

THE BIBLIOTHECA CORVINA

The fate, mission and destiny of a library

ISTVÁN MONOK

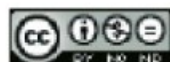
L'Harmattan



Insigne hoc
antiquae Regis
genua fami
quem me mi
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The Bibliotheca Corvina. The fate, mission and destiny of a library

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István Monok

The Bibliotheca Corvina
– The fate, mission and destiny of a library

In memoriam Frédéric Barbier
Horas tuas quia breves, immortalibus operibus vive

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On the Front-Cover
Coat of arms of Matthias Hunyadi in the *Guarino-Corvina*
Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bos. 8o 1.

On the Back-Cover
View of Buda in
Liber chronicarum of Hartmann Schedel (Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1493).

István Monok

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– The fate, mission and destiny of a library

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Preface: one library - multiple cults

In 2022, the question “What is the need for a library?” is becoming increasingly frequent. Many of those who believe that humanity is progressing are particularly confused by the kilometres of books that have been accumulated in libraries. These people do not understand that the digital library is also a library, and do not know that we still have a long way to go before the written heritage of humanity becomes part of the numerical world. Even then, humanity will not progress, but, let it be enough that technology will. What is a digital library good for? It is used in the interests of its creators. It can have direct benefits that even accountants can grasp. It can also have uses that only economists can see. There will always be people, however, who find it pointless to ask that question, who know that a library, no matter what its history has been or is, obviously is useful (*eo ipso*) because that is in its nature. It is useful even if it is read carefully, even if its material is used, and even if this usage goes far beyond taking its individual pieces in hand, downloading them, or making them the basis of text mining. They preserve the memories of those who in many ways do not deserve it and even those who do not want it. Besides, even in the present world, there are libraries that are considered prestige collections, and there are books that are especially valuable, deemed a financially sound investment in the manipulated world of ‘value’, otherwise known as economics.

If we examine the library of the Hungarian King Matthias Hunyadi (1443–1490), the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, we can follow his history along similar lines. Why and how the collection was created which finally in the opinion of the political leaders of the Hungarian Kingdom, who were not necessarily more cultured than nowadays, was meant to be “*pro decore Regni*”, i.e. “*for the adornment of the country*”. Was it the idea of the king, or was it encouraged by certain members of the court, those around the king to collect books? Who were those in this royal court who considered it important for various reasons? Certainly, it was not the influence of one person, even if the king himself could be open to the idea. The arrival of Beatrice of Naples (1457–1508) and her entourage to Buda (1476) accelerated the book collection process. It is also certain that Europe between 1470 and 1520 was more European than the European Union of today, namely, that Western Christianity lived in a shared world of values. A world which, by that time, had been searching for the common roots of these Christian values for a century, and believed to have found them in Greek and Roman antiquity and early Christianity. All began to reflect on this heritage from their own perspectives. Within the Christian Church, similarly to a monk named Martin Luther (1473–1546), the texts of the early church fathers and of the saints of personal religiosity were published, analysed,

and interpreted, while secular humanists did the same with the ancient corpus of texts and the textual memories that had been preserved from the early church fathers. Furthermore, they collected, or, being short of funds, persuaded others to collect them as well. People like Cosimo de Medici il Vecchio (1389–1464), who had the *Bibliotheca Graeca* and *Bibliotheca Latina* chambers set up in the convent of San Marco in Florence, and Matthias Corvinus, who did the same in Buda. The intention was to collect as many textual memoirs as possible. The Hungarian king was more successful than his contemporaries in achieving this goal.

After the death of Matthias Hunyadi, the Hungarian aristocrats wanted to keep the valuable library in Buda, thus they asked János Corvin (1473–1504), the king's illegitimate son, to return the volumes taken from there. From this point on, the political leaders of the Hungarian Kingdom looked upon the *Corvina* as a symbol of the country's golden age. After the kingdom came to an end, the future Hungarian leaders continued to do similarly. Today it is no different if we suppose that not only those who are more sensitive to cultural politics are aware of what the torso that survived from the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was and what its actual value is. This awareness is, of course, also typically Hungarian. It really matters only when there is hardship and one can lament over the fact that other nations do not recognise our past as sufficiently great and bright, insomuch as our present is considered at all. The *Bibliotheca Corvina Digitalis* programme was ahead of the other European cultural communities in bringing together the fragments of a major historical library in a digital library, to which the proud – surely proud? – representatives of the community could contribute as a worthy presentation of that collection's past. The Hungarian initiative was timely, however, nowadays no one pays attention to its implementation, which is why the Renaissance libraries of the Duchy of Burgundy and the Kingdom of Naples are now available and researchable in a codified structure on the Internet. They are not to be blamed for being ahead of us.

After the defeat at the Battle of Mohács (1526) and the fall of the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom to the Ottoman Turks (1541), the disintegration of the *Corvina* became a symbol of the collapse of the kingdom. Those who had always hoped for the unification of the country – the territories conquered by the Turks, the Principality of Transylvania, then the Grand Principality, and the territories under the Habsburg kings – had always sought to restore the *Bibliotheca Corvina* (the collection of books). Anyone who can bring the pieces of the *Corvina* back together in one place can also bring unity to the country. The Hungarian aristocrats and high priests, ambitious religious orders (like the Jesuits), the Transylvanian princes, and of course the Habsburg court thought along similar lines. From the beginning of the 17th century, the latter worked towards a unified cult of the Habsburg Empire, and they made the *Corvina* a part of this. After the legal establishment of the Habsburg Empire (1806), the Library was only seen as a means of helping the rapprochement with the Hungarians. From the early

modern period, the Viennese court decided on a communication tactic where they posited that the Hungarians were Christian only thanks to the Austrians, and were somewhat cultured at best. The history of the *Corvina* – created moreover by a king who had conquered Vienna and had imperial ambitions as well – could thus (if the Habsburg court created its unity) have been appropriated to the benefit of Vienna as a provider of culture. This view can also be observed in the attitude of the Transylvanian Saxons towards the *Corvina*. In the debate with the Szeklers (Hungarians living in Transylvania) – about who has the more ancient culture, the idea was put forward that they, the Saxons were the successors of the Buda court and the *Corvina*; but alas, at the end of the 17th century the Buda collection along with the valuable Saxon heritage, which had been evacuated to Brassó, was destroyed by fire.

Nevertheless, the *Corvina* is the achievement of the Renaissance humanists. Responsible scholars, or even mischievous adventurers, but above all intellectuals who loved books worked hard to enrich the Buda library. The desired aim, gathering the near-complete ancient corpus of texts in one place, is indeed something worth getting excited about. Furthermore, it is also an ideal basis for excellent cultural policy and academic affairs: the leaders of the Hungarian Kingdom in the last third of the 15th century made use of this opportunity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the humanists of Europe were mourning the loudest over the disintegration of the *Corvina*. They saved what they could, preparing those texts for publication which had only one manuscript copy. In addition, the great King Matthias Hunyadi, who financed this miracle, was commemorated everywhere; the intellectual always praises the one who pays for the realisation of their dreams. This is how the reputations of King Matthias, the *Corvina*, and the Hungarian Kingdom were linked. In the early modern age, “*Matthias Corvinus*” and “*Bibliotheca Corvina*” became such everyday terms similar to “puszta”, “goulash”, or “Tokaj wine” today. They are still relevant even if, by 2022, they are slowly vanishing terms due to the communication of hateful political groups (and the economic mafias behind them). In the 16th and 17th centuries, whenever the word Hungaria was mentioned in a book, regardless of genre, the name of the Raven King and *Corvina* appeared, in histories, itineraries, historical chronologies, or even in collections of sermons for daily religious practice. But above all in scholarly publications. Especially in those that published a better and increasingly manuscript-based collection of ancient *textus*. This brings us to the scholarly research of the 18th century, which combined the themes of *historia litteraria*, *historia bibliothecarum*, and *historia Hungariae*. Research on the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* also began at this time. A contemporary description of the library by Naldo Naldi (1436–1513) and a near-contemporary commemoration of Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (1500?–1539) and Miklós Oláh (1493–1568) were published. The sources of the history of the codices were enumerated, just as research on the history of the Hungarian Kingdom shifted to concentrating on sources. This is how

the first serious history of the *Corvina* was written in 1766, the dissertation of Xystus Paulus Schier (1727–1772). The *Corvina* became a symbol of the country's library, which was increasingly demanded by the intellectuals of Hungary, and was soon to be called the national library. The *Corvina*, which was part of the *hungarus* consciousness starting from the 15th century, became a fundamental pillar of the Hungarian consciousness, while at the same time allowing the people who lived in the Hungarian Kingdom to, quite rightly, never give up on the idea that the history of this great library would also illuminate their own history. It is my belief that the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, its fate, mission and destiny, is a truly genuine European history.

The *Bibliotheca Corvina* amongst the contemporary collections

Why is the *Bibliotheca Corvina* special? 2008 was deemed the Renaissance Year in Hungary, and at numerous events tied to this distinction it was mentioned countless times that it is the greatest or the second greatest library of that period, with scholars estimating the collection to be 2000–2500 items.¹

The first question that comes to mind is which library should it be compared to. If we ask about the known libraries in China during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) we shall hear of improbably large collections.²

It is similar to many libraries that are known in the Arabic world; one of the most famous ones is the learning centre and library established in Timbuktu during the Mali Empire, which flourished during the Songhai Empire (1464–1492), during the same time Matthias Corvinus was king (1458–1490).³

None in the Hungarian Kingdom likely knew about it, but probably the book collections of Mehmet II (1444–1446 and 1451–1481) and Bajazid II (1481–1512) were familiar to them. The inventory of the so-called inner library of the Sultan's Palace is preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.⁴ Thanks to the previously referenced analysis we now know the detailed history of the 15th–16th-century sultans' libraries. In order to show a comparison, since it might be lesser known than the libraries of the Western Christian sovereigns, within this small aside I will introduce this bibliotheca. Similarly to many kings who ruled the Christian cultural sphere or even the Pope himself, there were Ottoman emperors who also sought to collect all the knowledge of the known world.

The collection was designated "the treasury of knowledge", foreshadowing today's popular movement to call libraries "knowledge hubs". The other conventional expression was "the armoury of wisdom". Oriental scholars also frequently warned against the vanity of unread books. Too many collected but unread, unused books are really just the lack of wisdom, when the quantity and not the quality interests the collector.⁵ In Baghdad, the Persian Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur (819–893), a librarian and writer, proposed a "world" biobibliography as a general book of authors, Ibn al-Nadīm (†995/998) bibliographer of Baghdad followed suit by compiled a

¹ LOMEIER 1669, 188.; LOMEIER 1680, 204.; LOMEIER 1705, 157. He mentions 50,000 books, which is obviously a figment of his imagination. We could not find his source, for although he refers to Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) (POLIZIANO 1536, 258–262), his letter does not include this number.

² Cf. Ferenczy, ed., *A Tíz Bambusz Csarnoka*, 2003; Tokaji Zs. 2013.

³ TOUATI 2003.

⁴ NECİPOĞLU–KAFADAR–FLEISCHER, eds., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 2019.

⁵ AL-JAHİZ (776–868), *Kitāb al-Hayawān*, I, 61; al-Mas'ūdi (896–956), *Prairies d'Or*, II, 374.

compendium of the knowledge and literature of 10th century Islam, the Book Catalogue (*Kitāb al-Fihrist*). The nature of libraries and the usage of books are generally similar among the different cultural groups, which is why we can make assumptions about the 15th century. As the Arabic knowledge appearing in Western-Europe was different in the period after the 13th century, just like looking at the history of libraries it is also not surprising that we cannot mechanically deal with similar (Western Christian and Muslim) phenomena. For instance, if we look for Greek or other Eastern Christian or even Latin codices in the catalogue of Bayezid II we shall be disappointed. This does not mean that the library was not meant to be encyclopaedic, nor that these books did not exist in the palace, but that the inventory was only concerned with the inner library, the one within the chambers of the Sultan. The collection itself is a worthy peer to the more western, compared to Istanbul, contemporary bibliothecas. The libraries of Pope Sixtus V, the Dukes of Burgundy, or Lorenzo de Medici can be compared to the library of Mátyás Hunyadi which is definitely more significant than the libraries of the English king Henry VII or French kings Louis XI or Charles VIII; just a few examples of contemporary or almost contemporary bibliophile sovereigns. In terms of content the library of Sultan Bayezid II had encyclopaedic features. It had Quran interpretations, theology, juridic and law schools, philosophy, logic, and separately ethics and correlated to it, happier times, when there had been a correlation, political theory.

There were even works dealing with the education of monarchs (a kind of mirrors for princes). Obviously, there was a great number of medical texts, including medicinal plants for every day use and works about well-known healing practices. Furthermore, there were the scientific descriptions of *flora* and *fauna*, the applied segments of these disciplines, in other words, books on farming and agriculture; however, texts on occultism were not missing either. A substantial collection of literary fiction could be found as well (Turkish, Persian, and Arab). Beyond just the introduction of nature, the natural sciences are also represented along with astronomy, geography, as well as applied disciplines like arithmetic, geometry, optics, and various devices.

Unfortunately, the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* has not yet been discovered. In fact, scholars have not even been able to agree on what a *corvina* is. At present, hardly 215 certified corvinas are recognised in fifty different libraries around the world, at least according to the authors of the latest chapters on research history (Csaba Csapodi and his wife, Klára Gárdonyi). They worked with the *corvinas* during an era when only few had the opportunity to travel. It can be considered a thankless job to work on a project where the principle sources, the codices and manuscripts, are almost all abroad. We know this is not the reason, but instead book historical considerations led them to narrow the concept of the *corvina* to those codices which bear any marks of ownership (mainly their coats of arms) of King Matthias or his wife, Beatrice of Naples. Even in the case of

ornamental codices they were not consistent, where some codices possessed by the successor of King Matthias made their way into their *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, even though the printed documents were basically excluded from the collection as a matter of principle. Only the richly illuminated *Cronica Thuróczy (Cronica Hungarorum)* was dealt with seriously. It does not mean that Csaba Csapodi did not carefully examine all the references of a volume belonging to the great king's library. He also studied the afterlife of the *Corvina* in the 16th–17th centuries.⁶ It was thanks to him that the evaluation of the books that came to the attention of the intellectuals accompanying the military after Buda was recaptured from Ottomans in 1686 and which was transported to Vienna began.⁷ He did not consider these to be *corvina*, instead they were identified as the library of the clergy from the palace's chapel. In addition, the Csapodi couple examined in detail the books of nobles, contemporary of Matthias; Csaba Csapodi concentrated mainly on Janus Pannonius,⁸ Gárdonyi Klára on Johannes de Zredna (Vitéz János/John Vitéz).⁹ Both of their life works are separate corpus in the history of the *corvinas*. Taking into account the publications around the 500th anniversary (the Matthias album,¹⁰ Klára Zoltai's *corvina* bibliography¹¹) as milestones on the road to the present history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, the *The Corvinian Library, History and Stock*,¹² published in 1973 and the last decorated album *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (1990)¹³ are worthy of this list.

In contrast, European humanism research has more information on it. The forty years after World War II was unsuitable for cooperation, therefore Hungarian scholars, including the Csapodi couple, did not have access to the international literature. The monumental Matthias exhibition in Schallaburg in 1982¹⁴ was only an expression of intent to collaborate, since the Hungarian scholars were not able to produce a joint evaluation with their western counterparts of that era of the Hungarian Kingdom. We exported – a humanist and renaissance image of our own (not even the most modern version).¹⁵ However, it was still very important to do so.

The three decades since the transition in government perfectly demonstrates that there is a need to re-evaluate all the sources, it is unavoidable to expand the sources, and the literature written by the Western-European and American scholars during the last century must be read. Since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Hungarian research had steadily been falling behind in

⁶ CSAPODI 1961; CSAPODI 1971.

⁷ CSAPODI 1984.

⁸ CSAPODI 1981.

⁹ CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI 1984.

¹⁰ LUKINICH, szerk., *Mátyás király...*, 1940.

¹¹ ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942.

¹² CSAPODI 1973.

¹³ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990.

¹⁴ KLANICZAY T.–TÖRÖK–STANGLER, hrsg., *Schallaburg '82...*, 1982.

¹⁵ BALOGH J. 1966; cf. BALOGH J. 1985.

this matter, while the Cold War period made Eastern and Western professional relations untenable, its politics damaging the situation even more. The other side was also not interested in what was known this side of the Iron Curtain. A new era in research began and the anniversary in the year 2008 was enough to determine the tasks ahead. In addition to the codicological, paleographical, iconographical, and book historical re-evaluation of all the codices we shall discover how much more we can find out if a scriptorium's all known documents can be involved in our analyses.¹⁶ Identification does not only rely on possessor notes, stamps, and external sources. The researchers need to approach all documents which somehow belonged to the intellectual scope of the Buda court as potentially a *corvina*. Then, from these thousands of works around 2000 (?) need to be chosen (it is unknown exactly how many) which most probably enriched the king's library. The goal is to create a serious bibliographic work and historical anthology which includes all references discussing the history of the single volumes or the whole collection. The two corpuses can jointly be the modern bibliography of *Bibliotheca Corvina*.

We already know much more about the royal collections of contemporary rulers to Matthias, that is to say we are able to analyse the known facts with comparative methods. Numerous codices can be studied in full length with the help of the Internet. The history of the Dukes of Burgundy's library is the most documented in European library history. Its catalogues remained from the second half of the 14th century and the grateful posterity from generation to generation exhibited the surviving documents as artwork, the codices themselves. Philip the Good (1396–1467) and his third wife Isabelle of Portugal (1397–1471) owned a library;¹⁷ their son, Charles the Bold (1433–1477),¹⁸ or his daughter Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482)¹⁹ inherited the habit of book-patroning from their parents. The aforementioned generation's grandchildren (whose libraries are known) Philip the Handsome (1478–1506)²⁰ and Margaret of Austria (1480–1530)²¹ had access to more printed documents, but the majority of the works on the shelves in their libraries were still manuscripts. Famously, the father of Philip the Handsome, Maximilian I (1459–1519) greatly appreciated the new art,²² but the same

¹⁶ THIS is why we have created our *Supplementum Corvinianum* series and within it, two collections. *De Bibliotheca Corviniana* mainly publishes the proceedings of conferences on the library and its history (until 2022: MAILLARD-MONOK-NEBBIAI, publ. par, *Matthias Corvin...*, 2009; ZSUPÁN, ed., *A Home of Arts*, 2017; EKLER-MONOK-ÁBRAHÁM (ford), kiad., *Xystus Schier...*, 2019.) *Ex Bibliotheca Corviniana* presents the codex groups in their present-day preserved units, re-evaluating each manuscript, providing up-to-date descriptions of each codex. Up to now, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (FABIAN-ZSUPÁN, hrsg. *Münchener Corvinen*, 2008) and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbuettel (ZSUPÁN-HEITZMANN, hrsg., *Corvina Augusta...*, 2014) collections have been reassessed.

¹⁷ LEMAIRE-HENRY-ROUZET, ed. *Isabelle de Portugal*, 1991.

¹⁸ COCKSHAW-LEMAIRE-ROUZET, ed. *Charles le Téméraire*, 1977.

¹⁹ BEAUNE 2000.

²⁰ BOUSMANNE-WIJSMAN-THIEFFRY, ed. *Philippe le Beau*, 2006.

²¹ DEBAE, ed. *La librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 1987; DEBAE 1995.

²² THE most comprehensive representation of the Spanish kings' passion for book collecting was the Europalia 85 España exhibition: SARRIÁ, ed. *Les rois bibliophiles*, 1985. On Maximilian I, see UNTERKIRCHNER 1983, and recent exhibitions: HAAG-SANDBICHLER, hrsg., *Maximilian I*, 2019;

can be seen in his library as well (he might have had more hand-illustrated printed documents or high quality engravings). The library of the Dukes of Burgundy numbered 910 pieces when the most books were counted. The proportion of Latin books was hardly 15% and there were no Greek items among the listed codices. More than 75% of the library was French literature (including the translation of ancient authors), tales of chivalry, historical works, and collections of customary law. Humanist Latin works only appear infrequently.

The situation is the same in language (specifically Latin) and content composition when comparing it to the Castilian and Aragonese contemporary libraries. Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) thought it important to help the court culture flourish, and to copy and publish books. They themselves were collectors of gorgeously illuminated codices, while at the same time they were careful to control the world of printed books (and censor them) as well.²³

The reign of the Aragon family in Naples (1443–1504) and their court culture provide a particularly important comparison since Ferdinand I of Naples's (1423–1494) daughter was Beatrice d'Aragona (1457–1508) who became the wife of Matthias in 1476 at 19 years old. Although no catalogue has been found, half of the known pieces from the family's Naples court were in Latin, the rest in Spanish and Italian. There were no Greek codices in the collection.²⁴ Ferdinand I's children's tutor, Diomedea Carafa wrote life advice to the youth in Italian, but when Beatrice left to the Hungarian Kingdom the advice written for her was translated to Latin (*de institutione vivendi*) and put into a separate codex to be read on the way.²⁵ (This is the *corvina* kept in Parma today.²⁶) Why was the text translated into Latin? Surely to practice the language since she would communicate with her husband and his non-Italian environment in Latin.

The real founder of the French royal collection—where the library was seen as an institution—was King Charles V (1364–1380).²⁷ He collected all his books from Vincennes, Fontainebleau, Beauté-sur-Mare, and the Royal Palace of Cité to the Louvre (1368), had it catalogued, and enriched it further. By the end of the reign of Charles VI (1380–1422), the beginning of the 15th century, his work was destroyed, the library fell apart. The re-organisation was started by Matthias's contemporary rulers, Louis XI (1461–1483), undervalued in the relevant literature, and later Charles VIII (1483–1498). It was Francis I who actually organised it into

MADERSBACHER–POKORNY, hrsg., *Maximilianus*, 2019.

²³ Cf.: ESCOLAR 1987; the Renaissance chapter, including the Castilian libraries: 206–210: The book history of the transitional period – manuscript, printed book: FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, ed. *Creadores del libro*, 1994.

²⁴ LUCIANELLI–PINTO, ed., *Libri a corte*, 1997.

²⁵ CARAFA–LÁZÁR I. D.–VÍGH É. 2006.

²⁶ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 228; the facsimile edition: CARAFA 2004.

²⁷ AVRIL–LAFaurie, ed., *La librairie de Charles V*, 1968.

a great collection during the first half of the 16th century.²⁸ The magnificently illustrated histories, books of hours, old and contemporary literature were almost all in French in this library.

England at the time of Matthias's ruling was consumed by the war between the Houses of Lancaster and York (Wars of the Roses). Henry VII (1484–1509), the first Tudor monarch, was not exactly known for his high court culture. The family had some books, mainly French and English history and legal manuscripts, along with books of daily worship. At this time, there is no mention of a royal library in England.²⁹

In the international literature, including Italy, various opinions have been formed on whether Matthias followed Italian models in forming his library or, if inversely in numerous cases the Hungarian king presented an example which various royal families tried to follow.³⁰ All contemporary rulers of city-states had a renaissance court, which is why from the middle of the 16th century a number of catalogues remained from the collections of significant families. The size of these libraries varied between 100 and 600 manuscripts, hardly anyone had more. Of course, by the middle of the 15th century many intellectuals and merchants had smaller collections. Up to the time of Matthias the thematic and linguistic composition of private libraries had changed in such a way that the literature was mainly in Italian (translations of antique authors, contemporary humanistic works, history, entertaining literature, and religious literature, as the lives of the Saints, or collections of speeches). Interestingly, this was also the case with leading humanists. The Latin manuscripts and the growing number of Greek manuscripts from the middle of the 15th century were accumulated in the libraries of monasteries, convents and churches. In general, the libraries of humanistic scholars before or right after their owner's deaths enriched the collection of institutions. We know about very few multi-generational scholar libraries. Florence is a good example for following the changes.³¹

But let us move closer to the history of royal libraries in Northern-Italy. The family who ruled the Duchy of Milan, the Sforza family began the establishment of the great book collection³² in Pavia. They started in the 14th century, many books were introduced into the family by marriage with the Viscontis. By the first third of the 15th century the library reached the size of almost 1000 volumes (a catalogue remained from 1426) and the size did not change during the 15th century, since the Sforzas associated with several royal families through marriage, thus the daughters kept reducing its size as part of their dowries. This was how those codices made their way into Vienna that Bianca-Maria Sforza took with herself when she became the wife of the widower Emperor Maximilian I in 1494. At the

²⁸ BLOCH 1989, 311–331.

²⁹ FOR the development of the Royal Library of England, see: GENET 2009.

³⁰ FOR a brief overview of libraries in Italy, see: BOTTASSO 1984.

³¹ BEC 1984.

³² PELLEGRIN 1955.

same time, thanks to the military successes (the Italian wars: 1499–1513) of the French king, Louis XII (1498–1515) a considerable share of the Pavia collection ended up in Paris, significantly expanding the collection of Francis I (1515–1547), who established the French royal library.

During the reign of Matthias Hunyadi, the main household of the Este family was in Ferrara. At the time of Ercole d'Este, in 1495, the library included 512 volumes, unusually (for us) mainly Italian codices.³³

The overview of European court libraries contemporary with Matthias must include a separate chapter for the Medici family. Cosimo Medici in 1428 only owned a 63-volume library, which, however, did contain Dante and Boccaccio works in Italian. In 1444 the family library was made public (*Biblioteca Medicea Publica*)³⁴ and situated at the Dominican convent of San Marco. The codices of the humanist Niccolò Niccoli, which were placed at his death in 1437 at the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, were also moved here.³⁵ Afterwards the Medici family built another library (*Biblioteca Medicea Privata*), which, by the end of Lorenzo Medici's life, totalled 1019 volumes. In 1494 these books were also placed at the San Marco convent, so, according to its catalogue from 1499, it had 1232 volumes. Today's *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* was formed in the 16th century by combining the family's new books and the libraries of the San Marco and the Santa Maria de Fiore churches.³⁶ The *Bibliotheca Latina* and the *Bibliotheca Graeca* halls in the San Marco convent were formed as they can be seen today by the 1450s. It is difficult to believe that this humanist model-library did not have an inspiring force on the humanists arriving to Buda and guiding the development of Matthias's library.

In truth, the size of the papal library could be comparable to the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. At the death of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455),³⁷ who was the founder of a papal library institution, it had 1200 codices (a third was in Greek and the rest was in Latin). The official library was formally established by the bull of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) beginning with „*ad decorem militantis Ecclesiae*” (15th June 1475).³⁸ In 1480 the catalogue arranged by Bartolomeo Platina had 2527 registered volumes.³⁹ Analysing the linguistic composition of the library shows us that besides the predominance of Latin and Greek, very few works written (or printed) in Italian and other national languages can be found. Thematically the largest proportion of works are theological, although the classical authors and contemporary humanists are present in considerable number.

³³ BERTONI 1903; the catalogue of the year 1495: 235–252.; MILANO E. 1997.

³⁴ ULLMANN-STADLER 1972.

³⁵ GARIN 2000.

³⁶ MORANDINI 1986; LENZUNI, a cura di, *All'ombra del lauro*, 1992; FABBRI-TACCONI, a cura di, *I libri del Duomo di Firenze*, 1997.

³⁷ CANTATORE 2010.

³⁸ MANFREDI 2010.

³⁹ TOCCI, a cura di, *Quinto Centenario della BAV*, 1975. The latest monumental library history: MANFREDI, a cura di, *Storia della BAV*, 1, 2010; on this: DI SANTE 2010.

Libraries were formed by and by in the centres of the German principalities both in the southern and northern territories equally, but bibliophilia only spread with printing. The German prince-electors developed large court collections with the assistance of the Reformation and its emerging institutions (churches, schools, printing-houses, etc.) or precisely resisting it with the support of the Catholic side.⁴⁰

As can be seen, the Buda library of Matthias differed in many respects from the contemporary European examples. Only the papal library could be compared to it in size. Since we do not know the exact size of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, it is usually stated that Matthias's library was the second largest collection in the 15th century. Matthias did not inherit a notable number of books from his parents or from his predecessors, while the papal library, despite its turbulent history, has had a continuous history behind it from the centuries of early Christianity. Thus, the Hunyadi scion's achievement in developing the collections was by all means outstanding. Aside from the size of the library, it is much more important what the linguistic and thematic composition of the Buda collection was. This question leads us to the problem with the recognition of the role of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, and more so of the doubt about whether the books were used by Matthias himself or not.

It is clear that on the shelves of the contemporary royal libraries mainly vernacular literature could be found. Only one reason for this was that the French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish, English, or even Flemish literature was present in greater numbers in the 15th century kingdoms than in the Kingdom of Hungary. This can also be said about the smaller German principality libraries, about the proportion of German language histories or chivalry epics (*Rittersgeschichte*) compared to Latin works. This phenomenon is closely related to the level of embourgeoisement of each country, or rather how much the education of the royal court was linked to a vernacular culture. The dominant role of the French language in Burgundy, in the Low Lands, or in England (after the Norman conquest) is evident. It is interesting that only the Spanish governors became aware of the value of Flemish medieval literature and Philip II as Spanish king bought codices which were to be thrown away for himself from the Northern (seceded) territories as well.

Our understanding of the former *Bibliotheca Corvina*'s collection is not complete, but we possess key pieces of knowledge.⁴¹ It is indisputable that a state-of-the-art *bibliotheca* was assembled in the Buda court. Besides the standard medieval works – encyclopaedias, works of Scholasticism, etc. – firstly the late antique Church Fathers' writings were present, then the ancient authors, among them the newly explored and translated Greeks as well, later works in the original Greek language, in addition to contemporary humanist literature.⁴² Taddeo Ugoletto,⁴³ Matthias's librarian, requested Naldo Naldi, the Florentine poet, to write a poem

⁴⁰ IN SUMMARY: BUZAS L. 1976; FIEDLER-STICKLER-UNTERKIRCHNER 1980.

⁴¹ CSAPODI 1973; cf.: MIKÓ 2002.

⁴² KARSAY 1991.

⁴³ Cf. AFFÒ 1781.

in praise of the library.⁴⁴ Many books were listed in his work but we cannot be sure whether these were books he had actually seen in Buda, or someone (likely Taddeo Uguleto) described some of them, or he is just describing an ideal library according to the humanist *panegyricus* genre.⁴⁵ Beyond the specific, he also articulated the contemporary humanist concept of an ideal library. For this ideal the collection of Matthias Hunyadi among the 15th century monarchs was most suitable. The furniture was made by Florentine craftsmen, and the description of a mostly 15th century royal *studiolo* can be found in the text. Along with the books, there were also natural peculiarities (stuffed rare animals, minerals, etc.) in these *studiolos*. The library was the most beautiful part of the Buda palace, demonstrating the superiority of knowledge, according to Naldi.⁴⁶ This one-time reality is difficult to find in the later less humanist reports. It is likely that not one but two rooms were the representative treasury of the books (at least Nicolaus Olahus wrote about two), the walls (ceilings) were decorated with frescos, the images were labelled by inscriptions.⁴⁷ The library was connected with those halls which were the most important representation chambers: the throne room and the chapel. Today we do not have essential data on how the representative function of the library worked, but the fact that in later periods, including Ottoman times, it belonged to the important features of the palace, unequivocally indicates its importance.

The library clearly met the requirements of an ideal contemporary humanist library. It is becoming evident that developing the collection was the duty of those constructing this humanist ideal and, in addition, it was in their interest as well. Dalmatian, Italian, German, Czech, and Polish humanists comprised the members of this scholarly network which informed those living in Matthias's orbit about, on the one hand, the traceability of exact works, and on the other hand, the best scribes or ready-made manuscripts on sale. To put it bluntly, the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was the private library of a circle of scholars who took advantage of and served the representational needs of the head of a great power and especially the conscious intention to create a cultural institution.

How much were these books used by Matthias? He must have admired the Greek codices, but could not read them. He could read the Latin codices, although it is not obvious that it was his first time meeting these texts in the decorated codices. Lajos Dézsi cites Philippus Bergomensis's narrative from 1463, according to which there were historians under the pillow of the Hungarian king which he liked reading, mentioning two names: Curtius Rufus and Titus Livius.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ NALDIUS (ed. ÁBEL) 1890.

⁴⁵ *DE laudibus Augustae Bibliothecae*, Toruń, Książnica Miejska im. Kopernika, Cod. Lat. R. Fol. 21. 107. CSAPODI 1973, No. 435.

⁴⁶ KARSAY 2002, 37–53; See NALDIUS (ed. ÁBEL) 1890, 267.

⁴⁷ BALOGH J. 1966, I, 62–65.; VÉGH 2010.

⁴⁸ DÉZSI L. 1902.

We are aware of several examples when he referred to a text as familiar at the reception of a gifted decorated volume or an incunabulum (e.g.: Sylius Italicus, Roberto Valturio). We know the history of Matthias's life and it can clearly be seen that he had very little time to spend in Buda. He must have attended scholarly disputes; we have knowledge of a fictitious record of a debate on the purity of marriage described by Antonio Bonfini (*De pudicitia conjugali et virginitate dialogi*).⁴⁹ The codex containing this work might have been taken by the widow Queen Beatrice to Naples, and from there it passed into the property of János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus). It was printed from his library by Johannes Leunclavius in 1572.⁵⁰

While studying his book usage it must be considered if there were books in the *Bibliotheca Corvina* in languages other than Latin and Greek. There must have been ones in Italian. Experts argue over whether the Dante codex kept at the Eötvös Loránd University Central Library could have belonged to the collection or not.⁵¹ Did Matthias speak Italian at all? Surely, at least a little. However, it is unknown if he had any Hungarian codices. It would be hard to believe that in an ideal humanist collection there could not be found works in such an exotic language for the Latin and Greek cultured scholars. Likewise, the presence of Slavic languages cannot be excluded. It is inconceivable that the conqueror of Bohemia and Silesia only took Latin books from the occupied courts, especially since we know that the Czech vernacular culture hugely benefited from Husitism, their first print was also in Czech.⁵²

The monarch did not have much time for reading since he spent his time with the affairs of war and state and representation. The illumination and visual presentation served the quicker understanding and illustration of the text. Furthermore, these had added meanings that the people of today are unable to decode. No matter how the works were decorated with tight iconographical programmes, the king needed explanations to understand the meanings, it was not evident. Albeit Matthias, similarly to his contemporaries, understood much more iconographic meanings than the later, present-day interpreters of his codices.⁵³ Unfortunately the only surviving decorated contemporary printed material containing Hungarian history (János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*) is a controversial *corvina* copy.⁵⁴ It would be difficult to adopt the same method used by Laetitia Le Guay in her excellent monography to analyse the imagery of the manuscripts of Philippe de Comynes and Jean Froissart which were used by generations of Dukes

⁴⁹ THE current provenance of the original codex: OSZK Clmae 421. – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 131. Critical edition: BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, (ed. APRÓ) 1943.

⁵⁰ BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, 1572.

⁵¹ IT is assumed that Giovanni Como of Venice gave it to Matthias in 1464, see: FOSSALUZZA 2006, 51–90.

⁵² Cf. VOIT 2006 with items presenting the Olomouc incunabula.

⁵³ ON the relationship between text and images in reading, cf. OSHEMA 2005, 177–192. Most recently, the subject is summarised in a monumental collection of studies: KUPFER-COHEN-CHAJES, eds., *Visualization of Knowledge*, 2020.

⁵⁴ OSZK Inc. 1143.; FITZ 1937; MÁLYUSZ 1967.

of Burgundy, in order to recognise Matthias's interpretation of images.⁵⁵ It is certain that the relationship of the image, illustration, and text was different before printing, than in the Gutenberg era. The printed book pushed the imagery to the background, it needed different skills for reading and understanding the text. The pictures often interpreted and re-interpreted the text. Numerous case studies analyse this phenomenon in connection with the publication of antique authors;⁵⁶ in view of this it would not be useless to re-interpret the iconography of the known *corvinas*. The history of reading perspective must be included in this research.

When researching the monarch's book usage we must also face the question of in what quantity the first products of this new art (printing), invented around the time when Matthias came into power, was present in the library. This issue will be studied in the next chapter. At the end of this train of thought, I will refer back to the question asked in the introduction: was the library of Matthias truly the most attractive and largest in Europe in the second half of the 15th century? Without exaggeration it can be stated: conceivably yes!

⁵⁵ LE GUAY 1998.

⁵⁶ STACKMANN 1967.

Printed books in the Corvina – publishing based on corvinas

The history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* is connected to the world of printed books on two points. One of them is the question of the incunabulum, the other is the issue of how the manuscripts kept in the library became the subject of printed editions and parts of the textual criticism apparatus.⁵⁷

Incunabula in the 15th-century royal and princely libraries

Leafing through the pages of the past forty years' exhibitions' catalogues introducing royal libraries, it can be seen that printed books show up in considerable numbers on the libraries' shelves only about thirty–forty years after the actual appearance and spread (1460–1470s) of printed books.⁵⁸ As mentioned before, theoretically Philip III (1396–1467) or his third wife Isabelle de Portugal (1397–1471) could have been presented with a printed book;⁵⁹ their son, Charles I (1433–1477)⁶⁰ or his daughter, Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482)⁶¹ surely received books; while their grandchildren, Philip the Handsome (1478–1506)⁶² and Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530)⁶³ lived to see the golden age of humanist book printing. Regardless, only the members of the next royal generation, e.g.: Charles V (1500–1558),⁶⁴ Ferdinand I (1503–1564),⁶⁵ and Mary of Hungary (1505–1558),⁶⁶ collected and used printed materials regularly. We of course do know the father of

⁵⁷ A separate issue is the world of manuscript copies of *corvina* texts. They may simply have been made with the intention of obtaining a manuscript or text, but also for the purpose of textual critical analyses and preparation for publication by certain authors. A copy of the first manuscript contemporary description of the *Corvina* has also survived (a copy of the Naldi Codex made by Sándor Székely Dobai (1704–1779) (Esztergom, Main Cathedral Library, collection Batthyány, Hist. IV b.)). Edina Zsupán keeps a separate register of the copied codices.

⁵⁸ Cf. OSCEMA 2005.

⁵⁹ LEMAIRE–HENRY–ROUZET, ed. *Isabelle de Portugal*, 1991.

⁶⁰ COCKSHAW–LEMAIRE–ROUZET, ed. *Charles le Téméraire*, 1977.

⁶¹ BEAUNE 2000.

⁶² BOUSMANNE–WIJSMAN–THIEFFRY, ed. *Philippe le Beau*, 2006.

⁶³ DEBAE, ed. *La librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 1987; DEBAE 1995.

⁶⁴ DILLER, hrsg., *Kaiser Karl V.*, 2000; KRUSE, hrsg. *Ausstellung Kaiser Karl V.*, 2000.

⁶⁵ SEIPEL, hrsg., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.*, 2003.

⁶⁶ MONOK 1989; RÉTHELYI–ROMHÁNYI–SPEKNER–VÉGH, eds., *Mary of Hungary...*, 2005; cf. RÉTHELYI 2007.

Philip the Handsome, Maximilian I (1459–1519) also set great store by the new art,⁶⁷ though the manuscripts played a leading part in his library or the manuscript like illuminated printed materials and the high-quality engravings. Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabelle I of Castile (1451–1504) also considered supporting publishing important, since a known printing house was already run in Castile in 1472.⁶⁸ The instructions of the Catholic Monarchs issued in 1502 in Toledo (*Pragmática*) dealt with the investigation of the standards of content and form in printing. This censorship law namely dwelt on the quality of ink or paper and the shape of the characters.⁶⁹ Scholars give different reasons about why the spread of printed materials in royal collections was late, sometimes pointing to genres where manuscripts existed for a longer period, like musical works or books of hours.⁷⁰ We also have data about royals having published books copied and illuminating them magnificently.⁷¹ Yet, the analyses from a history of reading approach are worth considering the most. As mentioned previously, the printed book, the Gutenberg-galaxy demanded a different set of reading and understanding skills. In the codices the text and the images were equally important, in fact, the pictures more prominent, since we can easily recognise what we see, whereas abstract thought is needed in order to grasp the meaning of the text. The images shaped the interpretation of the text. Although many studies analyse this phenomenon in relation to the editions of antique authors,⁷² the approach closer to this topic is the previously mentioned excellent monograph of Laetitia Le Guay on the Philippe de Comynes and Jean Froissart manuscripts used by generations of Dukes of Burgundy.⁷³

Matthias Hunyadi's relation to printed books was analysed by Lajos Dézsi⁷⁴ and many other scholars. The printed materials belonging to the library was eventually recorded by Jolán Balogh;⁷⁵ Csaba Csapodi exhaustively commented on each of her statements.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ ON the passion of the Spanish kings to collect books: SARRIÁ, ed. *Les rois bibliophiles*, 1985. On Maximilian I: HAAG-SANDBICHLER, hrsg., *Maximilian I*, 2019; MADERSBACHER-POKORNY, hrsg., *Maximilianus*, 2019.

⁶⁸ Cf. ESCOLAR 1987.

⁶⁹ Cf. SARRIÁ, ed. *Les rois bibliophiles*, 1985. catalogue with the chapter „*La bibliophilie d'Isabelle la Catholique*”.

⁷⁰ Cf. DEBAE, ed. *La librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 1987, XVIII–XIX.

⁷¹ CORSTEN 1995, 128.; cf. with Csaba Csapodi's entry (Corvina): CORSTEN-PFLUG-SCHMIDT-KÜNSEMÜLLER, hrsg., *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, 1987, 185.

⁷² SEE e.g.: STACKMANN 1967.

⁷³ LE GUAY 1998.

⁷⁴ DÉZSI L. 1902, 167–171.

⁷⁵ BALOGH J. 1966, I, 330–334.

⁷⁶ CSAPODI 1973 accepts three of the eight volumes claimed by BALOGH J. 1966 as authentic and extant *corvina*: Nr. 438 (Nicolai de Ausmo), Nr. 54 (Aristotle), and Nr. 695 (Virgil), one volume is at an unknown place, if it still exists: Nr. 983 (Statuta Romae), two volumes are doubtful according to him: Nr. 409 (Lucanus), Nr. 682 (Leonardus de Utino), he claims one volume is definitely not a *corvina*: Nr. 46 (Antoninus), and one volume was bought by Matthias for the Carthusian monastery in Lövdö, not part of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*: Nr. 566 (Raynerius de Pisis).

Matthias's first meeting with printed books, with surviving documentation, was in 1471. On 13th September of that year he thanked Julius Pomponius Laetus in a letter for his present, a Silius Italicus text edition (*De secundo bello Punico*) published by Laetus, sent to Buda by an illuminator called Bandius.⁷⁷

„Reddite sunt nobis litere vestre per Blandium Miniatorem nostrum, his diebus Rome cum codicibus ad nos reversum... Res est iam multorum ore trita, musas inter arma silere. Nos tamen ut continuis quasi irretiti bellis, quidquid superest temporis, literis non sine voluptate et solamine vovemus, hinc est, quod oblatum a vobis donum gratissimo hilarique exceperimus non vultu solum, sed et animo. Sillumque Italicum vestris conatibus Rome elegantissime nuperrime impressum⁷⁸ his diebus sepius iam revolverimus, placuit *namque et in juvenia nostra* Silius, et nunc, dum bella canat et ipse, eo tamen non obstante diffiteri nequimus, miseram esse Regum sortem, quod bella gerere coguntur, ut sepius suos habitura triumphos, semper tamen sanguine hominum madentia...⁷⁹

Matthias's letter has a very sincere tone, it must have been written by himself. He was already acquainted with the text, evidently Silus could have been his favoured reading material. From a book history approach the sentence *namque et in juvenia nostra...* (he read it in his younger years) means that he himself mentions a possibly undiscovered codex.⁸⁰ Since this edition of Silius Italicus Roman publication is unknown it cannot be affirmed if the book was illuminated especially for the king. Matthias's appreciation (*„elegantissime impressum”*) could refer to the shape of the characters.

During the next year, 1472, *De re militari* by Roberto Valturio (1413–1485) was published at the Verona studio of Joannes Nicolai da Verona.⁸¹ 22 manuscript copies of this work are known, all of them richly decorated.⁸² Determining which codex's images were used for the first printed edition, who illustrated the different editions, and which manuscript was copied from the original 1472 edition, can only be the result of a long research. Many have dealt with this issue and two contrary opinions have emerged. On the one hand it is believed the printed version was made after the Dresden codex,⁸³ on the other hand the belief is that the printed work was copied for King Matthias.⁸⁴ In any case this printed edition is the first with technical illustrations on wood engravings.⁸⁵ Valturius's work was available in several copies in his library. It is also possible that the printed edition

⁷⁷ Cf. SZILÁDY 1877, 37; also mentioned: FRANKÓI 1902; DÉZSI L. 1902.

⁷⁸ HAIN 14.734, ISTC is00504000. Cf. CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 598.

⁷⁹ THE publication of the letter: TELEKI J. 1855, 454–455.

⁸⁰ THIS can be supplemented by CSAPODI 1973.

⁸¹ HC 15847, ISTC iv00088000; OLSCHKI 1900, I, 46–55.

⁸² We quote here only one of the last two summaries from an incredibly rich literature: DONATI, a cura di, *Il potere, le arti, la Guerra*, 2011.

⁸³ THIS is the opinion of SCHUBRING 1907, 103–104.

⁸⁴ RODAKIEWITZ 1940. Here, the author summarises the ideas about the connections between most of the codices, the wall paintings of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, and the pictorial material in the early printed editions.

⁸⁵ SANDER, M. 1942, Nr. 7481.; Generally: GILBERT 1995. Cf. BALOGH J. 1966, I, 330.

was there as well since an existing copy in Istanbul was assumed to be part of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* by János Csontos.⁸⁶ Csapodi doubted it and counted it among the uncertain corvinas.⁸⁷ However, he acknowledged two manuscripts as real corvinas: the Modena codex⁸⁸ with nice pen sketches,⁸⁹ and the very richly decorated Dresden codex.⁹⁰



01. Valturius_Dresdener-Corvina

The latter is the copy of the Veronese *editio princeps*, with decorations truly fitting royal representation. The wooden engravings are copied, the initials and the illustrations richly gilded.⁹¹

⁸⁶ CSONTOSI 1890, 40. Csontos assumed that the Dresden codex was a copy of the incunabulum, simply because the first edition of the work can also be found in Istanbul. In the end, he preceded the opinion of RODAKIEWITZ 1940.

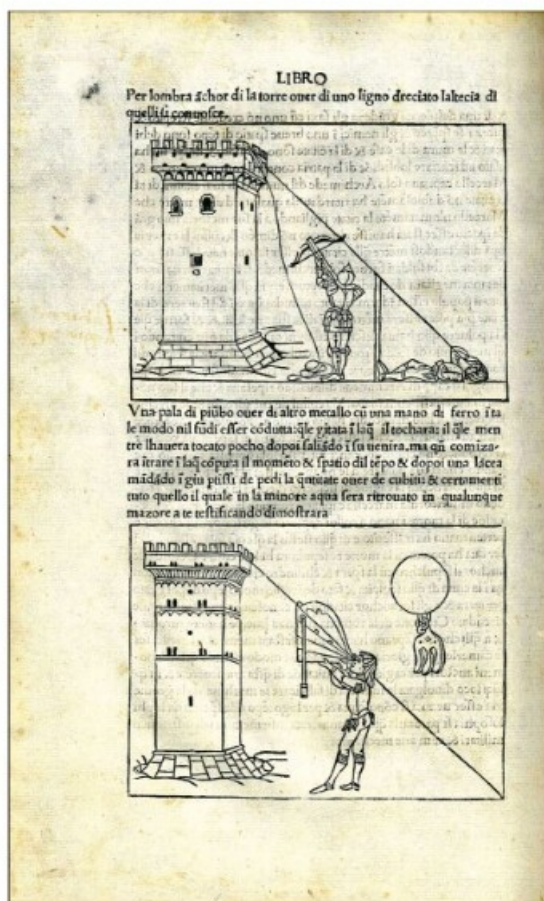
⁸⁷ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 688.; It should be noted that Csapodi was not aware of the spread out debate about the authorship of the images. One hypothesis is that the author is Matteo de' Pasti, whose patron was Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini (see DONATI, a cura di, *Il potere, le arti, la Guerra*, 2011). According to Corrado Ricci, the decorator of the Tempio Malatestiano, the codex, and the incunabulum are not the same person, but he assumes that Matteo de' Pasti took a manuscript with him to Constantinople as a gift from his master Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatestiano to Sultan Muhammad II (RICCI 1925). However, RODAKIEWITZ 1940, 17, says it is unlikely. Nonetheless, Matteo was indeed in Constantinople at the invitation of the Sultan. Cf. BABINGER 1951. See also SAKASIAN 1939.

⁸⁸ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 687. Cf. BALOGH J. 1966, I, 315.

⁸⁹ NICE photos were published by MILANO E. 2002. This codex was produced before the first printed edition.

⁹⁰ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 686.

⁹¹ CSONTOSI 1890a; TRÖGEL 1964.



02. Valturius 1483

The fact of copying was determined by János Csontos, but he did not examine the relation of it to the rest of the extant codices.⁹² The later published editions reveal hidden interesting things. The Latin and the 1483 Italian edition published in Verona (Boninus de Boninis)⁹³ copy the engravings of the first *editio* from 1472 and these images were used by André Wechel Parisian printer as well. By 1532 he was already working with line engravings, and occasionally he deviated from the original drawings, for instance at the end of Book II the bastions are to the right side of the shooting man (while in the two Veronese incunabulum and in the Dresden codex these are to the left side).⁹⁴

⁹² THE Hungarian literature is not aware of Rodakiewitz's essential work on this subject (RODAKIEWITZ 1940).

⁹³ HC 15.848, ISTC iv00089000 (Latin) (SANDER 1942, Nr. 7462.); HC 15.849 HC 15.849, ISTC iv00090000 (Italian) (SANDER 1942, Nr. 7483.)

⁹⁴ PARIS, 1532, 1534, 1535, 1553. I used the 1532 edition, National Széchényi Library Ant. 337(2).



03. Valturius 1532

Although comparing the illustrations takes us further from the present subject, I am convinced that comparing the surviving considerable variants in the manuscripts brings us nearer to a more accurate description of the Dresden codex. The Valturius-issue itself sheds light on interesting details in Matthias's book usage and collection habits. It cannot be concluded that the Istanbul incunabula belonged to Matthias, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

Similarly, it is certain that the king was also presented with the publications of Andreas Hess's Buda printing house,⁹⁵ and the works of the „printer of the *Confessionale*”⁹⁶ of Buda. At the same time no one knows how the the king's *Chronica Hungarorum*⁹⁷ published in Buda at the printing house of Andreas Hess

⁹⁵ THE works of Basilius Magnus and Xenophon, 1473 (RMNy 1; GW 3702), *Chronica Hungarorum*, 1473 (RMNy 2; GW 6686; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 745.)

⁹⁶ ANTONINUS Florentinus, *Confessionale*, 1477 (RMNy 3; GW 2108, Csapodi 1973, Nr. 41.), Laudivius Sacchia, *De vita Hieronymi*, 1478–1479 (RMNy 5; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 580.)

⁹⁷ RMNy 2; Hain 4994; GW 6686: SOLTÉSZNÉ–HORVÁTH J., kiad., *Chronica Hungarorum*, 1973; CSAPODI

in 1473 was decorated since none of the surviving copies are illuminated.⁹⁸ It is difficult to believe that the king did not even glimpse the missals published at his expense, but it might forever be a mystery if he had actually received a private illuminated copy.⁹⁹

We know that the *Chronica Hungarorum* by János Thuróczy was published twice in 1488, once in Augsburg and once in Brünn.¹⁰⁰ None of the copies of the Brünn publications can be linked to King Matthias. By contrast the National Széchényi Library has a well illustrated copy printed on parchment, dedicated to the king while also bearing his coat of arms which is assumed to be a part of the famous *Bibliotheca Corvina*. Csapodi doubted it, he thought the decoration was a publishing ploy.¹⁰¹ From our point of view it does not make a difference if this copy made it into the hands of Matthias Hunyadi or not, but it shows that the king did collect printed books as well. Meanwhile, the publishers or the library guardians made sure that their ornamental appearance were similar to the manuscripts.

Likewise, the French National Library's two volume *Aristoteles corvina* belongs to this group of fabulously illuminated incunabulum as well; its authenticity is unquestionable.¹⁰²

The literature, including the *corvina* research expert Csaba Csapodi, has been inconsistently classifying the printed materials of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. In addition to the previously mentioned works, six incunabulum remain which someone at some point in time registered as belonging to the Buda library of Matthias or simply that it was from Buda.¹⁰³ Csapodi did not consider these *corvinas*. At the same time, he assumed the works of two Hungarian authors were in the great royal collection: Georgius de Hungaria *De moribus Turcorum*,¹⁰⁴ and the works of László Vetési titled *Oratio ad... papam Sixtum IV.*¹⁰⁵ This assumption is indisputable just as the idea that the biography of Giovanni de Capistrano¹⁰⁶ must have

1973, Nr. 745.

⁹⁸ THE surviving copies were examined from a technical point of view by BORSÁ 1973.

⁹⁹ *Breviarium Strigoniense*, Venezia, 1480, Erhard Ratdolt (GW 5468, RMK III. 1., CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 737.); *Breviarium Strigoniense*, Nürnberg, 1484, Georg Stucks (GW 5469, RMK III. 9., CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 736e.); *Missale Strigoniense*, Nürnberg, 1484, Anton Koberger (HAIN 11429, RMK III. 7., CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 897–908?); *Missale Strigoniense*, Venezia, 1486, Erhard Ratdolt (RMK III. 11., CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 897–908?)

¹⁰⁰ AUGSBURG, 1488, Erhard Ratdolt (RMK III 15; HAIN 15.518; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 653.), Brno, 1488 (RMK III. 16; HAIN 15.517; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 652.); Cf. BALOGH J. 1966, I, 329.

¹⁰¹ OSZK Inc. 1143; FITZ 1937; MÁLYUSZ 1967. For the history of all the copies of the Brno edition, see FARKAS G. F. 2020.

¹⁰² VENEZIA, 1483–1484, Andrea Torresani, Bartolomeo de'Blavi (GW 2337, ISTC ia00963000); CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 54.

¹⁰³ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 1. (Donatus Acciaiolus); Nr. 8. (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini), Nr. 45. and Nr. 46. (Antoninus Florentinus), Nr. 49. (Appianos); Nr. 407. (Titus Livius). BALOGH, J. 1966 also separately discusses the existing, the lost, and the presumed incunabulum, and separately the volumes dedicated to Beatrix. His opinion is often overruled by CSAPODI 1973.

¹⁰⁴ URACH, 1480–1481 (HAIN 15.673), or Roma, 1481–1484 (HAIN 15.674) – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 295.

¹⁰⁵ ROMA, sine anno (HAIN 16.079; HAIN 16.080; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 696.)

¹⁰⁶ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 332. (Hieronymus de Udine's work)

been in the collection, since his canonisation was initiated by Matthias. It is also conceivable (I am absolutely certain) that books dedicated to Matthias¹⁰⁷ or John Vitéz¹⁰⁸ were in the Buda library. It is not unreasonable to believe that the complete works of Plato, translated by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) (Florence, 1484¹⁰⁹) could also be found in Buda, in fact Csaba Csapodi enthusiastically presumes that the king made a decorated copy of it for his own use.¹¹⁰ Contrary to this, it is interesting that Csapodi, who knew that the panegyric of Alexander Cortesius (1460–1490) titled *De laudibus bellicis Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis* was published in Rome in 1487 under the author's supervision,¹¹¹ did not assume that the *incunabulum* could be found on the shelves of the *Bibliotheca regia*. An ornamental version of this work exists, specifically made for the king,¹¹² but Csapodi explicitly writes his statement down without any explanations, that Cortesius did not send the printed version to the king.¹¹³ Further investigations are needed to see if the decorated manuscript had been made on the basis of the *incunabulum* with the corrections of the author.¹¹⁴

The editions of referenced and cited authors by János Thuróczy (1435–1489) and Antonio Bonfini (1434–1503) perhaps kept in Buda could be possible library items, as well as those works that have been referred to and cited in inventories during the 16th and 17th centuries. This is all together 62 printed items.

It can safely be stated that Matthias Hunyadi had a similar attitude to the *incunabulum* as his contemporary monarchs referred to in the introduction: if there was a choice, manuscripts were preferred, while the decorated manuscripts were only representative.¹¹⁵ As previously mentioned the king had manuscript copies of printed documents made which were richly illustrated for him. If our intention is to outline the cultural horizons of the royal court, then more aspects of contemporary publishing must be taken into consideration: starting with the books offered to the king or his orbit, arriving at an account of the sources of citations found in the court's published books.

¹⁰⁷ PETRUS Nigri, *Clypeus Thomistarum*, Venetiae, 1481 (HAIN 11.888; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 493.)

¹⁰⁸ GEORGIUS de Pauerbach, *Theoriae novae planetarum*, cca. 1472 (CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 497.)

¹⁰⁹ HC 13062, BMC VI, 666–667. To clarify the date of publication: KRISTELLER 1978, 25–35. (About the commercial consideration of the recommendations to Matthias and the copy presumably sent him: 35.)

¹¹⁰ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 506.

¹¹¹ GW 7794 (post 1484), ISTC ic00938800 (post 1485. június 1.) Eucharius Silber; Csapodi determined the more accurate publication date: CSAPODI 1982.; Cf. HAVAS 1965.

¹¹² WOLFENBÜTTEL, HAB Cod. Guelf. 85.1.1. Aug. 2; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 207.

¹¹³ „DEN Panegyricus hat der Verfasser nicht in dieser gedruckten Form dem König übersandt,...” Cf. CSAPODI 1982, 209.

¹¹⁴ CSAPODI 1982 states that the text of the codex and the *incunabulum* differ („Der Text der Wolfenbütteler Handschrift und der der Inkunabel stimmen also nicht genau überein ...”), and that the 1531 edition is based on the decorative codex: CORTESIUS–OBSOPEUS 1531 (OSZK Ant. 5244). Edina Zsupán, summarising the literature on the dating of the manuscript preserved in Wolfenbüttel, states that it was completed after August 1487, but before June 1488. She does not, however, address the question of the relation between the text of the manuscript and the *incunabulum* (ZSUPÁN–HEITZMANN, hrsg., *Corvina Augusta...*, 2014, 73–77.)

¹¹⁵ Cf. MIKÓ 1999.

The corvina as the source used in humanist textual criticism research and publishing

The contemporary humanist community often mentioned in their correspondences that the Buda collection had several versions of antique and early Christian authors that needed to be studied. After the death of the monarch until the Ottomans arrived to Buda (1526) various well-known, mainly Viennese humanists expressed interest in the state of the library or certain codices.

It is well-known in the literature that Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1525) and Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (1500?–1539) secured a number of codices for themselves and after both libraries were bought by Johannes Fabri (1478–1541) he possessed the most *corvinas* beside Matthias Hunyadi.¹¹⁶ The history of how the codices made it to Vienna was recently summarised by Ferenc Földes.¹¹⁷

It would be unfair to say that Hungarian scholars neglected to research of 16th century humanist text editions from the *Bibliotheca Corvina* point of view, but until now the data collection was aimed at information on the external history of the *Corvina* (disintegration, the fate of certain codices) in the editions' forewords. Research into the possibility of the corvina codices being the basis of humanist text editions has been overshadowed until recently.¹¹⁸ This kind of research takes lots of time, here our only intention is, besides mentioning the results to date, in order of publication data, only to highlight newly emerged data.

The first text to be published based on a *Corvina* codex was the letter of cardinal Johannes Bessarion (1403–1472) (*Epistola ad Graecos*). This information emerged from the foreword of Sebastian Murrho (1485–1551) of Deventer, active humanist in Alsace, written for Joachim Vadianus (1484–1551) (Strassburg, 1513).¹¹⁹ Similarly, Philostratus's work also ended up in the printing house of Matthias Schürer, translated to Latin by Antonio Bonfini with the title *De vitis sophistarum libri duo* and published in 1516 by Nicolaus Gerbel (1485?–1560).¹²⁰ In 1516 the work of Diodorus Siculus, *Libri duo, primus de Philippi, regis Macedoniae... rebus gestis* translated from Greek to Latin was also published.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ For a comprehensive overview of the history of the library and its destruction by the Turks, with a rich bibliography, see: CSAPODI 1961; CSAPODI 1971; CSAPODI 1984.

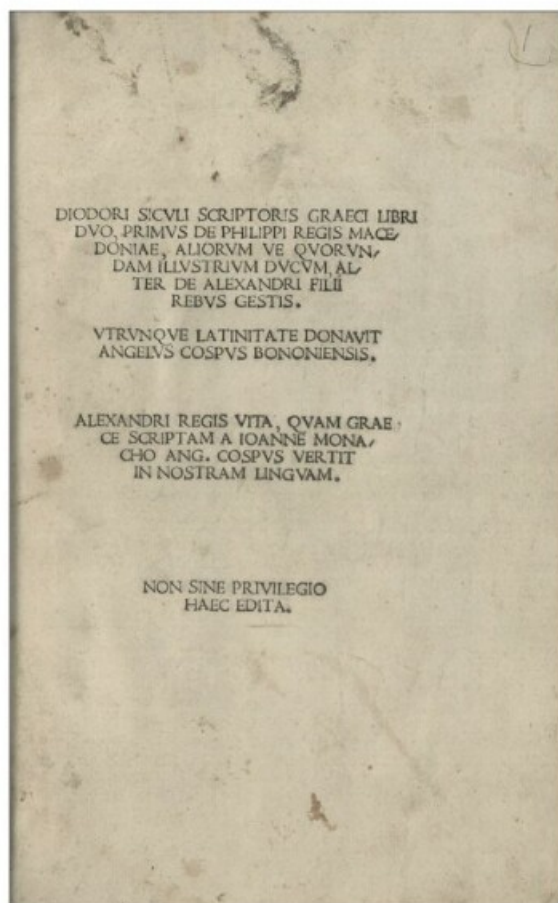
¹¹⁷ FÖLDESI 2002.

¹¹⁸ The first major bibliographic summary: ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942; then: CSAPODI 1973, and MONOK 2004.

¹¹⁹ The text was copied in Buda by Augustine Moravus from the codex that is now in the Hungarian national library: OSZK Clmae 438. The edition: BESSARION–AUGUSTINUS MORAVUS 1513 (OSZK Ant. 2733.); CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 115. Cf. furthermore EKLER 2015; EKLER 2016.

¹²⁰ The codex: OSZK Clmae 417., the edition: OSZK App. H. 1626.

¹²¹ VIENNAE Pannoniae, Hieronymus Vietor, 1516 (OSZK App. H. 2526.)



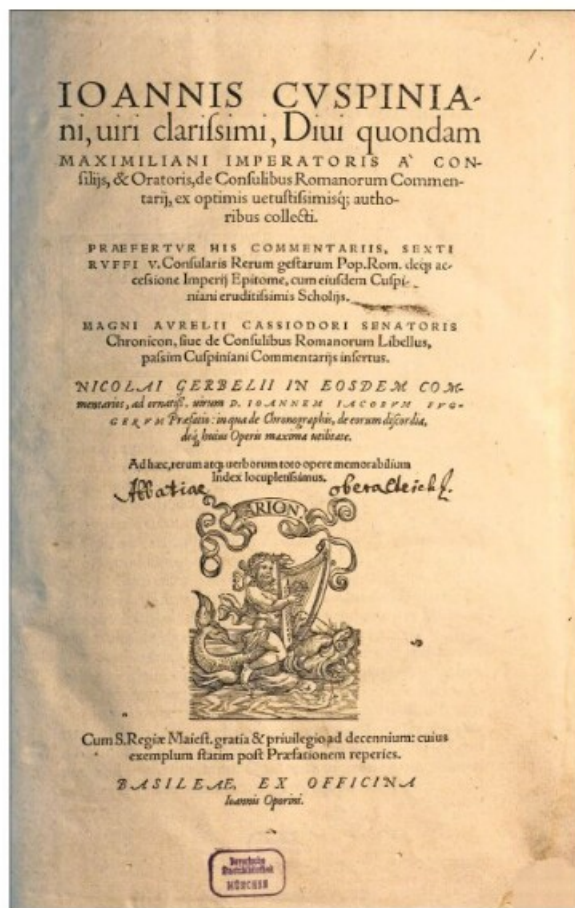
04. Diodorus Siculus—Cospus 1516

Cospus translated and published the biography of Alexander the Great from the Zonaras *corvina* that belonged to Cuspinianus at the time, and included it as the appendix.¹²² Without reciting the entire Zonaras's philological literature, I wish to mention just a few examples of how the reputation of the *Corvina* was spread through the editions of Alexander the Great's biography published by Ioannes Zonaras (Johannes Monachus, 1074?–1159). In the 1516 edition the translator, Angelo Bartolomero Cospo (1430–1516) does not mention that the codex which preserved the Greek history would have been a *corvina*, and neither does he mention it in his dedication to Emperor Maximilian I (1508–1519) (this introduces the text of Diodorus Siculus), nor in the dedication to Jacobus Bannissus's imperial privy councillor predating the Zonaras's translation.¹²³ In the first preface he only

¹²² ZONARAS [=Johannes Monachus], *Alexandri regis vita*, in DIODORUS SICVLVS—COSPVVS 1516. The codex: ÖNB Hist. Gr. 16., the edition: OSZK App. H. 2526.; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 225, Nr. 708.

¹²³ ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN 1959, 58, 102, 207. says he was advisor to Maximilian I (1501–1516) and later became canon of Trento. István Fazekas helped me find information about his life, many thanks to him.

mentions that Johannes Cuspinianus made it possible for him to study the codex. Csapodi Csaba closely followed the history of the manuscript, but only looked at the 16th century editions and was mainly interested in the history of the text itself in the context of the role of Janus Pannonius.¹²⁴ He cites the first, printed,¹²⁵ mention of the manuscript, which now belongs to the Austrian national library, once being kept in Buda. This was written by Johannes Cuspinianus in his work *De consulibus Romanorum commentarii* in 1553.¹²⁶



05. Cuspinianus 1533

Bannissus (Jakobus de Bannissis) played a role in preparing the marriage of Archduke Ferdinand (later King Ferdinand I of Hungary) and Anna of Hungary (Jagello) (1503–1543) (24 March 1516) OeStA/HHStA UR AUR, 1516 III 24.)

¹²⁴ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 225.

¹²⁵ This aspect is important for the *Corvina's* social visibility. CSAPODI 1973, 397 (Nr. 708.) himself quotes a letter from Emperor Maximilian I to Cuspinianus (3 February 1513), in which the Emperor shares with the humanist that the Zonaras text survived in Buda, but this letter was not published at that time. (see KOLLAR 1790, 634–642. Cf. ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN 1959, 121–123.)

¹²⁶ CUSPINIANUS 1553, 160, 569.

In its second edition, in 1601, the same text appears.¹²⁷ However, following the research history of the biography of Alexander the Great can also contribute to broadening our knowledge if we ask the question who, when, and what was known about the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* as a whole or its single manuscripts. In this sense the history of *respublica litteraria* and the analysis of *epistolae doctorum virorum* will also be the subjects of research. In connection with the Zonaras manuscript, for example, Johannes Cuspinianus wrote to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) on 18 October 1515:¹²⁸

„Ego ut aperte fateor, heluo sum librorum, et undique ac undique singulos evolvo, oculos. Sic repperi in bibliotheca regia Budae tum ineditos insignes codices tum illum praecipue Johannem Monachum: qui sub Alexio Commeno¹²⁹ claruit, et graece historiam ab exordio mundi ad sua usque tempora elegantissime scripsit.”¹³⁰

For future reference, the research history of all those classical or medieval texts which appeared in the *Corvina* need to be reexamined to determine which version of the text was used by the publishers. As an example, one exciting task is to determine whether any of Iamblichus Chalcideus’s publishers used the codex containing the Marsilio Ficino translation (*De Aegyptiorum Assyrorumque theologia*) which is assumed to have belonged to the *Corvina*.¹³¹ The assumption is well founded as we are acquainted with Ficino Francesco’s letter to Bandini (†1490?) and to Taddeo Ugoletti concerning the translation and delivery to Buda.¹³² The first edition was published in the printing house of Aldus Manutius (1449–1515) in 1516,¹³³ in which his work about the life of Pythagoras had not yet appeared. Nor is it included in the 1577 Lyon edition by Johannes Tornaesius,¹³⁴ which used the Aldus edition. In the 1556 Rome edition, edited by Nicolaus Scutellius (1490–1542),¹³⁵ both works appear, but it is not mentioned in the forewards what codices were used and if he had seen the assumed *corvina* manuscript now kept in London.¹³⁶ Johannes Arcerius Theodoretus (1538–1604) produced a new translation of both works at the end of the 16th century, but the edition (Franeker, 1598, Aegidius Radaeus)¹³⁷ is silent on its sources. By comparing Brassicanus’s collection of *proverbium*¹³⁸ and the texts of the 17th–20th century editions we might get nearer to answering the question: did Matthias’s library play a role in preserving texts?

¹²⁷ CUSPINIANUS 1601, 123, 469.

¹²⁸ FREYTAG 1831, 5–7.; Hans Derscham (1494–1568) also wrote about this topic; see ORBÁN Á. 2020.

¹²⁹ I. Alexios Komnenos (1057–1118) the Byzantine emperor.

¹³⁰ FREYTAG 1831, 7. – here refers to the letter of Maximilian I to Cuspinianus, published by KOLLAR 1790, 634–642.

¹³¹ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 346.

¹³² ÁBEL–HEGEDŰS I., ed., *Analecta nova*, 1903, 254–255, 288. Taddeo Ugoletto/Ugoletti lived in Buda between 1480 and 1490, he was the librarian of the *Corvina*.

¹³³ VENETHIS, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Soceri, 1516 (OSZK Ant. 716.); CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 346.

¹³⁴ LUGDUNI, Ioannes Tornaesius, 1577 (OSZK Ant. 8450.)

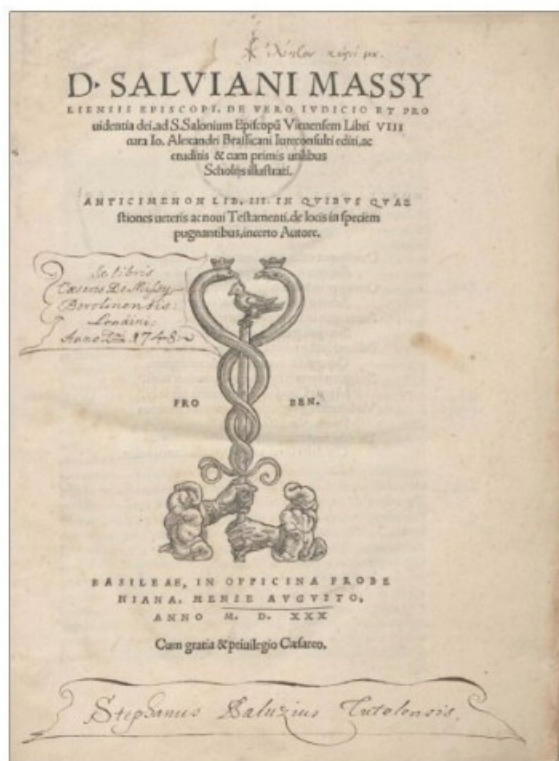
¹³⁵ ROMAE, Antonius Bladus, sumptibus Vincentii Luchrini, 1556 (OSZK Ant. 2038.)

¹³⁶ BM Addit. MS. 21,165.; CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 347.

¹³⁷ OSZK Ant. 2037.

¹³⁸ JOHANNES ALEXANDER BRASSICANUS, *Proverbiorum symmetrica, quibus adiecta sunt Pythagorae symbola... et*

Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (1500?–1539) was the one of the humanists most attentive to the *corvina* at the very beginning of the 16th century. He also published a Lucianus volume in 1527.¹³⁹ The Hungarian literature suggests that a lost *Corvina* codex might have been the basis of the edition, though it is not mentioned in the dedication to imperial councillor Markus Böck von Leopoldsdorf. This is strange since in the notes of the volume he refers to his visit to Buda in 1525.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, if he had stolen the codex it would not have been advisable even in 1527 to write about it and explain how he obtained it. In any case, however he got a few volumes, he saved them from almost certain destruction. The first printed report on his visit to Buda and the library was published in 1530 (in the Salvianus edition).¹⁴¹ More on this below.



06 Salvianus (ed. Brassicanus) 1530

ipsa provenbia... recens autem ex Jamblicbo... latina facta..., Viennae, Hieronymus Victor, 1529 (ÖNB 74 W 106/3.)

¹³⁹ LUCIANUS, *Aliquot exquisitae lucubrationes*, trad. Johannes Alexander BRASSICANUS, Viennae Austriae, Johannes Singrenius, 1527 (OSZK App. H. 193.) – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 412.

¹⁴⁰ In it he mentions seeing the works of Marcus Monachus Anachoreta, a fifth-century Greek monk: CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 419.

¹⁴¹ SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS) 1530.

Vincentius Obsopaeus (1498?–1539) begins his dedication to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) for his publication of the letters of Basilius Magnus and Gregorius Naziansenus in 1528 as follows:

„Cum nuper inspiciendum mihi obtulisset ex bibliotheca tua, Bilbalde clarissime Georgius Leutius, codicem epistolarum Basili et Gregorii, quem cum ob literarum characteras, tum ob vetustatem vehementer videre cupiebam. Est enim, ut mihi coniecturam facienti visum est, ante ducentos aut amplius annos descriptus, inque regis Ungariae Bibliothecam repositus.”¹⁴²

None of the manuscripts known today have been identified as a piece of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* or the Pirckheimer library, however, the quotation is straightforward: the former Buda copy contributed to the philological accuracy of the 16th century edition.

The longest epic text connected to the history of Matthias Hunyadi's library between 1490 and 1526 is Brassicanus's description of his Buda visit in 1525. In his work he lists several codices he saw there. This description can be found in the Salvianus Massiliensis edition (1530) in the dedication to Christoph von Stadion (1478–1543), Bishop of Augsburg (1478–1543) published by Brassicanus.¹⁴³ The basis of the publication was the *corvina* containing the works of the Bishop of Marseilles.¹⁴⁴ Diego Baldi made the critical edition of the full letter to Christoph von Stadion, identified the works of the authors mentioned by Brassicanus, and quoted the relevant passages.¹⁴⁵ András Németh has also analysed the details of this dedication, however his focus was on where the manuscripts mentioned by Brassicanus can be found today.¹⁴⁶ In light of the *Corvina*'s history however, the more important for us is the publication history of the Salvianus work. Without being able to take all the *editiones* in hand. There is close to a hundred, for the purpose of this work they can be divided into three groups. Perhaps the most important are those which contain the description of the *Corvina* by Brassicanus in full. The second group begins with the edition by Konrad Rittershausen (1560–1630) published in 1611 and consists of those in which the publisher discloses the Salvianus biography written by him and the edition history of his works. In this it is mentioned in a paragraph that the first publisher was Brassicanus who saw the manuscript in Buda at the library of the Hungarian king. The third group includes all those editions which do not contain any of these texts and do not mention the fact that the *editio princeps* was done based on a *Corvina* codex. I find it important to also analyse to whom publishers dedicated the books that mention the *Corvina*.

According to Diego Baldi the 1530 Brassicanus edition from Basel was not to the satisfaction of all.¹⁴⁷ He justifies his opinion with the fact of quick reissuing,

¹⁴² *EPISTOLAE Graecae*, Haganoae, Johannes Setzer, 1528 (OSZK Ant. 5300.) – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 107.

¹⁴³ SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS) 1530 (OSZK App. H. 224.), fol. a2r–a4v.; Cf. BALDI 2011.

¹⁴⁴ THE codex today: ÖNB Cod. Lat. 826 (CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 583.)

¹⁴⁵ BALDI 2011.

¹⁴⁶ NÉMETH 2013; NÉMETH 2013a.

¹⁴⁷ BALDI 2011, 153.

although I assume this is the reason for its success. He himself mentions a Florentine 1562 edition (Lorenzo Torrentino) from the literature, but it is not listed in the Italian common catalogue (EDIT 16) (no copies were found). The editor of the 1564 edition from Rome, Pietro Gallesini (1520–1590) did not mention the Buda manuscript.¹⁴⁸ The French editions date back to the Paris 1575 *editio* of Pierre Pithou (Pithoeus, 1539–1596)¹⁴⁹ which was also compared to his own manuscript. It can also be considered a real success, since beside the Latin edition it was also published twice in French in 1575¹⁵⁰ translated by Nicolas de Bauffremont (1520–1582). Pithou published in full Brassicanus's letter to Bishop Stadion and repeated it in the editions of 1594, 1600, 1608, and 1617.¹⁵¹ The Konrad Rittershausen edition was published before the last listed year, in 1611 in Altdorf, which included the *Salvianus vita* and a brief mention of the Buda story.¹⁵²

„Vocat enim Episcoporum magistrum, humana et divina literatura instructum, qui scholastico et aperto sermone scripserit. Sed cum nescio qua sua vel seculorum infelicitate diutissime ignorabilis latuisset, demum post mille et quinquaginta annos rursus in lucem e tenebris emersit bona sui parte. Ioannis Alexandri Brassicani comitate atque industria protractus. Floruit enim circa annum Domini quadringentesimum et octogesimum, imperante Zenone,¹⁵³ annis ante Justinianum¹⁵⁴ quasi centum quinquaginta, et quod excurrit. Brassicanus vero ex Bibliotheca Budensi, quam Matthias Corvinus Rex Hungariae instituerat, primus eum protulit et Basileae anno MDXXX. edidit.¹⁵⁵”



07. Salvianus (ed. Rittershusius) 1688

¹⁴⁸ SALVIANUS (ed. GALLESINI) 1564.

¹⁴⁹ SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1575.

¹⁵⁰ SALVIANUS (ed. BAUFFREMONT) 1575a. Cf. PETTEGREE–WALSBY–WILKINSON 2007, Nr. 47346, Nr. 47347.

¹⁵¹ SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1575, 3–23.; SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1594, 3–23.; SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1600, 366–387.; SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1608, 472–493.; SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1617, 474–495. (with incorrect pagination). However, SALVIANUS is not included in 1580 (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU).

¹⁵² SALVIANUS (ed. RITTERSHUSIUS) 1611, fol. *2r–v.

¹⁵³ ZENO (426?–491) Byzantine emperor (476–491).

¹⁵⁴ JUSTINIAN I (483–565) Byzantine emperor (527–565).

¹⁵⁵ SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS) 1530.

From then on, this, and not Brassicanus's letter, was published in the following editions: 1623 (Nuremberg), 1645 (Paris), 1688 (Bremen).¹⁵⁶ After the 1688 edition by Etienne Baluze (1630–1718) which includes a long summary of the history of editions,¹⁵⁷ both texts disappear (Venice, Pisa, Prague, Olomouc, Passau, Vienna). Mention of Matthias's library only reappears in the *editio* of Nagyszombat (Tyrnau) (1752, 1773)¹⁵⁸ in the prefaces based on Rittershausen's biography of Salvianus. There are, of course, editions in which references to the Buda library occur, but this fact is not emphasised. One example is the edition published by the Vienna Jesuit order's patronage where Buda is mentioned, but Brassicanus is not named in the foreword:

„Latuit thesaurus hic sane pretiosus annos omnino mille quinquaginta, tumulo partim librario, partim oblivionis sepultus, donec cum litterata Respublica, cui praeter nomen Viri¹⁵⁹ vix aliud reliquum erat, inter manuscripta Bibliothecae Regiae Budensis unice superstitem feliciter reperisset, atque e vetustissimis illis pulveribus erutum anno primum 1530, typis Basilensibus in lucem protraxisset, temporibusque posteris communicasset.”¹⁶⁰

Similarly, some critical editions mention how Brassicanus obtained the manuscript for the first edition when listing editions. An example of this: the work of Karl Traugott Gottlob Schoenemann (1752–1802),¹⁶¹ a text which was also adapted by Jacques Paul Migne (1800–1875) to his *editio*.¹⁶²

I find it particularly significant that the French editions also mention the *Corvina* Codex,¹⁶³ similar to the preface of the translator Pierre Gorse (1590–1661), in the book which was dedicated to Pierre III de Bertier (1606–1674), the Bishop of Montauban (1652–1674):

Preface du traducteur sur les escrits et sur la vie de Salvian [In this preface Gorse translates in an abbreviated form the Salvianus biography written by Konrad Rittershausen (1611)]

„Mais je sçay par quel malheur ou negligence des hommes lettrez de son siecle et des suiuaens, il a demeuré inconnu l'espace de mille et cinquante ans, apres lesquels Ioannes Alexander Brassicanus la tiré des tenebres, ou il estoit enseuly. Cest luy qui trouua dans la Bibliotheque de Bude, Ville Capital de la Hongrie, dressée par le roy

¹⁵⁶ SALVIANUS (ed. RITTERSHUSIUS) 1623, fol. *2r–v.; SALVIANUS (ed. PITHOU) 1645, 3–4.; SALVIANUS (ed. BALUZE) 1688, fol. IVr. I note that Jean Osmont, who reprinted Pithou's edition, omitted this biography, SALVIANUS (ed. PITHOU–OSMONT) 1627; as did the Oxford *editio*, SALVIANUS (ed. BRASSICANUS–PITHOU) 1633, the latter including the original Brassicanus notes, but his paratext is missing.

¹⁵⁷ I only mention a few previous publications that do not have this publication history: SALVIANUS (ed. BALUZE) 1663, 1669, 1684. After the Bremen edition of 1688 (*opera omnia*), an unchanged reprint of the previous editions (1663, 1669, 1684) was published, entitled as the fourth edition, without changes for two years, also without reference to the *Corvina*: SALVIANUS (ed. BALUZE) 1742, 1743.

¹⁵⁸ SALVIANUS 1752, fol. 5r–v.; SALVIANUS 1773, fol. 5r–v.

¹⁵⁹ JOHANNES Alexander Brassicanus.

¹⁶⁰ SALVIANUS 1750, fol. [4]r.

¹⁶¹ SALVIANUS (ed. SCHOENEMANN) 1794, 827–828, 845.

¹⁶² SALVIANUS (ed. MIGNE) 1847, 14–15.

¹⁶³ THE first translation does not contain anything like that.: SALVIANUS (ed. BAUFFREMONT) 1575a.

Matthias Corvinus, laquelle fut bruslée par Soliman en la prise de la mesme Ville l'an 1526. Brassicanus donc est le premier qui fit imprimer à Basle les huit Liures de la Providence l'an 1530."¹⁶⁴

The landmark critical edition of the Salvianus text, however, words the history of the edition like this:

„Ex quo codice editio princeps, a[nno] 1530 cura Io[annis] Alexandri Brassicani vulgata, expressa sit, *ignoratur*.¹⁶⁵ Scatet hic liber vitii omnis generis, imprimis in duobus libris posterioribus, quorum ordo miserum in modum turbatus est: aliquot tamen locis eo libro solo lectio vera servata est.”¹⁶⁶

In other words, it is the wording of the text, with which the author of the „vulgate” edition has done a service, the order of the passages, and the interpretation of the text in the oeuvre are not correct in the edition. In fact, according to Carolus Halm, the basis of the edition was poor quality, something that is generally claimed about most of the *corvinas* by the authors of modern critical editions, so he bases the *editio* on a manuscript from Paris. In the next critical edition Franciscus Pauly does record the Vienna Codex as the basis on which Brassicanus worked, although he does not mention the provenance of the manuscript.¹⁶⁷

Brassicanus’s description of what he found in Buda disappeared from the textual philological apparatus from the second half of the 17th century. It did, however, appear in parts of library studies anthologies (Joachim Johann Mader, 1626–1680),¹⁶⁸ and on the pages of *historia litteraria*, although it is usually only cited or mentioned.¹⁶⁹

We want to conclude our remarks on the history of the publication of the Salvianus text: the first Hungarian translation of the work (*De gubernatione Dei*) was published in 1862 by the students of the Győr Seminary.¹⁷⁰ The bibliographic knowledge of the translators was not very deep – they believed the first French translation was published in 1825¹⁷¹ – but they were familiar with most of the 16th and 17th century publications of the work:

„It is interesting for us Hungarians that the manuscript for the first edition of the eight books „Isten világkormányzatáról” was obtained from our world famous king Matthias’s library by Brassicanus, published in Basel in 1530. All his surviving works were put in order and published at first in Paris in 1581 by Péter Pithoeus.¹⁷² The best known among all the editions is the one of István Baluzius.¹⁷³ Published under the title

¹⁶⁴ SALVIANUS (par GORSE) 1655, fol. ajr.

¹⁶⁵ EMPHASIS mine: I.M.

¹⁶⁶ SALVIANUS (ed. HALM) 1877, VI.

¹⁶⁷ SALVIANUS (ed. PAULY) 1883, VIII.

¹⁶⁸ BRASSICANUS (ed. MADER) 1666, 135–143.

¹⁶⁹ SEE e.g. writings on Friedrich Boltz’s dissertation in Wittenberg: BOLTZ–BERGER 1717, 177–178.; BOLTZ 1717, 177–178.

¹⁷⁰ SALVIANUS 1862.

¹⁷¹ SALVIANUS 1862, XV.

¹⁷² PIERRE Pithou (Pithoeus, 1539–1596).

¹⁷³ ETIENNE Baluze (1630–1718).

of: *Sanctorum presbyterum Salviani Massiliensis et Vincentii Liriensis*¹⁷⁴ opera. ed[edit] Steph[anus] Baluzius. Paris, 1663, 1669, 1684, Breae 1688, Venetiis 1728. all fold in eight; Pedeponti 1743. fold in 4.¹⁷⁵

This comment is not an expression of knowledge swelling with national pride. However, I find it extremely interesting and important from the view of the history of the Hungarian churches and clerical intellectual history that the members of the Saint Imre Society of Győr update the thoughts of Bishop Salvianus to the conditions of their own age and to justify their method they refer to the books of Charles-Louis de Secondat (Montesquieu, 1689–1755) and to the chapters of the classical liberal writer József Eötvös's book *A XIX. század uralkodó eszméinek befolyása az álladalomra*.¹⁷⁶

Let us return to the world of 16th-century editions of texts based on the *corvina* without tracing the publication history of each author's work. Brassicanus does not mention it, but it is certain that the 1530 Polybius *editio* is also from a manuscript preserved in Buda.¹⁷⁷ The publisher of the text, Vincentius Obsopoeus, testifies to this (in the preface to the edition of Heliodorus mentioned below)¹⁷⁸, and this statement also appears in the accompanying texts of later literary remains.¹⁷⁹ A year later (1531), Obsopoeus published, in the same Setzer printing house, Cortesius's encomium on King Matthias Hunyadi.¹⁸⁰ He was not aware of the 1487 incunabulum from Rome,¹⁸¹ instead he says in the dedication to the Heliodorus edition that he got the manuscript from Buda. This *editio* was published three years later in Basel.¹⁸² Obsopaeus then went on to work on the Greek edition of Diodorus Siculus, which was completed in 1539. This work was also based on a *corvina* codex.¹⁸³

We close the series of works certainly published on the basis of a manuscript from the Buda library with Antonio Bonfini's *De pudicitia conjugali et virginitate dialogi*. The codex was presumably taken to Naples by the widowed Queen Beatrix and from there it became the property of János Zsámboky (Johannes Pannonicus

¹⁷⁴ VINCENT de Lérins (Vincent of Lérins, 5th century).

¹⁷⁵ SALVIANUS 1862, XXX.

¹⁷⁶ SALVIANUS 1862, XXVII, XXIX.

¹⁷⁷ POLYBIUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1530.

¹⁷⁸ THE codex from which he worked contains works by Herodianus and Heliodorus, in addition to the Polybius texts. The current provenance of the codex: BSB Cod. Graec. 157. Cf. HAJDÚ K. 2008, 30–32.

¹⁷⁹ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 539. quotes the opinion of Philipp Melanchthon (1494–1560) and the 1551 preface of Stanisław Warszewicki (1529–1591).

¹⁸⁰ CORTESIUS–OBSOPOEUS 1531; Obsopoeus did not know about the 1487 edition. Cf. CSAPODI 1982.

¹⁸¹ ROMA, 1487, Eucharius Silber (GW 7794) – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 207.

¹⁸² HELIODORUS 1534 – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 315. SCHELHORN 1763–1764, 835–837. quotes Opsopaeus's preface at length and comments on the publication. The work of Johann Georg Schelhorn is discussed separately in our book.

¹⁸³ DIODORUS SICULUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1539. The current provenance of the codex: ÖNB Suppl. gr. 30. – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 225.

Sambocus). Johannes Leunclavius (1541–1594) published it from his library in 1572.¹⁸⁴ The 1621 Frankfurt am Main editions¹⁸⁵ have become a rarity and part of the literature on literary curiosities.¹⁸⁶

Before turning to two unresolved 16th century *corvina* based text editions, it should be noted that several codices were referenced in the 16th century that were associated with Matthias's library by humanist publishers. It is not clear from the mentions whether they themselves saw the manuscripts or whether they are only referring to Brassicanus's list. One such work is that of Plinius which was taken from Buda to Rome in 1520 by Francesco Massari (16th century).¹⁸⁷ Johannes Herold (1514–1567), publishing the work of Hugo Eterianus (1120–1182), commemorated the Hungarian copy.¹⁸⁸ When publishing the church history of Nicephorus Callistus (1256–1335), Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) also used the *corvina* (Basel, 1535) presently preserved in Vienna.¹⁸⁹ In his Latin translation publication Johannes Longus (Lange, 1503–1567) mentions the existence of the Greek version in Buda.¹⁹⁰ Joachim Camerarius (1524–1598), in his anthology, *De re rustica*, mentions the manuscript of Petrus de Crescentiis (1230–1321), *De agricultura*, which would have belonged to Matthias.¹⁹¹ *De agricultura* is also one of those works compiled by Cassianus Bassus (6th century) which was part of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. The text was translated to Latin by Janus Cornarius (1500–1558) and was published for the first time in Basel in 1538.¹⁹²

Although it will be analysed in detail in the next chapter, I just want to mention István Szamosközy's note on the *corvinas*.¹⁹³ The Transylvanian humanist also mentions those authors whose published works we have previously covered, name-

¹⁸⁴ BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, 1572 (OSZK RMK III. 616.). The current provenance of the original codex: OSZK Clmae 421. – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 131. Critical edition: BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, (ed. APRÓ) 1943

¹⁸⁵ BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, 1621; BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, 1621a.

¹⁸⁶ SCHELHORN 1763–1764, 2238–2239.

¹⁸⁷ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 514. Massari came across the manuscript in 1520. He mentions it in his Plinius commentary: MASSARI 1537, BB1r–v.; MASSARI 1542, aijv–aijir. The current provenance of the codex: Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1951.

¹⁸⁸ ETERIANUS (ed. HEROLD) 1543 – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 340.

¹⁸⁹ AUTORES HISTECC. (ed. BEATUS RHENANUS) 1535, 594–615. This data is not known to CSAPODI 1973, I want to thank András Németh for bringing it to my attention. None of the 16th-century editions of the collection indicate the source of the text.

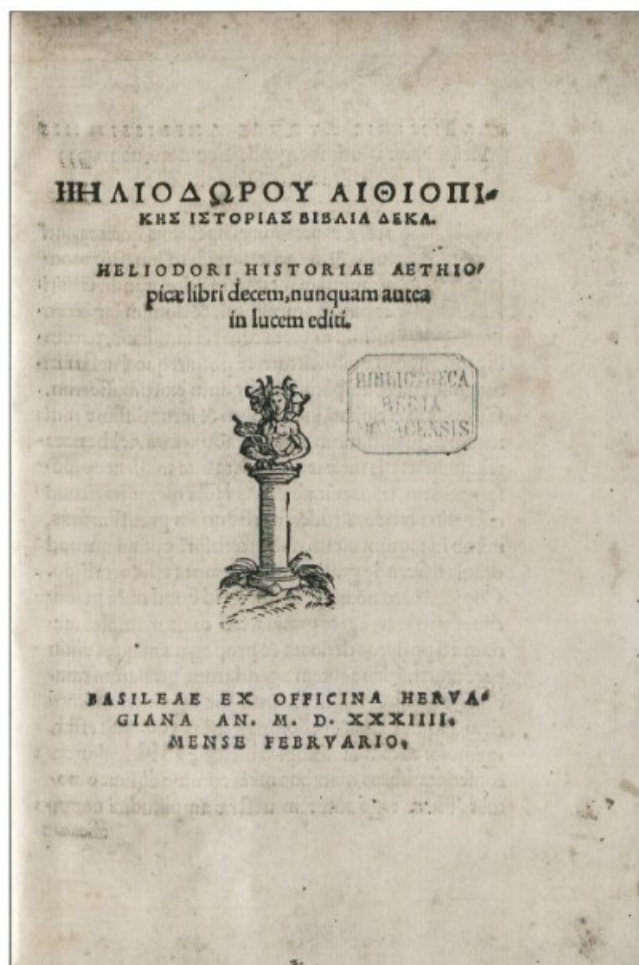
¹⁹⁰ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 455. The original codex: ÖNB Hist. gr. 8.; NICEPHORUS (ed. LONGUS) 1553.

¹⁹¹ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 484.; *De re rustica opuscula nonnulla, lectu cum iucunda, tum utilia, iam primum partim composita, partim edita a Ioachimo CAMERARIO...*, Norimbergae, Katarina Gerlach, 1577 (HAB A 125.10 Quod (3))

¹⁹² BASSUS–CORNARIUS ed. *de agricultura*, 1538 (OSZK Ant. 6164.) I want to thank András Németh for the information. The literature so far did not recognise this Greek codex as a *Corvina*! The prefaces and notes do not mention this fact, nor do the later editions: Bassus–Cornarius ed. *de agricultura*, 1538a; Bassus–Cornarius ed. *de agricultura*, 1540; Bassus–Cornarius ed. *de agricultura*, 1531; CASSIUS (ed. BASSUS–CORNARIUS–SAPIDUS), *de agricultura*, 1543; CASSIUS (ed. LAGUNA–CORNARIUS), *de agricultura*, 1543a.

¹⁹³ BALÁZS M.–MONOK 1986.

ly Heliodorus, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, Cortesius, and Bonfini. Csaba Csapodi was also familiar with the Corippus problem, but he did not consider the Milan copy of *Bibliotheca Trivulziana* to be a *corvina*.¹⁹⁴



08. Heliodorus 1534

It is likely that Szamosközy took his Corippus reference from the Cuspinianus biography of Nicolaus Gerbelius (1485–1560),¹⁹⁵ where the author lists the authors Cuspinianus dealt with. It literally reads (including the misuse of the name): „*Cras-tonius Gorippus(!), qui libros Iohannidos scripsit, qui habentur in bibliotheca Budensi*”.

¹⁹⁴ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 205.

¹⁹⁵ CUSPINIANUS–GERBELIUS 1540, 216.

Csaba Csapodi does not mention Stephanus Byzantinus.¹⁹⁶ Looking through all the author's editions, no trace was found of any mention linking the manuscript to the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. The accompanying and explanatory texts of the first two editions (Aldus Manutius, Philippo Giunta)¹⁹⁷ are insufficiently short, although Guilielmus Xylander (1532–1576) wrote a very rich introduction to his edition¹⁹⁸ which has stood the test of time: the three prefaces of the best edition of the 17th century contain a detailed textual history without mentioning the name of Matthias or Buda. At the same time, it is impossible that Szamosközy would have invented his name to make his list longer.

Rather than summarising the issue of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* and the prints, I would like to reiterate the need for a new *corvina* bibliography. This could also be a chronological collection of texts, from the 15th to 18th century, containing all the documents relating to the history of the library and the fate of the individual codices. The list of those texts preserved in the library of Matthias could be expanded on which, if not an *editio princeps*, but a new textual evaluation was done. The Latin grammar of Giovanni Battista Guarino Veronese (1374–1460) is certainly among these, of which in the second half of the 15th century many manuscript copies and three incunabula were known.¹⁹⁹ Later many early modern editions were published, the first in the Schürer printing house in Strassbourg.²⁰⁰ The publishers changed the text according to its intended use (as a coursebook or an enduring humanist text), partially the text itself, partially the Latin language examples. The copy from the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, now preserved in the library of the University of Jena,²⁰¹ was published as a text (not to add to the language books in use) by Burkhard Gotthelf Struve (Struvius, 1671–1738) in 1704.²⁰² In this case, the *corvina* as a variant of the text became so interesting that it was published in full. Struve, who, prior to the publication of the text, wrote a book about the greatest figures in the history of teaching Latin eloquence in the 16th and 17th century,²⁰³ says the following about the Jena Codex:

¹⁹⁶ HOFFMANN, S. F. W., 1961, 441–443.

¹⁹⁷ STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–MANUTIUS 1502; STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–MANUTIUS 1521.

¹⁹⁸ STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–XYLANDER 1568.

¹⁹⁹ CSAPODI 1973, 238 (Nr. 312.) says the Buda copy is decorated. The codex was first described in Hungarian literature by Csontos 1881. It was not included in the Buda Workshop Exhibition (Zsupán–Földesi, ed., *Budai műhely*, 2018). Csontos's statement on the binding is presented and refuted by Mikó 2020, 66–67. The incunabula editions of the text: Ferrara, Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, circa 1475 (ISTC ig00528000), Ferrare, Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, circa 1478 (ISTC ig00529000), Heidelberg, Heinrich Knoblochzer, 18 Dec. 1489 (ISTC ig00530000). The critical editions of Guarino's text, KALLENDORF 2002, 260–309., and VADÁSZ 2007 do not state that the *corvina* served as the basis for the incunabulum edition.

²⁰⁰ GUARINUS–BEATUS RHENANUS 1514.

²⁰¹ JENA, Universitätsbibliothek, Bos. 8° 1.

²⁰² GUARINUS–STRUVIUS 1704. It is interesting that CSONTOSI 1881, who listed the prints that mention the manuscript as a *corvina* and knew that Struvius had published Guarino, does not mention the publication itself. It is indeed a rare print, perhaps that is why he did not handle it, but mentions the fact of its publication on the basis of later literature. VADÁSZ 2007, 12. quotes the edition itself as existing.

²⁰³ AN important Hungarian reference in this is on page 8, he praises the work of Albert SZENCI MOLNÁR for his achievement in the volume *Syllecta scholastica*. (Heidelberg–Frankfurt am Main, Clemens

„Heidelbergae primum excusus apud Iacobum Knoblocherum 1489,²⁰⁴ post ex Schürerianis Argentorati 1514. 4.²⁰⁵ ... Et cum nec Heidelbergensis, nec Argentoratensis editio in bibliopoliis amplius reperiretur, libellum hunc cum ob utilitatem, quam praestare potest, interire nollem, recudi curavi et Tibi, benevole lector, offero. Fidem autem in hoc secutus codicis manu exarati, quem servat Bibliotheca nostra [sc. Jenensis]. Non eleganter solum in membrana scriptus iste codex, litteris initialibus variegatis coloribus pictis, sed et ab initio auro ornatus. In fine primae paginae adparet insigne Matthiae Corvini, Hungariae Regis, variegatis coloribus auroque distinctum, quod nos cartiores reddit, parte molim constituisse hunc codicem istius celeberrimae bibliothecae Budensis veteris, post a Turcis directae et quidem testatur Lambecius Bibl. Caes. lib. II. c. IX. p. m. 995.²⁰⁶ plerosque Budensis bibliothecae codices hisce Corvini gentiliis insignibus exornatos fuisse, ut inde nostrum codicem ex eadem esse bibliotheca nullum amplius superesse possit dubium.”²⁰⁷

It is clear from this quotation that Struve knows that the 1489 edition is the first and that its text is not based on the Jena Codex. Surely it would be odd if any editions before the death of Matthias had used this, especially since this codex could have belonged to Janus Pannonius. According to Csaba Csapodi, it was illuminated in Buda.²⁰⁸ Despite this information, the authors of *Museographia* in 1727 write the following in the chapter titled *Rara in Bibliotheca Jenensi monstrantur*:²⁰⁹

„Baptistae Guarini [L]iber] de Ordine docendi et studendi ex Bibliotheca Budensi. Editus est hic liber Heidelbergae 1492 etc. edi curabit eum D[ominus] Struvius. Insigne Corvini in prima extat pagina. Der Autor weiset, wie man die Scriptores Classicos durchgehen solle.”

Johann Friedrich Junger (1680–1754) the publisher of Struve’s *Historia litteraria* made specific reference to the Guarino Codex when annotating the text on the library of Jena:

„Baptistae Guarini ad nobilem adolescentem Maffaeum Gambaram, de ordine docendi ac studendi libellus, ab eodem Ienae, a. 1704. in 8.²¹⁰ divulgatus, qui pars olim fuit Bibliothecae Budensis, indicantibus id Regis Corvini insignibus, elegantissime pictus.”²¹¹

Further research will certainly reveal many more similar cases. The text editions, the 17th–18th centuries commentary material of critical editions are particularly interesting in supplementing the history of the individual codices.

Sleich, Daniel Aubry, David Aubry, 1621 (VD 17 23:295948Y).

²⁰⁴ HEIDELBERG, Heinrich Knobloch, 18 Dec. 1489 (ISTC ig00530000).

²⁰⁵ GUARINUS–BEATUS RHENANUS 1514 (VD 16 G 3851).

²⁰⁶ LAMBECK 1669, caput IX, 989–996. (De Bibliotheca Corviniana).

²⁰⁷ GUARINUS–STRUVIUS 1704, 60–61.

²⁰⁸ CSAPODI 1973, 238 (Nr. 312.); cf. MIKÓ 2020, 66.

²⁰⁹ NEICKELIUS–KANOLD 1727, 400.

²¹⁰ GUARINUS–STRUVIUS 1704, 61.

²¹¹ JUGLER–STRUVE 1754, 507.

Hungaria – Transylvania – Austria and the *Bibliotheca Corvina*

Prologue

As an ambitious and successful ruler, Matthias Hunyadi wanted to reach the rank of emperor. In 1485 he conquered Vienna which encouraged him to regard the city as the centre of his country.²¹² There are data to suggest that at the end of his life, as part of the embodiment of his power, he intended to establish a library in Vienna as well. Based on our present knowledge, this is one reason why Bartolomeo Fonzio (della Fonte, 1446–1513) bought a number of codices from the Manfredi family's collection kept in Faenza.²¹³ However we do not know if he wanted to move the entire Buda collection to Vienna.

Hungarian culture is primarily inclusive (receptive). I consider this statement to be true, especially in modern times, but also generally up to the present day. This is why in Hungary a significant part of reception history research overlaps the history of international relations. The intellectual trends of Western Christianity were practically up-to-date in the Carpathian Basin until the end of the 16th century, and from then on, the time between the appearance of Western European books and their arrival in the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania steadily increased. At the same time, in the second half of the 15th century, the Hungarian royal court became such a cultural centre that not only allowed the formation of institutions absorbing cultural trends, but also the existence of creative workshops. They were known in Europe at the time and deservedly rose to the same rank as the Northern-Italian cities, Vienna, or the cities along the Danube in the eyes of contemporaries²¹⁴ and posterity²¹⁵. During the reign of king Matthias Hunyadi (1458–1490)²¹⁶ the University of Buda, founded by Emperor Sigismund, restarted its operations, a book copying workshop was fully functioning, and book printing began in 1473 (ahead of England in this field). At the royal court, as well as in the courts of nobles and high priests, numerous Italian, Viennese, German, Bohemian, and Croatian humanist artists and scholars competed to secure their

²¹² NEHRING 1989.

²¹³ Cf. GENTILINI 2002.

²¹⁴ NALDINUS (ed. ÁBEL) 1890, 267.

²¹⁵ BALOGH J. 1940, I, 525.

²¹⁶ Cf. HOENSCH 1998; KUBINYI A. 2001; ENGEL P. 2001, 249–307.

place and create²¹⁷, to get an invitation to a *symposium*, and to have the opportunity to access the greatest library of the era, the library established in the Buda royal court, the *Bibliotheca Corvina*.

This library later became one of the most frequently mentioned symbols of Hungarian culture. We shall see that in the 16th and 17th centuries this library was part of the *Hungarus* consciousness, in the 17th and 18th centuries the Austrian court included it in constructing a common imperial culture for itself, and the Transylvanian princely centre also embraced it as a symbol of common culture. The *universitas Saxonum* likewise acknowledged it if only to measure their own cultural achievements as equal to the Great King's and to make this obvious to the Szeklers, who, in their view, were ignorant people. However, from the last third of the 18th century and from the beginning of the 19th century it became a stable element in Hungarian consciousness. By this time the Habsburg court used the individual units of the collection only as a tool in its political actions either to find compromise or to create annoyance.

I believe that at the beginning of the 21st century, Hungary, while attempting to preserve itself as a nation state within the European Common Market, is making an effort to emphasise the existence of this library in international dialogue as the library that has contributed to the preservation of a common European heritage and the maintenance of the knowledge of tradition. Librarians are also emphasising the spiritual relations between the *Bibliotheca Corvina* and the *Bibliotheca regnicolaris* founded by Count Ferenc Széchenyi. Let us look at the fate of this library after the death of its founder.

The histories of the Corvina library

The scholarly literature has never really confronted the almost contemporary historiography of the library of King Matthias. Klára Zolnai summarised the data collected by the members of several generations of scholars in her bibliographical volume following the celebrations of the 450th anniversary of the death of King Matthias.²¹⁸ This book is, as I have said, a milestone in the research history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, but also the beginning of a new classification. Csaba Csapodi and his wife, Klára Gárdonyi, studied most of the *corvinas* on the basis of autopsy, they gave clear answers to many philological questions, and traced the history of all the codices and incunabula mentioned in connection with Matthias's library.²¹⁹ They also dealt with the 16th–17th century afterlife of the library in

²¹⁷ BIALOSTOCKI 1976; FEUER-TÓTH 1990; Jankovics–Klaniczay T., ed., *Matthias Corvinus...*, 1994; DACOSTA KAUFMANN 1995; MAROSI 1996.

²¹⁸ ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942.

²¹⁹ THE most important summaries: CSAPODI 1973; CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990. At the same time, it is astonishing to me that basic works (codex descriptions) such as Mihály

several articles,²²⁰ writing comprehensively about the codices found in Buda by the Christian troops who drove out the Ottomans.²²¹ During the past eighty years all the experts who wrote about the Corvina's two centuries following the death of Matthias, including Csapodi as well, only used Klára Zolnai's annotations as sources. These annotations are good, but cannot replace the original sources. Especially because the actual text, the individual references (diaries, forewords, letters, philological studies, historical summaries) completely reveal the origin of the text, and more specifically how the destroyed library is mentioned. In order to investigate the history of any *corvina* volume in more detail, we have to go back to the accompanying texts of the 16th century editions and to the books published at the time. An essential aim and task of Hungarian book historians could be – and this cannot be repeated enough – the creation of an annotated anthology, in other words a new Klára Zolnai volume, even keeping its structure.²²² A further possible aspect of study is to summarise the conclusions of the discovered documents by looking at how contemporaries viewed the already valuable collection, and its destruction. Árpád Mikó, in the catalogue of the exhibition on the bicentenary of the national library, wrote an essay titled “*Stories of the Corvina Library*”.²²³ He deliberately did not deal with the 16th and 17th centuries. Presumably because basic research is missing, or perhaps because the intentions of the figures in the *Corvina* story are not as directly politically connected as in later periods.

As mentioned above, the *panegyricus* of Naldo Naldi (1436–1513) from the 15th century survived,²²⁴ which, although, is not an itemised list of the collection, but is still a good starting point for analysing the library. The physical structure and the interior of the *bibliotheca* can be imagined based on the description of Nicolaus Olahus (Miklós Oláh, 1493–1568).²²⁵ A surviving text from the struggles surrounding János Corvin's succession to the throne after the death of Matthias demonstrates that the country's leading politicians were aware of the role of the library in the representation of power. This is why they demanded the return of the books taken from Buda by János Corvin (1473–1504), which had been collected “*pro decore Regni*” by the royal court.²²⁶

Kováts's (KOVÁTS MARTINYI, *Fragmenta*, I–II., 1808–1809) were only occasionally referred to.

²²⁰ CSAPODI 1961; CSAPODI 1971.

²²¹ CSAPODI 1984.

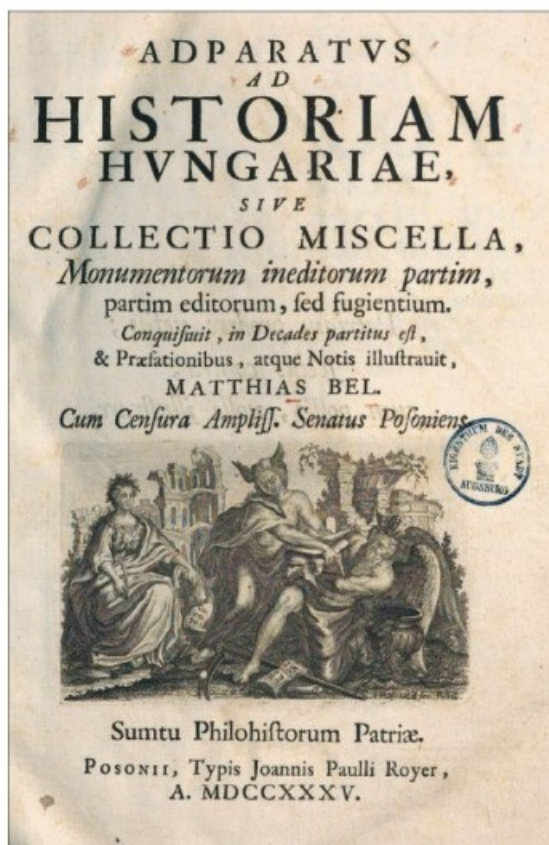
²²² SUPPLEMENTED, of course, by more recent approaches, mainly of an art historical or iconographic nature, with a bibliographical account in a separate chapter. It is the year 2022, nothing has been done since 2008. (see MONOK 2008a).

²²³ We chose the title of this section as imitation. See MIKÓ 2002.

²²⁴ NALDIUS (ed. JÄNICHEN) 1731; NALDIUS (ed. BÉL) 1737; NALDIUS (ed. ÁBEL) 1890.

²²⁵ ITS analysis: BALOGH J. 1966, I, 62–65.; as a source: OLÁH, *De Hungaria Occidentali* (ed. BÉL), 1735, 8–9.

²²⁶ MIKÓ 1999; MIKÓ 2004; MIKÓ 2004a; MIKÓ 2008; MIKÓ 2008a. This expression was also borrowed for the exhibition presenting the pieces of the Buda workshop (ZSUPÁN-FÖLDESI, ed., *Budai műhely*, 2018).



09. Oláh, *De Hungaria Occidentali* (ed. Bél), 1735

The history of the Corvina library in the 16th and 17th centuries are divided into four periods by both Zolnai and Csapodi:

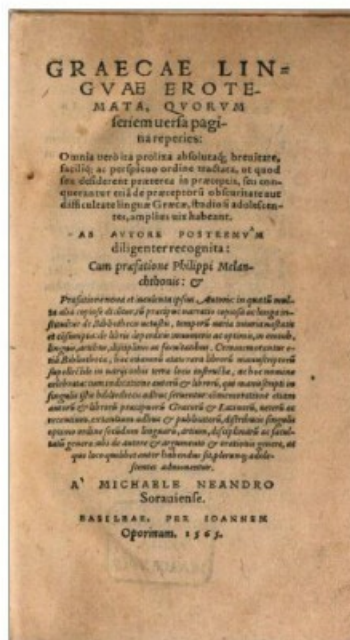
- (1) the period of destruction after the occupation of Buda,
- (2) an era of annotations mentioning the presence of a large number of printed books in Buda in the last third of the 16th century, to which we now add the *paratextus* of later 16th and 17th century editions of classical and medieval texts that refer to manuscripts that were once in Buda;
- (3) the “reclaiming” efforts of the 17th century, and
- (4) the age of confrontation with the revised book collection after the expulsion of the Ottomans.

Zolnai and Csapodi did not associate the historical presentation aspects with the cultic or national consciousness elements linked to the history of the library in each period, thus, this aspect was not addressed in their work. Also, because Klára Zolnai and the Csapodi couple wanted to reconstruct the former library’s holdings, the texts that merely praised Matthias for his work in building the Corvina were of little interest to them. However, we are interested in how the collection shaped

the image of Hungarians, or merely of the Hungarian Kingdom, in the world, and in connection with what a European intellectual thought of the Hungarian Kingdom. Furthermore, what actions of Hungarians, or those from the Hungarian Kingdom, were appreciated as enriching the common European knowledge.

The destruction after the occupation of Buda – Paratexts of 16th–17th century editions – Praise for Matthias and his library

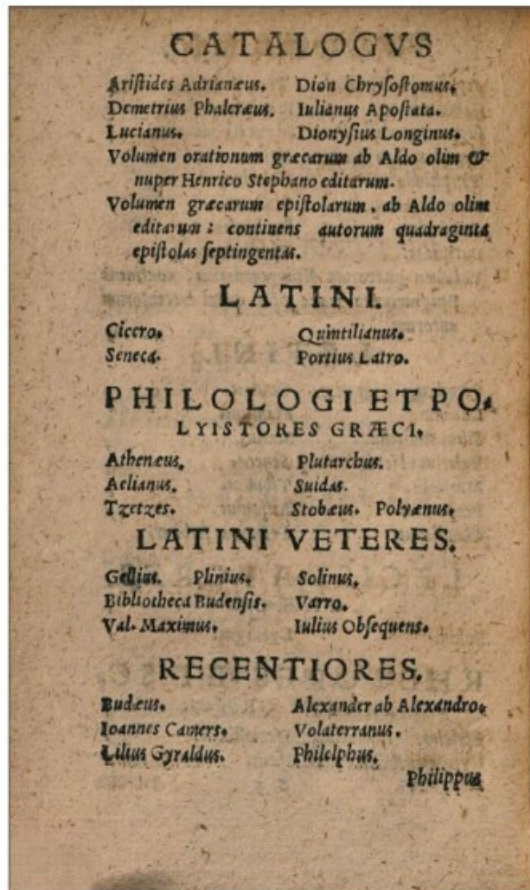
A number of narrative sources (Ursinus Velinus (1493–1539), Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568), Martin Brenner (†1553), Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (†1539) etc.) from the first period have survived, describing the destruction of the library, with a few turns of humanist rhetoric.²²⁷ In the future there is sure to emerge new data in this genre, however, in my summary I will try to add just a few more to the list of names. I want to highlight one humanist in particular, Michael Neander (1529–1581), for an odd quote that I noticed.



10. Neander 1565

²²⁷ CSABA Csapodi summarised these views in his English-language monograph. Cf. CSAPODI 1973, 72–90.

Zolnai also quotes²²⁸ the relevant paragraph from his *Graecae linguae erotemata*,²²⁹ however, almost two decades later Neander published a work titled *Chronicon*.²³⁰ He lists texts affiliated with each nation, as well as those belonging to each group of literary memorials. He publishes a list of authors with the subtitle *Catalogus autorum Graecorum et Latinorum veterum atque recentium, de quorum testimonij Synopsis Chronica est contexta*. In this chapter, under the title *Latini veteres*, he lists the authors, and among them the well-known library: „Gellius, Plinius, Solinus, Bibliotheca Budensis, Varro, Val. Maximus, Iulius Obsequens”.²³¹ It is not clear from the text what the author meant here. Were the first three authors' works in Buda, or all of the mentioned authors' works?



11. Neander 1583

²²⁸ ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942, 29.

²²⁹ NEANDER 1565, 72.

²³⁰ NEANDER 1583.

²³¹ NEANDER 1583, B4r–v.

According to current records, Iulius Obsequens is the only one who has not been mentioned by any other sources in relation to the *Corvina* – neither accepted nor found to be wrong.²³² Does this mean that it is worth reading the *paratextus* of the editions of the only surviving work (*De prodigiis liber*) by the 4th century author, to see if any of the authors might indicate that they know of a manuscript connected with the *Corvina*? When analysing the words used by the author, Sylvana Rocca reviewed the publication history of the work from Aldus Manutius's *editio princeps* of 1508 to the Teubner series considered the first critical edition (Otto Rossbach, 1910), but does not mention Buda. The 1772 edition²³³ repeats the most important and detailed preambles (Konrad Lycosthenes (1518–1561), Johann Scheffer (1621–1679), Frans van Oudendorp (1697–1761), Johann Erhard Kapp (1696–1756)). Kapp specifically describes the manuscripts used by Aldus Manutius in 1508 and Robertus Stephanus (1503–1559) in 1544. A second reading of these prefaces and recommendations did not reveal any possible Hungarian connections.

Authors of 16th and 17th century editions of classical and medieval authors often mention that they worked from manuscripts once kept in Buda, or that they know of manuscript versions preserved there. The compendiums prepared alongside the texts, whether dictionary-like (*etymologiae*) or philosophical discussions, often refer to not only the author, the work, and the edition, but also that the text was in Matthias's library as well. I will mention only two examples here.

A Greek codex containing the texts of Polybius, Herodianus, and Heliodorus is now in the Bavarian State Library in Munich.²³⁴ The *editio princeps* of Heliodorus's work with the title *Historiae Aetiopicae libri decem* is known from Vincentius Obsopaeus (†1539), who published it in Basel with Johann Herwagen the Elder (1497–1558) in 1534.²³⁵ In his recommendation to the Nuremberg councillors, the publisher explains how the codex from Buda came into his hands.

„Deuenit ad me seruatus ex ista clade Vnqarica, qua serenissimi quondam regis Matthiae Coruini bibliotheca omnium instructissima superioribus annis a barbarie asiatica uastata est. Hunc cum alijs nonnullis miles quidam plane gregarius et ab omnibus tam graecorum quam latinorum disciplinis abhorrentissimus, iam apud nos tinctorem agens, tum uero illustrissimum principem Casimirum Marchionem Branden-

²³² AULUS GELLIUS: CSAPODI 1973, 230–231 (Nr. 293–294.); one of the PLINIUS: CSAPODI 1973, 323–324 (Nr. 514–518.); CAIUS IULIUS SOLINUS: CSAPODI 1973, 356 (Nr. 604.); TERENCE VARRO: CSAPODI 1973, 388 (Nr. 689.); VALERIUS MAXIMUS: CSAPODI 1973, 386 (Nr. 684.) does not consider the described codex to be part of Matthias's library.

²³³ OBSEQUENS 1772.

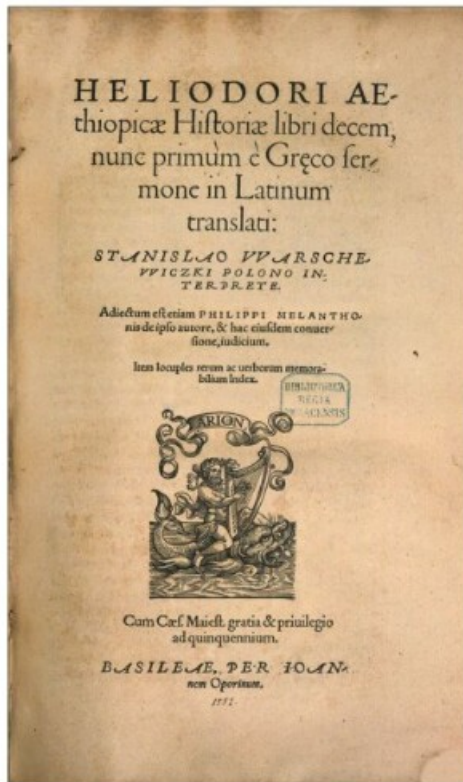
²³⁴ COD. Graec. 157. CSAPODI 1973, 329–330 (Nr. 539). A modern description, with a summary of the history of the codex and the publication history of the texts: HAJDÚ 2008, 30–40. HAJDÚ DOES NOT DEAL WITH THE AFTERLIFE OF PUBLICATIONS.

²³⁵ HELIODORUS 1534.

burgensem²³⁶ laudabilis memoriæ, comitatus in Vngaria forte fortuna non sine mente reor, sine numine diuum, sustulit, quia auro exornatus nonnihil adhuc splendet, ne scilicet tam bonus author et uisus et lectus paucissimis, interiret.²³⁷

Csaba Csapodi notes that Stanisław Warszawicki (1529–1591), when publishing his own Latin translation in 1552, referred to the knowledge taken from Ob-sopaeus in his recommendation to King Sigismund Augustus II (1520–1572) of Poland. In the recommendation, Warszawicki says that the Greek text has now gone from “refugee status” to once again being in a royal library through his Latin translation.

„Horum exemplo et ego motus, hanc perquam iucundam historiam, ex Graeco sermone in Latinum translata, tuae Maiestati dedico, quae in bibliotheca regis Pannoniae Mathiae inuenta est: ut cum inde Graeca quasi in exilium abiisset, nunc etiam Latino habitu sumpto, Regium κειμήλιου in Regiam Bibliothecam reducatur.”²³⁸



12. Heliodorus 1552

²³⁶ MARKGRAF Kasimir von Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach (1481–1527) died in Buda, the codex could have been taken by his brother Markgraf Georg von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1484–1543) (HAJDÚ 2008, 36.).

²³⁷ HELIODORUS 1534, a2v.

²³⁸ HELIODORUS 1552, a3v.

Up to this point the story is well known, and it is not surprising that the publishers of the old texts disclose which manuscripts or editions they worked from. The fact that the library of the 15th-century Hungarian king is again mentioned in a non-first edition shows that the international reputation of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* had not diminished over the centuries. Working with a manuscript or a text from this collection bestows prestige on the author, and on the person to whom the publication is offered. Presumably it is the latter reason that the *Corvina proveniencia* is mentioned even when it is wholly irrelevant to the subject of the book or only very indirectly relevant. For example, in the Latin etymological dictionary of Johannes Fungerus of Leuwarden (†1612), Heliodorus himself becomes the phoenix when explaining the origin of the word “*Phoenix*”: his text was lost in the “burning” of Buda and then resurrected by the publication, while the Latin translation of the Greek text was born.

„Phoenix fuit Heliodorus, cuius libri Aetiopicae historiae decem erepti Bibliothecae Budensis incendio, cum Solymanus urbem incendio daret, sunt Basileae excusi,²³⁹ latine redditi a Stanislao Polono, et iterum editi Antuerpiae.^{240:241}

The fate of the Heliodorus text is also mentioned by Michael Neander in the 1565 edition of his Greek grammar,²⁴² he based it on Obsopoeus as well, but also quotes others:

„Periit etiam patrum nostrorum memoria, a Turcis direpta et vastata, celebris illa bibliotheca Budae, quae regni Pannoniae caput est, a Serenissimo et laudato rege Malthia Corvino, ex omni scriptorum genere et innumeris Graecis Hebraicisque voluminibus instructa: quae quidem ille capta iam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis aliis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inaeestimandis sumptibus coemerat.[a]

[a] Vincent[ius] Opsopoeus in praefat[ionem] Heliodorum,²⁴³ Graecum historiae Aethiopicae scriptorem, et ex Budensi tunc bibliotheca per militem quendam ereptu[m]. Col[n]radus Gesnerus in bibliotheca,²⁴⁴ et Vadianus in Epitome trium terrae partiu[m] pag. 65.²⁴⁵ a causae amissora librorum.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ HELIODORUS 1534.

²⁴⁰ HELIODORUS 1556.

²⁴¹ FUNGERUS 1605, 812.

²⁴² NEANDER 1565. The other many editions do not have this preface.

²⁴³ HELIODORUS 1534, a2v, a4r.

²⁴⁴ GESSNER 1545, a2v. – the other *Bibliotheca* editions were published after Neander's book.

²⁴⁵ VADIANUS 1534, 34.; VADIANUS 1534a, 85.; VADIANUS 1546, 66.; VADIANUS 1548, 66.

²⁴⁶ NEANDER 1565, 72. Referring to this quote ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942, 29.

EPITOME

TRIVM TERRÆ PARTIVM, ASIAE,

AFRICAE ET EVROPÆ COMPENDIARIAM LO-
corum descriptionem continens, præcipue autem
quorum in Actis Lucas, pafsim autem Euan-
geliftæ & Apostoli meminere.

CVM ADDITÒ IN FRONTE LIBRI ELENCHO
regionum, urbium, annium, infularũ, quorum No-
uo testamento fit mentio, quo expeditius pius
Lector quæ uelit, inuenire queat.

PER IOACHIMVM VADIANVM MEDICVM.



TIGVRL APVD CHRISTOPHORVM
FROSC. MENSE SEPTEMB, ANNO
M. D. XXXIII.

13. Vadianus 1534

I find the Pseudo-Cyrillus question particularly interesting. It is now accepted that the text ascribed to Sanctus Cyrillus, published under the titles *Speculum sapientiae* and later *Apologi morales*, was written by Bonjohannes de Messana in the 14th century. Although from the 17th century onwards, even in the 20th century,

Quinedon Cyrillus, who lived around the 14th century, was considered to be the 4th–5th century Cyrillus Alexandrinus, the work was published several times in the 15th century, long before the death of Matthias.²⁴⁷ Another followed the seven editions of the 15th century in 1505, but essentially, they were copies of each other. In none of the editions are there any references to the use of a codex from Buda (there is no such reference in the 2014 critical edition²⁴⁸). The 17th century Jesuit Balthasar Cordier (1592–1650) from Vienna apparently did not know that the *speculum sapientiae* and the *apologi morales* were the same text, so based on a *corvina* found in the University Library (*Bibliotheca nostra Academia*)²⁴⁹ he published a reading of the *corvina* he considered to be authentic.²⁵⁰ The censor was the Hungarian György Forró (1571–1641), a fellow Jesuit member. He believed what was written on the front page was true: „*nunc primum in lucem editi*”. He wrote about the history of the Codex in a dedication to the reader. He indicates at the beginning of the dedication that Cyrillus Alexandrinus had no known work with this title, although he searched in vain for it in the memoirs of his contemporaries and in the *Apparatus* of Antonio Possevino (1533–1611).²⁵¹ He then describes the manuscript he worked from and highlights how much work he put into interpreting the text.

„Benevolo Lectori... Exemplar autem quo usus sum, prout compactura, et insignia indicabant, fuerat olim gloriosae memoriae Matthiae Coruini Hungariae Regis famosissimi, e celeberrima illa totius fere Orientis Bibliotheca Budensi, per Reverendissimum D. Joannem Fabrum Viennensem Episcopum tamquam praeclarum e Danaum reliquiis trophaeum, in Academia nostra Bibliotheca suspensum. Erat quidem splendide satis, in membrana exaratum; sed adeo vitio, ut vix ulli periodo, sensus suus, aut constructio constaret. Quare mihi maximopere laborandum fuit, ut vel diuinando saltem, sensum aliquem assequerer, qui si alicubi, minus feliciter fortassis, expressus sit, veniam dabis, παραλλήλως ipsum exactius expressuro, si quando emendatum aliquod exemplar Graecum, nactus fuero. Vale.”²⁵²

²⁴⁷ THE first two editions were around 1474 and 1475. (Strassburg, Heinrich Eggstein, around 1474, ISTC ic01016000; Basel, Michael Wenssler, around 1475, ISTC ic01017000).

²⁴⁸ BONJOHANNES–ESSER–BLANKE 2014.

²⁴⁹ THE codex was taken to its current preservation place, to the Imperial Library, in 1756 (ÖNB Cod. Lat. 1037).

²⁵⁰ CSAPODI 1973, 200 (Nr. 219.) identifies the author as Pseudo-Cyrillus and indicates that the text was already published in the 15th century.

²⁵¹ THE first edition of POSSEVINO’s *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores...* earlier, summaries of similar collections of material, Venetiae, Societas Veneta, were published in 1606. Its corrected and enlarged edition was published in two volumes, in Cologne, at the workshop of Johann Gymnicus in 1608 (VD17 7:629480Q).

²⁵² CYRILLUS–CORDERIUS 1630, recommendation.



14. Paciuchelli–Messen 1677

Perhaps Angelo Paciuchelli (†1660) tried to emphasise the content of what he was trying to say when, citing the publication of Bathasar Cordier in a philosophical work of daily clerical work, he mentioned Cyrillus Alexandrinus belonged to the Buda collection. While this information, in “[Liber IV.] Caput V. De patientia, quando aliquis conversatur inter insolentes et vitiosos” is not very convincing, he felt it important to point out that the passage to which he refers is actually from the legendary library of Matthias Corvinus.

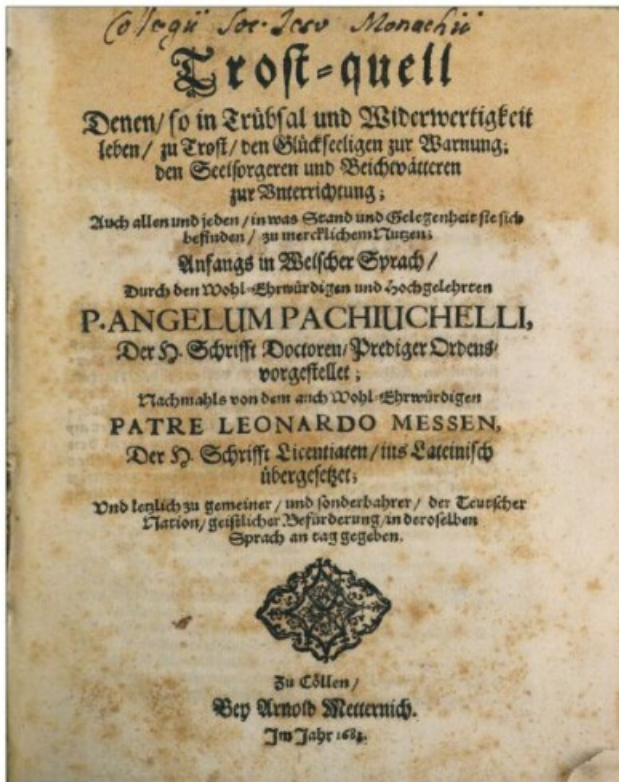
„Typicis vestibus amicti in publicum prodierunt Apologi morales Cyrilli Alexandrini: hi in bibliotheca Budensis, quam Matthias Corvinus Ungariae Rex erexerat, codici cuidam manuscripto inserti fuerunt.“²⁵³

The original Italian text²⁵⁴ (Libro IV. Capitolo V):

„Della pazienza nel ritrouarsi tra ql' insolenti e viziozi. Vscirono non e molto dati alle stampe ql' Apologi Morali di S. Cirillo Alesandrino, trouati in un codice manuscripto nella libreria di Buda, istituta dal famosissimo Maltia Coruino Re d'Vngheria.“²⁵⁵

The German translation (Das V. Capitel):

„Wie die welche bey- und unter den bösshafften und mühewilligen leben müssen mit der Gedulde sollen bewaffnet seyn. Der H. Cyrillus von Alexandria hat etliche schöne gegenschrifften oder Bücher von den guten Sitten handelnd geschrieben welche in der Bibliothek die Matthias Corvinus König in Ungaren zu Ofen hat auffrichten lassen seynd abgeschrieben gefunden worden.“²⁵⁶



15. Paciuchelli–Messen 1682

²⁵³ THE Latin translation PACIUCHELLI–MESSEN 1675, then PACIUCHELLI–MESSEN 1677. The quote is in the latter edition on page 313.

²⁵⁴ I consulted five of Italian editions: PACIUCHELLI 1657, 1661, 1667, 1679, 1704.

²⁵⁵ PACIUCHELLI 1667, 305.

²⁵⁶ PACIUCHELLI 1682, 419.

The expressions *fama est, igitur, traditur* were, therefore, not only effective for *inquisitors* armed with today's information technology, but also worked, although less effectively, in the old days. In this case, it worked out positively for the image of Hungarians. Any member of the lower clergy who read German, Italian, or even Latin in their daily work came across this knowledge in an unexpected place from the perspective of the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. He, perhaps, could have remembered it for the rest of his life.

Four other books in different genres, which I will briefly mention, may have had a similar impact.

Joachim Vadianus (1484–1551) published extracts from descriptions of the known world, a handbook covering parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Pannonia had two pages in it, but he still thought it important to tell the story of the greatness of the foundation of the library by Matthias Hunyadi and the sad destiny of the *bibliotheca*. After describing the origin of the Buda place name, he writes briefly about the city, then about the palace, and:

„Iuxta columnae aliquot ex aere solido et effigies passim operis statuariae permultae. In Regia interiori Bibliothecam e Graecis Latinisque codicibus magna cura conquisitis Matthias Corvinus incomparabilis Ungrorum[!] Princeps adornaverat. quam posteris diripuerunt. Sed et urbs cum arce proximis annis a Turca capta dirutaque et (ut audio) clarissimis illis monumentis regiae magnificentia spoliata est.”²⁵⁷

In the preface to one of the world's first biographical and bibliographical encyclopaedias (*Bibliotheca universalis*), Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) stresses the importance of keeping a record of the world's authors and their works, while drawing attention to their fragility. The preface is written to Leonhard Beckh von Beckhenstein, adviser to Emperor Ferdinand I.

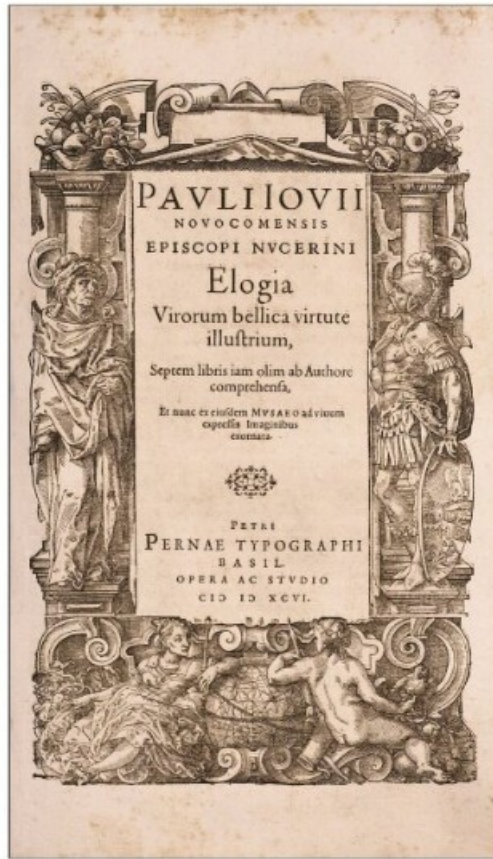
„Sed quid lugemus vetera: perit etiam patrum nostrorum memoria per immanem Turcorum impressionem celebris illa Bibliotheca Budae, quae regni Pannoniae caput est, a nunquam satis laudato rege Matthis ex omni scriptorum genere, et innumeris Graecis Hebraicisque voluminibus instructa: quae quidem ille capta iam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis aliis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inestimandis sumptibus coemerat.”²⁵⁸

The new edition of the encyclopaedia was edited by Josias Simmler (1530–1576) who also expanded Gessner's material. His dedication is addressed to Louis VI Elector Palatin, (House of Wittelsbach, (1539–1583)). In it Simmler also refers to the *Corvina* (and this text appeared unchanged in the edition enlarged by Johann Jakob Fries (1546–1611) in 1583).

²⁵⁷ VADIANUS 1534, 34.; VADIANUS 1534a, 85.; VADIANUS 1546, 66.; VADIANUS 1548, 66.

²⁵⁸ GESSNER 1545, a2v.

„Atque ne tantum vetera æd miremur, potentissimi reges Matthias Corvinus Hungariae, Alphonsus Neapolitanus²⁵⁹ et Franciscus Valesius²⁶⁰ Francorum, bello omnes clari, propter bibliothecas nobilissimas magnis sumptibus et impensis institutas clariores adhuc evaserunt.”²⁶¹



16. Jovius (Giovio) 1596

Paolo Giovio's (Jovius, 1583–1552) *elogia* about men who distinguished themselves in wars, have gone through many editions. They were extended with *epigrammata* (Johannes Latomus (1523–1578), or pictures. Matthias Hunyadi also appears in them. It is remarkable that, apart from some ancient libraries, this library is only mentioned in praise of the Hungarian king and the ideal situation it provided for scholars of the time to work:

²⁵⁹ ALFONSO II, Duke of Calabria (1448–1495), brother of the Hungarian queen Beatrice d'Aragona (1457–1508). About the library see LUCIANELLI–PINTO, ed., *Libri a corte*, 1997.

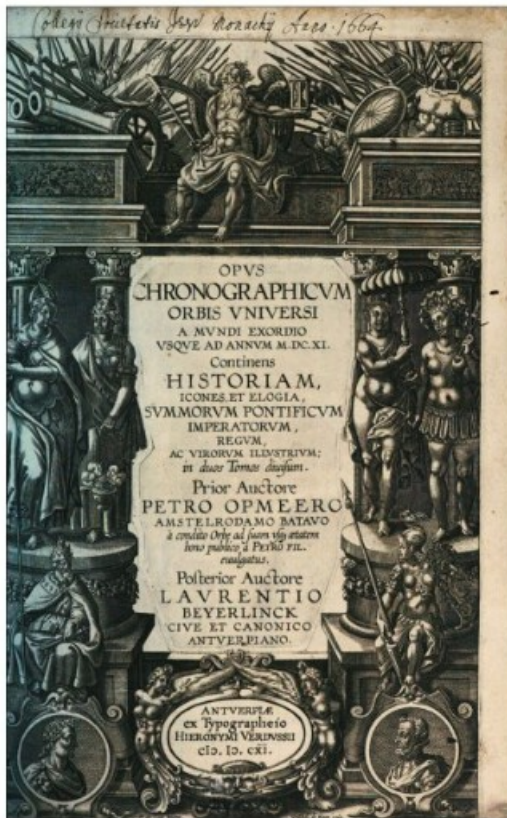
²⁶⁰ FRANCIS I (1494–1547) King of France. About his library see BLOCH 1989.

²⁶¹ GESSNER–SIMMLER 1574, a2v.; GESSNER–SIMMLER–FRIES 1583, a2v

„Propterea peculiari prope studio in Regiam sibi viros asciverat, non optimorum modo studiorum, sed nobiliorum etiam artium laude insignes, quorum consuetudine legendo et disputando, mirum in modum oblectabatur. Quicquid enim ocii e gravissimis occupationibus suffurari poterat, id totum evolvendis annalibus impendebat: multusque visebatur in ea Bibliotheca quam exquisitis libris nullo deterrente sumptu referatissimam esse curaverat.²⁶²

The text in Italian:

„Et perciò egli quasi con studio particolare s'haveva fatto venire in corte huomini non pure dottissimi, ma anchora persone illustri per lode dell'arti nobili, della cui pratica legendo et disputando si dilettaua egli fuor di modo. Percioche tutto l'ocio ch'egli poteua rubare alle sue gravissime occupationi, egli lo spendeva in leggere l'histoire: et dilettauasi molto in quella libreria, laquale non si spaventando per alcuna spesa haveua fatto riempire di rarissimi libri.²⁶³



17. Opmeer–Beyerlinck 1611

²⁶² JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1551, 157–159. (About *Corvina*: 158.); JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1561, 277–282. (About *Corvina*: 280.); JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1596, 113–114. (*Corvina*: 114.) – just to quote a few editions, there are many other *editios*.
²⁶³ JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1559, 263–168. (about *Corvina*: 266.)

The chronology of world history by Pieter van Opmeer (1526–1595) and Laurens Beyerlinck (1578–1627) also plays a similar role in the flow of information. It was also published in 1611, 1625, and then in 1684.²⁶⁴ In this book Matthias Hunyadi is mentioned at the year 1490, with his death. It is important to note, however, that the only mention of the achievements of the Hungarian ruler, who had won himself a significant place in the European power game, is that he created an excellent library which made it possible to study Hebrew and Greek texts philologically.

„1490. Matthias Corvinus Rex inclytus Hungariae apud Erumnam e vivis excessit. Qui emendo varios Haebraicos et Graecos libros e media Graecia Budae memorabilem Bibliothecam instituerat.”²⁶⁵

Perhaps it is worth acknowledging that I find it interesting that several people mentioned the possibility of studying Hebrew texts (again, we are talking about a chronology of world history). One indication of the Hebrew language becoming part of the studies during the reign of Matthias Hunyadi could be that a person named Jacobus de Hungaria (15th century) proposed the foundation of a Hebrew-Arabic-Greek-Latin school²⁶⁶ for a Benedictine community in Alsace, and could also be that the a Hebrew expert at the Buda Dominican University in known to have worked.²⁶⁷ I want to point out that in Western Europe, the institution of the *collegium trilingve* only became accepted during the 16th century (Leuven, 1518; Paris, 1530).

Mentions of codices remaining in Buda

In the second period, at the end of the 16th century, there was a growing number of sources that suggest the possible existence of the library, or at least the presence of a large number of codices in Buda (David Ungnad von Sonnegg (1535–1600), Stefan Gerlach (1546–1612), Salomon Schweiger (1551–1622), Reinold Lubenau (1556–1631) etc.).²⁶⁸ An unsourced notion related to this question which has appeared in Croatian local historical literature, is that a (unnamed) pasha of Buda took part of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* with him to the castle of Valpovo (Valpó).²⁶⁹ Another question would also be how did the Hilarius Corvinus end up in the Croatian National Library?²⁷⁰ While researching the history of the library of Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615),²⁷¹ Jenő Berlász, in a supplement to his

²⁶⁴ OPMEER–BEYERLINCK 1611; OPMEER 1625, 1684.

²⁶⁵ OPMEER–BEYERLINCK 1611, 431.; OPMEER 1625, 717.; OPMEER 1684, 717.

²⁶⁶ MONOK 2020.

²⁶⁷ DÁN R. 1973, 26–28.

²⁶⁸ Cf. CSAPODI 1984, 47–48.

²⁶⁹ HOCH-KUHAČ 1876, 24–25.

²⁷⁰ DE *sancto Trinitate*, Zagreb, R 4071

²⁷¹ BERLÁSZ 1961.

own publication,²⁷² could only report on a new manuscript volume in the Academic Archives in Zagreb,²⁷³ and provided new details on the history of the library. With perfectly sound logic, he also suggested that the Hilarius corvina may have come to the Draskovich family through the Istvánffy family, and thus to its present location. This *momentum* is very important for the present book, because if what we claim about the after-history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* is true, then we have found another element of the conscious cultural policy of Pál Istvánffy or his son Miklós. The powerful king, the key in the struggle against the Ottomans, was an ideal model for the Hungarian nobility, as well as for the Transylvanian princes of the time. At the same time it cannot be said that the strengthening of the Croatian national consciousness was in any way linked to the pieces of this renowned collection.

The records of István Szamosközy (1565/1570–1612?), which Csaba Csapodi could not have been familiar with, are also connected to this collection of documents. A more detailed explanation of this source is also important for the research methodology.

We wrote a short paper on the Transylvanian sources of István Szamosközy and the *Bibliotheca Corvina* when we discovered Szamosközy's previously unknown work on the philosophy of history.²⁷⁴ In this *ars historica*, the author compares the Hungarian historical works of Antonio Bonfini (1434–1503) and Giovanni Michele Bruto (1517–1592) based on methodology.²⁷⁵ Szamosközy wrote this work in order to point out to Prince Zsigmond Báthory (1572–1613) that Bruto's manuscript history work must be published in print, otherwise it would be easily lost, destroyed, and posterity would not learn from it.²⁷⁶ Thus, this *ars historica* from István Szamosközy's pen, which has not been acknowledged in the history of the *Corvina* thus far, argues for the publication of Brutus's historical work, among other things, as follows:

"Multa inopinata accidere possunt, quae imbecillo librorum generi cladem ab omni aevo intulerunt, et nunc inferre possunt incendia, vastitates, blattae, incuria, rapinae, ac in summa punctum temporum quodlibet, quo vel maximarum rerum momenta vertuntur. Sic perierunt clarissimi librorum thesauri Philadelphi et Pergamenorum Regum: sic interit nobilis illa et memoratissima Malthiae Regis bibliotheca Budae, multis millibus voluminum referta, ex cuius clade Heliodorus Aethiopicarum historiae author, Stephanus Geographus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Titus Alexander Cortesius de

²⁷² BERLÁSZ 1974.

²⁷³ ON the interpretation of the texts of the Zagreb Codex, see BALÁZS M.–MONOK 1987.

²⁷⁴ BALÁZS M.–MONOK 1986.

²⁷⁵ BALÁZS M.–MONOK–TAR 1992.

²⁷⁶ IN regards to the *Corvina*, it is irrelevant that he obviously made this suggestion to put the historian Brutus, who changed sides from the Bathory family to the Habsburgs, in an uncomfortable position, since Brutus wrote his historical work with a pro-Bathory perspective. The work was finally published in the second half of the 19th century. The manuscript, which was once in Transylvania, was found by Péter Kasza and Gábor Petneházi in 2019 in the Jesuit collection of Trento (KASZA–PETNEHÁZI 2022).

laudibus Matthiae Regis, Bonfinius de pudicitia coniugali, Crastonius Gorippus qui libros Joannidos scripsit, et quidam alii, velut ex mortuis redivivi fortuna quapiam conservati nuperrime in lucem prodierunt.”²⁷⁷

The phrase “recently published” (*nuperrime in lucem prodierunt*) at the end of the quotation makes it clear: Szamosközy came across prints that were based on *corvinas*. Accordingly, our studies based on the Corvina bibliography have led to results that are in harmony with what we know so far about the codices that still exist today.

Codexes that still exist today: Heliodorus’s *Aithiopikes historias biblia X* was published by Vincentius Obsopaeus on the basis of a copy from the *Corvina* (Basel, 1534).²⁷⁸ According to an examination of the *possessor* records of the codex, it was given to Albert V (Albrecht V), Duke of Bavaria in 1577 by Joachim Camerarius.²⁷⁹ The *Historia* of Polybius survived in Greek in the same volume, but the Latin translation by Nicolaus Perottus (1429–1480) was also in the library of Matthias. The latter was donated by a certain Ibrahim Machar in 1558/59 to his sultan, and only returned to Hungary in 1869.²⁸⁰ The first edition of the Greek Polybius (Hagenau, 1530) was also based on a *corvina*.²⁸¹ The *Bibliotheke* of Diodorus Siculus also first published by Obsopaeus in the original language, was based on a *corvina* (Basel, 1539).²⁸² He also published Cortesius’s work a second time (not knowing about the first: Hagenau, 1531²⁸³) from the manuscript, which made its way to him²⁸⁴ from the *Corvina* to John Corvinus (János Corvin), through his widow and her second husband (György Brandenburg²⁸⁵). Antonio Bonfini’s work on virginity and the purity of marriage could have been taken by Queen Beatrice from Buda to Naples, where it was purchased by Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), and the *editio princeps* (Basel, 1572) was made from a copy of his library, thus it was printed from a *corvina*.²⁸⁶ The *Corvina* literature does not take note of existing *corvinas* containing the works of two other authors (Corippus and Stephanus Geographus). It is given in relation to his own codex, that the Transylvanian humanist also had a proven codicological interest²⁸⁷ (he observed the differences between

²⁷⁷ BALÁZS M.–MONOK-TAR 1992, 56.

²⁷⁸ HELIODORUS 1534.

²⁷⁹ CSAPODI 1973, 315, 539.

²⁸⁰ CSAPODI 1973, 540.

²⁸¹ POLYBIUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1530, CSAPODI 1973, 539. Csapodi here also refers to MELANCHTHON–MATTHEUS 1551 (VD 16 M 3813) when mentioning the first edition of Polybius; therefore, Szamosközy could have been informed by this as well.

²⁸² DIODORUS SICULUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1539, Csapodi 1973, 225.

²⁸³ CORTESIUS–OBSOPOEUS 1531.

²⁸⁴ CSAPODI 1973, 206, 207.

²⁸⁵ GEORG der Fromme von Brandenburg-Ansbach-Colmbach (1484–1543), his first wife was Beatrice de Fragepan, the widow of János Corvin.

²⁸⁶ BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, 1572, CSAPODI 1973, 131. and BONFINIUS, *Symposion*, (ed. APRÓ) 1943, XVI–XIX.

²⁸⁷ SZAMOSKÖZY’S *corvina*: SZILÁGYI S., kiad., *Szamosközy...*, 1877, 105–107. We know since then that Marcus Iunianus Iustinus’s *Epitomen historiarum Philippicarum Trogi Pompei* was accidentally attributed

the antique and humanist editions of texts and how the manuscripts might have appeared,²⁸⁸ he also paid attention to the forms of names, etc.), it is possible that the references to the pieces of the great king's legendary collection remained in his mind, and he probably listed them without even having the volumes.²⁸⁹

The Corippus issue: Flavius Cresconius Corippus, a 6th-century poet, has an other work that we know of beside his work *Iohannis, seu de bellis Lybicis* mentioned by the archivist of Gyulafehérvár (Carlsburg, *Weissenburg*, now Alba Iulia), this is *De laudibus Iustini Augusti Minoris heroico carmine libri III*. Szamosközy may have known the text of the latter because Michael Ruiz de Azagra (16th century) published it in Antwerp in 1581.²⁹⁰ In reality, however, this is unlikely, because then he would not have written the form of the name incorrectly. Before describing what the source might have been, it should be said that there is a considerable literature on the Corippus issue (whether or not it is a corvina, where it is today). Part of it was summarised by Csapodi²⁹¹ where he stated that the codex of the *Trivulziana* in Milan, believed by many to be a corvina, did not belong to Matthias's library. With this opinion, he echoes the stance of the publishers of the *Iohannis* texts,²⁹² who all know about the Buda variant from the narrative of Johannes Cuspinianus. Szamosközy was also familiar with this remark, but we can also point to something more precise: the edition by Nicolaus Gerbelius,²⁹³ in which Gerbelius published, along with the biography of Cuspinianus, a catalogue of the

to the historian (*„casu quopiam ad me delatam” sc. manuscriptam* – MI), which Csaba Csapodi also recognises as an authentic lost corvina (CSAPODI 1973, 374.). Zsigmond Jakó refers to the codicological interest of the princely archivist in connection with this codex, which is also evident from Szamosközy's description of the codex lent to the Jesuit Antonio Marietti (1565–1625) and destroyed when the Jesuit library in Kolozsvár was destroyed in 1603. The description is as follows: *„Hunc librum paucis ante mensibus, quam haec clades patriae incumberet, Antonio Marietto erudito Jesuitae, malo codicis genio et meo fato utendum accomodaveram, quod ideo libentius in hac publicae privataeque cladis memoria refero, quod praeclarus auctor praenomine et nomine temporum iniuria amisso atque etiam libri titulo, quem adscripti, interecepto solo cognomine residuo ex omnibus opinor, typographi Achephalos hactenus produiit. De quo eruditi coneant, viderint, mihi satis fuerit ex fide haec referenti fidem haberi. Taceo multa alia quae in toto huius libri corpore aliter quam in vulgari legebantur.”* (SZILÁGYI S., kiad., *Szamosközy...*, 1877, 105–106.). JAKÓ 1976b, 176. further assumes that the corvina may have been obtained from the destroyed library of Prince Zsigmond Báthory (1598) by the archivist of the prince.

²⁸⁸ His collection of Roman inscriptions was published during his lifetime (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1593), but he continued collecting even afterwards. For the manuscript of his work, and for a facsimile edition of the contemporary edition, see: BALÁZS M.–MONOK, kiad., *Szamosközy, Analecta*, 1992,

²⁸⁹ HE could not have seen the codices themselves, since, as we have seen, in his lifetime they were already in Vienna and in German-speaking countries. It is unlikely that he would have encountered even one during his travels in Italy.

²⁹⁰ CORIPPUS–RUIZ DE AZAGRA 1581.

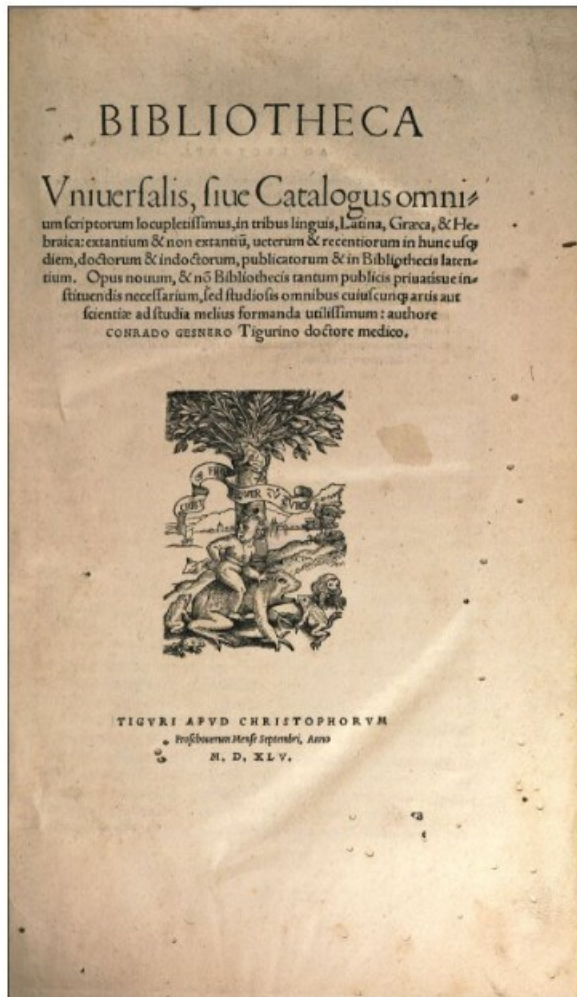
²⁹¹ CSAPODI 1973, 205.; See also BUDIK 1839, 37–39.; FRAKNÓI 1878, 125–126.; CSONTOSI 1878, 214–215.; CSONTOSI 1881a, 165–166.; LOEWE 1883, 315–316.; ÁBEL 1883, 948–950.; CSONTOSI 1891, 145–146.; SCHÖNHERR 1896, 161–168.; MANITIUS 1911, 168–170.

²⁹² AFTER the first edition of *De laudibus Iustini...* in 1581, three 17th century, six 18th century, four 19th century, and three 20th century editions were published. (For a list of them, see CORIPPUS–ANTÉS 1981, CVII–CXI, the *Johannis* editio princeps: CORIPPUS–MAZZUCHELLI 1820; also his edition is included in CORIPPUS–BEKKER 1836; followed by the Joseph Partsch edition, still the most widely used: CORIPPUS–PARTSCH 1879; then CORIPPUS–PETSCHENIG 1886; then the only translation, first on microfilm (1966), then CORIPPUS–SHEA 1998. Petschenig's edition was taken over by CORIPPUS–HAMMAN 1968, 998–1127, and finally by the critical edition of CORIPPUS–DIGGLE–GOODYEAR 1970.

²⁹³ CUSPINIANUS–GERBELIUS 1540, 216.

names mentioned by Cuspinianus. This contains verbatim what Szamosközy mentions : „Crastonius Gorippus(!), qui libros Iohannidos scripsit, qui habentur in bibliotheca Budensi.”

It should be noted, however, that Szamosközy was not the only one to be blamed for the misnaming, because Conrad Gessner's well-known *Bibliotheca universalis* also uses the name the same way, which was not changed in the Gessner editions by Josias Simmler and Johann Jacob Frisius.²⁹⁴ The Transylvanian historian could, therefore, have taken the variant from them, but as previously mentioned, it is almost certain that he himself knew Gerbelius's list of names.



18. Gessner 1545

²⁹⁴ GESSNER 1545; GESSNER-SIMMLER 1574; GESSNER-SIMMLER-FRIES 1583.

Stephanus Geographus: Szamosközy probably mentions this author's name in this form because it was clear to his contemporaries, and to himself, which "Stephanus" he meant. Most likely it is Stephanus Byzantinus, who in the 5th century wrote his geographical encyclopaedia *Ethnika* (Latin title: *De urbibus et populis*), which has proved to be a rich source for humanists and modern researchers to understand various instances of the geographical past and history of their countries.²⁹⁵ However, the extensive Corvina literature is not aware of any information pointing to this famous work existing in the Buda collection, nor have we been able to find an answer to the question of how Szamosközy knew about it. Although we know of three 16th century editions of the work,²⁹⁶ there is no hint that the basis for the edition was a corvina. This is not reflected in the prefaces of the later editions,²⁹⁷ nor in the two editions that are still considered to be the best versions.²⁹⁸

Did Szamosközy come across the codex itself? Theoretically, this possibility cannot be excluded, especially if we think of the large number of surviving copies in Italy: most notably those in the *Biblioteca Trivulziana*.²⁹⁹ It is particularly worth mentioning that the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek also has a copy of a volume purchased from Sebastian Tegnagel,³⁰⁰ and that Csapodi's list of references also records volumes of this provenance: both are "uncertain corvinas".³⁰¹

In this situation, we are forced to formulate hypotheses. Of course, the most logical assumption is that, despite the sources we have examined being quiet on the matter, Szamosközy did indeed get his information from a print, or that an entry on Stephanus Byzantinus in a contemporary lexicon mentioned that it was in the *Corvina*.

However, we cannot exclude the possibility that our historian already knew from other sources that the geographical lexicon in question was available in the *Corvina*. Therefore, it is also possible that although the 16th century and later editions did not rely on the manuscript from Matthias's library, Szamosközy equated

²⁹⁵ LOOKING through the volumes of *L'Année philologique*, we encountered studies largely along the same line. See also the bibliographies of STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–BILLERBECK–NEUMANN–HARTMANN, I., 2006, 51–64. and BILLERBECK–NEUMANN–HARTMANN 2021.

²⁹⁶ *PERI poleón. De urbibus* was published in Greek by Aldus Manutius, *editio princeps* (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–ALDUS 1502); Greek-Latin editions by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–GIUNTA 1521; STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–XILANDER.

²⁹⁷ WITHOUT being comprehensive, here are some of the items we saw: Theodor PINEDO–Jacobus GRONOVIVS: Amsterdam, Jacob de Jonge, 1678 (the same here: Rudolph Wetsten, 1725); Abraham BERKELIUS–Jacobus GRONOVIVS: Leiden, Daniel Gaesebeek, 1674, and 1688 (the same here: Frederik Haaring, 1694); Lucas HOLSTENIUS–Theodor RYCK: Leiden, Jacobus Hackius, 1684 and Leiden, Petrus vander Aa, 1692 (with notes and commentaries by HOLSTENIUS: Utrecht, sumptibus Societatis, 1691); PINEDO, HOLSTENIUS and BERKELIUS with notes by Wilhelm DINDORF, Leipzig, Kühn, 1825; Antonius WESTERMANN: Leipzig, 1839 (Teubner).

²⁹⁸ STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–MEINEKE 1849; new critical edition: STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–BILLERBECK–NEUMANN–HARTMANN, I–V., 2006–2017. The critical inventory of the manuscripts and editions: STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS–BILLERBECK–NEUMANN–HARTMANN, I., 2006, 8–46.

²⁹⁹ KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, I, 1977, 360. Nr. 737; KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, I, 1977, 335., 442–444., 531. Further corvinas in *Trivulziana*: CSAPODI 1973, 541 and 577.

³⁰⁰ LAMBECK–KOLLAR 1766, 127.

³⁰¹ CSAPODI 1973, 320, 459.

their appearance with his knowledge of the manuscript's existence. This raises the question of whether the author of the *ars historica* might have encountered the codex itself.

We looked at seven manuscripts, and in only one case were we unable to answer the question of where Szamosközy got his information. This shortcoming illustrates that if we systematically read the prefaces of all the editions of classical texts associated with the Corvina, we can get a more accurate picture of how members of the European humanist generations of the 16th century thought of this ruined library. Such knowledge has also been available to those who, for one reason or another, want to revive Matthias's library.

17th-century attempts to retrieve the codices left in Buda and taken to Constantinople

The attempts of the Jesuits

Count Michael Adolf von Althann (1574–1638), Austrian military commander, was the diplomat of Emperor Matthias II, Holy Roman Emperor to the Turkish court and in Transylvania to Prince Gábor Bethlen.³⁰² The Count wrote to the Pope on 8 April 1618, asking him to exchange the Buda library for Turkish books in the library of the Duke of Tuscany.³⁰³ Recently found further letters prove that the Jesuit machinery, alongside the Pope, had also been set in motion. Muzio Vitelleschi (1563–1645), the Jesuit Superior General, wrote a letter to Florianus Avancinus (1561–1626), Rector of the Jesuit Collegium of Vienna (8 June 1618), expressing misgivings about the success of the mission. He doubts that the Buda library could be obtained in exchange for the Turkish books in the possession of the Duke of Tuscany (Cosimo II Medici 1590–1621). If not the Pope, he, Vitelleschi, is willing to write to the Duke on this matter.³⁰⁴

„Alias quoque literas easque paulo recentiores a Reverentia Vestra accepi, quibus studium Illustrissimi Comitis ab Altham, quo ille rem christianam in Hungaria, Transylvania, Wallachia vicinisque regionibus promovere satagit, explicabat: quod ego a me suggeri possit, quo a Magno duce Hetruriae capsula illa librorum Turcicorum in compensationem Bibliothecae Budensis impetrari possit: quod tamen admodum dif-

³⁰² ADB I, 366.

³⁰³ FRAKNÓI 1874, 297–299.

³⁰⁴ BALÁZS M.–FRICSY–LUKÁCS–MONOK, ADATTÁR 26, 1990, 322.

ficile impetratu fore video. Quod attinet ad literas a Sua Sanctitate ad ipsum Comitem, eae difficulter impetrabuntur. Quod si sine illis meae literae ipsi gratiae futurae putentur, libenter eas ad ipsum prima occasione transmittam."

The next letter was also written by Vitelleschi to Caspar Gratiani, the Sultan's envoy to Vienna on 19 June 1618.³⁰⁵ In it he informs the envoy that he has tried to intervene with the Pope, but the Pope is reluctant to get involved. He knows of the Grand Duke's fondness for antiques, and it would be uncomfortable for both of them if he refused the Holy Father's request. On the other hand, on 29 September 1618, he reported to the envoy that the Pope had changed his position and was trying to advance the case of the Turkish books.³⁰⁶

The attempts of the Transylvanian princes

All the authors dealing with the cultural history of the Transylvanian court of Gábor Bethlen cite sources that specify that the walls of Bethlen's reception hall were decorated with tapestries showing the life events of Alexander the Great and Matthias Hunyadi; thus the cult of Matthias was prominent in his cultural politics and representation of power. In the Hungarian literature it is known that Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) and György Rákóczi I (1630–1648) also tried to obtain the book collection from Buda, with no success.³⁰⁷ However, among the books of Mihály Apafi I (1661–1690), a *corvina* manuscript was discovered, containing poems by Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius. It is now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. In 1663, Apafi himself visited Buda to see the former location of the famous library. Some believe that this was when the Pasha of Buda presented the texts of the Latin poets to his military ally, Zsigmond Jakó tends to think that the volume was taken to Transylvania when the Buda court moved to Gyulafehérvár.³⁰⁸

Zsigmond Jakó, in his classic study "Transylvania and the Corvina" (*Erdély és a Corvina*)³⁰⁹ distinguishes two different approaches in the Transylvanian Saxon historiographical tradition. One of them firmly states that the royal court, which moved from Buda to Transylvania, took a number of codices with them and placed *several* in the library of the school founded by Johann Honter (Christian Schesaeus (1535?–1585), Daniel Reipchius (†1612)), a statement that also appears by the Hungarian Elek Bethlen and by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (Marsili, 1658–1730),

³⁰⁵ BALÁZS M.–FRICSY–LUKÁCS–MONOK, ADATTÁR 26, 1990, 322–323.

³⁰⁶ BALÁZS M.–FRICSY–LUKÁCS–MONOK, ADATTÁR 26, 1990, 330.

³⁰⁷ For a summary of the data published in several places, see: HARSÁNYI 1917, 6.; CSAPODI 1961.; CSAPODI 1971.; JAKÓ 1976b.

³⁰⁸ JAKÓ 1976b, 169–170.

³⁰⁹ JAKÓ 1966. Enlarged: JAKÓ 1976b.

an Italian military engineer in the imperial service, who was instructed by Elek Bethlen. The other traditional avenue in the formation of the national cultural consciousness is based on less information but is more definitive. Especially, it emphasises the school library founded by Johann Honter (1498–1549), which was founded from the library of the medieval convents of Brassó (Kronstadt, Braşov)³¹⁰, as the equal counterpart of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* in the history of libraries, which also included *some* corvinas. Jakó used the church history manuscript written in 1739 by Johann Filstich, the rector of Brassó, who was apparently familiar with the dissertation on the major library fires by Thomas Bartholini (1616–1680), published in 1709 by Andreas Westphal (1685–1747) in Jena.³¹¹ Westphal, not the author, writes the following in the introduction:

[fol. 11v–12r] „Nonnullarum quoque Bibliothecarum, ab igne consumptarum, mentionem injicit Julius Pflugk in Epistola, ad magni nominis virum Seckendorffium directa de Bibliotheca Budensi, ex qua sequentia transferre liceat.”

[fol. 14r–v] „Ita ille, annus ejusdem seculi 89. valde fatalis fuit Bibliothecae Cronstadtensis, dum eam flammae vehementia omnino destruxit et abstulit. Cujus casus eo durior atque acerbior fuit, quo magis instructa atque ornata eadem existit, quippe cum ea ex Bibliotheca Budensi egregio manuscriptorum thesauro locupletata maximam partem libris majoris ordinis superbiret.”

Referring to Bartholin's text, Johann Georg Schelhorn (1694–1773), a Lutheran pastor and historian from Jena, repeats this statement,³¹² later I will discuss his work on the history of the *Corvina* in more detail. We published the Brassó library's collected catalogues prior to 1800, compiling the earlier editions one by one with the originals, and supplementing them in the series *Adattár* published by the Szeged University.³¹³ Zsigmond Jakó, also referring to these records, indicated that even before the 1689 fire there are no volumes in them that would refer to *corvinas*, especially in large numbers. Despite this, the two strands of the *Corvina* tradition lived on together in Saxon historical writing, even after the 1848 Revolution and War of Independence in Transylvania. The literary history summary (Friedrich Schuler von Libloy) of the view of Saxony as an independent territorial, economic, and cultural entity states the same:³¹⁴

„Der Kronstädter Stadtrichter Benkner vermehrte die dortige Bibliothek namentlich durch sehr werthvolle Bücher und Handschriften, welche er nach dem Falle von Konstantinopel aus den verwüsteten und preisgegebenen Griechischen Bibliotheken ankaufen liess: eben so vermehrte sich die Bibliothek durch Werke, welche in dem 1553 von Türken eroberten Ofen verschleppt und verhandelt worden waren. So konnte in der That Thomas Bartholinus in seiner „dissertatio de bibliothecae incendio“ (Jena 1709 XXXII. pag 27.) sagen: „.... bibliotheca Cronstadtensis ... quo magis instructa atque or-

³¹⁰ MONOK 2018, 411–426.; MONOK 2020a, 131–146.

³¹¹ BARTHOLIN–WESTPHAL 1709, fol.11v–12r, 14r–v.

³¹² SCHELHORN 1764, 837.

³¹³ MONOK–ÖTVÖS P.–VERÓK, ADATTÁR 16/4, 2004, 526–693; BÁNDI–MONOK–VERÓK, ADATTÁR 16/6, 2021, 3–110.

³¹⁴ SCHULER VON LIBLOY 1857, 103–104. (Kronstadt, von Johannes Honterus errichtete „Schulliberie“)

nata eadem existit, quippe cum ea ex Bibliotheca Budensi egregio manuscriptorum thesauro locupletata maximam partem libris majoris ordinis superbiret." Kein Zweifel, dass ausser der Ofner im 16ten Jahrhunderte keine reichere Bibliothek Ungarns und Siebenbürgens bestanden habe, als jene im Burzenlande. Der furchtbare Brand vom 21. April 1689 zerstörte auch die „Liberie“, nur sehr wenig konnte gerettet werden, wie mehrere eingehändige Briefe Melanchthon's und Luther's u. a. m."

The attempt of the Habsburg court

Joachim Hagemeyer, (1617–1681) a lawyer and diplomat from Hamburg, at the request of his lord, the Lutheran Friedrich Casimir von Hanau (1623–1685), summarised the basic historical events of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Czech Kingdom and presented their state of affairs after the Peace of Westphalia.³¹⁵ He writes the following in this letter (*epistola*):

„§ 8. Malthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae Bibliotheca Budensis, optimis manu exaratis codicibus, et Graecis praecipue plena fuit. Hujus reliquias Turcae per ultimam Pacem anni 1664 Leopoldo Caesari concesserunt, quae Viennae asservantur, ubi Thesauro librario praestet Clarissimus Petrus Lambecius.“³¹⁶

That is, in some parts of Europe it was believed that during the negotiation of the Peace of Vasvár, the imperial side managed to persuade the Turks to hand over the codices valued as relics originating from King Matthias's library, and they were stored in Vienna. Hagemeyer did not specify whether these were the codices preserved in Buda or in Constantinople. Noémi Viskolcz has written the most detailed study of the issue, publishing, in addition to the previously unquoted literature, the relevant parts of the letters of Walter Leslie (1607–1667), the imperial envoy, and the diary of Peter Lambeck (1628–1680).³¹⁷ She dealt in particular with the connections between the Peace of Vasvár and Lambeck's journey to Buda in 1666.³¹⁸ The source edition of the most recent related work of Austrian scholarship³¹⁹ is incomplete, but Noémi Viskolcz filled this gap. I consider it important to note that these documents also confirm the imperial intention to strengthen the cultish foundations of the empire by unifying the remains of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* and propagating this widely.

It is noteworthy that not only did the political elite know about Lambeck going to Buda, but also the European members of the *respublica litteraria* had high expectations for a successful operation. Due to his being the librarian of the imperial library, many people corresponded with Peter Lambeck concerning the publica-

³¹⁵ HAGEMEIER 1680, 1686.

³¹⁶ HAGEMEIER 1680, 9.; HAGEMEIER 1686, 9.

³¹⁷ VISKOLCZ 2006; VISKOLCZ 2008; VISKOLCZ 2009.

³¹⁸ VISKOLCZ 2009, 154–156.

³¹⁹ GASTGEBER 2005.

tion of a classical or medieval text, or the variations of a text which might be in Vienna. We want to mention only one example from this circle of research which indicates that the journey to Buda was an open secret in scholarly circles. The preparation of Josephus Flavius's edition was an extended European collaboration. Johann Andreas Schmidt (1652–1726) published the extensive correspondence on this subject, ranging from Oxford to Paris and Vienna, in a separate volume in 1700.³²⁰ Caspar Sagittarius (1643–1694), the Hebraic historian professor from the University of Jena, also planned to publish the Jewish history of Josephus Flavius, and many people wrote to him about it. Among them was the polyhistor legal scholar Hermann Conring (1606–1681), who indicated that he hoped Lambeck would bring a Josephus Flavius codex from Buda in good condition.³²¹

„IX. Martii 1666.

Recte dicis, non temere quem reperiri, qui aut velit possit iusta industria conferre codices. Qui tale quid Viennae voluerit hactenus agere, novi neminem. Qui enim ibi literati habentur, exsibilant talia. Si Budensis Bibliothecae Corvinae (quam totam pridem interiisse credidi) reliquiae Iosephi melioribus codicibus fuerint instructae feceris operae praetium, si iuvenem aliquem philologiae deditum isthuc mitas ad codices conferendos et excerptas varias.”³²²

It is necessary to separately take into account those sources that repeat the content of Lambeck's published report,³²³ or even those who personally heard the librarian's account of his experiences in Buda, such as Edward Brown (1644–1708),³²⁴ who travelled to *Hungaria* in 1669 and first published his travel diary in 1673.³²⁵ From the perspective of disseminating the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* in Europe, the important point here is not that Brown's knowledge came from Lambeck, (relatively few people could have read Lambeck's seven-volume Latin history of the libraries, or discovered in it which codices from Matthias's collection ended up in Vienna) but rather that the book of an English traveller, already known amongst his contemporaries, became a bestseller. The first English edition (1673) was followed by a French edition (1674),³²⁶ translated and rewritten by Edward Brown himself. In 1681 it was translated into Dutch,³²⁷ and in 1685³²⁸ the second English *editio* came off the press. The German version was published in

³²⁰ SCHMIDT J. A. ed., *Epistolae...*, 1700.

³²¹ I note that, as far as we know today, no Josephus Flavius text exists as a *Corvina*. CSAPODI 1973, 260 (Nr. 362.) lists a manuscript preserved in Prague as wrongly assigned to the library of Matthias.

³²² SCHMIDT A. kiad., *Epistolae...*, 1700, 394.

³²³ In the description of the individual codices he mentions that they come from Matthias's library, but also in a summary how they got to Vienna and his travel in 1666. See LAMBECK 1665, 32–33, 108–109.; LAMBECK 1669, 787–788, 995–996, 989–996.; LAMBECK-KOLLAR 1766, 68–70.; LAMBECK-KOLLAR 1769, 939–954.

³²⁴ VISKOLCZ 2009, 161–162.

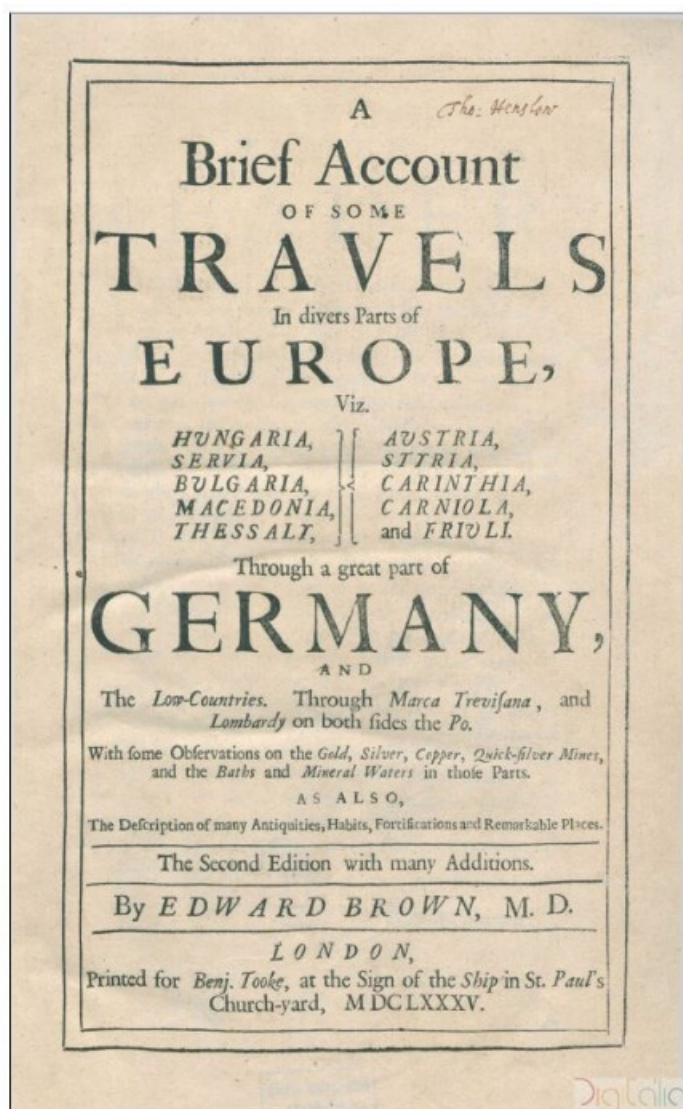
³²⁵ BROWN 1673 (about the *Corvina* here: 15–16.); BROWN-NEHRING 1673, 1975; Hungarian translations: SZAMOTA, kiad., *Régi utazások...*, 1891, 297–425. (about the *Corvina* here: 308.); GÖMÖRI, kiad., *Angol és skót utazók*, 1994, 64–74. (about the *Corvina* here: 69.).

³²⁶ BROWN 1674 (about the *Corvina* here: 22–23.)

³²⁷ BROWN 1681 (about the *Corvina* here, third volume, first chapter (Derde Boek, Eerste deel), 18–19.)

³²⁸ BROWN 1685 (about the *Corvina* here: 8–9.)

1686,³²⁹ and republished in 1711.³³⁰ Edward Brown's travelogue has become part of the English travel literature, and parts of it have been published many times to the present day.



19. Brown 1685

Lambeck's basic library history is still used today. The comprehensive historiographies also refer to this work. Here, I will only mention the work of the biblio-

³²⁹ BROWN 1686 (about the *Corvina* here: 93–94.)

³³⁰ BROWN 1711 (about the *Corvina* here: 93–94.)

phile jurist Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (1671–1729), who wrote the history of the Holy Roman Empire which was published many times. In paragraphs 334 and 335 he records the battles between Matthias Hunyadi and Frederick III (*Krieg mit König Matthias von anno 1479–85 – Eroberung von Wien anno 1485*):

„Matthias hatte raison zum Kriege. Er differirete in moribus gantz und gar von Frid-erico III. Bonfinius hat beyder Qualitäten beschriben, und gezeiget, dass sie einander zuwier gewesen. Liv. V. Decad. IV. seiner historie. Bonfinius war ein Historiographus, den Matthias gedungen, der also sein herus[us] war. Er war ein Italiäner: durch seine Gemahlin Beatrix, eine Neapolitanische Princessin, welche ihm viele Italiäner recom-mendiret hat, hat er ihn kennenlernen. Sambucus, Maximilianii II. Bibliothecarius hat ihn drucken lassen.³³¹ In Ofen legte Matthias eine herrliche Bibliothek an, welche Bibliotheca Budensis hernach an die Türcken kommen, und etwas haben die Kay-serlichen empfangen, da sie Ofen unter Leopoldo einnahmen.³³² Die Bücher sind alle so gebunden, dass man den Corvinum aussen oder innen siehet. Sambucus war ein gelehrter Ungar, ein grosser Criticus Græcus, latinus, von dem man vieles in Lambecii Comment[ariorum libris] ad Bib[liothecam] Vind[obonensem] lesen kann.“³³³

Of course, we know that such a description alone will not add anything new to our understanding of the *Corvina's* collection. At the same time, however, I consider it particularly important that this knowledge is also reflected in the summaries of historical works. In the second half of the 18th century, the major historical summaries (world history) already incorporated the results of the Hungarian *historia litteraria*: the works of Mátyás Bél (1684–1749),³³⁴ Johann Georg Schwandtner (1716–1791),³³⁵ or István Kaprinai (1714–1785)³³⁶. In the next chapter I mention some of these, indicating one way in which historical information was spread.

The age of confronting the revised book material after the Ottoman expulsion

Csaba Csapodi, who investigated the history of Matthias's library in great detail, has discussed in numerous publications whether there were any corvinas left in Buda after 1526, and how large the fragments could have been that were not taken away by bibliophile humanists, destructive mercenaries, and officials of the Sultan's treasury.³³⁷ As a result of his research, he found that no books of any

³³¹ BONFINIUS–SAMBUCUS 1568.

³³² IN 1686.

³³³ GRUNDLING 1732, 958–959. Ref.: LAMBECK 1665; LAMBECK 1669.

³³⁴ BÉL, *De vetere*, 1718; BÉL, *Adparatus*, 1735; BÉL, *Notitia*, I–IV, 1735–1742.

³³⁵ SCHWANDTNER 1746.

³³⁶ KAPRINAI 1767.

³³⁷ CSAPODI 1961; CSAPODI 1971; CSAPODI 1973, 72–92.; CSAPODI 1984.

significance remained in the royal palace.³³⁸ Based on our above considerations, despite Csapodi's extensive argumentation,³³⁹ we recommend that future research should not exclude the possibility of remaining books as a working hypothesis. It is difficult to imagine that the Hungarian Jesuits, the emperor's diplomats, or the Transylvanian princes would not have been informed about what they wanted to obtain before trying to secure the pieces of the library. We make this claim despite the fact that, after the liberation of Buda from the Ottoman occupation, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli found only undecorated paper codices in the castle.³⁴⁰ That is why I myself examined the literature of the Marsigli bequest, and spent a few days studying the Hungarian related manuscripts in the military engineer's bequest kept in Bologna.

It is a well-known fact that during the liberation of Buda, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, a passionate collector, wandered through the smoking ruins of the city and took a number of books from the Ottoman library in Buda and the remains of the bibliotheca in the palace, helped collect them and transport them to Vienna. Presumably in Vienna he also picked out further volumes for his own collection. Later, in 1711 he donated his entire library to the new Bologna Institute of Science (*Istituto delle Scienze*). Four copies of the catalogue of the books found in the Buda Palace are known, two of them are almost contemporary, and two others are later editions. In addition, a number of small fragments of lists and purchase records of Marsigli's books have survived, as well as his manuscript and printed catalogues. Nevertheless, the Marsigli legacy cannot be considered processed today. Not even in terms of the Hungarian related context.³⁴¹ We can also only report on the recent results of the *Hungarica* research and outline the tasks ahead.³⁴² Áron Szilády spent an extended period of time in Bologna in 1898, where he worked, among other things, in the Marsigli collection of the University Library.³⁴³ I would immediately like to underline that neither Szilády, nor Endre Veress, who later researched there,³⁴⁴ could rely on the fundamental works of Ludovico Frati. Nor could they depend on the catalogue of the Latin codices,³⁴⁵ nor the most complete catalogue of the Marsigli legacy to date,³⁴⁶ since these were published later. Apparently, the printed donation lists published in the early 18th century,³⁴⁷ the catalogue of Ori-

³³⁸ CSAPODI 1984, 43–51. és 81–82.

³³⁹ In addition, Csapodi does not refer to the cited travel account of Edward Brown, who also reports a fire in 1669.

³⁴⁰ This matches what Peter Lambeck saw in 1666. An inventory was made of the books found by Marsigli, of which three manuscript copies are known today. It was published three times during the period: PFLUGIUS 1688a; PFLUGIUS 1688b; PFLUGIUS 1703. Modern edition of the inventory: CSAPODI 1984.

³⁴¹ The Hungarian research history of the bequest was summarised by NAGY LEV. 2017.

³⁴² MONOK 2009.

³⁴³ SZILÁDY 1898, 128–142.

³⁴⁴ VERESS 1906.

³⁴⁵ FRATI 1909.

³⁴⁶ FRATI 1928.

³⁴⁷ INSTRUMENTUM *donationis Illustrissimi Domini Comitis Aloysii Ferdinandi di Marsiglii favore Illustrissimi et Excelsi Senatus et civitatis Bononiae in gratiam novae in eadem Scientiarum Institutionis*. Print, sine dato, sine loco, sine typographo, in 4 maiore. (but most certainly Bologna, 1711 – because the preface

ental manuscripts (Talman,³⁴⁸ Asseman³⁴⁹) and the corresponding supplements³⁵⁰ were used, and Endre Veress seems to have had access to almost all the manuscript volumes in person. Veress was also familiar with the most important items of the literature, the studies of Alfredo Reumont,³⁵¹ Ercole Ricotti³⁵² (who was familiar with some of the Marsigli papers), but, above all, the young Ludovico Frati's paper,³⁵³ in which he published a copy of the Buda catalogue. But let us return to Buda, to the year 1686. Marsigli took part in the siege, and then personally searched the ruins of the castle, looking for books. He made a note of his memories in Italian, and when the publication of a catalogue of his Oriental manuscript collection materialised, he rewrote his memories as a preface, but put them in a narrative framework of how he had acquired manuscripts and books throughout his life. Be that as it may, the publication history of the catalogue is rather unclear. In 1720, Talman's catalogue was published; then it was suggested that Asseman compile it again. This latter preface would have been the second Marsigli memoir, in Latin. It was translated from Italian by Asseman, but never appeared in print. In the first appendix of our volume, we list the Hungarian-related items of the legacy in detail and attempt to write the history of the manuscripts' publication, use, and references. There is also reference to the scene mentioned by Zsigmond Jakó in connection with the Saxons, namely the conversation with Elek Bethlen.

Ludovico Frati, seeing the great interest in Marsigli's acquisition of books from Buda (he also refers to the writings of Ricotti and Reumont), quotes in one-to-one transliteration the part of the Italian letter (BUB MS 85 E) concerning Buda. The entire thing was published by Albano Sorbelli in 1930.³⁵⁴ Endre Veress was famil-

to the second donation document begins like this: „Conservando sempre mai dopo la stipulata solenne Donazione nell'Anno 1712 li 11 Gennaio...” – *Strumento di una seconda donazione fatta dall'Ill. ed Eccell. Sig. Generale Conte Luigi Ferdinando Marsili all' Illustriss. ed Eccelso Senato di Bologna a favore, e comodo dell' Instituto delle Scienze in essa città ereto.* Bologna, Constantino Pisarri, 1727, in 4 maiore. (BUB Fondo Marsigli, Vol. 146, 146a)

³⁴⁸ ELENCHUS librorum orientalium manuscriptorum videlicet Graecorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, et deinde Hebraicorum, ac antiquorum Latinorum, tum manuscriptorum, tum impressorum a Domino Comite Aloysio Ferdinando Marsigli... partim in ultimo bello Turcico, et partim in itinere Constantinopolim suspecto collectorum, coemptorumque, opera Michaelis Talman, Viennae Austriae, Susanna Christina, Matthaei Cosmerovii vidua, 1720, in fol. [Explicit 1720] (BUB Fondo Marsigli MS 593 Y 3)

³⁴⁹ INDEX librorum Bibliothecae Marsilianae Graecorum, Latinorum, Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Turcicorum et Persicorum, nec non Ruthenico et Illyrico sermone, tum manuscriptorum, tum impressorum, quos excellentissimus Dominus Comes Aloysius Ferdinandus Marsilius Bibliothecae Instituti Scientiarum Bononiensis addidit. In septem partem divisus. Opera Josephi Simonii Assemani, Sacrae Theologiae Doctoris, et linguarum Orientalium in Bibliotheca Vaticana scriptoris, et in Collegio Vrbanò de Propaganda Fide Professori., Sine loco, anno, et typographo (BUB Fondo Marsigli, Cod. 2951)

³⁵⁰ ROSEN 1885.

³⁵¹ REUMONT 1879 quotes RICOTTI 1845, which means he indirectly knew about the BUB Fondo Marsigli 85 F manuscript.

³⁵² RICOTTI 1879, 307–315. publishes as its appendix the part of BUB Fondo Marsigli 85 F concerning Buda (Fol. 5v–8v), in Italian, and specifies the events in Buda generally mentioned by REUMONT in 1879.

³⁵³ FRATI 1893, 7–16. In it he quotes the BUB Fondo Marsigli 85 F, 85 E documents and publishes the 1686 catalogue as an appendix.

³⁵⁴ SORBELLI 1930, 173–183.; in the Hungarian literature BENE 2006 quotes it because of the Illyrian matters.

iar with the Italian literature of the second half of the 19th century, so he did not go any further, i.e. despite writing separately about the Fondo Marsigli 1079 (*Manoscritto in lingua Tedesca trovato nella Biblioteca di Buda*),³⁵⁵ he did not research the German manuscripts in detail, and completely avoided Greek and Oriental matters. As did Szilárdy. Despite all that, the manuscript listing the Oriental books of Marsigli has several interesting features. Namely, according to the record, a renegade from Livorno stole 200 Greek codices from the Sultan's collection. He sold them: partly to the French envoy, Girardin,³⁵⁶ and partly to Marsigli.³⁵⁷ The other interesting feature is the *elenchus* of the Latin books. The first six items are proven to be from Buda. Csaba Csapodi also dealt with them, based on the writings of Szilárdy and Veress.³⁵⁸ The three prints are all stored in the University Library of Bologna, but they are not the copies from Buda. As the duplicates were sold, it is possible that the library got rid of the damaged Buda copies.³⁵⁹

We deliberately interrupt our current summary with a more detailed analysis of a single bequest. Our intention was to highlight the gaps and opportunities for research. Scholarly tasks to be mentioned only in relation to the Bologna Marsigli manuscripts:

1. It must be clarified in Vienna whether the Buda catalogue of 1686 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek is an original, who made it, who copied it, and for whom.
2. In particular, it is worth checking in Vienna whether there is a written record of why the history of the collection of Marsigli's manuscripts has not been published.
3. In Vienna there must also be a record of the circumstances of and the number of manuscripts and books Marsigli received and took with him from the Buda material.
4. In Bologna, non-Latin material should also be studied: the study of the Turkish, Persian, German, but especially Greek codices can provide information on the history of the libraries of Buda in the 17th century (remains of *Corvina*, books of the King's Chapel, Protestant library).
5. On the basis of the donation lists, an enormous task, all the copies of the documents mentioned must be examined to see if there are any signs of Hungarian provenance. Unfortunately, already at the end of the 18th century, the sale and exchange of duplicates began, so many of the Marsigli books were taken from the library. Nevertheless, I do not see research in this area as hopeless.

³⁵⁵ AND he immediately pointed out that only one of the letters in the Latin form book was in German, the rest in Latin. VERESS 1906, 31–32.; FRATI 1909, Nr. 583. is also described as a Latin manuscript.

³⁵⁶ THE KEREKES D., kiad., *Girardin*, 2007 diary makes no reference to this, but it is worth looking around in Paris.

³⁵⁷ BERNASCONI 2006, 254–268.

³⁵⁸ CSAPODI 1973.

³⁵⁹ SEE the *Elenchus* in the first appendix of this volume.

6. These are just my suggestions for further library history research, the main work would be to read the whole Marsigli manuscript collection and publish its Hungarian related aspects.

Soon after Marsigli, Jacobus Tollius (1633–1696) visited Buda. His first visit to Hungary was in 1660, when he visited Miklós Zrínyi in Csáktornya.³⁶⁰ The publication of his travel letters was left to Heinrich Christian von Hennin (1658–1703).³⁶¹ The Hungarian *Corvina* literature was also aware of these travel letters, but no one has published them as texts. Csaba Csapodi even added a Tollius text to the source material of the Royal Library of Buda.³⁶² They are worth reading, if only for the style of the letters. In his first letter, written to the Mayor of Amsterdam, Nicolaus Witsen (1641–1717), on 12 February 1687, he recalls the *corvinae* he saw in Wolfenbüttel, in the collection of Duke Augustus II (1579–1666).

„item Sallustii Catilina et Persius antiquissimae editionis, instar mss. Ostensi quoque mihi codices aliquot mss. prima Corvinianae Budensis Bibliotheca spolia ubi ea urbs vel a Solymanno, vel a Caesareanis occupata fuit, bonoque fato ab Augusto Duce redempta atque hic recondita. In his Marsilii Ficini ad Matthiam Corvinum Epistolae et opuscula permulta alia, si non edita, digna visa, quae ederentur. Fontii item Notae in Persium, Orationes, Carmina et alia. Serico raro rubro involuti et intus imaginibus elegantissimis Regis Mathiae, exornati codices magnificentiam vere Regiam prae se ferunt.”³⁶³

The complete literature of the codices still preserved in Wolfenbüttel has been processed by Edina Zsupán.³⁶⁴ She also suggested that Tollius is wrong in his use of the word “*spolia*”, since Duke Augustus³⁶⁵ could not have received the volume as a spoil of war. She (Zsupán) prefers the phrase a royal gift, “*regalia munera*”.³⁶⁶ We can only remark that even the first publisher of the letter noticed the incorrect use of the word “*spolia*”, as Hennin notes that he believes it was taken from Buda in 1526:

„9. Corvinianae Budensis Bibliothecae spolia.] Credo ex prima dissepatione anni 1526 omnes autem illi libri holoserico villosio rubro sunt vestiti.”³⁶⁷

In his second letter, written to the classical philologist Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703) (1 March 1687), he reports on the ancient coins he saw in Potsdam at the court of the Prince of Brandenburg, and then continues:

³⁶⁰ HAUSNER–KLANICZAY–KOVÁCS S. I.–MONOK–ORLOVSZKY, eds., *Bibliotheca Zriniana*, 1991, 33. The literature on Tollius’s travels was summarised by KÖVÉR 2013. Some of his letters have also been published in Hungarian (but nothing is connected with the *Corvina*): SZAMOTA, kiad., *Régi utazások*, 1891, 284–289.

³⁶¹ TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1700; TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1714.

³⁶² CSAPODI 1984, 26–27.

³⁶³ TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1700, 9; TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1714, 9.

³⁶⁴ HAB Cod. Guelf. 43. Aug. 2°. ZSUPÁN–HEITZMANN, hrsg., *Corvina Augusta...*, 2014, 31–41.

³⁶⁵ AUGUST II der Jüngere, Herzog zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666).

³⁶⁶ ZSUPÁN 2014, 283.

³⁶⁷ TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1700, 25.; TOLLIVS–HENNIN 1714, 25.

„Pro quibus [sc. for viewing the coins – I. M.] Optimus Princeps clementer sane et comiter, ut solet, gratias primum egit: deinde Turcicos proferri ostendique Libros iussit, quos Schoeningius³⁶⁸ copiarum adversus Turcam missarum Praefectus Buda attulerat. Et multi tum quidem de Budensis Bibliothecae reliquiis sermones habiti, quam cognoscere jam tum animus ardeat.”³⁶⁹

In his third letter (27 April 1687) to the theology professor Gerardus de Vries (1648–1705), he uses a very nice turn of phrase, expressing his desire to see Vienna and the remains of the *Corvina* on his way from Prague to Vienna, just as Odysseus longed to see his wife Penelope.

„Ut tandem ad finem hujus Epistolae properem, Vir Celeberrime, credo ego, Lophagorum regionem haud dissimili Bojohaemicae fuisse vel specie, vel indole: ita ego invitus plane hinc avulsus potius sum, quam profectus: et nisi, sicut Ulysses Ithacae suae ac Penelopes, ita me Viennae et Budensis Bibliothecae desiderium agitasset stimulassetque, Pragam ego haud ita cito, Bojohaemiam etiam multo serio deseruissem.”³⁷⁰

For me, this shows that contemporaries were convinced that part of Matthias’s library was preserved by the Turks in Buda and was transferred to Vienna after 1686. He only confronted the sad reality after his arrival to Vienna, when he was shown the state in which the manuscripts had been brought to the imperial capital. Instead of decorated manuscripts, he saw dusty, muddy, stained paper manuscripts. Those beautiful manuscripts that had been brought to Vienna earlier filled him with admiration. He wrote about this to Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712), a medical doctor, in his fourth letter (15 May 1687):

„Vis curae cultique corporis unus et item alter dies concessus, ex quo Viennam veni, cum proximo Lunae die Praefecto Bibliothecae Caesareae, Nesselio,³⁷¹ Viro Excellentissimo, literas Reverendi Patris Wolffii³⁷² commendatitias trado, ab eoque, qua erat humanitate, e vestigio in Bibliothecam deducor, tam veterem Viennensem, quam nuper Buda advectam. Sed, ah! ah! pro sperata voluptate nec opinum dolorem, pro immenso, quod animo praekoncepteram, gaudio ingentem cepi moerorem. Sallustium hic me integrum inventurum nonnulla spes lactaverat, quem in Budensi Bibliotheca eruditi quondam videant: et en! laceras heul situ, pulvere, vermibus corruptas nullius ferme precii reperio reliquias! Huccine, Regum Magnificentissime Corvine, cura Tua atque elegantia cecidit, ut quam immensis sumtibus ac laboribus collegeras Bibliothecam, tam foedum in modum, tam brevi dissiparetur: ut nullum tanto Principe dignum superesset volumen! Sed abstersit magnam hujus doloris partim Caesareae Vien-

³⁶⁸ ELEONÓRA Géra helped me to identify it. Hans Adam Schöning (1641–1696), a military officer from Brandenburg, was involved in the liberation of Buda from the Turks in the service of Emperor Leopold I (biography: Schöning 1837 (on the reconquest of Buda here: 73–145)). His title in 1686 was „*Geheimer Rath und General-Lieutenant*”. Hans Adams Schöning’s Buda diary was also published in the biography Kurd von Schöning: SCHÖNING 1837, 100–108 (no indication that he had seen any books there). ANONYMUS, *Schöning*, 1863 apparently abstracted SCHÖNING 1837.

³⁶⁹ TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1700, 41.; TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1714, 41.

³⁷⁰ TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1700, 75.; TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1714, 75.

³⁷¹ DANIEL de Nessel (1644–1699), Peter Lambeck’s successor on the post.

³⁷² I could not identify him. Perhaps Christoph Wolff, a Lutheran theologian, or Christian Wolff (†1714), a pastor known as a philosopher.

nensis Bibliothecae, vere Augustae, intuitus. In qua tam praestantes inveni, tamque multos Graecos Latinosque, exaratos manu, Codices, ut iratum mihi Caesarem pati possim, si tali carcere in trimestre ira illa expiari queat. Aves tamen scire, quid nostri studii manu scriptorum in Budensi Bibliotheca repererim?³⁷³

When publishing Tollius's letters, Hennin also made other important remarks on the history of library thinking. These are discussed in the next chapter.

³⁷³ TOLLIUS–HENNIN 1700, 99–100.; TOLLIUS–HENNIN 1714, 99–100. Hennin publishes, with reference to Aicher 1676, 148–150, the text of the inscription in the Imperial Library from 1663 (TOLLIUS–HENNIN 1700, 119–120.; TOLLIUS–HENNIN 1714, 119–120.). Cf. more NESSEL, *Catalogi...*, 1690, 173.

Historia bibliothecarum – Historia litteraria

The history of King Matthias's library from its creation is *historia litteraria*. It was created in order to have as many ancient texts as possible in one place; furthermore, to form the basis for philological work and, of course, for the publication and dissemination of these texts.³⁷⁴ This history became library history when it fell apart. Of course, we also had to wait for the profession called “library historian” to emerge. It took almost two centuries after the death of the founder of the library. Noémi Viskolcz's writings on Peter Lambeck³⁷⁵ also reveal that one of the librarian's tasks was to record the history of the Imperial Library. As can be seen from Viskolcz's transcripts, in this story Matthias Hunyadi was given the same rank as Emperor Maximilian I (1564–1576). Daniel de Nessel (1644–1699) indicates this several times (*de Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis origine...*) when referring to Lambeck in the revised edition of the catalogue of the manuscripts, while highlighting the library activities of Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529):

„Tanta enim, praeter eximiam facundiam, in Cuspiniano fuit prudentia, fides et tenacitas silentii, ut vigilantissimus Imperator fidissimo illius pectori reconditissima quaeque tuto committere potuerit. Sub hoc itaque plurimum crevit *Bibliotheca Caesarea* accessione non exigui numeri insignium codicum manuscriptorum, partim quidem ex *Monasticis* quibusdam Austriacae ditionis *Bibliothecis*, quae speciali Caesaris jussu ea de causa pervestigare, partim vero ex reliquiis Regiae bibliothecae Budensis, a Serenissimo Hungariae Rege *Malthia Corvino*, qui A. C. 1490 obiit, ingentibus et plusquam Regiis sumptibus olim institutae, quae A. C. 1526 cum *Solimannus* Turcarum Tyrannus, post *Ludovici* Regis Hungariae interitum, Budam occupasset, misere direpta varieque distracta est.”³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ It is worth pointing out that one of the first initiatives in the history of Hungarian literature was taken by Paolo Giovio, who, in his work on the great thinker, which has appeared in numerous editions, devotes a special chapter to the *ultramontanus* scholars. In it, he covers the period from the time of Matthias Hunyadi to the heyday of Tamás Nádasdy's court in Sárvár, while mentioning a few names (Jovius (Giovio) 1557, 276–289.; Jovius (Giovio) 1571, 295–304.). I also want to note that the Hungarian data of the two editions are the same (the names of the mentioned scientists changed).

³⁷⁵ VISKOLCZ 2006; VISKOLCZ 2008; VISKOLCZ 2009.

³⁷⁶ NESSEL, *Catalogi...*, 1690, 169.

CATALOGI
AUGUSTISSIMÆ
BIBLIOTHECÆ
CÆSAREÆ VINDOBONENSIS
MANUSCRIPTE GRÆCÆ, NEC NON
LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM
APPENDIX,

Quæ continentur
QUINQUE Selectissima ADDITAMENTA, ad
Recensionem Codicum MStorum specialem pertinentia, totumq;
hoc Opus illustrantia.



After listing the librarians along with the history of their major acquisitions, he turns to the building and gives the text of a plaque,³⁷⁷ again referring to Lambeck:

..Quod bonum, felix et faustum sit Augustissimam Bibliothecam Caesaream Vindobonensem a ... Imperatore Maximiliano I. partim quidem ex maiorum suorum libraria ... circa Annum ... M.CCC.XCV. fundatam, ... verum etiam magna parte librorum Serenissimi Regis Hungariae Matthiae Corvini ... locupletatam.³⁷⁸

But Lambeck's history of libraries and his description of his journey to Buda also left its mark on the booming library literature that followed the publication of the work. First published in 1669, Johannes Lomeier's (1636–1699) work, *de bibliothecis*,³⁷⁹ makes fundamental statements, summarising the literature of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, which lived on with this data until the end of the next century. As Lomeier's text is more detailed in the 1680 edition, the text in only this edition is placed between the signs <<...>> (in italics).

..Matthias Corvinus Hungariae Rex, filius Johannis Hunniadis belli et pacis artibus clarus, adhuc adolescentulus auditis aliorum fortibus et praeclaris factis, adeo accensus fuisse dicitur, ut exultim tripudians, quasi de animi applausu virtutis stimulos testatus. Praecipuam tamen laudem apud posteritatem ei peperit cognitio admiratioque doctrinarum omnis generis singulareque in his propagandi studium. Delectatus maxime historiarum cognitione, quas ex Graeca Lingva multas in Latinam transfundi curavit, sui usus causa. <<Praeceptorem habuit Galeottum Martium,³⁸⁰ de quo Iovius eloq. doct. viror. 34.³⁸¹>> Didicit studiose multa de stellarum motibus. Doctos praecipue Mathematicum peritos et poetas ad fastigium amplissimorum honorum evexit. At prae caeteris Joh[annem] Regiomontanum³⁸² tanti fecit, ut crebro eum, eruditorum colloquiorum causa, mensae contubernio adhibuerit. Non immerito itaque haec inscriptio tumulo ejus addita est <<ab Antonio Tebaldeo:

Corvini brevis haec urna est: quem magna fatentur

Facta fuisse Deum: fata fuisse hominem. >>

Marmore in hoc Matthias Corvinus situs est quem

Facta Deum ostendunt, fata fuisse hominem.

³⁷⁷ This is discussed in detail in VISKOLCZ 2009, 163–164 (not following later editions of the text of the inscription).

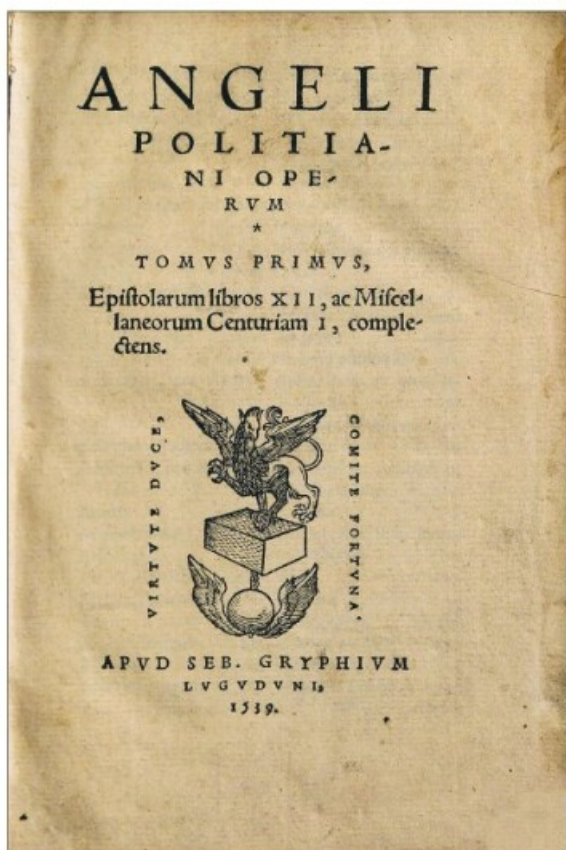
³⁷⁸ NESSEL, *Catalogi...*, 1690, 173. – this had already been published by AICHER 1676, 148–150., and then referred to this TOLLIIUS–HENNING 1700, 119–120.; TOLLIIUS–HENNING 1714, 119–120.

³⁷⁹ LOMEIER 1669, LOMEIER 1680; LOMEIER 1705.

³⁸⁰ GALEOTTO Marzio (1427–1497), from 1461 he spent a lot of time in the Hungarian Kingdom.

³⁸¹ PAOLO GIOVIO (1483–1552), titled *Elogia doctorum virorum literis illustrium* published many times (and even under a different title), we could not find a description of Galeotto Marzio on page 34. The content of the quotation is correct; checked it in these editions: JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1556 (Galeotto: 104–105.); JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1557 (Galeotto: 97–98.); JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1571 (Galeotto: 104–105.); JOVIUS (GIOVIO) 1577 (Galeotto: 90.)

³⁸² JOHANNES Regiomontanus (Johann Müller von Königsberg, 1436–1376), lived in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1467 and 1471.



21. Poliziano 1539

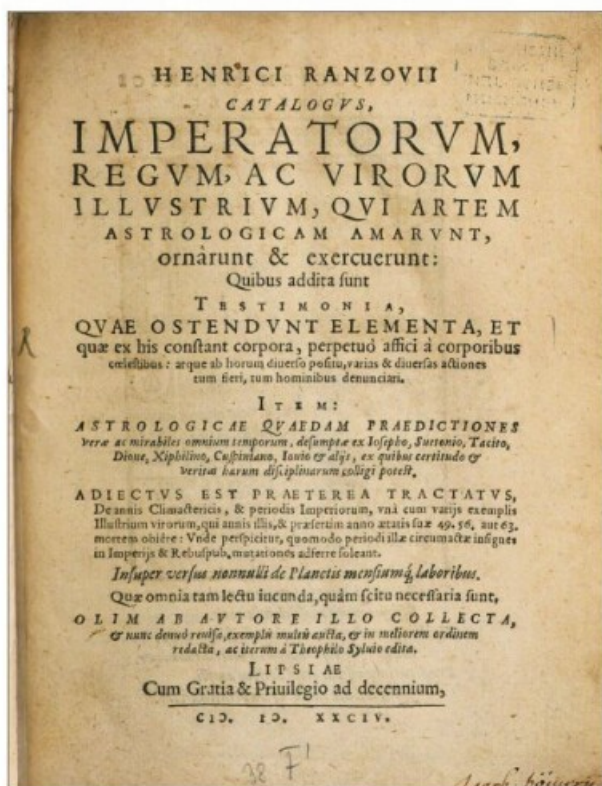
Quod cum Maximilianus I. Imper[ator] legisset, fleuisse dicitur. Hic heros ingenti sumtu amplissimam bibliothecam comparavit, in qua supra 50000 volumina typis impressa et MSS servata fuerunt, ad eam ornandam operam obtulit Politianus lib. 9. epist. 1.³⁸³ Cum autem Buda, qui praestantissimi hujus thesauri custos erat, a Solimanno Turcarum Imp[eratore] anno 1526 caperetur, haec etiam bibliotheca direpta est, « cum vix 60 annos florisset, » quanta vero haec jactura fuerit inde colligi potest, quod Cardinalis Bozmannus³⁸⁴ ducenta millia nummorum Imperialis monetae pro ille Turcis frustra obtulerit. « Alexander Brassicanus viderat in hac Bibliotheca Hyperidem integrum, cum locupletissimis scholiis, grandem librum Apostolicorum canonum. Theodoretum Cyrenensem in Psalterium integrum, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, [Georgij] Nazianzeni, Basilii Magni, Gregorii Nysseni, Theophani, Dorothei infinita opera Marcum Monachum cognomento Anachoritam. Praeter poetarum, oratorum, philosophorum atque Historicorum vim immensam. Auctores item Graecos innumerabiles, infinitoque

³⁸³ POLIZIANO 1536, 258–262. In Angelo Poliziano's (1454–1494) letter to King Matthias no mention of such a number.

³⁸⁴ PÁZMÁNY Péter (1570–1637). For the Jesuits' attempt to recover the *Corvina*, see this book, pages ???–???. I don't know where the author got the amount of money offered for the codices.

in omnes fere poetas commentaria, nulli aut pauci antea visa. Holtinger biblioth. quadrip. pag. 15. Spizel dissert. praelim. ad sacr. biblioth. » Ex hac prolata sunt Polybii³⁸⁵ et Diodori Siculi³⁸⁶ fragmenta, quae tum primum prodierunt. «Et Heliodori historia Aethiopica per militem ex hac bibliotheca erepta: qui ex Opsopoco[[], Gesnero, Vadiano refert M. Neander, praefat. ad Gnomol. Gr. Lat. p. 10. ad marg. » Nec illud silentio praetereundum quod narrat Rantzovius in catalogo excellentium Astrologorum pag. 62. 63.³⁸⁷ Anno 1572 postquam tot anni a devastatione hujus bibliothecae effluxissent, Davidem Ungnadium legatum,³⁸⁸ ex adverso januae inter rudera invenisse globum coelestem tenentibus eum duobus angelis, compositum ad tempus electionis Regis, his versibus subjectis:

Cum Rex Matthias suscepit Sceptra Bohemae
Gentis talis erat lucida forma poli.



22. Rantzau 1584

³⁸⁵ POLYBIUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1530.

³⁸⁶ DIODORUS SICULUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1539. The current provenance of the codex: ÖNB Suppl. gr. 30. – CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 225.

³⁸⁷ RANTZAU 1584, 62–64. The text following this part is taken from here, together with the poem.

³⁸⁸ DAVID Ungnad von Sonnegg (1535–1600), was the imperial ambassador in Constantinople from 1574 to 1578.

<<Idem Rantzovius hunc Regem jure merito, inter Heroes a se laudatos sequenti carmine celebravit:

Extulit hunc coelo virtutis gloria Regem

Floruit et fausto Pannoni sora statu.

Terruit hic saevos factis et nomine Turcas,

Mente ad sceptrum sagax, acer ad arma manu.

Aurea quaesitis tum Buda volumina chartis,

quae dederat docto Graecia prisca stylo.

Dones et hanc copiens rapidis incursibus arcem,

Congestas Sophiae Turca abolevit opes. >>

Mense Januario ut et Febuario anni 1666. Vienna Austriae nunciavit nobis Mercurius Batavus,³⁸⁹ Turcarum Imperatorem a Comite Lessio, legato Caesareo, saepe rogatum, hujus Bibliothecae spem non tantum fecisse, sed etiam Bibliothecario suo in mandatis dedisse, ut ubi Comes Lessius Albam Graeciam³⁹⁰ appulerit, omnes libros eo transportandos curet, quod etiam praestitum.³⁹¹

Lomeier's description has left an enduring mark on later literature, with many people adopting parts of his description verbatim. The work of the Flemish preacher Franciscus de Ridder (1620?–1683), published under the genre-creating title (*de eruditione historia*), is such an adaptation,³⁹² unworthy of the genre, without notes or quoted without criticism. The Hamburg philology teacher Rudolf Capell (1634–1684) did the same, compiling a collection of texts on books, works, and libraries with a pedagogical feel (*Lectionum bibliothecariorum memorabilium syntagma*). As part of this, he commemorates the Buda library with Lomeier's words.³⁹³ The 18th century was already the period of bibliophiles collecting old books, so it is not surprising that in Frankfurt am Main, under the chairmanship of Johann Isaac Ludwig Causse (1728–1802), a thesis was published analysing the price of old manuscripts (*de raro librorum manuscriptorum pretio*). Among these, Paul August Theremin quotes Lomeier³⁹⁴ in saying that Péter Pázmány (*Cardinalis Bozmannus*) wanted to give 30,000 gold pieces for the codices kept in Constantinople. Dissertations written in the genre of *historia litteraria* also refer to Lomeierre, or use his text as a starting point, with citations to earlier works, such as those dealing with the history of the *Corvina*. A good example is the successful disputation *de iacturis rei literariae*, chaired by Johann Wilhelm Berger, presented in Witten-

³⁸⁹ BETWEEN 1666 and 1669, the only volume of the collection of letters of Jacobus Crucius (1579–1655) was published in 1669 (CRUCIUS 1669), in which I found no reference to the work of Walter Leslie (1606–1667), the imperial envoy. About him see VISKOLCZ 2009, 155–156. It would be strange anyway, since Crucius died before Leslie went to Constantinople.

³⁹⁰ GÖRÖGFEHÉRVÁR, Nándorfehérvár, Beograd.

³⁹¹ LOMEIER 1669, 187–189.; LOMEIER 1680, 203–206. LOMEIER 1705, 156–158. repeats the extended text.

³⁹² RIDDER 1680, 594–595.

³⁹³ CAPELL 1682, Ea5v–Ee6r.

³⁹⁴ CAUSSE–THEREMIN 1767, E2r.

berg in 1717. The disputation volume was published in the usual privileged way, by the University's printer (*prelo* Creusigiano),³⁹⁵ i.e. in Samuel Kreuzig's workshop. The book was printed in large numbers far more than was expected for a university thesis book, and the remaining copies were re-marketed with a new cover, under the publisher's name "Samuel Hannaverus"³⁹⁶



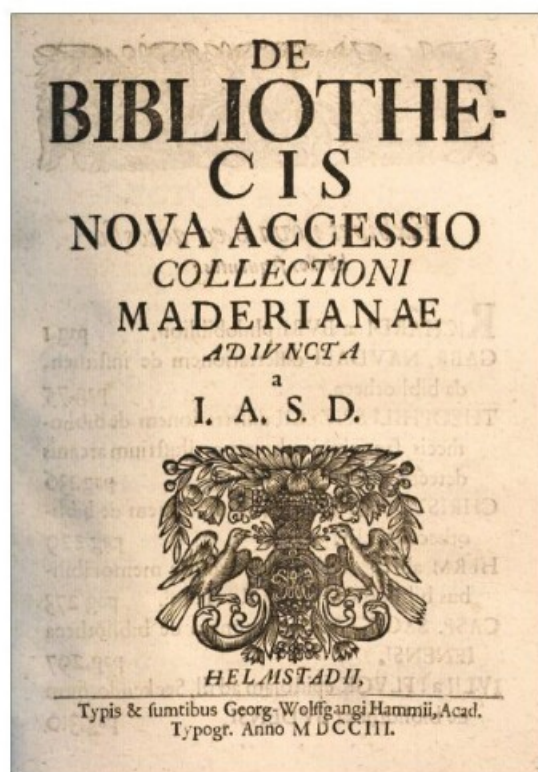
23. Pflugius 1688a

As we have seen above, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, on behalf of the emperor, paid special attention to the collection of codices and printed books that remained

³⁹⁵ BLOTZ-BERGER 1717., about the *Corvina*: 177–179.

³⁹⁶ BLOTZ 1717., about the *Corvina*: 177–179. I am convinced that Samuel Hannaverus and Samuel Kreuzig are the same person (the CERL Thesaurus does not know anyone with the name Hannaverus).

in Turkish-era Buda. Just as Peter Lambeck had travelled to Buda in 1666 in the hopes that the Vienna court would be able to show the Hungarians that it had been able to collect as many as possible of the book treasures that had been previously gathered to decorate the country, just as it was also under their guidance that the Ottomans were driven out of the country. Julius Pflugk published a compilation of the books found in Buda in a letter to Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626–1692) in Jena in 1688, on two occasions.³⁹⁷ I find it noteworthy that it is listed among the recommended books in the publication *Journal des Sçavans* in Paris, the most prestigious scientific journal of the time.³⁹⁸ Pflugk's letter was republished in full by Johann Andreas Schmidt (1626–1680) in a volume continuing the collection of Joachim Johann Mader's (1626–1680) library texts.³⁹⁹



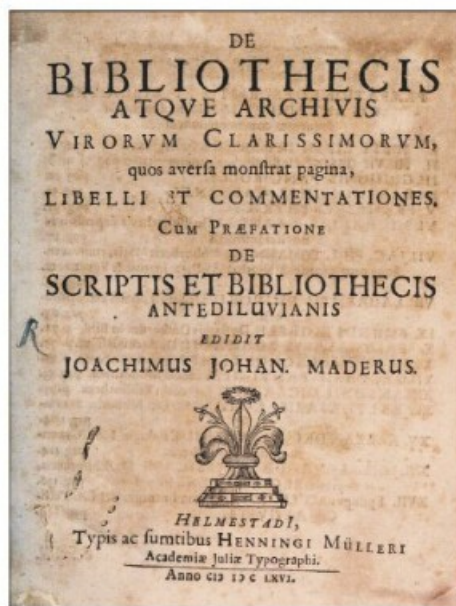
24. De bibliothecis..., (ed. Schmidt) 1703

³⁹⁷ PFLUGIUS 1688a, PFLUGIUS 1688b.

³⁹⁸ JOURNAL des Sçavans, 18(1691), after the page numbered 754 in the unnumbered recommendation booklet: Kk2verso.

³⁹⁹ PFLUGIUS 1703 (= SCHMIDT J. A. 1703, 309–352.; = DE BIBLIOTHECIS..., (ed. SCHMIDT) 1703, 309–352.)

Mader is the author of one of the most influential works on the history of libraries and library studies of the 17th century. He worked in the famous library of Wolfenbüttel. In 1666, he published a collection of texts on the theoretical literature on libraries, including a description of the state of the Buda collection in 1530⁴⁰⁰ by Johann Alexander Brassicanus (1500–1539), also known in the Hungarian literature.⁴⁰¹ Schmidt had great admiration for the highly respected Mader, and his choice of title referred to his pioneering collection of texts (*De bibliothecis nova accessio collectioni Maderianae adiuncta*). He also included texts in the volume that were missing from Mader's or were written after the 1666 edition, such as Julius Pflugk's letter. This literature was continued by the Lutheran pastor Johann Christian Koch,⁴⁰² when he wrote the first work on the classification of books (*de ordinanda bibliotheca*).⁴⁰³ Koch lists the major libraries' methods for classifying books by subject (subject classification). It details Jacobus Tollius's first travel letter concerning Wolfenbüttel, and points out that the publisher of the letter, Heinrich Christian Hennin, lists the thematic units of Herzog August's library in his notes to the letter. Koch does not explain why he thinks this, but he also compares it to the imaginary order of Matthias's library (Hennin does not state this, by the way.)



25–26. *De bibliothecis...*, (ed. Mader) 1666

⁴⁰⁰ *DE BIBLIOTHECIS...*, (ed. MADER) 1666, in Brassicanus: 135–143.

⁴⁰¹ THE travels of Brassicanus to Buda were thoroughly analysed by NÉMETH 2013; NÉMETH 2013a. Cf. more FÖLDESI 2002.

⁴⁰² KOCH 1713. The author is not the same as Johann Christian Koch (1680–1742) goldsmith.

⁴⁰³ KÖHLER'S 1728 introductory text refers to it this way.

„Ordinem Bibliothecae Augustae Henric[us] Christ[ianus] Henninus Annotat[iones] ad Itinerar[um] Tollii Epist[olam] l. hunc in modum commendat: ...⁴⁰⁴ Commodè quondam Bibliotheca Budensis miranda Matthiae Corvini (a quo etiam nomen sortita) industria collecta disposita fuit, ita quidem, ut omnes libri eorum nigrum rostro anulum aureum tenentem exhibuerint.”⁴⁰⁵

In 1709, a separate book on the history of library fires was published. I have already mentioned Thomas Bartholin's work (*De bibliothecae incendio*, 1709)⁴⁰⁶ in referring to the *Corvina* when discussing the comparison of the Brassó school library with the library of King Matthias. The work was published in Jena, and the university played a major role in maintaining the memory of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. We know, of course, that the fact that the Hungarian Kingdom had been liberated of the Ottoman conquest, and that books were found in Buda had real news value among European intellectuals and the reading public in general. It is therefore no coincidence that the guardians (scholars and librarians) of the libraries that were preserving texts related to the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* turned their attention to such items in their own collections. I think Naldo Naldi's (1436–1513) work on the library *De laudibus bibliothecae augustae*, the start of the philological work on it, and the publication of the text owe their existence to this actuality. Let us first look at this episode.

Toruń – Leipzig – Jena

The Protestant secondary school in Toruń, founded in 1568, became a highly respected institution in the following centuries. *Peregrinus* on their way to Western universities from the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania were delighted to spend a semester or two here, reinforcing their knowledge, and then moving on to other higher education institutions. Toronya, as the Hungarians called it, was a popular place to study.⁴⁰⁷ At the beginning of the 18th century, the city was divided by many tensions. On the one hand, the rivalry between the Jesuit college and the previously mentioned Protestant school, and on the other hand, the conflict between the new pietistic spirit from Halle and the orthodox Lutherans.⁴⁰⁸ One of the most significant local intellectuals of the period was Peter Jänichen (1679–1738), the rector and librarian of the secondary school. Key events of his life were marked by public celebration (for example, when he married the daughter

⁴⁰⁴ HERE is a presentation of the order.

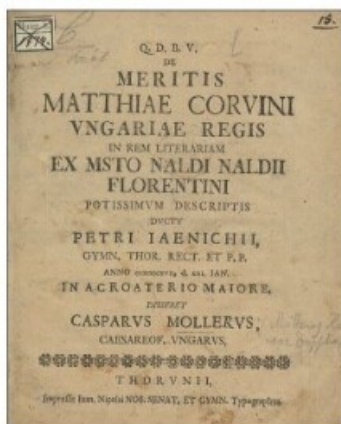
⁴⁰⁵ KOCH 1713, 73–74. Cf. TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1700, 24.; TOLLIIUS–HENNIN 1714, 24.

⁴⁰⁶ BARTHOLIN–WESTPHAL 1709, 11v–12r, 14r–v.

⁴⁰⁷ SZÖGI 2003, 99–121.

⁴⁰⁸ SEE summary: GÓRSKA 2010, 103–119.

of Johann Brandaus named Christina from Torun in 1709, the students of one of the schools he supervised paid tribute to the event with a small booklet⁴⁰⁹). One of the first printed indications of his interest in the affairs of the Hungarian Kingdom (1712) was a thesis booklet: Paulus Keler defended his thesis on Hungarian wines under his presidency.⁴¹⁰ Caspar Moller from Késmárk in 1717 dissertated on a manuscript of Naldo Naldi's (1436–1513) preserved in Toruń, a poetic letter describing the library of Matthias, under the supervision of Jänichen.⁴¹¹



27. Moller C. 1717

⁴⁰⁹ ON this occasion, the students of the school published a festschrift: *Als der Edle Ehrenveste und Wollgelabrt Herr Herr M. Peter Jänichen, des Berühmten Gymnasii zu Thorn wolckverdienter Rector, wie auch der Neustädtischen Schule Inspector, mit der Viel-Ehr-und Tugendreichen Jungfrauen Christina geborne Bramdauin... sich glücklich vermählte... 2. Tag des Monats May diese 1709. Jahres Ihre obliegende Pflicht und Schuldigkeit biemit abstatten die Lehrenden der Neustädtischen Schule, Thorn, Rahts und Gymnasii Buchdruckerey, 1709.*

⁴¹⁰ JÄNICHEN–KELER 1712. This text was published by Jänichen himself and then expanded and republished and accompanied by a small German summary (it is unsure whether Keler or Jänichen himself wrote it): JÄNICHEN 1731, 215–255. (*Dissertatio de vineis Vngariae*), 255–278. (*Beschreibung des vornehmsten Weingebürges in Ungarn*). On page 272 there is a German-Hungarian Latin glossary, „*Die Werkzeuge, die bey dem Weinbau gebraucht werden*“. It should be noted that the Szögi 2003 register does not know about Paulus Keler, but it does know about several other members of the Keler family of Bártfa. Ephraim Keler was enrolled at the school there in 1719, Sigmund in 1731, and Martinus in 1742 (Szögi 2003, Nr. 961, 968, 970). Jänichen himself refers to Paulus Keler as „*civis Thorunensis*“ (JÄNICHEN 1731, 256.), but at the end of his work *De vineis Ungariae* (JÄNICHEN 1731, 255–256.) he states: „*Haec quae sequuntur, de vineis earumque cultura, germanico sermone conscripta commentaria, nobiscum benevole communicavit Vir doctrina et virtute conspicuus harumque rerum gnarissimus Dn. Paullus Keler, civis Thorunensis.*“ – i.e. Keler was from the Hungarian Kingdom, and besides his native German language he also knew Hungarian (as Jänichen did not). From the description we can get perfect topographical and land tenure historical knowledge. DÖRNYEI–SZÁVULY, RMK III/XVIII, 2005, Nr. 829. also considers him originating from Hungary.

⁴¹¹ MOLLER C. 1717 (DÖRNYEI–SZÁVULY, RMK III/XVIII. Nr. 1086.; about Moller see Szögi 2003, Nr. 958. (Moller studied in the institution from 1713). It should be noted that an early 19th century person, interested in the history of the Corvina Library, copied Moller's dissertation into a volume along with the 1688 edition of Julius von Pflugk's catalogue (MTAK Kt. Tört. 4', Nr. 64.), furthermore, Moller's book is wrongly dated to 1718. The Pflugk work: PFLUGIUS 1688.

Just as Keler's text on wine was broadened by the rector and published under his own name, so did he expand on what had been written on Naldo Naldi. In 1723, he catalogued the manuscripts in his institution's library.⁴¹² In it he writes the following about the Naldi codex:

CXXXIX. Naldi Naldii Florentini descriptio Bibliothecae Budensis Serenissimi Regis Vn-gariae Matthiae Corvini. Ampliorem huius nitidi et multis figuris exornati codicis, qui ex ipsa bibliotheca Regia huc translatus, dedimus in dissertatione De meritis Matthiae Corvini in rem literariam.⁴¹³

This book was published in Jena where he certainly met Martin Schmeizel who taught there.⁴¹⁴ We do not know when and why Schmeizel (1679–1747) first became interested in the Naldo Naldi manuscript, but it is certain that either he personally or Jänichen, or one of their agents, copied the work for Schmeizel. Schmeizel was appointed professor in Jena in 1722, and already on this occasion we can read about the plan to compile a volume on the Buda library in a eulogy written by Stephan Keller (the rector of the school in Nagysink).⁴¹⁵

Gaudia et vota patriae...⁴¹⁶

Nec minus, externae jam non novus incola terrae,

Illustrat Patriam grato cum pectore dulcem.

Atque utinam, quae lecta premit promissaque dudum (18).

Nostris conspicienda oculis, aetate futura

Cognoscenda edat, totus miretur et orbis,

Pannoniae monumenta, quibusque haec Dacia floret!

(18) *Qualia sunt Notitia Bibliothecae Budensis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum rerum Hung. Antiquitates Transilv. ex lapidum inscriptionibus et nummis antiquis erutae Descriptio Transilvaniae. Dissert. de Origine et Natalibus Saxonum Transilvanorum &c.*

We know that the *polyhistor* from Brassó also taught a special course at the university on the history of Matthias's library.⁴¹⁷ It is assumed that his familiarity with this brought him into contact with Jänichen, who then helped him to obtain a copy for himself. At the end of his life, he also listed it among his unrealised plans as item 14:

14. *Notitia Bibliothecae Budensis, cum Naldi Naldii L. IV. de laudibus Bibliotheca Budensis ex manuscripto edendis.*⁴¹⁸

⁴¹² JÄNICHEN 1723.

⁴¹³ JÄNICHEN 1723, 32. The *dissertatio* mentioned by him is the work of Caspar Moller

⁴¹⁴ ATTILA VERÓK wrote about his life in several studies. For a summary see VERÓK 2015. Cf. and VERÓK 2009; VERÓK 2012.; VERÓK 2014.; VERÓK 2017.

⁴¹⁵ VERÓK 2015, 26, 164–167.

⁴¹⁶ THE notes to the Latin text were also written by Stephan Kessler.

⁴¹⁷ ATTILA VERÓK discusses the documents in his doctoral dissertation: *„Es blickt die halbe Welt auf deinen Lebens-Lauff, / Und nimmt, was Du schreibst, mit grosser Ebrfurcht auf.“ Martin Schmeizel (1679–1747) élete és munkássága*, Kézirat, Szeged, 2008, 29, 33, 106.

⁴¹⁸ VERÓK 2015, 279.

Theodor Christoph Ursinus, in his speech at Schmeizel's funeral,⁴¹⁹ also referred to the idea of publishing Naldi.⁴²⁰

„Nec silentio hic praetermittere uolumus, promissam diu ab eo *Notitiam Bibliothecae Budensis* ex inedito NALDI NALDII, Florentini, de laudibus eius carmine, eleganti ac prorsus insigni, cuius tamen promissi fide nondum se exsoluit.“



28. Naldius (ed. Jänichen) 1731

Thus the plan remained a plan, and Jänichen knew this, as well as the plan, when he himself finally published Naldo Naldi's work as *editio princeps* in 1731.⁴²¹ The Jänichen edition has not been thoroughly examined by the Hungarian Corvina research. Mátyás Bél (Mathias Belius) was probably the last to read the preface to *Meletemata* (Jänichen 1731), in which the rector of Toronya tells the reader that the publication of Naldi was planned with Schmeizel (Bél quotes this preface, with omissions, in his own edition):

„Speciatim Naldi Naldii poemation, antea nondum editum, putavimus inserendum, dudum olim destinatum Syntagmati rerum Vngaricarum, quod moliebatur celsissimus Martinus Schmeizelius. Memini aliquando Barlaeum in epistola ita conqueri: Ego inter miseras meas numero, poetam esse. Naldium poenitere non poterat, poetam fuisse in aula munificentissimi Regis Matthiae Corvini (a), neque forte et alios, quos commemoravimus in Oratione ad calcem adiecta. Tamen iam propemodum miseria

⁴¹⁹ PUBL. see VERÓK 2015, 245–250.

⁴²⁰ AD exsequiales honores... Martino Schmeizelio..., die XXX. Iulii, MDCCXLVII. Placida morte defuncto..., observantia invitatae Academiae b. t. Pro-rector, Theodorvs Christophorus Ursinus..., Halae Magdeburgicae, Typis Kitlerianis, 1747, XIV. quotes: VERÓK 2015, 249.

⁴²¹ JÄNICHEN 1731, 97–215.: Naldi Naldii Florentini Epistola de laudibus Augustae Bibliothecae ad Matthiam Corvinum Pannoniae Regem Serenissimum.

videtur esse, cum vel non magni aestimatur eiusmodi labores, ac tantum non fastidiri: neque complures sunt, qui hisce ingenii lusibus multum operae impendunt. Apud illos non magnam me initurum esse gratiam, animo praevideo: neque tamen plane ingratum erit monumentum hoc legi ab iis, qui rei litterariae argumentis delectantur, aut Corvinianae Bibliothecae magnificentiam sibi descriptam norunt.⁴²²

About the publication of the Naldi Codex, Jänichen's (a) note is not interesting, but it is incredibly important:

„Cum ante annos sex Bibliothecam inviseret Thorunensem Illustrissimus Palatinus Masoviensis Chomentowski conspiciens MS^{lum} Corvinianae Bibliothecae, affirmabat, se possidere ex eadem Mappas Geographicas in usum Regis Matthiae olim adornatas. Metuendum autem post obitum Herois, ne idem subeant fatum, quod usu venit Libris Ciceronis de Republica deperditis, quos literis aureis in membrana conscriptos apud Equitem Wolhiniae, Woyruski se vidisse testatur D. Laurentius Mvler [Möller] in Histor[en] Septentr[ionalische] von Pohln[ischen] Liffländ[ischen] Moscov[iterischen] Schwed[ischen] und andern Geschichten p. 78.“⁴²³

Therefore, Stanislas Chomentowski († 1728) believed that the geographical atlas volume he had was part of the *Corvina*. In Csapodi Csaba's record there are three „*Mappa*“⁴²⁴ (Nr. 871.; Nr. 938–939.), he does not consider any of them to be an authentic *Corvina*. Based on the descriptions, none of these can be what Jänichen is referring to. Cicero's *De republica* is not in Csapodi's catalogue. He mentions an *Epistola ad Atticum* manuscript,⁴²⁵ as a lost *corvina*, but its description does not match the one seen in Havasalföld (Valachia). However, after looking at the book by Lorenz Möller (Mvllervs, †1598) cited by Jänichen, whose statements do not agree with the accepted historical theory, even regarding general historical events, it is not clear why Jänichen considers Cicero's manuscript to be a *corvina* (were there any other sources?):

„Wir haben auch einen Wohlinischen Edelmann mit uns gehabt Woinousky genannt... Derselb hatte auss der Bibliotheca inn der Walachey als der Despot vom Herrn Laszky eingesetzt und der Türkische Gubernator der Alexander geschlagen worden herzliche schöne *monumenta scripta* bekommen. Darunter auch die *libri Ciceronis de Republica ad Atticum*, mit güldenen Buchstaben auff Pergament geschrieben waren in einem umschlage mit einem unbekanten Sigel verpitzschieret gewesen wie man noch sehen kondt.“⁴²⁶

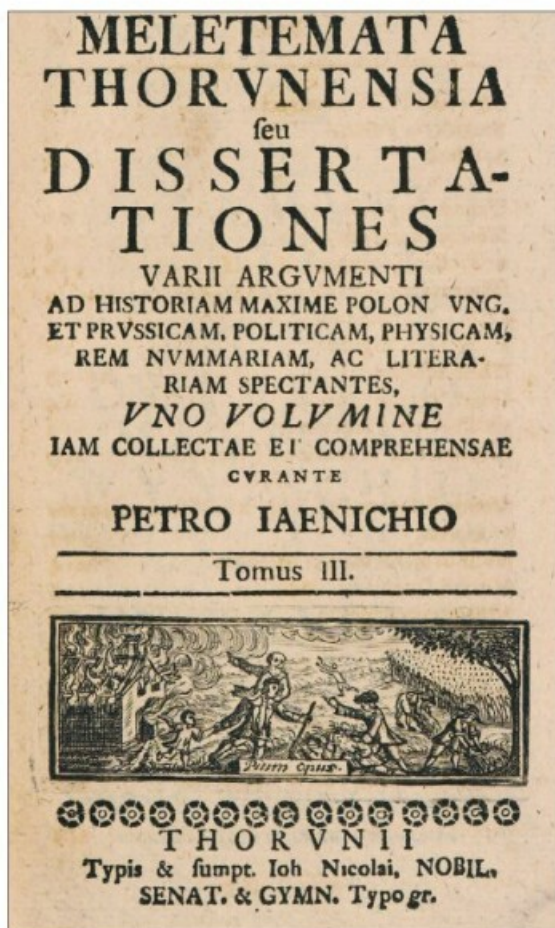
⁴²² JÄNICHEN 1731, Preface.

⁴²³ JÄNICHEN 1731, Preface mentions MÖLLER 1595, 78. – LORENZ MÖLLER (Müller, Mullerus), *Septentrionalische Historien oder Warhafftige Beschreibung der fürnembsten Polnischen, Liffländischen, Moscoviterischen, Schwedischen und andern Geschichten...*, Amberg, Michael Forster, 1595.

⁴²⁴ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 871.; Nr. 938–939.

⁴²⁵ CSAPODI 1973, Nr. 187.

⁴²⁶ MÖLLER 1595, 78. Hieronymus Łaski (1496–1541), the diplomat of Ferdinand I, Alexandru, mentioned as a puppet of the Turks, cannot be Alexandru II Mircea (1529–1577), voivode of the Wallachian Lowlands.



29. Jänichen 1731

Jänichen published his collection of historical texts (*Meletemata*) in 1731. On 26 November 1730, Mátyás Bél (Mathias Belius) asked Sámuel Dobai Székely (1704–1779) to precisely copy Naldi's text in Toronya.⁴²⁷ Dobai Székely's copy was completed at the beginning of 1731.⁴²⁸ The considerable work remained memorable, as he mentions this assistance in his letter to József Koller on 25 June 1769.⁴²⁹ Mátyás Bél finally published a revised version of Naldi's text in 1737, with a historiographical introduction.⁴³⁰ His correspondence at press time reveals that he asked several people for help in interpreting the text and identifying its accuracy. His correspondence during editing reveals that he asked several people for help in interpreting the text and determining its accuracy. On 12 September 1736 he asks

⁴²⁷ SZELESTEI NAGY-GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 218.

⁴²⁸ STILL exists, Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, collectio Batthyány, Hist. IV. b.

⁴²⁹ HENCZ, kiad., *Dobai Székely és Koller levelezés*, 2016, 27.

⁴³⁰ BÉL, *Notitia*, III, 1737, 589–642.

the Hungarian court chancellery whether they finished revising the *textus*.⁴³¹ They did not understand the issue, they could not find the manuscript to be examined (typical administration).⁴³² János Reviczky (1702–1778) did however examine the manuscript carefully, and made suggestions for corrections,⁴³³ but he also indicated that the text was difficult to understand. Bél even asked him to read the dedication and the introduction before sending it to be printed.⁴³⁴

Thus far we do not know the correspondence between Martin Schmeizel and Mátyás Bél. Even though Bél must have certainly followed his contemporary's internationally respected work. Attila Verók assumes that Mátyás Bél's son, Károly András Bél (1717–1782), probably studied with Schmeizel in Halle.⁴³⁵ In 1734, Martinus Foit dedicated a medical work jointly to Bél and Schmeizel.⁴³⁶ When the republication of the fundamental works of Hungarian historiography and the planning of a new kind of historiographical chapter surfaced, Bél took Martin Schmeizel's work on the Hungarian Holy Crown (1712, 1713) into account, and at his suggestion it was included in the volume *Scriptores*⁴³⁷ published by Johann Georg Schwandtner (1716–1791).⁴³⁸

The critical edition of Naldo Naldi's text is yet to be published, although Jenő Ábel once edited it (1890) probably,⁴³⁹ and ever since there have been many scholars studying it.⁴⁴⁰ They are all descendants of János Reviczky, who are trying to interpret the meaning of each phrase, to show us what King Matthias's library might have looked like.

Hungaria

As can be seen from the previous section, the attention of not only the European, but also the Hungarian scholarly community had turned towards *Corvina* research. At the same time, an organised process of uncovering Hungarian-related documents has also begun. This was happening partially along the lines of schol-

⁴³¹ SZELESTEI NAGY-GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 387.

⁴³² 12 October 1736 SZELESTEI NAGY-GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 390.

⁴³³ 6 March 1737 SZELESTEI NAGY-GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 402.

⁴³⁴ 17 March 1737 SZELESTEI NAGY-GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 403–404.

⁴³⁵ VERÓK 2015, 95.

⁴³⁶ VERÓK 2015, 273.

⁴³⁷ SCHWANDTNER 1746.

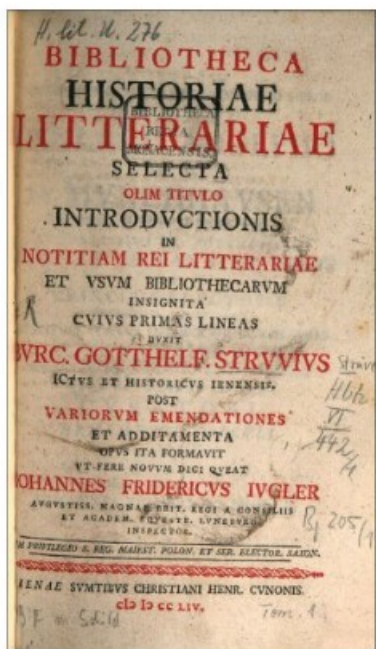
⁴³⁸ FOR more about this story see TÓTH G. 2013, 593–617. (itt: 599, 606–608). According to Gergely Tóth, the fact that Schmeizel's book was published in two editions, and that in the second edition (1713) the author changed the text, may be a sign that the advice of Mátyás Bél was taken into account.

⁴³⁹ ÁBEL, kiad., *Olaszországi XV. századbeli...*, I, 1890, 259–296.

⁴⁴⁰ HERE I only refer to the study of Klára Pajorin and Gábor Bolonyai: PAJORIN 2004.; BOLONYAI 2010.; BOLONYAI 2012.; BOLONYAI 2013.

arly attempts, such as those of Mátyás Bél⁴⁴¹ or Martin Schmeizel,⁴⁴² but also by the book-collecting high priests and nobles, who aimed to create a separate Hungaricum section in their collections.⁴⁴³ The nobles also linked this to the establishment of shared libraries in the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania, and to the creation of a scholarly society.⁴⁴⁴

We do not know what the main motivation of Xystus Schier (1727–1772) was when he decided to write the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, which will be described in detail below. Was he following an intellectual trend in library studies developing in his own time, leading from Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), through Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653), Joachim Johann Mader (1626–1680) and Johann Andreas Schmidt (1652–1726), to him, and then truly emerging as a discipline through the pen of Michael Denis (1729–1800)? Was he simply interested in the past of a kingdom where he spent his youth? Or it is possible that, as Michael Denis suspected, he saw the research as a part of the unity of the Empire, a subject that would contribute to building a common culture.



30. Jugler–Struve 1754

⁴⁴¹ HE published, for example, Miklós Oláh's work *Hungaria* (including a description of the Corvina – BÉL, *Adparatus*, 1735, 8–9), and dealt with the history of Székely (Szekler) writing (BÉL, *De vetere*, 1718). At his request Franz Ernest Brückmann compiled a list of Hungarian-related materials of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbuettel for him in 1741: SZELESTEI NAGY–GRÜLL, kiad., *Bél Mátyás levelezése*, 1993, 481–487.

⁴⁴² VERÓK 2009.

⁴⁴³ MONOK 2018a, 123–129.

⁴⁴⁴ CF. SZELESTEI NAGY 1989.; LENGYEL R.–TÜSKÉS G., eds., *Learned Societies...*, 2017.

The expulsion of the Ottomans from Buda, and the fact that the catalogue of the book he found there was published twice in 1688,⁴⁴⁵ and then again shortly afterwards in full,⁴⁴⁶ as I mentioned, turned the attention of the scholarly world back to the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. A thesis (*disputatio*) on lost libraries was written at the University of Vienna by Ignaz Greiner in 1729,⁴⁴⁷ and republished in the same year thanks to Ignaz Kampmiller (1693–1777).⁴⁴⁸ I do not think this is directly related to the cultural political ambitions of the Habsburg court. Nor can we count among the manifestations of the Transylvanian Saxons' awareness of their own identity the fact that numerous publications related to Hungarian history, including the destroyed library of Matthias, were published in Jena, Wittenberg, and Leipzig. Not even when we know that Martin Schmeizel, the Brasov-born professor from Jena and Halle,⁴⁴⁹ gave lectures on the subject himself. At Wittenberg University, Georgius Matthias Bosius (1710–1761) included a course on the court of Matthias Hunyadi in his curriculum, and also gave special lectures on the library.⁴⁵⁰ Anna Zbiowska-Migoń considers the study of library history or the history of library fires in universities to be the beginnings of library study contemplation.⁴⁵¹ The Leipzig publications on the same subject, also concerning the destiny of Matthias's collection, belong to the same category. Of these, Johann Wilhelm Berger's (1672–1751) printed course description (*Lehrprogramm*) from 1748,⁴⁵² and his short Corvina library history (1750)⁴⁵³ are particularly important. A few years later, Paul Fabri, under the leadership of Friedrich Börner (1723–1761), disputed and dedicated a separate publication to the Buda library, also in Leipzig.⁴⁵⁴ Furthermore, before the publication of the first Corvina history, Johann Friedrich Jugler (1714–1791) published an expanded edition of Burckhard Gotthelfs Struve's (1671–1738) literary history (*Bibliotheca historiae litterariae selecta*),⁴⁵⁵ already mentioned in connection with the Guarino edition, including the most complete historical bibliography of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* up to 1754 that I know of. This summary is, I think, the most important, after the publication of texts by Johannes Brassicanus, Johannes Lomeier, Julius Pflugk, and then Naldo Naldi, before the first real library history written by Xystus Schier. This book, however, raises a number of general questions that are still relevant today.

⁴⁴⁵ PFLUGIUS 1688a; PFLUGIUS 1688b.

⁴⁴⁶ PFLUGIUS 1703.

⁴⁴⁷ GREINER 1729.

⁴⁴⁸ GREINER-KAMPMILLER 1729.

⁴⁴⁹ VERÓK 2015.

⁴⁵⁰ BOSIUS 1748. Unfortunately, we do not know of a copy, in bibliographies see FRANCKE, ed., *Buviana Bibliotheca*, 1755, 839.; NAMUR 1838, tome 1., 146.

⁴⁵¹ ZBIOWSKA-MIGOŃ 1994, 344.

⁴⁵² BERGER 1748.

⁴⁵³ BERGER 1750.

⁴⁵⁴ FABRI-BÖRNER 1756.

⁴⁵⁵ JUGLER-STRUVE 1754, 174–180.

Xystus Paulus Schier's (1727–1772) dissertation on the Corvina 456 – its timeless lessons (that reach beyond itself)

At the beginning of the third millennium AD, due to the debates about Europe a number of questions emerged that led scholars of historical disciplines to re-think their image of the nature of communal and individual minds. It is indeed an important question, the results of the research carried out to answer this question could form a new chapter in our cultural history, what kind of identity did Melchior Inchofer (cca. 1585–1648),⁴⁵⁷ David Czvitinger (1675/79–1743),⁴⁵⁸ or Xystus Paulus Schier (1727–1772)⁴⁵⁹ have? What motivated them to write about the history of the Church in Hungary,⁴⁶⁰ to compile a biographical encyclopaedia of Hungarian writers,⁴⁶¹ or to write about Hungarian queens,⁴⁶² or the cultural institutions of the time of Matthias Hunyadi? How can we describe the motivation of these scholars at the beginning of the 21st century? I think, even if only to formulate the first thoughts of the response, it is worth examining the debates that we referred to in the first sentence. The focus of these dialogues mainly began as a consequence of Europe's crisis in the second half of the 20th century. The debaters took it for granted, and did not really address the topic, that Europe is in fact the Common Market, and this has mainly been expressed in that only the values developed in the welfare societies of the Common Market countries were (and are) considered "European". All the realities that existed and still exist, either in Europe in the geographical sense or in Western Christian Europe according to religious maps, have hardly been taken into account. The other starting point in these debates is that the post-WWII political, economic, and social *status quo* is sacrosanct, and any question raised about it is in itself a denial of "Europeanness". Countless conferences have been organized and a library of literature written on this, but the questions have generally been too theoretical and as have the answers (with the main economic players smiling cheekily, the politicians they control playing their roles, and the third estate, the free press, playing their part in controlling and directing minds and thinking).

⁴⁵⁶ SCHIER 1766.; 2nd edition: SCHIER 1799.

⁴⁵⁷ A child of a German Lutheran family, raised Catholic, from Kőszeg, who did not study in the Hungarian Kingdom, became a Jesuit monk, lived in Messina and then in Rome.

⁴⁵⁸ HE was born into a German Lutheran middle-class family in Selmecbánya, and was raised as Hungarian nobility. He studied at several universities in the German-speaking area, and later worked in Tübingen. He spent the last decades of his life in poverty as an unemployed man in his home town, due to explicit Jesuit objections.

⁴⁵⁹ THE child of a German-speaking citizen of Lower Austria, he was educated in Pozsony and later in Vienna, and lived his life in the Augustinian Order, mainly in Vienna.

⁴⁶⁰ INCHOFER 1644. Cf. DÜMMERTH 1987a, 155–204.

⁴⁶¹ CZVITTINGER 1711.

⁴⁶² SCHIER 1774a; SCHIER-ROSNACK 1776.

The theoretical hypotheses, from Oswald Spengler (1918)⁴⁶³ to János Gyurgyák (2018)⁴⁶⁴ were, of course, diverse. What the responses have in common, however, is that the period of the *Ancien Régime*,⁴⁶⁵ which, in my view, was more like Europe than the following little more than two centuries, is essentially marginally discussed in the case studies. The European ideology has been presented in many different ways, among which I want to highlight three major works (exhibition catalogues and studies) which were written before the semblance of the reality, at least conceptually, – brought about by the enlargement of the Common Market.⁴⁶⁶ Meanwhile, primarily historians, intellectual historians, and cultural historians were well aware that the enlarged European Union was far from unified, not only in the sense that the Central European region had a different history from the more Western one, but also, and above all, in the sense that they interpreted this history, their own traditions, differently and wished to preserve them differently. And this defines their present-day European identity, with which they look at the intellectuals of the 17th and 18th centuries. Political autonomy, even if in many respects, especially economically, it can only be illusory, has produced a Eureka experience for the people of this region. This feeling is not only driven by the individual ambitions of politicians, but also exists at a society level. The reasons behind this can only be discovered and explained to the 21st century decision-makers through serious and in-depth historical research. Significant conferences,⁴⁶⁷ and monumental volumes of studies⁴⁶⁸ were organised, but these also concentrated their responses on the 19th and 20th centuries. Collected volumes, selected thematically and written by experts from different regions of Europe on their own histories, reveal much more about the Europe that once existed as *consensus Europaeus*. Thus, a volume on religious memorial sites is controversial in its conception,⁴⁶⁹ or the one on the influence of Luther,⁴⁷⁰ but they are closer to the picture of the historical reality of Central Europe that I, and perhaps many others, have. Europe, I think, is rooted in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

⁴⁶³ SPENGLER 1918–1922, In Hungarian: SPENGLER²2011.

⁴⁶⁴ GYURGYÁK 2018.

⁴⁶⁵ THE French Revolution, or rather the settlement of the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna, could be the historical border of this period. In spiritual terms, however, and especially in terms of the history of philosophy, it is a renunciation of the theory of the four empires (*translatio imperii*), the latter being historically symbolised by the declaration of the German-Roman Emperor Francis II (1804) that he had become Emperor of Austria. One of the best didactic summaries of these views to date is Lotz 1936. For a summary of recent literature, see NÓTÁRI 2015, 92–104.

⁴⁶⁶ RICCI I. M.–CARASSI–CUSANNO, a cura di., *Securitas...*, 1996.; PLESSSEN, hrsg., *Idee Europa...*, 2003. PIJAUDIER–FAUCHEREAU, dir., *L'Europe des esprits...*, 2011.

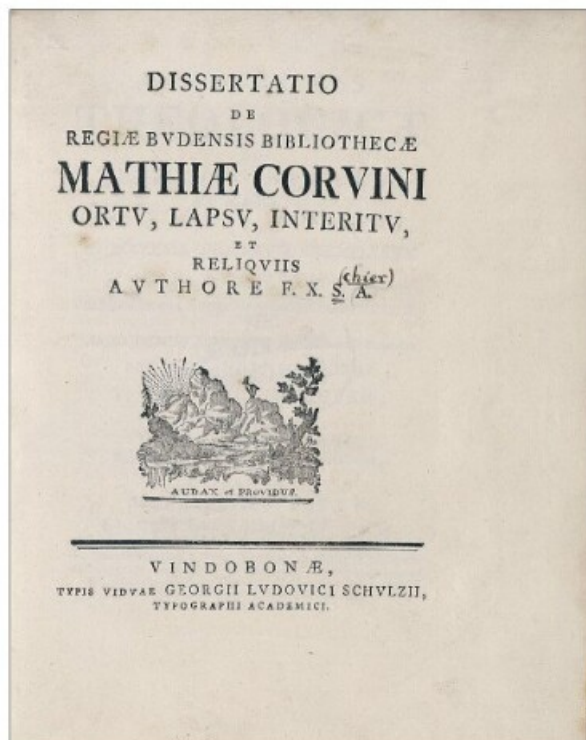
⁴⁶⁷ EBERHARD–LÜBKE, hrsg., *Die Vielfalt Europas...*, 2009.; EBERHARD–LÜBKE, eds., *The Plurality of Europe...*, 2010. I note: Nobody from Hungary was at this conference, 3% of the participants were from Central Europe, so the “we will tell you how to understand it” effect is still alive today, because if one is rich, they are also smart (Reb Teyve sings about it, “if I were a rich man...”).

⁴⁶⁸ FRANÇOIS–SERRIER, sous la dir. de, *Europa...*, 2017.; FRANÇOIS–SERRIER, eds., *The European Way...*, 2021.

⁴⁶⁹ ANACHRONISTICALLY brings together memorial sites with commemorative communities: BAHLCKE–ROHDWALD–WÜNSCH, hrsg., *Religiöse...*, 2013.

⁴⁷⁰ BAHLCKE–STÖRTKUHL–WEBER, hrsg., *Der Lutbereffekt...*, 2017.

If we wish to find a basis on which we can build a real *consensus*, it is not enough to only think about the last two centuries, which Spengler described in 1918 as a Europe that would last another hundred years. And this is well served by an investigation of the activities and responsibilities of the intellectuals of that time.



31. Schier 1766

A further question that naturally arises in thinking of Schier is the question of the relationship between Austria and Hungary. Studies like Andrea Seidler's are now being written about where a German-speaking Hungarian writer actually belongs.⁴⁷¹ Exhibitions are organised where based on the documents on show we can ask questions such as if the Hungarian intellectuals who stayed in Vienna in the 1920s were *exulans* or simply remained in the capital of their homeland, where they had been living?⁴⁷² It is a well-known cliché that the Hungarian-language press was born in Vienna, for example the *Magyar Kurír* and the *Bécsi Magyar Hírmondó*.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ SEIDLER A. 2014, 108–119.

⁴⁷² TÖRÖK D., hrsg., *Wien...*, 2011. Applied to the whole region Cf. ADAMSKA–MOSTERT, eds., *The development...*, 2004.

⁴⁷³ Cf. ŽVARA 2016.

Xystus Schier, as his first biographer, his fellow monk Martin Rosnack states, „*Natus est ... Pruggae ad Leytham in Austria anno MDCCXXVII, XIX Julii.*”⁴⁷⁴ He was born on the left bank of the river Lajta (not in Királyhida, but in Lajtabruck – Bruck an der Leitha). He studied in Pozsony between 1738 and 1743, so he could have been present at the coronation of Maria Theresa.⁴⁷⁵ Between 1745 and 1750 he was a student at the Augustinian monastery in Vienna, then returned home for five years to work in the Augustinian monastery in Bruck an der Leitha. He was then invited by the Order to become a librarian at the Convent of St. Roch in Vienna. His work as a historian, his engagement with the novices, and the organisation of literary and academic life (*Sodalitas Literaria Augustiniana*)⁴⁷⁶ earned him great prestige. During his lifetime and posthumously, 20 of his books were published in the 18th century.⁴⁷⁷ He worked in a variety of genres, from the history of printing in Vienna to occasional poetry. Most of all, he investigated the history of his own order, and this included the history of the orders in the Hungarian Kingdom. He was particularly interested in the Árpád Era, as he called it: the age of kings “of the first dynasty”. He wrote about the queens,⁴⁷⁸ but also about the successor of Archbishop Lodomér of Esztergom of the Monoszló family, Gergely Bicskei,⁴⁷⁹ the fiancée of King Béla III and his wives,⁴⁸⁰ and Buda of the Árpád Era.⁴⁸¹ The other period that particularly interested him was the era of Matthias Hunyadi. He published a book on the University of Pozsony,⁴⁸² but some documentation of the *Sodalitas Danubiana* has also survived. In his collection of manuscript materials, there is a lot on Hungarian cultural history, but I do not want to list them here.⁴⁸³

Xystus Schier’s *History of the Corvina*, his *dissertatio*, was published in 1766. In the preceding decades, the relationship between the Hungarian orders and the Habsburg imperial court had changed (after *Vitam et sanguinem!*). The court did not abandon its intention to change the state administration system in the Hun-

⁴⁷⁴ SCHIER–ROSNACK 1776, a2recto.

⁴⁷⁵ THE life of Schier is also commemorated in the bio-bibliographies of the orders of the 18th and 19th centuries. For more modern literature, see MIKSCH 1966, 356–366.; MIKSCH 1969.; RENNHOFER 1970, 317–324. He studied at the Jesuit Gymnasium in Pozsony (not mentioned in his biography, and not until 1745, according to the literature): *Album studiosae juventutis Gymnasii Posoniensis, 1725–1765* (Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Coll. Batthyány Cat. IX. Lit. Tit. I. e. fol. 61r, 64r, 67r, 69v, 72v, 75v. – Thanks to István Fazekas for the data, in 1738 he is *parvusta maior*, and then he moves upwards year by year, there is no grade repetition, he finishes as *retoricus* in 1743.

⁴⁷⁶ SZELESTEI NAGY 1989, 100.

⁴⁷⁷ SCHIER–ROSNACK 1776, 11–15.; *Nova Bibl. Eccl. Friburgensis*, 5(1780), 82–87.; KLÜPFEL 1809, 7–18.; MIKSCH 1969, 74–134.; RENNHOFER 1970, 319–324.; EKLER–MONOK–ÁBRAHÁM (ford), kiad., *Xystus Schier...*, 2019.

⁴⁷⁸ SCHIER–ROSNACK 1776. I note that the author of the latest monograph on the subject does not refer to Schier’s work (ZSOLDOS A. 2019.)

⁴⁷⁹ SCHIER 1768.

⁴⁸⁰ SCHIER 1770.

⁴⁸¹ SCHIER 1774.

⁴⁸² SCHIER 1774a. (Those involved with the University of Pozsony’s history are not familiar with (or refer to) Schier’s work, see e.g.: KLANICZAY T. 1990.; KLANICZAY T. 1993.; KLANICZAY T. 2010.

⁴⁸³ MIKSCH 1969, 90–137, where Miksch gives the current provenance of the manuscripts.

garian Kingdom and Transylvania, but took into consideration the opinions of the orders, especially the Hungarian noble families (the secular and ecclesiastical leaders), on raising the general cultural level of the population. The latter regarded the Hunyadi Era as a Golden Age. An age the achievements of which were (and still are) activating creative energies for the society. Discussing the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, including the desire to collect the codices that belonged to it, has never been done simply for academic or bibliophilic purposes. Dealing with it has always had a political message. And it did matter who founded an institution that would later be called “national” (the emperor gave it to his people, a church became responsible for it, or it was the sacrifice of a large family).⁴⁸⁴ Just as the historical engagement with “the national saints” (the Hungarian saints of the Árpád Era) was not accidental,⁴⁸⁵ writing the history of the *Corvina* library was a gesture on the part of the emperor or the Augustinian order. It was no coincidence that the history of Hungarian Christianity, established independently of the Austrian Church,⁴⁸⁶ was written by a fellow monk of the Jesuit Archbishop of Esztergom Péter Pázmány, Melchior Inchofer,⁴⁸⁷ just when, towards the end of the Thirty Years’ War, the imperial court began to see the possibility of defeating the Ottoman Turkish power and started to prepare for the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom (the reoccupied parts, anyway) to not belong to Hungarian families. At the same time, propaganda began to spread—intellectuals always can be used for any purpose, even today—that the Hungarians could only belong to Christian Europe through the Austrians, since they need to become civilised and cultured. To offset this, Hungarian aristocrats encouraged university students supported by them to choose one saint of the Hungarian Christian Church as their thesis topic (*disputationes*).

The interest in the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was already popular 80 years before the publication of Schier’s work, when the Turks were ousted from Buda.⁴⁸⁸ In addition, from the beginning of the 18th century a new era of bibliophilia began throughout Europe, parallel to the establishment of museums⁴⁸⁹ Interest in medieval codices increased; especially those that survived from well-known major collections were considered extremely valuable. If a codex was once part of the library of Matthias Hunyadi, the price and prestige increased significantly. We cannot ignore the fact that this change in the history of collecting has been accompanied

⁴⁸⁴ SEE the letters written to the founder of the national library, Ferenc Széchenyi, by those noblemen and church leaders he had asked about the significance of the foundation: DEÁK-ZVARA 2012.

⁴⁸⁵ RECENTLY, FARKAS Zs. 2018, 11–38. wrote a nice essay on this.

⁴⁸⁶ ANNALES ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae, Romae, Ludovico Grigniani, 1644.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. DÜMMERTH 1987a, 155–204.

⁴⁸⁸ FOR a summary of early modern views on the Corvina, with bibliography, see: MONOK 2004, 45–63.

⁴⁸⁹ THIS book title is a good example of the change, showcasing what is meant by a museum: LA CHAUSSE 1690. Cf. POMIAN 1994, 107–126.

by a revival of thinking about libraries (*bibliotheconomia*) and new research into library history.⁴⁹⁰ The authors were particularly inspired by the history of the greater scattered libraries.⁴⁹¹

We do not know exactly what kind of consciousness (*conscientia*) the Augustinian monk Xystus Schier had. The question was not raised by his biographers.⁴⁹² Researchers of the Hungarian *historia litteraria*, who believe that Schier is a significant figure,⁴⁹³ have not yet dealt with this question. Certainly, he was born a German-speaking man, belonging to the universal Christian Catholic Church, on the border of the Hungarian Kingdom and Lower Austria of the Holy German-Roman Empire. He was educated in Pozsony, among Hungarians, Germans, and Slovaks, and partially among Protestants. He was the historian of his order, but also wrote several books on the history of the Hungarians. However, I do not think the question of his national consciousness in connection to his choice of the history of this library as a research topic can be answered. At the beginning of his work, he indicates that he finds Joachimus Vadianus's assumption that the library had been destroyed by irresponsible successors offensive.⁴⁹⁴ For him, knowing the history of the Kingdom, the story of the library falling apart is much more complex. In the foreword, he also gives an overview of his knowledge of library history tradition, in other words, the literature available at the time on the *Bibliotheca Corvina*.⁴⁹⁵ He was definitely influenced by the spirit of the times, the formation of collections, museum and library thinking, and the beginnings of scientific library history. It is also possible that he sensed the change in atmosphere between the Austrian and Hungarian political elites, and considered it important to write a chapter on the history of culture, which was important for the *hungarus* consciousness.

As a conclusion, returning to the question raised in the first part of the chapter on Schier, whether studying, understanding, or at least reflecting on the different forms of collective and individual consciousness of the times before the “emergence of nation states” would bring us closer to the right (or better) decisions on contemporary issues, I can only answer with a resounding yes.

The cultural bases of the behaviour of the people living in 21st century Europe, or just in the European Union, and the reflexes that arise from them, are much deeper than we could understand from just the recent past. Unraveling, interpreting, and becoming aware of these roots at both the individual and collective levels could (perhaps) help manage the consequences of identity crises. It could also help

⁴⁹⁰ A good example is SCHMIDT J. A. 1703, on pages 309–352 the Julius Pflugk letter and the catalogue of books found in Buda are republished.

⁴⁹¹ For an example see the anthology: GREINER 1729.

⁴⁹² MIKSCH 1966, 356–366.; MIKSCH 1969.; RENNHOFER 1970, 317–324.

⁴⁹³ TŰSKÉS G. 2006, 15–42. (here: 40.); KNAPP 2006, 547–566. (here: 550–551.); BRETZ-CsÖRSZ RUMEN-HEGEDŰS 2006, 567–678. (here: 653–654.)

⁴⁹⁴ VADIANUS 1534a, 85.; VADIANUS 1534, 85.

⁴⁹⁵ LAMBECK 1669, caput IX, 989–996.; PFLUGIUS 1688.; PFLUGIUS 1688a.; GREINER 1729, caput VIII, 34–38.; BERGER 1750, 348–352.; FABRI-BÖRNER 1756.; BOSIUS 1748.; BERGER, 1748.

with the problems that arise from the behaviours of people coming here from other cultures, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, etc. etc., where they are even more coded by their history, especially their religious customs. They regard their traditions differently and do not want to give them up or forget them. The previously mentioned interpretation of “Europeanness” is, therefore, a matter of survival, beyond cultural bounds.

Hungaria – Transylvania – Europa

However, Xystus Schier was not the only one in the mid-18th century who published and interpreted the sources of the cultural flourishing during the reign of Matthias Hunyadi. Johann Georg Schwandtner (1716–1791), also Austrian, published a significant part of the narrative sources of Hungarian history in 1746, and then twice in 1768, following Mátyás Bél, including his foreword. There are several mentions of Matthias Corvinus, his library, and its misfortune, but more detailed mention is made in Galeotto Marzio’s (1427–1497) writing in praise of Matthias (*De egregie, sapienter, jocosè dictis ac factis S. Regis Mathiae, ad inclytum Ducem Johannem ejus filium*) in chapters XXIV and XXV (*factum sapienter, sapienter dictum*).⁴⁹⁶ In the same year as Schier’s dissertation,⁴⁹⁷ the Slovakian Adam František Kollar (1718–1783), of Trencsén county and director of the imperial collection in Vienna, began publishing the library history of his predecessor Peter Lambeck (1628–1680) with notes, and later the supplements as well.⁴⁹⁸ He already applied the philological findings from the century following Lambeck’s death to the description of the individual codices. In 1767 the Jesuit István Kaprinai (1714–1785) began to publish his historical summary of the *diplomatica* of the Hungarian Kingdom, without forgetting to explain how important the foundation of the Buda printing house and the library were in the history of the Matthias Era.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ SCHWANDTNER 1746, 528–568.; SCHWANDTNER 1768, 163–208.; SCHWANDTNER 1768a, 163–208.

⁴⁹⁷ SCHIER 1766.

⁴⁹⁸ KOLLAR 1790.

⁴⁹⁹ KAPRINAI 1767, 64–80.: *Dissertatio I. De natalibus, institutione ac dotibus Regis Mathiae, Caput II. § III. De artibus, quibus Rex Mathias primum institutus, ac postea perpolitus est.* (itt: 70–71.).

ADAMI FRANC. KOLLARII

A D

PETRI LAMBECCII

COMMENTARIORUM

D E

AUGUSTA BIBLIOTHECA CAES. VINDOBONENSIS

LIBROS VIII.

SUPPLEMENTORUM

LIBER PRIMUS - [9]

POSTHUMUS



VINDOBONAE,

TYPE ET SUMPT. JOAN. THOMAE NOB. DE TRATTNERN,
CAES. REG. AUL. TYPOGR. ET BIBLIOPOL.

ANNO MDCCXC.

700 F

32. Kollar 1790

The Europeanism of intellectuals is truly revealed when they try to answer the questions raised by a new cultural, historical, and ideological period, often induced by technological innovations making it possible to ask new kinds of questions, by re-reading and rethinking the text corpus from Antiquity. They look for history's teachings, for answers to their questions. That is why there are usually waves of publishing, which the result in a new series of critical analyses. The end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century was like this. They re-

read the works of the ancient authors, the early church fathers, and followed the versions of the editions. It is natural, therefore, that the codices of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* and the work of the philologists who studied them have also been given a new light. A series of new lexicons were produced with new “complete works” editions. These writings also reviewed the literature of the previous *historia litteraria*. One example is the study of the life and works of Augustine Moravus Olmuciensis (1467–1513) by Johann Gottlob Böhme (1717–1780).⁵⁰⁰ Since the humanist statesman lived in the royal court of Buda from 1497 to 1511, his life’s work relates to the reign of Matthias Hunyadi,⁵⁰¹ and the history of the Library. This work may also be of interest regarding the lost Trapezuntius Codex (*libros contra Platonem*),⁵⁰² which Csapodi Csaba had very thoroughly investigated.⁵⁰³ Numerous monographic biographies were produced, the most noteworthy of which are the humanists active in Buda during the time of Matthias. And so Franciscan Father Ireneo Affò (1741–1797) wrote a biography of Taddeo Ugolet (1448–1513?), one of the librarians of the *Corvina*.⁵⁰⁴

From the lexicons, I want to mention one with Hungarian connections. The work of the Transylvanian Saxon Georg Jeremias Haner (1707–1777), in which he describes in detail, for instance, the editions of Naldo Naldi’s work.⁵⁰⁵ However, it is certain that the most detailed work in the history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, from Schier’s (1766) to Peter Alcantera Budik’s (1792–1858) comprehensive works in German,⁵⁰⁶ is that of the Lutheran pastor and literary historian Pál Wallaszky (1742–1824). In his *Tentamen historiae litterarum* one chapter is completely dedicated to the Library (*de Bibliotheca Corviniana*).⁵⁰⁷

In the following, the focus will be on the work of philologists who wrote comprehensive works that went through several editions on the European book market in the second half of the 18th century. They played an important role in the dissemination of basic knowledge about Hungarian cultural history in Europe, including the *Corvina*.

⁵⁰⁰ BÖHME 1758.

⁵⁰¹ EKLER 2015; EKLER 2016.; Ekler–Kiss F. G. eds., *Augustinus Moravus*, 2015.

⁵⁰² BÖHME 1758, 136–138.

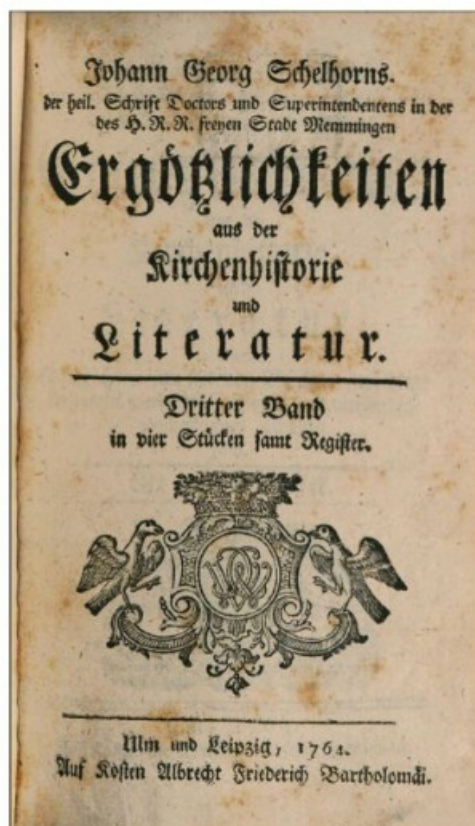
⁵⁰³ CSAPODI 1973, 380. (Nr. 668.).

⁵⁰⁴ AFFÒ 1780.

⁵⁰⁵ HANER 1774, 75–76.; HANER 1777, 75–76. Note: as it proceeds chronologically with the description of the authors and works, we can read about the people who worked in the court of Matthias Hunyadi on the indicated pages.

⁵⁰⁶ BUDIK 1830.; BUDIK 1839.; BUDIK 1840.

⁵⁰⁷ WALLASZKY 1769, 78–93.



33. Schelhorn 1764

Johann Georg Schelhorn the Elder (1694–1773) was a Lutheran pastor in Memmingen, Bavaria, and according to his monographer, a polyhistor.⁵⁰⁸ Since he himself was a collector, part of his surviving correspondence consists of letters written by and received from Hamburg antiquarians. Based on his interests in church history and rare books, his work (*Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur*)⁵⁰⁹ analyses three publications relating to our subject with astonishing thoroughness. These are: the first edition of Heliodorus's *Historiae Aetiopicae*,⁵¹⁰ the *editio princeps* of Diodorus Siculus *Historiarum libri aliquot*,⁵¹¹ and the 1621 edition of Fontius and Bonfini.⁵¹² Schelhorn describes the history of the codices on which the editions are based, thus touching on the *Bibliotheca Corvina* items, cites several publications in which the editions are analysed from various points

⁵⁰⁸ GÖSSNER 2004.

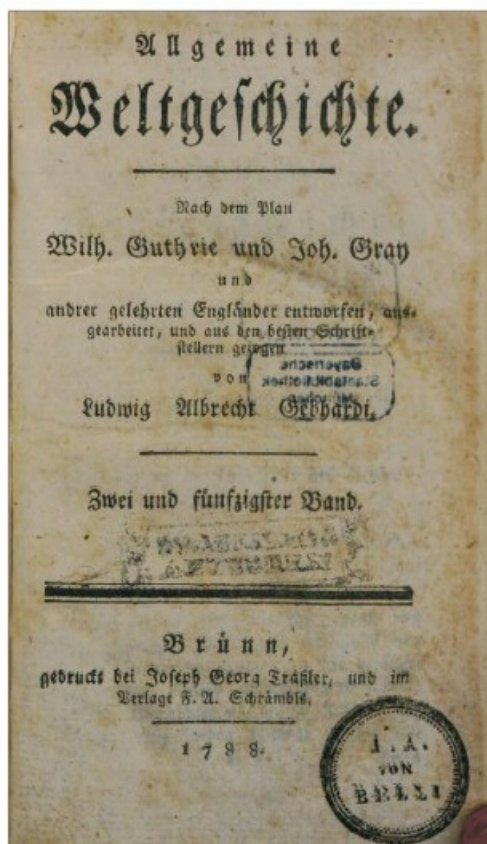
⁵⁰⁹ SCHELHO William Guthrie's (1708–1770) and John Gray's (1723?–1811) multi-volume history of the world, published in English 1763–1764.

⁵¹⁰ HELIODORUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1534.; SCHELHORN 1763–1764, 835–840.

⁵¹¹ DIODORUS SICULUS (ed. OBSOPOEUS) 1539.; SCHELHORN 1763–1764, 841–842.

⁵¹² FONTIUS–REMUS 1621.; SCHELHORN 1763–1764, 2238–2240.

of view, and then, since they are rare, quotes the published library catalogues in which the editions were found. He also tried to find out when and in what form the owner could have accessed the copy.



(((34. Guthrie–Gray–Gebhardi 1788))))

William Guthrie's (1708–1770) and John Gray's (1723?–1811) multi-volume history of the world, published in English⁵¹³ and German,⁵¹⁴ was published in two editions in German (Leipzig⁵¹⁵ and Troppau–Brünn–Wien⁵¹⁶), and was translated by ten scholars (they worked on a single volume each). Volume 15 (Band) is the history of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁵¹⁷ In it, when discussing the reign of Matthias Hunyadi, they did not fail to mention the library, rich in printed documents and

⁵¹³ GUTHRIE–GRAY 1764–1767.

⁵¹⁴ The work has an internal “Volume (Band)” and “Part (Theil)” numbering system, published in different numbers of volumes per edition. For example, the Troppau–Brno–Vienna edition has 98 volumes. In this, the relevant and quotable Hungarian volume is No. 52.

⁵¹⁵ GUTHRIE–GRAY 1765–1795.

⁵¹⁶ GUTHRIE–GRAY 1785–1805

⁵¹⁷ In the Troppau–Brno–Vienna edition, this makes three volumes.

magnificent manuscripts. The translator of this part and the author of the notes, Ludwig Albrecht Gebhardi (1735–1802), was not only a preeminent historian of the 18th century, but also a librarian.⁵¹⁸ Perhaps this is why he doubled the relevant English text, with a half-page note stating that the library had 55,000 volumes at the time of Matthias's death.⁵¹⁹ The quoted text is an illustration from the 1788 edition, with Gebhardi's notes in square brackets.

„Zu dem Dienste der Lehrer und Lehrlinge, vorzüglich aber zum eigenen Gebrauche legte der König eine sehr grosse und prächtige Bibliothek im Schlosse zu Ofen an, die ihm jährlich über 33000 Ducaten kostete.“ In diese brachte er nicht nur alle Werke die in den damals neuen Druckereien erschienen, sondern auch eine grosse Menge morgen- und abendländischer Handschriften. Diese letztern kaufte er zum Theil von denen griechischen Gelehrten, die bei der Zerstörung der Stadt Konstantinopel nach Hungarn und Italien geflohen waren, zu Theil aber liess er sie in andern Bibliotheken, und vornehmlich zu Florenz, nach dem besten Originalen verfertigen. Diese letztern wurden sehr prächtig ausgemalt und gebunden, und eine Menge desoldeter Künstler und Schreiber waren unaufhörlich mit selbigen beschäftigt; ein eigener Aufseher aber musste ihre Arbeiten kritisch prüfen und ausbessern. Zur Zierde der Bibliothek waren über dreihundert alte Bildsäulen in den Büchersaale vertheilt; und auf dem Dache war eine Sternwarte errichtet, die wahrscheinlich das erste Gebäude desser Art im ganzen Reiche gewesen ist.

m Hr. Kaprinai p. 78.⁵²⁰ Die ofenische Büchersammlung (Bibliotheca Budensis) bestand bei des Königs Absterben aus 55000 Bänden,⁵²¹ welches nach Beschaffenheit damaliger Zeit eine übergrosse Menge war. Der nächste Nachfolger des Matthias verschenkte viele Handschriften an Gelehrte, die sie drucken lassen wollten; and[er]e wurden von den Türken bei der Eroberung der Stadt geraubt oder vernichtet; und der Überrest ward in einen Keller geworfen, in welchem man 1686 bei der kaiserlichen Besitznehmung der Stadt nur noch 300 unbedeutende Druckschriften fand. Der vom König bestellte Aufseher der Kopisten hiess Felix Ragusanus Dalmata, und war ein römischer, griechischer, chaldäischer und arabischer Sprache Sprachgelehrter. Auf des Königs Veranstaltungen errichtete Andreas Hess ein Deutscher, der zuvor in Italien sein Gewerbe getrieben hatte, 1472 die erste hungarische Buchdruckerei zu Ofen. Ibid. 96.⁵²² In dieser erschienen nur lateinische Werke: denn die hungarische

⁵¹⁸ GUTHRIE-GRAY-GEBHARDI 1780, 1788.

⁵¹⁹ GUTHRIE-GRAY-GEBHARDI 1780, 151–152.; GUTHRIE-GRAY-GEBHARDI 1788, 230–232.

⁵²⁰ It is noteworthy that GUTHRIE-GRAY-GEBHARDI 1780, 151. writes the same note: “Ebendasselbst p. 78.” Considering that the previous note “1” was “Hr. Wallaszky I. c. p. 66., 64.”, it must be said that Gebhardi was mistaken in the 1788 edition, since the reference to Wallaszky 1769, 78 is perfectly accurate, while I could not find a reference to Matthias's library on page 78 in any of the works by István Kaprinai. KAPRINAI 1767, 71.: “*Erexit Bibliothecam, Graecis, Latinisque Auctoribus, manu exaratis, insignem, quae ab eruditis inter praecipuas orbis connumeratur.*” – That is everything Kaprinai states.

⁵²¹ This is where this baffling number is taken from: LOMEIER 1669, 187–189.

⁵²² WALLASZKY 1769, 96. It can not be KAPRINAI 1767, as he writes about it on page 70–71: “*Invexit enim Typographaeum, recens ut perhibetur in Germania inventum, opera Ladislai Gerébii tum Praepositi Budensis ac Vice-Cancellarii, consobrini sui primo Typotheca, Andrea Hess Budae constituto ut fusiis alibi dicemus.*”

Sprache ward weder in gelehrten Schriften noch in Verordnungen und gerichtlichen Sachen gebraucht. Ja man glaubte sogar, es sey nicht möglich hungarische Wörter zu schreiben. Galeotus op. Dn. de Schwandtner T. I. p. 557⁵²³/⁵²⁴

The quotation also shows the phenomenon that the basic works of Mátyás Bél (1684–1749), Johann Georg Schwandtner (1716–1791), István Kaprinai (1714–1785), and the scholars of *historia litteraria* in the Hungarian Kingdom were used by contemporary German scholars, supplemented with information obtained directly from Peter Lambreck.

Karl Traugott Gottlob Schoenemann (1752–1802) carefully studied the authors of the early Christian texts, their manuscripts, and the bibliographical data of each edition. Earlier when discussing Salvianus Massiliensis, we already cited his edition of the text, but I feel it important to mention that he also recognizes the manuscripts of two other authors as belonging to the *Bibliotheca Corvina*. These have not yet been included in the Corvina records. One of them is the *Explanatio psalmorum* (*Enarrationes in psalmos*) by Aurelius Augustine (354–430). Schoenemann, referring to the Johann Amerbach edition of 1497 in Basel⁵²⁵, states an *annotatio* belongs to it:

..Sed loco exilis, quem in priori editione notauimus,⁵²⁶ indicis seorsim hic adiecta est *principalium sententiarum annotatio*⁵²⁷ excreuit. Eius exemplar memoratur quoque inter rariora Bib[liothecae] Reg[iae] Budensis.⁵²⁸

Csaba Csapodi knows of one printed work and two manuscripts by Augustine, entitled *Expositio in psalmos*.⁵²⁹ For the printed work, he only says that it was among the books found in Buda in 1686;⁵³⁰ of the two manuscripts he asserts that the Stuttgart manuscript is an authentic *Corvina*, and speculates that the Klosterneuburg manuscript was falsely believed to be in Buda. He describes the Stuttgart manuscript in detail but has no information that anyone used it for the 1497 edition. Unfortunately, the otherwise very accurate Schoenemann does not refer to a source here, and in the edition itself there is no such note either in the preface or at the beginning of the *annotatio* section. If we proceed further with Schoenemann's statement that the *Commentaria in Genesim et libros Regum* by Eucherius Lugdunensis (Eucher de Lyon, 370–499) was also found by Brassicanus in Buda and published with his work *Eucherius Formularium spiritualium* in 1531, then the signs again point to Julius Pflugk's catalogue.⁵³¹ Schoenemann states:

⁵²³ SCHWANDTNER 1746, 528–568.: Galeoti Martii... *Commentatio elegans de Matthiae Corvini... dictis et factis*. Here on page 557 begins Caput XXVIII, in which Galeotto Marzio discusses the characteristics of the Hungarian language.

⁵²⁴ GUTHRIE–GRAY–GEBHARDI 1788, 230–232.

⁵²⁵ ISTC i001274000.

⁵²⁶ HE refers here to the 1489 Johann Amerbach edition: ISTC ia012720000

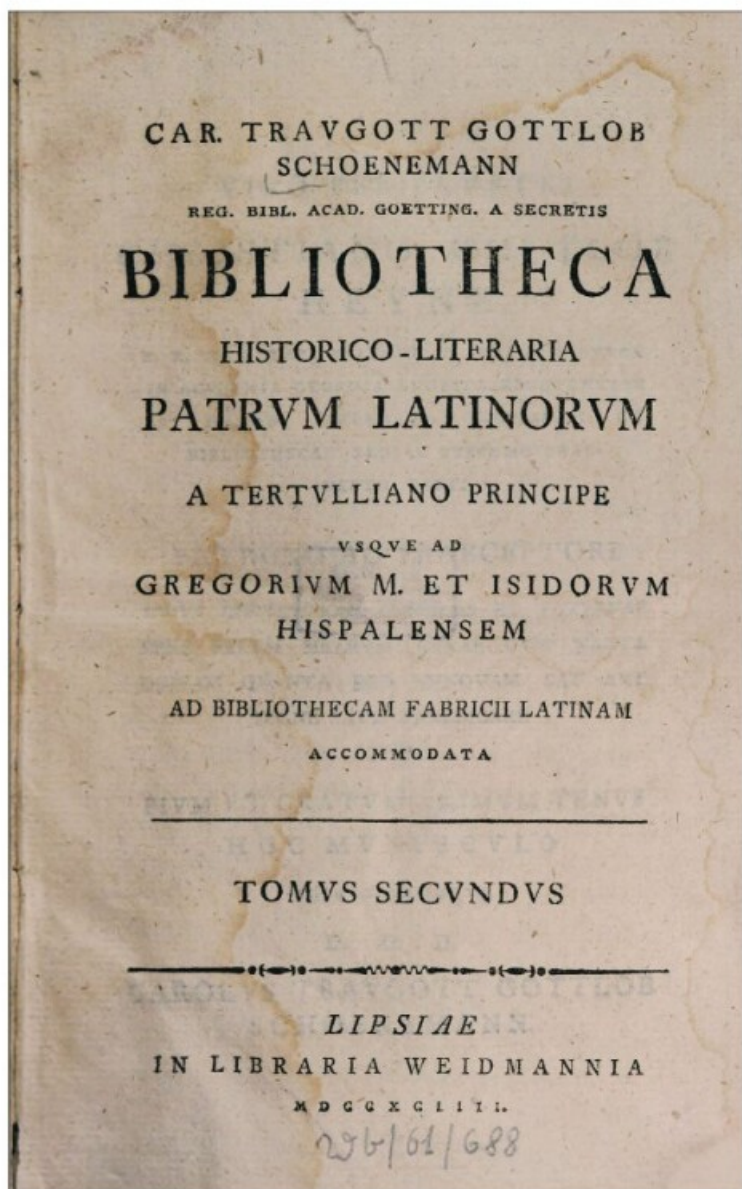
⁵²⁷ EMPHASIS by Schoenemann.

⁵²⁸ SCHOENEMANN II, 1794, 318.

⁵²⁹ CSAPODI 1973, 145–146. (Nr. 80, 81, 82.).

⁵³⁰ HE also mentions that it is included in PFLUGIUS 1688a.

⁵³¹ CSAPODI 1973, 213 (Nr. 248) quotes the 1688 catalogue by Pflugk (PFLUGIUS 1688a) that mentions a printed book titled *Formularium procuratorium*, which according to Csapodi could have been a book



35. Schoenemann II, 1794

of Eucharius Silber (alias Franck, †1509/1410) and thus not part of the *Corvina*. Csapodi therefore thought the title "*Formularium procuratorium*" mentioned by Pflugk was an unnamed edition of Eucharius Silber's "*Formularium instrumentorum ad usum Curiae Romanae*" (I found eight editions, two before Matthias's death (ISTC if00256000; if00256400)). He was not aware of Schoenemann II, 1794, 776, claiming that there was a "*Formularium intelligentiae spiritalis*" by Eucharius Lugdunensis published by Brassicanus, with which Brassicanus published another work of Eucharius (this could have been a *corvina* base).

„Integra omnium Eucherii opusculorum collectio nondum erat. [List of the works, by whom and when each was published. Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547), Erasmus Roterodamus (1466–1536) published these.] Accesserunt paulo post *Basileae*⁵³² apud *Cratandrum* a[nn]o 1530⁵³³ aut aliquando citius *Parisiis* apud *Claudium Chevallonium* sine anno⁵³⁴ *Formulae intelligentiae spiritalis et libri duo Instructionum*, quibus anno sequenti ex reliquis Bibliothecae Budensis addidit spuria duo, *Commentaria in Genesim et libro Regum*, *Ioannes Alexander Brassicanus*, simulque *Formularium librum* ex codice m[anu]s[cripto] sedulo castigavit.”

Indeed, the Basel edition of 1531 is recognised,⁵³⁵ in which the indicated works are included. Brassicanus, who wrote a separate dedication to each work, does not mention that he found the commentaries on Genesis and the Book of Kings in Buda. In his dedication of *Commentariorum in libros Regum... libri quatuor* to Janus of Svolla (Jan Zvolský, Johannes Volscius, a humanist from Vienna), he mentions the threat to Vienna in 1529 (*Obsidio Viennae per immanissimos Turcas*), about books that were destroyed by fire, but he does not mention Buda. I could not find any indication of where he got his information. He may have been interpreting items from Julius Pflugk’s catalogue, but it is also possible that Brassicanus wrote somewhere about these codices.

⁵³² SCHOENEMANN’S emphasis with Italics.

⁵³³ EDITION of Johann Sichard (1499–1552) and Erasmus Roterodamus (VD 16 E 4128).

⁵³⁴ THE French national library records the edition as “circa 1523” in the workshop of Claude Chevallon (BP16 10467).

⁵³⁵ EUCHERIUS (ed. BRASSICANUS, ERASMUS) 1531.

Hungarus consciousness – Hungarian consciousness: the appropriation of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*

At the beginning of this chapter, we point out that the 16th–17th century history of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* has conclusions that go beyond philological findings. Just as in the 19th and 20th centuries every major cultural policy course adopted a position on this library, so in the 16th and 17th centuries the collection and its disintegration were a symbol of the disintegration of the country. The Habsburg and Hungarian succession struggles (Ferdinand I and János Szapolyai), the independence of Transylvania from Hungary as a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish conquest of the central regions of the country precisely chart the directions of the library's dispersal. In this analogy, the humanist intention to save the codices, to find textual variants of the works of certain classical or medieval authors, can be interpreted as Christian unity (*unio christiana*) behind the political intention to push back the Muslim Turkish Empire. Just as the central idea of Hungarian (and Transylvanian) political thought was the reunification of the country (Habsburg party, Turkish party, independent Hungarian national aspirations), the rescue and reassembly of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* became a symbol for Hungarian⁵³⁶ culture as a culture in its own right.

The sources quoted here in more detail are intended as examples of the three different attitudes. The letters and prefaces of the Western European humanists on the history of various pieces of the *Corvina* lament the loss of the texts of antiquity, and István Szamosközy, the Transylvanian Hungarian humanist historian, naturally joins in. But for him, it is not only that. From the very beginning of Transylvania's transition from a voivodeship to a principality (1541), the Transylvanian princes made efforts to encourage the culture of Hungary (and not only Transylvania) centered on Western Christian values. The princely court of Gyulafehérvár is a worthy heir to the court of Buda in its function of organising culture, even if their financial resources are not comparable. The establishment of

⁵³⁶ It is important to emphasise that it is not Hungarian culture, since the national aspect did not exist in the same form as it did in the mid-18th century. It was about the unity of the Hungarian Kingdom against the Habsburg and Turkish Empires, and this Hungarian Kingdom had a very large number of ethnic inhabitants. At the same time, there did exist a unified „*Hungarus*” consciousness. See KLANICZAY T. 1988; KLANICZAY T. 1993.

central, princely collections (library, archives), a school (preferably an institution of higher education), and a printing house was the intention of all the princes.⁵³⁷ This is also true of Zsigmond Báthory, who employed István Szamosközy as an archivist at his court. It was during his reign that János Baranyai Decsi's translation of Sallustius⁵³⁸ was published, in the preface a late humanist translation programme can be found. In it Baranyai Decsi lists the ancient authors he thinks would be useful to translate into Hungarian. This programme was implemented by Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) and Prince György Rákóczi I (1631–1648). The *Corvina* as an instrument of the representation of power was carefully discussed by Árpád Mikó,⁵³⁹ while the cult of Matthias, which was revived under Gábor Bethlen and György Rákóczi, is also known in great detail in the Hungarian literature.⁵⁴⁰ It is natural, therefore, that these princes, like Mihály Apafi, who had very good relations with Turkish politicians, made a serious effort to obtain the codices that had been left in Buda and those that had been transported to Constantinople. Ignác Batthyány's (1741–1798) interest in *corvinas* was altogether different. (We should not forget that when he wrote the letter to Besançon, published in the Appendix, he was studying theology in Rome (1764), and only ended up in Transylvania in 1780.) He fits into the mid-18th century *hungaricum* collecting habits of the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania. As bishop, he sent his librarian Imre Dániel (1754–1804)⁵⁴¹ to the Vatican to facilitate this activity; whose catalogue⁵⁴² can to this day still be the starting point for the work there. Bishop Batthyány's activities in public institutional collections also correspond with the consistent activities of the Hungarian clergy in creating public collections. Paradoxically, they laid the foundations for public civic culture.

The Jesuit efforts to exchange the remains of the *Corvina* need a more serious explanation. In our opinion, there were two reasons behind it. Of course, the two concepts are in the same framework, and the second one is to emphasise the role of the Jesuit order in the restoration of the institutional system of Hungarian (that is, the Hungarian Kingdom's) culture. Getting the *Corvina* could have been a symbolic achievement. The re-Catholicisation efforts that energetically unfolded at the beginning of the 17th century were mainly focused on the Hungarian aristocratic families, with great success it must be added. At the propaganda level, it would have been a very useful tool for propaganda if the books from Buda could have been obtained: the Jesuits would have participated in the spiritual care of the population under the Turkish conquest, at the same time "liberating" the books of the great king from captivity, culturally elevating the country, etc. But beyond this, we venture the hypothesis that there might have been more to it.

⁵³⁷ Cf. KLANICZAY T. 1985a., KLANICZAY T. 1985b.; KLANICZAY T. 1991.

⁵³⁸ BARANYAI DECSI-KURCZ, *Az Caius Crispus Sallustiusnac...*, 1979.

⁵³⁹ MIKÓ 1999.

⁵⁴⁰ COMPREHENSIVELY: TARNÓC 1978.; BITSKEY 1980.

⁵⁴¹ MÁRZA A. 2020.; MÁRZA A. 2020a.

⁵⁴² PUBLISHED GRAFINGER 2002, I, 316–324.

Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, the driving force behind the re-Catholicisation of Hungary, was himself a Jesuit. His relationship with the Calvinist princes of Transylvania, however, shows that he was far from being a Habsburg supporter in his political thinking. As a result, he also had serious arguments with Miklós Esterházy, the country's palatine.⁵⁴³ Namely, Pázmány did not approve of a theoretically possible unification of the country which would begin by abolishing Transylvania as a vassal principality and continue by turning against the Turks. He considered it politically and militarily unrealistic, and at the same time a threat to the independence of Hungary and Hungarian culture, one that could turn many Hungarian aristocratic families against the Emperor.⁵⁴⁴ History proved his thinking correct, since after the successful campaign against the Turks (1664), the Hungarian nobility conspired against the Emperor (1671) after the Habsburgs and Turks signed a peace treaty (Vasvár, 1664), and then several independence struggles (Thököly, Rákóczi) closed the 17th century and started the 18th.

Péter Pázmány and the Hungarian Jesuits intended to present the country to the world as one with an independent Christian culture, and to raise it culturally as such. Catholic, of course. Although the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer (1585–1648) wrote the church history of Hungary,⁵⁴⁵ the Austrian Jesuits (Austrian politics) prevented its publication for a long time. The concept of this work is that Hungarian Christianity is not a *“filia”* of Austrian Christianity, but from the time of Saint Stephen it is an independent church that has successfully spread its faith and culture.⁵⁴⁶ The Jesuits continued to spread this idea and tried to found a *Provincia Hungarica* independent of the *Provincia Austriaca* (their efforts were unsuccessful).⁵⁴⁷ It should be immediately noted that those Hungarian aristocrats who did not believe in the success of an armed confrontation against the Habsburg power, following the same logic in the 18th century tried to create a patronage that on the one hand supported cultural institutions, and on the other hand spread a Catholic but Hungarian culture among the culturally underdeveloped classes. Alongside the imminent family histories, Matthias Hunyadi was given a role in the concept of the ideal *familia*.

The attempt to acquire the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was, in our opinion, part of both Jesuit conversion and cultural policy, and, from this point of view, the question of whether in Turkish times in Buda there really were *corvina*s (ornamented codices from Matthias's library) or pieces of the library of the former royal chapel (unornamented theological paper codices and printed materials) is inconsequential.

It is important to emphasise, however, that decades before the expulsion of the Turks, the ideologues of the imperial court in Vienna had already begun to define

⁵⁴³ Cf. PÉTER K. 1972.; PÉTER K. 1985.; PÉTER K. 1986.

⁵⁴⁴ I know that this is an oversimplification of the question, it is not as easy to answer, Pázmány's approach changed over time as well. Cf. HARGITTAY 1987, 405–448.; HARGITTAY 2009, 113–151.

⁵⁴⁵ INCHOFER 1644.

⁵⁴⁶ DÜMMERTH 1987a, 155–204.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. LUKÁCS, ADATTÁR 25, 1989.

the cultic foundations of the future Habsburg Empire. Just as the empire-wide cult of the Virgin Mary⁵⁴⁸ was one such element of it, or the emphasis on honouring St John of Nepomuk,⁵⁴⁹ the *Bibliotheca Corvina* would not have been of interest to them merely for the material value of the individual codices. The monarch who can unite the country can even collect the pieces of the *great king's* revered library. Even if this fails, writing the history of the *great library* is still a significant feat. It is no coincidence that from the second half of the 17th century, various cultural groups from the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania emphasise their own culture and traditions by comparing themselves to the *Corvina*. Specific examples from the 17th and 18th centuries only appear in the internal historiography of the Saxons, but in the national culture-building movements of the 19th–21st centuries, numerous groups have already been using items from the former collection of Matthias Hunyadi as an etalon, a standard for achieving high culture. Another look at this story, with repetitions, with a focus on a premis that perhaps justifies why we organise exhibitions of the *Corvina's* surviving pieces in Hungary Austria, and elsewhere in Europe.

The permanent and changing purposes of Bibliotheca Corvina exhibitions and albums

The reputation of the library of King Matthias Hunyadi, King of Hungary, was well known among his contemporaries. In Buda, the slowly developing capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, he achieved the dream of the Italian, Bavarian, Czech, Polish, Croatian, and Hungarian humanists who had travelled to Italy: to collect Greek and Latin antiquity texts in his court, with the aim to complete the collection as much as possible. He had the individual codices copied and decorated in the renowned workshops of the period, but he also arranged for a *scriptorium* of similar quality to be established in Buda. The establishment of a library, which also served as a representation of the monarchy, was part of a cultural and scientific policy advocated by the Hungarian and (especially) Italian humanists who lived in the king's orbit. The aim was to set an example for the high priestly and noble courts in the Kingdom, to establish universities, scholarly circles, to found a printing house, and to spread book culture and erudition. Matthias spent the last years of his life (1485–1490) mainly in Vienna, with imperial ambitions, and therefore aimed to establish a similar library there.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁸ I mention some from the vast literature: VARGA Cs. I. 1994.; ESTERHÁZY 1690, 1994.; ESTERHÁZY 1691, 1995.; TÜSKÉS G.–KNAPP 1995.; TÜSKÉS G.–KNAPP 2002, 106–149.

⁵⁴⁹ In summary: KIS T. N. 2022.

⁵⁵⁰ NEHRING 1989.

The book culture of the royal court of Buda was not limited to the decorative codices of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, the series of *symposiums* and scholarly debates based on it. We know that there was a separate library for the court clergy near the royal chapel. Most of its volumes were undecorated paper codices, and its thematic focus differed significantly from the inventory preserved in the halls of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* and *Bibliotheca Latina*, consisting of mainly theological texts.

The disintegration of the renowned collection at the beginning of the war against the Ottoman Turks (Battle of Mohács, 1526, and the capture of Buda, 1541) caused a European echo, due in part to the commiserating texts of contemporary humanists. From then on, obtaining pieces from the former royal library was a tempting goal for bibliophile collectors. However, in the Hungarian Kingdom, and later in the Principality of Transylvania, the idea of restoring the unity of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* became linked to the restoration of the unity and independence of the Hungarian Kingdom. It became a national symbol, a symbol of the golden age of the Hungarians. The one who can actualise such a library, recovering as many *corvina* codices as possible, can provide the people of the country with the same independence, greatness, and (imagined) prosperity as King Matthias did.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the restoration of the unity of the Kingdom and the expulsion of the Ottomans were imagined in different ways. Everyone knew that it could not be achieved on their own, but there were differences in opinion about alliances. One example was a Catholic alliance under the leadership of the Habsburgs (Kingdom of Poland, Venice, Papal States), another idea was that the Protestant Principality of Transylvania unites the Hungarian Kingdom, allying itself with Protestant powers and states threatened by the Turks. In any case, each of the Hungarian political actors aimed to prove their worth by acquiring one (or many) *corvina*. Several Hungarian aristocratic families acquired codices, and the Transylvanian princes also sought to get ahold of them (Gábor Bethlen, György Rákóczi I., Mihály Apafi I.). The latter repeatedly tried to get the Porte to return these books, even for money. Similarly, the Jesuit order, the driving force behind the re-Catholicisation of the Hungarian Kingdom, made plans to acquire the codices from the Turks, showing that “here, we were able to recover them.”⁵⁵¹

However, after the Peace of Utrecht (1713), the Hungarian Kingdom became the territory of the Austrian Habsburgs, as did Transylvania (*Grossfürstentum Siebenbürgen*). The *Bibliotheca Corvina*, like the reign of King Matthias, became a symbol of Hungarian independence. To counteract this, the Habsburg court tried to make the library and its destiny part of the common cult of the Habsburg Empire since they were the ones who ousted the Turks. After 1686, when Buda, the medieval capital, was recaptured from the Turks, the catalogue of books found there⁵⁵² was presented to the European scholarly public as the remains of the *Bibli-*

⁵⁵¹ Cf. MONOK 2002, 33–41.

⁵⁵² PFLUGIUS 1688.

otheca Corvina (although it was probably the remains of the royal chapel library).⁵⁵³ An Austrian Augustinian monk, Xystus Schier, wrote the history of the library for the first time (1766).⁵⁵⁴ When a Hungarian count, Ferenc Széchenyi, founded the “*Bibliotheca regnicolaris*” (1802), in the preface to its catalogue⁵⁵⁵ the head of the imperial library, Michael Denis, praised the count, but also warned: Collecting books is not an end in itself, but is a service. It must serve the scholars and citizens of *Hungaria* and *Transsilvania*, parts of *Austria*, the *patria*. The *patria*, according to Denis, is the Empire itself and all its inhabitants of all nationalities. Denis is paraphrasing Cicero, replacing the word *Urbs*, meaning Rome, with *Patria*:

„Primum inde gratulabimur Hungariae de Civē tam illustribus argumentis suum in eam amorem comprobante: dein Ipsi de equestris in Patriam meritis: tum vota faciemus ut quae felicibus adeo coepit auspiciis, in commune Literatorum bonum ad apicem perfectionis educat. Ti vero Popularium suorum, quibus aut mens, aut opportunitatis rerum domesticarum penitus cognoscendarum hactenus defuit, ad Excellentissimum Széchenyium grato animi sensu illis Tulli ad Varronem verbis uti poterunt: *Nos in nostra Patria peregrinantes, errantesque, tamquam hospites, Tui Libri quasi domum deduxerunt.*”⁵⁵⁶

For Hungarians, however, the library of Ferenc Széchenyi did not become a *bibliotheca regnicolaris*, but a *bibliotheca nationalis*.⁵⁵⁷ It was not founded by a foreign emperor, nor by the church (any church), but by a (Catholic) Hungarian count. Later his son István Széchenyi will found the Hungarian Learned Society in 1825, while another aristocrat (Calvinist) József Teleki will found its library (1826). The national cultural institutions established during the 19th century (library, museum and archives) were engaged in a noble competition with university libraries to acquire *corvina* codices.

The Southern Low Lands were taken from the Habsburg Empire by the French, and then, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, became part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1830 they managed to get rid of this forced coexistence and the Kingdom of Belgium was created, however the struggle for Hungarian independence failed in 1848–49. In the Reform Era of Hungarian history, the Austrian court, at the suggestion of Joseph Habsburg, the Palatine of the Hungarian Kingdom, had already been in Istanbul in the 1830s and 1840s to try to get information about the *corvina*s in Istanbul, without success.⁵⁵⁸ From the 1860s, Emperor Franz Joseph tried to approach the Turkish Empire, so he visited Istanbul while on his way to the opening of the Suez Canal. Sultan Abdulaziz

⁵⁵³ CSAPODI 1984.

⁵⁵⁴ SCHIER 1766.; SCHIER 1699.; EKLER–MONOK–ÁBRAHÁM (ford), kiad., *Xystus Schier...*, 2019.

⁵⁵⁵ SZÉCHÉNYI, *Catalogi*, I., 1799.

⁵⁵⁶ CICERO, *Academica posteriora* I. 9.; cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De Civitate Dei*, 6, Caput II.

⁵⁵⁷ CF. MONOK 2019, 84–88.

⁵⁵⁸ MIKÓ 2002.

(1861–1876) then presented him with four *corvina* codices, which the emperor (Franz Joseph, 1848–1916) donated to the Hungarian National Library as a gesture of good faith two years after the Compromise (1876).⁵⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences also prepared a research trip in 1862.⁵⁶⁰ The expedition was successful in that, at least in retrospect thanks to the orientalist Andreas David Mordtmann, the envoy of the Hansa cities to Istanbul, Hungarian scholars gained real knowledge of 16 codices.

In defeating the Hungarian Civic Revolution and War of Independence (1848–1849), the Russian Empire came to the aid of the Habsburgs. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the students of Pest held demonstrations sympathising with the Turks and some towns even organised fundraisers for the Turks. As thanks for gesture, in 1877 Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) donated 35 codices, which he believed were all *corvina*, to the “students”, that is, to the University Library of Budapest.⁵⁶¹

The *Bibliotheca Corvina* and some of its items were also part of diplomatic affairs after the First World War. In 1923, with the support of the Hungarian state, the first French-language awareness-raising volume⁵⁶² was published to remind those who had been excluded from the community of nations by the peace treaty after the Great War that they had been part of the preservation of European culture. In 1926, on the 400th anniversary of the Battle of Mohács, Miklós Horthy, Governor of Hungary (1920–1944), emphasised the role of the Italians in the fight against the Turks in his speech. In 1927, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) donated two *corvina* codices⁵⁶³ from the *Biblioteca Estense* in Modena to Hungary. The Venice Agreement (1932) provided for the transfer of Hungarian cultural property that had remained in Austria after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Most of the *corvinas*, which are now kept in the National Széchényi Library, were transferred to Hungary at that time.⁵⁶⁴

Hungary’s immediate programme after joining the European Union (2004) was to collect the items of the famous library, now in digital form, the *Bibliotheca Corviniana Digitalis*, to symbolise the historical unity of Hungary and Western Christian Europe. In 2005, the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.⁵⁶⁵ As a result, a reassessment, a new study, and a new description of the items kept in the individual libraries has begun, with the results of this research being published in the *Supplementum Corvinianum* series.

⁵⁵⁹ MIKÓ 2002.

⁵⁶⁰ MADAS 2004, 65–70.; a description of the research trip to Constantinople, including an analysis of the role of Arnold Ipolyi, with new sources: EMÓDI 2006.

⁵⁶¹ ERÓDI 1877 (2001).

⁵⁶² HEVESY 1923. (Popularising articles were also published, such as SCHÜTZ 1934).

⁵⁶³ Cf. CSONTOSI 1891a.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. MAURER 2009, 175–183.

⁵⁶⁵ ON this occasion, an exhibition was held at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, and a new description of the *corvinas* preserved there can be seen as its catalogue: FABIAN-ZSUPÁN, hrsg. *Münchener Corvinen*, 2008.

Exhibiting decorated medieval codices has always been a rewarding task. Professionals, philologists, book historians, have been using these opportunities of the exhibitions of the manuscripts to show that these displays go far beyond professional interests. These certainly cannot be financed without conveying the social and political messages linked to the subject of the research. In fact, a major exhibition was organised, initiated specifically as a result of the collaboration of the philological world.

The first *corvina* exhibition was organised in 1877, when the Hungarian National Museum displayed the 35 codices that Sultan Abdul Hamid II presented to the students of Pest.⁵⁶⁶ This gesture by the Sultan, and the subsequent exhibition resulted in considerable press coverage and the publication of new studies on the origin of the codices. Afterwards, Emperor Franz Joseph decided to donate the four gift codices he received from Abdulaziz to the Hungarian National Library. In the period between the two world wars, especially around the 500th anniversary of the birth of Matthias Hunyadi (1940), research on the *Bibliotheca Corvina* was given new impetus, but the time was not ideal for organising major exhibitions. However, a bibliography of the history of the library was produced with the aim to achieve a complete bibliography at that time.⁵⁶⁷ The Hungarian representatives, those who had lost their wars and their country, excluded from the community of nations, wanted to emphasise their belonging to the European nations by presenting this collection.

The communist Hungarian state also implicitly considered it important to present the history of the famous library for the same purpose. However, it should be noted that after 1963 the institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences dealing with Renaissance research, especially the Institute of Literary Studies (thanks to Tibor Klaniczay), considered it essential to organise exhibitions or publish a major monograph on the history of books, including the findings of international Renaissance research. Csaba Csapodi and his wife, Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, created the canon of the *Corvina Könyvtár (Corvina Library) (what is the corvina?)* with almost their entire life's work by organising a travelling exhibition in Transylvania in 1967⁵⁶⁸ and publishing a commemorative album of the complete codex collection. This album, supported by the state, also had significant propaganda value. Based on the 1967 exhibition catalogue, it was published in French (1967),⁵⁶⁹ followed in 1969 by three imprints in English,⁵⁷⁰ and one in German.⁵⁷¹ The second enlarged edition of this album, meanwhile Csapodi Csaba published his still essential book *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*,⁵⁷² was published

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. ERÓDI 1877.

⁵⁶⁷ ZOLNAI K.–FITZ 1942.

⁵⁶⁸ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1967.

⁵⁶⁹ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1967a.

⁵⁷⁰ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1969.; CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1969a.; CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1969b.

⁵⁷¹ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1969c.

⁵⁷² CSAPODI 1973.

in 1976 in Hungarian,⁵⁷³ in 1978 in German,⁵⁷⁴ and in 1981 in English⁵⁷⁵ and in Polish.⁵⁷⁶ The third edition (again with expanded content) was published in 1981 in Hungarian,⁵⁷⁷ and in 1982 in French⁵⁷⁸ and German.⁵⁷⁹

In 1977, Tibor Klaniczay founded the International Association for Hungarian Studies, of which its *ars poeitic* became research work connected to the dialogue between Hungarian and Western academic workshops. It was momentous when Lower Austria dedicated its annual exhibition (*Niederösterreich, Jahresausstellung*) in 1982 in Schallaburg to the Hungarian Renaissance of the time of Matthias, in particular the *Corvina Library*.⁵⁸⁰ Most of this exhibited material was displayed a year later in Budapest, at the Hungarian National Gallery.⁵⁸¹ The academic interest, and the state funding, made it possible to publish the reconstruction of the library⁵⁸² of Johannes de Zredna (János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom, 1408?–1472), as pieces of it were also included in the *Corvina*. These years were a turning point in the research of the Hunyadi and Jagello eras, when attention turned to the fact that the period between 1490 and 1526 was not one of general decay, but of the imitation of the cultural patterns of the Matthias Era by the noble and high priestly courts.⁵⁸³ This work was facilitated by the atmosphere that characterised these years: Renaissance scholars met on an annual basis, with all the experts of the period present, from art historians through legal historians to book historians.

Thus the National Széchényi Library was able to hold a grand exhibition to mark the 500th anniversary of the death of Matthias Hunyadi, which could take place after the political changes of 1989.⁵⁸⁴ At this same time, a new, revised version of the *corvinas*, accepted as authentic by the Csapodi couple, was published.⁵⁸⁵

The region and Hungary were at the centre of international political attention at the time, and as a result, Western research institutes, closed out of convenience until then, suddenly became more interested in the issue. Perhaps as a consequence of this, the Royal Library of Albert I of Belgium published a special volume on the Matthias Missale,⁵⁸⁶ the Austrian National Library organised an exhibition of

⁵⁷³ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1976.

⁵⁷⁴ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1978.

⁵⁷⁵ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1981.

⁵⁷⁶ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1981a.

⁵⁷⁷ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1981b.

⁵⁷⁸ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1982a.

⁵⁷⁹ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1982.

⁵⁸⁰ KLANICZAY T.–TÖRÖK–STANGLER, hrsg., *Schallaburg '82...*, 1982.

⁵⁸¹ TÖRÖK Gy., ed., *Mátyás király...*, 1983.

⁵⁸² CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI 1984.

⁵⁸³ MİRÓ 2009.

⁵⁸⁴ FÖLDESI–CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI–KARSAY, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990.; in English: FÖLDESI–CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI–KARSAY, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990a.; URBÁN 1990.

⁵⁸⁵ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990.

⁵⁸⁶ HOREMANS 1993.; HOREMANS 1993a.

its rich *corvina* collection in 1994,⁵⁸⁷ and in 1995 in Wolfenbüttel a special edition was published from their *Bibliotheca Corvina* items presented in 1989 at the *cimelia* exhibition.⁵⁸⁸

As previously mentioned, the fourth enlarged and revised edition of the sizeable *corvina* album of the Csapodi couple was published as part of the 1990 quincentennial celebrations.⁵⁸⁹ Thus, the two foundational publications of their life's work, "*Library and Stock*" (1973)⁵⁹⁰ and this summary became the starting points of further research. The material for the next exhibition, which took place on the bicentenary of the Hungarian National Library in 2002, was put together with international collaboration in mind. This is why the celebrations in Budapest were followed by a major exhibition in Modena, at the *Biblioteca Estense (Nel segno del corvo, 2002–2003)*.⁵⁹¹ To mark the occasion, the Hungarian National Library published a copy of the two manuscripts presented to Hungary by Mussolini in 1927 and handed them over/returned them to the citizens of Modena at the opening ceremony of the exhibition. Some of the studies in the catalogue of the Italian exhibition were also published in Hungarian.⁵⁹²

Then, as a result of the collaboration of the libraries preserving the pieces of the former *bibliotheca*, the wonderful collection, even in its torso, was also inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Thus began the process of collecting digital copies of the volumes. A conference held in Paris in 2007 (*Matthias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'état moderne*)⁵⁹³ already prepared the upcoming celebration of the 550th anniversary of King Matthias's accession to the throne (2008).

The Hungarian government declared the year 2008 the "*Year of the Renaissance*",⁵⁹⁴ and all the major museums and libraries commemorated Matthias Hunyadi in their exhibitions. 236 events, including conferences, took place in a year with the idea in mind that in the golden age of the Hungarian Kingdom, the country had created an institutional system in line with that of Western European countries and breathed in harmony with the peoples of Western Christianity.

The pieces of the *Bibliotheca Corvina* were exhibited at the National Széchényi Library, the Budapest History Museum, and the Hungarian National Gallery. The first one focused on the library of Matthias's chancellor and science policy advisor, Johannes de Zredna (Vitéz)'s collection (some of which was later transferred to the royal library).⁵⁹⁵ The Budapest History Museum presented the king at the

⁵⁸⁷ GAMILLSCHEG–MERSICH–MAZAL, hrsg., *Matthias Corvinus*, 1994.

⁵⁸⁸ MILDE 1995.; cf. ZSUPÁN–HEITZMANN, hrsg., *Corvina Augusta...*, 2014.

⁵⁸⁹ CSAPODI–CSAPODINÉ Gárdonyi, *Bibl. Corviniana*, 1990.

⁵⁹⁰ CSAPODI 1973.

⁵⁹¹ MILANO E., a cura di, *Nel segno del Corvo...*, 2002.

⁵⁹² MONOK, ed., *A holló jegyében...*, 2004.

⁵⁹³ MAILLARD–MONOK–NEBBIAI, publ. par, *Matthias Corvin...*, 2009.

⁵⁹⁴ MIKÓ, ed., *Renaissance Year*, 2008.

⁵⁹⁵ FÖLDESI, szerk., *Csillag a holló...*, 2008.; FÖLDESI, ed., *A Star...*, 2008.

peak of his power,⁵⁹⁶ while the National Gallery illustrated the lasting impacts of his cultural policies.⁵⁹⁷ The National Széchényi Library also published a new commemorative album with high-quality photographs by photographer József Hapák, with texts presenting the history of the library and the results of recent research.⁵⁹⁸ At the same time, the Bavarian State Library also exhibited the eight *corvinas* stored there.⁵⁹⁹

Hungarian cultural diplomacy after 2010, following the economic policy of the so-called “opening to the East”, has paid increasing attention to the Eastern roots of Hungarians and to Hungary’s contribution to European culture and sciences. In 2014, the National Széchényi Library presented a small chamber exhibition of manuscripts from the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, which were presented to Emperor Franz Joseph by Abdul-Aziz.

Nevertheless, book and art history research has developed enough to be able to demonstrate the richness of the book culture of the period by emphasising the pieces of the Buda copying workshop of the Matthias period.⁶⁰⁰ The occasion was the 460th anniversary of the accession of the great king to the throne.⁶⁰¹

This is where our story returns to the beginning, to the death of Matthias Hunyadi. The catalogue of this year’s 2018 exhibition was published under the title “*For the Adornment of the Country*”. In Latin: “*Bibliotheca pro decore Regni constructa*” exactly as it is written in the agreement in which the lords of the Hungarian Kingdom informed János Corvin, illegitimate son of Matthias, that they would not accept him as their king (4 July 1490). They demanded he return the books he had taken from the library of Buda. The leaders of the country at the time considered the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, which had cost a lot of money, a sacrifice ‘*pro decore Regni*’. A financial sacrifice, but the source of our pride.

Those in power may have never thought otherwise. Personally, I can only hope that for us, the late descendants of the 15th humanists the *Bibliotheca Corvina* represents European Western Christian culture, as in every period of our history with varying emphasis, characterised by Christianity as a way of thinking, a particular way of relating to cultural heritage. An approach to all contemporary problems by including the entire European cultural and academic heritage.

⁵⁹⁶ FARBAKY–SPEKNER–SZENDE–VÉGH, szerk., *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 2008.; FARBAKY–SPEKNER–SZENDE–VÉGH, eds., *Matthias Corvinus, the King...*, 2008.

⁵⁹⁷ MIKÓ–VERŐ–ÁCS P., szerk., *Mátyás király...*, 2008.; MIKÓ–VERŐ–ÁCS P., szerk., *Mátyás király...*, II., 2008.

⁵⁹⁸ MIKÓ 2008.; MIKÓ 2008a.

⁵⁹⁹ FABIAN–ZSUPÁN, hrsg. *Münchener Corvinen*, 2008.

⁶⁰⁰ ZSUPÁN–FÖLDESI, ed., *Budai műhely*, 2018.

⁶⁰¹ ZSUPÁN, szerk., *„Az ország díszére”*, 2020.

Appendix

Notes from the bequest of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli in Bologna (BUB MS)⁶⁰²

Fondo Marsigli 85 F ⁶⁰³

Discorso alla libreria famosa di Buda, da tradursi in Latino e preporsi all'Elencho già cominciato, dei libri MS Orientali, che si conservato della Libreria dell' Ill.mo Eccell.mo Sig.r Luigi Ferdinando Co. Marsilli quando quello sarà terminato (sine dato) Fol. 1r–14v (Fol. 15r–v vacat), mostly it is Marsigli's autograph

Alongside this, a copy by an unknown hand: Fol. 16r–22r:

„Catalogus Librorum in Arce Budensi repertorum anno 1686“⁶⁰⁴

This discourse is briefly summarised by Ercole Ricotti:⁶⁰⁵

„Nel 1685 la diligenza da lui usata nel ridurre a difesa la città di Strigonia ossia Gran nell'Ungheria inferiore, gli fruttò il grado di luogotenente colonello. Con questo grado ritornò all' assedio di Buda: dove il suo ingegno e il suo coraggio riuscirono molto proficui. Fu anche suo il parere di darle un assalto generale: il che venne eseguito felicemente. Avresti allora non senza meraviglia mirato il Marsigli superare il dolore di una grave ferita, e fra il tumulto dei combattenti, di sotto alle macerie, di mezzo alle fiamme aprirsi la strada alla biblioteca Corvina per salvarne i preciosi codici, di cui più tardi arricchiva il patrio Istituto.“

⁶⁰² MONOK 2009, 88–95.

⁶⁰³ SZILÁDY 1898 and VERESS 1906 also mentions it.

⁶⁰⁴ In addition to the two from Bologna, there are two other contemporary copies of this catalogue: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, s. n. 370; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 13. Ext. 20; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Marsigli, 85 F, Fol. 16r–22r; 2nd copy: Fondo Marsigli, Cod. 2951. Fol. ir–qv; Perhaps the first two editions (PFLUGIUS 1688a; PFLUGIUS 1688b) were based on the Vienna edition, followed by the 1703 edition (PFLUGIUS 1703) and the ADATTÁR 13/4 publication (BAJÁKI–BUJDOSÓ–MONOK–VISKOLCZ–ZVARA, ADATTÁR 13/4, 2009, 139–151). Based on PFLUGIUS 1688a, republished by MARTINYI KOVÁTS, *Fragmenta*, II, 1809, 25–45. The Bologna 85 F copy was published by FRATI 1893. The whole book and the story is analysed by CSAPODI 1984.

⁶⁰⁵ RICOTTI 1845, Capitolo sesto: *Vita del conte Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli*, p. 295–296.

The abstract was then referenced by Alfredo Reumont, and Ercole Ricotti reacted to this (to avoid any misunderstanding) by publishing the part of the Italian discorso concerning Buda. (Fondo Marsigli 85 F, Fol. 5v–9v).⁶⁰⁶

Fondo Marsigli 85 E⁶⁰⁷

Lettera di Prefazione a Mons. Illmo Passionci, che dovrà poi passare alle mani dell'Illmo Sig. Abbate Assemani per tradurla in latino da stampare alla testa dell'Elenco dei libri esotici che sono nell'Istituto – Marsigli's autograph, amended and defaced by someone else. Cover+Fol. 1r–17r

The translation of this (85 E): Fondo Marsigli Cod. 2951

Index librorum Bibliothecae Marsilianae Graecorum, Latinorum, Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Turcicorum et Persicorum, nec non Ruthenico et Illyrico sermone, tum manuscriptorum, tum impressorum, quos excellentissimus Dominus Comes Aloysius Ferdinandus Marsilius Bibliothecae Instituti Scientiarum Bononiensis addixit. In septem partem divisus. Opera Josephi Simonii Assemani, Sacrae Theologiae Doctoris, et linguarum Orientalium in Bibliotheca Vaticana scriptoris, et in Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide Professoris.

Here is a Latin manuscript translation of Marsigli's letter (85 E) (but ultimately not published), and *a more recent copy of the 1686 Buda catalogue*. Letters were bound at the front of the volume and paginated with letters. Marsigli's letter Fol. a^r–h^r, the catalogue: Fol. i^r–q^v

The Latin text of Marsigli's letter was published by Victor Rosen⁶⁰⁸ in the preface to his book, and the part concerning Buda, with the Transylvanian story that Marsigli had spoken to an Elek Bethlen about Mihály Apafi's procurement of a corvina, was also published by Áron Szilády.⁶⁰⁹

The Italian letter is summarised by Giovanni Fantuzzi:⁶¹⁰

„Fu superata la piazza, battuto nuovamente, e disperso il primo Visire, posto a fil di spada il presidio, e la città tutta alla fiamme. Funesto frutto della vittoria: ma altro assai migliore per se ne colse il Marsigli. L'amore dello studio avea sempre accompagnato fra lo strepito delle armi questo valoroso soldato, l'avea sollevato fra le fatiche del campo, ed occupato nell'ozio dei quartieri d'Inverno.

Erano per lui i libri, e la spada un egual oggetto di virtuosa passione: perciò informato dalla lettura, e dalle notizie dei letterati esservi stato un tempo in Buda una famosa biblioteca di Libri Orientali, divenne affanoso per lo pericolo di spoglie così preziose.

⁶⁰⁶ REUMONT 1879, then RICOTTI 1879.

⁶⁰⁷ SZILÁDY 1898 and VERESS 1906 also mentions it.

⁶⁰⁸ ROSEN 1885.

⁶⁰⁹ SZILÁDY 1898, 134–135.; the Hungarian translation of this part: ÁBEL 1880, 170–173.

⁶¹⁰ FANTUZZI 1770, 53–56.: 1686, Buda.

Il giorno seguente alla resa della piazza, corse sollecito al supremo Generale per ottenere la permissione di colà entro portarsi. Ottenutala non lo trattenne nè la debolezza delle sue forze, nè il dolore, che tuttavia sentiva delle sue ferite. Fra le fiamme, i cadaveri, e la calca di coloro, che tutt'altro cercavano, si mise in traccia di questi libri.

Di primo slancio si gittò dentro ad una Moschea, che al tempo, che quella piazza fu in poter dei Cristiani, era Tempio sacra Dio, e Metropolitana di quella Città, ed era fortunatamente restata illesa dalle fiamme. S'introdusse in due piccole camere, che trovò all'intorno guarnite di libri, in mezzo a' quali era stato poc' anzi decapitato dai Soldati Cristiani il supremo Ministro. Ne sece quello spoglio maggiore, che potè accomodarsi con la difficoltà del trasporto in quella confusione di cose.

Indi si trasferì ad altra Moschea, la quale gli somministrò non minor preda. Passò agli alloggiamenti degli Ebrei attualmente alle armi dei soldati, e che trasportando le ricchezze, che vi trovavano, ben volentieri cedevano al Marsigli i libri, spoglia per loro inutile, e che non conoscevano.

Erano questi molti bensì, e diversi libri, che rinveniva qua, e là sparsi il Conte Luigi, ma non erano l'intera biblioteca, della quale andava in traccia. Si volse perciò al Castello, dove era il Palazzo, era fu già del re d'Ungheria, e si lusingò d'ivi trovarla. Il luogo era stato diroccato dal canone, e dalle bombe. Fra quelle ruine penetò sotto certi volti di pietra, che allora servivano ad uso di magazzino di zappe, badili, mannaje, ed altri attrezzi di guerra. Osservò fra quegli arnesi alcune casse, che aperte avevano delusa l'avidità dei soldati, e vide alquanti volumi qua, e là gittati in contrassegno della lor rabbia.

Fu la sua allegrezza corrispondente all'idea, che avea formata di quella biblioteca. La credette una spoglia di diritto del Principe, e spedì avviso al Conte Rabatta Generale Commissario dell'Esercito, acciocchè inviasse uno dei suoi a porle in sicuro. Fratando il Marsigli si approfittò d'alcuni manoscritti come gli vennero alle mani, consegnano il rimanente al ministro.

Ma questa sì famosa raccolta non esisteva più che nella fama, e nella relazione degli Autori, e giunte le casse di quei libri a Vienna, non vi si trovò che un imperfetto avanzo delle varie vicende, che quella biblioteca avea sofferte.

In questa occasione il Marsigli stese una dissertazione sopra le reliquie della famosa Libreria Corvina ed ivi prende occasione di parlare di tutti gli avanzi di Librerie antiche, le quali può verisimilmente credersi, che rimangano nell'Imperio Ottomano, e pensò ancora di darla alle stampe, ma tutt'ora resta inedita fra' suoi manoscritti Capsula 3. segnata 85 E.

La suppellettile ammassata allora di manoscritti, fu poi di molto accresciuta in altre simili congiunture. Moltissimi ne acquistò col denaro: non pochi per la liberalità degli amici: altri gli furono offerti in omaggio al suo merito. Tutti poi passarono a formare uno dei maggiori pregi della biblioteca dell'Istituto.

Tutto ciò, che qui sopra si è detto, rilevasi dalle memorie, e dalla lettera a modo di Prefazione, che il Conte Luigi scrisse a Monsignor Passionei, e che dovea poi passare alle mani dell' Abbate Assemani per tradurla in latino da stamparsi alla testa dell'Indice de'Libri Esotici, che sono nell'Istituto. Come altresì da altre lettere precedenti rilevasi,

che l'Indice di questi libri fu stampato a Vienna l'anno 1702 per opera di Michele Tolmar(!), ma fu lasciata la stampa imperfetta, perchè Leopoldo Cesare impiegò questo Soggetto per Residente alla porta Ottomanica.⁶¹¹ Questo indice, dice il Conte Luigi, servi moltissimo, all'Abbate Assemani per la sua Biblioteca Orientale. Era esso un Libro diviso in tre Tomi, che formava il catalogo per più secoli di tutti gli Scrittori Arabi, Persiani, e Turchi sopra tutte le materie. Questi tre Tomi per ordine di Nostro Signore furono trasportati a Roma, e copiati, indi rimandati gli originali a Bologna, si conservano tuttora nell'Instituto. MSS Capsula 3. fascicolo E. segnato 85.

Ludovico Frati, seeing Marsigli's great interest to acquire books in Buda (he also refers to the writings of Ricotti and Reumont), quotes the Buda part of the Italian letter word-for-word (85 E). The entire thing was published by Albano Sorbelli in 1930.⁶¹² Endre Veress was familiar with the Italian literature of the second half of the 19th century, so he did not go any further. Although he wrote separately about the Fondo Marsigli 1079 (Manoscritto in lingua Tedesca trovato nella Biblioteca di Buda),⁶¹³ he did not research the German manuscripts in detail, and he completely avoided Greek and Oriental matters (obviously due to his lack of linguistic competence).

Fondo Marsigli, 595 Y3

Fol. 1r–9v. A list of the Oriental books of Marsigli: „Catalogus librorum Orientalium”

Fol. 10r–v vacat

Fol. 11r–12v: List of Greek codices stolen by Trineh Meunet Aga (a convertite from Livorno).

Fol. 13r–15r. „Elenchus Librorum Latinorum”

These were bound to them:

Elenchus librorum orientalium manuscriptorum videlicet Graecorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, et deinde Hebraicorum, ac antiquorum Latinorum, tum manuscriptorum, tum impressorum a Domino Comite Aloysio Ferdinando Marsigli... partim in ultimo bello Turcico, et partim in itinere Constantinopolim suspecto collectorum, coemptorumque, opera Michaelis Talman, Viennae Austriae, 1720. Susanna Christina, Matthæi Cosmerovii vidua, in fol. – Talman does not concern himself with the provenance.

⁶¹¹ I have not found any literature on this matter. Even Giuseppe Fumagalli only records that Marsigli wrote an introduction, in letter form, and sent it to Assemani, who translated it into Latin, but it was never published. Cf. FUMAGALLI 1915, 1.

⁶¹² SORBELLI 1930, 173–183.; in the Hungarian literature BENE 2006 quotes it because of the Illyrian aspects.

⁶¹³ AND he immediately pointed out that only one of the letters in the Latin form book was in German, the rest in Latin. VERESS 1906, 31–32.; FRATI 1909, Nr. 583. is also described as a Latin manuscript.

This manuscript, unknown to Szilárdy and Veress, has several interesting features. According to the record, the Livorno renegade stole a large number, some 200 Greek codices, from the Sultan's collection. He sold them, partly to the French ambassador Girardin,⁶¹⁴ and partly to Marsigli.⁶¹⁵

The other interesting element is the elenchus of Latin books. The first six items are proven to be from Buda. Csaba Csapodi also dealt with them, based on the writings of Szilárdy and Veress.⁶¹⁶ The three prints are all available in the University Library of Bologna, but are not copies from Buda. Since the duplicates were sold several times, it is possible that the damaged copies from Buda were sold by the library.

Elenchus Librorum Latinorum⁶¹⁷

I.

Nicolai de Lyra Postillae in Quatuor Euangelia

Eiusdem in XIV Epistolas Pauli

Eiusdem in Actus Apostolorum

Eiusdem in Epistolam Canonicam Jacobi

Eiusdem in duas Canonicas Petri

Eiusdem in duas Canonicas Joannis

Codex in fol. magno, mutilus initio et fine scriptus iussu Egidij Cartularij Bononiensis per Henricum de Colonia anno Domini 1462 die 2 Junij, ut liquet ex Annotatione quae legibus ad calceri commentariorum in Euangelia (Szilárdy 1898, 136.; Frati 1909, Nr. 563.; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 446.; Csapodi 1984, 40. Nr. 17.)

II.

Lexicon Latinum manuscriptorum in folio.

(Szilárdy 1898, 136.; Veress 1906, 37.; Frati 1909, Nr. 515.: „Lexicon medicum, in quo praesertim peregrina vocabula declarantur. Optabat Galenus discere et dicere posse”; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 855.; Csapodi 1984, 40. Nr. 15.)

III.

Diuisio agrarum spectantium ad varias Hungariae Ecclesias ab anno Domini 1500 ad annum 1527 Codex ms. in folio (Szilárdy 1898, 136–137.; Veress 1906, 37–38.; Frati 1909, Nr. 383.; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 805.; Csapodi 1984, 39. Nr. 9.)

IV.

⁶¹⁴ THE KERÉKES D., kiad., Girardin, 2007 diary makes no reference to this, but it is worth a look around in Paris.

⁶¹⁵ BERNASCONI 2006, 254–268.

⁶¹⁶ CSAPODI 1973.

⁶¹⁷ BAJÁKI–BUJDOSÓ–MONOK–VISKOLCZ–ZVARA, ADATTÁR 13/4, 2009, 152–153.

Variae quaestiones Anonymi de Augustissimo Altaris sacramento. Codex ms. in 4 mutilus initio (Szilády 1898, 137.; Frati 1909, Nr. 664.; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 951.; Csapodi 1984, 41. Nr. 21.)

V.

Anonymi tractatus de Auctoritate Papae
Petri de Valfredinij ad Sigismundum Imp(eratorem) Epistola
Codex in 4° qui ad Praedicatores Vormatiae spectabat, ubi adnotatum ad marginem folij primi (Szilády 1898, 137.; Frati 1909, Nr. 725.; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 784.; Csapodi 1984, 39. Nr. 8.)

VI.

Anonymi Expositio in Regulam S. Francisci
Registrum super omnes Sacrae Scripturae Libros
Codex ms in 4o qui olim ad Bibliothecam Matthiae Corvini Hungariae Regis pertinebat (Szilády 1898, 138–139.; Veress 1906, 38–39.; Frati 1909, Nr. 400.; Csapodi 1973, Nr. 167.; Csapodi 1984, 39. Nr. 6.)

XX.

Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, impressum Venetijs apud Alexandrum Bruciolum 1545, in fol. desideratur primum folium. (BUB A VI C III 4: the copy at this mark is not a Marsigli copy; the existing one is complete, no deficiencies, the title-page could indeed have been missing, since the colophon shows 1545, the title-page shows 1546. According to the catalogues, the volume was compiled by Arnoldus Arlenius. The works of the authors listed below are cited in each chapter as sources for the compilation of the volume.)

Cyrilli opusculum de Dictionibus, quae accentu variant significatum

Ammonij de similitudine ad differentia dictionum

De re militari ueterum, et nominibus praefectorum Libellus

Orbicij de ordinibus exercitus

In quibus dictionibus addatur, uel abijcitur, ex Cherobosco

Quod uerborum canones omnium exacte inuestigatri non possim ex eodem

De proprietate Linguae Graecae, ex Joanne Grammatico, Plutarcho et Corintho

De passionibus dictionum, ex Tryphone Grammatico

De uerbis anomalis

De inclinatis, encliticis et synencliticis

De mensibus, ex Philippo Melanchtone

XXI.

Homeri Vlissaea

Eiusdem Batrachomyomachia

Eiusdem Hymni XXXII.

Codex in 8o impressus Florentinae in Aedibus haeredum Philippi Iuntae anno a Virginis nuncio 1519 (BUB RARO A 56 – not a copy of Marsigli, because it includes Charles Stanhope, Earl of Harrington's (1753–1829) ex libris)

XXII.

Hesiodus Graeco-Latinus, cum Annotationibus Georgij Henischij Bartfeldensis
Codex in 8. impressus Basileae in Officina Oporiana anno 1580 (BUB A V. AA.
6.18 – I do not believe this copy was Marsigli's, the entry says: „Andreas Adolphus
Argentoratensis est verus hujus libri possessor anno 1581”)

Correspondence between Ignác Balthyány and Anselme Berthod OSB on the Corvinas of Besançon

Inquiring letter from Ignác Balthyány:

Au Reverend B[erthod]

Le Reverend Père D[om] Berthod de la Congregation de S[ain]t Vanne⁶¹⁸ Bibliothecaire à Besançon dans la Franche Comté

Romae, 22. febr[uarii] [1]764

Admodum Reverende Pater,

Ad litteras incogniti haerens quaevis, quo duce hae ad te pervenerint? Duce Mabillonio,⁶¹⁹ illo ordinis tui⁶²⁰ illustri membro: hic mihi te scribendi occasionem dedit, et bene sperare jussit ea a te humanitate suscipiendas has meas, qua is in Monasterio Vestro⁶²¹ acceptus est; non quidem quod parem mihi tribuam eruditionem, haec enim vel ab invitis extorquet aestimationem, sed quod ejus suam exemplo facilem Ordinis Vestri ad adjuvanda studia aliena voluntatem. Vos enim, qui quondam bonas artes apud vos solos delitescerent infeliciora, ne penitus interirent, conservastis tempora, nec nunc, cum jam melius de artium studijs agitur, cessatis ea opera, studio, humanitate, benevolentia vestra fovere. Jam ad rem.

Bibliothecam Regiam Budensem Mathiae Hungarorum Regis Corvinam ab eo dictam, unam ex celeberrimis fuisse coevi scriptores fidem faciunt: directam hanc dolemus, et in varias distractos partes libros ejus; unde non pauci custodiuntur

⁶¹⁸ FOR a modern presentation of intellectual life in Besançon, see GRESSET 2002. Relating to Dom Anselme Berthod OSB (1733–1788) here: 38.

⁶¹⁹ JEAN Mabillon OSB (1632–1707).

⁶²⁰ THE Benedictines.

⁶²¹ ABBAYE des Bénédictins de saint-Vincent à Besançon

in Vaticana, aliqui in Windobonensi, nonnulli in Granvellana,⁶²² in Vestra etiam Vesontionensi⁶²³ Bibliotheca a se visos aperit Mabillonius in Itinere Germanico,⁶²⁴ et quo hoc meae Epistolae argumentum natum est.

Cum Hungarus sum, et cum viris eruditis societatem inierim ad excutiendas Hungariae tam sacras, quam profanas antiquitates, ad studiorum meorum rationem pertinet, in supra laudatos libros inquirere. Te igitur per bonum litterarum amorem quam maxime rogatum volo, ut studia mea adjuves ad ea quae sequuntur pro humanitate tua respondendo 1^{mo} num adhuc tales MSS codices apud vos sint? 2^{do} quot, qualesque illi sint? 3^{tio} quam antiqui? His si adjeceris colligationis, et codicum formam, et quae initio MSS a nonnullis librarijs praefigi solent, uti et ea, quae ad calcem adjecta inveneris, immortale mihi praestabis beneficium. Multa sunt, quae a te nunquam visus, nihil de te meritis exigo, sed nihil est, quod a tua non sperem benevolentia, huic meae conceptae spei si responderis habebis me dum vixero ejus praeconem qui sum tibi, tuoque ordini.

Servire paratissimus

Ignatius Salesius Comes de Batthyan

S[ancti] Georgij de Ják Abbas

Current provenance: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 613, fol. 241r–v.

Draft reply by Anselme Berthod OSB:

Bisuntii⁶²⁵ 1. Junii 1764.

Eruditissimo viro D[omi]no Comiti de Bathian abbati de Jach in Hungaria

Eruditissime Comes et Abbas,

⁶²² ANTOINE Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) – about the library see *Bibliothèque des Granvelle* 2014; WAILLE 2017.

⁶²³ VESONTIONENSIS = Besançon

⁶²⁴ MABILLON–GERMAIN 1685, 7–8.; MABILLON–LAUNOY 1717, 6.; MABILLON 1723, 1–2.: A Roman inscription in the *musaeum* of the Benedictine bibliophile Jean-Baptiste Boisot (1638–1694) in Besançon is described: „Hoc marmor, quod prope amphitheatrum Vesontionense erutum est, nunc in Museo Boisoti jam laudati Abbatis visitur cum alio item marmore, variisque cimeliis et numismatibus, quae hic recensere non vacat. Iter ejusdem librorum multi sunt ex bibliotheca Granvelliana, quidam etiam codices elegantissime scripti, ex Budensi bibliotheca Mathiae Corvini Hungariae Regis in Granvellanam transportati. ... Ex Budensibus insignes sunt membranei codices *Lactantii de Religione*, *Titi Livii* secundum volumen ex tribus, quorum alia duo ex Florentino exemplari descripta sunt anno M CCCC XXV.” Jean-Baptiste Boisot gave his library to the town of Besançon, thus he is regarded as the founder of the public library. WALLASZKY 1769, 79 quotes this passage as a summary, but he also indicates that he takes the information from JUGLER–STRUVE 1754 page 178. CSAPODI 1973, 268 (Nr. 383), on the other hand, quotes Wallaszky, but I do not know where he got the added information, regarding Mabillon, stating that he wrote it in 1683. I do not know of a 1683 edition of the indicated and quoted description.

⁶²⁵ BISUNTIVM = Besançon

Etiamsi mihi nihil fuerit optatius quam ut primum abs te ipso devotissimus cognoscerer, nihilominus quae ad obsequium promptum pertinent ea aliquando praetermisi, sed non ex composito; forte enim evenit ut cum ad me tuae perlatae fuerint litterae tantis implicarer negotiis ut nec tibi nec mihi satisfacere licuerit. Moram igitur, ne res malae menti, cum quae tibi utilia sunt, mihi jam nulla gratiora videantur. Jam ad rem.

Manuscripti Codices a Budensi bibliotheca in Granvellanam exportati quos in Museo Domini Boisot vidisse testatur Mabillionius noster⁶²⁶ adhuc in bibliotheca nostra publica etiamnum sedulo asservantur.

Primus in fol[io] maj[ori] qui inscribitur, Lactantius *de falsa Religione*⁶²⁷ notatu dignus tum eximia litterarum concinnitate, tum elegantia membranae Lactei Coloris. Prima pagina topico limbolarius circum ornatur et in inferiori parte exhibet insignia quae numero 4^o descripsi. Scriba celavit nomen suum tum in capite tum in fine operis. Ex integro renovata compactio est ut constat comparisonem antiquarum colligationum.

Secundus codex cui titulus Tito[?] Livii Patavini historiografi[?] excellentissimi *de secundo bello punicho liber*,⁶²⁸ membraneus est in fol[io] maj[ori]. Viticulae hujus genios et pavones exhibent, decasque n[...?]. Sub fronde viridi tuto pascentes et in inferiori parte insignia num[erorum?] expressa. Lignea compactio, incor[r]upte et parum solerter elaborata. Nihil speciosum exhibet praeter duo insignia in utraque adversa part[e] quae videtis num[eri] 3^o et 4^o. Sequentibus verbis clauditur codex

Johannes Cruder Theutonus haud ignobilis scriptor

Decadem tertiam Titilivii clarissimi historici scripsit

In compagine interiori parte dextra haec leguntur, *Ag[us]t[us?] Libre[?]*, ex parte sinistra *Johannes Neuen*. Sed diversa et recentiore ma[nu?] exarata.

Duos alios Titilivii codices, ex vetustissimo Florentiae exemplari descriptos ad Corvinam bibliothecam similiter pertinuisse, insinuat Mabilonius[?],⁶²⁹ differunt tamen ab illo de quo supra 1^o colligationis natura et scriptoris diversitate, 2^o praestant elegantia et litterarum concinnitate, 3^o insignibus et viticulis carent. Uterque formam habet folii majoris et terminatur sequentibus verbis, *Joannes a. f. clarissimo viro Cosimo Medici ex vetustissimo exemplari hoc opus transcripsit anno M^oCCC^oXXV* ex his duobus ultimus codex anno 1427 ab eodem descriptus est.

Alium insuper habeo prae manibus MSS^{um} in 4^o aut folio min[ori]. Codicem a Mabilonio omissum cui titulus Dionisii Areopagite Atheniensis episcopi *de Coelesti Hierarchia ad Timotheum Episcopum Ephesi liber* etc.⁶³⁰ Hunc ad Corvinam

⁶²⁶ MABILLON-GERMAIN 1685, 7–8.

⁶²⁷ CSAPODI 1973, 268 (Nr. 383.) does not consider it an authentic corvina. MADAS 2009 does not even list it.

⁶²⁸ CSAPODI 1973, 276 (Nr. 403.) does not consider it an authentic corvina. MADAS 2009 does not even list it.

⁶²⁹ MABILLON-GERMAIN 1685, 8.

⁶³⁰ CSAPODI 1973, 208 (Nr. 231) lists it as an authentic corvina. MADAS 2009, 54 (Nr. 50.) confirms it.

pertinuisse certum est [these last two words are crossed out, instead:] juvat scripto tradiderunt ii quos penis fuit. Ipsorum verba exhibenda sunt. In interiori figurae[?] Colligationis parte sinistra legitur.

Sum Marci Singkhmoser in Iufal Cons[iliarii] et Secr[etar]ij latini Sacrae Rom[anae] et Regiae M[aiesta]tis⁶³¹ ex dono quondam Mag[ist]ri Joannis Mariae Malvetii⁶³² mihi anno salutis 1550 Constantinopoli facto

et inferius

Ex libris Bibliothecae[?] Buden[si] sereni[ssimi] quondam Regis Mathiae a Turcis direptae.

tum in 1^a pagina additur diversa manu

Alphonsi de Gamch[?Gamitz?]⁶³³ fortune ad coetera 1573 Emptus Vienne mense Martii

Viticulis ornatur in fronte et in ima pagina, insignibus num[er]i 5^o appositis. Lignea compactio est, pelle vestita et variis confusioque modis elaborata.

Quorum omnium codicum antiquitas ultra 14. et 15. saeculum, id est ante Mathaei Corvini aetatem non repetenda mihi videtur. De istis meis conjectationibus tu ipse videris, cuncta enim tibi et viro eruditissimo lubens permitto.

Ampla nobis est codicum latinorum, tum graecorum praes[er]tim pretiosa suppellex. Hos omnes a D[omi]ni Boisot liberalitate acceptos tenemus ea conditione ut publicis juris fierent; utrum ad Bibliothe[cam] Budensem pertinuerint ignotum prorsus. Sunt et alia Granvellanae administrationis monumenta quae nunc eludicare aggred[er]e quae et his forsitan ad rem tu[am] quae fortassis ad rem tuam faciunt.

Si sors aequa consiliis majorem copiam Corvini codicum objecisset[?] non fallerem opinionem spemque tuam. De ceteris[?], siquid curae meae opus est ac diligentia ita providebo ut neque devotus, neque amantior quisquam; denuo sic existimes, velim qui tibi sum

[The letter is a preliminary draft, the sent version is not known.]

Current provenance: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 613, fol. 242r–243v.

⁶³¹ MARCUS Singhmöser (1518/23–1569) was the latin secretary of Emperor Ferdinand I and later the personal secretary of Emperor Maximilian I, he also maintained good official and scientific relations with Miklós Oláh. János Zsámboky felt obliged to send him a copy of Bonfini's edition. The uncertainty in the literature about the origin of the humanist is resolved on the basis of this entry; he was indeed a Singhmöser (i.e. not a Swabian) moved from Hall im Tirol to South Tyrol, Juval. Cf. GROSS L. 1933, 403–407; PAUL MOELLER, *Marcus Singhmöser, The Contributions to History by a Secretary of Ferdinand I.* <https://paulkarlmoeller.wordpress.com/article/marcus-singhmöser/>; ALMÁSI G. 2009, 131–137, *Courtiers of Learning*. One of his books made it to Miklós Oláh, then to the Esterházy library: MONOK-ZVARA 2020, 102 (Nr. 342.)

⁶³² IOANNES Maria Malvetius (Gian Maria Malvezzi, †1554/55), representative of Emperor Ferdinand I in Constantinople between 1547–1554, died in prison in Komárom. See TÖRÖK P. 1929; NEHRING, hrsg., *Austro-Turcica 1541–1552*, 1995; PAPP S. 1999; TÁTOR 2009; SEVERI 2015.

⁶³³ CSAPODI 1973, 208 (Nr. 231) mentions him as Alphonsus de Gamitz, his identity is unclear.

Abbreviations and literature cited in abbreviated form:

App. H.
Apponyi Hungarica, OSZK
BMC
British Museum Library Catalog
BM
British Museum Library
BSB
Bayerische Saatsbibliothek, München
BUB
Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna
HAB
Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
MS
manuscriptum
MSS
manuscripta, manuscriptorum, manuscriptis
OSZK
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest
ÖNB
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien

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