucsei Orbán Psalteriuma"; Árpád Mikó in *Matthias Corvinus the King,* 488–90, cat. 11.22.

65 On the charters: Nehring, "Quellen," 248–49, cats. VIII. 1–8. The three charters belong to a group of documents consisting of nine original charters. Chronologically, the three charters form the second subgroup: Warsaw, AGAD, ZDP, 5580, 5582, 5583 (=NAH, DF 292995, 292996, 292997), February 21, 1474, Szepesófalu (Spišská Stará Ves, Slovakia). Among them, no. 5582 was written in humanistic book script. The other documents of this group: AGAD, ZDP, 5579 (=NAH, DF 292994), January 12, 1474, Eperjes (Prešov, Slovakia), "ad mandatum domini regis in consilio," with the pendent seal of Matthias Corvinus; AGAD, ZDP, 5584 (=NAH, DF 292998), February 27, 1474, Bártfa (Bardejov, Slovakia), Matthias Corvinus ratifies the peace treaty, with his pendent seal; AGAD, ZDP, 5585 (=NAH, DF 292999), February 28, 1474, Nowe Miasto Korczyn (today: Nowy Korczyn, Poland), Casimir IV, king of Poland ratifies the peace treaty, with his pendent seal; AGAD, ZDP, 5586 (=DF 293000), April 24, 1474, Buda, the magnates of the country corroborate the peace treaty, charter with 25 pendent seals. For the context of the peace treaty of Szepesófalu and a Hungarian translation of the text (AGAD, ZDP, 5582 = NAH, DF 292996), see Köblös and Süttő, Szende, *Magyar békeszerződések*, 198–205, cat. 47 (translated by Katalin Szende). The original charter was described in the Hungarian edition as lost or missing despite the fact that Carl Nehring had already published its current location and shelf mark in 1976 (see above). For the edition of the texts of the charters, see Dogiel, *Codex Diplomaticus,* 69–75, cats. 26–28. (AGAD, ZDP, 5582, 5584); Lewicki, *Codex Epistolaris,* 184–89, cats. 160–62. (AGAD, ZDP, 5583, 5580). At the period when Maciej Dogiels's book was published (1758) the charters were kept in the Wawel castle of Cracow, among the documents of the Archive of the Royal Chancellery

Figure 24. Charter with six pendent seals (The peace treaty of Szepesófalu [Spišská Stará Ves, Slovakia], February 21, 1474).
Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, 5582

was György Handó, provost of Pécs and papal protonotary, who sealed the document, corresponding to the intitulation, at the fifth place.[66] The print that his octagonal signet-ring left in the red wax is preserved in perfect condition. It consists of a crown with three leaves surmounted by a lily. (Fig. 25)

(Archivum Cancellarii Regni), see Ibid., b2v-cr. This material had already been transferred to Moscow when Lewicki published the texts of the other charters.

66 The intitulation of the charter: "Nos Gabriel Alben(sis) Transsilvane, Osualdus Zagrabien(sis) eccl(aes) siarum ep(iscop)i, Emericus de Zapolya Comes perpetuus Scepusien(sis), Johannes Pangracij de Dengeleg al(ia)s wayuoda Transsy(lva)nus, generalis capitaneus exercituum regaliu(m), Georgius Quinqu(e)eccl(aes) ien(sis) prothonotarius ap(osto)licus et Gaspar sancti Martini de Scepusio eccl(aes)iarum prepositi." Based on this, the charter was issued by Gabriele Rangoni, bishop of Transylvania (1472–76, see C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,* 37, cardinal from 1477); Osvát (Túz) of Szentlászló, bishop of Zagreb (1466–99, see C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,* 56); Imre Szapolyai, count of Szepes (i.e. *comes perpetuus*); János Pongrác of Dengeleg, former voivode of Transylvania (1462–65; 1467–72; 1475–76, see C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,* 85–86), general of the royal army; György Handó, provost of Pécs and apostolic (i.e. papal) protonotary; Gáspár Bak of Berend, provost of the Saint Martin collegiate church of Szepes (1464–93, see C. Tóth et al., *Magyarország világi archonológiája,* 63).

Figure 25. Pendent seal of György Handó, provost of Pécs cathedral chapter.
Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, 5583, detail

Catalogue: The Manuscripts of György Handó

The list below, which is not intended as a detailed descriptive catalogue, contains only the manuscripts that were identifiable with a high degree of certainty. I only gave the most important codicological data, if they were available to me. I considered it necessary to provide information on the later provenance of the manuscripts, and in those cases in which it seemed possible, I made some remarks on the attribution of the illumination. The approximate date of each manuscript is not given, because, based on the conclusions I have presented in this essay, I date the whole group between c. 1465/68 and 1470. The two codices dated in the colophon are Cat. 2 (November 1468) and Cat. 16 (January 11, 1469). Seventeen manuscripts were produced in Florence, three (Cats. 1, 4, 12) in Rome. In the case of the codices that ended up in the Corvina Library (Cats. 3, 4, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18), I quoted Hungarian secondary literature before 1990 only where appropriate. Previous literature can be found in *Bibliotheca Corviniana* by Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi in the relevant entry.

1. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F. V. 22[67]

Georgius Trapezuntius: *Commentarii in Ptolemaei Almagestum*.

On paper, 356 fols., 325×225 mm. Written in humanistic cursive by the scribe, according to Albinia de la Mare, "Michael Laurentii Claromontensis diocesis."[68] Both the content and the scribe of the manuscript suggest that it was produced in Rome.[69] The manuscript does not contain the dedication that Trapezuntius attached to his Commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and addressed to Matthias Corvinus. The dedicatory copy sent to the king did not survive, but the text of the dedication was preserved in a contemporary manuscript which also contains autograph emendations by George of Trebizond.[70] According to possessor's notes on fol. 4r, the Basel manuscript was later owned by Heinrich Petri (1508–79), then Remigius Faesch (1595–1667).

2. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Cod. Lat. 832[71]

M. Iunianus Iustinus: *Historiarum Philippicarum Trogi Pompei epitome*.

On parchment, 152 fols. 265×175 mm. Original Florentine, blind-tooled, brown leather binding. Written in humanistic book script. Scribe: Nicolaus Riccius spinosus, but the colophon containing his name was actually written by Piero Cennini. Annotations by Cennini and Bartolomeo Fonzio.[72] The copying is dated November 1468 in the colophon: "Transcriptum Florentiae mense Novembri. Anno salutis nostrae MCCCCLXVIII. Nicholaus Echinnus Riccius descripsit." For the illuminator, see Cat. 15. In the right margin of fol. 2r, there are the seventeenth-century shelf marks of the library of Jean-Baptiste Boisot (1638–94) and the public library of Saint-Vincent of Besançon founded by him: "Cinquante / quattre," below "h. 19 / Cotte cent / quarante et / un." (Similar shelf marks, of the same format and by the same hand, appear in Cod. Lat. 166 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Besançon, which once belonged to the Corvina Library but previously was owned by an unidentified cardinal in the 1450s: "Cinquante / huit," below "h. 19 / Cotte cent vingt / deux."

67 Steinmann, *Die Handschriften, passim*.

68 The typewritten catalogue of the Universitätsbibliothek of Basel contains a detailed description of the manuscript and the expert opinion of Albinia de la Mare, which she sent via mail.

69 On the scribe who was active in Rome, see: Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma,* 187. (BAV, Vat. Lat. 1868, dated colophon: October 21, 1468.) The text of the colophon in the Basel manuscript was published by Monfasani, *George of Trebizond,* 346 (Appendix 4.)

70 See note 18.

71 Castan, *Catalogue Général,* 524.

72 On the scribes, see De la Mare, "New research," 519, cat. 53/1; 528–29, cat. 60; 488, cat. 7.

3. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 418[73]

Liber Altividi de immortalitate animae.

On parchment, III, 53, III* fols., 260×186 mm. Original Florentine, blind-tooled, brown leather binding. Written in semi-humanistic book script by an unidentified scribe. The upper, lower, and inner margins of the title page are decorated with Florentine white vine-stem illumination. Although the author of the text is anonymous, based on the characters, the work has traditionally been attributed to the otherwise unknown Alcidus and Altividus, whose names have been transmitted in the title. (The text is usually called as *Liber Alcidi, Alcidus* or *Liber Altividi*). For a long time, the author was wrongly identified with the fourth-century Neoplatonic writer, Calcidius, who translated Plato's *Timaeus* into Latin and wrote commentaries on the dialogue.[74] In fact, the work was written in the second half of the twelfth century and can be connected to the cultural milieu of the royal court of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, but its spread was very restricted. Only five manuscripts survived that contain the entire text, and all of them are related to Florence. The earliest one is a thirteenth-century manuscript, which was in the possession of the humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati in the last third of the fourteenth century, and together with his book collection, it ended up in the library of San Marco through the intermediary of Niccolò Niccoli.[75] The other four manuscripts, including the Budapest copy, were all produced in Florence in the fifteenth century.[76] Marsilio Ficino knew the text of the *De immortalitate animae*

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73 Hermann, *Die Handschriften*, cat. 21; Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 40, cat. 38; Dániel Pócs, in *A Corvina könyvtár budai műhelye*, cat. H5.

74 In the Hungarian literature, the manuscript always appeared under the authorship of "Chalcidius Altividus" or "Chalcidius," see Fógel, "A Corvina-könyvtár katalógusa," 63, cat. 39; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* 120, cat. 30; Csapodi, *Corvinian Library,* 178–79. cat. 164. As in the Hungarian literature, the author of the *De immortalitate animae* was passed down as Calcidius, it was only one more step to describe the manuscript as containing a different work, the commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus*, which indeed was written by Calcidius, see Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 40, cat. 38. Marsilio Ficino owned and annotated a copy of Calcidius' translation and commentary, see Hankins, *Plato,* vol. 2, 474.

75 Florence, BML, Strozzi 72, see Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, 168–69, cat. 52; Ullman and Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, 201, Nr. 673; Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi*, xx, cat. 1; *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone,* 5–7, cat. 5; *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto*, 83–85, cat. 19; Sebastiano Gentile in *Coluccio Salutati*, 279–80, cat. 82. On the date and site of the creation of the text (Sicily, second half of the thirteenth century) and its sources, see the introduction by Paolo Lucentini to the critical edition: Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi,* especially lxxxix–cix, *cf.* Garin, "Una fonte ermetica."

76 BAV, Urb. lat. 1188: produced for Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, after 1474, see Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi*, xxxi–xxxiii, cat. 3. Florence, BML Plut. 84. 24.: produced for Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici around 1490 and illuminated by Attavante. The codex contains both the commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus* by Calcidius and the *De immortalitate animae*, see Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi*, xxv–xxx, cat. 2; *Marsilio Ficino e il*

well and even used it: he copied part of it, the discourse on the virtues, into one of his manuscripts.[77] The Budapest manuscript ended up in the Corvina Library. It was then acquired by Johannes Cuspinianus in Buda. It was purchased, together with Cuspinianus's library, by Johann Fabri, bishop of Vienna, who bequeathed his book collection in 1540 to the Saint Nicholas College in Vienna founded by him (printed ex libris on fol. IIr, handwritten note on fol. 52v). The library of the college was incorporated into the Hofbibliothek in 1756. Finally, it was transferred to Hungary in accordance with the Venice Agreement in 1932 (for the agreement, see note 17). Original shelf mark: ÖNB, Cod. 2391.

4. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 438[78]

Basilius Bessarion: *De ea parte Evangelii ubi scribitur: "Si eum volo manere, quid ad te?"*; *Epistola ad graecos*; *De sacramento Eucharistiae*.

On parchment, II, 56 fols., 285×200 mm. Original blind stamped and gold-tooled Corvina binding produced in the Buda scriptorium in the late 1480s. Written in humanistic book script by Leonardus Job in Rome. Signed in the colophon on fol. 16r: "Finis / Deo gr(ati)as. / Amen Leonard(us) Iob" and on fol. 25r: "Finis / Deo gr(ati)as. / Amen / LEONARD(us) IOB / S(crip)S(it)."[79] The white vine-stem decoration on the four margins of the title page (fol. 3r) can be attributed to a master active in Rome.[80]

After the death of Matthias Corvinus (1490), the manuscript remained in Buda at least for two decades, since it was used for the first edition of the second and third texts, published in Strasburg (Argentorati, Matthias Schürer, 1513). According to the preface to the printed edition (p. III. S.), the publisher was provided with the text by Augustinus Olomucensis (1467–1513), provost and royal vice chancellor, who copied the two texts in Buda. Later (but before

ritorno di Platone, 7–8, cat. 6. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Cod. 606.: the text of the manuscript is a late fifteenth-century copy from the Medici codex, see Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi*, xxxiii–xxxv, cat. 4.

77 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 709, fol. 128r–131v, see Sebastiano Gentile in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone,* 15–17, cat. 13; Lucentini, *Liber Alcidi*, xxxix–xli; Sebastiano Gentile, in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto*, 95–98, cat. 25. Ficino quoted a passage from the *Liber Alcidi* in his short treatise *De virtutibus moralibus* written in 1457. The autograph copy in the Riccardiana manuscript is dated to the middle of the 1450s.

78 Bartoniek, "A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum"; Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 42, cat. 50; Ferenc Földesi in *Star in the Raven's Shadow*, 163, cat. 30; Dániel Pócs in *Mattia Corvino,* 108–9, cat. 23; Zsupán, "Bessarion," 115–17; Dániel Pócs, in *A Corvina könyvtár budai műhelye*, cat. H6. On the philological and codicological problems of the manuscript, see most recently Ekler, "Findings" and Ekler, "Further Data."

79 Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma,* 127. cat. 3.

80 See note 16.

1530), the manuscript was acquired by Johann Fabri, bishop of Vienna, together with other volumes from the royal library (printed ex libris glued onto the front pastedown, cf. Cat. 3.). After his death, it ended up in the library of Saint Nicholas College, then, in the eighteenth century, it became part of the collection of the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig. The Hungarian State purchased it from the antiquarian József Faragó for the National Széchényi Library.

5. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. Richardson 16[81]

Aelianus Tacticus: *De instruendis aciebus* (translated to Latin by Theodorus Gaza); Onosander: *De optimo imperatore* (translated to Latin by Nicolaus Secundinus).

On parchment, 85 fols., 287×216 mm. Original Florentine, blind-tooled leather binding[82] (similar bindings: Cats. 2, 3) Written in humanistic book script attributed to Hubertus W.[83] The illuminated decoration of the table of contents on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page has the same type as Cats. 7, 9, 10, and 19. The manuscript is supposed to originate from the library of Antal György Apponyi (1751–1817), which he founded in 1774 in Vienna. His son, Antal Apponyi moved the library first to the family mansion in Hőgyész, then to his palace in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), built in 1827. Then, the library was transferred to the family mansion in Upper Hungary, in Nagy-Appony (Oponice, Slovakia). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the manuscript was not unknown to Hungarian scholars.[84] It was on display as part of the charity exhibition organized for the flood victims in 1876 in Budapest and the book exhibition which opened in 1882 in the Palace of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[85] In 1892, Lajos Apponyi (1849–1909) auctioned off a considerable

81 Csapodi, *Corvinian Library,* 112–13, cat. 3. Previously considered (wrongly) as once belonging to the Corvina Library. On the codex, see most recently Ada Labriola in *Beyond Words*, 257–58, cat. 211.

82 *History of Bookbinding,* 87, cat. 195.

83 On the scribe, see De la Mare, "New research," 505, cat. 32/20.

84 To my knowledge, the manuscript was first mentioned in a short, anonymous article about the most important manuscripts of the Apponyi Library, which were still in Vienna at that time: "Nebst mehreren Prachtausgaben und einigen Manuscripten z. B. den Taktiker Aelianus und Onosander, den Ptolomäus, alle 3 in lateinischer Übersetzung auf Pergament, mit Figuren, …," see "Die Bibliothek des Herrn Grafen von Apponyi," 1. For later mentions of the manuscript, see Zsihovics, "Apponyi-könyvtár," col. 580–81; Deák, "A Magyar Történelmi Társulat," 708.

85 On the 1876 exhibition: Henszlmann and Bubics, *A magyarországi árvíkárosultak,* 48: "Magyarországra vonatkozó kitünő könyvek, Gr. Apponyi Sándor t." [Excellent books related to Hungary, property of Count Sándor Apponyi]. (In fact, there were items from both Apponyi libraries.) The manuscript does not figure as a separate item in the descriptive catalogue of the exhibition, but it is mentioned in an expert

part of his collection, including this manuscript, at Sotheby's in London.[86] Edith Hoffmann recognized that the coat of arms in the manuscript is the same found in several manuscripts from the Corvina Library, but her observation remained unnoticed by other scholars.[87]

Most of the Hungarian newspapers that reported on the auction highlighted the Aelianus manuscript, because the sale was considered a huge loss because of its presumed Corvina provenance.[88] The manuscript was purchased at the London auction by Robert Hoe (New York), then it ended up in the possession of William King Richardson, who bequeathed his important manuscript collection to the Harvard College Library in 1951. The Apponyi provenance does not prove, of course, that the manuscript was constantly in Hungary between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. For example, one of the most significant pieces of the library of Antal György Apponyi, auctioned off in 1892, a Ptolemy manuscript that was also produced in Florence c. 1470 and was illustrated with 27 double-page maps, ended up in the possession of the founder of the library in 1813 at the auction of the famous Bibliotheca Ebneriana in Nuremberg.[89]

6. Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire Collection[90]

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: *De architectura libri X*.

On parchment, 133 fols., 267×175mm. Eighteenth–nineteenth-century gold-tooled leather binding. Written in humanistic book script by an unidentified

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bibliophile report, see Emich, "Írott és nyomtatott könyvek," 271. On the 1882 exhibition in the Palace of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, see *Könyvkiállítási emlék,* 169–70, cat. 5. Jenő Ábel, who gave an account of this exhibition, also mentioned this manuscript, which at the time was in the possession of Rudolf Apponyi, see Ábel, "Die Landes-Bücherausstellung," 667, unnumbered note.

86 *Catalogue of the Choice Portion,* 2, cat. 9. "From the Library of King Matthias Corvini." (sic!)

87 Hoffmann, Review of *La Bibliothèque,* 139. "Once there was a manuscript with the same coat of arms in the Apponyi Library."

88 "Magyar könyvtár külföldön," 5–6.

89 New York, New York Public Library, Ms. MA 97. The lavishly illuminated, in folio parchment manuscript had already belonged to the Nurenberg library of Hieronymus Wilhelm Ebner von Eschenbach (1673–1752) in 1737, when Gottfried Christoph Raidel published a detailed description of the codex and an endraved illustration representing the bas-de-page of the manuscript's illuminated title page, see Raidel, *Commentatio,* 26–33. For the auction of the Ebner library, see Ranner, *Catalogus,* 44. cat. 381.

90 Lacaita, *Catalogue,* 329. On the flyleaf: "Given me by my friend William Bristow, Esq., anno 1740. Burlington." I owe my gratitude to James Towe, the librarian of the Chatsworth collection, for providing me with accurate information about the codicological features of the manuscript. Shelf marks of the library's manuscripts are not public.

scribe, with emendations by Bartolomeo Fonzio.[91] The margins of the title page are adorned with white vine-stem decoration, the coat of arms is encircled by a green laurel wreath, held by two winged putti. It has been in the Devonshire collection since the eighteenth century.

This manuscript, which, unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to study in the original, might help to resolve an important problem. As Gábor Hajnóczi has proven, in 1487, Antonio Bonfini must have used a Vitruvius manuscript for his translation of Filarete's treatise on architecture (contained in the so-called Averulinus corvina, a manuscript from the Corvina Library: Venice, BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. VIII. 2 [=2796]).[92] This Vitruvius manuscript, however, cannot be the one that Ludovico Sforza (il Moro) sent from Milan to Hungary for John Corvinus, illegitimate son of King Matthias, as this happened a year later.[93] (Budapest, UL, Cod. Lat. 32.) Since apart from this copy of Milanese origin, we have not so far known of any Vitruvius manuscript that was in Hungary in the late fifteenth century, the philological examination of the codex from Handó's library, especially a search for any marginal notes by Bonfini, would be of special interest. If the Chatsworth manuscript were indeed the copy used by Bonfini, it would also prove, at least in this specific case, that more volumes ended up in the royal library from Handó's book collection than those that bear the obvious codicological signs of their Corvina provenance (addition of the royal coat-of-arms, corvina-binding, etc.).

7. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 168[94]

Titus Livius: *Ab urbe condita, Decas I.*

On parchment, I, 212, I* fols., 357×242 mm. Original, blind stamped and gold-tooled corvina leather binding produced in Buda in the late 1480s. Written in humanistic book script. The scribe has not been identified before, but actually he is identical with the scribe of the two Livy codices in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona (Cats. 14–15.), Hubertus W.

The title on fol. Iv is written in golden antiqua capitals, in seven lines, in the middle of the page encircled by a green laurel wreath which is tied on both sides

91 De la Mare, "New research," 456, note 276. De la Mare does not mention Fonzio's emendations in this case, but Paul Oskar Kristeller does, see Kristeller, *Iter Italicum,* vol. 4, 13.

92 Hajnóczi, "Bonfini Averulinus-fordítása."

93 Hajnóczi, "Vitruvius *De Architectura*."

94 Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 58, cat. 146 and 400–1, plate CLVIII (front cover). The entire manuscript is now available online: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb. lat.168

with rippling blue ribbon. The illuminated decoration of the table of contents on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page has the same type as Cats. 5, 9, 10, 19. The text that begins according to modern numbering on fol. 1r ("incerte stirpis patrem nuncupat…") is the end of the second sentence of *Decas* I, I, 4. Based on the length of the missing text, two leaves were removed from the beginning of the manuscript before the second half of the seventeenth century. The manuscript was acquired by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (Bousbeque) (1522–92), imperial envoy between 1556 and 1562 in Istanbul, together with other manuscripts originating from the Corvina Library. Then, according to a note on the top of fol. Ir, it ended up in the collection of Lucas Wijngaert of Bruges, from whom it went into the possession of Olivier de Wree (1596–1652), another humanist in Bruges (his possessor's note is in the upper left corner of fol. Iv). The manuscript became part of the Vatican Library together with the book collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679).[95] In the manuscript catalogue compiled in the second half of the seventeenth century, the cardinal's librarian, Carlo Moroni, already recorded that the title page was missing. The original shelf mark of the manuscript in the Barberini collection was: 2504.

8. London, British Library, Lansdowne Ms. 836[96]

Q. Horatius Flaccus: *Epistolarum libri II; De arte poetica; Sermonum libri II; Carminum libri IV; Epodon; Carmen saeculare*;

Decius Junius Juvenalis: *Satirae*;

Aulus Persius Flaccus: *Satirae*

On parchment, II, 234, III* fols., 240×155 mm. Gold-tooled blue leather binding produced after 1600. Written in humanistic book script *(humanistica rotunda)* attributed to the scribe Sinibaldus C.[97] On the verso of the flyleaf preceding the title page (fol. 2v), a profile portrait of King Matthias Corvinus was painted in the last quarter of the sixteenth century or later. The portrait follows the so-called Mantegna-type, but derives directly from the woodcut by Tobias Stimmer published in 1575 in the Basel edition of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*.[98] Traces of a five-line text which has been scraped out, are visible partly above, partly underneath the portrait. Florentine white vine-stem illumination decorates the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title

95 Ruysschaert, "De la bibliothèque."

96 Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 48, cat. 83.

97 De la Mare, "New research," 537, cat. 68/11.

98 Mikó, "Imago historiae," 37–39.

page (fol. 3r). The manuscript was acquired by Antal Verancsics, bishop of Pécs in Istanbul in 1555–57.

9. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 384 (=α.M.8.18)[99]
L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius: *Divinarum institutionum contra gentiles ad Constantinum imperatorem; Epitome sexti et septimi libri; De ira divina; De opificio hominis ad Demetrianum; De phenice carmen*

On parchment, II, 254, I* fols., 322×222 mm. Modern green leather binding. Written in humanistic book script *(humanistica rotunda)* by the scribe Sinibaldus C.[100] The illuminated decoration of the table of contents on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page has the same type as Cats. 5, 7, 10, 19. Florentine white vine-stem illumination decorates the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title page (fol. 3r). It belongs to the so-called *antico fondo estense* and might have been purchased by Alfonso II d'Este from Nicolò Zen in Venice, like the manuscripts now in Modena that originate from the Corvina Library.

10. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 386 (=α.H.3.12)[101]
Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *De coelesti hierarchia; De ecclesiastica hierarchia; De divinis nominibus; De mystica theologia; Epistolae X.* (all translated to Latin by Ambrogio Traversari);
Franciscus de Mayronis: *In expositione librorum Dionisii de mistica theologia; De angelica hierarchia*;
Tomas abbas Vercellensis (Thomas Gallus): *In expositione librorum Dionisii de angelica hierarchia; Extractio seu commentum in librum beati Dionisii de ecclesiastica hierarchia; Continentia primi capituli de divinis nominibus; Commentum in librum beati Dionisii de mistica theologica; Extractiones epistolae Dionisii ad Titum.*

On parchment, III, 238, II* fols., 323×215 mm. Modern, green leather binding. Written in humanistic book script by Petrus de Traiecto (fol. 1r–112r) and another, unidentified scribe (fol. 113r–238r).[102] The illuminated decoration of the table of contents on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page has the

99 Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti,* 71, cat. 137bis; for a detailed description, see Paola Di Pietro Lombardi in *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane:* https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=166331. (Last updated: May 19, 2010, last retrieved: September 26, 2019.)

100 De la Mare, "New research," 537, cat. 68/16.

101 Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti,* 70–71, cat. 137 and plate XXVI, fig. 2; for a detailed description, see Paola Di Pietro Lombardi in *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane:* https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=166333. (Last updated: May 19, 2010, last retrieved: September 26, 2019.)

102 De la Mare, "New research," 533, cat. 63/4.

same type as Cats. 5, 7, 9, 19. Florentine white vine-stem illumination decorates the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title page (fol. 3r). It belongs to the so-called *antico fondo estense*. For its hypothetic earlier provenance, see Cat. 10. Edith Hoffmann already noticed in a review published in 1925, that it contains the same coat of arms as several other manuscripts from the Corvina Library.[103]

11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Lat. 289[104]

Aristotle: *Ethicorum ad Nicomachum libri X*. (translated to Latin by John Argyropoulos, with dedication to Cosimo de' Medici); *Politicorum libri VIII; Oeconomicorum libri II* (translated to Latin by Leonardo Bruni)

On parchment, 204 fols. Written in humanistic cursive by Bartolomeo Fonzio.[105] Florentine white vine-stem illumination decorates the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title page. The lily of Handó's coat of arms in the *bas-de-page,* which was painted in silver leaf, left its print on the verso of the front flyleaf.

12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Lat. 292[106]

Aristotle: *Metaphysica* (translated to Latin by Cardinal Bessarion)

On paper. Written in humanistic book script, extensively annotated in the margins. Its scribe is unidentified, but according to De la Mare, it was copied in Rome.[107] The manuscript is almost completely undecorated, except for fol. 1r, where, in the center of the *bas-de-page*, there is a coat of arms in a medallion encircled by a laurel wreath. Although the middle of the coat of arms has been scraped out, traces of the golden crown are still visible, while the outline of the lily left its print on the verso of the front flyleaf. On the title page, there is also a five-line O-initial, painted in gold leaf, placed in a blue field, and filled with white vine-stem decoration. On a piece of paper glued onto the verso of the first flyleaf, there is a note by a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand, according to which someone (presumably the owner of the manuscript) lent four of his books: "Dialogi deorum / Valerius Probus / Philelphus de educatione liberorum /

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103 Hoffmann, Review of *La Biblioteca,* 177. Edith Hoffmann's observation was left unnoticed by later scholars of the subject, though she made an important remark regarding the possible provenance of the manuscript. She suggested that this codex might have been purchased by Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara, together with those codices originating from the Corvina Library that are still preserved at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena.

104 Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* 30, cat. 313 and plate XXVIII, fig. 313.

105 De la Mare, "New research," 488, cat. 7/22.

106 Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* 86, cat. 852.

107 De la Mare, "New research," 456, note 276.

Libellus, q(uas)i panegyricus Imp(eratoris) Maxi(miliani) / apud D(omi)num Joa(n) ne(m) Jamboscium sunt, / quos h(abe)t a me accomodatos." The note probably refers to Jan Zambocki (c. 1475–1529), secretary to Sigismund I, King of Poland.

13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. Latin 2650[108]

Johannes Chrysostomus: *Homiliae in Psalmum L, I et II*;
Sanctus Gaudentius: *Sermones*
On parchment, 141 fols., 225×150 mm. Sixteenth century (?) leather binding. Written in humanistic book script by an unidentified scribe, but contains emendations by Bartolomeo Fonzio.[109]

14. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Lat. CXXXVI (124)[110]

Titus Livius: *De secundo bello punico (Ab urbe condita, Decas III)*
On parchment, I, 214 fols., 354×245 mm, text block: 236×137 mm. Original, blind stamped and gold-tooled Corvina leather binding produced in Buda in the late 1480s. Written in humanistic book script *(humanistica rotunda)* by Hubertus W. Edina Zsupán examined the manuscript and declared that, contrary to the opinion of Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, it does not contain emendations by János Vitéz.[111]

The table of contents preceding the title page is written in an illuminated architectural framework imitating a Renaissance tabernacle. This decoration is of the same type as Cat. 2. In the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title page, there is white vine-stem decoration enriched with putti and birds. A standing figure of a Roman general is depicted in the thirteen-line gold leaf "I" initial. The manuscript was presumably purchased by Nicolò Zen in 1560 from Istanbul, through the intermediary of his father; in 1580, it was purchased by Mario Bevilacqua for his library; in the late seventeenth century, it was in the possession of Scipione Maffei, who gave it to Francesco Muselli, canon of Verona. Finally, Muselli donated it to the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona. The manuscript Cod. Lat. CXXXV of the library, which contains the Livy's first Decade, was produced in Rome and not in Florence, and "met" Handó's codices only in the collection of Bevilacqua.

108 Lauer, *Bibliothèque National,* 562–63.

109 De la Mare, "New research," 456, note 276, and 488, cat. 7.

110 Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 61, cat. 163 and 454–55, plate CLXXXV; Spagnolo, *I manoscritti,* 220; Claudia Adami in *Nel segno del corvo,* 201–2, cat. 24, cf. note 24.

111 De la Mare, "New research," 505, cat. 32/40. On the alleged emendations by Vitéz, see Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek*, 114–15. cat. 60. and fig. 45. To my request, Edina Zsupán thoroughly examined the microfilms of the Livy manuscripts in Verona and Rome.

15. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Lat. CXXXVII (125)[112]

Titus Livius: *De bello macedonico (Ab urbe condita, Decas IV)*;
Lucius Florus: *Epitome historiarum libri IV*.
On parchment, 208 fols., 360×247 mm, text block: 236×138 mm. Original, blind stamped and gold-tooled Corvina leather binding produced in Buda in the late 1480s. Written in humanistic book script *(humanistica rotunda)* by Hubertus W.[113] For its provenance, see Cat. 15. On fol. 2v, the monochrome, architectonic decoration of the title page forms a Renaissance tabernacle, which also contains the coat of arms of György Handó. Beltrami thought, primarily based on the putti holding the coat of arms, that the vine-stem decoration of the title page with its unusual colors and structure, must be the work of the same master who illuminated the Iustin manuscript in Besançon (Cat. 2.). I agree with her. According to Claudia Adami, the illuminator was the Florentine master known as Scipione, who also worked for Bisticci. In my opinion, based on his style, the illuminator belonged to the circle of Cosimo Rosselli.[114] Below the original decoration of the *bas-de-page*, on the edge of the parchment, the small leaf garland, decorated with red and blue five-petal flowers, red and green ribbons, and colorful beads, can be attributed to the so-called First Heraldic Painter, an illuminator active in the Buda workshop at the end of the 1480s.

16. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 48[115]

Pseudo-Plinius: *De viris illustribus*;
C. Plinius Secundus: *Epistolarum libri I–VII, IX*;
Johannes Mansionarius: *Vita duorum Pliniorum*;
Pseudo-Plinius: *Panegyricus Traiani*;
Panegyrici XII.
On parchment, 191 fols., 330×224 mm. Original Florentine, blind-tooled leather binding (border decoration consists of interlaced rings, with two ostrich feathers

112 Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 61, cat. 164 and 456–57, plate CLXXXVI; Spagnolo, *I manoscritti,* 220; Claudia Adami in *Nel segno del corvo,* 202–4, cat. 25.

113 De la Mare, "New research," 505, cat. 32/41; Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz,* 115, cat. 61 and fig. 46.

114 On the attribution, see Beltrami, "Manoscritti corviniani," 266; Claudia Adami in *Nel segno del corvo,* 203, cat. 25, cf. note 23.

115 Nagylucsei's coat of arms was first identified by Pál Gulyás, see Gulyás, "Nagylucsei Orbán" and note 41 above, cf. Hoffmann, "Nagylucsei Orbán könyvtárának maradványai," 167–68; Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek,* 130; Hermann, *Die Handschriften,* 31–33, cat. 25; Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften,* 18; Mikó, "Nagylucsei Orbán Psalteriuma," 134.

emerging from every other ring). parchment. Written in humanistic cursive by Piero Cennini. The manuscript is dated in the colophon of the second text (fol. 92v): "Transcriptus Florentiae. III^{o}. Idvs. Ian(uarias) Anno Salvtis Nostrae MCCCCLXVIII. Paulo. II^{o}. Romae. Pont. Max. τέλος" which means, taking into consideration the Florentine calendar, January 11, 1469. (The colophon is often dated, wrongly, to 1468.) The table of contents (fol. Iv) was written by Bartolomeo Fonzio.[116] It lists all the works in the manuscript, but the short biography of Johannes Mansionarius had originally been left out and was added later, together with the folio number, to the end of the list by a contemporaneous but different hand. On the title page (fol. 1r), the lower, upper, and inner margins are adorned with white vine-stem decoration, while the historiated initial "P" includes a full-length author portrait in his study. The upper and inner margins of the incipit page of the *Panegyricus Traiani* are also decorated with white vine-stem illumination and a "B" initial (fol. 95r). Throughout the manuscript, there are several three-line initials in a squared field, but they were left unfinished: only their colored (pale red, blue, green) background and the gilding of the letters are completed. It is important to note that the illuminator consistently used a Greek capital "M" instead of the Latin version. In a medallion in the middle of the *bas-de-page*, encircled by a laurel wreath, there is the episcopal coat of arms of Orbán Nagylucsei, and the traces of György Handó's coat of arms underneath. The manuscript ended up in Vienna from the Hofbibliothek in Salzburg, its previous shelf mark was: Salisb. 1c.

17. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 224[117]

Q. Valerius Catullus: *Carmina*;
Albius Tibullus: *Carminum libri IV*;
Sextus Propertius: *Carminum libri IV*.

On parchment, I, 171, III* fols., 240×165 mm. Written in humanistic book script attributed to Gabriel de Pistorio.[118] The title page (fol. 1r) is adorned with Florentine white vine-stem decoration in the lower, upper, and inner margins and with a half-length author portrait in the initial "C." The coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus in the middle of the *bas-de-page* was painted in the Buda scriptorium in the late 1480s. The codex was purchased by Sámuel Nádudvari in 1725 from the bequest of Michael II Apafi, Prince of Transylvania (1690–96).

116 On the scribe, see De la Mare, "New research," 528, cat. 48/29.

117 Hermann, *Die Handschriften,* 57–58, cat. 52; Brigitte Mersich in Gamillscheg, Mersich, and Mazal, *Matthias Corvinus,* 63–64, cat. 24 and fig. 10; Milena Ricci in *Nel segno del corvo,* 291, cat. 58.

118 De la Mare, "New research," 496, cat. 23/5.

18. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2384[119]
Plato: *Phaedo; Gorgias; Axiochus; Apologia Socratis; Crito* (all translated in Latin by Leonardo Bruni, except for the Axiochus, which was translated by Runiccio Aretino, also known as Rinuccio Castiglionfiorentino)
On parchment, 137 fols., 257×170 mm. Written in humanistic book script attributed to the so-called "Scribe of Venezia, Bibl. Marciana lat. Z.58," who also copied a set of manuscripts containing the works of Saint Augustine for Cardinal Bessarion in the workshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci (cf. Cat. 20).[120] The table of contents on fol. IIv was written in humanistic cursive in red ink, most probably by Bartolomeo Fonzio. Ernesto Berti noted that the codex was produced in Bisticci's workshop, and its text was copied on the basis of a manuscript which belonged to Gianozzo Manetti (BAV, Pal. Lat. 974). According to Berti the copying mistakes were consistently corrected by a second hand. This emendator also collated the text of the *Phaedo* and the *Gorgias* with another manuscript (BML, Plut. 89.sup. 58) and corrected the mistakes of the archetype as well.[121]

19. Wormsley Estate, The Wormsley Library (formerly Holkham Hall, Ms. 440)[122]
Herodotus: *Historiarum libri IX.* (translated to Latin by Lorenzo Valla)
On parchment. Written in humanistic book script attributed to the so-called "Scribe of Bodmer Perotti."[123] The illuminated decoration of the table of contents on the verso of the leaf preceding the title page has the same type as Cats. 5, 7, 9, 10. Florentine white vine-stem decoration in the lower, upper, and inner margins of the title page (fol. 2r). The codex had belonged to the collection of the Holkham Hall library until 2001, when it was auctioned at Sotheby's.

119 Hermann, *Die Handschriften,* 27–28, cat. 20; Hankins, *Plato,* vol. 2, 735, cat. 379; Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* 60, cat. 192; Ernst Gamillscheg in Gamillscheg, Mersich, and Mazal, *Matthias Corvinus,* 75. cat. 35 and fig. 8.

120 De la Mare, "New research," 552, cat. 103/13.

121 Berti, "Editoria e originali," 109–12. Berti is wrong when he attributes the enlargement of the group of manuscripts containing the crown-and-lily coat of arms with eight more codices to Gabriele Mori Beltrami (Berti, "Editoria e originali," 109, note 39). Albinia de la Mare had already determined that the eight codices belong to this group, but unfortunately, this was not indicated by Beltrami in her study, see De la Mare, "New research," *passim.* The identification of the collator (who might have been Bartolomeo Fonzio) needs further research.

122 Hassall, "A Notable Private Collection," fig. IV and V.; *The Wormsley Library*, 290–91, cat.

123 De la Mare, "New research," 542, cat. 75/7.

20. Private collection. (Formerly New York, Marston Collection, Ms. 54)[124]
Johannes Mansionarius: *De duobus Pliniis*;
Aurelius Victor: *De viris illustribus*;
C. Plinius Secundus: *Epistolarum libri*
On parchment, 148 fols. Written in humanistic book script attributed to the so-called "Scribe of Venezia, Bibl. Marciana lat. Z.58" cf. Cat. 19, table of contents and annotations by the hand of Bartolomeo Fonzio.[125]

Abbreviations

AGAD, ZDP	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, Warsaw
ASFi	Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BC	Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona
BEU	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena
BL	The British Library, London
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France, Paris
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
BStB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
UL	ELTE University Library, Budapest
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
NAH	National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
NSZL	National Széchényi Library, Budapest
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
PML	The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

124 De la Mare, "New research," 553, cat. 103/14 and 488, cat. 7; *Catalogue 144,* cat. 96; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum,* vol. 5, 285. Contrary to most of Marston's manuscripts, it did not end up in the collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, but, together with other manuscripts, he sold it in 1962 to Laurence Witten. The latter auctioned off a part of these manuscripts on December 10, 1962 at Sotheby's, but this volume was not among the lots, see Shailor, *Catalogue,* XIX and XXI.
125 De la Mare, "New research," 553, cat. 103/14; 488, cat. 7.

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"Many laughed at the thought of this illustrious young man reading books:" About Miklós Báthory's Library and His Cicero-Codex

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This paper pursues an anecdote of Galeotto Marzio about the erudite Miklós Báthory, bishop of Vác, who read Cicero's *Tusculan disputation* while he was waiting with other noblemen for the royal diet in Rákosmező, and the mocking attitude of the Hungarian political elite toward any intellectual endeavor. The traces lead to the National Széchényi Library in Budapest which has in its holdings a manuscript of Cicero under *Cod. lat. 150*. This book might have been in the hands of Báthory at Rákosmező. The purpose of this paper is to confirm the scarcely known plans of Miklós Báthory, bishop of Vác, to found a Platonic school on the basis of what little remains of his library and, mainly, the notes of his Cicero codex. This information perfectly harmonizes with his well-known aspirations to found a Platonic school in Buda and later his gymnasium in Vác, which seems to have been permeated with a kind of Platonist spirituality. After a summary of the life of Miklós Báthory, the paper offers an outline of the remains of his once rich library and then finally an examination of the history of the Cicero codex and its marginalia.

Keywords: Galeotto Marzio, Miklós Báthory's library, Cicero codex, Platonic school

Only a few historical monuments have become a tangible reality, an anecdote transformed into object. The National Széchényi Library's Cicero-codex under *Cod. lat. 150* is an embodiment of one such moment. Galeotto Marzio's famous anecdote about Miklós Báthory and the prefiguration of Hungarian fallow land ("magyar ugar") is frequently quoted from his book *On the excellent, wise, facetious sayings and deeds of King Matthias*:[1]

1 According to Marzio, Báthory was the one who encouraged him to write this book about King Matthias. Martius Narniensis, *De egregie* (cap. 31), 34: "Et, ut ad rem nostram revertamur, Budae cum cogeretur principum concilium et nondum ad regem aditus pateret, inter eos erat Nicholaus Bathur, genere nobilis, dignitate episcopus Vaciensis. Est enim Vacia vigesimo a Buda miliario; sed Budam a Vacia secundo flumine devenitur. Hic igitur Nicholaus episcopus virtute et animi generositate dignitateque corporis cumulatus maxime erat: studiis namque humanitatis in Italia eruditus, cura et diligentia doctrinam adaugens, nihil laboris, nihil vigiliarum, nihil impedii subterfugiens quod ad doctrinam conveniret, brevi effecit ut doctissimis acutissimisque philosophis eius doctrina et et litteratura summa cum admiratione probaretur.

> The Council of the Lords had gathered in Buda one time, but they could not yet go to the king. Among them was the Bishop of Vác, the nobleman Nicholas Báthori. Vác is twenty miles from Buda, but Buda can be reached from Vác on the river. This Bishop Nicholas was gifted with a most virtuous, generous, and honorable soul and body. He had been educated in Humanistic studies in Italy. Always increasing his knowledge with care and diligence, he did not avoid any labor, any vigilance, or impediment to acquire knowledge. Soon, his literary knowledge was esteemed with great admiration even by the most learned and clever philosophers. While the lords' congregation was gathering, he did not want to waste his time with otiosity or babblings, so there was a book with him—if I remember well—Cicero's work entitled *Tusculan disputations*. Many laughed at the thought of this illustrious young man reading books, which was unusual there, because for the Hungarians, it was a novelty to see a bishop reading in a place where they had been accustomed to discourse and conversation.

The purpose of this paper is to confirm the little-known plans of Miklós Báthory, bishop of Vác, to found a Platonic school on the basis of what little remains of his library and, mainly, the notes of his Cicero-codex (*Cod. lat. 150*). First, I summarize the life of Miklós Báthory. I then offer an outline of the remains of his once rich library. I then examine his Cicero-codex, which is now in the holdings of the National Széchényi Library.

The Life of Humanist Miklós Báthory

Miklós Báthory was born into the high-ranking, noble and powerful Báthory family from the branch of Ecsed on April 10, 1445.[2] His father, István Báthory, became judge royal in 1435 and was killed in the Battle of Varna in 1444. Miklós's illiterate brother, the military commander István Báthory, later was also judge royal from 1471 until his death and voivode of Transylvania from 1479 to 1493.[3] According to Bonfini, the family might have been given its name after the ancient Pannonian king (or rather chieftain), Bato of the Breuci.[4] Although no document has been found to prove it, Nicholas is said to have studied under Galeotto

Qui, dum congregatio principum cogeretur, ne otio et garrulitati locum praeberet, habuit secum librum, si recte memini, Ciceronis cui Tusculanarum quaestionum est titulus. Irridentibus multis huius egregii iuvenis librorum lectionem, ibi inusitatam (novum quippe videbatur Hungaris episcopum lectitare, in eo praesertim loco ubi sermo et confabulatio esse consueverat)."

2 C. Tóth, "Ki kicsoda," 19.

3 Kubinyi, "Báthory Miklós," 13–15, 22.

4 Bonfinis, *Rerum* (dec. 1, lib. 1), 9, 30.

Marzio between 1464 and 1469 in Bologna and, later, under Marsilio Ficino, the father of the resurgent Platonism, in Florence.[5] Báthory was already receiving church benefices in 1465, and he was elected Bishop of Szerém/Srijemska/Sremska before the autumn of 1468. Miklós was the royal chancellor February 1471 and August 1471. He was elected Bishop of Vác in 1474, an office which he held until his death.[6] According to his contemporaries, he greatly appreciated philosophy, Humanist literary works and fine arts, and being highly educated in Latin and Greek.[7] Furthermore, Renaissance architectural monuments are attached to his name in the bishop's palace of Vác and Nógrád castle.[8] Sources also suggest that he often held musical symposiums in his palace.[9] Finally, he was honored as a patron of Humanism and a founder of schools. Surviving letters show that he attempted to found a sort of "Platonic school" and tried several times to tempt Marsilio Ficino (or one of his pupils) to teach in Buda in the 1480s, but his efforts failed.[10] Following the death of King Matthias, he sided with Vladislaus II against Matthias's son John Corvinus. In Vác, Báthory succeeded in establishing a school, a *gymnasium publicum*, which operated between 1497 and 1503. We know the name of its two Italian teachers: one of them was Francesco Pescennio Negro and the other was a certain Barnardino Utinense, who taught *in omni artium facultate* ("in every Arts faculty").[11] The last information on Báthory is from February 23, 1506. He probably died that year.[12]

The Remains of Báthory's Library

Fortunately, although his Humanist writings and his library have been lost, some of Báthory's books can be positively identified. This is a very poor reconstruction of his once rich library, the librarian of which, according to a recent hypothesis, might have been Francesco Bandini, the Florentine ambassador to Buda.[13] In total, four or maybe five of his books can be identified:

5 Martius Narniensis, *De egregie* (cap. 31), 34.

6 Kubinyi, "Báthory Miklós," 18–19; C. Tóth, "Ki kicsoda," 19–21.

7 Ransanus, *Epithoma*, 81; Ritoókné Szalay, "Báthory Miklós," 160.

8 Mikó, "Báthory Miklós."

9 Ritoókné Szalay, "Báthory Miklós," 162–64; Pajorin, "Mátyás király," 604–5.

10 Ficinus, *Opera*, 782, 857, 884; Della Torre, *Storia dell'accademia*, 100–2; Huszti, *Platonista törekvések*; Klaniczay, "Platonista akadémia"; Klaniczay, "La corte di Mattia Corvino," 166–69.

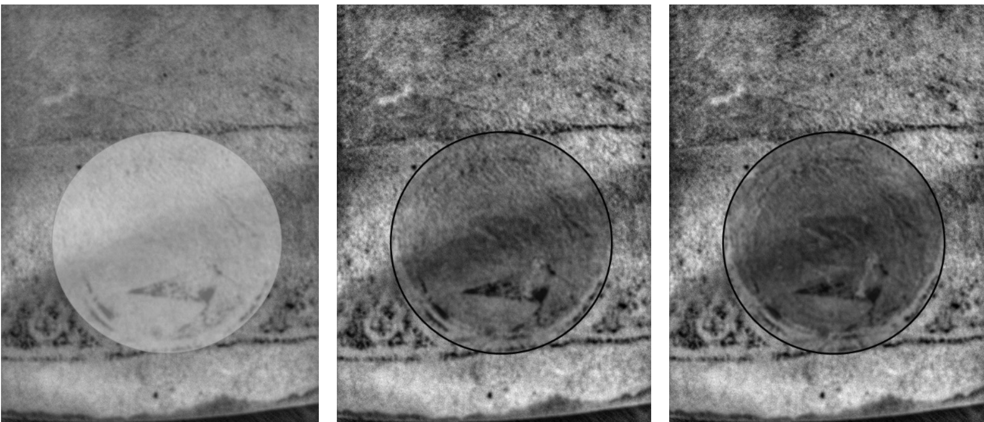
11 Mercati, "Francesco Pescennio Negro," 71–72; Kiss, "Franciscus Pescennius Niger," 272–73.

12 C. Tóth, "Ki kicsoda," 19.

13 Rozsondai, "Báthory Miklós," 131.

1. A codex of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*. (See below in more detail).

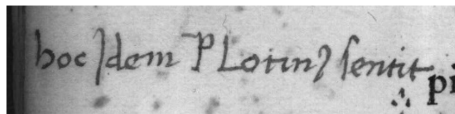
2. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna has in its holdings a manuscript (Cod. 872) which was produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and can be related to Miklós Báthory. It contains Hilary of Poitiers's (Hilarius Pictaviensis) work against the Arians with the title *De synodis contra omnes haereses* (On the synod against all heresies), but the title page of the manuscript has been torn out. In the 1920s, Edit Hoffmann had already noticed an almost imperceptible figure on the verso of the clean flyleaf. It is the inversed trace of the original coat-of-arms which was once painted on the title page. The outline of this is very vague, but one can discern the shape of an elongated triangle. Hoffmann was sure that this triangle is one of the three wolf's or dragon's teeth from Báthory's coat-of-arms. However, some decades later, Soltész did mention only György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs, in relation to the manuscript, but not Miklós Báthory. And finally some years ago, Marianne Rozsondai, referring to Soltész's article, refuted the possibility that the Bishop of Vác had possessed the codex. In 1932, without any significant evidence in support of his contention, Julius Herrmann suggested that the first possessor of the manuscript was the poet Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Pécs. However, originally the manuscript of Hilarius was most likely in Báthory's library before it was put in the possession of Szatmári some time after the death of Báthory in 1506. According to the note on the inner side of the cover, Szatmári gave the codex to Johannes Gremper, a friend and secretary of Johannes Cuspinianus, in Kassa/Košice in 1518 ("Is liber datus est mihi a Georgio Quinqueecclesiensi episcopo in urbe sua Castoine



The reversed trace of the faded coat-of-arms refined in the Hilarius Pictaviensis-codex with HDR effect and layered by Báthory's coat-of-arms from his Cicero-codex

[sic! probably Cassovia?] anno 1518"). The next possessor was Cuspinianus after 1519, then Johannes Faber, Bishop of Vienna, after 1529 (both acquired several Corvinas from Buda).[14]

3. Báthory's next known book is an incunabulum which is kept now in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Ráth F 1493): Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum cum aliis aliorum Neoplatonicorum tractatibus* (On the mysteries of Egyptians), which was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1497. The book consists of another 13, mostly Platonist works translated or written by Marsilio Ficino and numerous notes in the margins: Ficino's *De voluptate*, an excerpt of Proclus's *Commentaria in Alcibiadem Platonis primum: De anima et daemone* and *De sacrificio et magia*, Alcinous's *De doctrina Platonis*, Speusippus's *De Platonis definitionibus*, Porphyry's *De occasionibus* and *De abstinentia*, Synesius's *De somniis*, Michael Psellos's *De daemonibus*, Priscian of Lydia's *Theophrastum de intellectu et phantasia*, Xenocrates's *De morte*, and Pythagoras's *Aurea verba* and *Symbola*. Rozsondai was the first to call attention to the fact that the notes in this book are identical with several notes found in the aforementioned Cicero-codex. One of the notes ([a5v]) is especially interesting because it may indicate another possible book from Báthory's library: "hoc idem Plotinus sentit" ("Plotinus thinks the same"). Under this note, there is the same image of a manicule as in the Cicero manuscript. Supposedly, they are from Báthory's hand. Furthermore, the note clearly refers to the beginning of Plotinus's *Enneads* (from 1.1.1 until 1.1.6).[15]



Referring to Plotinus in the Iamblichus volume

4. However, we know with all certainty of a fourth book from his library: Marsilio Ficino's *Commentaria in Platonem*, which was published in Florence in 1496. Now his copy is kept in Keble College, Oxford (Hatchett Jackson 85). This edition consists of Ficino's commentaries on Plato's works, but it omits his translation of the dialogues. There are no notes in this Oxford copy, but there are two telltale clues in the book. The first is the blind-stamped leather binding, which

14 Hoffmann, *Régi magyar*, 109–10; Soltész, "Garázda Péter," 122–23; Hermann, *Die Handschriften*, 24–25.
15 Rozsondai, "Báthory Miklós," 136–37. Detailed analysis: Molnár, "Báthory Miklós."

is from the same workshop of Buda as his aforementioned copy of Iamblichus. The second is a letter by Battista Guarino to the "Bishop of Vác Báthory" dated February 20, 1499 (which might mean February 1500), which is stuck in the inner side of the front cover. Thus, it was obviously in the possession of Miklós Báthory at some point.[16]

Possible Books of His Library

Based on the aforementioned note referring to Plotinus, Báthory might have read the *Enneads*, which he may have read in the 1492 Florentine first edition translated by Ficino. He may have had or at least have read one of the earlier manuscripts of it. According to Ficino's letter to King Matthias dated February 1489 (or according to the Florentine calendar, February 1490), the Platonist master sent his translation of Plotinus, including his half-finished commentaries, to Buda, supposedly to the Corvinian Library. It is more than probable that Báthory knew, copied, or acquired this manuscript after the death of the king. Whatever the case, this copy of Plotinus has been lost now.

What other books might Báthory have had? There is a manuscript of Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (On the art of building) in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Cod. Lat. 419) which was once part of the Corvinian collection in Buda. Although King Matthias's coat-of-arms is painted on the first page, Báthory's coat-of-arms also appears on f. 209v. However, the bishop's mitre is again missing, so it had to be in Báthory's possession before 1468, and eventually he gave it as a present to the king. This conclusion drawn in the secondary literature according to which this codex was prepared between 1485 and 1490.[17] This manuscript may have been in the possession of another, later Báthory.

It can be safely assumed that the works dedicated to Miklós Báthory were in his possession. The most important of these is Ficino's short treatise, the title of which was originally *Secunda clavis Platonicae sapientiae* (Second Key of Platonic Wisdom). In the form of a letter, this work must have arrived in Hungary in the summer of 1479. Later, it was placed in Ficino's book of letters, which was published in Venice in 1495. It is almost certain that Báthory bought this 1495 edition, because Ficino's two other letters to Báthory are also included in

16 Rhodes, "Battista Guarini;" Rozsondai, "A Hungarian Renaissance."

17 Zsupán, "Stílushűség és imitáció;" Pietro Lombardi, "Mátyás emblémái," 168–69, 173.

the volume. In addition, this short work seems like a schoolbook which briefly summarizes the basic concepts of Platonic ontology.[18] Because Báthory had Ficino's commentaries on Plato, he also must have had the 1484 or 1491 edition of Plato's *Opera omnia*, translated by Ficino. Instead of going himself, Ficino wanted to send his cousin Sebastiano Salvini (the Florentine master called him his *alterego*) to teach Platonic philosophy in Buda. Salvini also dedicated his two works to the Bishop of Vác: *De sacramento* and *Rabbi Samuel Iudaeus contra Iudaeorum proterviam inanemque in dies spem*.[19] The poet Angelus Callimachus Siculus wrote a panegyrical elegy to Báthory, who rewarded him with gold.[20] After all, he must have had biblical and liturgical works as well.

The following is a summary of the known and supposed works from Báthory's library:

	Work	Edition	Library
1	Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*	manuscript, Florence, ca. 1450–1468	Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 150
2	Hilarius Pictaviensis, *De synodis contra omnes haereses*	manuscript, Florence, ca. 1450–1475	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 872
3	Marsilio Ficino, *Commentaria in Platonem*	Florence: Lorenzo di Alopa, 1496	Oxford, Keble College, Hatchett Jackson 85
4	Iamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum: cum aliis aliorum Neoplatonicorum tractatibus*, tr. by Ficinus. a Ficino, *De voluptate* b Proclus, *Commentaria in Alcibiadem Platonis primum: De anima et daemone* (excerpt) c Proclus, *De sacrificio et magia* d Alcinous, *De doctrina Platonis* e Speusippus, *De Platonis definitionibus* f Porphyry, *De occasionibus* g Porphyry, *De abstinentia* h Synesius, *De somniis* i Michael Psellos, *De daemonibus* j Priscian of Lydia, *Theophrastum de intellectu et phantasia* k Xenocrates, *De morte* l Pythagoras, *Aurea verba* m Pythagoras, *Symbola*	Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1497	Budapest, Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ráth F 1493
(5)?	? Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*	manuscript, Florence (Buda?), 1485–1490	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 419

18 Molnár, "Báthory Miklós," 41–43.

19 *Analecta nova*, 442; Rozsondai, "Báthory Miklós," 132.

20 Huszti, *Platonista törekvések*, 88; Ransanus, *Epithoma*, 81.

(6)	Sebastiano Salvini, *Rabbi Samuel Iudaeus Contra Iudaeorum proterviam inanemque in dies spem*	manuscript, after October 1477	?
(7)	Sebastiano Salvini, *De sacramento*	manuscript, October 1477	?
(8)	Angelus Callimachus Siculus's poem (inc. *Ordiar unde prius, claudent ubi carmina finem?*)	manuscript, ca. 1483	?
(9)	Plato, *opera omnia,* tr. by Ficinus	Florence: Lorenzo de Alopa or Laurentius Venetus, 1484–1485	?
(10)	Plotinus, *Opera*, tr. by Ficinus	Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1492	?
(11)	*Epistole Marsilii Ficini Florentini*	Venice: Matteo Capcasa, 1495	?

The National Széchényi Library's Tusculan Disputations (Cod. Lat. 150)

The most interesting volume is the aforementioned manuscript of Cicero, which is the most richly illuminated as well. Galeotto Marzio writes that "if he remembers well," the codex was in Báthory's hands while he was waiting with other noblemen for the royal diet in Rákosmező. By that time, he was already serving as Bishop of Vác, so this event must have taken place after April 1474. This famous reading could have been in April 1475, because the king had called together the diet on April 24.

According to Csaba Csapodi,[21] the codex was written in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century, so it had to have been copied between 1450 and April of 1475. However, the period of Báthory's acquisition can be further narrowed down to between 1464 and autumn of 1468 due to the time of his studies in Bologna and Florence and his appointment as bishop, when he might have easily acquired the manuscript in Italy. This assumption is strengthened by the first edition of the "Tusculan Disputations," which was printed in Rome in April 1469 (GW 6888). Báthory might have encountered this work of Cicero in Italy, and as the known volumes of Báthory's collection prove, he did not look down on printed books. He might have wanted to acquire the "Tusculan Disputations," but he could not have known that it would be printed in 1469, so he might have bought the supposedly more expensive manuscript known today as *Cod. lat. 150* during his studies in Italy, before the autumn of 1468. This accuracy of this dating is also strengthened by the depiction of Báthory's coat-

21 Csapodi, Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, 243.

of-arms in the manuscript: it does not contain his bishop's mitre. Sources give no indication of what might have happened to the book after Báthory's death. The next trace is an inscription at the beginning of the codex: *Patrum Trinitariorum Conventus B.[eatae] V.[irginis] M.[ariae] Cellensis Anno 1776*, or "the Blessed Virgin Mary's convent of the Trinitarian fathers in Kiscell in 1776." The convent was part of the Vienna Province. Perhaps the manuscript was kept in a Jesuit library, and after the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, perhaps it was placed in the Trinitarian convent. In a rescript of March 17, 1783, Joseph II dissolved the convent of Kiscell and its library to establish a military barrack. By March 1784 at the latest, the codex was no longer in the order's house. Although a catalogue listing 800 books has survived, which was written by a committee of library liquidation, there is no trace of the Cicero manuscript on the list.[22] An interesting part of the story is that a certain "pater Sebastian" (also known as Mátyás Paule), an inhabitant of the convent who also served as household chaplain to the widow of the aristocrat Miklós Zichy, smuggled the most valuable manuscripts out of the convent's library. It is thus likely that the manuscript of Cicero was placed in the widow's home library. This can be confirmed by the fact that, according to her home bookkeeping, she had her manuscripts rebound between the end of 1783 and August 1784 (record of extraordinary expanse between January 11 and August 1784: 22 forints, 72 kreutzers).[23] In January 1796, a lot of books were placed in the University Library of ELTE as part of the Zichy bequest, but this manuscript is not on the booklist.[24] The next trace is the possessor's seal of the historian and the head of the Museum Library, István Horvát. It seems that he somehow acquired this precious manuscript in spite of the fact that it was part of the Zichy family's bequest. After his death, the codex was placed in the National Library (today the National Széchényi Library) on April 29, 1852.[25]

The folios were mixed up from the verso of 30 supposedly during the process of rebinding or restoration (most likely before it was added to the National Library), when the folios were provided with printed folio numbers in

22 The catalogue is dated March 5, 1784 and kept today in the University Library of ELTE (Department of Manuscripts, J 100/3): *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae PP. Trinitariorum aboliti Conventus Vetero Budensis*. The chairmans of the committee responsible for the census of the books were Imre Laczkovics, vicecomes of Pest County and Imre Majthényi, the prefect of the estate of the Chamber of Óbuda.

23 Pálvölgyi, "Főúri és klerikális összefogás," 353–55.

24 University Library of ELTE, Department of Manuscripts, J 47/1: *Catalogus librorum, quos excellentissima ac illustrissima Domina Comitis. Nicolai Ziczy de Vasonkő vidua, nata Comitissa Berényi de Karáncs Berény Budae defuncta die 2 Januarii 1796. Regiae Scientiarum Universitati Hungaricae testamento legavit.*

25 Berlász, "Horvát István könyvtárának," 254–61.

the upper righthand corner. The correct order of the folio numbers is as follows: 30v (*Tusc. disp.* 1.94.12) + 41r–90v (*Tusc. disp.* 1.94.12–3.60) + 31r–40v (*Tusc. disp.* 3.60.5–4.8.6) + 91r–150v (*Tusc. disp.* 4.8.6–5.121.4). Here, the manuscript is interrupted and missing the last two sentences (until the *Tusc. disp.* 5.121.10) on the missing page.

1450–1468	The *Cod. lat. 150* was written in Florence
1464–1468	Báthory might have bought the codex
April 1475	Báthory was reading in Rákosmező
1776	Trinitarian convent in Kiscell (Óbuda)
1782–1784	The codex was no longer in the friary
April 29, 1852	National Library
July 1954	Restoration

Notes in the Cod. Lat. 150

As far as I have been able to determine, the notes in the Cicero-codex come from four hands. One of them could be Báthory's. Unfortunately, we do not have any official charter or letter with Báthory's *manu propria*. But comparing the notes of the Iamblichus edition owned by Báthory to the Cicero codex, it can be safely stated that the marginal annotations from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were written by the same hand. The notes are all the more interesting because of their character: they resemble a compilation of the Stoic thoughts about fortune's spin and apathy, or school notes taken for a later composition.

Four kinds of notes can be discerned in the Cicero codex which were written in black and red ink:

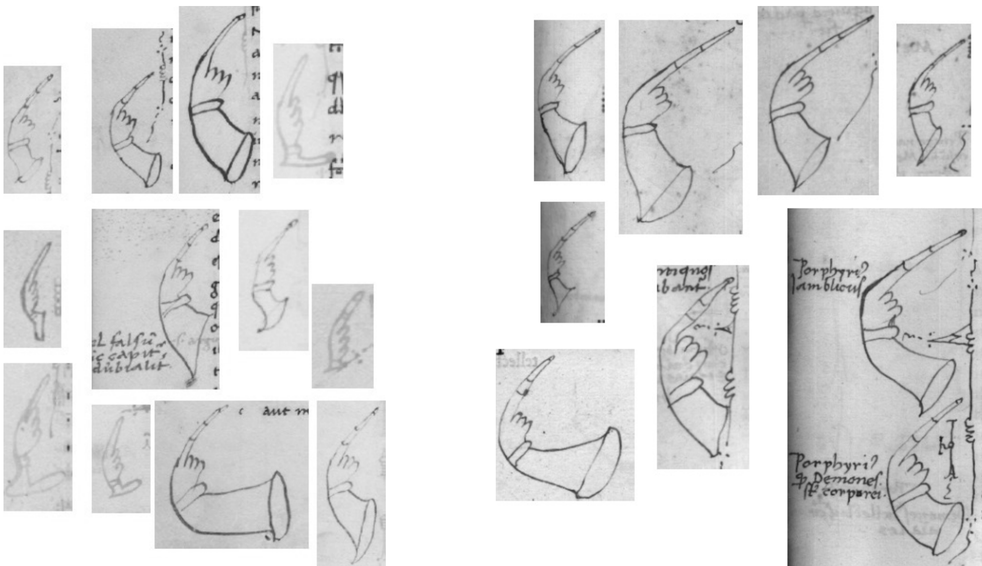
1) One type of *nota bene* entries: 14 black (ff. 28r, 31r, 33r, 52v, 53r, 81r, 82v, 83v, 99v, 100v, 119v, 125v, 127v, 128r), 6 red (ff. 31r, 35r, 94v, 134v, 139r, 146r).

2) Minimum three types of index fingers: 12 black (ff. 12r, 40r, 41r, 51v, 53v, 59v, 65v, 67r, 80v, 105v, 130v), 29 red (ff. 30r, 33v, 34v, 35r, 38r, 42v, 45v, 46r, 61v, 67r, 67v, 69v, 72v, 74v, 81r, 82v, 94v, 110r, 114r, 126v, 127r, 131v, 134v, 143v, 144v, 145r, 146r, 147v).

3) Minimum two types of simple *nota bene* entries: 11 black (30r, 30v, 50r, 51v, 53v, 54v, 59r, 68r, 81r, 91r, 121r), ca. 112 red.

4) Texts: a) the note only repeats the sentence or name(s) in the margin; b) the note details, improves, or adds something to the text.

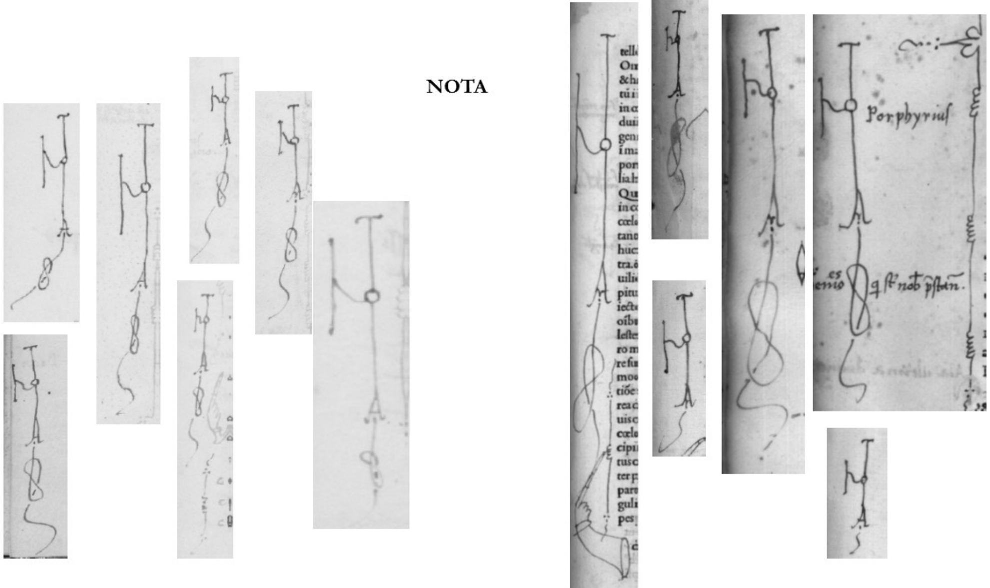
Báthory's Iamblichus edition contains the same 50 *nota bene* entries, 72 drawn index fingers, and many of the third type of "simple *nota bene*." This means that the two volumes were in the same person's possession at some time. Báthory's coat-of-arms proves that the Cicero-codex was in his possession, and the fact that the Iamblichus edition contains the same notes suggests that this book was also in his library. This assumption is strengthened by the places and types of the notes which may refer to his Platonic school foundation plans. I return to this in the last part of the paper.



Index fingers in *Cod. Lat. 150* Index fingers in *Ráth F 1493*

Each *nota bene* entry points to the topic of the Stoic's *apatheia* and capricious fortune in Cicero's text, according to which we must prepare ourselves for misfortunes in order to suffer them calmly.

28r (*Tusc. disp.* 1.86.15–1.87.2): The example of *fortuna Metelli*. Although everyone hopes to have Metellus's good fortune, in fact death liberates us all from pain and adversity.



Nota bene entries in *Cod. Lat. 150* and *Ráth F 1493*

52v–53r (*Tusc. disp.* 2.10.3–2.11.8): About the fear of dying and the metaphor of cultivated fields. Although there are too many false philosophers who lead disgraceful lives, true philosophy is a remedy which, by curing the soul, can drive away fears.

81r (*Tusc. disp.* 3.30.10–3.30.20): The *nota* draws attention to the interpretation of an example of Anaxagoras and a citation by a pseudo-Euripides: "Therefore, it does not admit of doubt that everything which is thought evil is more grievous if it comes unexpectedly. And so, though this is not the one cause of the greatest distress, yet as foresight and anticipation have considerable effect in lessening pain, a human being should ponder all the vicissitudes that fall to man's lot. And do not doubt that here is found the ideal of that wisdom which excels and is divine, namely in the thorough study and comprehension of human vicissitudes, in being astonished at nothing when it happens, and in thinking, before the event is come, that there is nothing which may not come to pass."[26]

26 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 263. "Ergo id quidem non dubium, quin omnia, quae mala putentur, sint improvisa graviora. Itaque quamquam non haec una res efficit maximam aegritudinem, tamen, quoniam multum potest provisio animi et praeparatio ad minuendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata. Et nimirum haec est illa praestans et divina sapientia et perceptas penitus et pertractatas res humanas habere, nihil admirari cum acciderit, nihil, ante quam evenerit, non evenire posse arbitrari."

82v (*Tusc. disp.* 3.34.7–3.34.19): Same as above: everyone should be prepared for everything. "For the man who reflects upon nature, upon the diversity of life and the weakness of humanity, is not saddened by reflecting upon these things, but in doing so he fulfils most completely the function of wisdom. For he gains doubly, in that by considering the vicissitudes of human life he has the enjoyment of the peculiar duty of philosophy, and in adversity he finds a threefold relief to aid his restoration; first because he has long since reflected on the possibility of mishap, and this is far the best method of lessening and weakening all vexation; secondly because he understands that the lot of man must be endured in the spirit of man; lastly because he sees that there is no evil but guilt, but that there is no guilt when the issue is one against which a man can give no guarantee."[27]

83v (*Tusc. disp.* 3.36.11–3.37.11): Reflections and critique of Epicurus's notion of "The Good" from the viewpoint of Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates. Virtue is self-sufficient for happiness and living a good life.

31r (*Tusc. disp.* 3.60.6–3.62.4): Cicero refers to Chrysippus on the enduring of human destiny and the reduction of grief.

33r (*Tusc. disp.* 3.68.3–3.69.1): Cicero quotes Euripides and compares grief to wisdom. Although there is no evil worse than the lack of wisdom, "there is no adapting the belief that it is right and regular and a matter of duty to feel distressed at not being wise."[28]

35r (*Tusc. disp.* 3.73.20–3.74.4): It is proper to Folly that it observes the faults of others and forgets its own. "Since it is agreed that distress is removed by long continuance, the chief proof is the fact that it is not the mere lapse of time that produces this effect, but continued reflection."[29]

99v (*Tusc. disp.* 4.37.6–4.38.5): "Therefore the man, whoever he is, whose soul is tranquillized by restraint and consistency and who is at peace with

27 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 267–69. "Neque enim qui rerum naturam, qui vitae varietatem, qui imbecillitatem generis humani cogitat, maeret, cum haec cogitat, sed tum vel maxime sapientiae fungitur munere. Utrumque enim consequitur, ut et considerandis rebus humanis proprio philosophiae fruatur officio et adversis casibus triplici consolatione sanetur: primum quod posse accidere diu cogitavit, quae cogitatio una maxime molestias omnes extenuat et diluit; deinde quod humana humane ferenda intellegit; postremo quod videt malum nullum esse nisi culpam, culpam autem nullam esse, cum id, quod ab homine non potuerit praestari, evenerit."

28 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 307. "Quid ita? quia huic generi malorum non adfingitur illa opinio, rectum esse et aequum et ad officium pertinere aegre ferre, quod sapiens non sis…"

29 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 313. "Sed nimirum hoc maximum est experimentum, cum constet aegritudinem vetustate tolli, hanc vim non esse in die positam, sed in cogitatione diuturna."

himself, so that he neither pines away in distress, nor is broken down by fear, nor consumed with a thirst of longing in pursuit of some ambition, nor maudlin in the exuberance of meaningless eagerness - he is the wise man of whom we are in quest, he is the happy man who can think no human occurrence insupportable to the point of dispiriting him, or unduly delightful to the point of rousing him to ecstasy. For what can seem of moment in human occurrences to a man who keeps all eternity before his eyes and knows the vastness of the universe? Nay, what either in human ambitions or in the short span of our brief life can seem of moment to the wise man whose soul is ever on the watch to prevent the occurrence of anything unforeseen, anything unexpected, anything whatever that is strange? Further he also directs so searching a glance in all directions with the constant aim of finding an assured retreat for a life free from vexation and worry, that, whatever reverse fortune may inflict, he shoulders his burden tranquilly: and he who shall do this will not only be free from distress but from all other disorders as well."[30]

119v (*Tusc. disp.* 5.15.14–5.16.10): One who is afraid of death, pain, poverty, ignominy, infamy, debility, blindness, and slavery is unhappy. And one who is inflamed and maddened by rabid desires and unsatisfiable yearnings is also utterly miserable.

125v (*Tusc. disp.* 5.36.2–5.36.14): Cicero quotes a part of Plato's *Menexenus* as a sacred and august fountain about the happy life which entirely depends on virtue.

127v (*Tusc. disp.* 5.42.11–5.43.9): About contempt for death through the example of the Spartans. The wise man is always happy because he is untinged with the two perturbations of the soul: grief and fear from imagined evils and inordinate joy and passionate desire.

128r (*Tusc. disp.* 5.45.1–5.45.7): That man who has everything (health, strength, beauty, wealth, honor etc.) he can, but is dishonest, intemperate,

30 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 367–69. "Ergo, hic, quisquis est qui moderatione et constantia quietus animo est sibique ipse placatus, ut nec tabescat molestiis nec frangatur timore nec sitienter quid expetens ardeat desiderio nec alacritate futili gestiens deliquescat, is est sapiens quem quaerimus, is est beatus, cui nihil humanarum rerum aut intolerabile ad demittendum animum aut nimis laetabile ad ecferendum videri potest. Quid enim videatur ei magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas omnis totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo? Nam quid aut in studiis humanis aut in tam exigua brevitate vitae magnum sapienti videri potest, qui semper animo sic excubat, ut ei nihil inprovisum accidere possit, nihil inopinatum, nihil omnino novum? Atque idem ita acrem in omnis partis aciem intendit, ut semper videat sedem sibi ac locum sine molestia atque angore vivendi, ut, quemcumque casum fortuna invexerit, hunc apte et quiete ferat. Quod qui faciet, non aegritudine solum vacabit, sed etiam perturbationibus reliquis omnibus."

cowardly, and dull can be called miserable, too. What good are these things if their owner can be the most miserable man?

139r (*Tusc. disp.* 5.81.3–5.82.1): The wise man does nothing against his own will, nothing of which he can repent.

146r (*Tusc. disp.* 5.105.7–5.105.14): As the final word of the owner of the notes: "What vexation therefore they escape who have no dealings with whatever with the people! For what is more delightful than leisure devoted to literature? That literature I mean which gives us the knowledge of the infinite greatness of nature and, in this actual world of ours, of the sky, the lands, the seas."[31]

Text Entries in the Cod. Lat. 150

Most of the text entries only put stress on the given text location which was important to the reader for some reasons. The following are some examples:

On f. 24r (*Tusc. disp.* 1.74.8), an interlinear note above the part of the text where Cicero mentions Cato and Socrates, who joyfully passed from the dark life into the light in their deaths: *corporis quod est carcer animi*. There is another interpretative note in the margin: *Tota philosophia est commentatio mortis* (philosophy is a preparation for death).

On f. 25v (*Tusc. disp.* 1.79.5), referring to the Stoic-Platonic Panaetius and the text according to which Plato is Homer of the philosophers ("Plato Homerus philosophorum" is written in the margin with red ink), the note shows the possessor's interest in the flaming Averroist disputes over the immortality of the souls at the turn of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The note "Opponitur contra immortalitatem animae" draws attention to Panaetius's arguments against the immortality of the soul. It is important to note that the reader, supposedly the same reader (probably Báthory himself), also pointed out this philosophical problem in the margin in Alcinous's work in the Iamblichus edition ([S8v]): "Demonstratio de immortalitate animi."

On f. 46v (*Tusc. disp.* 1.110–111), a citation from Juvenile's tenth satire (10.97: *sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti, ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?*) on the example of Diagoras of Rhodes, for which the text offers the following explanation: "Indeed he will even be ready to die in the midst of prosperity; for

31 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 531. "Quantis igitur molestiis vacant qui nihil omnino cum populo contrahunt! Quid est enim dulcius otio litterato? iis dico litteris, quibus infinitatem rerum atque naturae et in hoc ipso mundo caelum, terras, maria cognoscimus."

no accumulation of successes can afford so much delight as their diminution will cause annoyance.”

On f. 63v (*Tusc. disp.* 2.45.7), the “Et tu cautus Cicero noluisti terminare quousque honestum pro amico transgredi liceret” sentence can be found in the margin, which ironically comments on Cicero’s critical reflection on Epicurus’s thoughts about any intense pains which can be borne for the sake of honesty.

On f. 111r (*Tusc. disp.* 4.71), a citation from Ovid’s *Ars amatoria* (1.281–282: *Parcior in nobis nec tam furiosa libido: legitimum finem flamma virilis habet* [The desire in us is more moderate and not so furious: the virile flame has its legal limits]) on Cicero’s words about homosexuality: “Again, not to speak of the love of women, to which nature has granted wider tolerance, who has either any doubt of the meaning of the poets in the tale of the rape of Ganymede, or fails to understand the purport of Laius language and his desire in Euripides’ play?”[32]

On f. 146r (5.104), another quotation from Juvenile’s tenth satire (10.5–6), which is written in the margin by the part of the text about the condemnation of the tastes of the masses: *Quid tam dextro pede concipis ut te conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?*

Letter shapes

32 Cicero, *Tusculan*, 409. “Atque, ut muliebris amores omittam, quibus maiorem licentiam natura concessit, quis aut de Ganymedi raptu dubitat, quid poetae velint aut non intelligit, quid apud Euripidem et loquatur et cupiat Laius?”

Word Definitions and Greek Notes in the Cod. Lat. 150

On f. 4r (*Tusc. disp.* 1.10):
Above the question "traiectio Acherontis?" the word "traiectio" is rewritten as "transuectio" and explained in the margin on the righthand side of the page: "transuectio si esset referetur ad caron: transmissio autem et transitio semper refert ad fluuium et traiectio ut hic patere reperitur." The next question is a citation of a verse from an unidentified tragedy: "mento summam aquam attingens enectus siti Tantalus?" The word *enectus* is defined at the bottom of 4r: "Eneco enecas enecatum cum in supino inde enecatus semper illum significat vt inquit priscianus cesariensis qui maiori violencia vt puta ferro aut fune fuerit interfectus enectum uero dicimus aut siti aut veneno aut frigore confectum. et sic apud bene loquentes obseruatur."

The Greek notes were written by at least two hands. The original, most likely Italian scribe did not know the Greek alphabet and omitted spaces for the Greek words. Later, some of the readers tried to correct this deficiency and added the Greek words in some places in the text. Generally speaking, these not very skilled hands sometimes transcribed the Latin letter "Y" with the Greek "υ" and sometimes with the Greek "ι." In most cases, the readers only specified the Latin words with their Greek definitions or meanings. For example, on f. 93v–95v (*Tusc. disp.* 4.16–26), some Stoic concepts were defined with their original Greek version in the margin (*pigritia* as ὄκνοσ [sic!], *terror* as ἔκπληξι[ς], *molestia* as ἀνϋα [sic!]). There are no Greek notes in the Iamblichus edition at all.

Conclusions

To sum up, Miklós Báthory was a highly educated humanist and cultural patron who tried to found an academy-like school in Buda which would have been very progressive for its time and which would have channeled the Platonist movement to Hungary through the central figures of the Florentine intellectual circle. His efforts were unsuccessful, but later, he founded a so-called "gymnasium" in Vác. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about either of them. Now, the only palpable proof of his intellectual efforts is his surviving books listed above and Galeotto Marzio's anecdote about the suspicious and mocking attitude of the Hungarian political elite toward any intellectual endeavor.

Based on the same notes in the Iamblichus edition and the Cicero codex, we can conclude that the two books were owned by the same man for a while

time in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Because Báthory's coat-of-arms is painted on the f. 1r of *Cod. Lat. 150*, it can safely be assumed that at least some of the notes may have come from Báthory's hand.

Although there are no Greek notes in the Iamblichus volume, the Latin notes originate from one person. Therefore, the *nota bene* entries and drawn index fingers also were written by this hand, which also wrote at least some of the *nota bene* entries in the Cicero codex.

What little remains of Báthory's library perfectly harmonizes with his aspirations to found a Platonic school in Buda and later his gymnasium in Vác, which might also have been infiltrated by a kind of Platonist spirituality. Because of the scarcity of information, this remains a bold hypothesis. Nevertheless, why would he have given up his plans for a Platonist school after the death of King Matthias? Maybe it is just a coincidence, but at least three of the four books which we know where part of his library and his surviving notes offer support for this theory, and they suggest a noticeable pattern. Ficino might have intended his Iamblichus edition to be a schoolbook which included his twelve translations or rather excerpts of lesser known Platonist and some short Pythagorean works: for example Speusippus's *De Platonis definitionibus* or Proclus's commentary on Plato's *Alcibiades* or the short Pythagorean work entitled *Symbola*. Most of the notes are in Alcinous's Middle Platonist schoolbook on the basic Platonist concepts: *De doctrina Platonis* (Plato's doctrine). Báthory's 1496 *Commentaria in Platonem* by Ficino speaks for itself, because it is a commentary on Plato's complete works. Perhaps the odd one out is the second manuscript, that is Hilary's theological work against the Arian heresy. However, Hilary is not just an exception but also a borderline case. He was a Neoplatonist thinker who left his philosophical tradition for Christianity. Consequently, in this sense, he, as an ex-Platonist, may have been interesting to Báthory. Finally, the notes in the Cicero codex also suggest the owner's intention to collect a practical Stoic-Platonic florilegium which might have been used as a philosophical schoolbook.

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The Work Ethic in Humanist Biographies: The Case of Willem Canter

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This article is a case study of the work ethic as represented in biographies of humanists. It draws first and foremost on Melchior Adam's anthology of biographies of learned "German" men of 1615–1620. The analysis of some of the longer biographies reveals that Adam was more dependent on his sources than previous research supposed. Moreover, the stress on the education and diligence of the individuals in several of the biographies follows not from Adam's interests, but rather from the logic of humanist biographies, a primary function of which was to legitimate social rise, redefine social values according to meritocratic principles, and promote the Renaissance ideology of virtue. The *vita* of William Canter, which I analyze in considerable detail, illustrates how early modern biographies tended to construct the self on the basis of ancient and more recent clichés and to present ideal types. The work ethic represented by Canter's scholarly persona reveals that hard work in the Renaissance was intrinsically linked to disciplined time-management.

Keywords: Canter, Adam, the work ethic, Renaissance, biography

The memory of the great Dutch humanist Willem Canter (Gulielmus Canterus) (1542–1575) has been preserved primarily in his numerous philological publications, which were the products of a short but assiduous life. Canter authored innumerable editions and translations, primarily of works by Greek authors, including for instance translations of all the dramas of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus into Latin. His attitude to text edition and the use of critical apparatus was exemplary in terms of sixteenth-century scholarship. In fact, Canter not only published several first-rate Greek poets and prose writers, relying on as many manuscripts as the Republic of Letters could provide him, but was also the author of a practical handbook on the *ars corrigendi* of Greek texts, which was a great deal more useful than either of the other two that appeared in the sixteenth century.[1] It was a practical guide which offered a wealth of examples of the ways in which Greek texts, from single letters

1 Guglielmus Canterus, "De ratione emendandi Graecos auctores syntagma," attached as an appendix to the third edition of his "Novae lectiones": Canterus, *Novarum lectionum*. See Almási and Kiss, "In search of Sambucus," 114–15.

to whole words, were usually corrupted by scribes. Since most of his letters were lost, everything we know of his life comes from a single source, Melchior Adam's biographical anthology from 1615. Adam's detailed biography presents Canter as a scholar-monk who shunned human company, parties, and women and who dedicated most of his time to philological studies. This article will focus on this particular biography and will attempt to understand its relation to Adam's biographical anthology, explain its constructed nature, and fit it into the humanist biographical tradition as an illustration of the importance of the work ethic to the humanist ethos.

Melchior Adam's Biographies of Learned Men

Melchior Adam (1575–1622) was not simply an archetypal figure of German *Späthumanismus*. He was one of its crowning figures. Most importantly, Adam is known because of his huge anthology of the biographies of 546 German intellectuals living in the long sixteenth century (c. 1480–1620). His lives preserved the memory of a cultural epoch (Renaissance humanism) which in the 1610s was rapidly waning.[2] In certain ways, it was a pioneering work in the biographical tradition and a substantial contribution to posterity's image of late flourishing of classical learning within a thriving Republic of Letters in Central Europe. Yet it was not only a monument to the Republic of Letters and a strong expression of its virtue and communal spirit, but also a study on the uses of culture and learning in general. In Adam's own words, his goal was to promulgate the glory of great men, provide examples of virtue and learning, and extoll his fatherland.[3] He divided his work into five volumes according to the academic faculties: the vitae of "philosophers" (i.e. humanists) appeared first in 1615 and was followed by volumes on physicians, theologians, and jurists-politicians in 1620.[4] While most of the biographies are only a few pages long, in a number of

2 I am referring to Erich Trunz's research, for instance his "Der deutsche Späthumanismus." Trunz inspired several others, see Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien*, and Fleischer's *The Harvest of Humanism*, which contains the first modern article about Adam by Weiss, "The Harvest of German Humanism." On Adam's *Vitae*, see also Seidel, "Melchior Adams *Vitae*," idem, "Die Paracelsus-Biographie," idem, "Melchior Adam"; Werle, "Melchior Adams Gelehrtenbiographien"; Beims, "Von den Grenzen einer frühneuzeitlichen Biographie." I would like to thank Robert Seidel for sending me his articles on Adam.

3 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*,):(3r. Although Germany has always been considered his fatherland, on the next page Adam names Silesia as his *dulcissima patria*.

4 The lives were mostly organized chronologically according to the date of the deaths of the individuals. The volumes appeared contemporaneously in Heidelberg and Frankfurt. Note that in 1618, a volume

cases we have lengthy and nuanced reconstructions rich with vivid detail, which add real value to Adam's work.[5]

Overall, Adam's collective bibliographies represented a new direction in history writing, even if he drew on certain classical and Renaissance precedents.[6] He opened the dedication of the volume on theologians with the claim that histories on the lives of individuals offer as much entertainment and knowledge of the past as do universal, ecclesiastical, or political histories. He recognized that the art of biography writing went back to Old Testament times and indeed that the Gospels themselves fell into the category of biography.[7] The several Christian forerunners mentioned in the preface include Isidore of Seville and Gennadius of Massilia, followed by Philo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laërtius, and other minor Greek authors. Curiously, Latin writers, most importantly Suetonius, and Renaissance forerunners, are missing. Adam's attention shifts instead from Greek authors to learned rulers, mentioning, for example, Matthias Corvinus just before Cyrus. Adam uses this rather sketchy and superficial historical overview of the genre of the biography only to make the claim that he has been following a long tradition. He started collecting documents concerning the lives of some German men, a job he felt he had to do as a duty to the "common fatherland," simply by drawing on the example of authors from antiquity.[8] Yet his heroes are not the usual *viri illustri*, distinguished by wealth, success, or political-military achievements. At most, they vaguely resemble the "philosophers" described by Diogenes Laërtius, but they are neither necessarily famous nor successful: "a few years ago, I started collecting here and there some men born in our Germany

on non-German theologians was also published. Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*; idem, *Decades* duae; idem, Vitae *Germanorum medicorum*; idem, *Vitae Germanorum iureconsultorum et politicorum*; idem, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*. See their digital edition on https://www2.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/adam.html#werk (accessed on September 9, 2019).

5 See note 34.

6 On the latter, see most importantly Weiss, *Humanist Biography*, and Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen*.

7 Cf. with Weber Votaw, "The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies"; Dihle, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie*; idem, "The Gospels and Greek Biography"; Keener, *Christobiography*, which also provides an overview of the genre of the in antiquity.

8 In reality, Adam was probably more influenced by his immediate forerunners, like the *Icones* by Nicolaus Reusner or Johannes Sambucus (who both published collective portrait albums accompanied by poems), Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, and Heinrich Pantaleon's three-volume *Prosopographiae heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae* (1565–1566), as pointed out by Seidel, "Melchior Adams *Vitae*," 186–88. The most immediate influence, however, could have been Aubertus Miraeus's *Elogia Belgica*, see notes 55–57.

commended either by their great learning or their merits in the Church of God or in the Christian Republic, joining them together in a single corpus [of lives].”[9]

Although we have no comprehensive study of the methods on which Adam based his selection, his irenic stance has justly been underlined.[10] One of the factors which was certainly highly important for him was the supra-confessional character of his selection. When picking the men to be included (there is only a single woman), he allegedly considered only their “proven virtues” and “orthodox religion.”[11] In other words, through his selection of men of different religious groups, Adam was offering a new definition of orthodoxy which was certainly anti-papal and gravitated towards Philippism, but which was not reduced to any confessional group. Overall, he promoted an Erasmian *via media*, believing principally in good morals and learning as the true foundations of religious life. Equally important, however, was another, more secular message of Adam’s *Vitae*, which concerned the significance of virtue and erudition; his main criteria of glory (i.e. inclusion) were the individuals’ education, learning, and virtuous life. In this sense, his *viri illustri* constituted a peculiar, meritocratic society of learned men, in which one found one’s place not because of descent, authority, or on the battlefield deeds, but solely due to one’s own efforts and labors, which were done in the interest of the common good, i.e. the growth of learning and general welfare. This was true even of the volume of “politicians” and “jurists,” who were typically people with some legal education, some of whom had had careers in politics.

The principal questions addressed in the earlier scholarship concerned Adam’s credibility and methods. How reliable are his biographies as historical sources? How did he work?[12] In attempting to offer an answer to these questions, Robert Seidel contrasted Adam’s professed aim to stay close to his sources and provide a balanced assessment based on multiple historical documents with his apparently uncritical and incoherent working method. Although Adam presented himself as a simple compiler and affirmed that “nothing is mine here and nothing is meant to be mine, except for collecting, ordering, and some stylistic polishing,” he also acknowledged the problem of the scarcity and reliability of his sources and their general tendency, as a response to the expectation of his

9 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*,):(4^r.

10 Most importantly by Weiss, “The Harvest.”

11 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*,):(4^r.

12 See Seidel, “Melchior Adams *Vitae*”; Werle, “Melchior Adams Gelehrtenbiographien”; and Beims, “Von den Grenzen.”

times, to eulogize.[13] To be sure, he worked diligently on his magnum opus, and he attempted to collect and read all relevant sources available to him, which were many in number, since he had access to the Bibliotheca Palatina.[14] Still, he obviously did not always live up to his own scholarly expectations, and he often relied on a single source, copying it uncritically.[15] Moreover, it appears that he was neither able nor wanted to work against the panegyric traditions of his age. After all, his major goal was not historical truthfulness but moral instruction. Consequently, several of his intellectual heroes were meant to be ideal types and paragons of different virtues and scholarly careers.

Adam's Method and Ideals

Adam's apparently fuzzy methodology warrants much caution. To what degree can we use his biographies as sources on the lives of Renaissance learned men? To what extent should we attribute the values and visions expressed in them to Adam himself? In trying to provide a more precise answer to these questions than anything found in the earlier secondary literature, I offer analyses of passages from a few of the longer biographies.

Our general knowledge of Adam's life is probably more splotchy and vague than the general picture provided by an average biography in his *Vitae*. We do not even know his exact date of birth (traditionally dated to 1575).[16] Adam came from a town in Silesia, Grodków (Grotkau, close to Wrocław/Breslau), and he studied for eight years in the grammar school of the neighboring town of Brzeg (Brieg), where he obtained the patronage of a local nobleman, which suggests that his parents could not support his continued study. He enrolled in the university in Heidelberg in 1598, and he received his M.A. two years later and then also studied some theology. Remaining in Heidelberg for the rest of his life, Adam found employment as a teacher in the city gymnasium, and from 1613 until his death in 1622, he held the office of rector. Writing biographies, thus, was his late-night hobby, not his job. He clearly had to work hard in order to write 546 bio-bibliographies in roughly five years while also attending to his teaching duties; in fact, in diligence, Adam approached even the greatest of his

13 Ibid., 193, and Adam, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*,):(7^{r}.

14 See also Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*,):(2^{v}–4^{v}.

15 Seidel, "Melchior Adams *Vitae*," 191–201.

16 See Flood, *Poets Laureate*, 20.

heroes. One hundred years later, his own biographer and critic Johann Gottlieb Krause offered the following recollection:

> although the constitution of his body was weaker and his health was highly infirm throughout his life, he nevertheless never slept more than five or six hours, and he could spend whole nights or the breaks for eating sitting [at his desk] and copying texts useful to his work.[17]

Adam's interest in education and pedagogy seems to find expression in many of the biographies, which often put particular stress on the family backgrounds and education of the individuals on whom they focus. Moreover, many of his *viri illustri* worked, as he did, as teachers and pedagogues (at least for part of their lives). Yet, the question remains of the extent to which Adam used the biographies to express his own ideas about education.

In one of the longer lives included into the volume of "philosophers" on the humanist and theologian Johannes Rivius (1500–1553), the text dedicates a colorful description to the pedagogical methods of Rivius's teacher, Tilemannus Mylius, who practiced as a private teacher in Rivius's hometown, Attendorn. We find in Mylius, who is totally unknown to modern research, an extremely dedicated teacher who espoused the most advanced humanistic concepts about education, which would put even present-day teachers to the test. Rivius's master divided the day into periods for study, relaxation, gymnastics, and play, leaving no time for unruly behavior. He accommodated himself to childish playfulness in order not to make teaching annoying because of pedagogical rigor or the manners of an old man. He opened up his little garden for spiritual delights, and he turned the burden of learning into a charm. Leaving behind his *personae* as a theologian and an old man, he became a child again through playful learning.[18] No surprise that Rivius, who later also became a teacher in Annaberg, had similarly advanced pedagogical methods. He used modern books and a differentiated approach to his pupils. He taught the basics of Latin grammar in the vernacular, and he devoted particular attention to students who were struggling, not rigidly specifying the

17 "Ob er gleich von schwacher Leibes-Constitution und die gantze Lebens-Zeit über sehr kränklich gewesen, so hat er doch niemals über 5. oder 6. Stunden geschlaffen, auch wohl die gantze Nacht durch, oder die Tisch-Zeit über gesessen und dasjenige abgeschrieben, was zu seinem Vorhaben gedienet." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. Krause, "Von Melchioris Adami Vitis Eruditorum," 88.

18 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 149.

number of months or years needed for the study of a particular author, but adapting to the needs of the students, according to their talents and age.[19]

Unfortunately, this knowledge of Rivius's alleged enthusiastic interest in modern pedagogy comes not from Adam, but from another humanist educator, Georgius Fabricius (1516–71), who was Adam's only source. Adam acknowledges Fabricius's authorship only at the very end of the text, which is an exact copy of Fabricius's work.[20] Unlike Heinrich Pantaleon, who included only a short summary of Fabricius's biography in his *Prosopographiae heroum atque illustrium virorum*, Adam loved his source so much that he quoted it word by word in its entirety.[21]

Another lengthy biography in the same volume is on one of the greatest educators of the century, the Silesian Valentin Trozendorf (1490–1556).[22] Trozendorf, Adam emphasizes, came from a family of peasants, and his father was a superstitious man who frequented the local monks, who discovered Valentin's talents. Despite paternal resentment, Valentin could thus leave his original environment and later study Latin and Greek with the greatest masters. Before moving to the University of Wittenberg, he was a teacher at the grammar school of Gorlice (Görlitz). He was so bright that he stood out among the teachers, to whom he was explaining nothing else but the bible of Renaissance educational thought, Plutarch's *The Education of Children.* Eventually, Trozendorf, who was apparently destined to be a teacher, found employment at the gymnasium of Złotoryja (Goldberg), and he famously transformed the school into a flourishing institution. At this point, Adam's biography turns into a history of Trozendorf's educational methods, and it explains in detail the famous Goldberg school order which he invented. His school was modelled on the Roman republic, and it used both seniority and democracy as organizational principles. Pupils competed with one another. In questions of discipline, they had to listen to their peers, who were their regularly reelected superiors.

Was the reason for including this long digression on Trozendorf' pedagogy the influence he had in Silesia and, in particular, on Adam's educational practice? It is difficult to tell. In any case, Adam must have been aware of the significance of Trozendorf in the creation of a strong grammar school tradition in Silesia,

19 Ibid., 152.

20 It appeared in the front of Rivius's *Opera theologica omnia*: Rivius, *De vera et salutari Ecclesiae doctrina*.

21 Pantaleon's book appeared just a year after Fabricius's biography with the same publisher, Oporinus.

22 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 167–76. On Trozendorf, see Bauch, *Valentin* Trozendorf; Lubos, *Valentin Trozendorf*; Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen*, 100–29.

which was instrumental in the emergence of a collective identity of Silesian intellectuals.[23] Nevertheless, we might suspect that, in Trozendorf's case, Adam's biography again was determined by the sources available to him.[24]

Silesian humanist Joachim Cureus (1532–1573) was a student of Trozendorf. His life is told in the volume on doctors in another uniquely long narrative.[25] Here again, we have a long introduction on Cureus's education with a wealth of details concerning his father's legendary learning, despite the fact that he became a baker. Concerning the way Cureus, who was already a mature student, eventually became a doctor, we are told that "order" is an essential requirement in life, especially in studies. Cureus managed to acquire medical knowledge so quickly only because of his orderly method of studying. He always fixed clear goals and he restricted himself to precise areas of knowledge.[26] Once again, the reader might think these ideas are the fruit of Adam's teaching experience, but actually they harmonize with what Cureus says in the long preface and introduction to his book on physics.[27] However, Cureus's preface was not Adam's source; at the most, it was the source used by Johannes Ferinarius (1534–1602), another pedagogue, who published a detailed biography of Cureus in 1601.[28] Adam only abridged Ferinarius's *vita*, referring to it only at the very end of his text. All he did was to cut out entire paragraphs and add italics to some of the sentences he found especially relevant.

Another exceptionally long biography, this one on the life of the famous poet Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), was likewise motivated by the existence of a single biographical source, which Adam obviously highly valued: Joachim Camerarius's *Narratio de Helio Eobano Hesso* (1553). As the thorough analysis by Klaus-Dieter Beims has recently shown, Adam again relied heavily and uncritically on his main source (which was far too lengthy to be taken over entirely), even if he also used Hessus's letters (in Camerarius's edition), adding some further details to the narrative.[29]

23 See Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen*.

24 I have not been able to identify Adam's sources. The funeral oration by Adam Cureus on Valentin Trozendorf, once held in the University Library of Wrocław, was unfortunately among the documents which perished during World War II because of bombings.

25 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum medicorum*, 197–216.

26 Ibid., 201, 203.

27 Cureus, *Physica sive de sensibus et sensibilibus*.

28 Ferinarius, *Narratio historica*.

29 Beims, "Von den Grenzen einer frühneuzeitlichen Biographie."

This short investigation into the longer biographies suggests that we should be very careful not to jump to conclusions about Adam's own ideas or contributions. One gets the impression that Adam published longer biographies when he had access to existing biographies or other longer narratives which he found interesting and useful for his presentations of exemplary cases of lives. The accent on learning, education, and diligence was not necessarily an aspect of Adam's pedagogical career and interests but a natural attribute of the genre. After all, Adam's intention, presumably, was to memorialize people who stood out with their learning and intelligence.

It is ultimately this stress on education and diligence which appears to be one of the important distinguishing features of Renaissance biographies of learned men. This seems to be particularly true to Adam's work: whether his heroes came from poor, modest, or "honestly" prosperous families, their advancement in life was due entirely to their efforts, their education and learning, and their investment in studies, which sometimes enjoyed the support of their parents and patrons and sometimes did not. The question of how some learned men used their talents and rose above their peers to live lives of learning, cultivation, and rational thought seems to be the central issue behind Adam's monumental enterprise. The stress on the modest origins of many of the heroes and their talents and diligence fit the Renaissance ideology of virtue and the optimistic message about education turning potentially everyone into the architect of his own fortune.[30] In fact, for Adam, poor family origins were no cause for embarrassment. Where, for example, Camerarius asserted that Eobanus Hessus had been "born of parents who were not particularly wealthy but were famous above all else for their honesty, integrity and modesty," Adam simply states that, "although he had poor parents; they made sure to provide their sons a liberal education."[31] Likewise (just to mention another example), Adam asserts that both of Conrad Gesner's parents were poor, but were nevertheless known for their honesty and integrity. He adds later that Gesner "was not ashamed to learn the names of plants from peasants, or even frequently from petty women […]. Peasants often have experience in all kinds of things, handed down from generation to generation."[32] Like many of his heroes, Adam came from a low

30 Cf. with Beims, idem; Almási, "Educating the Christian prince."

31 Camerarius, *Narratio de Helio Eobano Hesso*, 8; Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 105. Poverty, however is a key motive also in Camerarius's text. See Beims, "Von den Grenzen einer frühneuzeitlichen Biographie," 389, 423.

32 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum medicorum*, 153.

social position, but thanks to his learning, he ascended. He came from a tiny town in Silesia and finished his life as a family man and rector of the Heidelberg city school.[33]

The Biography of Willem Canter (1542–1575)

The person who shines out with his diligence even among the diligent is the Dutch humanist Willem Canter. Once again, Adam provides an exceptionally long biography (the second longest in his work), full of juicy anecdotal details which render it especially vivid.[34] We may rightly suspect again that Adam had access to a particular source, written by a person who knew Canter and undertook more profound research, informing the reader even about the exact hour of his birth and death. In fact, this person was Suffridus Petrus (1527–97), historian of Friesland, to whom Adam refers as his source at the very end of the text.[35] Adam took over Canter's life from Petrus's *De scriptoribus Frisiae* (1593), adding nothing to it, but cutting certain pages and paragraphs entirely (concerning mostly family and local history), which hardly changed the message of the original, but which did make it more focused.[36] Petrus knew Canter personally, and he admired him, but he was not one of his close contacts. He probably had some biographical

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33 A surviving poem testifies to his wedding, see Flood, *Poets Laureate*, 20.

34 This biography is 17 pages long. Cf. with the longer lives of "philosophers" and "doctors": Conrad Gesner had 26, Justus Lipsius 16, Johannes Crato 16, Kaspar Peucer 15, Martin Crusius 14, Johannes Rivius 13, Philip Melanchthon 13, Eobanus Hessus 13, Joachim Camerarius Jr. 13, Nicodemus Frischlin 12, Christophorus Longolius 12, Leonhard Fuchs 11, Jakob Schegk 11, Joachim Cureus 10, Paracelsus 10, Johannes Vischer 10, Valentin Trotzendorf 9, Wolfgang Meurer 9, Joachim Camerarius Sr. 8 pages.

35 Petrus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae*, 111–54. In the second edition (Franequerae: Jacobus Horreus, 1599), it is on pp. 189–260.

36 Adam cut the first few pages, which give a genealogy of the Canter family, mentioning also Erasmus's reference to this famous family. (This part also serves to justify why Petrus inserted Canter's biography in his edition on Frisian authors. Although he was born in Utrecht, the family also had Frisian branches. Coming from Leeuwarden, the grandfather had settled in Groningen, but Canter continued to have family possessions in Leeuwarden.) Adam then cut a mistaken reference to the library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, of which Canter had once talked to Petrus, although he could not recall exactly what (p. 121). Next, a paragraph is cut on the dilemma of where to live in Leuven after his return (p. 122). Adam cut some parenthetical praise of Canter on p. 133. Pages 140–8 are cut entirely, as they do not fit. In relation to Canter's aim to move back to Frisia, this is where Petrus engages in local history, presenting the city of Leeuwarden and his hopes concerning Canter's arrival (which he hoped to boost in academic life in the city) and the potential foundation of a university. Cutting parts of pp. 150–1 (mentioned in the main text), Adam finally shortens Canter's bibliography (attached to the biography) in an unfortunate manner. Here we also have another reference to the relationship between Canter and Petrus, who in Leuven received Canter's notes, which were meant to be a contribution to Josias Simler's *Bibliotheca*.

sources on which he relied, but he also apparently based his work on the accounts of other eyewitnesses and on his own research.[37]

In Adam's edition, Canter's biography starts with an anecdote concerning the first year of his life which confirms Canter's predisposition to learning, making it obvious to everyone from the very beginning. Allegedly, he took great delight in books while still in the arms of his nurse, and when he burst into tears, the only way to console him was to allow him to touch and turn the pages of books.[38] His father, who was a schoolmaster, did everything to "cultivate this fertile ground" and not let Willem be spoiled by "womanly indulgence" by postponing his education until the age of seven, as commoners did.[39] Although this suggests that Canter was educated by women at home, Adam confirms that the father started actively occupying himself with the child while he was still in the cradle, providing him learning and discipline: *doctrinam disciplinamque*. Eventually, he sent his son to the Utrecht public school just before Canter turned six (precisely after Easter in 1548), which was not a particularly early age for schooling in the sixteenth century and does not really confirm the notion of the father's preoccupation with womanly corruption. At the Utrecht gymnasium, where Canter was taught by Georgius Macropedius, one of the best pedagogues and playwrights of the age, he progressed rapidly, and by the age of twelve he had learned Latin and Greek. His parents sent him to the University of Louvain, where he was tutored and looked after by another outstanding scholar, Cornelius Valerius, and where he lived in the house of a jurist for four years and then shortly in the Collegium Trilingue, learning here the basics of philological emendations.[40] In both places, Canter had excellent peers, whose work animated

37 At the end of his biography, he lists the names of those who wrote funerary elegies on the death of Canter. He claims he would have preferred to add them to the bibliography, had he had the means to publish it independently. But since he had not had the means, he inserted Canter's life in his book on Frisian authors. This might also suggest that the manuscript elegies had been accompanied by a biography, which Petrus elaborated.

38 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 272. The author mentions Pindar, Plato, Vergil, and even Saint Athanasius of Alexandria as authors who themselves mentioned similar cases of a child showing early signs of great talent. Athanasius was one of the authors studied by Canter in his *Variae lectiones*.

39 Ibid., 272.

40 Since Canter studied for roughly four years in Leuven, it seems difficult to fit his short stay in the prestigious Collegium Trilingue here. This was probably invented because of the prestige of the institute and Canter's later expertise in ancient languages. On the other hand, in a letter written by Cornelius Valerius after Canter's death to Hugo Blotius, we are told that once he lived together with Canter, sharing even the same bedroom. This could have taken place after Canter's return to Leuven, but probably it was during his years of study. "Cum litterae tuae mihi redderetur, iam agebat animam vir utriusque linguae doctissimus atque optimus artibus ornatissimus, olim mihi carissimus discipulus domestica atque adeo, si ita loqui

mutual rivalry, while rivalry served as a motivation for study. This was all due to the special teaching method of Valerius, whose lectures, had they been printed, could be usefully read anywhere, although they could not be fully appreciated if one were unable to listen to his energetic and powerful voice. Valerius recognized Canter's talents and industry, and he realized that he would never regret praising him publicly and privately. Canter was still 16 when, in 1559, he traveled to study in Paris, where he remained until August 1562. France was followed by a tour in Germany and Italy, though Canter traveled not as a tourist, but rather in order to collect ancient Greek manuscripts. Canter, we are told, also lived in Basel, where he published his first works. He then settled and lived in Leuven for eight years.

It is convenient to interrupt our presentation of Canter's life at this point and call attention to the first signs of the constructed nature of Petrus's biography. On the one hand, the anecdote about the baby consoled by books does not appear to be Petrus's invention. Otherwise, he would not have called attention to the tradition of this topos in the literature of antiquity. Like in hagiographies, in which infant saints were often recognized as having a religious calling, humanist biographies often pointed out some early signs of a life of learning to come. Although these anecdotes served to enhance the credibility of the narrative, they were in fact topical. On the other hand, some details concerning Canter's education appear to fall back on Erasmus's *De pueris instituendis*. In this famous book, Erasmus actually points out the "Frisian Canter family" as a unique example of good education in the family, which naturally did not go unnoticed by the Frisian nationalist Petrus, who was very interested in questions of education.[41] He alluded to this in the first pages of his biography, which Adam omitted as they concerned the history of the Canter family.[42] It was probably this Erasmian reference to the advanced educational methods of the Canter family that justified Petrus's borrowing from the *De pueris instituendis*. His claim that baby Willem was only consoled by books could easily go back to an anecdote of a little boy mentioned by Erasmus.[43] Petrus's affirmation that, at an early stage, Willem was taken out of an environment in which women were prominent and was looked

liceat, cubiculari consuetudine coniunctissimus Gulielmus Canterus, ac triduo fere post de hac vita ad superos migravit cuius excessus mihi tristissimus accidit." Dated May 27, 1575, Leuven. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 9737z14–8 II f. 68. (This means that Valerius, who received Blotius's letter on May 13, dates the death of Canter to May 16, although it happened on May 18.)

41 See his emended and annotated edition and translation of Plutarch's *The Education of Children* (Plutarchus, *Opusculum de Educandis Liberis*), published in Basel, where Canter would soon also appear.

42 Petrus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae*, 112; Erasmus, "De pueris instituendis," 52.

43 Erasmus, "De pueris instituendis," 67.

after personally by his father is very much in line with what Erasmus advises prospective parents to do in his book. Likewise, the accent on the beneficial role of rivalry and the role of emulation in Canter's education also appears to reflect Erasmus's educational advice.

The presentation of Willem Canter's education and study tours (which remain a draft only) is followed by a caesura in the biography, indicated by Canter's eventual decisions to settle in Leuven. Some years, spent probably mostly in Basel, are silently passed over, and we are told that the further (or the last) eight years of Canter's life took place in Leuven.[44] The major part of the biography is dedicated to these uneventful years. It gives a lengthy account of Adam's everyday life and daily routine of disciplined work and it is expressive of an unconcealed admiration for Canter's ascetic and asexual mind. As we learn, upon his return to Leuven, Canter decided to live in rooms rented from honest landlords. Petrus was apparently embarrassed by this choice of lifestyle, so he underlines that Canter lived independently from his hosts, and he rented both a room and the servants. This was convenient, he argues, as Canter had all the advantages of the maids' services but had no responsibility over human resources. The servants' duties included doing Canter's daily shopping. Once a week, they received a list of the food he wanted each day, and they had to give an account of each individual expense weekly. This way, Canter prescribed for himself a diet that was entirely in harmony with both his constitution and his studies. It was neither lowly nor luxurious; it only served to keep him in good health. "He wanted to eat in order to live, and not as many people do, to live in order to eat."[45]

Canter woke up in the morning at 7 o'clock (this was relatively late, as scholars usually woke up between 4 and 5 a.m.[46]), as he claimed that early morning study was not for him. He worked until half past ten, when he would stop for an hour, go for a walk in the garden, or, if the weather was bad, somewhere else, contemplating the reading he had done and building an appetite for lunch.[47]

44 There are two surviving letters by Canter dated from Frankfurt, where Canter went because of the book fairs: to Marc-Antoine Muret from the autumn fair of 1564 (Muretus, *Epistolae*, 78–79); to Joachim Camerarius from the autumn fair of 1567 (Freytag, *Virorum doctorum epistolae*, 71–73).

45 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 276. Cf. with Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio*, 1:18, where the original sentence ("esse oportet ut vivas non vivere ut edas") is quoted, which goes back to *Auctor ad Herennium* 4.28.39. But see also Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* 9.3.85 and Gellius 19.2.7, who ascribes the maxim to Socrates.

46 See Engammare, *On Time, Punctuality, and Discipline*, passim, and the very informative notes on the daily routines of scholars by Peter Stotz in Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio*, 2:54–61.

47 See how Socrates got an appetite for lunch by walking, narrated in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Deipnosophists*, 4.46. Compare with Bullinger's advice (where Socrates is similarly mentioned) in Bullinger,

Meanwhile, the servants set the table. After lunch, he either continued with a light walk or had a chat with likeminded men. He then finally lay down on a settee in his study and slept for an hour. Refreshed, he went back to his studies and usually used the afternoon for writing[48] until the sun set in the winter or until seven o'clock in the summer. He then took another walk, but in order to avoid wasting time, he used these late afternoon walks to tend to his affairs. Back at home, he worked until midnight, using "the remaining, or less useful hours" (*horas supervacuas et minus utiles*), as he "used to call" them:

> He generally used these hours for extraordinary things. If there were something to investigate, compare, discuss, annotate in order to resolve the tasks of the following day; if he had to do something unexpectedly in addition to his daily tasks, for instance respond to letters he had received or satisfy friends who had asked some favor, or something similar, whatever it was, he assigned them all the same to these hours. When he finished these tasks, he made an account of the day for himself, and once he had diligently calculated [what he had done], he went to bed, saying long prayers and commending himself to almighty God. Of each of his activities he kept a strict account with an hourglass to the point that he set the precise amount of time [to be spent on them], to let not even nature itself put him under pressure in other ways than he himself prescribed.[49]

At this point, we are finally able to define one of the sources on which Petrus drew. A few pages later, he even names it, referring to Canter's preface in an edition and translation of Stobaeus's *Physics*. Canter remembers that the emendation of the corrupt Greek manuscript, which even lacked punctuation marks, demanded much more labor than its translation into Latin, which he performed in a few months, during the "the remaining, or less useful hours"

Studiorum ratio, 1:18.

48 This we learn only later on, see Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 280.

49 "His enim nihil ordinarium agere consueverat: sed si quid vel ad postridiani pensi absolutionem investigandum, conferendum, discutiendum, adnotandum esset, vel si quid extra diurnum pensum de improviso obiectum fuisset, puta si litteris acceptis respondendum, si petitionibus amicorum gratificandum, si quid huius generis aliud agendum esset, id quicquid esset, in has horas simul coniciebat, quo absoluto exacti diei rationes a se ipse reposcebat, iisque diligenter ad calculum revocatis fusisque precibus lectum petens, Deo optimo maximo se commendabat. Omnes autem actiones suas tam stricte ad clepsammidium reuocaverat, adeoque certis ac statutis temporum intertvallis alligarat, ut ne ipsa quidem natura aliis, quam sibi destinatis necessitatem suam flagitaret." Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 276.

(*horis aliquot supervacuis ac minus utilibus*), in altogether not more than 136 hours, if he were asked to give a precise account, *si res ad calculum vocetur*.[50]

Apparently, disciplining the mind and disciplining the body were two sides of the same coin. Having specified Canter's disciplined use of time, Petrus goes on to give further detail on his diet. Canter, we are told, had only one proper meal a day. If he were hungry in the evening, which was rarely the case, he dipped some bread into wine. When people wondered about this strange habit, he responded that it was the result of deliberate and gradual experimentation, and one meal was just what his body needed, as "nature is satisfied with little."[51] This asceticism also implied that Canter could not accept invitations and never invited guests in order not to be bothered in his eating habits. Furthermore, he also fasted twice a year for health reasons. No wonder that Canter, as someone who was so frugal with time, was not very social and could rarely find time for friends.[52] Like his father and grandfather, he had very few of them. He also completely avoided women and was embarrassed by obscenities.

The Construction of an Ideal Type: Canter, the Paragon of Hard Work

As we have seen, Canter is described by Petrus on the basis of the few facts Petrus actually knew about his life as a secular hermit and a paragon of the philosophical life. His biography was that of an ideal humanist, an extremely hardworking, learned, and civilized person who was raised and who lived in accordance with Erasmian principles. The animal that lives in every human being was in Canter completely under control: he was fully rational and disciplined. Soon before dying, he decided to move from Leuven to the north of Holland, but his decision was not prompted by emotional considerations. He simply wanted to reduce his expenses by living in a cheaper place and making greater profits off of his estates by being closer to them.[53] Although his daily routine was apparently still influenced by the practices characteristic of the Christian monk, his life was that of an urban intellectual, a new version of the monk, who was singularly responsible for all his deeds to no one else but God. We are

50 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 282. Canter received the manuscript of this book from the library of the Hungarian humanist Johannes Sambucus. Cf. Almási and Kiss, *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates*, 199.

51 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 277. See for this stereotype, for example, the colloquy between a soldier and a Carthusian by Erasmus, *All the Familiar Colloquies*, 174.

52 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 278.

53 This part seems to argue against Petrus's authorship.

told that he was dedicated purely to self-imposed study, independently of any worldly or ecclesiastical obligations and expectations. With the excuse that his voice was weak, Canter never took up teaching at Leuven, in part because he believed he made better use of his time by writing than by teaching. He despised ecclesiastical offices, as he believed that the people who held such benefices should also work for their money and perform some religious service (*altari servire*).[54] He quietly lived off of his patrimony, and as he was as parsimonious with money as he was with time, he was even able to set aside savings.

That Canter's life represented an ideal type was recognized also by a late book, Nathaniel Wanley's *The Wonders of the Little World: Or, A General History of Man* by (1673). Canter is remembered in Chapter 42 ("Of such Persons as were of Skill in the Tongues") in the following way: "One says of him: 'If any would desire a specimen of a studious person, and one who had wholly devoted himself to the advancement of learning, he may find it exactly expressed in the person of Gulielmus Canterus'."[55] The author of these words was in fact Suffridus Petrus, who began his biography with this sentence, which Adam curiously omitted, along with the rest of the first pages.

Canter was then consciously described as the archetype of the "studious person," and he was also received as such. Another example comes from a two-distich poem by the librarian and historian of the Spanish Netherlands, Aubertus Miraeus (Aubert Le Mire), canon of the Antwerp cathedral. The poem accompanied a woodcut portrait of Canter by Philips Galle and was printed in Miraeus's *Illustrium Galliae Belgicae scriptorum icones et elogi* (1604),[56] a biographic and poetic album illustrated by portraits.[57] Miraeus's poem affixed to Canter's image starts with the question: "Clepsydra quid signat," or, "what does a clepsydra (water clock) signal?" Miraeus responded, "You used this instrument to measure [the length of] your studies, You, other Pliny," referring to the story of Canter's keeping a strict account of his activities with an hourglass.

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54 Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 278.

55 Wanley refers to an unnamed source here. I am quoting from the London edition of 1806 (vol. 2), p. 370.

56 The woodcut can be found in the holdings of the Rijksmuseum or the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (available online in both places). The 1609 edition, which I used, does not contain Canter's portrait. Miraeus, *Elogia Belgica.*

57 This was another collective anthology, which, unlike most of its sixteenth-century predecessors, was organized according to a new national agenda. A decade later, Canter, appropriated by the Frisian Petrus, is claimed back by the Belgian Miraeus, only to be included among Adam's Germans one decade later.

It is obvious that Miraeus worked with Petrus's biography.[58] In fact, his book (which was not always sold with the portraits) also contained a short biography on Canter, which was more or less an extract from Petrus's *vita*.[59] Having detailed Canter's studies and study tour, Miraeus introduces the part on Canter's daily routine in the following manner:

> When he returned through Germany to Leuven, he gave himself over entirely to studies so immoderately that people believed he was hastening his death. His day was divided among certain activities in a way that he studied one thing in the morning and another in the afternoon hours. Pliny the Younger writes and boasts of his Pliny [the Elder] in a similar way; however, you would call him [Pliny] idle and lazy when compared with this assiduous and indefatigable mind.[60]

Miraeus goes on to explain that Canter determined the amount of days and hours to be spent on each of his tasks. You would not believe it, he adds, had he not written about it himself in the preface to Stobaeus's *Physics*.

Miraeus's reading of Canter's biography is a useful guide for further analysis. First, we notice the crucial function of the reference to Canter's preface to the edition of Stobaeus. Without that testimony, Miraeus claimed, one would not believe the biographer. But did Petrus construct the entire myth of an extremely time-conscious and disciplined person based on this single source? We may well ask this question in part because Petrus, as we have seen, used the very words Canter had used in the Stobaeus-preface. Miraeus must also have become suspicious about the constructed nature of Canter's image, which was probably confirmed by his association about Pliny the Younger's famous letter on Pliny the Elder. Had Petrus not quoted the Stobaeus-preface, Miraeus might have stated that his entire story went back to Pliny.

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58 Henry Hallam, a nineteenth-century author of a history of early modern literature, dedicated a page to Canter's philology, observing that "the life of Canter in Melchior Adam is one of the best his collection contains; it seems to be copied from one by Miraeus." Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, 19. Adam did not copy Miraeus here, but his book might have been one of the publications that prompted him to write his own work on Germans. Adam knew and used Miraeus (for example, his biography of Cornelius Valerius was based on him), but certainly neither agreed with Miraeus's new "national" or with his Catholic perspective (Miraeus mixed religious, ecclesiastical, and professional criteria when grouping his learned men).

59 Miraeus, *Elogia Belgica*, 127–28.

60 "Post Lovanium per Germaniam reversus, tam immodice studiis totum se tradidit, ut mortem porperasse credatur. In certas operas diem ita partiebatur, ut alia ante meridiem, promeridianis horis alia studia tractaret. Simile de Plinio suo scribit et iactat alter Plinius; atqui ignavum et desidem illum dixeris, si cum hoc assiduo atque indefesso ingenio compares." Ibid., 127.

In fact, Pliny's epistle 3.5 written on Uncle Pliny must have been a well-known source of the image of an extremely time-conscious scholar;[61] the key person in popularizing this letter was again Erasmus.[62] In this epistle, the story of Pliny's daily routine and frenzied time-management is directly linked to the question of how Pliny managed to be so extremely productive (in addition to having public offices and working as the emperor's councilor). In a similar manner, Canter's image as a uniquely hardworking scholar is constructed in relation to his exceptional philological expertise and extreme productivity, considering especially his early death (the biographer emphasizes that he had not yet turned 33 when he died).[63] Unlike Canter, Pliny the Older was an early bird: his "day starts long before the crack of dawn, up in full darkness and lamplight from fall through winter, seasonally adjusted back to the dead of night; then [before daybreak] out to call on his 'friend' the emperor (another night creature), and other obligations, before returning home."[64] After lunch, Pliny would do book work, "featuring notes and lemmata." This was followed by sunbathing, which he spent reading and taking notes, then a cold bath, the only moment of relaxation, since for the rest of bath time, while he was being rubbed down and toweled dry, he was again listening to or dictating a book. Then came dinner, spent with work, and more work until he retired before dark in summertime or one hour after sunset in the winter, "as though some law dictated it" (*tamquam aliqua lege cogente*). In brief, Canter was as much a "Time Scrooge"[65] as Pliny the Elder. This is highlighted, as in Canter's bibliography, by anecdotal details:

> I remember one of his friends pulled up the reader when he'd mispronounced something and had it repeated: my uncle said to him, "You did understand?" When he nodded, "So why pull him up? We've lost ten verses plus through your interrupting." […] I recall myself being reprimanded by him—why walk?: "You had the chance," he said,

61 See Henderson, "Knowing Someone through their Books"; Enenkel, "Vita als Instrument," 55–56.

62 See Engammare, *On Time, Punctuality, and Discipline*, 82.

63 Another well-known classical source of disciplined time-management, as Karl Enenkel has pointed out, was Suetonius's life of Augustus, but Pliny's image certainly had a stronger influence on the fashioning of the image of the busy scholar. See ibid., 55; Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen*, 348–49.

64 I am quoting Henderson's paraphrase, "Knowing Someone," 266–67.

65 John Henderson's words on Pliny, ibid., 263, translating "tanta erat parsimonia temporis." Cf. with "parcissimus dispensator temporis" in Canter's biography. Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 278.

> "to waste not these hours." You see, he reckoned all time "wasted" that was not invested in study.[66]

"We can measure the madness very precisely" through these anecdotes, comments Henderson, their translator. It is not difficult to think of Canter again, who used even his recreational walk to tend to business and who measured all his scholarly activities with the hourglass, not even letting "nature itself put him under pressure in other ways than he himself prescribed." In other words, he also used the toilet in a regular, disciplined way.[67]

Clearly, like Pliny, Canter was a workaholic. Both worked too much. Miraeus, as we have said, must have had the same impression: "he gave himself over entirely to studies so *immoderately* that people believed he was hastening his death," he commented, a remark which does not harmonize with the description of Canter's time-management which followed these words. Apparently, despite all the efforts of the biographer to counter the plausible claim about Canter's self-destructive work, we are not entirely convinced. In fact, Petrus's very insistence on the healthiness of Canter's regimen may raise further suspicion. When Canter, we are told, needed once to defend his diet in front of his friends, his healthy appearance lent credibility to his words: He was fit, or as Petrus put it, "his limbs were energetic," his face was not pale like that of the scholar, but rather had a natural color. Not long before his death, he allegedly also told some friends that he had not been sick for nine years. However, the description of his early death (after many months of fever) prompts one to throw into question this notion of his general good health and suggests that perhaps, in the end, he worked himself to death. One of his few surviving letters, written less than four years before his death, also confirms that he had serious health issues. He complains in the letter that he abused his body with too much work, which he could no longer bear, and he therefore needed to be more health-conscious.[68]

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66 "memini quendam ex amicis, cum lector quaedam perperam pronuntiasset, revocasse et repeti coegisse; huic avunculum meum dixisse 'intellexeras nempe?' cum ille adnuisset, 'cur ergo revocabas? decem amplius versus hac tua interpellatione perdidimus' […] repeto me correptum ab eo, cur ambularem, 'poteras' inquit 'has horas non perdere.' nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non impenderetur." Quoted by Henderson, ibid., 261, trans. by Henderson, ibid., 263.

67 A further analogy between Pliny's letter and Canter's biography is the way in which Pliny the Younger extrapolated his story from a few lines of Pliny the Elder's preface to his Natural History. See again Henderson, idem, 274–77.

68 "Verumtamen, quod recte me monent literae tuae, valetudini meae deinceps consulere cogar, quandoquidem tantam studiorum contentionem, quanta sum per annos aliquot usus, non amplius haec fert aetas, tametsi non grandis (ut quae tricesimum annum nondum attigerit) multis tamen laboribus valde iam

If Petrus had wanted to add color to the narrative of Canter's daily routine, it would not have been very difficult to look for more recent examples. One has good reason to assume Ficino's *De triplici vitae* and Bullinger's *Studiorum ratio* were among his sources.[69] Ficino suggested that the scholar get up one or two hours before sunrise and start the day with some delicate massage of the body and then spend half an hour at least getting clean. The scholar should then sit down to study, but he should interrupt his work roughly every hour (for example, by combing his hair 40 times). Concentration needs interruptions, otherwise it is tiring and unhealthy. Lunch should be at noon, but one could also postpone it to as late as 2 o'clock. While morning study should be spent inventing or composing new things, the "rest of the hours" are for reading "old things" (the classics).[70] Addressing his book mainly to future members of the clergy, Bullinger advises they start the day not with massage but with prayer.[71] Also, Bullinger recommends waking up early in the morning (at 3 or 4 o'clock) and leaving oneself enough time to get up. One should, however, avoid waking up too early and then wasting the early afternoon snoozing. At 8 o'clock, the scholar or the churchman should take a break by straightening up and doing some necessary domestic work, and he should also take a short walk so as to have a good appetite for lunch. Wise men agree that studying after lunch is unhealthy, in particular for one's vision, so in practice, Bullinger suggests the double break observed in Canter's case.[72] The period of digestion should be spent taking a walk in the city or engaging in some other form of bodily exercise. At 1 o'clock, the scholar can finally return to his studies and spend time with easier reads, like works of history or poetry, unlike in the morning, which should be dedicated to theology or philosophy. These are also the hours suitable for doing some writing. At 4 o'clock, it is time to get up again, do domestic work, and rekindle one's appetite. After dinner, one should do some light reading (like Gellius, Quintilian, or Cicero), but not more than one

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affecta." Letter to the physician Crato von Krafftheim of 24 August 1571. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, R 246, no. 414.

69 See Engammare, *On Time, Punctuality, and Discipline*, 84–89.

70 Ficino, *Sulla vita* (book 1, chapter 8), 114–16.

71 Bullinger also suggests the text of the prayer for those who cannot invent one for themselves. One should ask God for wisdom, intellect, and memory (among other things) in order to understand God's law, fear only God, and acquire real learning, with which one may be of use to God and the state. Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio*, 1:10.

72 Erasmus also recommends beginning to work early in the day and taking walks (though he got up late because of sleeping problems) in his "Diluculum" and "De ratione studii epistola protreptica," in Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 40:916–24 and 25:192–94. See the excellent notes of Peter Stotz in Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio*, 2:58–59.

hour, as night work causes sleeplessness and has other unwanted effects.[73] Like Ficino, Bullinger also continues with advice on diet, thus serving as a model for Canter's biographer in this respect too.

The rhetorical strategies used to construct an image of Canter as a Herculean laborer may be frequently observed in other sixteenth-century biographies. In the biography of Christophorus Longolius (Christophe de Longueil) (1490–1522), who like Canter died early (at the age of 32), the story of self-controlled hard work is less central and elaborate, but it follows similar patterns. Longolius read so much and developed such refined views in so few years and so unusually early that it seemed hardly credible to people who knew nothing about his way of life, which was typified by total self-control (*temperantia summa*). While others dedicated much of their time to pleasures, especially in those times, he would not waste a minute on indulgences. He would eat and drink sparingly, and he consumed only diluted wine, preferring chiefly cold food had doctors not advised him against it. He was parsimonious also with sleep, sleeping six hours at the most.[74]

In the same volume of philosophers, we read much the same about the life of the Greek scholar Martin Crusius (1526–1607). Crusius was also moderate both in general and in his diet, imitating nature, which is satisfied with little. Yet, intellectual work did no harm to his physical constitution; Crusius was as strong as was Longolius or Canter, but unlike Canter, he was also social. He was amusing and courteous company during work dinners, but he remained the most moderate on these occasions. As for his work regimen (*studiorum ratio*), both in winter and summer Crusius studied from 5 a.m. until lunch and carried on right after lunch until dinner. After dinner he continued "reading and writing letters and books" until 10 p.m. His attraction to letters was an early thing, as was true in Canter's case. His mother allegedly noted that he wrote characters in the dust before he was even able to walk.[75]

In the biography of Guillaume Budé (1468–1540), a master of Longolius, written by Louis Le Roys in the year of Budé's death, we learn that Budé worked

73 Neither Erasmus ("De ratione studii epistola protreptica," ibid., 193) nor Ficino (*Sulla vita*, 115) suggests working at night. However, in the *Ciceronianus*, where in the person of Nosoponus Erasmus ridicules the scholar who overacts his scholarly *persona*, it is recommended to write "in the dead of the night." Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 28:351. See Algazi, "Scholars in Households," 30.

74 Yet, the biographer made sure not to exaggerate about Longolius's scholarly image. He stressed that he remained interested in public matters and did not neglect bodily exercises either, playing a little with a ball every day before dinner. Adam, *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*, 50–51.

75 Ibid., 492–93.

three hours even on the day of his wedding. His only pleasure was working on the writings of ancient authors, and he never shunned relevant labor or quit work on a book in the middle. According to an anecdote, the president of the Parisian council lived in his neighborhood, but he never bumped into him in the streets and he never saw him at public feasts, when neighbors usually gathered at the entrances to their houses. He never even saw him during afternoon walks or among the men who were simply watching passersby, since Budé did not allow himself any time away from work, not even a short day off. He played neither with dice or with the ball, as most people did during holidays, but worked. After waking up in the morning, he started studying and did not stop until lunch. Before sitting down to eat, he exercised by taking a short walk. After lunch, he spent about two hours talking to people, and he then continued his studies until his late and moderate dinner, which he consumed not for pleasure but rather merely to satisfy his natural hunger.[76]

Conclusions

As James Weiss and Karl Enenkel have wisely stated, biographies and autobiographies are "selectively composed artifacts" which "construct and constitute people."[77] The life of Canter was one such artifact, one image of a figure who embodied disciplined hard work. In the work ethic it aimed to transmit, the accent was on *both* diligence and discipline. The ideal was not immoderate labor fueled by irrational passions, but work done by a disciplined rational mind. Canter's example showed the very limits of a man's mental productivity, to which learned men could still aspire. He did the maximum of work one could still normally perform without damaging one's physical and mental balance.

The work ethic promoted by the biographies of learned men was a Renaissance invention influenced by both ancient (Stoic) and medieval (ascetic) models. In the hands of Renaissance men, it essentially became a secular, urban ethic of particular lay groups. From the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century on, Calvinism (and other denominations to a lesser degree) gave further sanction to it. Among Renaissance merchants and learned men, its primary function was to legitimate social rise, forming an integral part of the ethic of virtue, which was the ruling ideology of fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century

76 Regius, *G. Budaei viri Clarissimi vita*, 15–16. Also see Enenkel, "Vita als Instrument," 53.

77 Weiss, "Friendship and rhetoric," 48; Enenkel, *Erfindung des Menschen*, 37. Both are quoted by Beims, "Von den Grenzen einer frühneuzeitlichen Biographie," 349–51.

political elites.[78] In the case of Canter, disciplined hard work was the symbol of selfless sacrifice made by a learned man in the interest of the advancement of learning and the furthering of a better (less passionate, more rational and civilized) society.

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78 See Hankins, *Virtue Politics*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Trust, Authority, and the Written Word in the Royal Towns of Medieval Hungary. By Katalin Szende. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 41. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018. 436 pp.

The use of the written word in urban environments has become a popular subject in Medieval Studies. The series "Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy" provides *inter alia* a considerable number of publications highlighting the importance of urban literacy. The monograph by Katalin Szende, an expert on urban history, constitutes another important contribution on this topic. In her introduction, Szende declares that the work will guide "its readers through the history of using the written word for pragmatic, mainly administrative purposes […] in the royal towns of medieval Hungary" (p.1). The main goal is to show the emergence of new forms of documentation in the broader framework of the relationship between expanding uses of the written word and the growth of trust in its efficiency. The relevance of this issue for the whole of East Central Europe and the chronological and the geographical scope of the book (the Late Medieval period, from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth; the Carpathian Basin) makes it a very welcome contribution to the scholarship on the region. The first chapter (pp.25–59) has an introductory character, providing the uninitiated reader with information on the urban network in medieval Hungary, the origins of the settlements, and the development of urban law. It also presents the corpus of sources (including their critical editions) and an outline of scholarly discussions on urban history. We approach the growth of written culture proper in the second chapter (pp.61–120). This examines the earliest documentation of Hungarian towns and the relationship between charters and local autonomy. The scope, formulary, and content of the thirteenth-century royal privileges for towns and of the first products of municipal chanceries are carefully examined and creatively interpreted. The comparative diplomatic analysis of these sources proves a very effective tool with which to analyze the main characteristics of the practice of issuing charters. The context of "trust in writing" leads Szende to pay attention to the symbolic and practical value of seals validating charters. Her meticulous analysis of the seals' images and inscriptions is a significant contribution to urban sigillography. Addressing the validation charters leads inevitably to the subject of the ecclesiastical places of authentication and their role in the development of urban chanceries. In the third chapter (pp.121–201),

two issues which are of fundamental importance to urban literacy are presented: first, civic notaries and their tasks, and, second, municipal books, which were a main instrument of municipal governance. In Szende's opinion, the development of the use of town registers was stimulated by a technical change, namely the proliferation of paper as the main writing material in urban administrations. Szende is right to point out this connection. The relationship between the spread of paper and the growth of pragmatic literacy was also visible in contemporary Poland. The analysis of the municipal books necessarily touches on the issue of their typology. Szende points out that "the categorization of municipal books […] has been a long-standing challenge to scholarship" (p.148). She decided to distinguish "miscellaneous books" (the earliest registers, the content of which is mixed) and, then, as the differentiation of records progresses, "financial registers," "court books and judicial administration," and "municipal books for property administration." This chapter also discusses testamentary practices in Hungarian towns, taking as an example Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) and its well-known Book of Wills. The proliferation of uses to which the written word was put in urban environments is also illustrated by a discussion of practical literacy within guilds and by the attention given to town chronicles. The connection between language and literacy, analyzed in chapter four (pp.203–47), is the natural result of the coexistence of several (spoken and written) languages in the Carpathian Basin. This is studied by other historians today as well, although the broader comparative perspective of the linguistic plurality of medieval Europe is sometimes missing from the discussion. Szende offers interesting prospects for such a broad approach by indicating the various uses of Latin and the multiple vernaculars (German, Hungarian, Slovak, Italian, and others). Functional multilingualism can be detected in administration and justice, as well as in external relations, trade, and pastoral care. The coexistence of languages (and alphabets) arises again as an important problem in chapter five (pp.249–86). Having sketched the history of Jewish settlement in Hungary and the royal legislation concerning the status of Jews, Szende shows that participation of Jews in urban literacy was determined not only by their legal status, but also by trust in writing, which "was a major factor in facilitating and regulating Jewish-Christian relationships in everyday matters" (p.279). The last chapter of the book (pp.287–321) discusses yet another crucial issue in the study of urban literacy: the development of archives. Various modes of preservation of charters and municipal books are presented, taking as point of departure the practices of four towns: Sopron, Pressburg, Prešov, and Bardejov (Fig. 46.a-d).

Szende convincingly demonstrates that the storage of records, e.g. the strategies of ordering and binding them, mirrored the organization of urban society. The publication includes pictures of documents and registers, as well as maps and six appendices which guide the foreign reader through the history of medieval Hungary, especially that of the towns. These appendices provide useful additional information, for instance a list of the oldest municipal books and the chronology of appearance in the sources of the earliest municipal notaries. Katalin Szende's monograph proposes an interesting approach to the sources and to the subject of the development of urban literacy in general. The interaction between trust, authority, and the written word is at the core of the analysis. This determined the choice of problems and sources to be discussed. Thanks to this methodological approach, rooted in the contemporary study of literacy and communication, the book is much more than an overview of the proliferation and increasing importance of written records and the institutions which produced and kept them. It is a remarkable and inspiring study, informative and important for the comparative investigation of Medieval urban literacy.

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Confraternity, Mendicant Orders, and Salvation in the Middle Ages: The Contribution of the Hungarian Sources (c. 1270–c. 1530). By Marie-Madeleine de Cevins. Europa Sacra 23. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018. 365 pp.

Surprising as it may sound, there is a group of medieval sources in which Hungary is rich: the spiritual confraternity letters. Although such letters are not unknown in Hungarian scholarship, they were not dealt with comprehensively until Marie-Madeleine de Cevins published a monograph in Hungarian in 2015 with the title *Koldulórendi konfraternitások a középkori Magyarországon (1270 k. – 1530 k.)*. The present volume is the English version of the abovementioned work. Like her earlier works, also this book is problem-oriented. The application of comparative methods making use of similar research in Western and Central European regions makes this monograph a fundamental reference work not only for those dealing with medieval religious history in the Carpathian Basin, but also for a much wider scholarly audience. The book also contains the edition of sixteen confraternity letters and various figures, maps, tables, and graphs, all of which provide essential support for the conclusions proposed in the body of the text. Chapter 1 is dedicated to the spiritual confraternities of the mendicant orders and a survey of the existing scholarship. Confraternity letters were first issued by the monastic orders in exchange for material benefits as early as the eighth century, and a new "mendicant compatible" form with a "*hic et nunc*" character started to develop in the second half of the thirteenth century. Mendicant spiritual confraternities, based on the idea that the friars had to "pay back" the debt by providing their benefactors with the spiritual goods they had to offer, were particularly popular in Central Europe, especially in the fifteenth century. De Cevins ventures suggestions as to why, compared to other regions of Europe, so many spiritual confraternity letters survived in medieval Hungary. The Hungarian documentary corpus is presented in Chapter 2. The 125 spiritual confraternity letters examined were issued between ca. 1270 and 1530 by the four mendicant orders present in medieval Hungary. The overwhelming majority of the letters come from the Franciscans, and the rest come from the Dominicans, the Augustinian Hermits, and the Carmelites. Chapter 3 investigates the success of mendicant spiritual confraternities in Hungary. De Cevins explicates the correlation between the development of the spiritual confraternities and the rise of the Observant movement, and she draws deductions regarding the geographic and social distribution of the members of the spiritual confraternity. In Chapter 4, de Cevins explores the benefits potentially enjoyed by the members of the

spiritual confraternities of one (or more) mendicant order(s). They received a bouquet of spiritual benefits the size of which varied according to two types of spiritual confraternities: the "ordinary" and the "major," which were available only to a privileged few. Moreover, the most generous benefactors could enjoy supplementary graces, such as burial within the walls of the friary, occasionally even in the habit of the order. In the heyday of the spiritual confraternities, as de Cevins points out, while mass admissions were not unusual elsewhere in Europe, it seems that in Hungary mass admissions were not practiced by the provincial superiors of the orders and lay confraternities did not join mendicant spiritual confraternities. The last two chapters are about the "uses" of spiritual confraternities from the point of view of the granters and the recipients, respectively. In most cases, the provincial superiors were the dispensers. In order to avoid being accused of commercializing salvation, they distributed the benefits of spiritual bonds rather moderately. In Chapter 5, de Cevins discusses the orders one by one, she seeks patterns or tendencies characteristic of them, and she also poses the intriguing question as to whether these letters reflect in any way the identity of the mendicant order by the authority of which they were issued. While in general it can be said that the *bona spiritualia* listed in the texts themselves tend to be more characteristic of the *devotio moderna* rather than of the spirituality of the individual orders, each of the four mendicant orders presents a slightly different view. De Cevins takes into account other features, such as figures on seals and occasionally other symbols. The earliest known Franciscan confraternity letters date back to the first half of the fourteenth century. John of Capistrano's impact on the popularization of joining an Observant Franciscan spiritual confraternity cannot be underestimated in Central Europe. In line with this, we see that in Hungary, from the 1460s onwards, confraternity letters follow the archetypal formulary used by him. A noteworthy phenomenon highlighted by de Cevins is the great importance attributed to the autograph subscription of the dispenser, namely to John of Capistrano. The second largest group of the letters was issued by the Dominicans, who started to issue these documents as early as 1270, and by 1400, they had produced five other letters. The reform in the order brought moderation in the use of spiritual affiliation: the slow increase of the issue of the letters seems to have slowed down after 1500. Due to the number of extant sources, far fewer observations can be made in the case of the Augustinian Hermits and the Carmelites. What these documents reveal, however, is that in Hungary mendicant orders did not consider such confraternity letters an important instrument to promote their order or way of

life, yet the letters had an authentic and performative nature, which may account for the care devoted by the families to their preservation. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the views of the affiliates on mendicant confraternities. A precious source in this respect is the well-known Dominican register of benefactors from Segesvár (now Sigişhoara, Romania) from the early sixteenth century. Of the 28 entries of donors, 6 were in spiritual brotherhood with the friars, all of them coming from the top of the social scale. The entries show that people tried to accumulate spiritual credits in several different ways, of which spiritual brotherhood was only one. The chapter concludes with three itineraries of spiritual associates known from the existing secondary literature, but this time, in order to estimate the importance of belonging to a spiritual family, the cases are presented from a different perspective: Benedict Himfi, Peter of Söpte, and Magdalen from Kolozsvár/Cluj. As a conclusion, it can be said that this book is a good example of how informative a group of sources which had an (almost) fixed structure for two and a half centuries can be when placed in the hands of a scholar whose experience in this field allows her to make the most of them, even if in some cases she can only make hypotheses which, however, can then be points of departure for further research.

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The Árpáds and Their Wives: Queenship in Early Medieval Hungary 1000–1301. By Attila Zsoldos. Rome: Viella, 2019. 252 pp.

The book is an English translation of Attila Zsoldos' 2005 work *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*. Zsoldos is a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences who works at the Institute of History of the Research Centre for the Humanities. A graduate of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (where he taught for a while), he has also served as the editor or a member of the editorial board for periodicals such as *Turul*, *História*, *Századok*, and *The Hungarian Historical Review*. Zsoldos himself is an expert in the field of medieval charters, and this work is primarily based on the history of charters of Hungarian queens and other relevant primary sources. In this book, Zsoldos examines the institution of queenship in Hungary during the three centuries of the rule of the Árpád House. He concludes that the office of the queen was a mirror of that of the king, but that it remained firmly under the king's authority. While the queens may have had influence in other areas, ultimately the roles and prerogatives of the office were determined more by internal developments in the Hungarian administration than they were by the person of the queen herself. *The* Árpáds *and Their Wives* is divided into four chapters: the coronation, the estates of the queens, the queen's court, and the power of the queen.

The book begins with a comprehensive look at the historiography on the subject, which is particularly helpful for people less familiar with the topic, as it offers them some understanding of the unforgiving nature of studying it. It also includes a summary of the main points from the works cited. The first body chapter, which focuses on the coronation of the queens, deals with the process of how one (legitimately) became a queen. In this case, only Gisela of Bavaria (the first queen of Hungary) and royal women from the thirteenth century are covered, but that is entirely due to the limits placed on the historian by the source materials which have survived. In spite of the dearth of the primary sources, this is a solid chapter which makes good use of the surviving materials.

The second chapter examines the land management of the queens. It is by far the meatiest chapter in the book, divided into three subsections on land management, employees, and finances. The first section of the second chapter is a detailed study on the lands owned and administered by the queen, which grew gradually from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. The second section on the people of the queen is an example of institutional history at its finest. It traces the origins of staff members particular to the queens. The appendices

in the back are very helpful. The third section of the second chapter details the revenues of the queen. The only surviving sources for this chapter are all from the thirteenth century, and it is here that Zsoldos forms the bulk of his argument that the queens were fundamentally under the power of the king, since from the perspective of their finances, they relied heavily on the king's will and approval.

The third chapter on the queen and her court not only deals with the itinerant nature of Hungarian queens, but also with the various forms of their relationships with their staff members. In particular, one important point is that the people employed in the queen's court often shared offices with the king's court, leading to the conclusion that the queen's court was dependent on that of the king.

The fourth chapter, which examines the powers of the queen, questions whether the office of the queen actually held any power in and of itself (as opposed to personal power from an individual's charisma). Power in this chapter is confined exclusively to rule over personal territory, and the conclusion once again is that, while other royal women did exactly that, the queens did not. The strengths of this work are obvious. With only scraps of primary sources on which to base his conclusions, Zsoldos is able to use later charters to make plausible conjectures concerning elements of the office of the queen that would have existed earlier. This is particularly evident in the second chapter on the land management of the queens.

Appendices in the back are very helpful to readers unfamiliar with Hungarian history, as they provide not only a breakdown of biographical information on the queens in question, but also family trees showing genealogical relationships, a glossary of terms particular to medieval Hungary, lists of staff members working for the queen, and many maps as well. The translation is easily understood and faithful to the original.

There is much to love about this work, though there are a few odd moments of cognitive dissonance. In the first place, the title is telling. This is not a work about queens, but rather about the mechanisms around the queens. They are both oddly central and missing in this approach. The dearth of sources has skewed certain sections to an almost exclusive focus on the last fifty years of the thirteenth century, though that is not Zsoldos's fault. Since the original publication of his work in Hungarian, eighteen post-2005 titles have been added to the bibliography (seven of them by the author), though it's a pity that some works, for instance *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* by Attila Bárány et al (2008), were not included. In the preface to the new translation of the book

into English, Zsoldos decries globalization itself as one of the causes of the transformation of research into a bland, uniform miasma. This seems odd for a book trying to reach a wider audience. Then again, Zsoldos insists very firmly that it is a Hungarian book which has been made available in English translation, not an English book about Hungary. Zsoldos wishes for his research to be understood on its own terms. The purpose of this work is not to examine the personalities or private lives of the queens of the Árpád era in Hungary. As such, it is a brilliant book which presents complex, ingenious arguments out of scraps of data.

The scope of the work is impressive, and as an institutional history, it is an absolute must if one seeks to understand the complex nature of the power of the queen as a foreigner operating in a sophisticated bureaucracy stacked against her.

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Die Hungarica Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle: Herausgegeben von Brigitte Klosterberg und István Monok. Alte Drucke 1495–1800, Bd. I. A–O, Bd. II. P–Z. Bearbeitet von Attila Verók. Budapest: MTA Könyvtár és Információs Központ, 2017. pp. 1235.

The two-volume catalogue of old publications related to Hungary in *Franckesche Stiftungen* [The Historical Library of the Francke Foundations] in Halle is the final volume in a series of catalogues produced as a result of a two-decades-long research project. Exploring the pre-1800 *hungaricas* preserved in the institution (which grew out of the library of the orphanage founded in 1698 by August Hermann Francke) is an important endeavor, especially in light of the fact that, from the seventeenth century on, several Hungarians visited the library. The outcome of the joint project of Franckesche Stiftungen and National Széchényi Library, launched in 2000, is a series of publications: a collection of portraits edited by Brigitte Klosterberg and István Monok (*Die Hungarica-Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle.* Teil 1, *Porträts*, 2003), a collection of maps (*Die Hungarica Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle: Historische Karten und Ansichten*, 2009), and a catalogue of *hungaricas* to be found in the archive *(Die Hungarica Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle. Teil 2A–2B: Handschriften*, 2015). The catalogue compiled by Attila Verók and published in 2017 undertook the exploration of a vast collection of old publications and prints from the period between 1495 and 1800 and also set out to complement the previous volumes. Thanks to Verók's work, the now complete series enables specific research in the collection and provides an example for those planning to do similar explorations of *hungaricas* in other libraries abroad.

The volume is divided into three parts. In a brief preliminary study, the author introduces the history of the library and provides a more detailed account of the periods and figures that played a vital part in the growth of the resources. Verók discusses the previously published volumes of the series in detail, including their research findings, and demonstrates the cultural impact of Halle through a short case study on Transylvania. He then provides a brief introductory aid to using the catalogue: he classifies *hungaricas* into five major categories (1. written entirely or partly in Hungarian; 2. printed in the area of historical Hungary; 3. written by a Hungarian author and published in a foreign language or country; 4. related to Hungary or Hungarians; 5. originating from Hungary) and 15 sub-categories (1. written by a Hungarian author; 2. a dissertation/essay by a Hungarian author; 3. written in part by a Hungarian author; 4. includes a dedication related to

Hungary; 5. is or contains a Hungarian work; 6. contains information about Hungary or a Hungarian person; 7. includes a portrait, map, or image related to Hungary; 8. was printed in Hungary; 9. was printed by a Hungarian printer; 10. includes a dissertation or essay by a person related to Hungary; 11. includes works by Hungarian persons; 12. written in Hungarian; 13. had a Hungarian possessor; 14. includes handwritten notes by a person writing in Hungarian/a Hungarian person, and related to Hungary; 15. a book review or critique of a book related to Hungary). These very classifications can be considered a novel approach in the research on so-called *hungaricas*.

The introductory study is followed by a catalogue with 3,194 entries, the system and structuring of which is logical and easy to follow: the author assigns an ID number to each *hungarica*, and indicates the press marks and, in the case of multi-volume works, the volume numbers as well. With some entries, in addition to providing basic data (author, title, place of printing, date of publication, size of publication), Verók also specifies the category and sub-category to which the given *hungarica* belongs. In the case of certain types of *hungarica*, he provides concrete page numbers and other information to aid researchers drawing on his research. One entry may belong to several categories, and in such cases, Verók lists each type in the catalogue. Finally, with certain entries Verók makes references to the catalogue of *hungaricas* preserved in Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) in Wolfenbüttel and compiled by Katalin Németh S., as well as to the 1755 *Bibliotheca Nationis Hungariae catalogue* (BNH) of the university library in Halle.

The various indexes with which the book comes to a close make it relatively easy to use the catalogue. In addition to the indexes of names and geographical locations, the volume also provides a separate index of publishers and printers, as well as of places of publication and groups of *hungaricas*. In light of the fact that the library was founded in 1698 and its collection grew considerably owing to donations by nobles and burghers in the first half of the eighteenth century, it comes as no surprise that most (more than two thirds) of the old publications and prints preserved in the library are from the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. The material catalogued in Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle may be particularly useful for those interested in the history of science and education in the late early modern period.

The novel groups of *hungaricas* designated by Verók and, in particular, the dedications explored with the help of an autopsy method (as well as the notes on possessors) will further research in new directions, different from the classical

analytical research on library collections prevalent in the study of the history of libraries. Among the old publications from the period between 1495 and 1800, for instance, there are 194 publications which were dedicated to a Hungarian person or a person related to Hungary. More than one third of dedications (more precisely, 70) are found in dissertations or essays written by a Hungarian author. Most of these writings discuss theological topics, and the dedications in them often name several people; interestingly, the same names show up in many writings published in Franeker, especially in the period between 1681 and 1689. A comparison of the two categories of *hungaricas* reveals relationships between students and teachers, as well as patrons. 153 of the old publications contain a note by a Hungarian possessor, and 100 of them were in the possession of Martin Schmeizel (1679–1747), who was born in Braşov and taught history at the University of Halle from 1731. In 27 publications we find the name of the poet Christian Günther (1695–1723) as possessor, while twelve publications were in the possession of Johannes Honterus (1693–1749) and one belonged to the Hungarian painter Ádám Mányoki (1673–1757). In each case, the catalogue specifies former possessors as well, helping us trace the movement of books from one library to another, and eventually to the collection of Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle. Furthermore, the catalogue consistently indicates when notes on or by possessors are more detailed, such as when there are handwritten notes containing dates which indicate the possessor; thus, Verók classifies these works into another category of *hungaricas* as well.

Thanks to the years of research and study which Attila Verók has put into this publication, the catalogue is thorough and well-structured, and the organizational system on which it is structured is comprehensible and transparent. The detailed indexes make the catalogue easy to use and help the reader find a certain *hungarica* quickly. Thanks to its clear structure, the volume will be an immensely useful resource for scholars in various disciplines who wish to examine the library collection of Franckesche Stiftungen, the cultural role of Halle, and its impact on Hungary in the late early modern period.

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Matézis, mechanika, metafizika: A 18–19. századi matematika, fizika és csillagászat eredményeinek reprezentációja a filozófiában és az irodalomban [Mathesis, mechanics, metaphysics: The representation of findings in mathematics, physics, and astronomy in philosophy and literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries]. Edited by Dezső Gurka. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2016. 202 pp.

This collection of short essays edited by historian of science Dezső Gurka (Gál Ferenc College) seeks to bring together a range of scholars engaged with the different cultural aspects of eighteenth-century studies and to reflect on the ongoing reassessment of interdisciplinary research which has been underway in recent decades in the study of intellectual history, the history of philosophy, and the history of science. Building on the examples set by earlier volumes (*Formációk és metamorfózisok* [Formations and Metamorphoses], 2013; *Egymásba tükröződő emberképek* [Images of man reflecting one another], 2014]), the book was published as the newest addition to the series of the Gondolat Publishers on the history of science in Hungary, a series dedicated to the centenary of Károly Simonyi's birth and his compelling work, *A fizika kultúrtörténete* (1978) [A cultural history of physics]. It offers glimpses in four (sometimes less coherent) chapters into recent studies on the eighteenth-century disciplinary framework of mathematics, physics, astronomy, philosophy, and literature.

As the subtitle and introduction promise, the volume concentrates on the complex relations and interplays among institutions and scientific conceptualizations, while it also has the ambitious aim of both presenting new findings and recontextualizing old ones, in particular in eighteenth-century physics and mathematics. In this respect, the references to the Kantian concepts concerning the pure natural sciences do not provide an interpretative framework for the studies on the history of physics and mathematics in Hungary, since Kantian concepts do not surface in them. This engagement of the collection raises general historiographical-methodological concerns which would have merited broader reflection in the introduction. First, is the Kantian conceptual framework relevant to the studies which were undertaken in Hungary on the history of physics and mathematics, given that the late eighteenth-century texts, with the exception of their critical attitude, put less emphasis on this framework? Second, is it sufficient to adapt the perspective of connectivity and transformation studies to the history of science if one seeks to exceed and reshape the limitations of traditional narratologies (be they national or Enlightened)? As far as the

whole volume is concerned, despite the interconnectedness of the subjects and the diverging scope of the essays, these questions remain mostly unanswered.

In the first part ("Forces and Counterforces in Eighteenth-Century and Nineteenth-Century Philosophy"), the studies focus on the interrelations between metaphysics and mathematical argumentation. Dániel Schmal's study, which looks back on late seventeenth-century debates concerning the principles of Cartesian mechanics, captures a deep, structural similarity between the Leibnizian concepts of true (natural) philosophy and the contemporary visual representation of mathematical and ichnographical layouts. As Schmal argues, although the Leibnizian system made essential distinctions between metaphysics and mathematics, ichnographical layouts were intended, like Leibnizian philosophy, to represent the harmonic hierarchy of nature, in which geometrical-statical meaning was reconciliated with dynamic processes. Béla Mester's essay throws a different light on the problem of hierarchy between metaphysics and mathematical reasoning. Mester investigates József Rozgonyi's early popular philosophical work (*Dubia de initiis transcendentalis idealismi Kantiani ad viros clarissimos Jacob et Reinhold*, 1792) in the anti-Kantian atmosphere of the late eighteenth century. He reveals the underrated mathematical foundations of Rozgonyi's epistemology, which is related to Thomas Reid's common-sense philosophy. However, Mester remains unclear on exactly how Reid's impact was exerted on Rozgonyi's mathematical reasoning: whether through the lectures of the Dutch mathematician Hennert in Utrecht or through the approach he encountered in Oxford, which ascribed less significance to mathematics. The third essay brings into focus the social-cultural context of eighteenth-century intellectuals, and, building on the case of Transylvanian philosopher Pál Sipos, provides an overview of the most recurrent constitutive elements of his career. In his study, Péter Egyed, focusing on Sipos' socialization (family background, education, peregrination, early career, publications, and social and intellectual network) seeks to invent the archetype of the university-trained Transylvanian intellectual, whose (philosophical and theological) education, intellectual capacity, and engagement with the dissemination of Enlightened knowledge enable him to serve both public and national interests. At this point, although Egyed's conclusion can be understood as a revision of the anti-philosophical ethos of the Enlightenment intellectual, a comparative perspective and the extension of the scope of the research either to Austrian-Hungarian or to Protestant-Catholic contexts would be highly recommended in the future.

The essays in the second part ("Mathematicians at the Frontiers of Mathematics and Philosophy") deal with the intersections of the Hungarian tradition of mathematics and philosophy, providing summaries of the state of the research. Vera Békés's contribution to the history of philosophy adds critical remarks to the underrated textbook of the Hungarian professor of mathematics, András Dugonics, and pinpoints its intellectual potential for further reevaluation in relation to the work of Erich Kästner, the highly praised professor of mathematics at the University of Göttingen. The other two studies lay their emphasis on the prominent mathematician Farkas Bolyai. While Róbert Oláh-Gál uses compendia and private documents (correspondence, memoirs) to discuss Bolyai's college instructors (János and Ádám Herepei, the older and the younger József Kováts and György Méhes), Péter Gábor Szabó offers additional remarks on Bolyai's endeavor to establish Euclidean geometry and calls for further study of Bolyai's undiscovered mathematical horizon.

In an intellectual and methodological sense, the next part ("The Scientific and Philosophical Reception of Eighteenth-Century and Nineteenth-Century Physics and Astronomy"), which brings together a wide array of topics, offers a scattered view of eighteenth-century inquiries in physics, philosophy, and astronomy. Dezső Gurka's essay offers new evidence concerning the reception of Johann Andreas Segner's theory of fluids and magnetism in Kant's *Pure Reason and Critique of Judgement*. László Székely, assuming close continuity between the eighteenth-century perception of humanity and nineteenth-century materialism, seeks to explain the canonical work of Imre Madách (*Az ember tragédiája* [The tragedy of man], 1862) on the grounds of the Enlightenment perception of the circulation of cosmic matter, which served as a general framework for Madách's tragedy. Similarly to the earlier ones, Katalin Martinás and Bálint Tremmel's article also favors internalist explanations in the history of physics. It traces the emergence of to the theory of momentum, which was initially framed not as has been long assumed in Newtonian science, but in the Leibnizian analytical mechanics. In contrast to these three articles articles, László Kontler's essay provides an externalist view on Maximilian Hell's flexible, though unsuccessful career strategies. As Kontler argues, although Hell's Catholic erudition had multiple contexts (his loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy, engagement with the Catholic Enlightenment, *Hungarus* patriotism, the *respublica litteraria*, Jesuit erudition) during the period which reached its peak in 1770, it also had its limitations. Therefore, this type of cultural credit (Kontler does not use the word), expressed mainly through the multifold loyalties of the Catholic culture

and the dominance of Latin, was losing its significance after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. By the time of Hell's astronomical tour in Hungary, this erudition was reduced to restoring the glory of the Catholic faith, while it failed to meet new challenges which culminated in the anti-Josephinian turn of the Hungarian nobility and support for refinement of the vernacular.

The last two articles in the final part ("The Correspondences of Eighteenth-Century and Nineteenth-Century Literature and Natural Sciences") reflect on the interplay among popular knowledge, didactic poetry, and the interdisciplinary field of physico-theology. Imre Vörös' contribution repeats the findings from his monograph (*Természetszemlélet a felvilágosodás kori magyar irodalomban [The View of Nature in the Literature of the Hungarian Enlightenment]*, 1991), and shares an overview of the reception process of physico-theology in eighteenth-century Hungarian poetry, all the while concentrating on its transformation from the eclectic Cartesian viewpoint to the Newtonian. Poetry, as a main concern of scientific culture, remains in the focus of Piroska Balogh's essay as well, which, through philological analyses, traces a less known contemporary literary tradition which, turning back to Antiquity, attributed the very sources of astronomical observation to the poet. In this respect, Balogh's inquiry investigates the broad European astronomical context of the naming of a Hungarian journal, *Uránia*, and comes to the conclusion that the context of physico-theology, cosmological knowledge was still relevant for late eighteenth-century intellectuals, such as the university professors of aesthetics in Pest, György Alajos Szerdahely and his successor, Johann Ludwig Schedius.

All in all, the collection of essays constitutes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the history of eighteenth-century philosophy, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and literature, even if the short essays offer only a diverse picture of ongoing research projects, and some of them seem to repeat earlier findings. The editor's decision to feature pictures, portrays, and engravings in the appendix is welcome, as it brings the problems presented in the essays closer to a non-specialist audience. However, the relationships between the visual and textual representations of the subjects in most cases does not exceed mere functionality. Moreover, some illustrations (especially the manuscripts) are barely legible. While reading the essays, one cannot fail to note misspellings and other mistakes (such as the Wikipedia citation on the page 74), which distract the reader. Hopefully, the next volume will be made available in English, too.

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National Indifference and the History of Nationalism in Modern Europe. Edited by Maarten Van Ginderachter and Jon Fox. London: Routledge, 2019. 262 pp.

The present volume is based on a symposium held in Prague in 2016 dedicated to "national indifference," a concept introduced by Tara Zahra in 2008. The reactions to Zahra's program manifesto that I presented in a side note to the Hungarian translation ("Recepciótörténeti széljegyzet Tara Zahra tanulmányához" [A side note on the reception history of Tara Zahra's essay], in *Regio* 25 [2017]) rightly criticize the notion for lacking much in the way of analytical rigor. It conflates stances best described as pragmatic or flexible with neutral and anti-nationalist postures and, from another angle, the not-yet-national with regional and multiple national loyalties. It also lumps together "hot ethnicity," politically mobilized in the service of national causes, with a tacit acceptance of national categories, a distinction particularly relevant when no non-nationalist alternatives are on offer in the political and ideological fields. Even more disturbingly, it is stretched to include the bilingual for good measure. Deriving its appeal by pointing at cracks in the teleological pageant of nationalism triumphant of which historians have grown weary, it ultimately depends on radical nationalist discourse, which first used it as a heading to draw together all supposed ingroup members who failed to meet its expectations but did not quite qualify as traitors.

The contributions to the volume showcase this entire range of attitudes and forms of behavior that may have flown in the face of strict nationalist norms, from confession-based identities to subservience to the powers that be, opportunism, mimicry, perplexity and false perceptions, imperial nostalgia and deep-seated regionalism, Alsatian dual belongings, all the way down to a post-ethnic rejection of the national classification scheme official in the Soviet Union. Ironically, the author who most firmly voices his support for the notion of "national indifference," Zachary Doleshal, explores a subject that escapes even its widely-cast net: corporate identity. In an otherwise excellent chapter, he describes how the Bat'a company tried to avoid stirring nationalist tensions in the diverse places where it operated by fostering a self-declared cosmopolitan ethos among its workers, all the while remaining an icon of Czech industry. Multinational firms must have regularly encountered this challenge in times of heightened national sentiment, and Doleshal's choice of topic seems serendipitous in this respect.

While most chapters focus on roadblocks to nationalization, Simone A. Bellezza and Marco Bresciani throw light on nationalist mobilization at work.

Bresciani depicts a post-World War I Istria where the trauma of new state borders ushered in unprecedented nationalist turmoil. In his account of Western Upper Silesia's tribulations from the 1921 plebiscite campaign to the marching in of Soviet troops, Brendan Karch emphasizes that responses to nationalist propaganda may have been purely instrumental, but locals certainly could not remain "indifferent" to choices that determined their fates. Most revealingly, Morgane Labbé approaches the famous case of the Polesian *tutejsi* ("people from here") as one of observer's paradox. The category was already in place at the time of the 1921 Polish census, but later the number of self-declared *tutejsi* increased with spectacular rapidity, from 39,000 that year to 700,000 in 1931, because of the statisticians who espoused the early Sanacja's ideal of a multi-ethnic state and promoted the category as a negative gauge of people's gradual engagement with Ukrainian or Belorussian identities.

Zahra warned that pinpointing "indifference" comes with methodological challenges, since archival sources typically reflect nationalist biases. Several authors make use of less conventional sources to surmount this problem. Filip Erdeljac and Gábor Egry draw on secret service files, Doleshal on internal reports on Bat'a employees (workers at the company's Zlín headquarters were kept under close surveillance), Anna Whittington on letters addressed to Soviet state authorities, and Belezza on the writings of Trentino POWs from World War I. Whittington's three dozen Soviet letter writers from the 1960s and 1970s were anxious to get rid of the nationality labels ascribed to them, with which they could not identify or which they even experienced as an external stigma. Bellezza relies on a collection of ego-documents which is uniquely rewarding for the study of nationalization. Indeed, the collection has already been investigated from this point of view, contrary to Bellezza's claim (Martin Lyons, *Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe c. 1860–1920* [2012], 143–52 and the literature cited there). Diaries kept in the Kirsanov camp afford a day-by-day overview of how some Tyrolians adopted Italian identities amid the ordeals of POW life.

Its resolute anti-nationalist premises unmistakably contributed to the excitement with which "national indifference" was greeted by historians who need to contest national narratives. Erdeljac's chapter in the book, with its exaggerated claims and desire to debunk, proves this point. Although ethnicity may well be a "fiction" invented by nationalists for Erdeljac, he presents interwar propaganda attempts to inspire nostalgia and loyalty for Hungary in the Slavic-speakers of Zagorje and Međimurje as a proof that the nationalism of Hungarian propagandists was frivolous or at least inconsistent. Apart from

misconstruing Hungarian state nationalism, the underlying argument that true ethno-nationalists leave the ethnic other alone poses an absurd litmus test that no real-life specimen would pass.

Erdeljac is not alone in his quest for national indifference where one would least expect it, in the minds of nationalist activists. In Tom Verschaffel's view, nineteenth-century champions of Flemish culture (he implicitly treats the early Flemish identity project as crypto-nationalist) failed to live up to their ideal when they dedicated only a minor part of their literary output to it. The same would hold for Belgian gallery owners who became acculturated to the Paris artistic milieu and artists who vented cynical opinions about politics in private.

Verschaffel's overdrawn conclusions notwithstanding, such inquiries could serve as helpful reminders of the limitations inherent in nationalization projects, especially if they brought more precise concepts into play, such as contingency, situationality, cognitive dissonance, or cultural blind spots. The fact that whatever activists did besides their activism can be interpreted as "national indifference" itself shows the vagueness of this academic brand as a concept. As the present volume demonstrates, it can mark out the reverse side of ultimately successful nationalization as a field of research, but it does not provide an analytical tool. The chapters in the volume do not make a serious attempt to use it as such. Indeed, Egry, Karch, and Bresciani take issue with it.

Before Zahra, and perhaps unbeknownst to her, Max Weber had already made a cursory effort to theorize "national indifference," distinguishing it from "emphatic negation" and calling attention to the fluid nature of national consciousness (*Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* [1968], 924–25). Unlike Rogers Brubaker's *Ethnicity without Groups*, cited prominently by Zahra, several authors of the volume lose sight of the latter point and apparently look for tireless militants taken right out of the nationalist textbook. At the other end of the scale, more than half of the book is made up of chapters (apart from the ones already cited, Alison Carrol's on interwar Alsace and Egry's on interwar Transylvania) that point forward to a fuller understanding of how we have become national, to the extent that we have. If Zahra's original article created an inspiration for them, it deserves credit for that.

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Wirtschaftsnationalismus lokal: Interaktion und Abgrezung zwischen rumänischen und sächsischen Gewerbeorganisationen in den siebenbürgischen Zentren Hermannstadt und Kronstadt, 1868–1914. By Stéphanie Danneberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018. 391 pp.

Stéphanie Danneberg's doctoral thesis combines a new and ever more popular trend in the study of the historical forms of nationalism, a look at nationalism from below, with another one that was much more en vogue around the millennium, that of economic nationalism. The work promises to go beyond the discursive aspects of Romanian and Transylvanian Saxon (and partly Hungarian) nationalism as regards the economic unification of one's own ethnic kin and analyze the meanings and functions of the slogan of self-organization and self-defense in the world of craftsmen and workers in the two largest cities of the former Königsboden, Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben and Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó. Danneberg's primary interest, however, is not the elites of these cities, but the pre-labor movement associations of craftsmen and workers which were often created by the elites but which were intended to integrate these social and professional groups into the urban society against the backdrop of the decline of traditional guilds and industries. She attempts to capture a complex set of relationships at the local level (interactions between various social groups and ethnicities) and the relationships among these people and their engagements with national elites. The basic thesis she seeks to verify is: "the more Hungarian nationalism was present in a locality, and the more aggressive it was, the stronger ethnic and political differences between Saxons and Romanians became in the form of a growing conflict perceived also in economic terms" (p.25). Danneberg outlines in seven chapters the theoretical framework of economic nationalism and the characteristics of the phenomenon in Transylvania, and she gives a quantitative assessment of the Saxon and Romanian craftsmen and industries, including the workers, and the activities of banks. She also analyses the membership and activity of a series of associations before 1914.

Danneberg situates her research within a very broad framework of political and economic transformation in Dualist Hungary. The peripheral position and general economic backwardness of Transylvania are the main features, as well as a state economic policy which was more liberal and less nationalist than state policies in other fields (most notably in the education). Nevertheless, Transylvania was surrounded by a stark rhetoric of Hungarian nationalism. Transylvanians, both Saxons and Romanians, faced the decline of the traditional

forms of industry even before the lifting of the compulsory membership in guilds (in 1872). Thus, Hungarian nation-state building efforts coincided with an economic transformation which prompted a defensive rhetoric from those affected in opposition to the new, emerging factory-based forms of industrial production and its representatives. As this took place against the backdrop of an ethnicized social stratification and a network of associations which were more traditional than civic in their organization, the ground was fertile for the emergence of strong currents of economic nationalism.

But a closer look at the very institutions that were supposed to embody both the material and national plight of the affected strata reveals a more nuanced picture. Looking at how *Gewerbevereine, Gesellenvereine* and *Arbeiterbildunsvereine* operated, often in the face of a centralizing and Magyarizing state bureaucracy which wanted to include *Gewerbevereine* in the state administration, and also examining the prominent economic exhibitions held in both cities, Danneberg shows that the economic nationalisms in Hermannstadt and Kronstadt were hardly identical. Indeed, they were not even similar. In the latter, where industrialization and Magyarization made Hungarians the most numerous of the three ethnic groups by 1910, Saxon organizations, often managed by intellectuals and not craftsmen, excluded Romanians, and Romanian organizations excluded Saxons. Programs and events were realized separately, and discursive othering was pervasive. Hermannstadt's associations gradually were taken over by craftsmen, and they came to include a Romanian membership which, from the perspective of its size, was not merely symbolic. These associations also carefully aimed to foster interactions at every possible occasion. The reason for this lay not only in the different ethnic realities (a more subdued Hungarian presence), but also in the social and economic conditions. Kronstadt was rapidly industrializing, and Hermannstadt's local economy was dominated by craftsmen, and the city leaders devoted resources to preserve their positions, too. Finally, in both cities, a new social group of labor slipped away from traditional urban or denominational associations to form an emerging organized social democracy which was nationally indifferent.

The ultimate conclusion of the book is that the situationality and contextual nature of nationalism as a practice is discernible within economic nationalism too. This argument is a welcome addition to the study of bottom-up and everyday nationalism, and as such, it is convincing. However, given the broader framework and regarding some relatively significant nuances the work posits in terms of the different intensity of economic nationalism in the two cities,

the book leaves a less favorable impression, mainly because of the complete neglect of the secondary literature in Hungarian. Danneberg fails to cite or make reference to Zoltán Gál's analyses of the regional layers and networks of financial institutions, Gábor Sonkoly's conceptualization of the hierarchy of Transylvanian urban centers, nor Gábor Egry's monograph on the role of the Saxon financial institutions in nation building.

These works might have helped Danneberg refine the argument and avoid a rather simplistic use of structural factors in her explanation of economic nationalism. Gál's and Sonkoly's works show that neither Hermannstadt nor Kronstadt was an underdeveloped periphery. Rather, they both had central economic, social, and administrative role within Transylvania, and as such, these cities were important elements of the second tier of the urban network of the whole empire. Egry argues that Saxon banks were refinanced from outside the Monarchy, while Romanians relied almost exclusively on capital from Vienna and Budapest, a not insignificant difference if we consider the embeddedness of institutionalized economic nationalism. Furthermore, as Egry argues, Saxon banks were institutionally capable of erecting a new framework which encompassed most of the supposed members of the nation, while Romanian and Hungarian banks fell very short of this aim, and their charitable donations were mostly token activity which fell far short of providing adequate financing for a broad network of nationalist institutions. It is also Egry's work that gives detailed examples of barefaced individual rent-seeking by leading Saxon personalities disguised as part of a "national development effort" (the Vințu de Jos/Alvinc-Hermannstadt railway, the Hermannstadt hydroelectric plant, the Hermannstadt-Schässburg/Sighişoara/Segesvár railway) and examples of how the moderates within Kronstadt's Saxon economic elite (on the board of the largest and oldest local savings bank) fended off the efforts of their nationalist peers to make exclusive economic nationalism, directed against local Romanians, the basic principle of the bank's operations and tried to uphold an ideal community of all city burghers in the face of state-driven Magyarization. In light of these earlier works in the secondary literature, it seems more the coexistence of economic modernity and traditional activities that fueled attempts at economic nationalism, while the practice of economic nationalism was even more fragmented and situational than the book shows and claims.

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Metropolitan Belgrade: Culture and Class in Interwar Yugoslavia. By Jovana Babović. Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2018. ix + 259 pp.

Jovana Babović's Metropolitan Belgrade is an attempt to wrest a significant part of the cultural history of interwar of Yugoslavia out of the shadow of dominant political narratives. Babović instead wants to tell another story, one that took place simultaneously but separately from the better-known histories of authoritarianism, ethnic conflict, and national tension. The subject of the book is Belgrade's cosmopolitan cultural life between the two world wars, as well as the story of the people who produced and consumed this culture. Babović's key argument is that Belgrade's emerging middle class (the author uses the term "self-actualizing middle class") largely shunned domestic culture in favor of foreign and/or European culture. In this way, Belgrade's middle-classes distanced themselves from the cultural and political projects of Yugoslav state-forming (a distancing that became more pronounced in the period of King Aleksandar's "Yugoslavizing" dictatorship, from 1929 to 1934) and identified instead with perceived symbols of metropolitan Europe. This was also a means of creating a space between an emerging middle-class identity in Belgrade and working class or lower-lass social strata.

The book is divided into six chapters which offer amusing but also telling examples of this process of cultural identification and separation. The first chapter, "Entertainment and the Politics of Culture," establishes the allure of foreign entertainment, presented to and by Belgrade's middle classes as a "benchmark of European taste" (p.37). Chapter two examines the heady early days of Radio Belgrade, including its programming and likely listenership, and the manner in which the station addressed itself ostensibly to all of Yugoslavia, but practically to Belgrade alone (in its content and through its signal strength). There are further chapters on the professional associations of Yugoslav performers and working-class entertainers (a counter-example to the foreign cultural consumption preferred by most of Belgrade's middle class) and on the development of Belgrade's leisure district in the 1920s and the 1930s, with a particular focus on cinemas and theatres as perceived sites of moral transgression (it seems the feuilleton writers of Belgrade's newspapers and magazines were particularly interested in the potential of these darkened rooms for extramarital affairs). Babović's final two chapters highlight two important figures in the cultural life of interwar Belgrade: the

visit of American-born French performer Josephine Baker, the "Black Venus" who performed in Belgrade and elsewhere during a tour at the end of the 1920s to much outrage but also fascination in Yugoslavia; and a chapter on Serbian strongman Dragoljub Aleksić, an entertainer who became popular in the dictatorship period by duplicating and, Babović argues, subverting the regime's emphasis on physical discipline and culture, especially as embodied by the official "Sokol" gymnastic associations.

Babović's succeeds in telling a complementary history of the interwar period, one that differs from the better-known political narrative of the period and one in which class affiliations take precedence over those of nationality and in which the authoritarianism of the dictatorship years does not seem to be all-encompassing. On the former, it could perhaps be argued that Belgrade as the state capital and Serbs as the "hegemonic" nation might simply not be cognizant of their position as *primus inter pares* in the interwar kingdom (an idea hinted at in the chapter on Radio Belgrade, in which the producers of radio programming are not always clear about the difference between an urban Belgrade listenership and a broader Yugoslav one). In her chapter on Josephine Baker, Babović shows the contrasting ways in which this entertainer's performances were received in Zagreb (far less kindly, it turns out), and there is surely scope to draw out comparative or transcultural analysis of different urban centers in interwar Yugoslavia. This even offers a chance for further ethnic and national differentiation: how did Novi Sad, with its Habsburg history and its intercommunal traditions, differ from Belgrade? Here is a tale of two cities, two ostensibly Serbian metropoles that are on closer inspection quite different from each other. Babović's book is a piquant and persuasive study which asks and answers many important questions.

There is a rich historiography on urban culture in Belgrade, one which covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and continues to deepen our understanding of the time and the place in a turbulent political environment. But it is to date available largely only in Serbian, as Babović's citations attest (for example, the work of Dubravka Stojanović, or Radina Vučetić-Mladenović). This book is a rare example of an English-language treatment of certain themes and discussions which have already been the subject of nuanced discussion in the Serbian-language secondary literature, but it also advances these discussions with its innovative ideas about class and metropolitanism in interwar Belgrade. Perhaps the closest field in English-language is the fascinating literature on socialist consumption after 1945, pioneered by scholars such as Paulina Bren

and Mary Neuberger, and it can only be hoped that authors will be inspired by Babović's work to look more closely at the way culture was produced, exchanged, and consumed in interwar East Central and Southeastern Europe.

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Austrian Reconstruction and the Collapse of Global Finance 1921–1931. By Nathan, Marcus. Cambridge, MA–London, England: Harvard University Press, 2018. 546 pp.

Interwar Austrian monetary history is a popular theme in current historiography. Many monographs have dealt with this issue in recent decades. One would assume that there is no reason for a new research endeavor in the field, but Nathan Marcus's bulky volume refutes this assumption when it tells the well-known story from other perspectives. This book aims to present how postwar hyperinflation was overcome in Austria in 1922, the road to financial stabilization, and the events until 1931 by offering a complete reassessment of the role and activities of the League of Nations in the Austrian stabilization process.

The introductory chapter summarizes the political and economic history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from 1848 to 1908, unfortunately leaving out the war years, although this period had an enormous influence on postwar monetary and fiscal problems. Following this chapter, the book is divided into three larger blocks; their alliterating titles (Crisis, Control, and Collapse) indicate already the author's conviction that the Austrian financial reconstruction was little more than a series of failures. Nathan Marcus does not examine the process from a narrow financial perspective. For him, the real failure was the political instability and growing anti-Semitism in Austria in the interwar years.

The first part of the book (Crisis) covers the period of hyperinflation from early 1921 to late 1922. The main focus is on how Austrians experienced and made sense of the upheavals brought about by the dramatic depreciation of the crown. Marcus uses many sources to answer this question; the economic debates of the era, the inflation-themed caricatures in the press, and the data concerning demographic behavior and tobacco consumption. Hyperinflation increased the pace of life and changed people's perception of time. For most Austrians, rapid inflation was a traumatic experience; a process of impoverishment and decline. The deterioration of the crown's value created fears of a chaotic and unstable future. Marcus proves this by analyzing caricatures published in the newspapers which reveal the anxieties and distress caused by inflation, the fears from the disintegration of the moral order, the breaking up of families, the loss of traditional values, and the end of a male-centered world.

The most intriguing part of the book deals with the financial reconstruction devised by the League of Nations. During the stabilization program, Austria had

to balance its budget, establish a new independent central bank, and raise a foreign loan to finance reconstruction. The process was facilitated by the presence of the League of Nations General Commissioner, who controlled Austria's fiscal policy and was authorized to withhold the revenues of the League of Nations loan borrowed by the Austrian government. A foreign adviser oversaw monetary policy at the Austrian National Bank.

The question of foreign control, which has received relatively little attention in the historiography until now, is the central issue of the book. Austrian historiography has negatively evaluated League control as an unwarranted subjugation of Austrian sovereignty to foreign interests which allegedly damaged the Austrian economy and led to unemployment, deflation, and economic crisis. *Austrian Reconstruction and the Collapse of Global Finance 1921–1931*, in contrast, attributes positive effects to foreign financial control. This concept had been applied only to economically backward countries, such as Ottoman Turkey or Egypt. It was the first time a developed European state had to give up part of its sovereignty in order to get a foreign loan. In Austria, this provoked apprehensions and resentment about foreign influence. However, Marcus proves that in the case of Austria (and other financial reconstructions based on the Austrian model later on), the nature of foreign control was quite different. The League provided the impartiality necessary to make foreign control acceptable both to the foreign creditors and to Vienna by giving it an international character. International financial control through the League of Nations, unlike financial influence organized by foreign bankers or the Allied Powers, was acceptable precisely because it promised to be politically more neutral and respectful of national sensitivities.

In the 1920s, a new spirit of international cooperation emerged in the bodies of the League of Nations, the essence of which was to overcome national interests and social and economic conflicts. Officials at its Financial Secretariat and international experts in its Financial Committee contributed to the reconstruction of the global economy and fostered transnational and trans-governmental activities in conformity with the new League mentality.

Financial control over state revenues and monetary policy was necessary and unavoidable as it was the only way to restore confidence in Austria, and confidence was the most important prerequisite for raising a new foreign loan. According to Marcus, accusations of foreign financial dictatorship was entirely misplaced in the case of Austria. In fact, the control exercised by General Commissioner Zimmerman was quite limited, and he did not act as

a representative of foreign financial interests. Instead, Zimmermann played a conciliatory role by trying to reach a compromise between Geneva, London and Vienna by explaining and defending Austrian fiscal and monetary policy abroad. He functioned as a scapegoat, allowing the Austrian government to blame foreign intervention for unpopular economic measures. Chancellor Seipel successfully resisted League demands if in his assessment they came at too high a political cost (e.g. reduction of budget expenditures, dismissal of state employees, or cuts in wages and pensions). The reforms prescribed in the Geneva Protocols establishing the principles of financial stabilization were undertaken with little enthusiasm; the most important measures were even sabotaged in Vienna. Chancellor Seipel and his Foreign Minister welcomed the League's presence in Vienna, as it strengthened their political position vis-à-vis the parliamentary opposition.

Part 3 (Collapse) describes the post-stabilization period until 1931. After 1927, the political and economic situation became increasingly unstable in Austria, and this led to serious conflicts between the political right and the political left and thus increased the danger of civil war. According to the volume, this was the underlying cause of the recurring crises of the Austrian financial market, the most spectacular episode of which was the collapse of the Boden-Credit-Anstalt in 1929 and then of the biggest and most important Vienna bank, the Credit-Anstalt (CA) in May 1931. Marcus rejects the widely held belief that the CA failure triggered the financial crisis in Europe in the summer of 1931. The Austrian National Bank, with help from the Bank of England, foreign financiers, and the Bank for International Settlements, was able to contain the CA crisis by mid-June. It was only after the outbreak of the German crisis in mid-July when the banking panic and the run on the currency returned in Vienna. According to the argument, it was the unfolding crisis in Germany that brought the Great Depression to Europe. It is surprising that, in this section of the book, Marcus does not even mention the fact that League control was reintroduced in Austria in the autumn of 1931.

The book synthesizes a vast amount of secondary sources and draws extensively on the author's primary research; the references take up 125 pages in the book. Unfortunately, there is a lot of repetition; the book would have profited from the work of a careful editor who had removed repeated ideas. Marcus also makes only minimal mention of the issue of reparation, although it was a decisive factor in the European financial reconstructions in the 1920s. Despite its shortcomings, *Austrian Reconstruction and the Collapse of Global Finance*

1921–1931 is a significant contribution to the field which can be recommended not only to the specialists on interwar political, economic, and financial history, but also to the wider readership and especially to students.

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History and Belonging: Representations of the Past in Contemporary European Politics. Edited by Stefan Berger and Caner Tekin. New York, Berghahn Books, 2018. 214 pp.

History and Belonging offers an overview of the most pressing elements in contemporary European politics with a focus on memory politics and the creation of national narratives within the EU. It does so with issues occurring in the contemporary or historically Western and Eastern regions in mind. The first five chapters of the book offer insight into the creation of Europe as a cultural, historical concept from a typically Western European point of view. The last five explore the ways in which the Western European perspective has set challenges for non-Western self-conceptualizations across the continent.

While the first five chapters aim to analyze the ways in which a united Europe has become a homogenous, largely Western idea, the authors themselves sometimes fall into generalizations and do not fully question the meaning of the term "Western." Despite this, these chapters give a wide overview of the several domains which participate in the production of knowledge and are engaged in the formulation of both the idea of European unity and national historical narratives. The case of the House of European History (Rosenberg) and the European Union National Institutes for Culture (Schneider) complements the overview of the historiography of European integration (Calligaro). The first three chapters explore the importance of institutions in the representation of a collective "European past" and, very importantly, highlight (as in Schneider) the reciprocally dependent relationship between places of representation (e.g. museums) and those of knowledge production (archives and academic liaisons). However, one sometimes might miss mention of the regional aspect and thus the questioning of such categories as "European" or "common history" through a brief look at East Central European patterns of past-representations before and after the transitions following the collapse of state socialism. The fourth chapter (Pingel) on the representation of Europe in curricula and textbooks offers the sometimes overlooked yet immensely important aspect of education in transcultural missions. Pingel explores a shift in the European idea which is seemingly in conflict with the national idea while nonetheless sensitive to the question of center and periphery, allowing the author to touch upon the fact that the European idea is construed in a world that is imagined to be peaceful. The conflict between the national and the supranational European idea is duly demonstrated in the fifth chapter by Wellings and Gifford. Dealing with

national, colonial, continental images of the past in England, this chapter gives an engaging analysis of the history of English Euroscepticism and highlights the conflict between European integration and historical continuity with pre-existing national narratives. This chapter nicely presents the interconnected relationship between imperial thinking, nostalgia for an embellished image of national greatness, the cracks in historical continuity, and Euroscepticism. Thus, it may be useful for scholars from a great variety of fields.

The next five chapters offer a stronger focus on Central and Eastern European cases in past-representation and contemporary politics. Đureinović's chapter about the multitude of effects of historical revisionism on transnational memory culture in the post-Yugoslav space adds to this volume, among other things, through its special focus on the relativizing tendencies in the representation of both fascist and communist crimes. This argumentation is logically followed by a methodology-focused discussion of the memory of Stalinism and its international dimension (Weber). Đureinović and Weber's argumentations put special emphasis on the temporality of the concept of victim and perpetrator, which allows both authors to analyze the myths of victimhood that served as a foundation for the Pan-European idea. These chapters are nicely complemented by an analysis of the Holocaust as transcultural memory and the vast differences in how forms of resistance are remembered across Europe (Müller). As an intriguing resemblance to Wellings and Gifford's chapter on English Euroscepticism, Müller highlights the role of historiography in creating individual, national, and European narratives of the Holocaust, part of which is a dominantly nostalgic narrative in contemporary Israel towards the Habsburg Monarchy and fin-de-siècle Vienna. The last two chapters of the book revolve around Turkey and the responsibilities of the European Union in its accession (Levin and Tekin). The focus lies on the effects of cultural and historical othering, anti-muslim prejudice, and Europeanization. Levin argues that the popular idea that Turkey's accession procedure ultimately failed due to its domestic conflicts is largely misleading and that historical European self-conceptualization also partook in the marginalization of Turkey through consistent othering. The last chapter, authored by Caner Tekin, is a nice complement to this. It convincingly demonstrates the conceptual conjunctions between the formulation of a stable "European identity" and the debates surrounding Turkey's accession. Both chapters are useful in terms of methodology, as they reflect on how historiography is affected by conceptual debates.

History and Belonging might be an inherently useful volume which offers an overview of the questions which are frequently at the center of the debates surrounding the legitimacy of the European project. From EU institutions to curricula or parliamentary debates, the volume offers a wide range of topics and methodologies through which the European past, traditionally represented as homogenous and from a Western point of view, can be nuanced or even challenged. This book is special in the sense that it is a collection of works which respectively focus on questioning the contemporary European idea by deploying methods in conceptual, political, institutional history, as well as by drawing on literary and cultural studies. The issues of center and periphery, cultural and political othering, and religious and economic differences provide the core of the questions raised in the book. As stated in the introduction by editors Stefan Berger and Caner Tekin, the aim of this volume is to offer an introduction to how the European past is remembered in light of the European project and integration, which it does successfully. While this edited volume has a strong emphasis on historiography and memory politics, it will be valuable for readers from a wide range of social sciences.

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Planning in Cold War Europe: Competition, Cooperation, Circulations (1950s–1970s). Edited by Michel Christian, Sandrine Kott, and Ondřej Matějka. Berlin–Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018. 375 pp.

This book represents a very welcome reminder of the importance of the concept of planning after World War II on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Economic planning was not just an obsession of communist parties, it was also deeply rooted in the strategies and policies of various Western countries. While understandings of this concept varied widely, it was a topic of great interest and debate among economists and policy makers. This observation offers a different view on what is today perceived as two radically opposed camps in the postwar period. While ideologically, politically, and military this was undoubtedly true, in the field of macro-economics and more specifically regarding the level of state intervention, the reality was more nuanced.

The book has 14 chapters structured in three parts. The first part, "Planning a New World after the War" is focused on the period immediately after World War II. Francine McKenzie argues that immediately after the war, the liberal trade order was perceived as the best long term option, but different countries in the Western world would progress towards that goal in different ways and at different speeds, taking into consideration domestic modernization, employment, and social welfare.

In the next chapter, Daniel Stinky presents the work of Gunnar Myrdal between 1947 and 1957 as the Executive Secretary of the United Nations' newly founded Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). During his tenure at ECE, Myrdal continuously aimed, more or less successfully, to bridge the gap between the Western world and the Soviet bloc through economic cooperation.

The second part, "High Modernism Planning," aims to demonstrate how planning was a dynamic and versatile concept, intensively used and discussed on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Isabelle Gouarné describes the intense dialogue between the French planners and their colleagues from the Soviet bloc. In the next chapter, Katja Naumann describes how two UNESCO organizations designed to support social sciences research cooperation acted as spaces of encounter, cooperation, and even competition across the Iron Curtain. This chapter demonstrates how scientific knowledge undoubtedly benefited from East-West cooperation.

In the next chapter, Sandrine Kott elucidates an important piece of the still unclear puzzle of the emergence of the new managerial class as a key actor in all

the communist countries. This contribution describes in detail how management knowledge was transferred from the West in an institutionalized form strongly supported by the communist leadership in the 1960s.

Sari Autio-Sarasmo explores how scientific-technological cooperation (STC) between the Soviet Union and Finland were managed over almost four decades. The discussion of the means and specific details of this cooperation is very insightful and sheds light on behind-the-scenes technology transfer to the Soviet Union. The chapter ultimately concludes that the dissemination, implementation, and diffusion of the transferred knowledge into the Soviet industry was not terribly successful. Moreover, the way STCs were run during the Cold War (paying with raw materials and energy for technology imports) remains deeply rooted in Russia's trade pattern today.

The following chapter looks into the origins of a debate organized by the World Council of Churches (WWC) among Christian theologians, Marxists from both sides of the Iron Curtain, and scholars from the Third World. The author uses the Czech case to show how the anti-religious social engineering supporters, initially chosen by the communist leaders for their commitment to the party's objectives, progressively emancipated themselves and began to spread an independent and critical discourse, usually under the influence of forbidden literature and contact with Western scholars.

The next chapter examines one of the most important structures of the Soviet bloc, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) and, more specifically, the Soviet Union's attempt to integrate the communist economies into a centrally coordinated system. According to the author, the communist countries manipulated the negotiations in order to shift the balance of power within the Soviet bloc and to accomplish national economic and political objectives. While generally correct, the argument of this chapter could have been improved with the inclusion of two other facts in the discussion. First, the Soviet-led integration initiative came soon after a decade of blatant exploitation of its satellites' economies and resources, so the local communist leaders' preference for national sovereignty over a supranational initiative could have shaped their strategies to deal with integration plan. Second, the Romanian leaders used the so-called Valev plan to undermine the integration plan actively from its very beginning. The plan proposed the creation of a vast agrarian transnational area, including a large part of Romania, Bulgaria, and Ukraine. While perhaps economically rational, the Valev plan was ideologically and economically not sustainable for a less developed country such as Romania,

where the Communist Party had to rely on extensive industrialization to pursue modernization and the creation of its political base, the working class.

The third part of the book is entitled "Alternatives to Planning." It begins with a chapter on the Western perception of the self-management model developed in Yugoslavia as an alternative to the centralized planning system. The notion of self-managed planning had wide circulation and was quite popular in Western political and academic circles. As a path which was distinct from the Soviet model, it influenced debates and policy evolutions in the West. Even if its validation by the real economic performances was rather weak, it provided a useful theoretical concept, helping Western Europe to deal with its labor challenges.

The second chapter of this part focuses on the evolution and the role played by management theory in Czechoslovakia over the course of more than two decades. Vítězslav Sommer describes in detail how Czechoslovak management studies progressed and developed continuously since 1950s and was successfully adapted to the changing political circumstances. It is worth mentioning here that the Czechoslovak example is perhaps less relevant to other communist countries, considering the high level of industrialization and development of Czechoslovakia.

The next chapter brings into the discussion the role played in international cooperation, policy making, and planning processes by the ecosystems research starting in the early 1970s. The outbreak of the budworm became the trigger of a new approach on environmental management based on computerized modeling and systems analysis developed by the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.

The following chapter focuses on the rise and decline of the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Founded in 1964, it aimed to redefine world trade relations by considering various regional groupings, but also different ideological and economic systems. Planning and regulation were two key concepts in UNCTAD's attempt to create a common framework. However, the organization's relevance declined rapidly in 1980s as a result of rising neoliberal economic conceptions.

The final chapter of the book is also related to the rise of the neoliberal order, describing a research project launched by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1975. The project aimed to investigate alternative patterns of development for the Western economies in the new globalized world. The author argues that the project was a key carrier of

a proto-liberal worldview, which was actively diffused by OECD into the global environment in the following decades.

Overall, the book constitutes a valuable contribution to the understanding of the role played by the concept of planning at the global level and in the dialogue between the West and the Soviet bloc. It also offers a fresh perspective on the dynamics of this concept and the multiple ways central planning was discussed and applied in various countries. Some essential aspects of the communist managerial class rise and the complicated dynamics of the attempts to plan and regulate world trade are perhaps the two most important contributions of this book.

There are also a few disputable contentions and notions in the book. The idea that there is no strong opposition between market economy and a centrally planned one still demands further evidence. While it is correct that there is a wide range of possible economic systems between a dogmatic centrally controlled economy and an unregulated free market economy, it is the political system and the ideology behind it that defines the red line. It is also correct that various socialist countries experimented with various small changes, but allowing a larger space for maneuver to state enterprises in managing their plans and eventually allowing them to compete to a small extent does not qualify as market reform. On this question, the book does not sufficiently address the consistent criticism of the planned economy which emerged in early 1960s, especially in Hungary, including its impact on political decisions and the outcomes of various reform attempts. Furthermore, the book would have profited from deeper exploration of the impact of dogmatic central planning on the communist societies and how this impact influenced Western thinking on economic planning.

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