

Central European University

BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY (C.1542 – 1590)
ERUDITION, NATURAL SCIENCES, PATRONAGE AND FRIENDSHIP IN THE
LIFE OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARIAN NOBLEMAN

PhD dissertation in Medieval Studies

by

DÓRA BOBORY

Budapest, Hungary

2007

I, the undersigned Dóra Bobory, candidate for the PhD degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present dissertation is exclusively my own work, based on my research and relies only on such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, March 1, 2007

signature

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	IV
I. INTRODUCTION	1
I. 1. THE GENRE OF BIOGRAPHY	2
I. 2. SCIENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: IS IT A PARADOX?	4
I. 3. THE SOURCES: NETWORKING THROUGH LETTERS	11
I. 4. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY	13
I. 5. QUESTIONS	15
I. 6. THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION	16
I. 7. A NOTE ON PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES	17
II. BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY'S YOUTH	19
II. 1. THE BACKGROUND: HUNGARY IN BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY'S TIME	19
II. 2. FAMILY LEGENDS AND THE YEARS OF INFANCY	27
II. 3. TRAVELS AND THE SERVICE IN FRANCE	42
II. 4. MARRIAGE AND THE STORMY YEAR OF 1566	54
II. 4. THE BATTHYÁNY FAMILY AND THE REFORMATION	67
III. A PASSION FOR BOOKS, A PASSION FOR SCIENCE: THE CURIOUS PATRON BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY	75
III. 1. THE BEGINNING OF HIS SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES: BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY LIBRARY. 75	
<i>III. 1. 1. Boldizsár Batthyány's Books on Natural Sciences</i>	85
III. 2. PARACELSIAN MEDICAL ALCHEMY IN THE NÉMETÚJVÁR CIRCLE	97
<i>III. 2. 1. Alchemy in the Sixteenth Century: Trends and Tendencies: Metallurgy, Mining, Medicine</i>	97
<i>III. 2. 2. The Reception of Paracelsus and His Alchemical Medicine</i>	100
<i>III. 2. 3. Paracelsus in Hungary</i>	104
<i>III. 2. 4. Paracelsianism in Hungary: Another Look at Batthyány's Books</i>	108
<i>III. 2. 5. Paracelsianism in the Circle of Batthyány</i>	111
III. 2. 5. 1. Co-operators: Elias Corvinus	111
III. 2. 5. 2. Johannes Homelius	114
III. 2. 5. 3. Felician Herberstein	115
III. 2. 5. 4. Nicolaus Pystalotius	122
<i>III. 2. 6. Paracelsianism after Batthyány</i>	129
III. 3. FROM READING TO PRACTICE: ALCHEMICAL EXPERIMENTATION IN THE NÉMETÚJVÁR CIRCLE	131
<i>III. 3. 1. Instruments and the Birth of the Laboratory</i>	131
<i>III. 3. 1. The Nature of the Experiments of Boldizsár Batthyány and His Friends</i>	140
<i>III. 3. 2. Laboratory Assistants</i>	144
<i>III. 3. 3. Conclusions: Debut of Paracelsian Alchemical Medicine in Hungary</i>	146
III. 4. QUI ME UNICE AMABAT. THE BOTANICAL FRIENDSHIP AND THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN CAROLUS CLUSIUS AND BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY	147
<i>III. 4. 1. Introduction</i>	147
<i>III. 4. 2. Horticulture in Sixteenth-Century Hungary</i>	148
<i>III. 4. 3. Boldizsár Batthyány's Garden</i>	154
<i>III. 4. 4. An Unknown Painter and a Mysterious Job</i>	161
<i>III. 4. 5. Conclusions</i>	170

III. 5. FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE.....	173
III. 6. THE WEIGHT OF BATTYÁNY'S COURT	178
IV. BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY THE PUBLIC FIGURE.....	181
IV. 1. THE DISOBEDIENT WARLORD AND POLITICIAN	181
V. 2. THE GALLERY OF ANCESTORS: BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY'S PORTRAITS.....	187
V. CONCLUSIONS.....	195
VI. APPENDIX	204
VI. 1. THE FUNERAL SPEECH ON FELICIAN AND RAYMUND VON HERBERSTEIN (EXTRACTS)	204
VI. 2. SELECTED BOOKS OF BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY	216
BIBLIOGRAPHY	225

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is the time when I finally can express my gratitude to all those who helped me in one way or another through the six years of my academic life at the Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University. The different stages of my research required different kinds of help: in the first year of my doctoral studies I received a lot of useful comments from Marcell Sebők, while later it was Katalin Szende my supervisor whose insight and tireless efforts at connecting me with the right people were immensely productive for my work. It is largely due to her that I had the opportunity to consult the following people whose cooperation I would also like to thank herein: employees of the National Archives of Hungary, Éva Künstler-Virág, István Németh, and István Fazekas in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Professor Harald Prickler, Géza Pálffy who allowed me to read some of his unpublished works, gave me some of his own research material, and helped many times with his knowledge of the epoch in general and the Batthyány family in particular. I owe a lot to András Koltai whose previous research on other members of the Batthyány family and his magnanimous help spared me many hours in the archives and helped clarify some obscure details. In the course of the doctoral seminars, and in the framework of innumerable informal conversation in breaks and fields trips, I got precious advice and support from Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky and Gerhard Jaritz, as well as other professors and fellow students at the department, and especially Orsolya Réthelyi. György Endre Szőnyi has followed my work from the very beginning and his expertise in the field always proved to be very useful for my research. Benedek Láng helped with his critical insight as well as with the fact that he has tread this path in front of me: his experience and advice on scholarships, publications, conferences and even more so on issues concerning history of science have always provided me with a huge impetus for my work. I am very grateful for the help and support of István Monok and Péter Ötvös. Special thanks go to Péter Erdősi for his helpful remarks and uplifting conversations, and to Károly Goda for double-checking the German letters with me. I would also like to thank my colleagues on the Clusius Project, Sabine Anagnostou, Paul Hoftijzer, Sachiko Kusukawa, Kjell Lundquist, Andrea Ubrizsy-Savoia, and particularly Florike Egmond for her selfless help and attention to details concerning Boldizsár Batthyány.

However, without the financial support of various foundations and institutions much of the research that I have done over the course of these five years would have been impossible. Therefore I would like to especially thank to the Central European University for the generous stipend they gave me as well as for the various research and travel grants I have received throughout the years. I am also very grateful for the research grant I received from the Hungarian Scholarship Board in 2004 to Rome, the scholarship granted by the Universität Bielefeld, the Stipend for Young Historians in 2005, and finally the most generous doctoral scholarship I received through the Gerda Henkel Stiftung without which I simply would not have been able to finish my dissertation in due time.

I would like to thank my academic writing instructors Matthew Suff and Alice Choyke for patiently brushing my English up.

And last but surely not least: my infinite gratitude for the support and friendship of Csilla Dobos, Dorottya Domanovszky and Annabella Pál who did not recognise the existence of unsolvable tasks or impossible requests and who were always there on both professional and personal levels.

My most special thanks go to Lovro Kunčević.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Portrait of Boldizsár Batthyány from the eighteenth century by an unknown painter. Courtesy of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum), Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok (Hungarian Historical Gallery), no. 571.	20
Figure 2. Map of Hungary divided into three parts: Royal Hungary (pink), Ottoman Hungary (yellow), and Principality of Transylvania (light yellow and light yellow with red stripes). .	21
Figure 3. Map of Hungary by Wolfgang Lazius published in Abraham Ortelius' <i>Teatrum orbis terrarum</i> (Antwerp, 1595). Map no. 95. Courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.	21
Figure 4. Map of Western Hungary and Burgenland (Austria) with the three main Batthyány residences, Szalónak (Schlaining), Rohonc (Rechnitz) and Németújvár (Güssing) highlighted in green. After József Jeanplong and Viktor Petkovšek.....	24
Figure 5. Western Hungary on the map of Joannes Sambucus in Abraham Ortelius, <i>Teatrum orbis terrarum</i> (Antwerp, 1595), map no. 96 (detail). Courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.	25
Figure 6. The picturesque castle of Németújvár (Güssing).....	32
Figure 7. The castle of Szalónak (Stadtschlaining).....	34
Figure 8. Genealogical table of the Batthyány family. In <i>Beloved Children</i> , ed. by Katalin Péter.....	35
Figure 9. Portrait of Miklós Zrínyi by unknown artist from 1566 (coloured woodcut print on paper). Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.	36
Figure 10. Genealogical table of the Zrínyi family. In <i>Beloved Children</i> , ed. by Katalin Péter.	37
Figure 11. Portrait of King Louis II by Hans Krell from 1526. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna.	39
Figure 12. Double portrait of François II and Mary Queen of Scots from c.1558 made for Catherine de' Medici's Book of Hours.	43
Figure 13. Queen Mary of Hungary. Portrait by Hans Krell from 1523. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München – Staatsgalerie Bamberg.....	45
Figure 14. A page of Boldizsár Batthyány's letter from Orléans to his father. Letter no. 108 110.....	51
Figure 15. Contemporary portrait of Dorica Zrínyi as a widow by an unknown painter from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Courtesy of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum), Történelmi Képcsarnok, no. 572.....	55
Figure 16. Schematic depiction of Boldizsár Batthyány (<i>Dominus Balthasar Bothiani</i>) in Bartholomaeus Hannewald, <i>Parentalia divo Ferdinando...</i> (Augustae Vindelicorum: Meyerperck et Sorg, 1566), no. 20.....	56
Figure 17. The castle of Rohonc (Rechnitz) as it once was, in the window of a local confectionery (photo by András Koltai).....	63

Figure 18. The dominium of Rohonc-Szalónak of the Batthyánys. The present-day borders are indicated with a dotted line; the estate of Némétújvár is marked by the striped area to the left, while that of Rohonc-Szalónak is marked by the striped area to the right. After Vera Zimányi.	66
Figure 20. Portrait of Paracelsus by Quentin Massys from 1528	103
Figure 22. Distillation <i>per filtrum</i> in Gesner.	113
Figure 21. A letter of Johannes Homelius to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 19601.	118
Figure 22. Felician Herberstein's letter to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 18609.	122
Figure 23. A letter of Nicolaus Pistorius to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 37469.....	125
Figure 24. The laboratory building designed by Andreas Libavius in his <i>Alchimia</i> (Die Alchemie des Andreas Libavius, ed. by Matthias Atterer et al (Weinheim: Verl. Chemie, 1964).....	132
Figure 25a-b. The chapel at Oberstockstall from the inside (the pit was covered after the excavations were completed).....	134
Figure 26. Beautifully preserved alembic from Oberstockstall in the collection of the Kirchberg Museum.	135
Figure 27. Fragmented glassware from Oberstockstall in the Museum in Kirchberg.	136
Figure 28. Earthenware vessels from Oberstockstall in the Kirchberg Museum.	136
Figure 29. Distillatory furnaces by Adam Lonitzer in his <i>Kräuterbuch</i> (Frankfurt: Egenolff, 1582).....	137
Figure 30. An Athanor by Raimundus Lullus.	138
Figure 33. Portrait of Carolus Clusius by Jacob de Monte (1585), University Library of Leiden, Scaliger Institute.....	148
Figure 35. Flowering saffron plant.	152
Figure 36. Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 8018.	160
Figure 37. Jerusalem cherry (<i>pseudocapsicum</i>) plant.	161
Figure 38. Indian-shot (<i>canna indica</i>) plant.....	161
Figure 39. The gravestone of Boldizsár Batthyány in the wall of the Franciscan friary of Némétújvár.	187
Figure 41. Map of Central Europe in 1560, with the places relevant in Boldizsár Batthyány's life.	196

I. INTRODUCTION

*“The Art of Biography
Is different from Geography.
Geography is about Maps
Biography is about Chaps.”
/E. Clerihew Bentley/*

When trying to write the biography of someone who died more than 400 years ago, it is very hard to rely on facts alone, especially when facts are not plentiful. There is a temptation to add a bit here and there, to complement the impressions we get – and having spent five years with this research, one necessarily grows attached to the subject, especially if it is a human being with many likable qualities. There is the even greater pitfall of making judgements about a person who lived in a world so excitingly different from ours – misunderstanding his actions because we do not know his motives, or missing a link which might highlight some obscure facts so that we make of him a better or worse man than he really was. However, trying to exclude the historian’s subjective self may also lead to an undesired end – a dry and impersonal account, a list of dates and events we are certain of, behind which the human being may easily disappear from our view. We will never know for sure what made a person happy in the sixteenth century, what his biggest worries were, and what an average day of his life looked like – but using the facts carefully we can get really close. In this biography – which is necessarily short and perhaps even vague at some points since there certainly are many missing links – I shall try to give a faithful account of what we know about the life and death of Count Boldizsár Batthyány. The rest is up to the readers who will inevitably form their own impressions and make their own judgements in the end.

I. 1. THE GENRE OF BIOGRAPHY

To approach the life story of an individual, the most convenient genre of writing is the biography. It is still a most popular way of dealing with historical figures since it is widely considered to be ideally circumscribed, with clear limits in time and space. It allows the historian to get an insight into aspects of everyday life, ways of thinking and emotional factors which tend to remain hidden while working with other types of sources. The biography, nevertheless, can be used for various, often contradictory, purposes. It is an ideal way to show that the individuals and their behaviour cannot be reduced to general normative systems, while, according to others, it provides the best foundation for testing the validity of scientific hypotheses about the way social rules and regularities really worked in that period.¹ The biography has many variants, such as prosopography, biography with context, case studies, and so on. In the present work the historical, social, and political context indeed receives a huge emphasis. It will help us understand the motives as well as the modes of behaviour of this man, and what influences he may have been exposed to. At the same time, the context itself is changeable, and reciprocally influenced by the individuals, thus, it cannot provide a firm or normative background. This aspect is also taken into consideration in this dissertation.

However, biography writing has two major (and many smaller) pitfalls²: first, the paucity of sources, especially with regard to a sixteenth-century individual, may leave huge gaps in the chronological narration which the author, willingly or unconsciously, tries to fill. The other danger lies in the fact that every narration is already an interpretation, no matter how impartial and professional one's approach to the biography writing is. The bottom-line is that both of these pitfalls concern the objectivity or subjectivity of the writer. They can be

¹ Giovanni Levi, "Les usages de la biographie," *Annales ESC*, no. 6 (1989), 1325–1336 (In Hungarian: "Az életrajz használatáról," *Korall 2* (2000), 81–91).

² Jacques Le Goff, "The Whys and Ways of Writing a Biography: the Case of St. Louis," *Exemplaria* 1, no. 1 (1989), 207–225, 211–212.

avoided if the author strives to be as objective as possible and clearly indicates the threshold between reality (that is, facts supported by sources, for instance) and imagination (filling in the gaps in sources by narrating what might plausibly have happened).

The similarities between criminal and historical detection have been observed before³: someone who sets out to write a biography has to pay particular attention to details, a bit in the manner of Sherlock Holmes and the microhistorians. Our subject is not one that would usually attract the attention of microhistorians since our protagonist does not belong to popular culture; he is not a rebel, an illiterate, a heretic, or a criminal. At the same time, as an individual and consequently an extremely circumscribed phenomenon, some of the microhistorian's approach can be applied on him. This approach usually raises questions about selectivity and significance, that is, how representative of broader social trends and collective mentalities the subject's activities and thoughts are and what can the few tell us about the many. According to the historians of the school of microhistory, it is essential to draw portraits of individuals very carefully, finding out everything one can about every participant in the events. This approach displays similarities with the philosopher Charles Pierce's notion of "abduction" (as opposed to "induction"), which starts out from the facts without having any particular theory in view though it is motivated by the feeling that a theory is needed to explain the surprising facts.

This dissertation is about Boldizsár Batthyány, an aristocrat, a public figure, a warlord, head of a family, owner of a large estate, a patron and, above all, a man full of curiosity from the sixteenth century. This work is a study of his manifold interests, a biography in which I try to touch upon all aspects of his life, and particularly those elements which will permit me to place him within the context of contemporary scientific trends and tendencies. As a man he was certainly unique, yet, he also represented a projection of the

³ *Microhistory & The Lost Peoples of Europe*, ed. by Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (tr. by Eren Branch) (Baltimore&London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), vii, and passim.

worries and interests of his time. I have in mind the Renaissance idea of microcosm and macrocosm: every man is a little world in his own right but also a perfect rendering of the macrocosm, a reflection of the great world. Batthyány's beliefs are impossible to decipher without knowledge of his intellectual environment. His conduct in matters confessional, political, or even, familiar, were not those of a recluse, but rather of a man who travelled and saw a lot and hence was exposed to the most varied influences.

He was not an isolated phenomenon. The contextualisation of his life story and activities will show that although in some ways Batthyány was indeed a unique individual he was also quite characteristic for his time. His person corresponds to a type widely present in sixteenth-century Europe: the noble patron-practitioner. Indeed, one can hardly find an aristocratic court or residence of an ecclesiastic authority devoid of some form of scientific activity while interest in the occult arts and particularly in alchemy, the various divinatory arts and hermetism underwent a significant renewal. A man of noble birth at this time would not have shrunk at the idea of manual labour. To be sure, he would still have left the working of the land and other hard physical work to farmers; however, the aristocrat nursing his flowers and busying himself with his special plants in the garden or plugging away in the laboratory at alchemical experiments was a common sight. It is enough to think of Emperor Rudolf II whose passion for many of the occult arts was very well known by his contemporaries and most of the protagonists of the late sixteenth-century *theatrum mundi* were connected to him in one way or another.

I. 2. SCIENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: IS IT A PARADOX?

One of the ideological frameworks Batthyány's activities will be examined within the ideological framework of sixteenth-century science. The term in itself might strike many as essentially paradoxical. Indeed, can we talk about science proper in this period? The term

“science,” for instance, does not occur in the English language until the nineteenth century and it does indeed bring to mind images of people dressed in white busying themselves in a modern well-equipped laboratory. The word *scientia*, on the other hand, has been widely used in the sense of “knowledge” and “skill” in Latin written sources. Therefore, despite the English word being anachronistic, and in the absence of a better solution, the term “science” will be used throughout this work to designate an enquiring, increasingly methodical approach to understanding nature. The expression “scientific activity” here thus will refer to all ways and means of, and attempts at understanding and imitating both hidden and explicit natural mechanisms.

I am aware of the problems my use of this term may cause since it may be associated with an activity which is professional, designed and controlled with clear aims, purposes and methods. However, in the sixteenth century this was rarely the case with studies of nature. Most commonly, work was done in a non-professional setting in which an individual or a couple of individuals together pursued experiments, the aim of which was vague or ungraspable, the methodology not necessarily empirical and rarely controlled or designed. The non-professional character of this activity is actually crucial to our work. Not only were the majority of the fields Boldizsár Batthyány and his friends were interested in not part of university curricula,⁴ but also in this period we cannot really talk about professionals at all. A professional scientist in the course of the centuries to follow would receive a salary for the research they pursued and be able to live from their work. These practitioners, in contrast, treated these pursuits as hobbies rather than as sources of financial gain, except in rare cases.

⁴ Alchemy as such was never taught at universities officially and legitimately while chemistry was taught only from the second half of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, its practical methods were taught within the framework of pharmacology. See Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton. Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 4; and Chiara Crisciani, “Alchemy and Medieval Universities. Some Proposals for Research,” *Universitas* (1997), no. 10 (online source). One of the first chairs of chemistry was established in Marburg. See, Owen Hannaway, “Theology, Politics and Chemiatria: the Establishment of the Chair of Chemistry at the University of Marburg (1609), in *Human Implications of Scientific Advance: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of the History of Science, Edinburgh, 10–15 August 1977*, ed. by E. G. Forbes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978).

This dissertation will mostly be concerned with the natural sciences of botany and (medical) alchemy. Both of these branches of science have had a long history preceding the sixteenth century. Botany has already been extensively and thoroughly dealt with by the Greek writer Dioscorides in the AD first century,⁵ while alchemy can also pride itself on its ancient and multicultural origins.⁶ Yet, it is true that the early modern period saw an intensification of botanic activity as well as alchemical experimentation with the achievements of some outstanding individuals giving impetus to interest in these fields.

Positivist-Whig historiography⁷ saw this period as the beginning of a radical change of worldview, a discontinuity, a revolution⁸ which shook the old foundations of human knowledge, and gave birth to modern science.⁹ The revolution was traditionally believed to have started with Nicolaus Copernicus whose proposition of the heliocentric system started an avalanche of reassessments in the most diverse segments of the human experience turning the worldview upside down. The revolution in astronomy (which deprived astrology of its foundations) was soon followed – according to the supporters¹⁰ of the Scientific Revolution-

⁵ Pedacius Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (the first Latin printed edition is from 1478); one of the surviving manuscripts is Dioscurides Neapolitanus, Codex ex Vindobonensis Graecus 1, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, from the sixth century AD.

⁶ Most of the general histories of alchemy (and chemistry) discuss Chinese, Indian and Egyptian alchemy as well. See, for instance, Sherwood F. Taylor, *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry* (Schuman, 1949); E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Edinburgh: Penguin, 1957); and Michela Pereira, *Arcana Sapienza. L'alchimia dalle origini a Jung* (Rome: Carocci, 2001).

⁷ Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300–1800* (London: Bell & Sons, 1949); and George Sarton, *A History of Science. Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries BC* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953); and Idem, *The Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science during the Renaissance, 1450–1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955); and Alexandre Koyré, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957), just to mention one of his many works about the scientific revolution in both French and English.

⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 1962); and Idem, *The Copernican Revolution. Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

⁹ For a general historiography of the scientific revolution see, David C. Lindberg, “Conceptions of the Scientific Revolution from Bacon to Butterfield: A Preliminary Sketch,” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1–26; and Margaret J. Osler, “Rethinking the Scientific Revolution: New Historiographical Directions,” *Intellectual News* 8 (2000), 21–30 (also published as “The Canonical Imperative: Rethinking the Scientific Revolution,” in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by Margaret J. Osler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ There are many publications supporting and not questioning the idea of a scientific revolution. See, for instance, *The Scientific Revolution. The Essential Readings*, ed. by Marcus Hellyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003);

theory – by revolutions in medicine (in connection with the birth of anatomy), chemistry¹¹ (that is, chemistry finally replaced alchemy), botany, physics, and so on. The climax of this transformation is generally tied to the person of Isaac Newton.¹² While not too many are aware that the new tenets of Copernicus were mostly inspired by Hermetic doctrines propagating the central role of the Sun in the universe,¹³ neither is it widely known or accepted that Newton's studies in physics and mathematics were much less intensive than his devotion to alchemy. The contradiction is, indeed, illusory, as Newton considered himself a natural philosopher,¹⁴ one who investigated all aspects of nature to understand the way God worked in the created world. The myth of the founding father of modern science can no longer be maintained – yet, instead of making him a lesser hero, this “new” approach to his activity should only demonstrate that there are often more than two faces to genius, and all can and should be accepted. By disregarding the occult side of Newton, we risk the loss of a precious and substantial part of his personality and work.

The same applies to all the practitioners of alchemy, astrology or magic, who have been excluded from the ranks of the forebears of modern science because of their multiple interests or singular interest in subjects considered by positivist historians as non-canonical.

and Paolo Rossi, *La nascita della scienza moderna* (in English: *The Birth of Modern Science*) (Bari: Laterza, 1997).

¹¹ Chemistry was believed to have had its own revolution. See John G. McEvoy, “Whither the History of Science: Reflections on the Historiography of the Chemical Revolution.” As he put it, “positivist-Whig historians of science developed a retrospective view of the progressive unfolding of past science towards present science.” Source: http://philsci-archive.pitt.edu/archive/00000507/00/s_Pitt_paper.doc

¹² The two conflicting interpretations of Newton's alchemy and the scientific revolution are represented by the work of Richard S. Westfall, “The Scientific Revolution Reasserted,” in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by Margaret J. Osler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 41–56, and I. Bernard Cohen, “The Newtonian Revolution,” in *The Scientific Revolution. The Essential Readings*, ed. by Marcus Hellyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); while the counterpart is Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, “Newton as Final Cause and First Mover,” in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, 25–40; and her books, *The Janus Faces of Genius: the Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Idem, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy, or, The Hunting of the Greene Lyon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

¹³ Maurizio Mamiani, *La storia della scienza moderna* (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 43.

¹⁴ Natural philosophy was a well-established subject in universities by the beginning of the sixteenth century. It embodied all discussions on the nature of things and thus, is a suitable term if we want to avoid anachronisms. Sachiko Kusukawa proposed that instead of thinking in terms of a scientific revolution, we should rather try to understand what science, or, as in the case of Philip Melancton, natural philosophy meant for the individual being studied. See, Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: the Case of Philip Melancton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–2.

Frances A. Yates has played an important role in changes to this approach. Although she has never denied the occurrence of a scientific revolution over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, she claimed that some of the “side-tracks,” most importantly the Hermetic tradition, also contributed to the movement and, thus, promoted the evolution of modern scientific thinking.¹⁵ The positivist-Whig and post-positivist interpretations were followed by post-modern schools.¹⁶ The past decades have nevertheless been characterised by the appearance of more and more individual studies¹⁷ which have delivered a lot of interesting, even if not final, conclusions. In particular, these scholars have shown that a process which in some fields of science lasted for centuries (the “breakthrough” in the life sciences, such as biology, for instance, occurred only in the nineteenth century) cannot be called a “revolution”. Secondly, historical investigation only stands to gain by studying such non-canonical subjects and the work of those who pursued them as they provide important information about their mentality and highlight hitherto unknown aspects of the human experience.

Revolutions in science – as have been successfully argued by many – are a matter of approach. It is true that some discoveries in the past have proved to be very useful for future generations and ones which were not have been quickly discarded and forgotten anyway. However, if the criteria of usefulness to human activity alone are applied, most of what really matters may be overlooked. Including aspects of human nature such as curiosity, the desire to attain a personal goal, the personal successes which did not lead to breakthroughs for humanity as a whole but meant a lot in the context in which they were achieved should not be

¹⁵ Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press, 1964).

¹⁶ Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996). Attempts were made to correct some false myths about the science of the period in this broad-ranging book.

¹⁷ Brian P. Copenhaver, “Natural Magic, Hermetism, and Occultism in Early Modern Science,” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 261–301; and Idem, “Did Science Have a Renaissance?,” *Isis* 83, no. 3 (1992), 387–407; Nicholas H. Clulee, “At the Crossroads of Magic and Science: John Dee’s Archemastrie,” in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 57–71.

ignored. Neither do the criteria of usefulness take into account external factors like mentality or religious and ideological frameworks, all of which were relative to the time they occurred in and which were certainly very different from today's worldview.

Practitioners of various arts and crafts in the past, whether they lived in the Middle Ages or the Early Modern period, were beyond doubt largely unconcerned whether their successes made the life of future generations easier and more comfortable. We also like to think that solutions to problems are out there somewhere waiting to be "discovered," and the whole idea of Scientific Revolution is based on the incorrect assumption that these discoveries were inevitable. For example, it was only a matter of who and when gravity or the existence of amino acids were discovered. The teleological approach to the history of science implies that there was only one possible direction for scholarly activity and this evolution of science was linear, leading from the proto-scientific to the properly scientific.

The example of alchemy and chemistry should highlight the traps scholars may set for themselves. In recent scholarly work have alchemy and chemistry continued to be applied to indicate different approaches to nature with alchemy understood as being the more archaic, even primitive, superstitious and irrational, in contrast to chemistry, which represents a rational, modern and scientific approach. This situation is a very familiar motif in debates around whether or not there was a sudden and radical change and an irreconcilable difference between the so-called Middle Ages and the so-called Renaissance. In this case, a historical-etymological survey¹⁸ showed that the suggestion that there was a definite boundary was first put forward by a single contemporary figure, Francesco Petrarca (although he soon found many followers), to express his point of view and to justify and propagate a new scholarly approach.

¹⁸ Studies have shown that the term "middle ages" was coined by Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) who, in his turn, was inspired by Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374). See, Theodore E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Concept of the 'Dark Ages'," *Speculum* 17, no. 2 (1942), 226–242.

Until at least the end of the seventeenth century, alchemy and chemistry were practically interchangeable synonyms. William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe¹⁹ reached back to the sources themselves to see whether the (al)chemical authors made a clear distinction between the two terms, preferring to refer to themselves as one rather than the other. Also, assuming that they did apply different expressions to their work, Newman and Principe also examined whether these choices were conscious so that they could distinguish themselves as an alchemist or a chemist, or whether it was casual and unsystematic. They concluded that the belief that the use of two different terms, alchemy and chemistry at the time reflected the existence of two separate and distinguishable fields of science, was false, “The words were not used with any consistent difference in meaning and the boundaries between the two were extremely diffuse at best.”²⁰ Only during the course of the eighteenth century did alchemy become identified particularly with metallic transmutation while chemistry was more and more defined as the art of analysis and synthesis.²¹

Therefore, a sharp and conscious distinction between alchemy and chemistry is the invention of later generations, and, to be precise, it derived from an early seventeenth-century misinterpretation of the etymology of the word *alchimia* by Martin Ruland that began these speculations. In his dictionary,²² Ruland has separate entries for three synonyms: *alchimia*, *chemia* and *chymia*, and he claimed that the “al” before “chimia” in Arabic is more than a definite article but had the power of intensifying the word’s meaning. This is the linguistic error which started an avalanche of further misinterpretations and separation, that is, the idea that *alchimia* is a more powerful, more sophisticated way to study nature. Newman and Principe proposed using the term “chymistry” to designate alchemy and chemistry from the

¹⁹ William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, “Alchemy versus Chemistry: the Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake,” *Early Science and Medicine* 3 (1998): 32–65.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

²² Martin Ruland (the Elder), *Lexicon alchemiae sive dictionarium alchemisticaum, cum obsuriorum verborum et rerum hermeticarum (...) planam explicationem continens* (Frankfurt am Main: Palthenus, 1612).

middle of the seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth. This term has indeed been in use, and it has the advantage of being neutral, covering both of these fields that are in any case not yet distinct.

This dissertation is limited itself to the sixteenth century. At this time, the Latin term *chemia* was hardly used and therefore there was no need to use *alchemia* and *chemia* distinctively. I shall therefore use the expression “alchemy” without further definitions and limitations in meaning. The alchemical experimentation of Boldizsár Batthyány therefore falls under the category of science as I mean it. A closer look at his library, his alchemical readings, and how his interest for science manifested itself will be examined in a later section.

I. 3. THE SOURCES: NETWORKING THROUGH LETTERS

Boldizsár Batthyány did not live at the Imperial court, rather, he spent most of his time on his estates in Western Hungary, and had he not kept in touch with the world, he could easily have become isolated. Since his duties as paterfamilias and landowner did not allow him to travel much and visit his acquaintances in person, he did what most literate people did at this time: he wrote and received letters. This was perfectly usual in the age of the *respublica litteraria*,²³ when intellectuals would build and maintain their network of acquaintances through correspondence, instead of personal encounters which were only rarely possible due to long travelling distances. Networking played a very important role in the exchange of information, as well as objects and various curiosities, as Batthyány’s example will also show.

²³ In general see, Peter Burke, “Erasmus and the Republic of Letters,” *European Review* 7, no. 1 (1999), 5–16; András Szabó, *Respublica litteraria* (Budapest: Balassi, 1999); and *Republic of Letters, Humanism, Humanities*, ed. by Marcell Sebők, Collegium Budapest Workshop Series 15 (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2005).

The list of his friends, correspondents, and other social contacts is beyond any doubt a highly impressive one. Directly or indirectly, he was acquainted with the Hungarian and foreign intelligentsia residing at the Viennese court, as well as with some of the outstanding figures of European humanism and science. The fact that he may not have known all of them in person does not diminish his relevance for Hungarian cultural and intellectual history because very often it is hard to say whom he knew exactly because of the absence or obscurity of the sources concerning his life.

Due to the international character of these acquaintances, and the fact that the best way to keep in touch with people, even members of the family, was through correspondence, the primary sources for my research on the life of Boldizsár Batthyány comprised letters, most of them kept at present in the collection of the National Archives of Hungary.²⁴ In this work I have dealt with approximately five hundred private letters, only a few of which have ever been published.

The first difficulty resides in the fact that we lack the majority of Boldizsár's own letters, since they were sent all over Europe, to the most diverse recipients, from Paris to Vienna, from Frankfurt to Pozsony. Unfortunately, I have not encountered unknown Batthyány letters in either Vienna (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) or Graz (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv) which he would have written to members of his informal scientific circle, Elias Corvinus, Felician Herberstein, Johannes Homelius or Nicolaus Pistorius. Indeed, the only extant letters from both of them are from his correspondence with Carolus Clusius, although even these letters do not always follow each other subsequently. In consequence, it was only possible to reconstruct the Count's letters from the answers he received. For information on the life of Boldizsár Batthyány I have made an extensive use of the letters

²⁴ Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, abbreviated as MOL), P 1314, private correspondence of the Batthyány family.

between members of the family, as well as friends and acquaintances of the Batthyánys, public figures and intellectuals.

It would have been very useful to research inventories from that period to find references to the material culture characteristic for the family but only a small number of these lists survived with no useful information in this respect.²⁵ There are no last wills remaining from Boldizsár, and no texts of the funeral speeches delivered at his graveside, consequently the data retrieved from letters represent extremely important sources of information.

I. 4. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY

The present work perhaps can pride itself with being the very first full-scale monograph ever written about Boldizsár Batthyány. Nevertheless, it relies heavily upon the results of research pursued previously by different generations of historians, primarily from the early twentieth century onwards. Count Batthyány has always been well known in Hungarian historiography and the vast number of sources pertaining to his figure and his age, as well as to his extended and famous family, had been a regular quarry of information for historians working in various different fields of research fields. Despite the recognition of the relevance of both the figure and the sources, however, neither had been fully exploited. The historian Sándor Takáts had used the Batthyány archives extensively in his innumerable works²⁶ in the first decades of the twentieth century, and his quotations – even though very often lacking exact indication of the source – preserved a huge bulk of information about sixteenth-century Hungarian cultural, political, and medical history.

²⁵ MOL microfilm no. 4347, inventories from the sixteenth century. These are lists of material goods such as saddles, and consumables, barrels of cabbage, and so on.

²⁶ A full bibliography of Takáts's works can be found in appendix to *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History), ed. by Kálmán Benda (Budapest: Gondolat, 1961).

The history of the Batthyány archives is one of many vicissitudes, or rather, setbacks.²⁷ After the destruction the collection suffered in Körmend at the hands of the Soviet soldiers in 1945, the surviving and still large number of documents was transferred to Budapest, to the National Archives. During the revolution of 1956, however, the building of the archives was hit by a grenade and a large part of the precious Batthyány collection was destroyed by the subsequent fire. Thanks to the systematic efforts of the historian Béla Iványi who made summaries²⁸ of many of the letters²⁹ and also transcribed a great number of charters before the Second World War, we know the contents of some of the letters that were later lost. Many of the early letters by Boldizsár Batthyány, for instance, survive only in the account of Iványi, who quoted many of them in his article on the Count's library.³⁰ Batthyány-research intensified again in the 1970s when literary and cultural historians repeatedly called attention to the incredibly rich material kept at the National Archives of Hungary. György Endre Szőnyi recognised the international relevance of Boldizsár Batthyány's activities from the point of view of the history of scientific mentalities in the late sixteenth century,³¹ while Szabolcs Ö. Barlay dedicated a number of articles to this aspect of Boldizsár Batthyány's figure and explored part of his intellectual network.³² Although

²⁷ András Koltai, "A Batthyány család körmendi központi levéltárának kutatástörténete" (History of the Research Pursued in the Central Körmend Archives of the Batthyány Family), *Levéltári Közlemények* 71 (2000), 207–231.

²⁸ Some of his summaries may be found today in the collection of the Institute of Art History, Budapest.

²⁹ Béla Iványi, "A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei I: 1526–1625" (Charters of the Batthyány Archives of Körmend related to the Reformation I), in *Iványi Béla anyaggyűjtése* (The Research Material of Béla Iványi), ed. by László Szilasi, Adattár 29/1 (Szeged: JATE, 1990) and Idem, "A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái/ Acta Memorabilia in tabulario gentis principum de Batthyány reperibilia" (The Memorabilia Collection of the Körmend Archives), *Körmendi Füzetek* 2 (1942).

³⁰ Béla Iványi, "Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát" (Boldizsár Batthyány the Bibliophile), in *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából* (Records from the Past of Hungarian Book-Culture), ed. by Bálint Keserű (Szeged: JATE, 1983), 389–435.

³¹ György Endre Szőnyi, *Titkos tudományok és babonák. A XV-XVII. század művelődéstörténetének kérdéseire* (Secret Sciences and Superstitions. Some Questions of Fifteenth-Seventeenth Century Cultural History) (Budapest: Magvető, 1978), see also his recent English book, *John Dee's Occultism. Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004).

³² Szabolcs Ö. Barlay, "Balthasar Batthyány und sein Humanistenkreis," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95 (1979): 231–251; "400 éves francia levelek és könyvszámlák. Batthyány Boldizsár és Jean Aubry barátsága" (400 Years Old French Letters and Book Bills. The Friendship of Boldizsár Batthyány and Jean Aubry), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977): 156–164; "Radéczy püspök híres hársfája. Egy 400 évvel ezelőtti irodalmi kör" (The Famous Linden-Tree of Bishop Radéczy. A 400-Year-Old Literary Circle), *Vigilia* 11 (1976): 744–748; "Elias Corvinus

Barlay started to dig deeper in the archival material and even contextualise Batthyány's interest for alchemy, he never wrote the monograph he set out to do. In this work, I rely also upon the research pursued by István Monok and Péter Ötvös on the once-extant library of Boldizsár Batthyány.³³

I. 5. QUESTIONS

Throughout the dissertation I will be looking for answers to various questions. Firstly, through this particular case, I hope to gain an insight into the extent to which a better understanding of an individual's interests and activities can highlight the intellectual trends of a period. That is, how much does the particular tell us about the general? And vice versa, how much is reflected in the individual of the general mechanisms of scientific cognition? The questions of centres and peripheries will also be reassessed. Is there a place for Batthyány on the intellectual map of his time? More precisely, in comparison with contemporary patron-practitioners³⁴ in other parts of Central Europe, does Batthyány stand out as an extraordinary individual? Or rather, is he merely an ideal case study bearing all the distinctive features of a new type of intellectual, but without making an individual mark? Or was he in some way hindered by his circumstances and the restricted possibilities deriving from the particular historical background? How much did his relationship with the Habsburg rulers and what they represented influence his conduct? May we assume that his insistence on creating his own intellectual circle far away from Vienna also had political motives? This

és magyarországi barátai" (Elias Corvinus and his Hungarian Friends), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977): 345–353.

³³ István Monok, Péter Ötvös, and Edina Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, Bibliotheken in Güssing in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Band II, Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband XXVI (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesarchiv, 2004); István Monok, "Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás" (Boldizsár Batthyány the Francophile), in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 29 (2006) (Ötvös Péter Festschrift), 185–198; Idem, "A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században" (Book Collecting Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), *Café Babel* 14, no. 4 (1994), 59–68; Péter Ötvös, "A németújvári ferences kolostor könyvtára" (Library of the Franciscan Friary of Németújvár), *Vigilia* (1990), 745–748.

³⁴ I coined this term after Bruce T. Moran who first spoke about "prince-practitioners."

is also particularly relevant, because Batthyány was not an author. He left no original works behind. There are no written accounts of his ideas and thus, we have no direct access to his thoughts. As a patron, his point of view can be best approached through the works and activities of his protégés. Through them we can get at Batthyány's interests, what things he deemed worthy of support. Finally, the question of representation also arises. Was Batthyány, like many of his fellow patron-practitioners, driven by a desire to impress the outside world? How much of his motivation was driven by ambition and how much by a real intimate interest in his work as a patron and collector? This dissertation contains answers to all of these questions, or at least provides possible solutions.

I. 6. THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation combines chronological and thematic approach: the biography of Boldizsár Batthyány provides a framework for the analysis of his activities as a patron, book collector, and practitioner of botany and (medical) alchemy. For the biography of Batthyány, which is largely based upon the private correspondence of his family, I have collected all the information I could extract from the letters concerning his life, in order to establish a more-or-less reliable chronology of events. There are very few alternative sources for his early years, and most of those are not contemporary either. Thus, studying the private letters has proved crucial to this work. The biography incorporates the description of Boldizsár Batthyány's education, his travels, the political roles he may have assumed and his family life. At the same time this biography has raised questions about and offered solutions to various issues such as his confession, and his relationship with the ruling elite at the court.

Following the chronological order in my narration, I wrote a summary and analysis of the ways Batthyány's scientific interests manifested themselves. This is introduced by a description of his library which was a repository of contemporary scientific knowledge and

which complements the data deriving from Batthyány's private correspondence concerning his scientific interests. The first sub-chapter which is entirely dedicated to Boldizsár Batthyány's alchemical experimentation is placed in the context of the discussion presented above on the modern debates on the existence and extent of the scientific revolution and the definitions of science in the sixteenth century. The following sub-chapter deals with the appearance of botany in Western Hungary as represented and promoted by one particular botanist, Carolus Clusius, friend and protégé of Batthyány.

I. 7. A NOTE ON PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES

Personal names will be first used in the form in which they were used most. This usually corresponds to the nationality of the person, however, very often the national identity is either not clear or it has been used in more than one form to the same degree. Therefore, at the first mention of a name other occurring forms shall be provided in brackets. However, I will stick to the use of one name for each person, using the most common variant. With Hungarian aristocrats this would most likely be the name they are known as today and, in this case, no Latin form will be provided (presented as simply Batthyány or Nádasdy). On the other hand, personages in the intellectual world, and particularly those who had published work, will be mentioned first in Latin and only then in the vernacular form of their names (Carolus Clusius rather than Charles de l'Écluse, and Rembertus Dodonaeus instead of Rembert Dodoens). I will not turn non-English names into English (instead of Balthazar, I will stick to the Hungarian version, Boldizsár).

Place names also require careful treatment. Most of the Batthyány lands were already inhabited by more than one ethnic group in Boldizsár's time. For this reason, they have always been known by at least two names (Németújvár, Güssing). In such cases, I took the liberty of using the Hungarian variant even if the place today is no longer part of Hungary but

rather because Batthyány was Hungarian and the place was part of Royal Hungary at that time. In the same way I intend to use Pozsony rather than Bratislava, while the name of other important European cities will be given in English (Vienna and not Bécs or Wien).

II. BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY'S YOUTH

II. 1. THE BACKGROUND: HUNGARY IN BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY'S TIME

Boldizsár Batthyány [Fig. 1] lived in a Hungary, a large part of which had by the time he was born already been conquered³⁵ by the Ottoman Empire, and the rest of it, the Royal Hungary,³⁶ the so-called “collar” (referring to its shape which resembled a crescent roll) fought both for survival and autonomy [Fig. 2]. Survival against the dreadful military might of the Ottomans, and autonomy from the foreign Habsburg dynasty which, since 1526, had held the crown of Hungary as well. The Ottoman sultans held the long-term objective of occupying Vienna,³⁷ one of the real and symbolic capitals of European Christendom, and in order to realise this goal they had to keep advancing into Royal Hungary.

Slavonia, Croatia and Hungary, thus, acted as buffer states trying to impede the Ottoman advance, and the landlords whose possessions fell on the frontiers lived in a state of constant preparation and warfare. The Batthyány, Zrínyi (in Croatian Zrinski) and Nádasdy families whose lands lay in the West and South-West, in Slavonia, Croatia and Western Hungary, were most exposed to the Ottoman threat. The male members (and sometimes even the women) of these families were the most powerful factors in military, political and economic matters in Hungary but they felt that their hands were tied.

³⁵ For the first half of the century István György Tóth applied the expression “conquered but unoccupied Hungary,” as military expeditions were not yet followed by a transformation of the administrative system (establishment of vilayets, for instance). See, *A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. by István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina and Osiris, 2005), 186.

³⁶ Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *A királyi Magyarország 1541–1686* (Royal Hungary 1541–1686) (Budapest: Vince, 1999).

³⁷ The siege of Vienna took place on 22 September 1529 but the Ottomans ultimately never succeeded in their attempt.



Figure 1. Portrait of Boldizsár Batthyány from the eighteenth century by an unknown painter. Courtesy of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum), Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok (Hungarian Historical Gallery), no. 571.

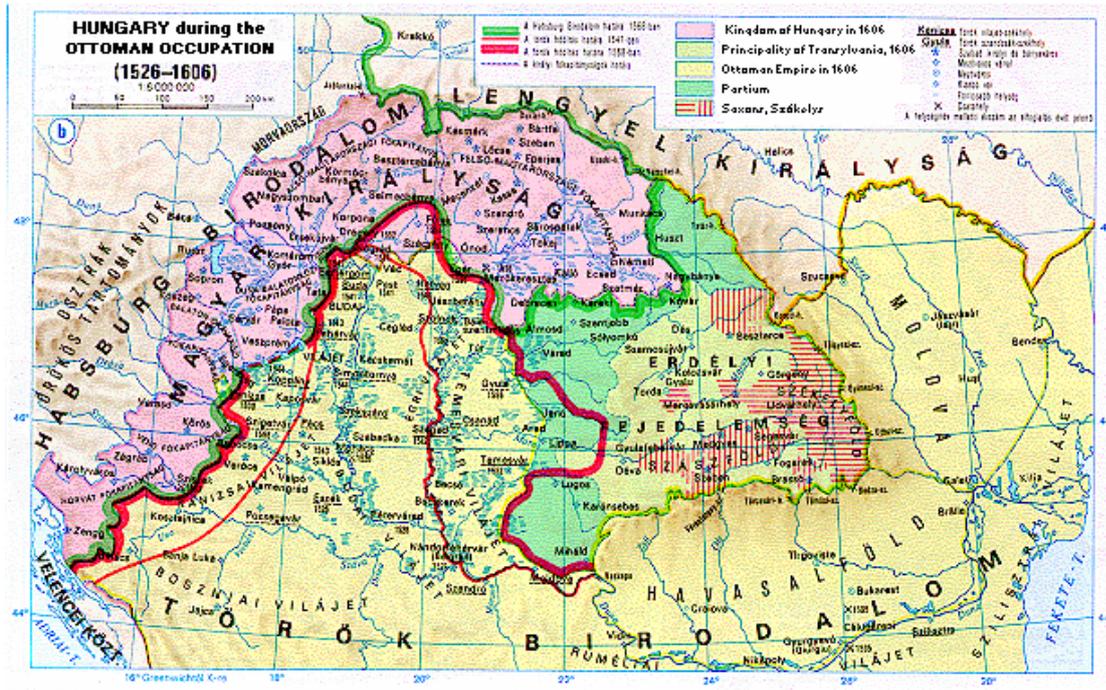


Figure 2. Map of Hungary divided into three parts: Royal Hungary (pink), Ottoman Hungary (yellow), and Principality of Transylvania (light yellow and light yellow with red stripes).



Figure 3. Map of Hungary by Wolfgang Lazius published in Abraham Ortelius' *Teatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1595). Map no. 95. Courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

As part of the Habsburg Empire, Hungary's situation was only one piece of a huge problem posed by the Ottoman advance for the whole of the realm, not to mention the dynasty's own struggle for hegemony in Europe. Therefore, the Habsburg elite could not always effectively focus on urgent Hungarian matters, or at least that was the way the Hungarian aristocracy felt.³⁸ The noble families, and especially those who were faced with Ottoman forays and destruction on a daily basis, felt that the Habsburg rulers did not prioritise and were not providing the prompt financial and moral support necessary to halt the advance of the conquerors. Hence there was a constant tension and dissatisfaction between the Habsburg ruler and his Hungarian subjects.

The division of Hungary into three parts, the territory occupied by the Ottoman Empire, the Royal Hungary with a Habsburg ruler on its throne, and the Principality of Transylvania (plus the *Partium* which included a part of Eastern Hungary as well) which paid tribute to the Porte and thus enjoyed some sort of autonomy, seemed to become permanent with the treaty of Speyer in 1571. However, leading figures in the Hungarian elite did not want to accept the situation as unchangeable, and secretly searched for ways to unite the three parts again under one, preferably not Habsburg and not Ottoman, ruler. For a couple of years the election of István Báthori (1533–1586), Prince of Transylvania, as King of Poland (against the Habsburg candidate) in 1575, aroused hope among Hungarian aristocrats that he was strong enough to execute this plan. Indeed, Báthori had plans for a great anti-Turkish league but his duties as Polish king engaged him so thoroughly that after he was elected

³⁸ Géza Pálffy, "A bécsi udvar és a magyar rendek a 16. században" (The Relationship of the Viennese Court with the Hungarian Orders in the Sixteenth Century), *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999), 331–367 (this article is an extended version of a chapter in Géza Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század története*, (History of the Sixteenth Century) (Budapest: Pannonica, 2000), 51–82 (in German, "Der ungarische Adel und der Kaiserhof in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr, 1526–1740*, ed. by Václav Bůžek and Pavel Kral (České Budějovice, 2002), and "Der Wiener Hof und die ungarischen Stände im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 109 (2001), 346–381); and Kálmán Benda, *Habsburg-abszolutizmus és a rendi ellenállás a XVI–XVII. században* (Habsburg Absolutism and the Resistance of the Orders in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975), mostly on seventeenth century.

Voivode, he never set foot in Transylvania again.³⁹ His death in 1586 and the newly intensifying Ottoman pressure in the last decades of the sixteenth century leading to the Fifteen Years War (or Long War) did not create the desired circumstances for a positive change.

The period⁴⁰ which I will be examining in this dissertation, the second half of the sixteenth century (approximately from 1550 to 1590), is characterised not by great military expeditions and battles (like that at Mohács) but rather by smaller expeditions, forays, incursions, border skirmishes and sham battles initiated by both parties, especially along the line of defence.⁴¹ The territory I will be most concerned with is Vas County in Western Hungary [Fig. 4], although many of the lands and places mentioned in this work are no longer part of Hungary today.

³⁹ *A Concise History of Hungary*, 199.

⁴⁰ *Magyarország története 1526–1686* (History of Hungary 1526–1686), in *Magyarország története tíz kötetben* (History of Hungary in Ten Volumes), ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach and Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 3, tomes 1–2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985); and Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század története* (Pálffy's English monograph with the title *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century* is forthcoming from Columbia University Press, New York, in 2008).

⁴¹ Gábor Ágoston, *A hódolt Magyarország* (Ottoman Hungary) (Adam, 1992), 59–61. From Ágoston in English, see, for instance, “Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power,” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, no. 1 (1998), 126–141, and “Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary,” in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. by Béla Király and László Veszprémy (Boulder, Co: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 85–110.

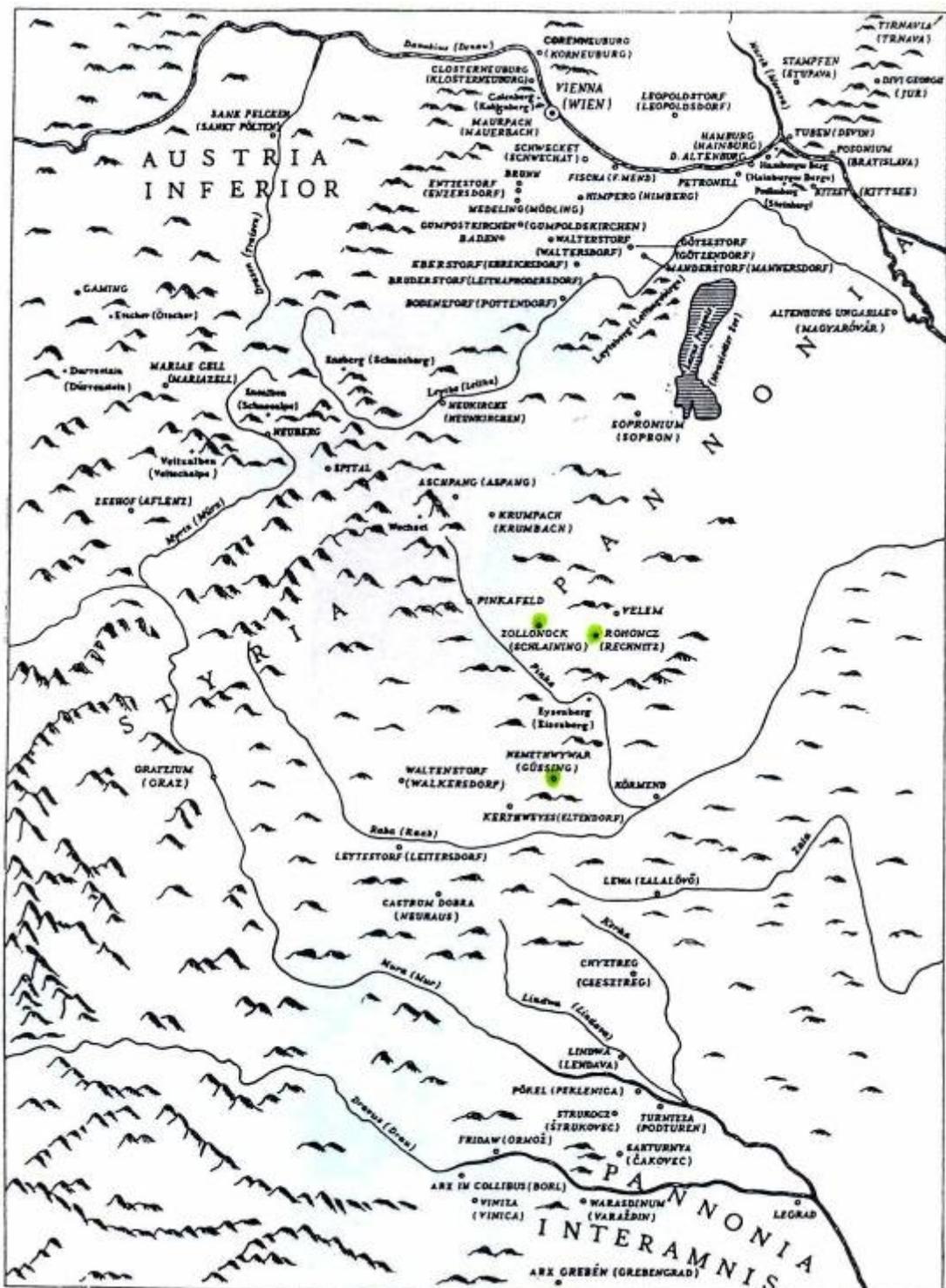


Figure 4. Map of Western Hungary and Burgenland (Austria) with the three main Batthyány residences, Szalónak (Schlaining), Rohonc (Rechnitz) and Némétújvár (Güssing) highlighted in green. After József Jeanplong and Viktor Petkovšek.



Figure 5. Western Hungary on the map of Joannes Sambucus in Abraham Ortelius, *Teatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1595), map no. 96 (detail). Courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

This point also provides an opportunity to refer to the ethnic variability in these territories. Already by the sixteenth century, the Batthyány lands were inhabited by German, Hungarian and Croatian-speaking⁴² peoples, to mention only the most numerous ethnic groups. This colourful scenario is still typical of the area. Both the Batthyánys and the

⁴² Géza Pálffy, Miljenko Pandžić and Felix Tobler, *Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Migration der Burgenländischen Kroaten im 16. Jahrhundert/Odabrani dokumenti o seobi Gradišćanskih Hrvata u 16. stoljeću* (Eisenstadt-Željezno, Hrvatski kulturni i dokumentarni centar Eisenstadt, 1999); and most recently Sándor Horváth, “A Batthyánys és a horvátok” (The Batthyánys and the Croats), in *A Batthyánys évszázadai. Tudományos konferencia Körömden 2005. október 27–29* (The Centuries of the Batthyánys. Scientific Conference in Körömden 27–29 October 2005) (Körömden: Körömden Város Önkormányzata, 2006), 45–52.

Zrínyis were thus multi-lingual: they all spoke German, Hungarian and Croatian at least. Therefore, particularly in the case of the Zrínyi family, any attempt to label them as either Croatian or Hungarian is necessarily unnatural and strained. A good example of the possibility of multiple identities within one family is that of Miklós (1620–1664) and Péter (Petar) Zrínyi (1621–1671) who lived in the seventeenth century. While Miklós, the warlord and poet who composed the epic poem *Szigeti veszedelem* (Peril of Sziget) commemorating his great-grandfather, wrote in Hungarian and considered himself primarily Hungarian (although he also said, *Ego mihi conscius aliter sum, etenim non degenerem me, Croatam et quidem Zrinium esse scio*⁴³), his brother, Petar would translate Miklós's masterpiece into his "own Croatian tongue."⁴⁴

It would be very interesting to know what Batthyány thought of his national identity. Since it was most natural for them to communicate in different languages, and they lived before the formation of nation-states, while they did not impose their own mothertongue on each other,⁴⁵ we cannot say with certainty what they considered themselves to be. It is well known of the uncle (in reality great-uncle) Ferenc Batthyány that he urged his Hungarian correspondents to write in Hungarian,⁴⁶ I have not encountered any similar attitude in Boldizsár Batthyány's letters. He wrote in several languages: his surviving letters written to his father are in Latin, while he used both Latin and Hungarian with his Hungarian-speaking correspondents. At the same time, he received Latin, German, Hungarian, French, Italian,

⁴³ He wrote this in a letter to his friend János Rucsics (Ivan Ručić) in 1658. See, László Heka, "Közös hőseink" (Our Common Heroes), *Tiszatáj* (2002), no. 10, 51. See also Zoltán Kalapis, "A Zrínyi-család emlékei Ozalytól Szalánkeménig" (Memories of the Zrínyi Family from Ozaly to Szalánkemén), *Létiünk* (2005), 111–131.

⁴⁴ "Nisam hotil uzmańkati dila vojničkoga bana nigdašńega Zrinskoga Miklouša iz ugarskoga na hrvacki naš jezik stumačiti" (I did not want to fail to interpret from the Hungarian into our Croatian language the deeds of the former military ban Miklós Zrinski – tr. by Lovro Kunčević). Petar Zrinski, *Adrianszkoga mora syrena* (Siren of the Adriatic Sea) (Venice: Giovanni Maria Turrini, 1660), ed. by Tomo Matić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1957), 19. This work is a translation or, rather, a rendering of his brother's work.

⁴⁵ Katalin Péter, *A reformáció: kényszer vagy választás?* (Reformation: Compulsion or Choice?) (Budapest: Nemzeti tankönyvkiadó, 2004), 24.

⁴⁶ Sándor Takáts, *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok* (Great Hungarian Noblewomen) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982), 90–91.

Spanish, Croatian, and even, Czech letters, hence we can assume that he was at least able to read all those languages.

The first Habsburg ruler in these decades on the Hungarian throne was Ferdinand I⁴⁷ (he reigned from 1526 until 1564), the younger brother of Emperor Charles V, then Maximilian I⁴⁸ (1564–1576), and finally Rudolf I⁴⁹ (1576–1608) who ceded Hungary, Austria and Moravia to his brother Matthias in 1608 and died in 1612. After Buda fell to the Ottomans in 1541, Pozsony (Pressburg or Bratislava in present-day Slovakia) became the new capital of Royal Hungary. The Emperors had different preferences. In the time of Ferdinand I the Imperial court was situated in Vienna, Maximilian II commuted between Vienna and Prague, while Rudolf settled completely in the Bohemian capital.

In the following chapter I will summarise the most important and decisive events in the youth of Boldizsár Batthyány with special attention to his education and the possible sources of inspiration for his later conduct in private, public and scientific matters.

II. 2. FAMILY LEGENDS AND THE YEARS OF INFANCY

There are many legends surrounding the figure of Boldizsár Batthyány some of which still persist. Indeed, if this was a biography written by a chronicler in the service of the Batthyánys, it would go something like this:

⁴⁷ On Ferdinand I see, Péter E. Kovács, “Erzherzog Ferdinand und Ungarn (1521–1526),” and József Bessenyei, “König Ferdinand und die ungarische Aristokratie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Partei Ferdinands,” in *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, ed. by Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 57–78 and 79–94, respectively.

⁴⁸ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2001); *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1992); and Volker Press, “The Imperial Court of the Habsburgs: From Maximilian I to Ferdinand III, 1493–1657,” in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court in the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 289–312.

⁴⁹ On Rudolf see, Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); and Karl Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II (157–1612)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

Dear reader, listen carefully to my story and see genuine greatness in the deeds of this man, who wandered the world and saw many foreign lands, paid a visit to Queen Mary of Hungary in the Low Countries, served the French king and saw the bonfires of Huguenots burning in Amboise, who was honoured with a painting by the acclaimed painter Pieter Brueghel, studied at the renowned University of Padua, absorbed many foreign languages and acquired a wisdom incomparable, married the daughter of the hero of Sziget, his beloved Dorica, killed great many heathens, defied the tyrants of Vienna, and made his lands a cradle of learning and tolerance, and so on.

The above “quotation” from an imaginary chronicle contains the best-known motifs and events in Boldizsár Batthyány’s life through the eyes of a biased storyteller. It is here to illustrate how easy it would be to take anecdotes for granted and embellish the facts. The truth is, however, that we are not even completely sure when Boldizsár Batthyány came into this world. The most plausible time of his birth is now considered to be 1542, but none of the data it is based upon can be taken as indisputable evidence. These elusive pieces of information may be found in the private correspondence of the Batthyány family,⁵⁰ in letters written by Katalin Svetkovics, aunt (in reality, great-aunt) of Boldizsár to her husband, Ferenc and to Boldizsár’s father, Kristóf.

Kristóf Batthyány (1500/1510–1570⁵¹) was well known for his temper and innumerable letters survived from his uncle and aunt in which they beg him to act more reasonably, not to spend so much money, and to take care of his family. He even seems to have chased away his wife, Erzsébet Svetkovics, as Pál Gregoriánczi, Bishop of Győr, wrote him a letter pleading him to make his peace with her and to take her back.⁵² It is undeniable that he was also a highly cultured man who was very interested in botany as well as in books⁵³ but his collecting methods were often questionable. Once the Franciscan friars

⁵⁰ MOL, P 1314, private correspondence of the Batthyány family.

⁵¹ His last letter is dated from 14 January 1570, letter no. 4703, and on 4 February 1570, György Draskovich refers to him as being dead. See letter no. 10676. Later on, unless otherwise indicated, letter numbers refer to MOL, P 1314.

⁵² Letter of Pál Gregoriánczi to Kristóf Batthyány on 20 August 1564.

⁵³ See Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 391–394.

complained that he had appropriated some of their books by force⁵⁴ and this is also testified to by some items in the Németújvár collection in which the Franciscan friary of Remetinc⁵⁵ (Remetinec, Croatia) is indicated as the owner.⁵⁶ He indeed took valuables from the friary after discharging its guardian from his position.⁵⁷ At the same time, he remained a generous patron of the monastery of Varasd.⁵⁸ Thus, his actions were not always consistent, and were the result of his temper rather than his religious confession. He was given the title of Master Cup-bearer (“főpohárnokmester”) on 21 December 1534⁵⁹ and married Erzsébet Svetkovics, sister of Katalin (Ferenc’s wife) in January 1537.⁶⁰

In this first letter dated 24 January 1542,⁶¹ she states that Erzsébet, her sister, is about to give birth to a child, while on 30 May of the same year she reports that both mother and child are healthy and well.⁶² No names or gender are mentioned in these letters but another detail seems to support the idea that the child in question was, in fact, Boldizsár. When giving account of Count Batthyány’s premature death in 1590, Miklós Istvánffy writes to the

⁵⁴ Letter no. 49 in Béla Iványi, “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei I: 1526–1625” (Charters of the Batthyány Archives of Körmend related to the Reformation I), in *Adattár 29/1. Iványi Béla anyaggyűjtése* (Szeged: JATE, 1990), ed by László Szilasi, 37–40. The friar Imre denounced Kristóf to His Majesty the Emperor, and in his reply Ferdinand I officially reprimanded Kristóf for the theft and for his arbitrary actions in dismissing and replacing the Minorite guardians.

⁵⁵ Remetinc (Remetinec, Croatia) was an observant Franciscan friary founded by Boldizsár Batthyány II between 1460 and 1480. In 1537, the equipment of all Slavonian friaries had been brought here, and it had become deserted when the friars fled due to the intensifying Ottoman attacks. See, Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és Társkáptalanok* (Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters), 54–55.

⁵⁶ Barlay, “Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanistenkreis,” 232; Teodor Tabernigg, “Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Güssing,” *Biblos* 20 (1972): 167–175.

⁵⁷ Arnold Magyar, *Güssing: ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte des Südburgenlandes bis zur Gegenreformation* (Graz: Selbstverlag des Franziskanerklosters, 1976), 93.

⁵⁸ As testified in the letters of the monk (OFM) Péter Zrínyi, brother of Miklós written to Kristóf Batthyány from Varasd between 1551 and 1569. See Iványi, “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei,” 30–61.

⁵⁹ Majoratus, Lad. 27, *Diplomatica*, no. 39. Quoted in *Magyarország főméltóságai* (The High Dignitaries of Hungary) ed. by Zoltán Fallenbüchl (Budapest: Maecenas, 1988), 92.

⁶⁰ Iványi, “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei,” letter no. 4, 6.

⁶¹ MOL P 1314, letter no. 3782. In her letter Katalin Svetkovics writes to Kristóf Batthyány on 24 January 1542 that Erzsébet, her sister, is expected to give birth at any moment, “dominam consortem suam, germanam nostram propter instans puerperiam...” and therefore she cannot travel anymore.

⁶² Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 30 May 1542, “libenter audimus per eadem cum filio suo bene valet.” Letter no. 3790.

botanist Carolus Clusius that Boldizsár died at the age of 48,⁶³ while according to the Draskovich note,⁶⁴ he died when he was 47. As early as 1540,⁶⁵ we find mention of a nurse in connection with Boldizsár's mother but we learn nothing about the child. Because of high infant mortality, it is possible that Boldizsár was not the first child of the couple, just the first to survive the vulnerable years of infancy. According to another plausible theory, Boldizsár was born in the autumn of 1537, the year when his mother and father tied the marriage knot. The main argument for this supposition is a detail from a letter⁶⁶ in which Kristóf Batthyány, the young father, says he has nothing to carry his child to Németújvár in. Since they were married in January 1537, the child could not have been born earlier than the autumn.

According to András Koltai,⁶⁷ the date 1542 cannot be accepted since Boldizsár was writing letters in Latin as early as 1549.⁶⁸ The earliest of his letters that has come down to us is from 1553,⁶⁹ indeed written in Latin to his father but we know about earlier ones which unfortunately have since been lost. The knowledge of Latin does not affect this timeline. Since children of noblemen were mostly educated by private tutors, their progress depended largely upon their faculty and diligence. Therefore it is not unimaginable that Boldizsár

⁶³ “Interim et Magnificum Dominum Battiany, fortissimum praestantissimumque virum, ac utriusque nostrum amantissimum amisimus, totius patriae incredibili dolore. Is Calendis Februarii veteris calendarii, dolore pectoris, ac respirandi difficultate obiit, annos natus **duodequingenta**, vir uti scis omnibus virtutibus, ac ingenii dotibus longe excellentissimus” (emphasis added). Letter of Miklós Istvánffy to Carolus Clusius from Vienna, 13 April 1590. Published in Gyula Istvánffy, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához* (Mycological Evaluation of the Clusius Codex with Data Concerning the Biography of Clusius) (Budapest: published by the author, 1900), 212.

⁶⁴ Szerémi (Artúr Odescalchi), “A gróf Draskovich-család levéltárában talált XVII-ik századbeli feljegyzés” (A Seventeenth-Century Note in the Archives of the Count Draskovics Family), *Történelmi Tár* (1890), 371: “Balthasar de Batthyan mortuus in Rohoncz aetatis 47.”

⁶⁵ Letter no. 3553, Ferenc Batthyány to Katalin Svetkovics from Németújvár on 26 September 1540, “Az Erzsébet asszony dajkáját ma elbocsátottam...” (I have dismissed Lady Erzsébet's nurse today). All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

⁶⁶ Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 31 October 1537 in *Középkori leveleink* (Hungarian Medieval Letters), no. 154. Quoted in András Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám és könyvtára* (Ádám Batthyány and his Library), *A Kárpát-medencei korai könyvtárai, Bibliotheken im Karpatenbecken der frühen Neuzeit IV*, appendix, 7, note 71.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Iványi quotes some of his Latin letters from 1549, mostly written from Zagreb which unfortunately are no longer available in the National Archives of Hungary. See Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 394–395. In these letters Boldizsár writes that he is studying together with an Örvenczy boy, and he reports to his father that he is getting better every day in writing and learning, while he asks for some broad-cloth for his tutor, Laztessinus.

⁶⁹ Letter no. 3078, Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Trakostyán on 14 June 1553.

could write in Latin when he was only seven or eight years old, and with this skill he would not even have been considered a prodigy. The lack of firm evidence concerning Batthyány's birth, however, also means that we cannot make any kind of similar elaborate hypotheses concerning his age. We cannot say, for instance, whether his asking for some plants from his father to build his own little botanical garden in 1553⁷⁰ was surprisingly mature – him being eleven at the time – or not out of the ordinary at all, since he was already sixteen years old. What seems to be sure about his youth is that he had three private tutors; his first teacher was Mihály Antalffy Laztessinus,⁷¹ he was then educated by Mihály Pomagaics⁷² (Pomagaić) and finally by Bálint Faddi⁷³ (or Valentinus Fadinus). Boldizsár spent a lot of time travelling with them in Hungary as well as in Slavonia and Croatia, commuting between his native Németújvár (Güssing) [Fig. 6], Szalónak (Schlaining), [Fig. 7] the Slavonian Vinica and Croatian Trakostyán (Trakošćan). His first tutor, Mihály Antalffy accompanied the young boy to Zagreb where they spent at least a couple of months between November 1549 and January 1550, before they moved on to Vinica and at last to Vienna.

Probably the tutor died, as in September of the same year Boldizsár wrote that he was studying at Németújvár and *Michael Pomagaych est pedotriba noster*.⁷⁴ The old tutor, the Croatian Pomagaics who was the teacher of Boldizsár's father as well,⁷⁵ was very much interested in botany himself, and it is most probably due to his influence that Boldizsár

⁷⁰ Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány, 12 April 1553, Vinica: “ut mittent nobis herbas hortenses, puta Cipressos, Amaracum, Spicanard et alia genera herbarum, quod nos dominationi Magnificae Vestrae inservire volumus, hortum enim cupimus colere, ubi aliquando animi nostri gratia tedium studii levare possemus” (...) “ut me sit immemor de praeceptore nostro, nam nobis est alter parens!” In Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 391, 396. This letter did not survive, we only know of its contents through Iványi's article.

⁷¹ See Boldizsár's letters to his father from the years 1549–50, as quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 394–395. These letters did not survive.

⁷² The letters of Mihály Pomagaics are letters no. 37814–37822.

⁷³ The letters of Bálint Faddi are letters no. 12962–129987.

⁷⁴ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 13 December 1550. Quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 395.

⁷⁵ Letter of Katalin Svetkovic to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 7 July 1538: “Mihal mestert hallom hog ide akarna jwny, enis izentem wala neky azert miert hog kar volna ollyan tudos embernek el wezni, teneked kedigh mestered volt” (“I hear that master Mihály wants to come here, and I told him it would be such a pity to lose a great scholar like him, and to you he was a master.”). Quoted in Béla Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 391.

developed an immense interest in plants at an early age. In 1553, the same year Boldizsár asked for various plants according to a letter that has since been lost, he reports to his father that he and his preceptor had to flee from Trakostyán because of the plague. He quotes a sentence from Virgil, *Incidit in Scillam, volens vitare Carybdym*, when he states that they cannot expect anything better in the lands nearby, but he promises to go home for Christmas.⁷⁶ At the same time he asks his father to buy Melanchton's *Grammatica* for him as this book is highly recommended by his tutor and indispensable for his studies.⁷⁷



Figure 6. The picturesque castle of Németújvár (Güssing).

A year later, when his brother Gáspár was also staying in Németújvár with him, he repeated his request for Melanchton and another book: *libri mihi necessarii essent nullis modo indigeo*

⁷⁶ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Trakostyán on 24 November 1553. Letter no. 3085.

⁷⁷ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Vinica: “Porro supplico dominationem vestram tanquam domino et patri amatissimo, dignetur mihi coemi facere unam Philippi Melanchtonis grammaticam denuo revisam, quia ea carere non possum, cum eam praeceptor noster profiteatur.” Quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 395–396.

*nisi si Dominatione Vestra Magnifica Proverbia Salomonis cum explicatione Philippi Melanchtoni mihi emere dignetur.*⁷⁸ In the summer of 1554, a new tutor, Bálint Faddi⁷⁹ replaced the old tutor Pomagaics, who had either retired from teaching or passed away.⁸⁰ It seems that Boldizsár's education by his private tutors ended here; Bálint Faddi started to build a new home and a fish pond in Németújvár,⁸¹ and Boldizsár himself felt it was time for him to become more emancipated. In a letter addressed to his father, he expressed his wish to learn languages other than Latin and Hungarian – which he already spoke with confidence – so he could get along better in the Viennese court as well.⁸² This idea may not have been exclusively his own; behind this request may be seen the wish of his uncle Ferenc who often emphasised the importance of both the German language and that of being at the royal court. In one of his letters to his nephew, Ferenc recommended that Kristóf should send Boldizsár to the Viennese court rather than to Italy, and his words on the superiority and usefulness of German and Latin as compared to Italian were repeated almost literally by Boldizsár.⁸³

⁷⁸ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 26 June 1554. Letter no. 3094.

⁷⁹ On the 18th July 1554, Bálint Faddi (Fadinus) writes to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár, asking him for: “Chrisostomi opera super Genesim per magistrum Michaelem legata daret mihi, est et alter liber Apuleius de Auro Asino, quem eidem remisit.” Quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 396. Letter no. 12978.

⁸⁰ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Erzsébet Svetkovics from Németújvár on 29 April 1554, letter no. 3091: “hog az mi Mesterönk ined mi tileonk el menth” (that our master has left from here).

⁸¹ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Erzsébet Svetkovics from Németújvár, Hungarian, written on 28 July 1554: “Az Mestör mast kezdöt epiteni hazat es chinalni es haltartot, ha segiteni akarja, most lehet” (The Master has started to build a house and make a fish pond, if you want to help him, you can do it now). Quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 397.

⁸² “Ego cum omnibus fratribus meis charissimis perbelle valeo. Praeterea supplico Dominationem Vestram Magnificam nunc iam aliquam curam gereret de me nam iam indies aetas mea augescit cuperem ut genera linguarum imbibere possem. Nam si ego tantum in curia ista manebo preter linguam latinam et hungaricam nil adipiscar atque discam et laus sit superis iam aliquem perfectum in sermone latino feci. Desiderarem iam discere etiam reliqua genera quibus in vita faelitus excogitari nil posset neque etiam quin mortalium facilius in curia regia aut ducum versari potest quae is qui sit politus sermone. Itaque ut Dominationem Vestram Magnificam mei memor esse dignetur iterum atque iterum vehementer supplico.” Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 24 November 1554. Letter no. 3107.

⁸³ Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány on 3 September 1554. Letter no. 3680. “...ex quibus intelligere poterit voluntatem nostram ex parte bonorum ac quod filium concernit libenter restituamus scribit quoque Vestra Magnifica Dominatio se intelligisse nos filium eiusdem ordinasse in aulam Regie Maiestatis unde petitis ne faceremus, quinocius mitteremus Italiam (...) filius Vestrae Magnificae Dominationis semper habet paratum locum apud serenissimum principem dominum Carolum et quid obsesset multorum magnatum ac nationum (...) quinocius intentio nostra est filium Vestrae Magnificae Dominationis cum Gyulay mittere ad Gratz cum plurimum nobilium ac magnatum illic erudiantur liberi ut ibi germanicam simul et latinam disceret linguam, quae italicam multo excellit, Imperator enim noster ut noverit eadem saepius germanica lingua quam

Boldizsár's great-uncle, Ferenc Batthyány⁸⁴ (1497–1566) was the brother of Boldizsár Batthyány II, the father of Kristóf. Boldizsár II died young leaving the care of his son, and later that of his grandsons, to Ferenc and his wife Katalin Svetkovics (1505/10–1575). Ferenc was among the few men who not only participated in but also survived the battle of Mohács⁸⁵ [Fig. 8].



Figure 7. The castle of Szalónak (Stadtschlaining).

The couple did not have children of their own, nevertheless – or rather because of this –, they treated Boldizsár and Gáspár like their own children, and they very much welcomed the children of other noblemen in their court as well, taking charge of their education. This way, an informal school was created in their castle in Németújvár. We know for sure that all

Italica loqui solet, itaque magis admiramur super Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae filium velle in Italiam promovere..."

⁸⁴ In 1514 he was appointed as Royal Chamberlain, in 1519 he was given the title Master Purveyor, then the title Master of the Horse, and finally in 1522 he was made Ban of Croatia which office he held until 1532. He also was Lord Lieutenant of Vas County between 1525 and 1543. See Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, appendix.

⁸⁵ In the battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526, Ferenc Batthyány was in charge of the right wing which was constituted of Slavonian heavy cavalry. See Ferenc Szakály, *Virágkor és hanyatlás* (Golden Age and Decay), *Magyarok Európában*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Háttér, 1990), 114.

the daughters of the hero of Sziget, Miklós Zrínyi (Nikola Zrinski) [Fig. 9], Orsolya, Katalin, and Dorica, who was to become Boldizsár's wife in 1566, were educated at Németújvár, as was an orphaned Blagay boy, and many others from different parts of Royal Hungary.

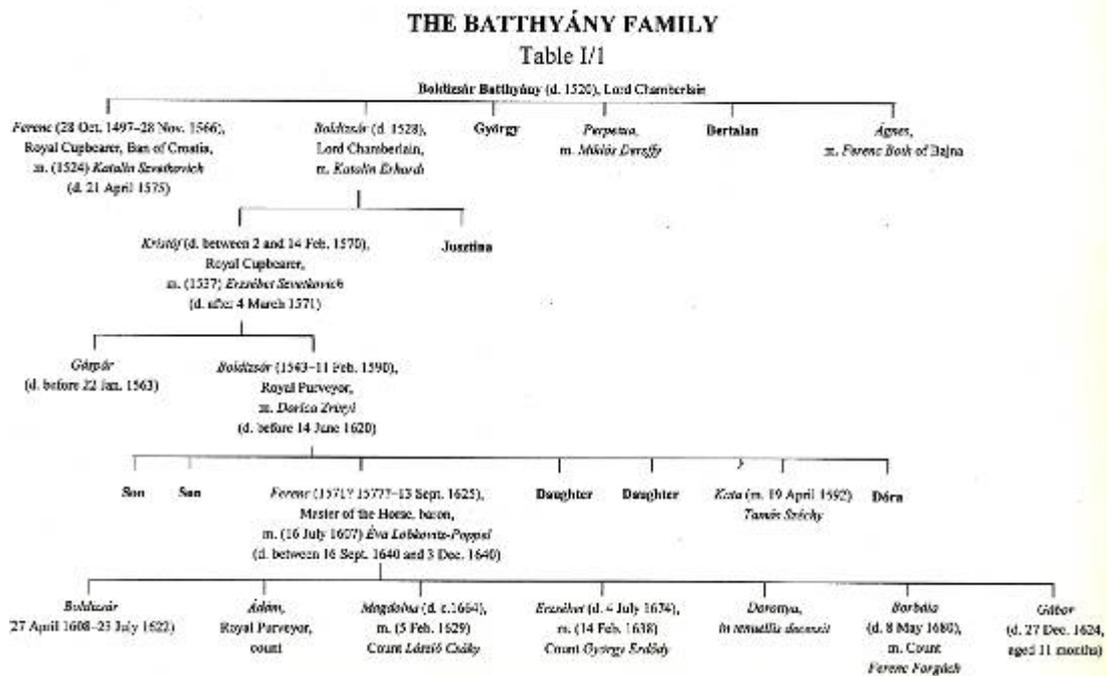


Figure 8. Genealogical table of the Batthyány family. In *Beloved Children*, ed. by Katalin Péter.

Table VI THE ZRÍNYI FAMILY

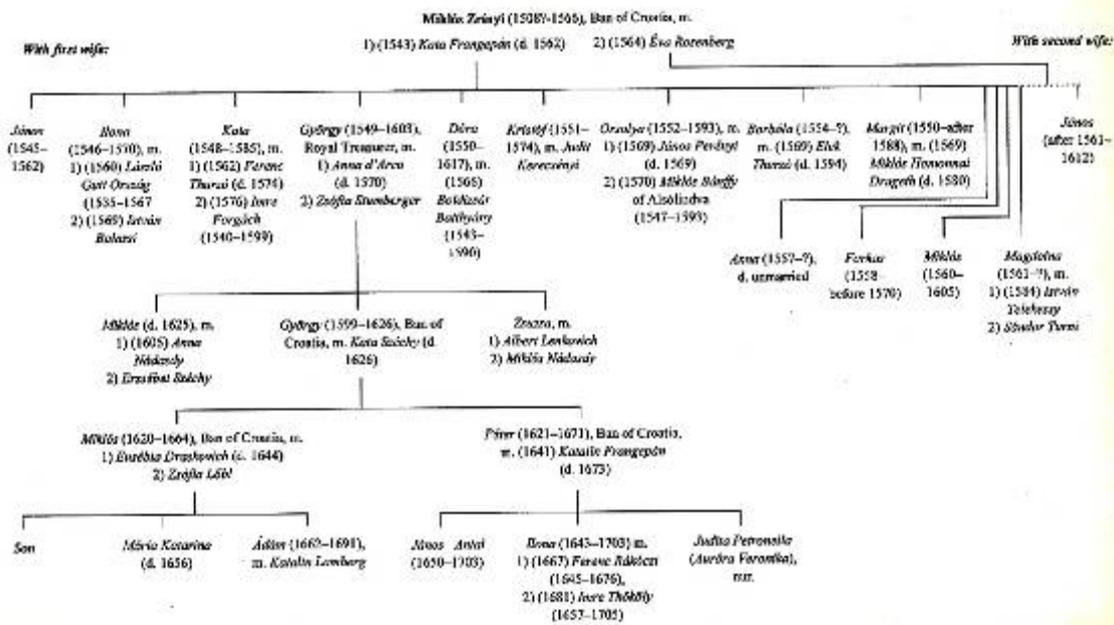


Figure 10. Genealogical table of the Zrínyi family. In *Beloved Children*, ed. by Katalin Péter.

According to the historian Sándor Takáts, the elderly Ban remarried afterwards, taking another Katalin in marriage, this time a Svetkovics,⁸⁸ herself lady-in-waiting to the Queen. Takáts even claimed to know that Ferenc was quite old when he remarried and due to his age and the fact that he was overweight he could hardly dance at his own wedding since at the coronation ceremony of Maximilian in the same year he had to be carried around in a litter.⁸⁹ The situation was satisfactorily clarified recently on the basis of the genealogy of the Batthyány family: there was indeed a Katalin Bánffy, however, the Ferenc Batthyány she was married to was not the Ban but a member of the family belonging to another, the Geresgal, branch. There was only one Kata who was in the service of Queen Mary of Habsburg and who belonged to an Austrian noble⁹⁰ family, correctly spelled as Schwetkovitz.⁹¹ According

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 141-148.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁹⁰ The nobility of the family is disputed. Among the ladies-in-waiting of Queen Mary of Hungary we find a certain "Schweckowitzin," who had been serving at court since 1516. When Maximilian I ordered the release of ladies of non-noble birth from court in 1518, the Innsbrucker Regiment pleaded him to allow the "Schmeckawitzin," the daughter of a wealthy burgher from Salzburg, to stay in the entourage of the princesses, even though she was not of noble origin. See, Orsolya Réthelyi, "Die Anfänge der Ofener Hofhaltung der Königin Maria von Ungarn," in *Maria von Ungarn (1515-1558). Eine Renaissancefürstin*, ed. by Martina Fuchs and Orsolya Réthelyi with the cooperation of Katrin Sippel (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), 226-227.

to the testimony of a letter by Queen Mary of Hungary written to Miklós Macedóniai in 1523, the wedding of Ferenc and Kata was planned to take place in Pozsony on 20 January 1524.⁹² Also, we have letters from Ferenc addressed to Katalin Svetkovics from at least 1542⁹³ onwards (the previous ones must have been lost). The couple had close ties with Queen Mary, they had been in correspondence with her for many years.⁹⁴ Katalin had at least a brother, Ádám, who died before 1527⁹⁵ and whose bequest was still a matter of legal disputes in the 1570s, but some suggest that Boldizsár Batthyány's mother, Erzsébet, as well as one Mária, were also Katalin's sisters.⁹⁶

The young Ferenc was educated in Vienna,⁹⁷ and he was on good terms with King Louis II [Fig. 11] and later, with Ferdinand I as well. Being a strongly built man, he was a celebrated contestant in courtly tournaments and even his wedding took place at the court in 1524.⁹⁸ This connection together with the Ban's own network of acquaintances in high places later led to Boldizsár's years of service to the French king.

⁹¹ Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Friedrich Voigts Buchhandlung, 1868) (10 vols.), vol. 8, 414. Under the entry Schwetkovitz, he says, "Steiermärkisches Adelsgeschlecht, welches früher, neben anderen Gütern, auch Plankenstein besass." Kneschke gives as reference Carl Schmutz, *Historisch-Topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark* (Graz, 1822–23) (4 vols.), vol. 3, 8, 542.

⁹² Letter of Queen Mary to Miklós Macedóniai from Pozsony on 30 November 1523. Published in Iványi, "A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái," no. 187, 52.

⁹³ Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Katalin Svetkovics on 29 June 1542. Letter no. 3583.

⁹⁴ Some of their letters were published in Mihály Hatvani (Horváth), *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból* (Hungarian Historical Documents from the Archives of Brussels and the Library of Burgundy), *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria 1* (Pest, 1857), vol. 2, 298, 331.

⁹⁵ In his letter to Ferenc Batthyány, Ferdinand I mentioned that he had spoken to the widow of Ádám "Swekewitz." See Iványi, "A körmendi levéltár missilis levelei II/ Litterae missiles in tabulario principium de Batthyány reperibilis," *Körmendi Füzetek* 5 (1944), nr. 31.

⁹⁶ In her article, "Die Anfänge der Ofener Hofhaltung der Königin Maria von Ungarn," 227, Orsolya Réthelyi very justly suggests that Erzsébet, Mária and another Ádám, could have been the children of Ádám the elder. This would also explain the apparently huge age difference between Katalin and Boldizsár's mother, Erzsébet. Furthermore, this situation could have given grounds to the legal disputes concerning the younger Ádám's bequest. This Mária was educated at the court of Queen Mary and she was married to János Devecseri Chorón in 1545, and she was in regular correspondence with her brother, the younger Ádám. The history and genealogy of the Svetkovics family needs to be further researched to clarify the often contradictory information.

⁹⁷ András Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 1–2.

⁹⁸ *Forgách Ferenc Magyar historiája 1540–1572* (Hungarian History by Ferenc Forgách), ed. by Fidél Majer (Pest: 1886), *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* II/16, 350–351. See also the letter of Queen Mary to Miklós Macedóniai from Pozsony on 30 November 1523 in Iványi, "A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái," 52, no. 187. Quoted in Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 2, note 2.

In another letter which has since been lost,⁹⁹ Boldizsár asks his father to lend him his lute since Tamás Pálffy, his relative, is spending some time in Németújvár and he would be able to teach Boldizsár how to play. In the same letter he mentions that the tutor still dwells with them. Thus, his initial attempts at emancipation did not prove to be immediately successful.

He probably spent the end of year 1555 studying in Graz,¹⁰⁰ fulfilling at least some of his uncle's plans. He complains, however, about his cold room and asks his father for money so that he can buy firewood.



Figure 11. Portrait of King Louis II by Hans Krell from 1526. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna.

⁹⁹ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 16 January 1555: “Quoniam nunc dominus Thomas Pallffy affinis noster adest, qui testudinem eleganter scit pulsare, sed penitus eo instrumento caremus” and he asks his father to send him his own, “forsan nonnihil ab eo quousque hic erit ediscere valemus.” Quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 397.

¹⁰⁰ Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány on 13 December 1555, letter no. 3711. “Balthasarum expedivimus ad Gratz, qui et intelligimus cenius addiscat linguam germanicam Joanne Gyulay, non enim tanta est frequentia hungarorum in Graatz, atque Viennae.”

Although he mentions fellow students, *condiscipuli*, he surely did not study in the Jesuit College as it was only founded in 1573. He rather refers to other young men who privately studied German together with him in Graz.¹⁰¹ For the following years we have scarce records, we do not know where he spent the years 1557–58: his last letter dates from 1556 when he was still in Graz and he asked again for firewood and a spear (*framea*) from his father.¹⁰²

Probably soon afterwards, around 1557, Boldizsár moved to spend a couple of years serving in the Viennese court together with other young noblemen; among them we find a neighbour and friend of Boldizsár's, Ferenc Nádasdy¹⁰³ (1555–1604), the future “black Bey,” the admired only son of the Palatine¹⁰⁴ Tamás Nádasdy¹⁰⁵ and Orsolya Kanizsai, as well as another neighbour and fellow fighter György (or Juraj) Zrínyi,¹⁰⁶ son of Miklós. The custom was that boys from noble families first served as grooms and, upon reaching the appropriate age (which varied from case to case), were “knighted” and turned into “royal youth,” that is, were given the title *magnificus*, granted greater liberty, and were allowed to accompany the king on horseback. Very often this promotion was achieved through the intervention of a powerful friend or relative. In 1559, Boldizsár's mother asked the help of István Kility, captain of Németújvár, to intervene on behalf of her son, who, despite being taller and older

¹⁰¹ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Graz on 16 December 1555: “Ego satis bonum hospitium habeo, sed mea camera, ubi ego sum est satis frigida, quamobrem supplico Magnificam dominationem vestram ut eadem mittat mihi pecunias, quibus possum emere ligna, ut aliquando haberem calidiorem domum (...) ut mittat mihi unam frameam, nam habeo hoc multos condiscipulos, qui nonnunquam abeunt spatium per equos, ego quoque iam dudum exivissem libenter, sed sine gladio exire non audeo.” This letter did not survive in its original form, it is quoted in Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 398.

¹⁰² Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Graz on 2 January 1556. *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ László Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég. Nádasdy Ferenc* (The Strong Black Bey, Ferenc Nádasdy) (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1987); and Sándor Takáts, “Nádasdy Ferenc (a fekete bég) ifjúsága” (Youth of Ferenc Nádasdy (the Black Bey) in *Régi idők, régi emberek* (Historic Times, Historic People) (Budapest: Athaeneum, no year), 55.

¹⁰⁴ Palatine (in Latin *palatinus*) was the highest official in Hungary after the king. Not identical to the Elector Palatine in Germany.

¹⁰⁵ On Tamás Nádasdy see Katalin Péter, “The Idea of the Community of Intellectuals in the Mind of a Renaissance Maecenas: Tamás Nádasdy, 1498–1562,” in *Republic of Letters, Humanism, Humanities*, 141–167.

¹⁰⁶ Takáts, “Nádasdy Ferenc,” 55.

than the rest of the boys, had still not become a royal youth. She begged him to say a few good words in support of her son or pay the right sum of money to the right person.¹⁰⁷

In general, the correspondence leaves the impression that most of the time Boldizsár and his brother Gáspár spent their time with either their tutors or with their uncle and aunt, away from their mother and father. In later years, indeed, Boldizsár (and Gáspár as well) had serious quarrels with both of his parents. It is far from obvious who was to blame for these disagreements.

Gáspár appears to be the younger brother who was probably born in 1545, however, this is also debatable.¹⁰⁸ In the year he was supposed to have been born his Uncle Ferenc writes about Kristóf's children in the plural (*liberorum*) and instructs him not to let his wife Erzsébet and the child travel alone because of the flooded rivers.¹⁰⁹ The same year Ferenc urges his nephew to have the baby baptised as soon as possible.¹¹⁰ Baptism is only mentioned again in 1547¹¹¹ which excludes the possibility of it referring to the five-year-old (or perhaps even older) Boldizsár. From 1547 onwards, Gáspár stayed at his uncle's place while Boldizsár lived with his parents, at least for a while. In 1548, Gáspár suffered from smallpox (*Chaspar ... aliquam infirmitatem patitur hymlew [himlő] vocatur*)¹¹² but then he entered a stage of his life when he moved more and more freely, making it difficult for anyone to look after him.¹¹³ In the same year, Katalin Svetkovics wrote to let Kristóf Batthyány know that the child Boldizsár had returned from Vienna.¹¹⁴ The couple, and

¹⁰⁷ Letter of Erzsébet Svetkovics to István Kility on 2 July 1559. Quoted in Takáts, "Nádasdy Ferenc," 56.

¹⁰⁸ András Koltai establishes the date of his birth in 1538 or 1540. See Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, appendix.

¹⁰⁹ "Amore dei si personaliter cum domina Elizabet venire nequit, talem homines cum ea mittet ne (...) una cum pueris aqua submergatur, recta huc ad Zolonok venit." Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 1 June 1545. Letter no. 3825.

¹¹⁰ "De optima valetudine Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae ac dominae coniugis et liberorum eiusdem gaudemus." Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Szalónak on 25 March 1545. Letter no. 3607.

¹¹¹ "Baptismi hora venit..." Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány on 13 March 1547. Letter no.

¹¹² Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 20 February 1548. Letter no. 3833.

¹¹³ Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 10 July 1548. Letter no. 3837.

¹¹⁴ "Puer Balthasar iam de Vienna est advertus," letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 15 October 1548. Letter no. 3838.

primarily Katalin Svetkovics, faithfully wrote reports to the parents about the health of little Gáspár who stayed with them throughout the year 1549. Once Katalin wrote to calm the father, claiming that even though Gáspár had fallen down from a tree, he was doing fine and had not been badly injured,¹¹⁵ while another time Ferenc revealed that the young boy was suffering from deafness which he hoped to cure with the help of a doctor.¹¹⁶

II. 3. TRAVELS AND THE SERVICE IN FRANCE

Judging by a remark made by the botanist Carolus Clusius, Boldizsár Batthyány, apart from Hungarian, Latin and German, eventually learned French, Italian, Spanish and Croatian as well.¹¹⁷ His knowledge of French is undoubtedly connected to the years he spent at the court of the French royal couple,¹¹⁸ François II (1544–1560) and Mary Stuart (1542–1587)¹¹⁹ [Fig. 12]. We know that Uncle Ferenc, who moved comfortably in courtly circles, arranged this opportunity for Boldizsár through his connections. The young nobleman departed for France with the recommendation of Emperor Ferdinand I at the end of the year 1559,¹²⁰ only to return in 1561.¹²¹ The years he spent in France were tense because of the religious wars between Catholics and Huguenots (French Calvinists).

¹¹⁵ “Puer Gasparko in plana terra non ab alto accidit et se in fronte lesit tamen convalebit nec locus lesionis dignoscetur.” Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 21 February 1549, letter no. 3842.

¹¹⁶ “Filius eiusdem Gaspar pro curande surditatis ad doctorem mittere volumus quia et ipse doctor dicit quod sumpte pristino auditus restituetur sed ut rupturam eius sanet quem nullo generis medicamento curare vult.” Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány on 18 July 1554. Letter no. 3678.

¹¹⁷ Carolus Clusius, *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia in Rariorum plantarum historia* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601), cclxxiii: “ille Heros peregrinas linguas praeter vernaculam perfectè callebat, Latinam, Italicam, Gallicam, Hispanicam, Germanicam, et Vandalicam, sive Croaticam, ab Vngarica diversam.”

¹¹⁸ Sándor Eckhardt, “Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarnál” (Boldizsár Batthyány at the French Court), *Magyarságtudomány* (1943), 36–44.

¹¹⁹ The wedding of Mary and François II was held on 24 April 1558 after the wedding ceremony at Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. See Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542 – 1600* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 43.

¹²⁰ From the letter of Boldizsár’s mother from July 1559 we can conclude that he did not leave the country before the end of summer.

¹²¹ In his letter dated 7 December 1561, his father Kristóf sends his manservant to Boldizsár’s, thus he must have returned to Hungary by then. Letter of Kristóf Batthyány to Boldizsár Batthyány on 7 December 1561, letter no. 4692.



Figure 12. Double portrait of François II and Mary Queen of Scots from c.1558 made for Catherine de' Medici's Book of Hours.

The young Hungarian arrived only a short time after the wedding of François and Mary Stuart was celebrated (April 1558), the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis was signed (May 1559), Henri II died (July 1559), and the coronation ceremony of the new royal couple took place (September 1559). Although he did not directly witness these events, even the ones that followed provided experience enough for a lifetime. These years mark the beginning of the bloody wars of religion in France. The absence of a strong king permitted factional quarrels between the most powerful families to intensify. The Guises, who had become increasingly powerful at court, favoured repressive policies and their view was, by and large, shared by old Constable Montmorency although his own nephew Coligny became a

Protestant. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Bourbon, wavered on the issue of religion, however, his brother Condé soon emerged as the political leader of Calvinists in France.¹²²

Both Boldizsár's godparents knew Queen Mary of Hungary (1505–1558) [Fig. 13], sister of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand I from the times when she still lived at the court in Buda, while Katalin Svetkovics was one of her ladies-in-waiting.¹²³ Their connections with Queen Mary of Hungary gives grounds to the suggestion that during his service in France, Boldizsár may even have had the opportunity to pay a visit to Queen Mary who then resided in Brussels.¹²⁴ However, this visit actually could not possibly have taken place since by the time Boldizsár arrived in France (after July 1559) and could have travelled to the Low Countries, Queen Mary had been dead for almost a year (she died on 18 October 1558).

However, there certainly was the intention on the godparents' side to send Boldizsár to Flanders, as testified by a letter of Katalin written to Kristóf,

*My husband has written recently to the King of Bohemia (who is said to travel to Flanders at the end of this month), to recommend your son Boldizsár to His Majesty so that He takes him to Flanders.*¹²⁵

It absolutely cannot be excluded that on this occasion Boldizsár actually visited Brussels and paid his respects to Queen Mary.

¹²² Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France 1560–1715* (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 14.

¹²³ See Réthelyi, “Die Anfänge der Ofener Hofhaltung der Königin Maria von Ungarn,” 216–238.

¹²⁴ Etele Thury claims to know about this visit on the basis of a letter that has apparently since been lost. See Etele Thury, “Felső-Örs reformációja” (Reformation in Felsőörs), *Protestáns Szemle* 15 (1903), 297. “The elderly uncle of Boldizsár provided him with a thorough and pompous education, he sent him on a study trip to Paris and bid him to pay a visit to the widow of our ill-fated King Louis II who still lived in Belgium on his way; Boldizsár faithfully completed his mission and reported about it in a letter to his uncle.” In a footnote Thury says only: “The interesting report is in the Batthyány archives in Körmend.”

¹²⁵ “...dominus maritus meus scripsit iis diebus ad Regem Boemiae (quem in fine huius mensis in Flandriam perfecturum aiunt) ut sua Serenitas filium vestrum Balthasarum commendatum habeat, ac secum in Flandriam acciperet.” Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány on 14 May 1556. Letter no. 3871.



Figure 13. Queen Mary of Hungary. Portrait by Hans Krell from 1523. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München – Staatsgalerie Bamberg.

If Thury saw his letter about the visit (a letter which has not survived), we should not doubt his credibility but only accept that Boldizsár Batthyány's visit, as opposed to previous ideas, did not coincide with his long stay in France but occurred much earlier when he travelled in the entourage of the King of Bohemia (at that time was King Ferdinand I). However, one ought to bear in mind that this visit must have taken place before the 13th of September 1556, since this is the date when Mary of Hungary sailed away from the Low Countries to Spain together with her sister Eleonóra.¹²⁶ The letter of Katalin Svetkovics was

¹²⁶ Gabrielle Dorren, "Plichtsgetrouw tegen wil en dank," in *Maria an Hongarije. Konigin tussen keizers en kunstenaars (Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht and in the*

written on the 14th of May 1556, therefore, Boldizsár Batthyány could have seen Mary of Hungary before she took her leave from Brussels.

In France he was employed among the courtiers of the Princes Guise (François, Duc de Guise and Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine) for a yearly salary of 30 francs. On the 28th of March 1560,¹²⁷ he witnessed the ghastly crimes committed by the duc de Guise and the Cardinal de Lorraine in response to the Conspiracy of Amboise, an attempt by Protestant zealots to seize the royal court. The conspiracy was led by La Renaudie who even discussed his plot with Calvin himself in Geneva, although the noted theologian disapproved of it. It involved an attack on the court at Amboise and the aim of the plot was defined as the dismissal and trial of the Guises and not directed against the royal couple. The armed supporters of La Renaudie, recruited from various parts of France, approached this location in small groups. However, the conspiracy was revealed and the Guises fell on the scattered troops heading for Amboise. Some of the conspirators were ambushed and killed, while others were interrogated and executed in the most horrible ways; some were drowned in the Loire, other hanged from the balconies of the castle.¹²⁸ If we are not mistaken, Boldizsár Batthyány was literally an eyewitness to these horrible events and he wrote a detailed report of what he saw.

There was a great riot here because of the religion; according to the news 50,000 people have conspired against the king, the Prince Guise and the Cardinal of Lotharingia. It is said that they could not bear anymore that the Lutherans are being persecuted (since two or three of them are burnt on the stake every day in Paris just as I saw it myself). Some noblemen among those who were captured, especially the most distinguished ones were killed with great cruelty, and it is to be feared that a great war will begin because of that.¹²⁹

Noordbrabants Museum's-Hertogenbosch, 11. September to 28 November 1993), ed. by Bob van den Boogert and Jacqueline Kerkhoff (Zwolle, 1993), 210. I would like to thank Orsolya Réthelyi for calling my attention to this reference.

¹²⁷ This letter and the others that Boldizsár wrote from France have not come down to us; we know of this one's content through the article by Eckhardt, "Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarnál."

¹²⁸ R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion 1559–1598* (Harlow: Longman, 1996, 1st edition: 1989), 23–24.

¹²⁹ Eckhardt, "Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarnál," 38.

It is perhaps not too bold to claim that this horrible experience made a lifelong impression on the young man and substantially determined his tolerant attitude in confessional issues for the rest of his life. The royal couple and their entourage tried to forget the memory of the bloody events through various entertainments such as hunting.¹³⁰ Later they all moved to Orléans.¹³¹

The salary must have been small indeed, since Boldizsár's surviving letters from this period are full of pleas to his father for money, saying that he has no outfit to match the elegance at court, and he felt badly dressed compared to the other young men serving with him.¹³² A very concrete proof of him being in France is a document which survived in the *Memorabilia* collection of the Batthyány archives where official documents relevant to the family history were kept. He appeared in front of the notary Jacobus Raffelin on the 24th of February 1560 in Paris but what the case was is not quite clear.¹³³

¹³⁰ Barlay, "Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanistenkreis," 233. Boldizsár Batthyány reports in his letter to his father, "nunc aliquantum est securius et venationibus maxime indulgetur" (now it is somewhat safer here and everyone is deeply engrossed in hunting). See Eckhardt, "Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarnál," 38.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 27. The Estates-General assembled here in Orléans and Condé was arrested and sent to trial. However, a couple of days later the young king died and the Guises lost their supremacy at court to the new king and the regent-to-be Catherine de' Medici.

¹³² Many similar requests were made by contemporary children to their parents. See *Beloved Children. History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Katalin Péter (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 77–78. We would be very mistaken to think that vanity and interest in clothes was characteristic of women only. Many documents demonstrate that young men were equally concerned about their clothes, and fashion was just as important then as it is today, especially for Hungarians who ended up in a foreign country and wanted to fit into the new ambience. A male outfit in the sixteenth century would typically consist of a pair of tight trousers. These were fixed with a belt or later with suspenders, and the flap between the legs was attached with small silver hooks. Trousers were typically made from broad-cloth in blue or crimson. On the upper body men wore linen shirts, and above that a dolmen (in Hungarian "dolmány") which was typically tight and short with a longer wider version appearing in the first decades of the seventeenth century; satin and scarlet textiles were most popular, while only high status noblemen could afford a dolmen made from velvet. The dolmen was bound together above the waist with a belt. A huge variety of mantels ("mente") could be worn above the dolmen, lined with various furs, for instance, and often matching the dolmen in fabric and colour. On special occasions, Hungarian noblemen would wear wolfskin (or even leopard skins as a recent discovery has shown) over their shoulders which they fastened with hooks. Caps were worn in all seasons and their texture varied accordingly. They were lined with fur for winter and embroidered and made of velvet in warmer weather: the cap was always decorated with a tuft or feather. There was a great variety of footwear worn from sandal-like light shoes to the thigh-high leather boots. On male wear in early modern Hungary see Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian Family Life and Household in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century) (Budapest: Helikon, 1986, 1st edition: 1896) (3 vols.), vol. 1, 48–54, 55–78.

¹³³ P 1314, *Memorabilia* no. 302, microfilm no. 1286.

The year 1560 also saw many changes. First, Queen Mary Stuart's mother, Marie de Guise, died (August), to be soon followed by the moribund King François II (September) and the then ten-year-old Charles IX ascended to the throne of France. In the summer of 1561, Mary Stuart decided to move back to Scotland.

One of Boldizsár's letters from Orléans has come down to us. In this letter written in Hungarian¹³⁴ to his father Kristóf on the 28th of October 1560, he complains how very expensive life in Orléans is and he cannot afford to maintain his stable boy Farkas (probably Farkas Schaller who continued in his service when he returned to Hungary¹³⁵), and he asks his father's forgiveness for sending the boy away. He remarks that unless Kristóf sends him more money, he will have to live in poverty, and he has serious difficulty in paying for food. He reports that they came to Orléans on St. Luke's day and that the young king was received with pomp and ceremony as was customary when the newly crowned king entered a city for the first time after his coronation.¹³⁶ He describes the sixty elegant and well-equipped guards who cared for the king day and night. Rumour has it that the King of Navarre (Antoine de Bourbon, also Duke of Vendôme, 1518–1562) is to pay a visit as well but Boldizsár doubts it would happen. He writes that since King François II was attacked in Amboise (as he reported above) by some people who supposedly received 50,000 francs for the attempted murder, no one knows what the king is going to do, but he had heard from some people in the circle of the Cardinal of Lotharingia that the king had called upon them and asked why they had done what they did as he himself had never caused them any harm and he always acted for the good of his country. The king told his attackers that this time he forgave them to show his mercy and his good will, but next time he would have them beheaded and deprive

¹³⁴ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Orléans, on 28 October 1560, in Hungarian. Letter no. 108110, microfilm no. 21726.

¹³⁵ His letters are in MOL P1314, no. 40648–40668.

¹³⁶ Some printed accounts of the royal entrées were published. The accounts recorded the events at Orléans in December 1559 and at Chenonceau in March 1560. On these occasions a triumphal arch was built and the keys of the city were presented to the new ruler. Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 51.

them and their whole lineage of all their possessions to set a precedent for everyone else.¹³⁷ Boldizsár also reports to his father that just the day before a Scottish spy had been captured who was about to smuggle armed men into the castle to make another attempt on the king's life – and he will get what he deserves in two days time. After revealing this news to his father, young Boldizsár begs him not to show his letters to anyone else, otherwise he will end up in serious trouble. This letter was worth quoting at length because it is among the few surviving ones written by Boldizsár Batthyány himself and by now the only one from his years in France [Fig. 14].

In November 1561, Ferenc took Boldizsár's brother Gáspár to Vienna, so that he would not be sitting at home all the time¹³⁸ and also to take him to an herbal doctor because of his deafness. This means that Gáspár had already returned from Padua where has long been thought to have studied with Boldizsár.¹³⁹ The legend comes from an obscure point in a letter written by Péter Sigmondich to Kristóf Batthyány,¹⁴⁰ preceptor to Gáspár at that time who accompanied him and perhaps some other noble children, Philipp Lamberg, and the Both and Gyulay boys with whom Gáspár had already studied in Vienna,¹⁴¹ to the Jesuit College in Padua. In his letters, Sigmondich often says “your magnificence's nephews” (“nagisagodnak öchejei”) or the “young lords” (*domini*) are doing fine. These points in the

¹³⁷ The behaviour of the young king was, indeed, surprisingly forgiving, most probably thanks to his mother Catherine de Medici's policy of moderation in religious affairs. Even before the conspiracy (or Tumult) of Amboise, he issued an edict which granted pardon to all the king's subjects for religious offences (as of 2 March 1560). After the failed attempt at seizing the court at Amboise, instead of persecution of the Huguenots, he ordered the release of all religious prisoners. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion*, 25.

¹³⁸ Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 9 December 1561. Letter no. 3882.

¹³⁹ Some researchers, Szabolcs Ö. Barlay, Tibor Klaniczay and György Endre Szőnyi, for instance, support the idea that Batthyány spent some time in Padua. Even if Boldizsár also visited Italy, he must have spent only some months there, without enrolling officially at the university. However, his knowledge of Italian, his acquaintance with some of the so-called “Paduans” (a group of intellectuals from Hungary who spent time at the university) and many other small details does indeed lend support to the previous alternative although the sources suggest he had not gone to Italy.

¹⁴⁰ The letters of Péter Sigmondich are in MOL P 1314, no. 43263–43272.

¹⁴¹ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Vienna on 20 September 1550. “Adom kegyelmednek twttara, hog mynket ez elmwlt napokon septembernek mas napon ide bechbe hosztak mynd Gwlay es Alapi wrammal egetemben” (I am letting you know, my lord, that we were taken to Vienna on the second day of September together with my lords Gyulay and Alapi). Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát,” 395.

letter together with the desire to depict Boldizsár as a typical noble youth of his age, who – as the family undoubtedly had the resources¹⁴² – pursued a scholarly pilgrimage through Europe, visiting France and then even Italy, led to the interpretation of these ambivalent expressions as referring to Gáspár and Boldizsár. In her letter quoted above,¹⁴³ Katalin Svetkovics also reports that she had just received a letter from Boldizsár from France, therefore it becomes obvious that he had not returned from there yet. He had been in service in France since 1559 and returned only in December 1561.¹⁴⁴ One of the letters by Sigmondich also gave rise to another popular myth about how far the talents and education of Boldizsár reached. In one place he mentions that the young lords are learning to play the lute. The plural again refers to boys other than Boldizsár,¹⁴⁵ and there is no other indication that he actually could play the instrument (although there certainly are indications that he wished to learn to play it).

¹⁴² On the Batthyány estates see, Vera Zimányi, *A rohonc-szalónaki uradalom és jobbágysága a XVI-XVII. században* (The Serfs of the Rohonc-Szalónak Dominion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1968); Idem, *Der Bauernstand in Herrschaft Güssing in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Eisenstadt: Rötzer, 1962).

¹⁴³ Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 9 December 1561. Letter no. 3882.

¹⁴⁴ Letter of István Dersffy to Boldizsár Battyhány from Pozsony, 15 December 1561, in *Dunántúli missilisek a XVI. századból*, ed. by Erzsébet E. Abaffy (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1968), 26–27, letter no. 22. Or in original, letter no. 10142.

¹⁴⁵ Péter Király, *A lantjáték Magyarországon a XV. századtól a XVII. század közepéig* (Playing the Lute in Hungary from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century), *Humanizmus és Reformáció* 22 (Budapest, Balassi, 1995), 91.

1510
8.28

108110

Szolgalatommal Jónom te kedgy Mjéne Szerelmies szeramnak
és atthjammak ~~az~~ kedgy köfveimbrél való meg
giogjvelafat meg ertetem János deak levoeleberél
kin bison Jgen örnelok hata legyén az Jsternok emi
Jo egeffege reagjok Toaba meg ertetem az János
deak levoeleberél boggy kedgy Jgen nebesél idam boggy
kedgy és en dolgom felvél nem Jstam ~~az~~ kedgy
kevem mjéne Szerelmies szeramat atthjammak és en
holog való Szolgalatommal boggy kedgy ne nebesien
reany mere bison nem en bitem mere en te kedgy
fokfor Jok de nem tudom ha kedgy keskes Jrel
mraggy nem az minemem szolgalatom Jz reagjok
és minie reagjok dolgom en te kedgy és en Szolgam
farkas alcal meg Jstam kedgy és nem exenemef
eretetem volna eretet kiz de en az te kedgy paranyto
latiabrél eretet nem alampu lora szél tartam
hanem Jol boggy kedgy hoz kizkrelidatam adbig
medig kedgy töl puszt krelid mere en maslam
nem tarthozok hanem lora mere Jz Jgen szük
és pens Jelestben en nalam és Jgen oraga és eldel
mine Jgos farkasbrél meg attham kedgy ertem

Figure 14. A page of Boldizsár Batthyány's letter from Orléans to his father. Letter no. 108 110.

However, it may have been well known in his later years that he liked music very much since we have a very interesting letter from Matthias Burian from 1574, in which the instrument maker offers Batthyány a machine organ he had originally built for Antal Verancsics, Archbishop of Esztergom, who had passed away in the meantime leaving the master unpaid

and the organ un-played. He is indulging him saying, *ex eiusmodi nuncio colligere possim, Magnificentiam Vestram summum Musicae artis esse fautorem.*¹⁴⁶

At this point let us turn back to the generous statement that Boldizsár Batthyány spoke seven languages. According to Clusius, Boldizsár spoke Italian (he corresponded with the acknowledged architect Pietro Ferrabosco¹⁴⁷ in Italian, however, these letters unfortunately did not survive), and this may have contributed to the legend that he studied in Italy together with his brother. Unfortunately, although it seems that he may have spoken some Italian, he did not acquire the language in Italy.

After his return to Hungary Boldizsár probably served for some more years in the Viennese court – unfortunately none of his letters from these years survive and we only have sporadic information as to what he did and where. In 1563, his aunt mentions that he had returned from Augsburg. This is the year when a very enigmatic figure, the English scholar and occultist, John Dee, first set foot in Central Europe and took part in the coronation ceremony of Maximilian in 1563 in Pozsony.¹⁴⁸ In 1563, in a letter addressed to Sir William Cecil, John Dee wrote the following,

Now I stand at the curtesye of a noble man of Hungarie who hath promised me leave thereto, after he shall perceyve that I may remayne by him longer (with the leave of my Prince) to pleasure him also with such pointes of science, as at my handes he requireth.¹⁴⁹

If Dee had only known how much headache he caused modern Hungarian scholars with this sentence, he surely would have expressed himself more precisely and would have given the name of this young Hungarian nobleman. One of the possible candidates is Boldizsár Batthyány himself: we know of his interest in science, he was of noble birth, and it

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Matthias Burian to Boldizsár Batthyány from Kremnitz (Körmöc) on 20 January 1574. Letter no. 7808.

¹⁴⁷ Leone Andrea Maggiorotti and Florio Banfi, “Pietro Ferabosco,” *Haditörténeti Közlemények* 34 (1933): 156–173.

¹⁴⁸ Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, 242.

¹⁴⁹ The letter is dated from Antwerp, 16 February 1562, “apud Gulielmo Silvium in Angelo aureo; in platea, vulgariter, Den Camer straet, vocata.” See, “Letter to Sir William Cecil, February 16, 1563,” ed. by R. W. Grey, Philobiblon Society, *Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies* 1 (1854), 12: 10–11.

is not unimaginable that he could have met Dee in the Low Countries around 1562-63. Although he had returned from France in the winter of 1561, we find him in the entourage of Ferdinand I in Augsburg in the late 1562. Given the lack of other sources to corroborate this supposition, we can only mention it as a possibility that around that time he travelled again to the Low Countries and there perhaps met John Dee. My objections do not concern chronology, but rather, the fact that in these years Boldizsár Batthyány does not yet have his own income – let us recall that his letters written from France just a year before were full of pleas to his father for money, with complaints that he actually was starving. I thus find it hard to believe that he confidently invited Dee, a renowned and high-ranking scholar, to “his” estates and offered him his financial support. Batthyány only inherited Szalónak in 1571 and Németújvár in 1575. Until then he was not financially independent enough to make such an offer. In addition to this, the mysterious Hungarian nobleman even helped the penniless Dee copy Trithemius’ *Steganographia*¹⁵⁰ which would imply that he spent more than just a couple of days in Leuven and had enough cash to pay for the work. Batthyány did not, as far as we know, possess a copy of this work¹⁵¹ which is strange if he deemed it worthy of copying for John Dee.

Katalin Svetkovics’s letters from this period are full of her trying to soften Kristóf’s heart towards both of his sons. First, in 1561,¹⁵² she pleads with him not to stay angry with Gáspár and then she claims that Boldizsár himself had never done anything against his father. Supposedly Kristóf had cursed Gáspár and the boy died afterwards, and now he cursed Boldizsár so he would die as well, “You judge if it befits fatherly love”¹⁵³ – she says. Two years later she is still assuming the role of mediator. She finally tells Kristóf to make peace with Boldizsár because he had never done anything to harm him. The poor young man had

¹⁵⁰ Szőnyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, 242.

¹⁵¹ Trithemius’ *Steganographia* was first published in 1606.

¹⁵² Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 9 December 1561. MOL P 1314, letter no. 3882.

¹⁵³ Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 22 January 1563, letter no. 3887.

already been deprived of his mother who in any case had intrigued against him and he was not able to see her and now it appeared that even his father was abandoning him.¹⁵⁴

II. 4. MARRIAGE AND THE STORMY YEAR OF 1566

In 1565, Boldizsár became engaged to Dorica (1550–1621) [Fig. 15], daughter of Miklós Zrínyi.¹⁵⁵ In the same year, on 6 August in Vienna and on 21 August in Prague, Boldizsár participated in the funeral ceremony of the late Ferdinand I as one of the leaders of the horse carrying the royal Hungarian coat-of-arms¹⁵⁶ [Fig. 16]. Indeed, the date of their wedding had already been set when Boldizsár was still held at the court by Emperor Maximilian II.

¹⁵⁴ Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány, 3 December 1563, letter no. 3898.

¹⁵⁵ He was appointed Ban of Croatia in 1542, and from that onwards this title became hereditary in the Zrínyi family. However, due to the lack of payment from the Treasury, Miklós resigned from his position and in the same year he was endowed with the title Master of the Treasury (*magister tavernicorum*, “tárnokmester”) and assumed the Captainship of Sziget in 1561. See Sugár, *Szigetvár és viadala*, 127–130.

¹⁵⁶ Géza Pálffy, “Magyar címerek, zászlók és felségjelvények a Habsburgok dinasztikus-hatalmi reprezentációjában a 16. században” (Hungarian Coats of Arms, Banners and Insignia in the Representation of Dynasty and Power of the Habsburgs in the Sixteenth Century), *Történelmi Szemle* (2005), no. 3–4, 250.



Figure 15. Contemporary portrait of Dorica Zrínyi as a widow by an unknown painter from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Courtesy of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum), Történelmi Képcsarnok, no. 572.

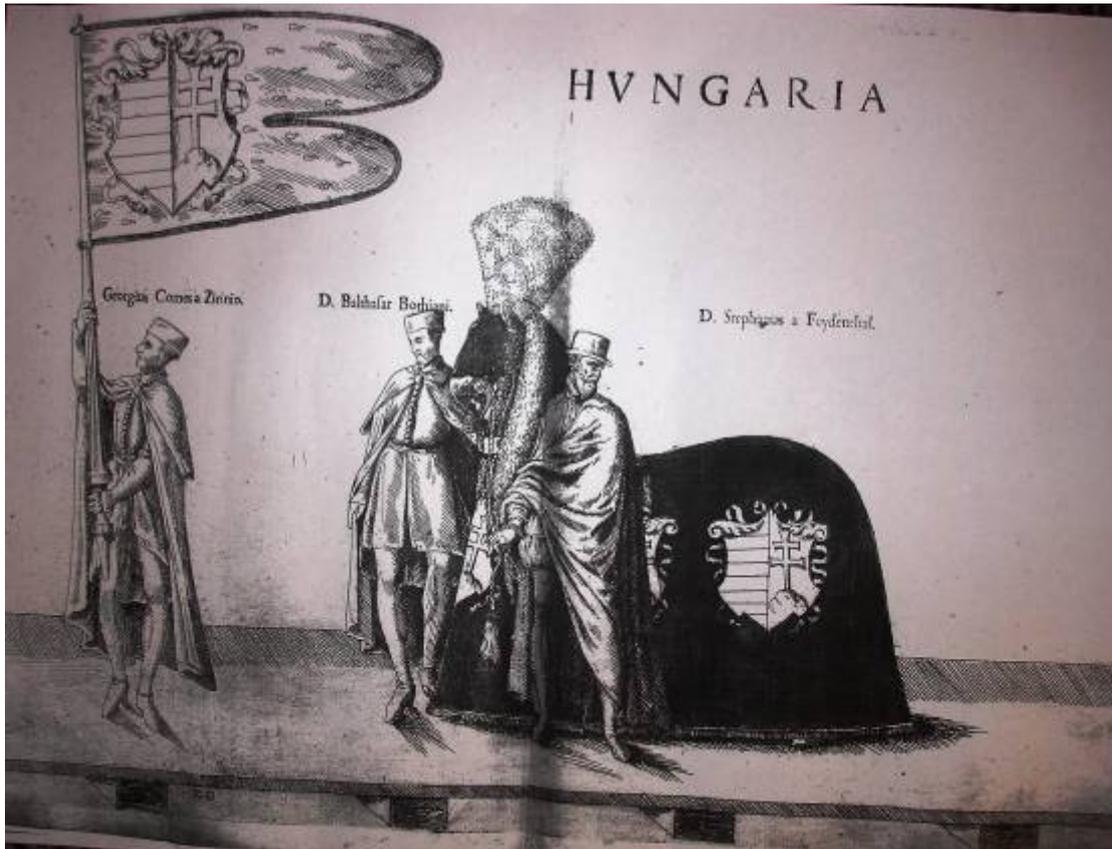


Figure 16. Schematic depiction of Boldizsár Batthyány (*Dominus Balthasar Bothiani*) in Bartholomaeus Hannewald, *Parentalia divo Ferdinando...* (Augustae Vindelicorum: Meyerperck et Sorg, 1566), no. 20.

His uncle begged the ruler to let Boldizsár go so that he could make preparations for the wedding.¹⁵⁷ Maximilian, however, insisted on taking him and other young noblemen to the council of Augsburg and he recommended that Ferenc Batthyány postpone the ceremony until Pentecost. The attendants at the wedding would then be able to wear crowns of roses, the rooms would not need heating and they could use the shade of the green leaves of trees to provide shelter for the dancers.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the wedding was held in February¹⁵⁹ 1566 in

¹⁵⁷ Ferenc Batthyány to Maximilian II in 1565: “bochatana haza eu felsege hog kezulhetne az menekzu napra idenkoran” (let him go home, Your Majesty, so he can start his preparations for his wedding in due time). Quoted in Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Letter of Pál Bornemisza, bishop of Nyitra, to Ferenc Batthyány from Vienna on 15 November 1565: “halazza az menekzu napot pinkest havara valameli napra akoron iob modon lehet az menekzu lakodalom az io ideben. Rosa kozorut viselhetnek akoron, zobat sem kel fiteni az vendeknek zuld fa levelebul kul akoron aarniekot chinalnia a tanchoz.” See Iványi, “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár memorabiliái,” no. 211, 119.

¹⁵⁹ Letter of Prince Ferdinand to Ferenc Batthyány from Prague on 28 January 1566; in this he says that he was not going to send an envoy to the wedding because he had received the invitation very late. Consequently, it must have taken place after this date. P 1314, *Memorabilia*, no. 354. Published in Iványi, “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár memorabiliái,” no. 212, 122.

Zrínyi's Monyorókerék (Eberau) castle.¹⁶⁰ Some hold that Kristóf was not satisfied with his son's choice of bride as Zrínyi was a Protestant and considered a rebel and a troublemaker at the Viennese court.¹⁶¹ Kristóf always tried to turn Boldizsár into a good courtier (although he himself was not a model courtier either), which attempt repeatedly failed as Boldizsár tried to spend as little time as possible "up there."¹⁶² The importance of the Batthyány and Zrínyi families is highlighted by the fact that the Emperor Maximilian II commanded Christoph Gonobitzer, his Master Military Treasurer, to acquire two gilded goblets, pass them to Elek Thurzó who in his turn and in the Emperor's name should hand them over to the young couple as a wedding present.¹⁶³ In a letter two weeks later to Orsolya Kanizsai, widow of Tamás Nádasdy, Ákos Csányi reports that in accordance with her lady's wish he found an excellent cook¹⁶⁴ to serve at the Batthyány wedding, the best one alive in the world.¹⁶⁵

Sir Philip Sidney, the prodigious young English aristocrat and poet, described another interesting feature of the Hungarian aristocratic courts. During his travels in Royal Hungary¹⁶⁶ he must have encountered some noble festivities as in his *Defence of Poesie*, he writes:

¹⁶⁰ Iványi, "Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát," 399.

¹⁶¹ Takáts, *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok* (1982), 101.

¹⁶² In a letter, Katalin Svetkovics reprimands Boldizsár for not spending enough time at the court and around His Majesty. He does not go to Pozsony enough, and there already are rumours at court that Boldizsár does not like to stay there long, and even if he appears, he leaves as soon as he can. She wrote, "one is remembered by these things promptly," and "I do not want people to say that the Batthyány lords only sit at home" while her late husband always went to Vienna and Pozsony when he could. Letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Boldizsár Batthyány from Németújvár on 6 September 1569. Letter no. 4007.

¹⁶³ *Zrínyi Miklós a szigetvári hős életére vonatkozó levelek és okiratok* (Letters and Documents Concerning the Life of Miklós Zrínyi, Hero of Szigetvár), ed. by Samu Barabás (Budapest: MTA, 1898–99), Magyar Történelmi Emlékek 29 (2 vols.), vol. 2 (Letters 1566–1574, Charters 1534–1602, Supplement 1535–1567), 1: Letter no. I, on 5 January 1566 from Linz (in German).

¹⁶⁴ On seventeenth-century sources see, Borbála Benda, *Étkezési szokások a 17. századi főúri udvarokban Magyarországon* (Eating Customs at the Seventeenth-Century Aristocratic Courts in Hungary), Ph.D. dissertation (ELTE University, Budapest, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1. Letter of Ákos Csányi to Orsolya Kanizsai from Kanizsa, on 18 January 1566.

¹⁶⁶ György Gömöry, "Sir Philip Sidney magyarországi kapcsolatai és hírei Magyarországról" (The Hungarian Connections of Sir Philip Sidney and his Information on Hungary), *Kortárs* (1983), 428–437; and György Endre Szönyi, "John Dee angol 'mágus' és Közép-Európa" (The English Magus John Dee and Central Europe), *Valóság* (1974), 47–57.

In Hungarie I have seene it in the manner at all Feastes, and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors valure, which that right souldierlike nation, think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage.¹⁶⁷

We can assume that such heroic songs were sung also at their wedding especially since it was held in the middle of the military preparations preceding the tragic events that took place at Sziget and encouragement based on ancestral heroism was probably very welcome.

The visit of Sir Philip Sidney in Pozsony, and his travels in Hungary and East-Central Europe would deserve a separate chapter. Here, however, I will only briefly summarise the most relevant points in his biography which connect him to Hungary¹⁶⁸ and the intellectual milieu of late sixteenth-century Europe.¹⁶⁹ It is important to note, for instance, that Sidney had studied chemistry (alchemy) with John Dee in England around 1570. He came to fame though his literary talents when he was only nineteen years old. His patron, Sir Francis Walsingham, who was generally known as the father of the secret service on the British Isles, sponsored a three-year-long “grand tour” for the young aristocrat. In the course of this tour, Sidney also ended up in Pozsony, at the coronation ceremony of Maximilian, just like his master John Dee and Boldizsár Batthyány. In Pozsony, Sidney lived at Georg Purkircher’s place. Purkircher was a renowned physician and botanist, was very well connected within the contemporary intelligentsia, and certainly Batthyány as well. If we add that earlier, in Frankfurt, Sidney lodged in the house of Andreas Wechel, whose son-in-law, Jean Aubry was a close acquaintance and primary bookdealer for Batthyány’s, it is logical to suppose that the two young noblemen were introduced on this occasion if they had not previously known each other. During his travels, Sir Philip Sidney made the acquaintance of other outstanding

¹⁶⁷ *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) (4 vols.), vol. 3, 24.

¹⁶⁸ See also, István Gál, “Philip Sidney’s Guidebook to Hungary,” *Hungarian Studies in English* (Debrecen) 4 (1969), 53–64; George Gömöri, “Sir Philip Sidney’s Hungarian and Polish Connections,” *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 24 (1991), 23–33; James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572–1577* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

¹⁶⁹ I base my summary upon the work of György Endre Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, 244–246.

Central European intellectuals such as András Dudith, the polymath Bishop of Pécs, Crato von Kraftheim, the Imperial physician, and Tamás Jordán (Jordanus) the author of a famous treatise on the plague.¹⁷⁰ He also met Olbracht Łaski in Venice and it may be his doing that the Polish aristocrat was introduced to John Dee, and consequently invited him and Edward Kelley to his estates in Poland. It has been long assumed that Sidney had visited the castles of Boldizsár Batthyány during these years of travel, and he witnessed the performance of heroic songs he recounts in his *Defence of Poesie*, in one of them. While this scenario may be true there are actually no sources to confirm this supposition, either.

Since I have touched upon the subject of poetry in Batthyány's time, it is undoubtedly necessary to make a small digression here in order to mention a young poet, Bálint Balassi (1554–1594) who was bound tightly in friendship first with Boldizsár Batthyány, and later even more with Boldizsár's son, Ferenc.¹⁷¹ It has long been assumed that Balassi was educated at the Németújvár court in Boldizsár Batthyány's time and their acquaintance was therefore almost family-like in nature.¹⁷² This does not seem plausible at all since Boldizsár inherited Németújvár only in 1575 and by then Balassi was a young adult. This certainly does not exclude the possibility of their acquaintance at some earlier point in the poet's life. He did turn to Boldizsár for advice a couple of times,¹⁷³ while his relationship with Boldizsár's son Ferenc was much more that of a noble patron and his protégé. It is a well-known literary anecdote that the young Batthyány received verses from the poet when he was suing successfully for the hand of Éva Lobkowitz-Poppel.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Jordanus, *Peste phaenomena seu de iis quae circa febrem pestilentem apparent, exercitatio* (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel, 1576). Boldizsár Batthyány had a copy of this work in his library.

¹⁷¹ Géza Szentmártoni Szabó, "Balassi Bálint barátsága Batthyány Boldizsárral és fiával, Ferencel" (The Friendship of Bálint Balassi with Boldizsár Batthyány and his Son Ferenc), in *A Batthyányak évszázadai*, 205–216.

¹⁷² Sándor Takáts, "Balassa Bálintról" (On Bálint Balassa), in *Régi idők, régi emberek*, 127–153.

¹⁷³ His only surviving letter to Boldizsár Batthyány is in the National Archives of Hungary, no. 1496.

¹⁷⁴ István Vadai, "Batthyány Ferenc és Balassi Bálint" (Ferenc Batthyány and Bálint Balassi) in *A Batthyányak évszázadai*, 217–222.

Dorica was one of the three daughters of Miklós Zrínyi whom he sent to the court of Németújvár to study under the supervision of Ferenc Batthyány and his wife, Katalin.¹⁷⁵ Probably the young ones met here, in Németújvár. Boldizsár's original letters from late summer and early autumn of this year reveal that he himself took part in the military operations,¹⁷⁶ and he wrote to his Uncle Ferenc from the military camp, reporting on events and asking for money. In his letter dated 1 September 1566 he says, "I understand you know the state of affairs around Sziget; I have just heard that it was put under vehement siege [by the Turks], but my lord Zrínyi got out and they captured the janissary pasha, the servant of Mehmet pasha and many other Turks as well."¹⁷⁷ His other letters from this period are full of military news.¹⁷⁸ In general Boldizsár seems to have been quite desperate concerning the lack of money and equipment which characterised the army.¹⁷⁹

A couple of days after Boldizsár mentioned Zrínyi's successful attack on the besieging Turks, luck abandoned his father-in-law. After many months of defending a castle greatly outnumbered by the Ottoman attackers and unaided by the Emperor, the captain decided on an act of heroism.¹⁸⁰ He knew they could not hold the fortress any longer. They were starving and desperate, and despite their repeated cries for help, the Imperial army did not come to their aid. Even if they surrendered, they knew they would be killed by the enemy. With his handful of surviving men, Zrínyi broke out from Sziget on the 7th of September 1566 and was shot dead in the ensuing battle. As was the custom, his head was

¹⁷⁵ He sent three of his daughters to Ferenc Batthyány's court to be educated, while his two sons were educated at the Erdődys' castle in Vörösvár. The letter of Miklós Zrínyi written to Ferenc Batthyány on 2 October 1561 is quoted in Takáts, *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok*, 127.

¹⁷⁶ Although the Imperial army never reached Sziget, they gathered below Győr and Boldizsár probably took part in these military movements along with his own troops.

¹⁷⁷ "Az Sygeth dolgath tudom, hogy kegyelmed erthy myben wayon, im most hallottham hogy nagy erős ostrommal rea menthek walig, de ki jutott Zrinyi uram reayok es be fogthak janichar bassat Memhet bassa szolgayath is be nyerthek es egyeb törököket is." Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Ferenc Batthyány from Pustajenő on 1 September 1566. Dr. Batthyány-Strattman László Múzeum, Körmend, Ht 90. 1. 41.

¹⁷⁸ In the collection of the Dr. Batthyány-Strattmann László Múzeum in Körmend, there are a couple of original letters from Boldizsár Batthyány of which there is no microfilm copy available in Budapest. These are mainly from the year 1566 which brought a lot of changes to his and his country's life.

¹⁷⁹ Ht 90. 1. 40–43, 46–48, in the collection of the Dr. Batthyány-Strattman László Múzeum of Körmend.

¹⁸⁰ On Sziget in 1566 see István Sugár, *Szigetvár és viadala* (The Fortress of Sziget and its Fall) (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1976), especially 122–176, 180–195.

cut off his body. However, to honour his great military deeds, acknowledged even by his greatest enemy, Mustafa Bey of Banja Luka who fought against him in many battles and was even once his prisoner,¹⁸¹ Zrínyi was buried close to Szigetvár by the Ottomans with military honours.¹⁸² After the burial of his body, Sokollu Mustafa Pasha sent a letter to Zrínyi's son, György,¹⁸³ to express his friendship and report on how he had buried his father. The head was put on display for a couple of days but Mustafa managed to acquire that as well and, wrapping it in luxurious textiles, and sent it ceremoniously to the Emperor's camp. From Komárom it was then delivered to Győr accompanied by General Salm and his entire army and then taken by the family to Csáktornya (Čakovec, Croatia). It was Boldizsár's duty and honour to hold the head in his hand during the funeral procession and he is reported to have wept throughout the ceremony.¹⁸⁴

In the same year another tragic event happened in the life of the Batthyány family. The elderly Ban, Ferenc, died on 28 November 1566. Probably he had already been ill for a long time and his illness could have been one of the reasons why the wedding of Boldizsár and Dorica could not wait until the summer.¹⁸⁵ With his death, the huge Batthyány lands had

¹⁸¹ Sugár, *Szigetvár és viadala*, 185.

¹⁸² Sándor Takáts, "Zrínyi Miklós temetése" (The Funeral of Miklós Zrínyi), in *Régi idők, régi emberek*, 113–123.

¹⁸³ On György Zrínyi (Juraj Zrinski in Croatian), see Nataša Štefanec, *Heretik njegova veličanstva: povijest o Jurju IV Zrinskom i njegovu rodu* (His Majesty's Heretic: the Story of George Zrinski IV and his Family) (Zagreb: Barbat, 2001).

¹⁸⁴ "Septembris die nona Lunae summo mane, Mechmet Bassa Sokolovitschius, Caesaris generalis et supremus consiliarius, Domini Comitis Serini caput, Budam seu Salinum, fratris suo Mustafae Sokolovitschio, Budensi Bassae, mittit: quod cum accepisset, serico statim involuit, subtilique linteo tegit, et per duos rusticos, Iaurinum, quod ab aliquibus etiam Bregetium dicitur, in castra nostri Imperatoris ablegat. Inde porro, per Balthasarum Batschani, multis cum lachrymis, summoque moerore, Csakaturnum delatum; ibique monasterio Dominae Helenae, in fornice seu Mausoleo, quo Catharina, prima ipsius uxor, de Frangepanibus, felicis memoriae, cum filia et duobus filiis inclusa quiescit..." *Historia Szigethi (...) per M. Samuelem Budinam Labacensem* in *Rerum Hungaricarum Historia*, ed. by Johann Georg Schwandtner (Vienna: Johann Paul Kraus, 1746), 736.

¹⁸⁵ Because of his illness he could not personally take part in the funeral ceremony of Miklós Zrínyi, but he found it very important to send Gergely Bejczy to represent him. Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány on 21 September 1566. Letter no. 3724: "Ím értem, hogy Zrínyi György, az ő szerelmes atya fejét Zrínyi Miklós fejét ki mi atyánkfia volt ez jövendő hétfőn temetteti. Azért ím én az én képemben oda bocsátottam Bejczy Gergelyt, Kegyelmed ha a betegség engedi, legyen jelen (...) én örömet jelen lennék, mert megérdemelnéje, csak az egészség volna" (I hear that György Zrínyi is going to bury his dear father's head, Miklós Zrínyi's head, who was a relative of ours next Monday. I have sent Gergely Bejczy there on my behalf; if your illness allows, you should go as well (...) I would gladly be there since he would deserve it, if not for my illness).

to be divided. The castle of Németújvár was inherited by the widow, Katalin Svetkovics who would stay there until the end of her life, while Szalónak and Rohonc [Fig. 17] passed on to Kristóf, as the oldest living male relative.¹⁸⁶ On 3 March 1568, Boldizsár was appointed *dapiferorum regalium magister*¹⁸⁷ (Master Royal Purveyor), and a month later he was given the title of Transdanubian captain-general¹⁸⁸ which he kept for only three months between April and June 1568. The reason for this relatively short appointment was presumably Batthyány's own reluctance to hold it. The title did not come with any real executive power and it was mostly unpaid as well. In addition, the captain-general was expected to obey the ruler and not question his decisions.

¹⁸⁶ Péter Kóta, "Batthyány Ferenc végrendelete 1559-ből" (Ferenc Batthyány's Last Will from 1559) in *A Batthyányak évszázadai*, 53–64.

¹⁸⁷ Batthyány Archives, Körmend, Major., Lad. 27, Diplomatica, no. 42; and Iványi, "A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái," no. 218, 123. In this document, King Maximilian lets Boldizsár Batthyány know that with respect to the merits of his late uncle Ferenc, he appoints him Master Royal Purveyor.

¹⁸⁸ Géza Pálffy, "Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században" (Regional and Borderland Captain-Generals and Vice Captain-Generals in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary), *Történelmi Szemle* (1997), no. 2, 269.



Figure 17. The castle of Rohonc (Rechnitz) as it once was, in the window of a local confectionery (photo by András Koltai).

Indeed, this position was apparently used later by Rudolf as a means of providing the most powerful Hungarian aristocrats with the illusion of having their say in military preparations and operations. In reality they were not involved substantially in the decision-making processes. It is not accidental that apart from Batthyány, the other candidates and title-bearers included György, the son of Miklós Zrínyi and, Ferenc Nádasdy.¹⁸⁹ The three of them were considered the most influential and consequently the most dangerous political force in Royal Hungary. A letter¹⁹⁰ from young György Zrínyi reveals that he was also trying

¹⁸⁹ József Bessenyei, *A Nádasdyak* (The Nádasdy Family) (Budapest: General Press, 2005), 48.

¹⁹⁰ Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Monyorókerék on 3 July 1573, letter no. 53599. In this letter he asks for advice on how to turn the proffered captainship of Kanizsa down as he would not like to accept it since it is not paid.

to find a good excuse to turn various invitations down but in the end, afraid of the ruler's anger, he accepted the position of captain-general of Hungary.¹⁹¹

Boldizsár Batthyány had several children with his wife. There is mention of a baby girl as early as 1567¹⁹² (probably called Dorica¹⁹³ after her mother) but the couple was particularly afflicted with child mortality¹⁹⁴ so that in 1574, within a few days time, the couple lost three infants.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, only one son lived to manhood, a boy they named Ferenc, after the beloved uncle of Boldizsár's. This Ferenc grew up to be an important and highly interesting figure in his own right. It is generally held that little Ferenc was born on 26 July 1573 because the Draskovich note claims so¹⁹⁶ but we have encountered a source in the Körmend Archives, a private letter by László Bánffy of Alsólindva, in which he already mentions "kis Ferenc" in 1571.¹⁹⁷ The boy must therefore have been born around the end of 1570 or at the beginning of 1571. This is also supported by a remark by György Zrínyi in one of his letters from 1571 that his sister Dorica had been confined in childbirth.¹⁹⁸ He had only two adult sisters, Katalin who was born in 1575 and married Tamás Széchy. She died

¹⁹¹ See letter no. 53613 dated of 15 August 1574 from Vienna.

¹⁹² Dorica broke the news to her husband, saying, "I am letting you know that you have a daughter, although you wrote me you refuse to believe it's a girl. It would be great if you could come home for the baptism." Letter of Dorica Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány on 8 March 1572, letter no. 53479. See also the letter of Katalin Svetkovics to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 23 February 1567, letter no. 3905. In this letter she tells her nephew that Boldizsár visited them and both he and the baby girl are healthy and well.

¹⁹³ Letter of Dorica Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Szalónak on 4 March 1574, letter no. 53490. In this letter she says that little Dorica is very ill and no one knows what she is suffering from but that she is in the hands of God.

¹⁹⁴ On children in early modern Hungary see, *Beloved Children. History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Katalin Péter (Budapest: CEU Press, 2002) which uses a lot of material from the Batthyány archives.

¹⁹⁵ Letter of Nicolaus Pistolotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 4 May 1574, "nec audeo, nec scio quid scribam, ita prae dolore stupet animus, ne me servet Deus, nisi hoc gravi nuntio audito factus sum aegrotus, filios delectissimos, amabilissimos, quos eque amavi ac meipsum, vetulae curandos dari, et me addictissimum servitorem, qui dies noctesque Magnificentiam Vestram meditor, non vocatum in initio egritudinis, quis ab homine adeo prudente, docto, et amico, sicut Vestra Magnificentia est, potuisset expectare." Letter no. 37465. See also the letter of János Liszthi, bishop of Győr to Boldizsár Batthyány: "Az wristen ez el mult eztendewben ighen megh were, hertelen chak nem egy nap harom zeph gyerme kedeth el wewe, mast ismegh wilagh szerent ewremeth adoth" (God had smitten you greatly last year when he took those three beautiful children of yours almost in a single day, but now he gives you joy again as befits this world). Letter of János Liszthi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Prague on 8 May 1575, letter no. 29533.

¹⁹⁶ See Szerémi, "A gróf Draskovich-család," 370, under the date 26 July 1573, "Franciscus de Batthyan, filius Balthasaris natus est."

¹⁹⁷ Letter of László Bánffy to Boldizsár Batthyány from Alsólindva on 12 April 1571. Batthyány Archives in the Dr. Batthyány-Strattmann Múzeum, Körmend, Ht 90. 1. 374.

¹⁹⁸ Letter of György Zrínyi to Dorica Zrínyi from 1571, letter no. 53573.

when she was only twenty-one. There was also (perhaps another) Dorottya, whose year of birth is estimated to have been 1580 and who is thought to have become the wife of István Török.¹⁹⁹

In 1570, Kristóf passed away. Thus, the heritage of Szalónak and Rohonc devolved upon Boldizsár. His mother, Erzsébet who lived in Torony (Turnišča, Croatia), also died shortly after Kristóf, in 1571.²⁰⁰ The year 1570 marks the beginning of Boldizsár Batthyány's large-scale book collecting activity which is treated in depth in this dissertation. Certainly this period was characterised by his intensifying interest in natural sciences which was accompanied by the growing number of book purchases and widening network of international acquaintances which will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapters of this work. As for his role as head of the Batthyány family, after his aunt Katalin Svetkovics passed away,²⁰¹ Boldizsár also inherited the greatest of the three main residences of the Batthyánys, Németújvár,²⁰² and thus, all family possessions were united in his hands. [Fig. 18]

¹⁹⁹ Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, appendix.

²⁰⁰ Her last letter is dated from Torony 4 March 1571. Letter no. 4759.

²⁰¹ Her last surviving letter is dated to 1 March 1575 from Kőszeg and was written to Boldizsár Batthyány. Letter no. 4114.

²⁰² Boldizsár inherited Németújvár on 8 December 1575.

II. 4. THE BATTHYÁNY FAMILY AND THE REFORMATION

Boldizsár Batthyány behaved as a successor to his godparents in many respects: he continued to receive young men and women into his court who desired a good education²⁰³ and respectable noblemen sent recommendations to him so that he accepted their protégés. In 1575, Boldizsár Batthyány received a letter from János Gyczy in which the latter recommended the young Gáspár Pázmány to the lord's attention.²⁰⁴ Gáspár was none other than the younger brother of Péter Pázmány. Péter Pázmány was later to become the cunning and charismatic leader of the Counter-Reformation in Hungary.

There are many controversial elements surrounding the confessional orientation of the Batthyánys, beginning with his uncle, Ferenc. Ferenc had close ties with the Catholic Habsburgs and it seems logical to assume that at least in his youth he adhered to the Catholic faith. However, although in 1537 he still supported Catholic monks,²⁰⁵ from the 1540s onwards he appears to have supported Protestant preachers in his lands. Nevertheless, he was said to have worn a Holy Cross relic on a necklace until the day he died, a relic which Emperor Maximilian II asked for in a letter sent after the death of the Ban.²⁰⁶ In a testament dated to 1559, Ferenc asked his relatives to keep to the Catholic faith, in which they were

²⁰³ His wife Dorica repeatedly asks him to bring some cloth home for the four noble girls who lived with them at Németújvár. See letters no. 53494, 53495.

²⁰⁴ László Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég. Nádasdy Ferenc* (The Strong Black Bey, Ferenc Nádasdy) (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1987), 64. "In a letter from Gyulafehérvár the Transylvanian János Ghiczy recommends Gáspár Pázmány to the court of Boldizsár Batthyány, one of the most educated Transdanubian landlords, referring to Ferenc Nádasdy, so that the boy can see, hear and learn there." Unfortunately, only three letters survive in the MOL from Ghiczy (from 1585 and 1587), and this one is not among them.

²⁰⁵ Letter of Ferenc Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány from Pozsony on 28 July 1537, in *Középkori leveleink*, 338, no. 150; and Sándor Takáts, "Batthyány Kristóf levelezéséből," *Magyar Nyelv* 6 (1910), 230; Magyar, *Güssing*, 91.

²⁰⁶ The Emperor learned that Ferenc Batthyány "...ain Crengl am Halsz getragen darinnen das Holcz vom heylligen Creutz sein sollte," and he asked whether this relic ended up with Boldizsár or Katalin. If they don't really hold it dear, he would be happy to forward it to someone who appreciates it, "da dasselbig ganncz lieb unnd anngenomen gehallten werden sollte." Letter of Emperor Maximilian II to Boldizsár Batthyány from Wischa on 22 January 1567. See Iványi, "A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár memorabiliái," no. 215, 122.

born and brought up, and not to change their confession or follow new sects.²⁰⁷ András Koltai makes a good point when he says that Ferenc's attitude was more than confusing given the fact that first he entrusted two presumably Protestant tutors, Pomagaics and Faddi, with the education of his nephews and then he sent the younger boy Gáspár to the Jesuit College in Padua and Boldizsár to the violently anti-Protestant milieu of the French court.

Nevertheless, it rather seems that Ferenc also favoured Protestantism, he was just not very explicit about his preferences, most probably because he wanted to maintain good relations with the court and the Catholic ruler. His wife, however, kept to her Catholic faith. She is said to have prayed from a nice little prayer book given her by the Archbishop Miklós Oláh,²⁰⁸ and she even considered settling Jesuits in Németújvár.²⁰⁹ Kristóf Batthyány, however, and his wife Erzsébet Svetkovics²¹⁰ were openly Protestant, and on one occasion Boldizsár's father made scornful remarks about Catholic religion when he wrote to Bishop Gregoriánczi (the same one who tried to make him take his wife back whom Kristóf had apparently chased-off). He obviously made some kind of very insulting remark since the cleric replied, "Where Your Magnificence wrote that I came to consecrate some stone walls, well, I did not expect such scorn from you as I came to consecrate God's church."²¹¹ We have earlier mentioned his plundering the monastery of Remetinc which can also be explained by his general scorn of Catholics as well as perhaps by a feeling of personal

²⁰⁷ Ferenc Kóta, "Batthyány Ferenc végrendelete 1559-ből," 54. "concorditer omnes et singuli in vnitate fidei Catholicae Christianae in qua nati et educati sumus / et non debeant variare fidem et religionem, [...]ute nouas sectas sequi..."

²⁰⁸ Sándor Takáts, *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok* (Great Hungarian Women from the Past) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1982), 169.

²⁰⁹ Letter of István Szántó to the Jesuit general Nadal from Vienna on 13 August 1572. See *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae I, 1550 – 1579*, ed. by Ladislaus Lukács, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* 101 (Rome, 1969), 406 – 407. Quoted in Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 6.

²¹⁰ Boldizsár's mother continuously urged him to keep a good preacher at his court. See Takáts, *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok*, 169.

²¹¹ Letter of Pál Gregoriánczi to Kristóf Batthyány from Németújvár on 31 July 1563. In Iványi, "A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei," letter no. 69, 51.

ownership, since that monastery was founded by his grandfather Boldizsár Batthyány I around 1460–1480.²¹²

The years Boldizsár Batthyány spent at the French court and the violence he witnessed there towards Huguenots, beyond doubt deeply affected his conduct in matters of religion and confessional debates. So did his uncle's tentative and his parents' open Protestantism. According to some contemporaries, he was not an obvious loss to the Catholic camp. In the same letter where Bishop Liszthi mentions that Boldizsár lost three of his children of in just a couple of days, he also advises Batthyány to turn away from that "wicked doctor Pistalocius."²¹³ Thus, he clearly blames the physician for having a bad influence on Batthyány's confessional views.²¹⁴ This is striking as Nicolaus Pistolotius was most probably of Italian origin and it would seem more logical that he at least had been brought up in the Catholic faith although he undeniably might have turned towards Protestantism since he spent most of his time in Royal Hungary.²¹⁵

Boldizsár Batthyány's experiences in France also gave fuel to the idea that although he was brought up as a Lutheran, he was very much attracted by, and later on even practiced, Calvinism. Huguenots, indeed, adhered to Calvinist doctrines; however, they presented themselves as Lutherans. If Boldizsár really inclined towards Calvinism, it would have been more likely due to the influence of his court preacher, the theologian and Protestant bishop István Beythe.²¹⁶ Interestingly enough, it was Batthyány who heard about Beythe around 1574 and tried to attract him to Németújvár afterwards, something the young preacher accepted only a couple of years later. His career reflects quite faithfully the process of

²¹² Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Monasteries and Chapters in Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000).

²¹³ Letter of János Liszthi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Prague on 8 May 1575, letter no. 29533.

²¹⁴ Sándor Payr, *A Dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története* (History of the Transdanubian Evangelical Diocese) (Sopron, 1924) (2 vols.), vol. 1, 191.

²¹⁵ On Pistolotius see later chapters of this work.

²¹⁶ András Fabó, "Beythe István életrajza" (The Biography of István Beythe), *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő* 4 (1963), 210–268.

Konfessionsbildung current in Hungary at this time. István Beythe²¹⁷ (1532–1612) was indicted as a Hungarian preacher in Sopron in 1574 and this is where Boldizsár Batthyány or one of his acquaintances, perhaps Elias Corvinus,²¹⁸ took note of the gifted speaker. Batthyány invited Beythe to Németújvár.²¹⁹ Although he accepted this invitation only in 1576, he ended up remaining at Németújvár until the end of his life. Upon his arrival in Sopron, he had had to face examination in front of the actual superintendent, Péter Bornemisza, because of accusations that he followed Calvinist doctrines.²²⁰ He passed the examination and in 1585 was elected Lutheran bishop, clearly because he was still considered Lutheran although both his oral and written communications suggested a shift in confessional identity.²²¹ With Beythe’s appointment, the centre of Protestantism shifted from Ferenc Nádasdy’s estates to those of Boldizsár Batthyány. This change was not warmly welcome by everyone. The conflicts and controversies reached their climax after Boldizsár’s death, and lead to theological debates organised in Csepreg in 1591. This colloquium ended with István and his son András Beythe, a preacher in Surány, departing without having reached any agreement. However, Beythe was much more than a court preacher and respectable theologian. His knowledge of botany, his friendship with another physician-botanist, Gáspár Körösi Fraxinus (who served the Nádasdy family), and his active participation in the botanic work of his lord Batthyány and his acclaimed guest Carolus Clusius, and most importantly his tutelage of Boldizsár’s only surviving son, Ferenc (1571–1625) reveals that he was much

²¹⁷ On the literary activity of Beythe see, János Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében* (In the Sign of Reformation) (Budapest, 1953), 340–345.

²¹⁸ In one of his letters from 1574 he says: “Res illa cum crucigero Soproniensi magnas videtur habear difficultates, id facit ut minus curem: neque aliquid de eo negotio cum Reverendissimo Listhio conferre volueri, priusque cum Tua Magnificentia loquerer.” This could refer to Beythe. Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 14 April 1574, letter no. 8073.

²¹⁹ In a letter to Boldizsár, Jób Kávásy says that he spoke to Beythe and the latter was hoping he could get away from Sopron soon and make his way to Boldizsár. See the letter of Jób Kávásy to Boldizsár Batthyány from Boncodföldre on 23 June 1575. Letter no. 24303.

²²⁰ Piroska Uray, “Az irénizmus Magyarországon a 16–17. század fordulóján” (Irenism in Hungary at the Turn of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), in *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században* (Literature and Ideology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), ed. by Béla Varjas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 193.

²²¹ Uray, “Az irénizmus Magyarországon,” 193.

trusted and acknowledged by his employer, no matter how his confessional orientation may have changed over his years of service. Therefore, it is important to see what became of young Ferenc Batthyány after his father's death to understand what the tendencies and guidelines for his education could have been while Boldizsár was still alive. It seems that while his father may have been secretly attracted to Calvinism, the son Ferenc publicly practiced Calvinism since after his father's death in 1590, the spiritual leadership of the Batthyány estates was taken over by openly Calvinist preachers.²²² This corroborates the idea that Boldizsár was not against Calvinism, otherwise he would not have trusted Beythe with his only son's education. Ferenc's religious confession was the result of tendencies that were already present at the Németújvár court in his father's day.

There are other suggestions as to Boldizsár's confessional views, but most of them remain unsatisfactory and, indeed, highly speculative.²²³ Imre Katona came up with the idea that Batthyány was inclined towards Anabaptism,²²⁴ based on the single fact that a painting²²⁵ by Pieter Brueghel the Elder depicting the preaching Saint John the Baptist was on display in the main hall of Németújvár castle. There is more than one problem with this supposition: firstly, we have no idea about when and how that painting ended up in Németújvár, and Katona is not able to back up his theory with any concrete evidence that Boldizsár bought it or received it as a present from the painter Pieter Brueghel the Elder himself when he stayed in France. Secondly, the mere fact that the painting was in the possession of Boldizsár

²²² Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 8.

²²³ In general, see the following: the articles of Imre Katona, "Clusius és kora" (Clusius and his Age), *Vasi Szemle* 27 (1973/3), 398–407; "Sárvár és a Nádasdyak a XVI. században és a XVII. század elején" (Sárvár and the Nádasdys in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century), *Savaria* 1 (1963), 239–255; *Brueghel és a Batthyányak* (Brueghel and the Batthyánys) (Budapest, 1979); "A Báthoryak, Batthyányak, és Zrínyiek Habsburg ellenes mozgalmá" (The Anti-Habsburg Movement of the Báthorys, Batthyánys and Zrínyis), *Savaria* 2 (1964), 159–174; "A Batthyányak és a reformáció" (The Batthyánys and Reformation), *Savaria* 5-6 (1971–72), 435–466.

²²⁴ Katona, *Brueghel és a Batthyányak*, 93: "The 'Baptist' of Brueghel suggests the Anabaptist alternative. Obviously, Batthyány wanted to demonstrate through that painting that he accepted neither the Lutheran, nor the Catholic alternative."

²²⁵ The painting is an excellent example of Anabaptist iconography. See Zsuzsanna Urbach, "Marginal Remarks to Buegel's *Sermon of St. John the Baptist* in Budapest," in *Flemish Art in Hungary*, ed. by Carl van de Velde (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2004), 79–90.

Batthyány would also not necessarily demonstrate his Anabaptism. It is much more relevant to his convictions or rather his character that he, for instance, allowed Antitrinitarians to settle on his lands.²²⁶ What we know for sure is that he had a Protestant upbringing²²⁷ and that he opened his gates to the wandering printer Joannes Manlius²²⁸ who was banned from Laibach because he practiced the Lutheran confession. During his stay in Batthyány's castle, between 1582–1584, 1588, and 1595–1597, he mostly published Lutheran works²²⁹ and during the course of the heated theological debates between Lutherans and Calvinists, he even had a row with István Beythe who later called him a traitor.²³⁰

Furthermore, the count corresponded with one of the propagators of Calvinism in Hungary, István Szegedi Kis,²³¹ but also with both the bishop of Győr, János Liszthi²³² and the bishop of Eger, István Radéczy.²³³ The famous Lutheran theologian Paulus Florenius had regular contact²³⁴ and personal meetings²³⁵ with Count Batthyány as well. In one of his

²²⁶ Letter of István Bártai to Boldizsár Batthyány, 21st December 1570, Veszprém. Published in Iványi, "A körmen di Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei," 66–67. The pastor Bártai reproaches the count for letting the heretical teachers remain on his lands.

²²⁷ Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*, 8: "To sum up, Boldizsár Batthyány publicly followed and supported Lutheranism on his lands although it seems very probable that he also had Calvinist ideas, and the influence of other currents should also not be excluded."

²²⁸ Gedeon Borsa, "Die Buchdrucker des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn," *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Band 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), 1–33; 19–21.

²²⁹ István Monok, Péter Ötvös and Edina Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, *Bibliotheken in Güssing im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Band II, *Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband XXVI* (Eisenstadt, 2004), 221–222.

²³⁰ István Beythe, *Igaz Mentség* (1599): "Mind könyvnyomtatókkal öszejegyzettek vagytok, az mint él az áruló, tudja az maga nyughatatlan lekiismereti. Beythe István mentette azt meg az haláltúl mind feleségével ösze és az jótéteményért ez az hálaadás" (You all conspire with printers; the restless conscience of the traitor reveals how he lives. István Beythe saved him from death together with his wife and this is how he expresses his gratitude).

²³¹ See the introduction of Ötvös in Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 9–10. He allegedly had a copy of the work of Szegedi Kis on the Holy Trinity. *Ibid.*, 26.

²³² See the letters published in Iványi, "A körmen di Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei," no. 97, 105, pages 70 and 75, respectively.

²³³ There are eight letters to Boldizsár Batthyány in the MOL P 1314, microfilm no. 4886.

²³⁴ There were four letters from Florenius to Boldizsár Batthyány in the MOL from the years 1585–1589, however, only one survived. Letter of Paulus Florenius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 12 July 1589. Letter no. 14100.

²³⁵ Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* (Reformation in the Agricultural Cities. Studies in the Early Urbanisation in Hungary) (Budapest: Balassi, 1995), 163.

letters²³⁶ Florenius wrote about a synod that was to be organised somewhere in Western Hungary, the idea of which was also supported by Count Julius Eck von Salm.²³⁷ There is no evidence of a synod from this period in the scholarly literature so we can assume it never actually took place. Another time, Máté Skaricza, an active figure in the Hungarian Reformation, brought his own work (which Skaricza writes in superlatives about) to Batthyány's attention and asked the Count's support for its publication.²³⁸ Batthyány's wife, Dorica came from the Protestant Zrínyi family,²³⁹ and her brother, György²⁴⁰ Zrínyi also offered shelter in Monyorókerék for Manlius between 1587 and 1592.²⁴¹

Thus, whatever his inclinations really were, they remained an intimate form of faith rather than an active (let alone aggressive) propagation of any of the religious trends of the time. His conduct, on the other hand, can be explained by a very interesting and thought-provoking theory by Katalin Péter,²⁴² who called the attention to the fact that the practice of being impartial patrons of an alien denomination was well established by the time of the Reformation in Hungary, and was consequently shared by both Catholics and Protestants. In contrast with the established view in Hungarian historiography, that the conversion of lay patrons such as Boldizsár Batthyány brought with it an automatic, and often forced, turnover of churches, Péter claims that the *cuius regio, eius patronatus* principle prevailed. According to this principle, patronage belonged to the owner of the estate, meaning that, regardless of his confessional views, the patron possessed the rights of patronage over his estates, and the practice of religion belonged to the sphere where landlords did not intervene.²⁴³

²³⁶ Letter of Paulus Florenius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 12 July 1589. Letter no. 14100, published in Iványi, "A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei," no. 126, 90.

²³⁷ Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció*, 149.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 145–156.

²³⁹ Payr, *A dunántúli protestáns egyházkerület*, 411.

²⁴⁰ On György Zrínyi see Štefanec, *Heretik njegova veličanstva*.

²⁴¹ Payr, *A dunántúli protestáns egyházkerület*, 161.

²⁴² Katalin Péter, "Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Hungary," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249–261.

²⁴³ Péter, *A reformáció: kényszer vagy választás?*, 108, 117.

Consequently, the behaviour of Boldizsár Batthyány in matters of confession was neither unusual nor was it necessarily due to his tolerant character, but rather, to a practice widely accepted and applied by the contemporary Hungarian elite, as well as by sixteenth-century Habsburg rulers and Transylvanian Princes.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Péter, “Tolerance and Intolerance,” 256–258.

III. A PASSION FOR BOOKS, A PASSION FOR SCIENCE: THE CURIOUS PATRON BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY

III. 1. THE BEGINNING OF HIS SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES: BOLDIZSÁR BATTHYÁNY LIBRARY

Boldizsár Batthyány was far from being a model courtier, and his reluctance to appear at various important ceremonies at court became legendary. Although he was one of the young noblemen participating in the funerary procession during the funeral of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1565,²⁴⁵ leading the horse with the Hungarian coat-of-arms, he never was eager to take part in similar functions. In 1572, Antal Verancsics ordered him to appear at Archduke Rudolf's coronation ceremony in Pozsony together with a hundred horsemen and with his aunt Katalin Svetkovics. He either did not even reply or sent a negative answer because the chancellor had to remind him two more times of his duties.²⁴⁶ Many decades after his death, someone jokingly said, "Your situation is like that of my lord Boldizsár Botthyáni with Emperor Maximilian, who was invited by the Emperor to go hunting, and he excused himself saying he did not have a horse, so they promised him a horse, then he said he did not have a saddle, so they promised him a saddle too, then he said he did not have boots, they promised they would give him a pair of boots, too, to which he finally answered that he was surprised that the Emperor did not realise that he had no will to go hunting."²⁴⁷

It is true that in the 1570s, Boldizsár Batthyány became engaged in much more exciting pastimes and, most understandably, he preferred to spend his time at home, with his

²⁴⁵ Pálffy, "Magyar címerek," 250.

²⁴⁶ Letters of Antal Verancsics to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna and Pozsony on 30 June, 9 July, and 5 August 1572. Letters no. 51322–51324.

²⁴⁷ "Úgy vagyon Kegyelmednek dolga, mint Botthyáni Boldizsárnak Maximilian császárral, kit vadászni hívatott, azzal mentette magát, nincs lova, lovat ígértek neki, azt mondotta, nincs nyerge, azt is ígértek, azután meg azt mondotta, nincsen saruja, azt is ígértek, azt adta válaszul, csodálja, nem veszi a császár eszébe, hogy nincs kedve az vadászathoz." Letter of István Vitnyédi to one Kecskés from Sopron on 7 March 1662, in *Vitnyédi István levelei 1652–1664: adalékul a XVII. század politikai és erkölcstörténetéhez* (The Letters of István Vitnyédi from 1652–1664. Some Data Concerning the Political and Moral History of the Seventeenth Century), ed. by András Fabó, *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 15-16 (1871–1872), I, 194.

hobbies, rather than wasting it at endless courtly functions. Not only did he start to collect books on a large scale, but he also dedicated more and more of his free time to experimentation. The fact that he had inherited most of the Batthyány estates, certainly gave him even greater liberty to dedicate himself to his favourite pastimes, and following years of sporadic book orders, launch a proper mission to fill his rooms with texts that really satisfied his curiosity.

In an age where books were a luxury, the acquisition of a book would usually be preceded by much planning and pondering, and the volume purchased would have a great importance to its owner. You were what you read. However, when analysing book collections from the early modern period, another factor should be borne in mind; the role of books as means of representation. This phenomenon was naturally characteristic of wealthy individuals, lay and ecclesiastic authorities, members of the aristocracy, or even ambitious burghers and merchants. You were what you possessed. And the more you had of it the better. Certainly great book collections did not serve the purpose of satisfying one's curiosity and appetite for a good reading exclusively, and especially not that of a wider public as public libraries tried to do later on. Thus, book-collecting can never be explained as resulting from only one of these factors.

As mentioned earlier, Boldizsár Batthyány never attended any university. He was thus a “self-made scholar” who, without special education, primarily cherished a serious interest in natural sciences. Apart from his letters, another expression of this lifelong passion for learning was his library, one of the greatest book-collections in the Hungary of his time. The research pursued by Béla Iványi in the 1940s, as well as that recently conducted by István Monok and Péter Ötvös,²⁴⁸ has shown that Boldizsár Batthyány had approximately one

²⁴⁸ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, passim.

thousand books in his library.²⁴⁹ However, only a part of this collection has survived in Németújvár, where Ádám Batthyány, the grandson of Boldizsár, deposited them in the newly founded Franciscan friary in 1641 to “get rid of”²⁵⁰ the unwanted Protestant books of his ancestors.²⁵¹ Other books with Boldizsár’s possessor’s inscription can be found in various libraries today including institutions in Győr, Körmend, Sopron, the University Library of Budapest, the National Széchényi Library,²⁵² and probably also in libraries outside Hungary (Vienna, for instance).

The present-day book collection in Németújvár includes 334 titles, which does not reflect the true dimensions of Boldizsár Batthyány’s former extant library.²⁵³ Most of the books were composite volumes (*colligata*), often consisting of more than five individual works. Since no library catalogue has survived from Batthyány’s own time, researchers have had to rely upon a number of book bills issued by various book dealers (Aubry, Hiller, Widmar) between 1571 and 1589, and found in the National Archives of Hungary, the surviving books in Németújvár, and indirect sources like references to book orders in his private correspondence,²⁵⁴ to reconstruct his library.

²⁴⁹ The greatest library in Hungary in Boldizsár’s time, with holdings of 6,500 volumes, was that of Joannes Sambucus (in Hungarian János Zsámboky). After him comes Joannes Dernschwam, the humanist procurator of the Fuggers in Hungary, whose collection consisted of approximately 651 books and 1,162 various printed materials. Boldizsár Batthyány occupies roughly the fourth or fifth place among the ranks of contemporary book collectors. According to the evidence from the early seventeenth-century catalogues of the Nádasdys and Thurzós, their libraries contained, more or less, 400 volumes. For more information, see the following: István Monok, ed., *Magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1551–1721* (Private Collections in Hungary 1551–1721), *Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek* 1 (Szeged: JATE Központi Könyvtára és I. sz. Magyar irodalomtörténeti tanszéke, 1981); Csaba Csapodi *et al.*, *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (The History of Hungarian Libraries) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987); Gábor Kelecsényi, *Múltunk neves könyvgyűjtői* (Famous Book Collectors from the Past) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988); Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát”; Robert Evans, “The Wechel Presses. Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627,” *Past and Present* (1975), supplement 2.

²⁵⁰ Mária Horváth, “Egy növényjegyzék háttéréből. Adalékok a németújvári (güssingi) könyvtár alapításának körülményeihez” (The Background to a Nomenclature. Information Concerning the Circumstances of the Foundation of the Güssing Library), *Magyar Nyelv* 78 (1982), 197.

²⁵¹ Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám*; Horváth, “Egy növényjegyzék háttéréből,” 191–203; and Ötvös, “A németújvári ferences kolostor könyvtára” 746. See also, Tabernigg, “Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Güssing,” 167–175.

²⁵² Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 17.

²⁵³ Ötvös, “A németújvári ferences kolostor könyvtára.”

²⁵⁴ Dóra Bobory, “Angaben aus Balthasar Batthyánys Briefwechsel,” in Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 223–235; and Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát.”

There were a total of more than 670 volumes, counting all the titles mentioned in the bills and letters and adding to it the books held today in Némétújvár. These, if we take into account the composite volumes but also the overlap between actual book holdings and entries on the book-bills and letters, would correspond to approximately one thousand individual titles. Thus, the estimate by Monok and Ötvös, which ranks Batthyány's library as the fourth or fifth largest among contemporary collections in Hungary, seems correct. In an inventory²⁵⁵ of the library of the Némétújvár friary from 1780, we find an interesting classification of Catholic books (1571 volumes) and non-Catholic, "heretical," books (1281 volumes). This latter category refers primarily to the books used at the Protestant school, although it is possible that some of the works on the natural sciences were also considered "heretical."²⁵⁶ We do not know where the library was situated originally. Instead of a large library room, we should rather picture scattered cupboards, where the books would be placed, more-or-less unsystematically, since Ádám Batthyány's inventory refers to various *almaria* which then stood for a cupboard.

As a patron and book collector, Batthyány's interest in the classical learning was remarkable, with a large part of his library consisting of classical authors such as Cicero, Homer, Tertullian, and so on. Yet, it would be too far-fetched to say that he himself inclined towards textual studies. Rather, he either acquired those books for the school in Némétújvár for didactic purposes, or, since they made such an integral part of contemporary reading culture, they were a must from the point of view of representation. If we compare Batthyány's library with the book collection of another sixteenth-century figure from Hungary, the rich burgher, Johannes Dernschwam,²⁵⁷ it can be seen that classical Greek and Latin authors comprise more than half of the latter's collection.

²⁵⁵ Tabernigg, "Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Güssing," 173.

²⁵⁶ Horváth, "Egy növényjegyzék háttéréből," 197.

²⁵⁷ *Die Bibliothek Dernschwam. Bücherinventar eines Hunanisten in Ungarn*, ed. by Jenő Berlász, Katalin Keveházi and István Monok (Szeged: JATE Irodalomtörténeti Tanszéke, 1984).

No other library is known to have existed in Hungary from Boldizsár Batthyány's time where one can find such a strong presence of *gallica*, that is, French works, authors, or even, printers.²⁵⁸ The prevalence of French books, even when a German or Italian version was simultaneously available, suggests that Batthyány preferred to read in French as opposed to other modern languages. He had a large number of French language books on the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre,²⁵⁹ as well as about other actual events that troubled or interested him most, including works on the Polish royal elections,²⁶⁰ many of which were *gallica*. It is also unique to find modern French literature, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and the *Amadis de Gaula* (the latter in French translation²⁶¹ as well as in German²⁶²) among his books and the occurrence of theoretical works in French is also remarkable since it is not very typical among his Hungarian contemporaries.²⁶³ Boldizsár's Francophile orientation was probably the result of his acquaintance and close connection with French Protestant circles which he may have become involved during the years he spent at the French royal court, and particularly, in Paris. Although there are no written sources to corroborate this supposition, we can speculate that during his stay in Paris he might have met members of the Wechel printing dynasty, the head of the family, Andreas, and his son-in-law, Jean Aubry, and many other very interesting figures of the European (Protestant) intelligentsia, such as the botanist Carolus Clusius. Usually, the book dealer would send a catalogue to his customers, but in the case of Batthyány, there is evidence that it was mostly he who explicitly asked after certain books. He knew what he wanted and did everything he could to get the books he really desired. He did not hesitate to exploit his international connections for this purpose. Thus we can encounter names like that of the botanist Carolus

²⁵⁸ István Monok, "Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás."

²⁵⁹ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, no. 19, for instance.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 31, for instance.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 177.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, no. 647.

²⁶³ Monok, "Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás," 194–195.

Clusius,²⁶⁴ the French humanist Hubertus Languetus, or his closer friends, the physician Nicolaus Pistorius, and Johannes Homelius as well as the Viennese poet, Elias Corvinus in his correspondence. Jean Aubry undeniably helped Batthyány most in building his library.²⁶⁵

Aubry at that time ran his office out of Frankfurt, but he acted as the main book-dealer to the Viennese court as well. Aubry himself was inclined towards the occult arts, and many of his publications are, indeed, books on subjects such as astrology, alchemy, or even Paracelsian medicine. Batthyány was often privileged to receive new publications hot from the press and it is not rare to find first editions of books in his collection.²⁶⁶ There are a number of books on political theory in Batthyány's library, Machiavelli and Bodin,²⁶⁷ for example. His collection, thus, was very rich and varied. Apart from a great number of theoretical, historical and philosophical works, among which the prevalence of *gallica* is remarkable, works of the celebrated Italian architect of Vienna, Jacopo Strada, mingle with contemporary literature and an outstanding collection of books on natural sciences.

As a well-known patron, Boldizsár Batthyány was asked to support the publishing of various manuscripts. Simon Forgách (brother of the historiographer Ferenc) called his attention to the work of the historiographer Giovanni Michele Bruto (Joannes Michael Brutus) in 1587,²⁶⁸ and when Joannes Sambucus recommended a rare and precious Greek

²⁶⁴ On this see the following chapter on botany.

²⁶⁵ Evans, "The Wechel Presses," 35.

²⁶⁶ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 41, 44, 45.

²⁶⁷ Indeed, the presence of Jean Bodin's book in Batthyány's library is more than noteworthy, since, as Györgyi Máté showed in her article, he was – in contrast to Machiavelli, for instance – less well known or popular in Hungary. See Györgyi Máté, "Jean Bodin és a magyar későreneszánsz" (Jean Bodin and the Hungarian Late Renaissance), *Irodalomtörténeti Dolgozatok* 142 (Szeged: JATE BTK, 1981).

²⁶⁸ Sándor Takáts, "A magyar és török íródeákok" (Hungarian and Turkish Scribes), in *Rajzok a török világból* (Sketches from the Turkish Period) (Budapest: MTA, 1915), vol. 1, 37.

manuscript to him in 1582,²⁶⁹ he was ready and very much willing to finance its translation and publication, supposedly because it was related to alchemy.²⁷⁰

It is always challenging to try and find out whether the book collector really read the books he bought. The size of the books can be revealing: the pocket-sized octavo or even smaller-format volumes were usually meant to be carried around as both distraction and entertainment. These pocket-sized books often represented the favourite readings of their owners, compilations of poems, for instance, which the reader might like to open from time to time and read a page or two.²⁷¹ It was Aldo Manuzio who started to produce octavo volumes for the first time. In contrast, larger formats would have been used for the purposes of instruction. They could be school books, posh illuminated manuscripts or encyclopaedic works. Another revealing detail is the presence or lack of *marginalia*, that is, marginal notes. It is possible that some readers would have felt it to be barbarous to write notes in ink in expensive books, and thus, would avoid inserting notes in their books even though they read them. Nevertheless, this was such a widespread custom that the absence of marginal notes really suggests that the volume was not used much by its owner. Especially if the book does not show other signs of having been regularly used, such as dark, greasy and rounded page corners, missing pages in the front and the back, faded cover, and so on.

²⁶⁹ See the study by Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, “Zsámboki János levelei Batthyány Boldizsárhoz” (Letters of János Zsámboki to Boldizsár Batthyány), in “Nympha super ripam Danubii,” *Tanulmányok a XV-XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (Studies on Hungarian Cultural History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries) Humanizmus és Reformáció 28 (Budapest: Balassi, 2002), 213–217.

²⁷⁰ Zsámboki in his own catalogue described the manuscript in the following way: “Stephani Alexandrini opus, cum Cleopatr. Democriti, Pelagii, Hostiani, περί χρυσοποιίας de multis secretis volumen propediem vertendum, edendumque mittet.” Ritoók-Szalay identified it with two possible copies in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ÖNB Med. gr. 2 and ÖNB Med. gr. 3. Even the botanist Carolus Clusius became involved in this affair, since after the death of Sambucus, Batthyány still wanted to finance the translation, but the manuscript could no longer be found. See Ritoók-Szalay, “Zsámboki János levelei Batthyány Boldizsárhoz,” 217.

²⁷¹ *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (tr. by Lydia G. Cochrane) (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 180–181.

Boldizsár Batthyány had no *ex libris*, but he wrote his name as owner in all of his books even though in many cases it is obvious that he never used them afterwards.²⁷² He certainly did not have customarily insert *marginalia* in his readings, although it is not always clear whether this was due to his respect for books, or rather, because he actually did not read them. At the same time, there are a couple of handwritten corrections in some of the contemporary editions of philosophical treatises he possessed, but these appear only in the first pages suggesting that he did not read any further.²⁷³ The fact that he faithfully preserved rhetorical, philosophical, Protestant theological works, as well as early prints and medieval manuscripts, which he apparently did not often use, indicate his bibliophile attitude. These are the volumes which ended up first in the Protestant school in Németújvár, and consequently, in the Franciscan friary in Ádám Batthyány's time. He apparently had also kept books deriving from the Augustinian monastery of Németújvár which presumably was closed down around the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁴ However, not all the books in Németújvár today were Boldizsár's acquisitions. Some of the older books had belonged to his bibliophile father, Kristóf Batthyány, and some have the owner's mark of other people such as István Beythe²⁷⁵ and András Beythe.²⁷⁶

In comparison with Western European libraries, and even compared to the once-extant, approximately 10,000-strong Czech Rožmberk library,²⁷⁷ the number of volumes Batthyány possessed might seem modest. However, we have to bear in mind that gathering his library was rather a great achievement considering the difficulties Hungarian book

²⁷² Monok, "A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században," 63.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁷⁴ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és térsaskáptalanok*, 47. After 1526, we do not know the history of this eremite monastery.

²⁷⁵ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, no. 51, 72, 143.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 60, 72, 86, 130.

²⁷⁷ On the Rožmberk library, see Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (Brno, 1852), 79–82; and Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 141–142. The contemporary catalogue made by the librarian Václav Březan is today to be found in Stockholm, MS Bibliotheca Rosenbergica.

collectors encountered when trying to acquire new books.²⁷⁸ Book production on the national level was quite meagre and consisted mostly of theological pieces printed in the workshops of ambulant printers. Therefore, the book collectors had to rely largely upon their international contacts and they often had to wait a long time until they finally got their hands on a much-desired book. Under these circumstances, the role of the book dealer was most relevant and Batthyány benefited from the services of one of the best book merchants of his time.

Furthermore, due to the fact that the royal court was no longer located in Hungary, many of the great Hungarian private libraries ended up in Vienna and thus, the foundations of a national library were substantially delayed. It is enough to think of the enormous libraries of Sambucus, Derschwam, or András Dudith²⁷⁹ none of which remained in Hungary. There were no universities in Hungary in this period, either, which might have functioned as intellectual bookish centres until the University of Nagyszombat was founded in 1635.²⁸⁰

Nevertheless, we know of a great number of private libraries from this period, falling into five categories: first, there are the libraries of intellectuals (that of Joannes Sambucus, Johannes Derschwam, and András Dudith,²⁸¹ for instance); secondly, there are the book collections of magnates and noblemen (this is where Boldizsár Batthyány's library can be categorised); thirdly, collections of leading figures of the Catholic Church (Miklós Oláh,

²⁷⁸ On Hungarian reading culture in the early modern period see, István Monok, "Lesende Magnaten und Bürger im Westungarn des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Bibliothekar und Forscher. Beiträge zur Landeskunde des burgenländisch-westungarischen Raumes. Festschrift für Norbert Frank zum 60. Geburtstag* (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 2003), 179–190; Idem, "Private Bibliotheken in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, ed. by Werner Arnold, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 31–53; and *Kék vér, fekete tinta. Arisztokrata könyvgyűjtemények 1500–1700. Nemzetközi vándorkiállítás. Katalógus* (Published in English as *Blue Blood, Black Ink. Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700: International Travelling Exhibition; Zagreb, Martin, Bratislava, Budapest, Burg Forchtenstein, Fall 2005–Fall 2007*. Ed. István Monok. Budapest: OSZK, 2005 (Budapest: OSZK, 2005).

²⁷⁹ *Dudith András könyvtára. Részleges rekonstrukció* (The Library of András Dudith. Partial Reconstruction), ed. by József Jankovics and István Monok (Szeged: Scriptum, 1993). On Dudith, see Gábor Almási, *The Uses of Humanism. Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) and the Humanist Network in East-Central Europe*. PhD dissertation. Central European University, Budapest (2004).

²⁸⁰ Monok, "A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században," 59.

²⁸¹ Dudith was, nevertheless, an anti-Paracelsian. See, Lavoslav Glesinger, "Der Humanist Andreas Dudith im Kreise der Antiparacelsisten," *Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung* 7 (1967), 3–12.

Zakariás Mossóczi); fourthly, book collections of Protestant preachers (István Csulyak Miskolci); and finally, the libraries of burghers.²⁸²

It is interesting to take a closer look at the group where Batthyány also belonged. Certainly, all his relatives and friends possessed some books. Miklós Bánffy from Alsólindva, for instance, allowed the printer Rudolf Hoffhalter to work on his estate until 1574, after which the workshop moved to Nedelice, to György Zrínyi's estate.²⁸³ The Zrínyi family, on the other hand, had estates by the Adriatic Sea, and their agents often travelled to Venice where they acquired books for their employers. It is not impossible, either, given their close family ties, that they fulfilled some specific request for books of Boldizsár Batthyány as well.²⁸⁴ György Zrínyi tried his best to acquire the bookish bequest of his late bailiffs which testifies to the fact that apart from the lords themselves, very often their higher employees were lovers and collectors of books, too.²⁸⁵ Tamás Nádasdy's bailiff, György Perneszi had his own little library from which he often had lent some items to his lord.²⁸⁶ When Miklós Pálffy got married to Maria Fugger, the Pálffy family had inherited, together with the castle of Vöröskő, a great number of books originally belonging to the rich merchant family.²⁸⁷ Unfortunately, no library catalogues of Hungarian aristocratic book collections survive from these decades, most of the first systematic descriptions of library holdings were made around the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁸⁸ An exception is the catalogue made of

²⁸² Monok, "Private Bibliotheken in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert," 34.

²⁸³ István Monok, "A Bánffy család alsólindvai udvara és könyves műveltsége" (The Court and Bookish Culture of the Bánffy Family from Alsólindva), in *Blue Blood, Black Ink*, 62.

²⁸⁴ Monok, "A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században," 63; and Idem, "Zrínyi Miklós a könyvgyűjtő" (Miklós Zrínyi the Book Collector), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 91–91 (1987–1988), 175.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ On Perneszi see, Ferenc Szakály, "A sárvári 'provinciális humanista kör' és a reformáció kezdetei" (The 'Provincial Humanist Circle' of Sárvár and the Beginnings of Reformation), in *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára* (In the Service of Science. Writings to Honour Kálmán Benda on his Eightieth Birthday), ed. by Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993), 83–96.

²⁸⁷ Eva Frimmová, "A Pálffy-könyvtár" (The Pálffy Library), in *Blue Blood, Black Ink*, 130.

²⁸⁸ Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám és könyvtára*; Gábor Hausner, István Monok, and Géza Orlovsky, *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története* (History of the Bibliotheca Zriniana), in *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya* (The History and Holdings of the Bibliotheca Zriniana), ed. by Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Argumentum–Zrínyi, 1991); and Ivan Kosić, "Bibliotheca Zriniana," in *Blue Blood, Black Ink*, 17–25.

the books of György Thurzó the Protestant Palatine which reveals that he had approximately 600 books in his castle at Biccse.²⁸⁹

III. 1. 1. Boldizsár Batthyány's Books on Natural Sciences

The following items in Batthyány's reconstructed library "catalogue" are definitely worth taking a closer look. To be sure, his interest in the study of nature was manifold. He acquired books on spas, chirurgy and general medicine as well as alchemy, Hermeticism and divinatory arts. The list provided here gives an insight into his collection of natural scientific books.²⁹⁰

Albertus Magnus	<i>Introductiones</i>	Straßburg	H. Morhard	1520
Albertus Magnus	<i>Philosophiae naturalis Isagoge</i>	Straßburg	U. Morhard, pr. by L. Alantsea	1520
Albertus, Salomon	<i>Tres orationes</i>	Nuremberg	off. C. Gerlachiae	1585
Albunasar	<i>Flores astrologiae Albunasaris</i>	Augsburg	E. Ratdolt	1488
Al-Kindi, Abu Yusuf Yakub ibn Ishak ibn Subbah	<i>De medicinarum compositarum</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Antonius, Gazius, ed.	<i>Corona florida medicinae</i>	Venice	Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis	1491
Apomasar, interpr. by Joannes Leunclaius	<i>Apotelesmata</i>	Frankfurt	Wechel	1577
Argillata, Petrus de, and Albucasis	<i>Chirurgia Argelate cum Albucasi</i>	Venice	Luca Antonius de Giunta Florentini	1520
Arnaldus, de Villanova, ed. by Thomas Murchius	<i>Speculum medicinae</i>	Lyon	Franciscus Fradin, pr. by Balthasar de Gabiano	1504
Artemidorus Daldianus, tr. by Walter Hermann Ryff, Melanchton, Philipp	<i>Traumbuch Artemidori</i>	Strasbourg	J. Rihel	1572

²⁸⁹ Helena Saktorová and István Monok, *Thurzó György könyvtára* (The Library of György Thurzó) (Matica Slovenská: forthcoming); and Mária Ludányi, "Könyvtárrendezés Thurzó György nádor udvarában 1611-ben" (Cataloguing in the Library of Palatine György Thurzó in 1611), in *Collectanea Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* (Studies in Honour of Tibor Klaniczay), ed. by Géza Galavics, János Herner, and Bálint Keserű (Szeged: JATE, 1990), Adattár XVI – XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 10, 271–277.

²⁹⁰ The description of titles has been completed by Monok, Ötvös and Zvara. In this table I give a shortened title, while the full description is going to be provided in the Appendix.

Aubert, Jacques	<i>De metallorum ortu et causis</i>	Lyon	Johannes Berion	1575
Belovacensis, Vincentius	<i>De alchimia et rebus metallicis et speculo</i>	Basel		1571
Bessonius, Jacobus	<i>De absoluta ratione olea et aquas et medicamentis simplicibus</i>	Zürich	Andreas Gessner jr.	1559
Bonus Lombardus, Petrus, pr. By Michael Toxites	<i>Introductio in divinam chemiae artem</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Camerarius, Joachimus	<i>Commentarius de generibus divinationum</i>	Leipzig	Steinmann, pr. by Voegel	1576
Cardanus, Hieronymus	<i>De rerum varietate</i>	Basel	H. Petri	1557
Clusius, Carolus	<i>Aromatum et simplicium medicamentorum historia</i>	Antwerp	Ch. Plantin	1579
Clusius, Carolus, tr. and comm.	<i>Symplicium medicamentorum a Nicolao Monardis</i>	Antwerp	off. Ch. Plantin	1579
Corti, Matteo	<i>Ad tyrunculos dosandi methodus</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Egenolff, Christian, ed.	<i>Pflanzbüchlin</i>	Frankfurt am Mayn	heirs of Egenolff	1572
Epimetheus, Franciscus, ed. by Hieronymus Reusner	<i>Pandora</i>	Basel	S. Apiarius	1582
Erastus, Thomas, ed. by Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus	<i>De astrologia divinatrice epistolae</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1580
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Disputatio de putredine</i>	Basel	L. Ostenius	1580
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Explicatio quaestionis famosae</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Epistola de... lapidis</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Fenotus, Johannes Antonius	<i>Alexipharmacum</i>	Basel		1575
Ferrerius, Augerius, Cardano, Geronimo	<i>De pudendagra lue hispanica</i>	Antwerp	Martinus Nutius	1564
Ficinus, Marsilius, Pictorius, Georgius, comm	<i>De studiosorum tuenda sanitate</i>	Basel	Sixtus Henricpetri	1569
Foligno, Getile da	<i>De proportionibus medicinarum ad actum</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Garbo, Tommaso del	<i>Tractatus de reductione medicinarum ad actum</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Garlandius, Johannes	<i>Compendium alchimiae</i>			1571
Garlandius, Johannes, and Arnoldus de Villanova	<i>Compendium alchimiae Ioanni Garlandi</i>	Basel		1560
Geber	<i>Summa perfectionis</i>	Venice	P. Schöffer	1542
Gemma, Cornelius	<i>De naturae divinis characterismis</i>	Antwerp	Ch. Plantin	1575
	<i>Gemma gemmarum</i>	Hagenau	H. Gran, pr. by J. Rynman	1518
Gesner, Conrad, Carronus, Jacob, Caspar Wolf	<i>Historia animalium</i>	Zürich	off. Froschoviana	1587
Gesner, Evonymus	<i>De secretis remediis</i>	Zürich	A. Gesner	1554
Gorris, Pierre de	<i>Formulae remediorum</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Gratarolus, Gulielmus	<i>Verae alchimiae artsique metallicaee</i>	Basel	H. Petri and P. Perna	1561

Gratoroli, Guilielmo and Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli	<i>Alchemiae artsique metallicae doctrina</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Hemming, Nicolaus	<i>Admonitio de superstitionibus magicis vitandis</i>	Copenhagen	J. Stöckelmann and A. Gutterwitz	1575
Hermes Trismegistos, ed. by Franciscus Flussas	<i>Pimandras</i>	Bordeaux	S. Millanges	1574
Isaac Iudaeus, tr. by Johannes Posthius	<i>De diaetis universalibus et particularibus</i>	Basel	S. Henricpetri	1570
Jordanus, Thomas	<i>Peste Phaenomena exercitatio</i>	Frankfurt	Andreas Wechelus	1576
Junius, Hadrianus	<i>Nomenclator</i>	Antwerp	Christophorus Plantinus	1583
Lascovius, Petrus	<i>De homine magno</i>	Wittenberg	heirs of J. Crato	1585
Lullus, Raimundus	<i>Mercuriorum liber</i>	Cologne	Birckmann	1567
Lullus, Raimundus	<i>De alchimia opuscula</i>	Nuremberg	J. Petreius	1546
Lullus, Raimundus	<i>Summula</i>	Strasbourg	J. Knobloch	1504
Lullus, Raimundus	<i>De secretis naturae</i>	Cologne	J. Birckmann	1567
Lullus, Raimundus	<i>Codicillus</i>	Cologne	heir of A. Birckmann	1572
Maestlin, Michael	<i>Ephemerides novae</i>	Tübingen	G. Gruppenbach	1580
Matthaeus, Silvaticus, Moretus, Matthaeus, ed	<i>Liber pandectarum medicinae</i>	Vicenza	Hermann Lichtenstein	c.1479
Meietus, Paulus	<i>Opuscula illustrium medicorum de dosibus</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Mizaud, Antoine, ed. by Matalius Metellus, Johannes	<i>Memorabilium</i>	Cologne	Johann Birckmann	1572
Montagnana, Bartolomeo	<i>De modo componendi medicinas</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Alexi Petri Montani	<i>Alchimei Buchl.</i>	Venice		1538
Morienus Romanus, Bernardus Trevisanus, and Robertus Vallensis	<i>De re metallica</i>	Paris	G. Guillard	1564
Morienus Romanus, Batholomé Calvet, Robert of Chester, Khalib Ibn Yazid al-Umawi	<i>De transfiguratione metallorum</i>	Paris	G. Guillard	1559
Palingenius, Marcellus	<i>Zodiacus vitae</i>	Basel	heirs of N. Brylinger	1566
Perna, Petrus, ed.	<i>Turba philosophorum</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Peucer, Casparus	<i>Commentarius de praecipuis generibus divinationum</i>	Wittenberg	J. Lufft	1572
Pictorius, Georgius	<i>Opera nova</i>	Basel	off. Henricpetriana	1569
Pictorius, Georgius	<i>De illorum daemonum</i>	Basel	S. Henricpetri	1569
Plinius Secundus, Caius, ed. by Alexander Benedictus Veronensis	<i>Historia naturalis</i>	Venice	J. Rubeus and B. Vercellenses	1507
Plutarchus, Chaeroneus, ed. by Joachimus Camrarius, tr. by Adrianus Turnebus	<i>De natura et effectionibus daemonum</i>	Leipzig	J. Steinmann, pr. by Voegel	1576

Porta, Giambattista della	<i>Magia naturalis</i>	Antwerp	Ch. Plantin	1576
Quercetanus, Josephus	<i>Ad Iacobi Auberti responsio</i>	Lyon	J. Lertotius	1575
Richardus Anglicus	<i>Correctorium alchymiae</i>	Strasbourg	B. Jobin	1581
Rondelet, Guillaume	<i>De ponderibus</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Ryff, Walther Hermann	<i>Kreüter buch</i>	Straßburg	B. Beck	1540
Rupescissa, Johannes de, Raimondus Lullus, Wilhelmus Gratarolus, and Michael Savonarola	<i>De consideratione quintae essentiae</i>	Basel		1561
Simonius, Simon	<i>Artificiosa curandae pestis methodus</i>	Leipzig	J. Steinmann	1576
Sporisch, Johannes	<i>Idea medici</i>	Frankfurt	heir of A. Wecheli	1582
Thurneysser, Leonardus	<i>Almanach auff das Jahr 1577</i>	Berlin	M. Hentzke	1576
Trevisanus, Bernardus, Wolf, Heinrich, Toxites, Michael	<i>Von der hermetischenn philosophia</i>	Straßburg	Ch. Müller, jr.	1582
Ulsenius, Theodoricus, comm. by Georgius Pictorius	<i>De Pharmacandi ratione</i>	Basel	S. Henricpetri	1569
Ventura, Laurentius, Garlandius, Johannes	<i>De ratione conficiendi lapidis philosophici</i>	Basel		1571
Villanova, Arnaldus, Taurelli, Nicolaus	<i>Opera omnia</i>	Basel	off. Pernea	1585
Vittori, Benedetto	<i>Compendium, de dosibus medicinarum</i>	Lyon	Jean Mareschall	1584
Wierus, Joannes	<i>De Ira Morbo</i>	Basel	Johannes Oporinus	1577

Table 1. List of books on natural sciences in Boldizsár Batthyány's reconstructed library.

The titles connected to medicine and chirurgy reflect the Count's and his contemporaries' interest in these subjects, since it is known from various sources that in this period people often tried to cure and treat themselves, mostly in the absence of a physician in reach or the means to pay for one. Therefore, they would have relied on every available piece of information on their diseases, whether from another lay person or a book. Among these titles we find classics like Al-Kindi or Gentile da Foligno, and also the newest releases and bestsellers, such as Thomas Jordanus' book on the plague, probably even the very first edition of it. Also, Marsilio Ficino's treatise on how to preserve health when deeply engaged in studies, a very popular read in the sixteenth century which had originally been part of his *De vita triplici* is of particular note. The book on weights and measures by the French

physician Guillaume Rondelet is worth mentioning here because the author was the professor of the botanist Carolus Clusius at Montpellier and it might be supposed that the work (an edition from 1584) was perhaps recommended to Batthyány by his friend Clusius.

The medical books cannot be dealt with properly without the alchemical, the Paracelsian and anti-Paracelsian works, since some of these are very practical handbooks on the proper dosage of medical substances to be applied, knowledge rather useful in Paracelsian medical alchemy as well. Because of the huge impact of Paracelsian medical alchemy, however, these entries will be discussed in a separate subchapter.

Alchemists were mostly self-made men in the sense that there was no systematic alchemical or chemistry education in the sixteenth century yet. The first university chemistry courses only began in middle of the seventeenth century. Although distillation had been used in pharmacology for a long time and thus, there did exist some ways that students could become acquainted with some elementary (al)chemical processes, it is still impossible to say that alchemy would have found its way into the university curricula. Consequently, there were no real textbooks for alchemy available at the beginning of the century, while certainly the possibilities provided by the printing press had a huge impact on the spread of alchemical books as well. There were printers specialized in publishing books on both alchemy in particular and the occult arts in general such as the Wechels, and especially Andreas, whose agent, Jean Aubry was one of the main providers of books on the occult arts in Central Europe in general and to Boldizsár Batthyány in particular.²⁹¹

The Hermetic texts and the *Tabula Smaragdina* in particular, enjoyed great popularity.²⁹² These works contained a summary of the principles of change in nature, and

²⁹¹ Evans, "The Wechel Presses."

²⁹² On the fortune of the Hermetic texts in the Middle Ages see, Paolo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, *I testi e codici di Ermete nel Medioevo* (Florence: Edizione Polistampa, 2001). Furthermore, see the classic study of Hermeticism in the Renaissance, Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964). The most recent translation of the texts were made by Brian P.

later commentators apparently read the same message between its lines, namely, that the powers of the cosmic soul must somehow be concentrated in a solid substance, the philosophers' stone or elixir, by the means of transmutation.²⁹³ Hermetic doctrines, indeed, were firmly connected to the alchemical *opus*, since the teachings of Hermes were believed to lead the alchemist and other initiates to the knowledge of the unity of the All and to the discovery of the innermost *arcana naturae*. "The idea was that the access to the secrets of nature granted by Hermetic teachings, would lead to an operative knowledge capable of transforming the same nature on which it was grounded and to produce something superior to what nature herself could ever bring forth."²⁹⁴ The works of medieval authors, such as Albert the Great, Roger Bacon, Raymond Lull, John of Rupescissa and, Arnold of Villanova, the first individuals in the medieval West to be concerned with alchemy, were also very popular subjects for the printing press. During the same period, Islamic authors such as Khalid, Rhazes, or Avicenna and most importantly Geber (or Jabir) were also translated into Latin and their works were printed *en masse*, if it had not been done before. Similarly, the *Picatrix*, attributed to the tenth-century Spanish author, Al-Majriti was commissioned by Alfonso the Learned to be translated into Latin in the thirteenth century.²⁹⁵ The books written by physicians, apothecaries and botanists such as Hieronymus Brunschwig or compiled (and often plagiarized) by printers like Michael Puff, Walther Hermann Ryff, and Philip von Ulstadt, mostly belong to the category described as "books of secrets"²⁹⁶ which were to provide the greatest source of income for the printing houses for decades. In the second half of the sixteenth century, many renowned physicians and botanists dedicated high-quality

Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²⁹³ Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 95–96.

²⁹⁴ Michela Pereira, "Alchemy and Hermeticism: An Introduction to this Issue," *Early Science and Medicine* 5 (2000), 117–118.

²⁹⁵ Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 98.

²⁹⁶ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

works or at least chapters to various technical issues related to alchemy. Conrad Gesner with his *De remediis secretis*,²⁹⁷ Gerolamo Cardano,²⁹⁸ Giambattista della Porta,²⁹⁹ Andrea Mattioli,³⁰⁰ Andrea Cesalpino, Adam Lonitzer,³⁰¹ or Joachim Camerarius³⁰² dealt with various aspects of distillation. Many of their works contained a large number of illustrations. Vannoccio Biringuccio,³⁰³ Georgius Agricola,³⁰⁴ Leonhart Thurneisser,³⁰⁵ Jacques Besson,³⁰⁶ Joseph du Chesne (Quercetanus),³⁰⁷ for instance, all provided practical information concerning the technical side of alchemy, especially about distillation, the distilling apparatuses and instruments used in the laboratory.

Among the books of Boldizsár Batthyány on alchemy there can be found almost all the ‘bestsellers’ in the most diverse genres, from philosophical treatises on alchemical theories to “books of secrets”³⁰⁸ dealing with everyday household practices. Alessio Piemontese (Pedemontanus or Petri Montani) was one of the most-read authors in the genre of “books of secrets” whose unidentified title (*Alchimey buchl[ein]* – booklet on alchemy) was presumably the *De secreti*³⁰⁹ since this was his only widely-known work. Although it did not explicitly deal with the art of transmutation or other well-known alchemical practices, it offered a series of recipes and ways of preparing or imitating substances such as cosmetics, perfumes, fake jewels (while also providing practical advice on the conservation of fruits,

²⁹⁷ Conrad Gesner, *De remediis secretis* (Zürich: Christophorus Froscher, 1569), ed. by Caspar Wolf.

²⁹⁸ Gerolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate* (Lyon: Guillaume de Roville, 1550), he discusses distillation methods in the 2nd and the 6th book.

²⁹⁹ Giambattista della Porta, *De destillatione* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1608).

³⁰⁰ Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Commentarii ... in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis De materia medica* (Lyon: Gabriel Coterius, 1563).

³⁰¹ Adam Lonitzer, *Kräuterbuch* (Frankfurt: Egenolff, 1582).

³⁰² Joachim Camerarius, *Hortus medicus philosophicus* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyerabend, 1588).

³⁰³ Vannoccio Biringuccio, *Piretechnia* (Venice: Trino di Monfarrata, 1558).

³⁰⁴ Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basel: Froben, 1556).

³⁰⁵ Leonhart Thurneisser, *Megalé khymia, vel magna alchimia* (Berlin: Voltz, 1583).

³⁰⁶ Jacques Besson, *De absoluta ratione extrahendi olea et aquas et medicamentis simplicibus* (Zürich: Andreas Gesner jr., 1559).

³⁰⁷ Joseph du Chesne (Josephus Quercetanus), *Ad Iacobi Auberti Vindonis De ortu et causis metallorum contra chymicos ... responsio* (Lyon: Lertotius, 1575).

³⁰⁸ On the books of secrets see, Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*.

³⁰⁹ *De' Secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piemontese... seconda edizione* (Lucca: Busdrago, 1557).

dying one's hair, growing a beard, and so forth). For the preparation of most of these substances a basic knowledge of "applied" alchemy was required at least.

Raimundus Lullus is represented by a great number of works in the collection. Although it is now known that most of the alchemical works attributed to him were not actually written by him,³¹⁰ nevertheless, the authors behind these books were widely read in Batthyány's time.

Batthyány possessed more than one work on the origin of metals. Jacques Aubert, who is represented in the collection with his widely-known *De metallorum ortu et causis*, was a fierce critic of Paracelsus. In the first pages of his introduction he states *Paracelsum fuisse impium et perditissimum hominem*. However, in Batthyány's library – not surprisingly, knowing his habit of acquiring the works of authors who contradicted one another – there is also the counterpart to Aubert's, the defense of Paracelsian medicine, written by Josephus Quercetanus (Du Chesne), the *Ad Iacobi Auberti Vindonis De ortu et causis metallorum ... brevis Responsio*. To the debate between Aubert and Du Chesne belongs another work composed by Joannes Antonius Fenotus, the *Alexipharmacum*, one of the many authors who ridiculed the ideas of Du Chesne and the other "chemists." The theory of the origin of metals and that of transmutation was, indeed, one of the central scientific debates in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the two titles mentioned above represent one of the most representative chapters in the controversy.

Many of the titles are well-known essays on the fifth essence, the philosopher's stone, and the *chrysopoeia*, that is, the making of gold. Augurelli's work with the same title was mentioned by Corvinus in one of his letters addressed to the Count.³¹¹ Conrad Gesner's (also known under the pseudonym Evonymus Philiatier) work, the *De remediis secretis* easily

³¹⁰ Michela Pereira, *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymond Lull* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1989); and *Il testamentum alchemico attributo a Raimondo Lullo: edizione del testo latino e catalano dal manoscritto Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 244*, ed. by Michela Pereira and Barbara Spaggiari (Florence: Tavarnuzze, 1999).

³¹¹ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 14 September 1585. Letter no. 8014.

could, on the basis of its title, fall into the category of “books of secrets,” but instead of offering recipes like Piemontese, the author took a scholarly approach to the theme of preparation of remedies with alchemical methods. His expertise in botany successfully complements his alchemical one when he gives a detailed description of the instruments and materials used, for instance, in distillation. The vicinity and intertwining of the fields to alchemy and botany was also manifested in the items of the following section.

Apart from some “books of secrets” (Ryff, Egenolff), the indispensable classics of Albertus Magnus can also be encountered. On the other hand, the presence of the encyclopaedic work of Gerolamo Cardano, *De rerum varietate*, is justified by the fact that the Italian polymath indeed tried to cover all the different aspects of natural philosophy, thus, writing about plants as well as various wonders of nature (peculiar phenomena, monstrous creatures, and the like) and alchemy. The books of Carolus Clusius need no introduction here (especially since the following sub-chapter will be entirely dedicated to him), if not only to remark that they, in a way, represent the high end of sixteenth-century learning in natural history, an indisputably scholarly quality in the field.³¹² Equally illustrious was the edition of Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis* by Benedictus Veronensis or Gesner’s *Historia animalium* which Batthyány had been desperately trying to acquire with the help of Nicolaus Pistolotius in the late 1560s.³¹³

Boldizsár Batthyány’s interest in astrology and medical astrology is clearly shown by the great number of calendars he purchased. These entries were not listed above because they are mostly impossible to distinguish from each other because they were often compilations by publishers rather than original works with an identifiable author. However, they can be found on almost all the surviving book bills, sometimes even three or four in the same order, in Latin, German, and Hungarian. The books listed above represent scholarly production in the

³¹² For a discussion of the friendship of Carolus Clusius with Boldizsár Batthyány and his contribution to Hungarian botany, please refer to the sub-chapter on botany in this dissertation.

³¹³ See Iványi, “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát.”

field of divinatory arts in general, of which astrology was just one branch. Thurneysser's works were among the more sophisticated types of yearly calendars, while Maestlin's *Ephemerides* is more an astronomical writing. The Palingenius, a horoscope for all the twelve zodiacal signs, is worth mentioning because in this case the source of the book is exactly known. Boldizsár acquired it through his friend Clusius, who had sent the book to the Count together with some plants. The volume I examined at the British Library was a very tiny octodecimo book which would nicely fit in one's pocket. The *Traumbuch* of Artemidorus was a German translation of the Greek author's *De somniorum interpretatione*, a widely read book in the Renaissance which had a huge impact on the literature of dream interpretation.

The reason why books on spas and healing waters were listed here is because they were relevant to medical history. It is known from contemporary sources that many aristocrats in Hungary acknowledged the beneficial effects of natural waters and grasped every opportunity to visit some of the better-known spas in the region. The above books described where to find these waters and what their healing effects were. Some of Batthyány's natural scientific works dealt with demons, another highly popular topic in the Renaissance, others were connected to Hermetic texts and discussions about them, while he also possessed works on magic. In this last group we encounter one of the best-known comprehensive studies on magic, Della Porta's *Magia naturalis*. It was a must-have volume in the library of anyone deeply interested in the "occult." The same goes for the demonological treatises. The role of demons was manifold. They could be invoked by magic to help a person achieve some goal (either good or evil), but also to foretell the future, or, in rare cases, to serve as guardians of a human being (like the demon, or rather, *daimon*, of Socrates). Among Hermetic works collected in the library were the *Pimander* of Hermes Trismegistos "himself" in the bilingual Greek/Latin edition and a translation of Franciscus

Flussas (François Foix de Candalle) which he had based on the Adrianus Turnebus edition of 1554.³¹⁴

Strikingly, besides the foreign literature on Hermeticism, Batthyány acquired the work of the “Hungarian Pico,” that is, the treatise of Péter Laskói Csókás on the dignity of Man. Lascovius was a Calvinist physician from Transylvania who had studied in Wittenberg and taken part in the making of the Calepinus dictionary in ten languages.³¹⁵ Although it is a rare example, this book can help us measure the speed with which thinkers in Hungary reacted to the intellectual trends and tendencies occurring in Western Europe. In this case, the doctrine of the central role of man in the universe elaborated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola³¹⁶ and inspired by Hermetic doctrines,³¹⁶ found an echo in Hungary almost exactly a hundred years later. This perhaps was not even such a slow transmission considering the small number of Hungarians who were able to study in Italy and thus become acquainted with intellectual trends. However, it is not possible either to say that the reaction was immediate.

On closer inspection, each one of these titles reveals a segment of the reading culture of the sixteenth century, and particularly, the ever-growing interest in fields of science today not considered being properly scientific. The collection was undoubtedly systematic in nature and embraced the widest range of contemporary interests. It certainly reflected a sophisticated taste as well as being a clever means of representation. As we mentioned earlier, there are no library catalogues of aristocratic book collections available from Boldizsár Batthyány’s time, although one of the ways to evaluate the “modernity” and

³¹⁴ See Ulrike Seegers, *Transformatio energetica. Hermetische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert*. PhD dissertation (University of Stuttgart, 2002), 42.

³¹⁵ He authored the Hungarian part of the Calepinus dictionary (*Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium decem linguarum* (Lyon: 1585); its modern Hungarian edition is *Calepinus latin-magyar szótára 1585-ből* (The Latin-Hungarian Dictionary of Calepinus from 1585), ed. by János Melich with the cooperation of Emil Jakubovich and István Sági (Budapest, 1912). See, furthermore, Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében*, 367; and László Mátrai, *Régi magyar filozófusok. XV-XVII. század* (Old Hungarian Philosophers from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1961), 43–50.

³¹⁶ Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1486).

character of his holdings would be a comparison with the collections his fellow aristocrats had. We could compare the reconstructed list of his books with the surviving catalogue of Joannes Sambucus, Johannes Dernschwam, or András Dudith, however, the results could be very misleading. A thousand-volumes collection is certainly huge for a nobleman who apparently had never gone to university and had spent his adult years mostly in Western Hungary, while it is dwarfed by the number of books and manuscripts any of the above-mentioned humanist scholars possessed. Without drawing conclusions, then, let me only note that, while there is a marked prevalence of medical works in the collections of Sambucus (who was, among others, an excellent physician), Dernschwam and Dudith, they all had a remarkable interest in the divinatory arts, metallurgy and astronomy. To see whether the Count actually read the books he acquired and how far his curiosity may have extended, a complex study of his alchemical experimentation will be pursued in the following chapter.

Through the example of Paracelsus and the new medical practice he professed, I will examine the fortunes of a brand new intellectual trend in Boldizsár Batthyány's circle. The strikingly high number of works related to the new (alchemical) medicine of Paracelsus in the Count's library will be the starting point to estimate whether he actually read the books he acquired. The chain of events from his tracking down a much-wanted book until the application of its contents in practice and its discussion with his friends who shared his interests will be traced here.

III. 2. PARACELSIAN MEDICAL ALCHEMY IN THE NÉMETÚJVÁR CIRCLE

III. 2. 1. Alchemy in the Sixteenth Century: Trends and Tendencies: Metallurgy, Mining, Medicine

Since its initial appearance in the West over the course of the thirteenth century,³¹⁷ scholars have constantly tried to find a place for alchemy in scientific classifications.³¹⁸ No convincing solution has ever been reached and there have always been authors unsatisfied with the position attributed by others for this scientific newcomer. Despite its ancient history, the West looked with suspicion at alchemy which found its way into Europe directly from the Islamic world.³¹⁹ Yet, from the first moment of its appearance, alchemy acted like a sweet poison which infected everyone who came in touch with it, leaving a longing in the soul of Man for something sacred and secret. Its first real heyday in Europe coincided with the emergence of tendencies towards mysticism, the new-old interpretations of Ficino and the Florentine neoplatonists concerning man's position in the universe largely based on and influenced by Hermetic texts.³²⁰

The emphasis put on alchemy's mystical side overshadowed its technical and practical implications, inherent to its nature from the very beginning of its history.³²¹ This was, indeed, one of the reasons why the classification of alchemy turned out to be problematic.

³¹⁷ Pereira, *Arcana Sapienza*; and Eadem, "Heavens on Earth. From the Tabula Smaragdina to the Alchemical Fifth Essence," *Early Science and Medicine* 5 (2000), 131.

³¹⁸ Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge. Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 67–69.

³¹⁹ Pereira, *Arcana sapienza*; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (Macmillan&Co.: New York, 1923–1958) (8 vols.); William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions. Alchemy and the Quest to Perferct Nature* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Idem, *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: a Critical Edition, Translation and Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1991); *Le crisi dell'alchimia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), Micrologus 3; Barbara Obrist, *The Book of Secrets of Alchemy. Constantine of Pisa. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

³²⁰ Michela Pereira, "Alchemy and Hermeticism," 115–120.

³²¹ Robert Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979); Idem, "L'alchimiste et lessayeur," in *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Christoph Meinel, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 277–291.

Those arguing for a place for alchemy in the framework of philosophy had to cope with its workshop-craftsmanship-heritage, that is, the technical side which was widely applied in various arts and crafts, such as jewellery, dyeing, assaying, glass-making, and so forth. At the same time, those placing alchemy among the so-called mechanical arts were puzzled by its elaborate theoretical and philosophical background which accompanied and supported it. The truth, as always, lies somewhere in-between. It is now widely accepted that alchemy was not a proto-scientific forerunner to chemistry but – at least until the end of the seventeenth century – synonymous with it and only later a competitor to a tendency developing in parallel with it, with its own supporters and propagators. In the sixteenth century, there were great many trends within this tradition. Although some might appear to be new, while actually they just represented the re-discovery of an extant but slightly forgotten branch of alchemy.

Metallurgy, especially in connection with the boom in the mining industry was one tendency that received a huge impulse in the sixteenth century.³²² The groundbreaking works of Georgius Agricola,³²³ the *Bermannus* and the *De re metallica*,³²⁴ written with a

³²² Lothar Suhling, “Philosophisches in der früneuzeitlichen Berg- und Hüttenkunde: Metallogene und Transmutation aus der Sicht montanistischen Erfahrungswissens,” in *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986): 293–313; Hans Baumgärtel, *Vom Bergbüchlein zur Bergakademie: Zur Entstehung der Bergbauwissenschaften zwischen 1500 und 1765/1770*, Freiburger Forschungshäfte D50 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie, 1965); Marco Beretta, “Humanism and Chemistry: the Spread of Georgius Agricolas Metallurgical Writings,” *Nuncius* 12, no. 1 (1997): 17–47; C. N. Bromehead, “Mining and Quarrying to the Seventeenth Century,” *A History of Technology*, vol. 2, *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*, ed. Charles Singer et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 1–40; R. J. Forbes, “Metallurgy,” in *A History of Technology*, vol. 2, 41–8; Idem and Cyril Stanley Smith, “Metallurgy and Assaying,” in *A History of Technology*, vol. 3. *From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution, c. 1500 – c. 1750*, ed. Charles Singer et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 27–71; Vladimir Karpenko, “The Chemistry and Metallurgy of Transmutation,” *Ambix* 39, no. 2 (1992): 47–62; Peter M. Molloy, *The History of Metal Mining and Metallurgy: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1986); Werner Quellmalz and Helmut Wilsdorf, *Bergwerke und Hüttenanlagen der Agricola-Zeit* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1971), suppl. 1 of *Ausgewählte Werke* by Georgius Agricola, ed. Hans Prescher (12 vols.) (Berlin, 1955–74); R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy* (London: Metals Society, 1976); Idem, *The Early History of Metallurgy in Europe* (London: Longman, 1987).

³²³ On Agricola, see Beretta, “Humanism and Chemistry”; Pamela O. Long, “The Openness of Knowledge: an Ideal and its Context in 16th-century Writings on Mining and Metallurgy,” *Technology and Culture* 32 (1991), no. 2, 318–355; and Owen Hannaway, “Georgius Agricola as Humanist,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 553–560; Lothar Suhling, “Georgius Agricola und der Bergbau: Zur Rolle der Antike im montanischen Werk des Humanisten,” in *Die Antike-Rezeption in den Wissenschaften während der Renaissance*, ed. August Buck and Klaus Heitmann. Mitteilung der Kommission für Humanismusforschung 10. (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1983), 149–165.

combination of humanist erudition and deep practical knowledge, found a receptive audience and satisfied the requirements of an ever-growing market. He provided detailed descriptions of the complex material culture comprising mining and metallurgy, the variety of instruments used from the moment of excavating ores from the depths of the earth to the point when metals were tested during the assaying process.

What then made one man working in his laboratory smelting ores differ from another one busying himself at the furnace preparing amalgams? Why would an alchemist be looked at with suspicion when he was essentially dealing with the same processes as a metallurgist? The answer would have accentuated the utility of the work of the former and the futility of the latter. It was a widespread idea that the alchemist wanted nothing but quick riches, thought only of his own welfare and would cheat if necessary (since it was also widely believed that none of them really possessed the secret of transmutation). However, the practical use of metallurgy, minting, and similar occupations was never questioned.

The same applies to the medical doctors who – since the appearance of Paracelsus [Fig. 20] – also spent an increasing amount of time in their laboratories preparing tinctures, ointments, and – similarly to the alchemists – looking for a universal medicine, an elixir able to cure all human diseases. The elixir is an excellent example of how giving different names did not change the thing itself. What was a universal medicine to Paracelsian physicians, was the universal catalyst, the philosophers' stone or the quintessence to alchemists, a substance capable of transmuting a base metal into a noble one. The idea is essentially the same: there was a universal way of making things better, to fix the corruptible human body by the means of a special medicine, thus, “correcting” it. Or, in an abstract way, it was possible to make human nature better and closer to perfection by translating the physical and chemical processes of transmutation into the process of man's spiritual transformation. Yet, this

³²⁴ Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basel: Froben, 1556); the English translation is by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York: Dover Publications, 1950).

interpretation was far from widespread in the sixteenth century, it was, rather a phenomenon which finds its true expression in the seventeenth century and even more markedly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when Jung, Eliade, and others gave spiritual and psychological interpretations to the ancient tradition of alchemy.³²⁵

III. 2. 2. The Reception of Paracelsus and His Alchemical Medicine

One of the hottest topics in the intellectual debates of the second half of the sixteenth century was, beyond doubt, the new medicine professed by Paracelsus.³²⁶ Paracelsus consciously placed himself in opposition to traditional medicine, hallmarked by the ancient Greek Galen, and professed the importance of empirism instead. He himself had gained a great deal of experience as a surgeon in military camps and proudly claimed to have learnt the most from simple people whose knowledge of cures derived from everyday practice rather than dusty textbooks. In general, he openly defied different kinds of authorities, by burning books and constantly contradicting other physicians which forced him to wander Europe endlessly without being able to settle for a longer time in any of the places he visited. Paracelsus dedicated much of his attention to theology and his theological writings fit perfectly with the rest of the Paracelsian corpus since he held that religion, medicine, astrology and alchemy all complemented each other and helped the physician to cure himself and others.³²⁷ He rejected

³²⁵ Pereira, *Arcana Sapienza*; Moran, *Distilling Knowledge*.

³²⁶ On Paracelsus in general see, Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton. Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*, ed. Peter Ole Grell (Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1998); Andrew Weeks, *Paracelsus. Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); Kurt Goldammer, *Paracelsus in neuen Horizonten. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna: VWGÖ Verlag, 1986); *Paracelsus. Das Werk – die Rezeption. Beiträge des Symposiums zum 500. Geburtstag von Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, genannt Paracelsus (1493–1541) an der Universität Basel am 3. und 4. Dezember 1993*, Volker Zimmermann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995); *Paracelsus. Werk und Wirkung*, Salzburger Beiträge für Paracelsusforschung 13 (Vienna, 1977), ed. by Sepp Domandl; Will-Erich Peuckert, *Pansophie. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weißen und schwarzen Magie* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1956); *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. by Joachim Telle, Heidelberger Studien zur Naturkunde der frühen Neuzeit 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992).

³²⁷ Weeks, *Paracelsus*.

the Galenist theory of humours and proposed instead a system of five entia, that is, disease-inducing principles, while in alchemy his greatest invention was that he added salt to the main principles of sulphur and mercury, creating the *tria principia*. The influence of Hermetic and neoplatonic ideas left a deep impression on his work, such as the theory of correspondences (hence his insistence on the importance of astrology), and that of the analogies between microcosm and macrocosm.³²⁸

Only a few of Paracelsus' works were published in his lifetime: one on mineral waters, one on surgery, and one dealing with the cure for syphilis.³²⁹ Most of his writings remained in manuscript, spread in various private collections all over Europe. It was the enormous work of his followers to gather as many manuscripts as possible together and publish them.

Johannes Huser (1545–1600) was responsible for the first publication of the collected works of Paracelsus. He published eleven quarto volumes between 1589 and 1591 in Basel, all the works of the physician he could get his hands onto – although many ultimately proved to be spurious. This costly enterprise was supported by his patron, the Elector Ernst of Bavaria.³³⁰ He was the one who gave Huser the impetus to try and collect all available Paracelsus-works and it was the Elector who acquired the numerous *Paracelsica* discovered in Neuburg castle from Hans Kilian.³³¹ During the course of his enthusiastic hunt for Paracelsian works, Huser acquired or borrowed manuscripts from various friends and correspondents all over Europe. Among the friends we may find Leonhart Thurneysser and a

³²⁸ Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 62–72; Joachim Telle, “L’art symbolique paracelsien. Remarque concernant une pseudo-“Tabula Smaragdina” du XVI^e siècle,” in *Présence d’Hermès Trismégiste*, ed. by Antoine Faivre and Frédéric Tristan (Paris: Albin Michel, 1988), 184–208; and Carlos Gilly, “Der Bekenntnis zur Gnosis von Paracelsus bis auf die Schüler Jacob Böhmes,” in *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen. Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van het Westen*, ed. by Gilles Quispel (Baarn: Tirion, 1992), 400–441.

³²⁹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, “The Paracelsian Movement,” in *Renaissance Essays* (London: Fontana, 1985, 1st edition: 1961), 149–199.

³³⁰ Joachim Telle, “Johann Huser in seinen Briefen. Zum Schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. by Joachim Telle. Heidelberg Studien zur Naturkunde der Frühen Neuzeit 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 166–167.

³³¹ Hans Kersch, “Neuburg and der Donau und Paracelsus,” *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt* 136 (1984), 25–54.

doctor from Pettau, a certain Johannes Homelius,³³² who provided him with two of Paracelsus' most important medical works, the *Paramirum I* and *II*. Homelius presumably inherited these Paracelsica from his father, also named Johannes, after they were left in the custody of Homelius the Elder probably by Paracelsus himself who had stayed at his house in Pettau between 1523 and 1524.³³³ Huser's editorial work, his connections with important proponents of German Paracelsianism like Adam von Bodenstein or Michael Toxites whom he had met in Basel, made him the most prominent figure in Silesian Paracelsian circles.

Bodenstein, son of the Protestant reformer Andreas, better known as Karlstadt, became a "convert" to Paracelsian medicine after being successfully cured by a chemical doctor. He published more than forty of the physician's works, while his disciple, Michael Toxites, published another thirty writings, among them the most relevant chemical works like one on the secrets of antimony and the *Archidoxa*.³³⁴

The influence of Paracelsian ideas was enormous in both its temporal and spatial dimensions.³³⁵ One of his best known followers was a Dane, Petrus Severinus (1540/2–1602) who in his *Idea medicinae philosophicae* (1571) attempted to synthesize the Paracelsian body of work,³³⁶ as did Gerhard Dorn.³³⁷

³³² *Ibid.*, 173.

³³³ On the stay of Paracelsus in the present day territory of Slovenia see, Aleksander Poznik, "Osnovne Paracelsusove teze in njegovo bivanje v Ptuj" (Paracelsus' Basic Theses and his Stay at Ptuj), *Zbornik za zgodovino naravoslovja in tehnike* 8 (1985): 115–125; and Lavoslav Glesinger, "Paracelsus in Slovenija" (Paracelsus and Slovenia), *Zavod za zgodovino medicine medicinske fakultete v Zagrebu* 27 (1958), 440–445.

³³⁴ Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 153.

³³⁵ On this see, Allen G. Debus, "Paracelsianism and the Diffusion of the Chemical Philosophy in Early Modern Europe," in *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*, 225–244; Idem, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965); Idem, *The French Paracelsians. The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Marco Ferrari, "Alcune vie di diffusione in Italia di idee e di testi di Paracelso," in *Scienze. Credenze occulte. Livelli di cultura*, ed. by (Florence: Olschki, 1982), 21–29; Jole Shackelford, "Paracelsianism and Patronage in Early Modern Denmark," in *Patronage and Institutions. Science, Technology and Medicine at the European Court 1500–1700*, ed. by Bruce T. Moran (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1991), 85–109; José María López Piñero, "Paracelsus and his Work in 16th and 17th Century Spain," *Clio medica* 8 (1973), 113–141; Stephen Pumfrey, "The Spagyric Art; or, the Impossible Work of Separating Pure from Impure Paracelsianism: a Historiographical Analysis," *Ibid.*, 21–51.

³³⁶ See Jole Shackelford, "Early Reception of Paracelsian Theory: Severinus and Erastus," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 no. 1 (1995), 123–135.



Figure 20. Portrait of Paracelsus by Quentin Massys from 1528

However, there was a heated Paracelsian debate in France where it had particularly religious overtones since the controversy between supporters of Paracelsus and critics of his ideas was in reality one between Catholic Galenists and Protestant Paracelsians.³³⁸ Charles Webster has also shown how the new ideas found their way to England too, where the vigorous tradition of alchemy promoted diffusion of chemical therapy and the impact of Paracelsus was quite substantial, especially during the last quarter of the sixteenth century as testified by an analysis of book collections from that period.³³⁹ There is a study on Swedish

³³⁷ Didier Kahn, “Les débuts de Gérard Dorn d’après le manuscrit autographe de sa ‘Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae’ (1565),” in *Analecta Paracelsica. Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims in deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994), 59–65.

³³⁸ O. P. Grell, “Introduction. The Enigma of Paracelsus,” in *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*, 13.

³³⁹ Charles Webster, “Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine,” in *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 301–334.

Paracelsianism,³⁴⁰ and an essay on his reception in Poland,³⁴¹ as well as in Italy,³⁴² while the career of his ideas in Germany is one of the best researched areas in Paracelsus-studies.³⁴³

Equally substantial though was the negative reaction to Paracelsian ideas as shown by the fervent attack by Thomas Erastus who was among the first to criticize the philosophy of Paracelsus in print. His attack also had strong religious overtones since he opposed the superstitious, impious and often heretical ideas found in the Paracelsian writings which he got to know through the synthesising work of Severinus. Nevertheless, while he sometimes quoted Severinus literally, he never mentioned his name in his attacks. Interestingly, Severinus, afraid of being accused of heterodoxy, never published anything after his *Idea*, not even when he was explicitly asked to by the great English Paracelsian, Thomas Moffet as part of a defence of Paracelsian ideas against the anti-Paracelsians.³⁴⁴ Paracelsianism in the Rudolfine era had again a different agenda. Indeed, from the very beginning, the heresy of Paracelsianism in the eyes of Catholics was closely linked to the other new heresy of Protestantism.³⁴⁵

III. 2. 3. Paracelsus in Hungary

As is well known from the biographies of Paracelsus, he visited Hungary more than once.

Data about his first visit are rather vague. Some scholars have suggested that his first visit

³⁴⁰ Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600-tallets mitt* (Paracelsism in Sweden until the Middle of the Seventeenth Century), Lychnos Bibliotek 7. (Uppsala: n. p., 1943).

³⁴¹ Włodimierz Hubicki, "Paracelsists in Poland," in *Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to Honour Walter Pagel*, ed. by Allen G. Debus (London: Heinemann, 1972) (2 vols.), vol. 1., 167–176.

³⁴² Giancarlo Zanier, "La medicina Paracelsiana in Italia: Aspetti di unaccoglienza particolare," *Rivista di storia della filosofia* 4 (1985), 627–653.

³⁴³ See, for instance, *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, hrsg. von Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), and Kurt Goldammer, *Paracelsus in neue Horizonte: gesammelte Aufsätze* (Wien: Verband der Wiss. Ges. Österreichs Verlag, 1986), and note 335.

³⁴⁴ Jole Shackelford, "Early Reception of Paracelsian Theory: Severinus and Erastus," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995), no. 1, 127.

³⁴⁵ Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 142.

took place some time between 1521 and 1524³⁴⁶ when he travelled through Upper Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania. Others³⁴⁷ hold that he arrived in Hungary for the first time around 1526. The opinions are more unequivocal when it comes to his second stay in Upper Hungary. On the 28th of September 1537, the city council of Pozsony arranged a very warm reception for Paracelsus. The magistrates, together with all the physicians in the city, awaited him at the town gates and organized a feast in his honour in the house of the town judge, Blasius Behaim. The town records preserved a detailed description of the expenses of this luncheon revealing that the reception for Paracelsus had indeed been a warm one.³⁴⁸

Many researchers agree that Paracelsus was primarily attracted by the mineral riches of Hungary; he reproduced the legend of the *aqua mirabilis Hungarica*, the miraculous waters³⁴⁹ in the mines of Szomolnok and Úrvölgy (in Upper Hungary) which were believed to have the ability to transform iron into copper. And if this was true, many contemporaries believed, why could it not turn silver into gold? In reality, these waters were very rich in copper sulphate. Consequently, when a bar of iron was placed in the water, copper would settle on its surface which made it look like pure copper.³⁵⁰ The legend was so widely known³⁵¹ that barrels and barrels of this water were taken abroad from the vicinity of these

³⁴⁶ Gyula Magyary-Kossa, "Paracelsus magyarországi emlékei" (Hungarian Mementos concerning Paracelsus) in *Magyar orvosi emlékek* (Hungarian Medical Records) (Budapest: HOGYF Editio, 1994, 1st edition 1929) (4 vols.), vol. 2, 226.

³⁴⁷ Sándor Puder, *Paracelsus. Paracelsus magyar vonatkozásaival* (Paracelsus. With his Hungarian Relations) (Budapest: Vajda János Társaság, 1942), 34.

³⁴⁸ István Vámosy, *Adatok a gyógyászat történetéhez Pozsonyban* (Data Concerning the History of Medicine in Pozsony) (Pozsony: Pozsony szabad kir. város közönsége, 1901), 21.

³⁴⁹ Paracelsus says in the chapter "Ueber die Arten des Vitriol," 655: "In Ungarn ist ein Bach, der vom Vitriol ist. Er ist ein Vitriol an sich selbst, das nicht zu Steinchen koaguliert ist. Alles Eisen, das man für eine Zeit in der Bach legt, das frißt er zu Rost. Diesen Rost gibt man in einen Schmelzofen und es entsteht reines Kupfer, das bleibt und nicht mehr verwandelt werden kann." See *Paracelsus, Sämtliche Werke. Nach der 10bändigen Huserschen Gesamtausgabe (1589–1591) zum Erstenmal in neuzeitliches Deutsch übersetzt* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1928–32) (4 vols.), vol. 3 (1930).

³⁵⁰ Béla Borsody-Bevilaqua, *A magyar serfőzés története* (History of Hungarian Brewery) (Budapest: n. p., 1931) (2 vols.), vol. 2, 1104–1105; Puder, *Paracelsus*, 35.

³⁵¹ Sigmund Herberstein also mentioned "waters rich in vitriol": "So ist ain wasser, daraus man Vitriol seut, das frisst das Eysn in wenig stunden, unnd legt man den Slem in das feur, wirdet khupher daraus. Es ist ain Prunn wie ain gemös, was daraus drinnckht, stierbt so Pald." See, *Johannes Tichtel's Tagebuch 1477 bis 1495. Sigmunds von Herberstein Selbstbiographie 1486 bis 1553. Johannes Cuspinian's Tagebuch 1502 bis 1527 und Georg Kirchmair's Denkwürdigkeiten 1519 bis 1553*, ed. by Th. G. von Karajan, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum I* (Vienna: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1855), 382.

mines. There are also many cups – so-called “wonder-cups” – preserved from that period made from this “transmuted” iron (in reality, coppered iron cups) that commemorate this miracle. One of the German inscriptions on the wonder-cups reads: “Eyssen war ich, Kupfer bin ich, Gold verbirg ich, Einen guten Trank halt’ich!”³⁵² Paracelsus also praised Hungarian antimony (*antimonum Hungaricum*) which according to him was of high quality because Hungary lay in the East, that is, close to the Sun. Thus, local antimony contained more of the *corpuscula solis*,³⁵³ or the “Sun corpuscules.”

Another legend which Paracelsus took for granted³⁵⁴ was that of the golden grapes of Tokaj. This legend was made widely popular by the humanists of King Matthias in the fifteenth century, Pietro Ransano and Galeotto Marzio,³⁵⁵ but proved very persistent, so much so that only in the eighteenth century does anyone deny its validity by showing that the gold taken from these grapes did not pass any of the assays. Paracelsus supposedly had seen these clusters of grapes with his own eyes, and he found it fascinating that the soil on the hills of Tokaj was so rich in gold that the grapes should absorb it. In reality, the golden drops on the surface of the grapes were the empty cocoons of a certain species of insect *Gonocerus acutangulatus*, which are as yellow as amber with reticulated surfaces that cause interference with light, making them appear to glitter. Other explanations suggest that the golden grapes travellers saw could also have been archaeological finds, extremely thin golden filaments deriving from the innumerable Celtic ornaments hidden for centuries in the ground for centuries that spiralled around the growing plants.³⁵⁶

³⁵² Many of these wonder-cups are held today in the Hungarian National Museum.

³⁵³ Puder, *Paracelsus*, 36.

³⁵⁴ According to Szathmáry, Paracelsus went to the wine-producing Hegyalja region where the hill and town of Tokaj lay. He allegedly mentioned some place names in a slightly distorted form: Mád (as Mada), and Tállya (as Talia). See Puder, *Paracelsus*, 37. I have not so far found these references to Tokaj in Paracelsus.

³⁵⁵ Béla Tóth, “Az arany venyige,” (The Golden Grape) in *Curiosa Hungarica. Magyar ritkaságok* (Hungarian Rarities) (Budapest: Atheneum, 1907, 2nd amplified edition), 183.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 182–194.

Another episode from his stay in Hungary is reported to have taken place in 1536³⁵⁷ when Paracelsus saw a sign on the sky which took the shape of a tongue. This tongue was as thick as a finger and was covered with black dots that resembled pearls. From this omen Paracelsus predicted the coming of the plague which devastated Hungary in the same year. Paracelsus furthermore once had a highly confidential commission in which his special knowledge of medicine was required. Presumably due to his good relationship with Erasmus, he was asked by Queen Mary (Habsburg) of Hungary to try and cure her. In the National Museum of Hungary in Budapest, there was a German language recipe (a copy of the original considered as genuine), a prescription by Paracelsus against *lues*, that is, syphilis, from which the Queen herself suffered.³⁵⁸ The recipe is a so-called *laudanum metallicum*, a painkiller;³⁵⁹ its novelty and authenticity lies in its relative simplicity and small number of ingredients. At the time the prescription was written, Queen Mary of Hungary lived in Brussels and she often fell ill. Around the year 1533, the Prince of Milan sent a certain doctor “Caudianus”³⁶⁰ to help her. This doctor was perhaps no other than the notorious Gerolamo Cardano, a Milanese physician similarly both well known and ill famed like Paracelsus.

Paracelsus, in the preface of his *Bertheonea*,³⁶¹ mentioned that he had some Hungarian disciples, but Hungarian scholars have not been able to identify them or even to

³⁵⁷ “So sind mir in Ungern auf dem Sternengeschoß Zeichen gleich einer Zunge vorgekommen, fingersdick mit schwarzen Tüpfeln gleich großen Perlen anzusehen, darauf ist in Ungern eine große Pestilenz mit Zufall der Bräune erfolgt, anno 1536.” *De pestilitate* in Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Werke*, ed. by Will-Erich Peuckert (Basel–Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co. Verlag, 1968), Band V, 203.

³⁵⁸ László Szathmáry, “Mária királyné és Paracelsus” (Queen Mary and Paracelsus), *A Magyar Gyógyszerésztudományi Társaság Értesítője* 8 (1932), no. 2, 274–282. I have not managed to find this document which may have been transferred to the National Széchényi Library or the National Archives of Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century.

³⁵⁹ Trevor-Roper, “The Paracelsian Movement,” 158.

³⁶⁰ Puder, *Paracelsus*, 280.

³⁶¹ “Was ich auch Hunderten zu Ärzten geboren habe, aus Pannonia sind zween wohl geraten, aus den Grenzen Polen drei, aus den Regionen der Sachsen zween, aus denen Slavoniens einer, uas Schwaben keiner, wiewohl in einem jeglichen Geschlecht, jeglicher Gruppe, große Zahlen gewesen sind.” In Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Werke*, Band I, 18.

confirm that they really were from Hungary.³⁶² He also mentioned that he had a “Hungarian” friend with a suspiciously German-sounding name, Wolfgang Talhauser, whom he met in Ferrara.³⁶³

One more episode is worth mentioning here, although it borders on burlesque, and sounds much more like Oporinus, the disciple wrote it to spread weird gossip about his master. Paracelsus – in the introduction of a presumably apocryphal text³⁶⁴ – reported that once, while he was passing through Hungary on his way to Italy, a foraging troop of Tartars (Turks) captured him. They made him take off his clothes and saw that he was deprived of his genitals. The Tartars were so amused by this phenomenon that they gave him his clothes back, tied his hands and brought him to the Great Khan, in front of whom he again had to show himself naked. The Khan was completely astonished by this sight, because “die Verschnittenen bei ihnen nicht verschnitten werden.”³⁶⁵

III. 2. 4. Paracelsianism in Hungary: Another Look at Batthyány’s Books

For long time it was thought that these often credulous stories represented the only link between Paracelsus and Hungary. Hungarian scholars generally held that the influence of the ideas of Paracelsus only percolated down to Hungarian readers and scholars as late as the middle of seventeenth century.³⁶⁶ In contrast, there was at least one particular place in Western Hungary where the Paracelsian works were read and discussed as early as the 1570s. In the following, an insight into the reconstructed library of Boldizsár Batthyány shall serve

³⁶² László Szathmáry, “A magyar iatrokémikusok,” (The Hungarian Jatrochemists) in *Régi magyar vegytudorok* (Old Hungarian Chemists) (Piliscsaba–Sopron–Várpalota: Magyar Tudománytörténeti Intézet–NYME–Magyar Vegyészeti Múzeum, 2003), 15.

³⁶³ György Endre Szőnyi, “The Occult Sciences in Early Modern Hungary in a Central European Context,” in *The Role of Magic in the Past*, ed. by Blanka Szeghyová (Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2005), 37.

³⁶⁴ Magyary-Kossa, “Paracelsus magyarországi barátai,” 229.

³⁶⁵ *Hermetisches Museum* (Reval, 1782), vol. I. Vollständiges Wunsch–Hütlein. 122. 1.

³⁶⁶ Szathmáry, “A magyar iatrokémikusok,” 15.

as a case study of how deeply these ‘bestsellers’ really penetrated into Europe, how widely these authors were read and what role private correspondence played in spreading new ideas.

Dessenius, Bernardus	<i>Medicinae veteris ... defensio</i>	Cologne	J. Gymnicus	1573
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Artificii chimistici physici 1.</i>			1568
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Artificii chimistici physici 2-3.</i>			1569
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi</i>	Frankfurt	Rab	1584
Dorn, Gerhardus, ed.	<i>Paracelsi de vita longa</i>	Frankfurt	Rab	1583
Dorn, Gerhardus, interpr.	<i>Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae</i>	Frankfurt	A. Wechel	1581
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Lapis metaphysicus</i>			1571
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Artificii chymistici physici 1.</i>			1569
Dorn, Gerhardus	<i>Artificii chymistici physici 2.</i>			1569
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Disputanionum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi 4-5</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1573
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Disputanionum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi 3</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Erastus, Thomas	<i>Disputationum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi 2</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1572
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, interpr. By Gerardus Dornius	<i>Aurora thesaurusque philosophorum</i>	Basel	T. Guarinus	1577
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>Theophrasti Paracelsi Doctors der Medicin Schreiben</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1577
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, ed. by Michael Toxites	<i>Pharmacandi modus</i>	Strasbourg	Müller	1578
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>Von dem Bad Pfeffers</i>	Strasbourg	Müller	1571
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, ed. by Adam von Bodenstein	<i>Archidoxa</i>			1563
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, annotated by Gregorius Macer, tr. by Adam Schröter	<i>Archidoxae</i>	Cracow	M. Wirzbietae	1569
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, ed. by Adam Schröter	<i>De praeparationibus</i>	Cracow	M. Wirzbietae	1569
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>Tractat von dem Vitriol</i>	Strasbourg	Müller	1564
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>De spiritibus planetarum</i>	Basel	P. Perna	1571
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, ed. by Adam von Bodenstein	<i>Metamorphosis Theophrasti Paracelsi</i>	Basel	S. Apiarius	1574
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>Centum quindecim curationes experimentaque</i>	Geneva	J. Lertout	1582
Paracelsus, Theophrastus	<i>Wunder Artzney</i>	Basel	S. Henricpetri	1586
Severinus, Petrus	<i>Idea medicinae</i>	Basel	S. Henricpetri	1571

Table 2. List of Batthyány’s books related to Paracelsus and Paracelsianism.

The titles speak for themselves. In our quest for some early readers of Paracelsus and Paracelsian authors in “Pannonia,” a closer inspection of related books in Batthyány’s library will be useful. Already the number of works in this category – twenty-seven – is revealing. Even more revealing is the list of names appearing as authors, editors, or even, publishers. By looking at the Paracelsian books owned by the Count, it is possible to practically outline the Paracelsian movement in the second half of the sixteenth century.

First, there are the books by Paracelsus, edited by his followers Adam von Bodenstein, Michael Toxites,³⁶⁷ Adam Schröter, and Gerhard Dorn. Among these books is the *Archidoxa*³⁶⁸ (different from the allegedly spurious *Archidoxis magicae libri VII*³⁶⁹) which lay the foundations for Paracelsian alchemy. Then we have the *Idea medicinae* of Severinus, a bestseller in its own right which summarised the Paracelsian ideas so successfully that Thomas Erastus used it as the basis for his overall attack on the “spagyric art,” rather than the complex and often obscure, barely accessible originals by the Swiss physician. There was also another critique in the collection, that of Bernard Dessenius (also known as Cronenburg) who was represented in Batthyány’s library with his defence of the old medicine as opposed to Georg Phaedro (alias Federlein) and the Paracelsian “sect” – as he put it. There was a very high number of works by the Paracelsian author Gerhard Dorn, who not only prepared the edition of some parts of the Paracelsian corpus, but also, compiled a dictionary with the intention of making the interpretation of Paracelsian terminology easier. He wrote several original treatises on alchemy as well.

³⁶⁷ Charles Schmidt, *Michael Schütz genannt Toxites. Leben eines Humanisten und Rztes aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg: n. p., 1888); and Wilhelm Kühlmann, “Humanistische Verskunst im Dienste des Paracelsismus – Zu einem programmatischen Lehrgedicht des Michael Toxites (1514–1581),” in *L’Alsace de l’Humanisme à la Réforme et à la Contre-Réforme. Histoire, littérature, culture*, ed. by Jean-Marie Valentin (Paris, 1995).

³⁶⁸ *Decem libri Archidoxis Theophrasti Germani philosophi, dicti Paracelsi magni, de Mysteriis naturae* (Archidoxen), in Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Werke*, Band I, 336–447.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Band V, 281–333.

A quick overview of the twenty-seven titles connected to Paracelsus shows that apart from the large number of original works, both the Paracelsian and anti-Paracelsian camps are represented in Batthány's library through their most important authors. The fact that Erastus and Dessenius' critique of the new medicine were also included in his collection suggests that the Count was open to the various interpretations of alchemical ideas. The library, however, is much more than an imprint of contemporary debates about Paracelsianism.

III. 2. 5. Paracelsianism in the Circle of Batthyány

Through his regular correspondence, Batthyány's natural scientific interests connected a handful of humanists and medical doctors living close to his lands in what is today a number of different countries. For this reason I chose to use the geographic term Pannonia, one often used by contemporaries as well, to enable me to refer to the location of the members of this informal alchemical circle without the anachronistic use of nationalities.

We have no clear idea about the sources of Batthyány's interest in this field, but his recurrent visits to the Viennese court must surely have made it possible for him to become acquainted with new ideas. Of course, his introduction to alchemical medicine may have taken place earlier during his stay in France, for instance, where he might have met the Wechels and their guests as well. What is known for sure is that from the 1570s onwards, Batthyány started book-collecting on a large-scale, with the cooperation of Jean Aubry.

III. 2. 5. 1. Co-operators: Elias Corvinus

As someone who found great pleasure in botany, Batthyány liked to spend his time in the open, nursing his special and beautiful plants in his small garden in Szalónak, but his other passion imprisoned him for long hours in the depths of his castle. One must, indeed talk

about passion, since from the 1570s on without interruption till the very end of his life, it is possible to trace the alchemical activity and experimentation carried out by Batthyány. In these experiments his most faithful friend and partner was the *poeta laureatus* from Vienna, Elias Corvinus.

Corvinus³⁷⁰ (originally Raab) was born around 1530³⁷¹ in Joachimsthal (Jáchymov, Czech Republic) which was a well-known mining town in the sixteenth century (it is here that Georg Agricola worked for long as apothecary and physician to the town³⁷²). He studied law in Vienna with Johannes Lauterbach.³⁷³ He was crowned poet laureate in 1558,³⁷⁴ being granted nobility in 1559. He then studied law at the University of Padua for five or six years although it is known that he visited Ferrara and Rome as well. In the meantime, he fought on Malta against the Ottomans. From 1569, he can again be found in Vienna taking part once more in warfare in 1572.³⁷⁵ The fruit of his poetry, also relevant for Hungarian literature, was his epic poem written about János Hunyadi,³⁷⁶ the scheme for which he revealed to Batthyány as well.³⁷⁷ From 1581 he served as an official in Lower Austria. In 1598, he was a candidate to become a superintendent of the Neo-Latin poets at the University of Vienna. He died in 1602 in Vienna.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁰ The only full biography ever written about Elias Corvinus is by Oszkár Sárkány, in his introduction to Corvinus' poem, the *Joannis Hunnadiae res bellicae contra Turcas. Carmen epicum*, ed. by Oszkár Sárkány, *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum* (Leipzig: n. p., 1937). On his Hungarian connection see, Szabolcs Ö. Barlay, "Elias Corvinus és magyarországi barátai" (Elias Corvinus and his Hungarian Friends), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977), 345–353.

³⁷¹ *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* (Bern–München: Francke Verlag, 1969).

³⁷² Pamela O. Long, "The Openness of Knowledge: an Ideal and its Context in 16th-century Writings on Mining and Metallurgy," *Technology and Culture* 32 (1991), no. 2, 335; and Owen Hannaway, "Georgius Agricola as Humanist," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992), 558.

³⁷³ Paulus Fabricius, *Laurea poetica ex Caesareo privilegio in Archigymnasio Viennensi nuper Eliae Corvino, Joanni Lauterbachio et Vito Iacobeo summa cum gratulatione collecta* (1558).

³⁷⁴ J. A. Bradish, "Dichterkrönungen im Wien des Humanismus," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 34 (1937), 367–383; and Georg Eder, *Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium Virorum Archigymnasi Viennensis* (Vienna, 1559).

³⁷⁵ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 26 February 1572, Vienna. No. 8064.

³⁷⁶ A copy written by Corvinus' hand is today to be found in the manuscript collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

³⁷⁷ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 7 May 1573, Vienna. No. 8070.

³⁷⁸ Evans writes that many of the prime exponents of Viennese Humanism held posts at the university which at that time as institution stood directly under the court and partook of its Catholic standpoint. He brings up Corvinus among the examples. See Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 20–21.

Corvinus seems to have been the the primary buying agent for Batthyány. He not only purchased the instruments, vessels and materials used in the laboratory, but – through his acquaintances – also found laboratory assistants for his commissioner. He received a salary for his efforts – at least Batthyány agreed to it, but it sometimes occurred that Corvinus had to remind his patron of the payment which he did not receive for years.³⁷⁹ A letter of Corvinus reveals that he was often able to pursue research in Batthyány’s outstanding library concerning problems emerging from the experiments.³⁸⁰ This is supported by the fact that in one of his letters [Fig. 23] he drew an image which very much resembles an illustration in Conrad Gesner’s *De remediis secretis* [Fig. 22] which Batthyány is known to have possessed.

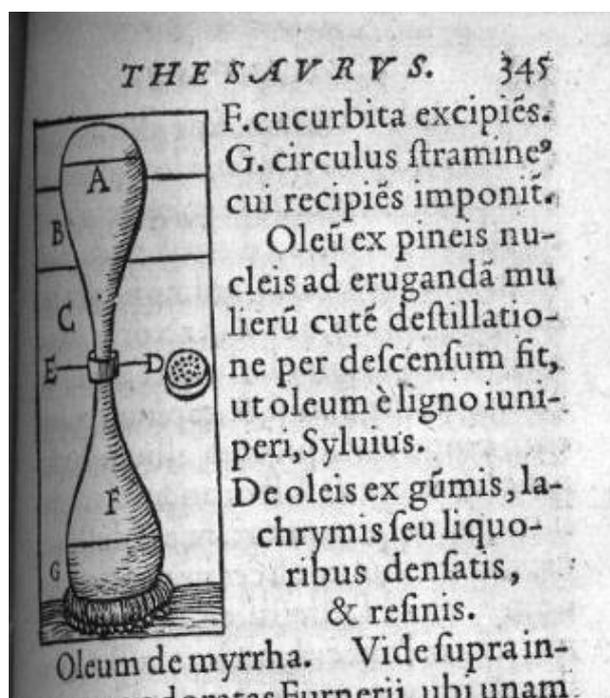


Figure 22. Distillation *per filtrum* in Gesner.

³⁷⁹ “Recordatur Vestra Magnificentia quod iam a multis annis stipendium mihi promissum non acceperim.” Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 28 November 1584, Vienna. Letter no. 8103.

³⁸⁰ “Nisi ego legissem in arce talia in illis libris.” Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 13 September 1574, Vienna. Letter no. 8077.

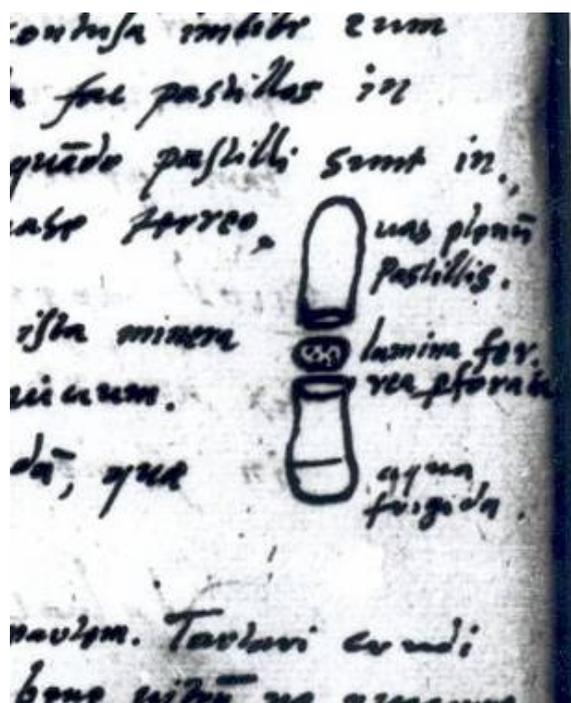


Figure 23. Drawing by Elias Corvinus in one of his letters addressed to Batthyány.

III. 2. 5. 2. Johannes Homelius

Apart from Corvinus, Batthyány corresponded about alchemy with Johannes Homelius, a physician from Pettau and with the Styrian Count Felician von Herberstein as well. Relatively little is known about Homelius³⁸¹ although what little is known is worth a closer look. He worked as a town physician in Pettau (Ptuj, Slovenia) and Marburg (Maribor, Slovenia).³⁸² There are documents and letters concerning health care in the Steiermarkisches Landesarchiv³⁸³ that show that the town of Graz would also summon him from time to time to go and pay a visit to an ill magnate in the region. He died in 1600 from plague, leaving

³⁸¹ He is not the same person as the astronomer Johannes Homelius from Leipzig (originally Johann Hommel (1518–1562). See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Dunder and Humblot, 1881), vol. 13.

³⁸² *Zbornik splošne bolnišnice dr. Jožeta Potrča Ptuj 1874–2004* (Miscellany of the General Hospital “Dr Jože Potrč” in Ptuj, 1874–2004) (Ptuj: Ptujška tiskarna, 2004), 120–121.

³⁸³ The letters were written regularly by the Styrian council and the replies of the doctor from the period 1570 to 1589. Among those letters may be found texts supplicating the council in the name of Doctor Homelius with such names as Windischgrätz, and Sigmund Friedrich von Herberstein (cousin of Felician’s). Sanität, Laa. Antiquum, Gruppe IX, Karton 1, Heft 1–2, 4–5; K. 2, H. 7., Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz.

behind two sons and huge debts.³⁸⁴ It has now become clear that he is one and the same person as the Johannes Homelius who provided Huser with the *Paramirum* manuscripts.³⁸⁵ The younger Homelius, also called Secundus³⁸⁶ to distinguish him from his father, played a very important role in the intellectual circle of Count Batthyány, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter.³⁸⁷

III. 2. 5. 3. *Felician Herberstein*

Until recently, little has been known about Felician Herberstein as well, although he belonged to one of the most respected and ancient families³⁸⁸ in Austria, the descendants of which still

³⁸⁴ *Zbornik splošne bolnišnice dr. Jožeta Potrča Ptuj 1874–2004*, 120–121.

³⁸⁵ Joachim Telle, “Johann Huser in seinen Briefen. Zum schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 210. “Der Physikus Dr. Johannes Homelius ist jetzt im Archiv zu Graz aktenmässig aufgefunden; das ist vorerst alles über diesen Mann, der, vielleicht von seinem Vater her, Reiseaufzeichnungen Hohenheims, über die wir im 14. Bande dieser Ausgabe berichten werden, und früheste Niederschriften Hohenheims mehr als zwei Menschenalter da unten an der Drau an der Grenze von „Sclavonien“ in Familienverwahrung hatte. Daß der Sohn Homelius II. paracelsisch kurierte, scheinen Grazer Aktennotizen zu erweisen.“ *Paracelsus*, ed. by Karl Sudhoff, vol. 1 (1929), xiv.

³⁸⁶ “...offenbar jahrzehntelang fern in Süden der Steiermark bei einem Jugendfreunde Hohenheims samt Wanderbüchern zusammen gelegen, die wir im 14. Bande dieser Ausgabe besprechen werden. Von einem Sohne dieses Jugendfreundes gleichen Namens (Johannes Homelius II) hat dann, wie es scheint, Michael Schütz, gen. Toxites, dies Buch von den fünf Entien erhalten und von Hagenau aus, wo er damals wohnte (...) Woher ihm das Büchlein zugekommen sei, sagt der erste Herausgeber nicht, vermutlich doch aus der gleichen Quelle wie Huser selbst, also von Homelius Secundus aus Pettau.“ *Ibid.*, xlii.

³⁸⁷ On this aspect see Bobory, “Batthány Boldizsár és humanista köre.”

³⁸⁸ The Herberstein family in Austria had two main branches and many collaterals. Tradition has it that seven Herberstein brothers had already fought and distinguished themselves against the Hungarians in the Battle of Lechfeld in 955 although over the course of generations many individuals excelling in diplomacy, war lords and humanists could be counted among their ranks as well. Sigmund von Herberstein, the highly cultured diplomat and chronicler of his family died childless in 1566, while one of his brothers, Georg Andreas, was the founder of the Czech-Silesian collateral branch. One of the three sons of Georg Andreas was Felician. The sources are contradictory at this point: on the basis of J. U. Kumar (*Geschichte der Burg und Familie Herberstein* (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1817, vol. 3) it appears that Felician had a son also called Felician from his marriage to Barbara von Hochberg, however, the author wrote nothing about this second Felician but rather, began describing other collateral branches of the family. In the library of the Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv there is a nineteenth-century handwritten genealogy with marginalia concerning Felician I and Felician II. According to these notes, Felician I (he lived from 1543 till 1578 according to the genealogy) was “arrendator aurifondinarius Nagybanyaensis” between 1585 and 1588, while Felician II was from “1614 bis 1620 Rächter der Goldgruben in Nagy Banya” and “Grundpächter der goldgrüb von fürsten Bethlehen einsteinbau.” The confusion about the dates is compounded by the fact that on the basis of the genealogy, the first wife of Felician I was Barbara von Hoberkh whose name resembled far too closely that of the wife of Felician II, Barbara von Hochberg, mentioned by Kumar. The problem and confusion was satisfactorily resolved by the funeral orations for Felician and his son Raymund, found in the manuscript collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (David Reuss, *Zwo Leich und Trostpredigten...* (Leipzig: Beyer, 1595). Their author was court pastor to the Herbersteins. On the basis of the funeral oration, Felician Herberstein was born in 1540 and died in 1590, just like Boldizsár Batthyány, and he did not have a son named Felician but rather one named Felix.

live in Herberstein. His life was connected to Hungary and Hungarians in many different ways, and yet, rather paradoxically, it was not a biography that helped me recreate a life story from fragments, but rather a funerary speech. As a correspondent with Boldizsár Batthyány, he left behind a great quantity of extremely interesting letters in the National Archives of Hungary.³⁸⁹ Aside from the fact that their lands lay close to each other there were other, more important reasons for them to exchange friendly letters for decades. Alchemy was their shared passion. The short biography provided in his funeral oration by the court pastor, David Reuss, revealed that Felician pursued some of his studies in Italy, at the renowned University of Padua. Herberstein knew Elias Corvinus, probably independently from their acquaintance with Boldizsár Batthyány. It is quite possible that, since both Herberstein and Corvinus studied in Padua, they knew each other from Italy. Corvinus held Herberstein in great esteem as testified by the fact that he dedicated a poem to him in his collection, *Poemata libri duo*. When Reuss mentioned the subjects Felician took up at the university, he wrote,

Ist auch endlich von dannen inn die fürtreffliche alte universitet Paduam in Italien verschicket, da er dann auch dieselbige zeit nicht unnützlichen verspildert, sondern sich in den freyen künsten der philosophy, medicin, so wol auch in occultis naturalibus, dermassen sich geübt, das kaum etwas hat können fürgebracht werden, davon er nicht etlicher massen gut wissenschaftt gehabt hette³⁹⁰ (emphasis added)

The expression “secrets of nature” would then as it would today have referred to the study of the occult arts, subjects not officially taught at universities, but practiced all the same. Alchemy, astrology and, divination were subjects which were considered non-canonical but they were nevertheless widely known; many students as well as professors dealt with them. However, instead of pursuing their experiments within the walls of their alma mater, they would practice more secretly, after hours.

³⁸⁹ MOL, P 1314, letters no. 18581–18619. Microfilm no. 4827.

³⁹⁰ Dóra Bobory, “Felician von Herberstein (1540–1590) stájer főúr rövid életrajza és magyar kapcsolatai David Reuss gyászbeszéde alapján” (The Biography of the Styrian Count Felician von Herberstein and his Connections to Hungary on the Basis of the Funeral Oration Written by David Reuss), *Lymbus* (2005) 5–26.

Alchemy and metallurgy shared many of the same technical processes. Indeed, Felician could therefore take advantage of his experience in one field while working in the other. It is not surprising at all that from 1583 onwards Felician Herberstein's name may be encountered in a very different context. He is the "generous German lord"³⁹¹ who leased the mines of Nagybánya in the territory of Royal Hungary in 1588 and the ones surrounding it for many years.³⁹² Before that, he played an important role in negotiations between Emperor Rudolf II and István Báthori, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland, concerning an exchange in the rights to Nagybánya and Szatmár which began in 1583.³⁹³ Báthori had a claim on Nagybánya as it had once belonged to his family and was unjustly held by Rudolf as part of Royal Hungary. The Emperor wanted to receive the rights to well-fortified Szatmár in exchange.

³⁹¹ *Báthory István király levélváltása az erdélyi kormányral (1581–1585)* (The Correspondence of King István Báthory with the Transylvanian Government, 1581–1585), ed by Endre Veress, *Magyar Történelmi Emlékek* 42 (Budapest, MTA Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1948), 74, 181–182, 193, 213–216, 232–233, 243–244, 248–249. The Triple Council of Transylvania emphasised the selflessness and friendliness of the German lord every possible time. István Báthory also supported his mining activities.

³⁹² Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* (Critical History of Mining in Hungary) (Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1880), 231; Antal Szirmai, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története és polgári esmérete* (The Geographical Position, History and Inhabitants of Szathmár County) (Buda: published by the author, 1809), 226, 228–229, 249; Sándor Szilágyi, *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* (Records from the Transylvanian Diets) (3 vols.) (Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1875–1877), vol. 3, 67, 77; Lajos Huszár, *Habsburg-házi királyok pénzei 1526–1657* (The Coins of Ruler from the Habsburg House), *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar egyetemes éremtár III* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 58; Veress, *Báthory István király levélváltása az erdélyi kormányral*.

³⁹³ Petra Rausch discussed Felician Herberstein's role in the negotiations and his management of the Transylvanian mines in her M. A. thesis defended at the University of Pécs in Hungary under the title *Herberstein Felicián báró élete és munkássága* (The Life and Work of Count Felician Herberstein) under the supervision of Teréz Oborni. The paper was presented at the OTDK (National Scientific Student Competition) in 2006.

surroundings. Probably due to his successful diplomatic mission, an agreement was reached in 1585, according to which Nagybánya with all the pertaining lands was transferred to Báthori's possession. In exchange, Báthori renounced his rights to Szatmár and Németi.³⁹⁵ Thus, the expertise in mining Herberstein displayed meant that he was allowed to lease the mines of Kapnik.³⁹⁶ In 1585, the Prince put him in charge of writing a report on the state of the Transylvanian mines which Herberstein completed on 22 December 1585. On the basis of this report it can be seen that he carried out a very thorough and professional survey and described the miserable state of the mines in Zalatna, Almás, Brád, Rudabánya, Abrudbánya and Rézbánya.³⁹⁷ He urged the Prince to modernise the obsolete implements while giving a detailed account of the nature of the assaying techniques applied in mining. At one point, he was given some of the mines around Nagybánya and Felsőbánya to lease and he restarted production in abandoned galleries, even managing to create some profit for the Treasury of Transylvania.³⁹⁸ The Emperor gave Herberstein the right to mint coins from the precious metals he himself produced, and he began to make thalers from 1582 onwards on a brand new cylindrical minting press used in Nagybánya for the first time.³⁹⁹ It seems, furthermore, that Herberstein had free entry to the innermost circles of the Transylvanian court. Apart from Possevino,⁴⁰⁰ Herberstein was also mentioned by Franco Sivori⁴⁰¹ in his writings –

³⁹⁵ The agreement was reached on 22 June 1585.

³⁹⁶ MOL Erdélyi Kormányhatósági Levéltárak, Gyulafehérvári Káptalan Országos Levéltára, F1 Libri Regii 3. k. 100–101.b. Quoted in Rausch, *Herberstein Felicián báró*, 19.

³⁹⁷ Endre Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldavei și Țării-Românești*. (Documents regarding the History of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia) (Bucharest, 1931), vol. 3, 58–64.

³⁹⁸ Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története*, 231. Wenzel was critical about the activities of various leaseholders. He thought they only damaged the mines and it would have been best for them to be looked after by Transylvanians. See pages 233–234.

³⁹⁹ Huszár, *Habsburg-házi királyok pénzei 1526–1657*, 59.

⁴⁰⁰ “Dalla parte parimente de’ commissarii dell’imperatore, sendovene uno per cognome Herberstein, il quale haveva in affitto le minere di Nagybánya, poco giovò alla spedizione del negocio; perciochè egli, sapendo la mente dell’imperatore circa la restituzione di Nagybánya, et pensando di ritrovar’ gratia presso il re di Polonia, per ritinere dette minere, suggerì varii consigli al commissario regio, acciochè il re non desistesse di domandar’ più ampia ricompensa: la qual cosa fu di non mediocre momento a tirar’ in lungo il fatto, et a far’ che il commissario regio usasse di un modo acerbo nelle risposte fatte a’ commissarii dell’imperatore; il qual modo ben si vedeva quanto era lontano da quella carità christiana, la quale sola è fra cattolici, et veri zelatori della pace christiana. Questo dunque noceva assai più di quel, che potrei dire.” *Transilvania*, 170–171.

although with very different overtones. Count Ferdinand von Nogaroll claimed to know that Felician was secretly planning to give his own daughter in marriage to the young Zsigmond Báthory.⁴⁰²

Although Felician was a high dignitary in Austria and he had been abroad on diplomatic missions many times,⁴⁰³ he has left almost no trace at all in Austrian scholarly literature. This may partially be explained by the fact that the Herbersteins – one of the most ancient and most numerous families in Austria – have given to posterity more than one high-ranking politician and ecclesiastic personality for historians to study. It is enough to mention the name of Sigmund von Herberstein⁴⁰⁴ (1486–1566) who, thanks to his diplomatic activity and his travel diary, was acknowledged and acclaimed by contemporaries in his own lifetime.⁴⁰⁵ Furthermore, except for a single charter, no other source has come down to us in the Herberstein family archives with respect to Felician. Thus, unfortunately, the letters Boldizsár wrote to him have not survived the past centuries either. Wurzbach's⁴⁰⁶ biographical lexicon dedicates more than twenty pages to the Herbersteins, but does not even mention Felician; his name is only encountered in the genealogy at the end of the volume,⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ Stefan Pascu, *Petru Cercel și Țara-Românească la sfârșitul sec. XVI* (Petru Cercel and Wallachia at the end of the Sixteenth Century) (Sibiu, 1944), 228. See also Péter Erdősi, “Franco Sivori fortélyos barátságai. 16. századi olasz emlékirat egy erdélyi fogolyszabadításról” (The Cunning Friendships of Franco Sivoru. Sixteenth-Century Italian Memoirs about the Rescue of a Prisoner in Transylvania), in *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században* (They Became Palaces... Hungarian Courtly Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), ed. by Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn (Budapest: Balassi, 2005), 276–313, 288–289.

⁴⁰² Szilágyi, *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*, 68.

⁴⁰³ Pascu, *Petru Cercel*, 228.

⁴⁰⁴ He studied law and was knighted by Emperor Maximilian II in 1514. Because of his knowledge of foreign languages, he carried out many diplomatic missions to Italy, Denmark, Poland, Switzerland and Russia. In 1525, he travelled to Moscow to mediate between Poland and Russia. In 1541 as envoy, he drew-up a peace treaty with Sultan Suliman. His description of Moscow was published as *Rerum Moscovitarum commentarii* in 1549, and in German in 1557. See also Gerhard Pferschy, *Sigmund von Herberstein. Kaiserlicher Gesandter und Begründer der Russlandkunde und die europäische Diplomatie* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1989)

⁴⁰⁵ Heinrich Purkarthofer, “Geschichte der Familie Herberstein,” in *Die Steiermark. Brücke und Bollwerk. Schloß Herberstein bei Stubenberg 3. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1986* Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchives 16. (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 1986)

⁴⁰⁶ Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 8 (Vienna, 1862), 324–344.

⁴⁰⁷ On the basis of this genealogy, Felician I was the son of Georg Andreas. He fell in battle in 1605. Kumar enlisted one Felician II among his children about whom he gives no further information, and one Felix who, according to Wurzbach, also fell in battle in 1605. Here, we can see the common mistake repeated elsewhere

while Kneschke⁴⁰⁸ mentions Felician's father, Georg Andreas, but writes nothing about his children. Thus, it is clear that none of these authors knew about the funeral oration that I have discovered in the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.⁴⁰⁹ It was printed in 1595, and immediately helps clarify all these misunderstandings. The author of the *Zwo Leich und Trostpredigten* (Leipzig: Beyer, 1595)⁴¹⁰ was a certain David Reuss from Querfurt who had been the court pastor of Felician von Herberstein for years and thus, he can be considered a reliable chronicler.⁴¹¹

that the names Felix and Felician referred to two different Herbersteins although the two forms are two variants of the same name. Felician II was identical to Felix, son of Felician I Herberstein. Even Kumar (57–58), who produced a detailed family history and various source publications, wrote about two Felicians and one Felix. According to him, Felix was killed in 1605 by Transylvanian rebels at although he did not provide any information on his brother, Felician II.

⁴⁰⁸ Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, 318–321.

⁴⁰⁹ Bobory, "Felician von Herberstein."

⁴¹⁰ The book may today be found in the manuscript collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), under shelfmark 543. 127. It was probably printed in small numbers since apart from the copy at the MTA, we have not encountered further samples in any of the larger Hungarian libraries (OSZK, EK, SZTE EK), or in foreign collections such as the Viennese ÖNB, the BNF in Paris, or the HAB in Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

⁴¹¹ Excerpts of this work which are important sources for Felician Herberstein's life have been included in the appendix to this dissertation.

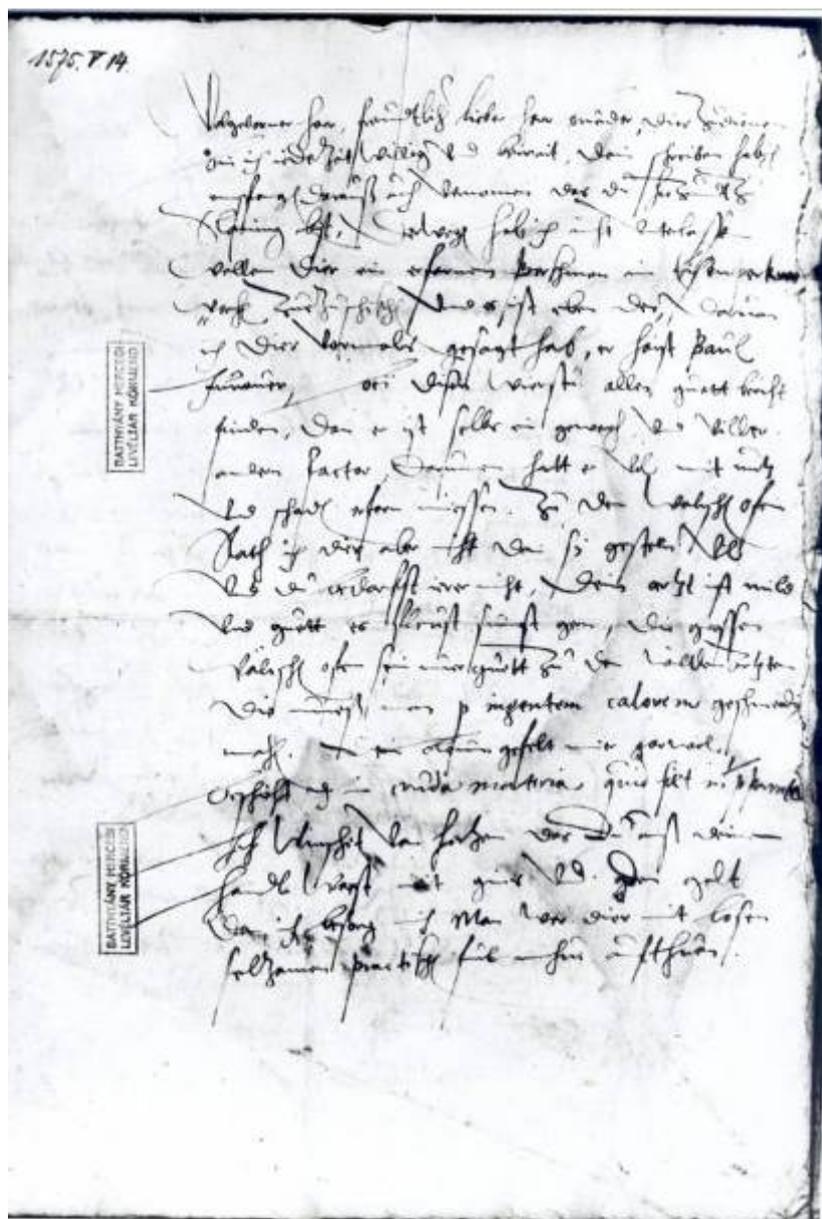


Figure 22. Felician Herberstein's letter to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 18609.

III. 2. 5. 4. Nicolaus Pystalotius

To some extent, the physician Nicolaus Pystalotius also belonged to this informal alchemical circle, although he did not pursue alchemical experiments but sent many prescriptions to the Count which he had to prepare at home in a similar way to the alchemical recipes. Pystalotius was the court physician of Ferenc Nádasdy, but according to an earlier letter, he had

previously served Batthyány's great-uncle.⁴¹² He most probably was Italian as suggested by both his name and the fact that although all of his surviving letters to Batthyány were written in Latin, another member of the same family, one Vincenzo Pestalozzi, wrote to Palatine Nádasdy in Italian.⁴¹³ Takáts thought Nicolaus may well have been Hungarian but apart from his surprisingly correct use of some Hungarian words (such as “kolbaz,” for “kolbász” (sausage), for instance, or “kis Ferenc” (little Ferenc) for Batthyány's son), nothing supports this idea, while his obvious Italianisms (he does not like to use the letter “h”) speak to his Italian origins.

Takáts⁴¹⁴ claimed that it was Pistorius who “converted” the Batthyány family to Protestantism (this theory was then repeated by Sándor Payr as well⁴¹⁵) and that Katalin Svetkovics bequeathed her nice little garden in Vienna to him upon her death in 1575. He lived in Vienna, but he also spent a lot of time at the Batthyány and Nádasdy residences, finally settling in Pozsony (he acquired a house there in 1582). He may be found among the guests at an elegant feast organised by the city of Pozsony in 1590. He was well known and acknowledged by the aristocracy in Western Hungary that he treated and cured, among others, Anna Pekry (widow of István Losonczy), Ilona Guthi Ország (widow of Gábor Perényi), Tamás and Ferenc Nádasdy, and the Palatine's wife, Orsolya Kanizsai, and finally Boldizsár Batthyány. In 1571, Miklós Pálffy, Vice-Captain of Győr summoned him⁴¹⁶ to try and help the gravely ill Ferenc Török of Enying but he proved beyond his help.⁴¹⁷ He often

⁴¹² Letter of Nicolaus Pistorius to Boldizsár Batthyány, 20 April 1569, Óvár. Letter no. 37455 (microfilm no. 4881).

⁴¹³ Gyula Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvostörténeti adattár*, 201. In one of his letters, Vincenzo Pestalozzi begged the Palatine for money to support his seven children in their poverty.

⁴¹⁴ Sándor Takáts, “Műveltségtörténeti közlemények III. A magyar patika” (Cultural Historical Proceedings III. The Hungarian Pharmacy), *Századok* (1907), 338.

⁴¹⁵ “Boldizsár Batthyány was primarily won for Luther by his widow mother, and the physicians, Pistorius, a native of Hungary, and the Viennese Corvinus.” See, Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, 190–191. He quotes the letter of György Liszthi, Bishop of Győr in which the Bishop was pleading Batthyány to abandon that evil Pistorius.

⁴¹⁶ Jedlicska, *Pálffy Miklós*, 169, 170, 189, 244.

⁴¹⁷ Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvostörténeti adattár*, 224; and Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, 169.

travelled to Italy, where he bought cloth and pearls for the Count's wife⁴¹⁸ or fulfilled Batthyány's wishes to have some tapestry⁴¹⁹ or even jewellery⁴²⁰ made for him. His surviving letters are rather interesting from the medical point of view. In Batthyány's time only a select few could afford to keep a court physician always ready to hand when help was needed. Doctors would usually give advice, establish a diagnosis and propose a treatment on the basis of the symptoms the patients described in letters. We encounter a great number of curious recipes in Pistorius' letters which the patient either had to prepare himself or ask his apothecary prepare for him. It is certain that Boldizsár used a court apothecary, Johannes Neander, son of the famous Michael.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁸ Letter of Pistorius to Batthyány, 15 September 1574, Milan. Letter no. 37475.

⁴¹⁹ Letter of Pistorius to Batthyány, 3 May 1578, Vienna. Letter no. 37491.

⁴²⁰ Letter of Pistorius to Batthyány, 20 June 1578, Vienna. Letter no. 37492.

⁴²¹ Michael Neander was a famous philologist and educator whose school in Ilfeld became well known to contemporaries. His son Johannes' letters from 1588 survive amongst the Batthyány correspondence. See P1314, 23591–92, microfilm no. 4871. Boldizsár Batthyány had one of Michael Neander's works, the *Parva Biblia Latinogermanica* (Wittenberg: Gronenberg, 1584). See Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 49.

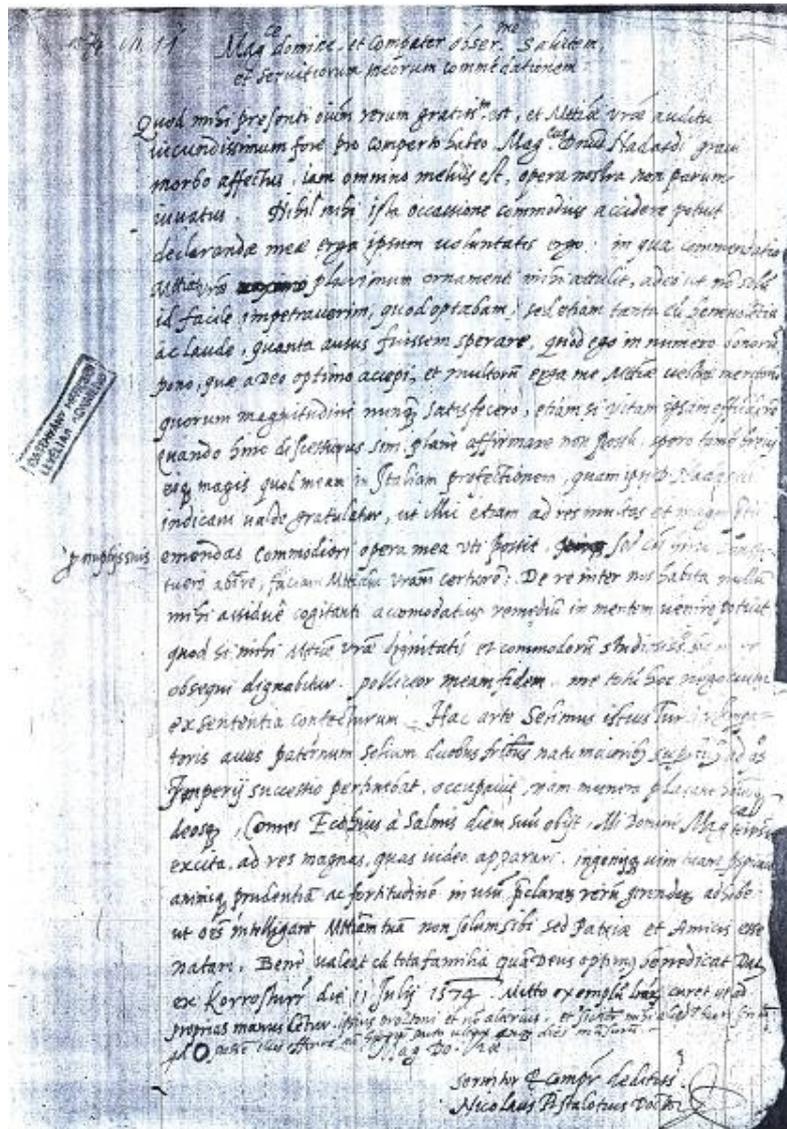


Figure 23. A letter of Nicolaus Pistolotius to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 37469.

When we think of the hygiene of our ancestors, there is a tendency to picture a certain frowziness. However, in one his letters, Pistolotius provided the Count at Boldizsár's request with a recipe and description of a powder, the predecessor of toothpaste, to help Batthyány make his teeth and gums stronger and healthier.⁴²²

I am sending you, my lord, a rather pleasant and easily applicable powder which whitens the teeth and makes them and the gums stronger and more resistant. Rub your teeth with it every day using your finger and you will see that not only it is not unpleasant but it also a highly useful thing.⁴²³ (...) You will attain the best result if you heat the powder up in fire until it becomes white, and then you dissolve it twice in

⁴²² Recipes for whitening the teeth and treating gums may also be found in Alessio Piemontese, *Secreti*, 141.

⁴²³ Letter of Nicolaus Pistolotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 23 May 1573. Letter no. 37458 (microfilm no. 4881).

half a pint (*media pintha*) of clear wine, and you rinse your mouth with this wine after each meal, lunch and dinner, two or three times.⁴²⁴

The recipes mostly contained herbal ingredients, however, among the most frequent “medications” wine was often found as well, although there is one recorded occasion where Pistalotius tried to persuade Batthyány not to drink so much of it.

I hope, my lord that you enjoy a good health and you mind your regime. If there is no way for you decide to renounce the consumption of must, I recommend that you at least drink a dry grape juice rather than a sweet one, because sweet juice must bloat you and block your veins, while the dry one is better against thirst as well.⁴²⁵

Wine was considered very efficacious against the widespread disease, gout, as described by Pistalotius in the following way,

While we were chatting with my lord Bejczy over a good wine, I had to share my lord Bejczy’s opinion, namely, that there is no better cure for the excruciating gout than a fine noble wine.⁴²⁶

The same issue is taken up by Johannes Homelius who recommended wine to ease some of the Count’s symptoms, “Against some unpleasant symptoms my lord suffers from I recommend a strict regime and the consumption of a light, noble wine.”⁴²⁷

These quotations illustrate that the Galenic theory of humours was still very popular in the sixteenth century. According to this theory, there were four bodily fluids, the humours, the proportions of which within the human body determined the health of human organism. Black bile was responsible for melancholy, yellow bile represented choleric temperament, blood represented the sanguine character, and lymph represented a phlegmatic character. If the balance of any of these humours was upset within the body, it led to illness and the patient experienced symptoms of one of the above four states. Thus, the doctor had to do his best to rid the patient of these surplus fluids. This is why phlebotomy was such a routine

⁴²⁴ Letter of Nicolaus Pistalotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 15 August 1574. Letter no. 37473.

⁴²⁵ Letter of Nicolaus Pistalotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 26 September 1575. Letter no. 37481.

⁴²⁶ Letter of Nicolaus Pistalotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Ghincz on 5 December 1575. Letter no. 37484.

⁴²⁷ Letter of Joannes Homelius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Marchburg on 6 March 1587. Letter no. 19603.

operation. In this procedure, the patient – who was feeling weak anyway – was freed of his “surplus” blood by cupping. It appears that Boldizsár Batthyány also submitted himself to this unpleasant treatment. As a follow-up, Homelius suggested the following:

I beg you not to take too hot a bath after phlebotomy and purgation so that the humours can dry out of your body, and do not stay longer in the bath than an hour and a half, so your blood does not heat up too much because the fluctuation of the humours feeds the piercing poignancy of gout. Hot baths are, furthermore, enemies of both Venus and Bacchus but I trust your judgement, my lord, which will direct you in everything.⁴²⁸

Ferenc, Boldizsár’s son also suffered from delicate health. Pistalotius also explained his morning headaches within the framework of humoral pathology:

My young lord Ferenc who complains of morning headaches most probably suffers from an excess of black bile, a humour which generates in his stomach and the fumes of which ascend from there to cause a pain and dizziness in the head.⁴²⁹

Doctor Corvinus, on the other hand, gave a detailed account of a marvellous elixir which he had acquired from a Paduan physician and which was effective not only against epileptic symptoms but also neutralised poisons in the body.

I have invited to my house the one Sepacher I told you about who claimed various things about the elixir of the Paduan Cortusius. Upon my constant instigation he promised to prepare it in front of me with his own hands. When he was done with it, he said the elixir was an antidote to all sorts of poisons and it cured even lethal diseases. In my presence he took a couple of drops of it and swallowed them so that I should not be suspicious, and he swore by the saints that the elixir was given him by the Prince of Brandenburg himself in the presence of Doctor Luther (the son of Martin Luther) and it had presumably saved him from a poisoning.⁴³⁰

In an age when health care was not yet institutionalised, everyone tried to resolve the health problems of his own and of his family and acquaintances according to his own

⁴²⁸ Letter of Joannes Homelius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Pettau on 18 April 1587. Letter no. 19605.

⁴²⁹ Letter of Nicolaus Pistalotius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Pozsony on 23 October 1585. Letter no. 37499.

⁴³⁰ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 14 July 1575. Letter no. 8084 (microfilm no. 4795).

capabilities and conviction. In an article, Takáts⁴³¹ provides a vivid image of the customs of Hungarian aristocracy in the early modern period in acquiring and sending medication to each other. He referred to several interesting data from Batthyány's correspondence, as well. It becomes clear from these letters that good doctors were very hard to find and not even the wealthiest individuals could necessarily afford a court physician. Consequently, they would exchange their well-trying doctors, or, even more often, the usually completely ignorant (at least in medical issues) noble ladies and lords would themselves advise one another,⁴³² or send medicine based on the symptoms described in these missives.

Even Boldizsár himself offered medical advice freely, although the outcome of his interventions were not always positive.

I have ended up with you, my lord, like the builders of the tower of Babylon; when they asked for lime, they were given bricks, when they asked for bricks, they were given lime: I asked for a medicine for arena and you sent me one for gout (...) I only know that my stomach still aches from your medicine against arena.⁴³³

Since both Homelius and Pistalotius were physicians, they would often send various prescriptions to Batthyány although there was an example of the poet Corvinus giving advice to the morning dizziness experienced by Lady Dorica, wife of the Count.⁴³⁴ Apart from the customary herbal ingredients, in these recipes, there was the increased presence of minerals and metallic components, which again, reflected the influence of Paracelsian medicine in Batthyány's circle.

⁴³¹ Sándor Takáts, "Orvosságtudakozás és orvoslás a hódoltság korában" (Inquiries on Medicine and Healing in the Period of the Ottoman Conquest), in *Rajzok a török világból* (Sketches from the Turkish Period) (Budapest: MTA, 1917).

⁴³² On the basis of largely seventeenth-century sources, see, *'Im küttem én orvosságot...'* Lobkowitz Poppel Éva levelezése, 1622–1640 ('I Have thus Sent you Medication...' The Correspondence of Éva Lobkowitz Poppel, 1622–1640), ed. by Katalin Kincses (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1993).

⁴³³ "Úgy vagyon kegyelmeddel dolgozom, mint mikor Babylon tornyát rakták; mert mikor meszet kértenek, akkor téglát adtak, amikor téglát kértek, akkor meszet adtak fel: én az arena ellen kérék orvosságot te kegyelmed az podagra ellen küldött (...) azt tudom, hogy arénáról való orvosságtól még mostan is fáj a gyomrom bele." Letter of Gergely Bejczy to Boldizsár Batthyány from Szombathely on 27 September 1575 (in Hungarian). Letter no. 5541.

⁴³⁴ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 27 January 1572, Vienna. Letter no. 8063.

Some details of the letters of Pistolotius and Homelius have shown that even if these men were among the first readers of Paracelsus in Pannonia, it does not mean that they had drastically broken with the ancient tradition of humoral pathology. This tradition, although vehemently criticised and challenged by Paracelsus, continued to be practiced in parallel to the Hippocratic-Galenic medicinal tradition. Apparently, it was not necessarily a contradiction or difficulty for sixteenth-century physicians with Paracelsian inclinations to operate within two conflicting systems.

III. 2. 6. Paracelsianism after Batthyány

For various reasons, it is not really possible to talk about Paracelsianism in the sense of original works inspired by the ideas of Paracelsus in Early Modern Hungary. The reception of his work is possible to measure largely through library collections on the basis of which it is possible to estimate the extent to which he was known, how widely his books were read and collected. The analysis of the library holdings is also a source to be handled with care. Most often, there exists no confirmation that the books acquired by a collector were actually read and not just served the purpose of representation, unless one finds further evidence, such as marginal notes by the owner, or other references to his readings. In the case of Batthyány, it is the rich correspondence that bears witness to his practical use of the many books he ordered. Although no marginal notes can be found in the surviving items in his library, this only reveals his reading habits. While he wrote his name in all the books which were his, he did not write his remarks in them. We know of an alchemical notebook he once possessed that was the way he put his thoughts down, but this notebook seems to be lost now.⁴³⁵ As

⁴³⁵ *Horváth Tibor Antal hagyatéka. Regesták a körmenyi levéltár missiliseiből vegyes tárgyakra vonatkozóan. XVI–XVIII. század* (The Bequest of Tibor Antal Horváth. Regestas from the the Missilis Letters in the Körmenyi Archives Concerning Various Subjects. Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries). Ms 5264/1. MTA Kézirattár, Budapest. (The Bequest of Tibor Antal Horváth), Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

was mentioned before, his vast correspondence contained discussions of various problems emerging during the operations pursued by Batthyány and his friends.

After Batthyány, however, scholars know of no reader from the sixteenth century who collected books related to Paracelsian alchemical medicine so much systematically, and for whom there is solid evidence for their actual reading these books. When the Count died in 1590, it seems that the reading of Paracelsian texts also ended for a long while. The continuous wars, Ottoman forays, left little time for noblemen involved in the defence of the borders to exercise their intellectual leanings. That some of them still managed to keep an eye on international intellectual trends is a matter of even greater merit to them.

According to Elekes,⁴³⁶ Lascovius also worked in a Paracelsian spirit, as did another renowned physician, Gergely Frankovich (his “serapium ointment” has Paracelsian overtones⁴³⁷) as well as János Balsaráti Vitus, Máté Dresser, János György Szepesi Macer, and Bertalan Carrichter. At the same time, and not very surprisingly, there were opponents of Paracelsus’ medical system among the sixteenth-century intelligentsia such as the Imperial physician and historian, Joannes Sambucus or the humanist Andreas Dudith.⁴³⁸

Only in the seventeenth century do we again find traces of Paracelsianism in Hungary. A treatise from 1634 on plague by Máté Csanaki is worth mentioning. The author claimed that the disease could be cured using Paracelsian medicine, while in 1646 Johann Puecher, a Hungarian doctor of Saxon origin, praised Paracelsus together with van Helmont.⁴³⁹ Many Hungarian students wrote their theses on occult-hermetic topics in Wittenberg, under the Silesian professor, Daniel Sennert.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁶ György Elekes, “Paracelsus és a paracelsismus sorsa Magyarországon” (The Fate of Paracelsus and Paracelsianism in Hungary), *Orvostudományi Közlemények* 3 (1942), no. 2, 39.

⁴³⁷ Szőnyi, “The Occult Sciences in Early Modern Hungary in a Central European Context,” 40.

⁴³⁸ Elekes, *Paracelsus*, 40; and Glesinger, “Der Humanist Andreas Dudith im Kreise der Antiparacelsisten.”

⁴³⁹ Szőnyi, “The Occult Sciences in Early Modern Hungary,” 40.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41; and Wolfgang U. Eckart, “Antiparacelsismus, okkulte Qualitäten und medizinisch-wissenschaftliches Erkennen im Werk Daniel Sennerts (1572–1637),” in *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance*, ed. by August Buck (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 139–157.

III. 3. FROM READING TO PRACTICE: ALCHEMICAL EXPERIMENTATION IN THE NÉMETÚJVÁR CIRCLE

III. 3. 1. Instruments and the Birth of the Laboratory

The ideas, intellectual trends and tendencies that Boldizsár Batthyány and his friends seem to have found most intriguing were examined above on the basis of the letters they had exchanged and the books they read. Now I will depict the setting in which the ideas were put into practice, give a physical description of the place(s) and means of experimentation. I will write in more detail about the types of processes Batthyány, Corvinus, Herberstein, and Homelius pursued, the materials and implements they used, and the way they organised and harmonised their activities and shared their experiences.

As mentioned above, it was basically the laboratory that connected various practitioners of alchemical arts. Even the word “laboratory” was something new when its application is taken into account. In the middle ages the word was used but rarely and even then in the sense of an *officina*.⁴⁴¹ The laboratory, as a place for scientific inquiry, was an “invention” from the second half of the sixteenth century. There were two prominent examples of laboratory design from this period, one which was actually realised, on the island of Hven, by Tycho Brahe,⁴⁴² and another designed but never built by the physician Andreas Libavius in Germany. It is interesting and very useful to compare these two programs since they represented two contradicting ideas. While for Brahe the ideal laboratory was far away from the disturbing vicinity of other people in a fairy castle surrounded by a fence and

⁴⁴¹ Owen Hannaway, “Laboratory Design and the Aim of Science: Andreas Libavius versus Tycho Brahe,” *Isis* 77 (1986), no. 4, 585.

⁴⁴² On Tycho see, John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho's Island. Tycho Brahe, Science, and Culture in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Alain Philippe Segonds, “Tycho Brahe et l'alchimie,” in *Alchimie et philosophie à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international de Tours (4-7 Décembre 1991)*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton (Paris: Vrin, 1993): 365–378; and Kjell Lundquist, “The Plant Material in the Renaissance Garden of Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg (1581 – 1597) on the Island of Ven – A Restoration Project in Progress,” *Museol. Sci.* 14, no. 1 (1998), suppl., 223–235.

guarded by dogs, Libavius's laboratory would have been built in a town house in order to be accessible and down-to-earth⁴⁴³ [Fig. 24]

Apart from the various works which today help us create a picture about the material culture characteristic of sixteenth-century alchemy, another intriguing source of information is also available. In 1980, in the Austrian Oberstockstall at Kirchberg am Wagram (half-way between Krems and Tulln), an entire alchemical laboratory was discovered beneath the pavement of a chapel [Fig. 25a-b] where it presumably ended up as the result of an earthquake in the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴⁴

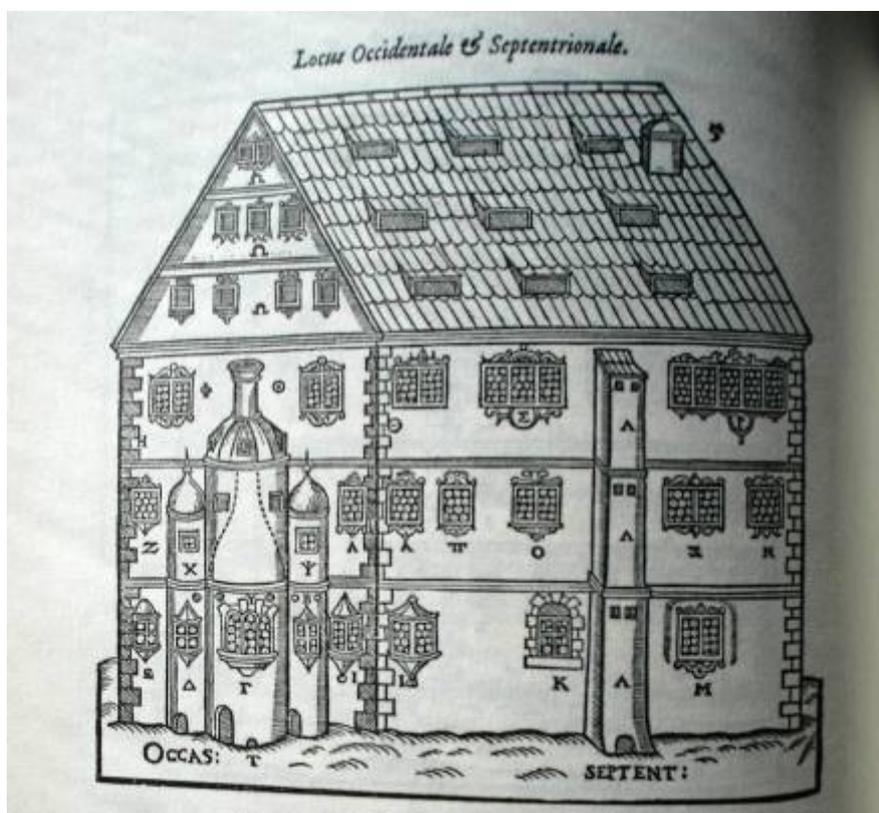


Figure 24. The laboratory building designed by Andreas Libavius in his *Alchimia* (Die Alchemie des Andreas Libavius, ed. by Matthias Atterer et al (Weinheim: Verl. Chemie, 1964).

⁴⁴³ Hannaway, "Laboratory Design and the Aim of Science," 584–610.

⁴⁴⁴ Sigrid von Osten, *Das Alchemistenlaboratorium Oberstockstall. Ein Fundkomplex des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Niederösterreich*, PhD dissertation (Universität Wien, 1992); Rudolf Werner Soukup and Helmut Mayer, *Alchemistisches Gold Paracelsistische Pharmaka. Laboratoriumstechnik im 16. Jahrhundert. Chemiegeschichtliche und archäometrische Untersuchungen am Inventar des Laboratoriums von Oberstockstall/Kirchberg am Wagram* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997).

The various instruments found in Oberstockstall largely correspond to the illustrations of technical books known from the period. However, their analysis pursued using the latest technology reveals a great deal more about the actual materials and substances used in the experiments, the results the alchemists might have been able to achieve, the manufacture of the instruments, and several other details.⁴⁴⁵ Among the objects and materials that came to light, archaeologists found pieces of glass from hundreds of broken phials, alembics [Fig. 26], retorts, a huge quantity of shattered charcoal, bricks, bones, textiles, oddly shaped wooden and metallic objects [Fig. 27 and 28].



Figure 25a. The chapel at Oberstockstall from the outside.

Research managed to conclude that these objects derived from a period between 1560 and 1610 when the families von Trenbach and, later, the Fuggers were the landowners in the

⁴⁴⁵ Jennifer Pinkowski, “The Alchemist’s Lab,” *Archaeology* 57 (2004), no. 6, 27–31. This is a summary of the analyses of the archaeological findings in Oberstockstall carried out by Marcos Martín-Torres.

little city. It was well-known that Victor August Fugger, for instance, was extremely interested in certain worldly issues. He was also one of the dedicatees of a treatise by the Paracelsist author, Michael Toxites.⁴⁴⁶ What did an alchemical laboratory look like in the second half of the sixteenth century? One of the most important objects in the laboratory was the furnace, or even, furnaces. There was a great variety of furnaces including calcinatory, descensory, solutory (or dissolving) furnaces [Fig. 29], the athanor type,⁴⁴⁷ [Fig. 30] and so on, each of these designed for different procedures.⁴⁴⁸



Figure 25b. The chapel at Oberstockstall from the inside (the pit was covered after the excavations were completed).

In Tycho Brahe's laboratory, the furnaces were arranged in a row along the curved wall of the building unsystematically, with no apparent attention to practical criteria.

⁴⁴⁶ Soukup and Mayer, *Alchemistisches Gold Paracelsistische Pharmaka*, 20–21.

⁴⁴⁷ "Furnum athanor vel fixatorium describit Geber in libro Fornacum," says Gesner. See, *Thesaurus Evonymi Philiatrī, De remediis secretis* (Zürich: Andreas Geßner, 1552), 76.

⁴⁴⁸ Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 45.

Libavius criticized Brahe for not taking into account the practicalities when he placed the various furnaces in his laboratory.⁴⁴⁹



Figure 26. Beautifully preserved alembic from Oberstockstall in the collection of the Kirchberg Museum.

⁴⁴⁹ Hannaway, "Laboratory Design and the Aim of Science," 606.



Figure 27. Fragmented glassware from Oberstockstall in the Museum in Kirchberg.



Figure 28. Earthenware vessels from Oberstockstall in the Kirchberg Museum.

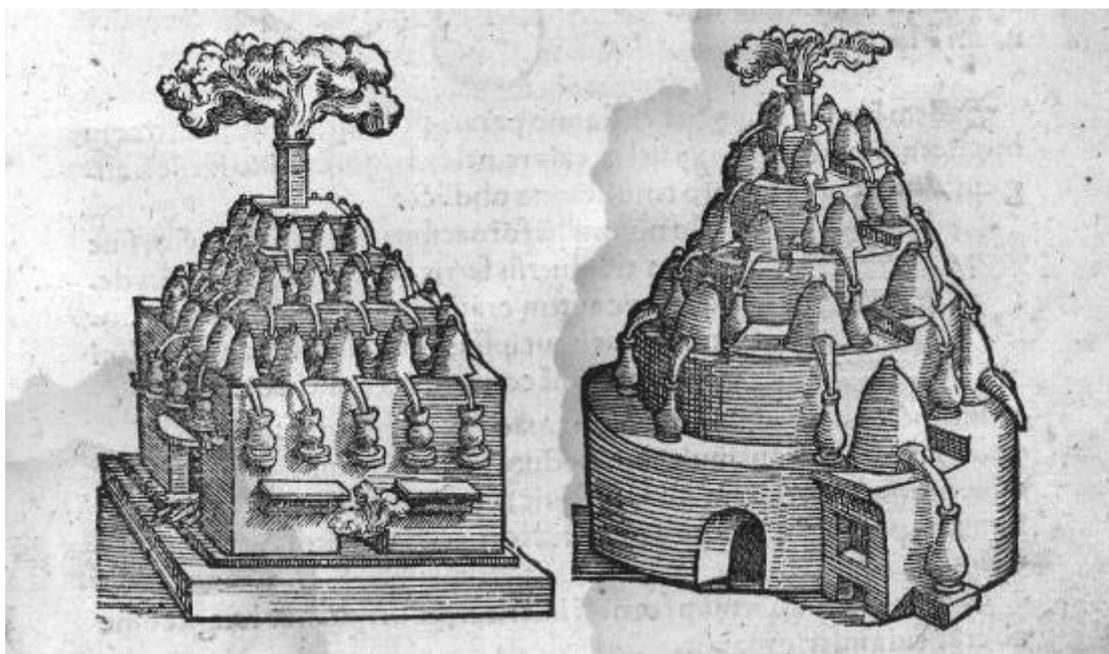


Figure 29. Distillatory furnaces by Adam Lonitzer in his *Kräuterbuch* (Frankfurt: Egenolff, 1582).

Apart from the furnaces, another larger instrument indispensable for an alchemist was the distilling apparatus.⁴⁵⁰ The distillary also had innumerable variants with the the best-known types being the Rosenhut, the Moor’s head, and the Serpena (or Serpentina) [**Fig. 31**]. Distillatory furnaces were used for separating “the gross from the subtle”, that is, while the practitioner kept a liquid consisting of two or more substances at constant heat, he was cooling the vapours rising from it, thus, separating the liquid into its component fractions and “purifying” the substance.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ R. J. Forbes, *A Short History of the Art of Distillation. From the Beginnings up to the Death of Cellier Blumenthal* (Leiden: Brill, 1970, 1st edition: 1948), 176.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

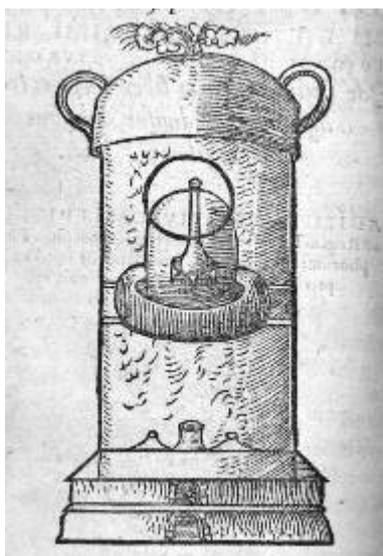


Figure 30. An Athanor by Raimundus Lullus.



Figure 31. A Serpentina by Adam Lonitzer.

There were instruments which an alchemist had to buy in greater quantities since they did not last long. Usually the retorts, alembics, cucurbits, and stills (a combination of the cucurbit and alembic distillery devices) were made of glass, and for certain operations, in order to get to the final product or residue the alembic had to be broken. This meant that the glass-makers – the most renowned were those of Venice and Murano – made a good profit from the intensification of alchemical experimentation. The producers of crucibles, cupels, and other smaller vessels which could be made of clay, tin, copper, or specific ingredients, such as graphite and bone-ash also profited in the same way. The crucibles and cupels made of bone-ash were used for operations where the porous surface of the vessel was useful in absorbing some components of the substance being prepared (most commonly absorbing lead while

leaving the gold or silver on the surface).⁴⁵² Furthermore, various other devices [Fig. 32] were employed during the procedures such as the tong made of iron with which the alchemist could hold the otherwise untouchably hot vessels while pouring their contents into another vessel.



Figure 32. Various instruments and vessels used by Libavius.

Since alchemical experimentation and laboratory work in general was not yet a large-scale phenomenon, the acquisition of these instruments was not an easy task. Later, some examples from an individual case, that of Count Boldizsár Batthyány, will be described. Not only did acquiring such equipment require good connections but the purchase of instruments and vessels was also very costly. And, these costs do not include the raw materials necessary for the experiments: ores, precious metals, such as silver and gold, quicksilver (that is, mercury) and one of the most important elements used in that period, coal, to keep the fire in the furnace burning for days if necessary, sulphur, or even more exotic “ingredients”, such as the insect called *cantharidum* used in medicines or animal dung from the manure-heap. Consequently, an alchemist needed a widespread network of acquaintances and connections

⁴⁵² Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 41, and Pinkowski, “The Alchemist’s Lab,” 30.

to have glassware delivered from Venice, earthenware vessels from Germany, ores from various mines, and able craftsmen who could forge the special instruments needed for the alchemical procedures.

In this period, there were still very few constructed laboratories. Rather, laboratories were usually found in one room in the basement of a house or a castle and where the equipment was usually arranged in a non-systematic fashion. The laboratory described by Brahe and Libavius aimed at some kind of systemization. Both scholars indicated the necessity of having store rooms connected to the laboratory where the furnaces should stand and some of the alchemists recognized that the basement was perhaps not the ideal place for the laboratory, since light was needed to see well and windows needed to blow out the often noxious gases that were created in the course of some processes.

III. 3. 1. The Nature of the Experiments of Boldizsár Batthyány and His Friends

When there was a possibility, either Corvinus visited Németújvár or Szalónak, or he invited Batthyány to his house in Vienna so they could carry out some experiments together. The situation was similar with Homelius and Herberstein as well. Mostly they pursued their experiments individually at their homes. Only occasionally could they arrange meetings and discuss problems emerging during the course of their experiments. Hence, it can be assumed that they each had some kind of laboratory. It is known for sure that Homelius finished his laboratory in 1587.⁴⁵³ From a letter from Corvinus we also learn that Batthyány decided to have his own furnace built with the poet advising him to be cautious and have the furnace built in the castle, rather than in the monastery, to avoid gossip. He also recommended to him to have a round furnace since the processes of *digestio* and *putrefactio* required a

⁴⁵³ “Gaudeo laborum meum nunc confectum dabo operam ut Deo volente aliquid frugiferum laborem.” Homelius to Batthyány, 14 November 1587, Marchburg. Letter no. 19610.

constant flame, and he said the Count should ask Leopold about the details since he always liked to talk about such things. Corvinus had the idea that they should ask Count Herberstein because he perhaps had a good mason, knowledgeable in building such furnaces.⁴⁵⁴

Corvinus would try to acquire the instruments in Vienna, and once he complained that his well-trying potter had died and the younger potters working in the city were mendacious and arrogant.⁴⁵⁵ He bought the smaller retorts, mortars, gold and honey from a man called Rasperger.⁴⁵⁶ Another time it was Homelius who asked Batthyány to have his blacksmith forge an iron mortar for him.⁴⁵⁷

On the basis of the above-mentioned alchemical laboratory excavated in Oberstockstall, we now possess concrete evidence of the material culture related to alchemy in Batthyány's time. It is just another interesting detail that one of the Count's friends and correspondents, Miklós Pálffy, vice-captain of Komárom, in 1583 married a Fugger-girl, Maria, from the Kirchberg-branch of the family, as mentioned above.⁴⁵⁸ A very intriguing letter⁴⁵⁹ exists in the Pálffy family archives in Pozsony, written by Batthyány to Pálffy in the castle of Vöröskő. The letter again testified to the Count's expertise in alchemy, and especially to his knowledge of the various qualities of metals. Pálffy apparently had found some copper balls in his newly-acquired castle, which most probably had been left behind by the Fuggers, the previous owners of the place. In his Hungarian letter, Batthyány explained in detail to the vice-captain that those balls may well contain silver "hidden inside," (that is, in form of a copper-silver alloy) since copper is a "*debilis materia*" not suitable for the siege

⁴⁵⁴ "In monasterio rogo ne construat furnos, propter rumorem hominum, sed cogitat quo furnus rotundus in medio laboratorii fieri possit, qui ad varia tandem erit utilis. Leopoldus quoque de hac re speculare delectat (...) Furnum rotundum necesse est ut habeamus: isti ... labores putrefactionis et digestionis requaerunt ignem continuum. Forsitan Dominus Felicianus sciet aliquem murarium qui talem possit construere." Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 5 March 1575, Vienna. Letter no. 8081.

⁴⁵⁵ Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 14 September 1585, Vienna. Letter no. 8104.

⁴⁵⁶ Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 9 November 1575, Vienna. Letter no. 8087.

⁴⁵⁷ Letter of Homelius to Batthyány, 6 March 1587, Marchburg. Letter no. 19603.

⁴⁵⁸ Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század története*, 76–78.

⁴⁵⁹ I thank Géza Pálffy for providing me with a copy of the two letters written by Boldizsár Batthyány, to be found today in Bratislava.

of walls of fortresses, not to mention that it was even more expensive than iron. Therefore, he recommended Pálffy to have one of them “tried”, to see whether it contained silver.⁴⁶⁰

For the acquisition of raw materials, Batthyány and his friends again left no stones unturned. Once Corvinus reported to the Count that there was a possibility to order some red ores from his homeland, the mining area of Joachimsthal, and he asked Batthyány to let him know if he wanted some, because then they could carry out some experiments with them at home.⁴⁶¹ On another occasion, he sent some white marble,⁴⁶² while Homelius searched for hard red marble for him.⁴⁶³ Batthyány himself owned some iron mines in Vas County,⁴⁶⁴ and presumably produced saltpetre as well, since various people repeatedly asked him for some.⁴⁶⁵ The substance called ‘vitriol’ could be mentioned here as well, Herberstein put strong emphasis on its production in his letters.

When necessary, they even tried to call metals forth from the ground. In one of his letters, Corvinus enthusiastically told Batthyány that a man with his divining-rod (*virgula divina*) found a little chest hidden under the ground with some silver vessels and some less valuable things inside. However, according to him, anyone could have a similar dowsing-rod made from a hazel withe and only one condition had to be taken into account. The hazel

⁴⁶⁰ “...az ertewm hogy werews kewbe sok rez goliobisa wasyon kegyelmednek, azt mongyak hogy nichil fit sine causa nylwan walami okanak kel lenny az mert azt oda gywytewttek mert ha az idewnek allapathyat meg gondoljwk az mikor az fukkar wrak az banyakat birtak, hat azt talalywk hogy haberw wolta az agyw ewttes golyobis chinalas mind az idewhewz illot, de azert distinctive mert hat warat akarnak wagy erews kew falt rontany az rez ahoz igen debilis materia... azert az en bolond opiniom az volna, hogy jo wolna kegyelmednek egy goliobison meg probaltatni ha wasyon ezewst benne (mert az banyakon sok ezewst wasyon az rezbe.” Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Miklós Pálffy, 7 April 1589, Németújvár. Slovenský národný archív Bratislava; Arm. I. Lad. 3. Fasc. 8. Letter no. 393.

⁴⁶¹ “...mittat mihi pecuniam: pro decem taleris potest ablegari proprius nuncius in Vallem et alias fodinas Misniae, ut ibidem pro viginti aut triginta taleris, ematur minera rubea: tunc istam operationem domi probare poterit.” Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 3 May 1587, Vienna. No. 8107. And also: “Rediit nuncius ex valle Ioachimica, attulit quidem mineram rubeam.” Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 29 June 1587, Vienna. Letter no. 8109.

⁴⁶² Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 5 March 1575, Vienna. Letter no. 8081.

⁴⁶³ “Ego indagavi rubeum marmor durissimum quod in Mura fluvio supra Grazium ex aqua prope pagum Rötelstain (ni fallor dicto) eminent. Habentur huiusmodi multa Grezii dabo operam ut habeamus, aut Magnificentia Vestra indagare faciat ibidem.” Letter of Homeius to Batthyány, 3 April 1587, Marchburg. Letter no. 19604.

⁴⁶⁴ MOL, Libri regii, vol. 3, 1000.

⁴⁶⁵ Among other people, his aunt, Katalin Svetkovics and Gergely Bejczy (letter no. 5409).

withe had to be cut when the Sun entered the sign of Aries. Even more interesting than this detail concerning astral magic, is that Corvinus continued the letter by saying that “we can try the divining rod at those graves and in other places around the castle.”⁴⁶⁶ Unfortunately, our curiosity must remain unsatisfied by the later letters of Corvinus since there was no further indication concerning those graves around Németújvár (or perhaps Szalónak), in which they could have hunted for treasures.

All these materials, vessels, and instruments were required for various elementary (al)chemical procedures:⁴⁶⁷ Batthyány and his friends tried to deal with distillation (also called *sublimatio* in Latin), *putrefactio*, *resuscitatio*, and there were references to other interesting processes in their correspondence.

However, the final goal of the alchemists was finding (in reality or creating) the philosophers’ stone. It was the substance needed for performing the Great Art, the transmutation of base metals into noble ones. According to some, this substance was sulphur, while others held it to be cinnabar, and yet others would claim that it was not a real substance but something insubstantial which only becomes visible and touchable under certain circumstances.

Naturally, Batthyány and his friends also made inquiries into what the philosophers’ stone might really be. In one of his letters, Homelius wrote that he had told before how it had to be made, while in another one he complained that the mint master of Graz, who himself was in possession of the secret recipe, had blabbed out the precious information, which the physician disapproved of paraphrasing the words of the Evangelist Matthew: “The secrets

⁴⁶⁶ “Praeterea fui cum quodam viro qui per virgulam divinam (ut nominant fossores metallici) aliquando invenit in quodam sacello, sub terra reconditam arculam, in qua erant vascula argentea et alia res non magni precii (...) et virgula denotat metallum in quocunque loco reconditum fuerit: sin autem nullam in promptu habuerint, ex corylo novam praeparabit, quando Sol ingredietur arietem, et tunc in istis sepulchris et aliis locis prope arcem aliquid tentabimus.” Letter of Corvinus to Batthyány, 6 December 1574, Vienna. No. 8079.

⁴⁶⁷ The following dictionaries help to decipher the processes behind the Latin expressions: Gino Testi, *Dizionario di alchimia e di chimica antiquaria* (Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2002, 1st edition: 1950), and Lyndy Abraham, *Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

ought not be revealed this way, neither ought the pearls be trampled upon so.”⁴⁶⁸ Many claimed to know the secret but in reality no one could (ever) perform a real transmutation. If the alchemist could not produce the stone following his recipe, he could still say that the moment was badly chosen for the operation (since the influence of planets was highly important in alchemy, as well), or that the materials were of low quality or not appropriate.

According to Homelius, the foundations of the whole of chemistry and the philosopher’s stone was “*Mercurius Lunae et Solis*.” In alchemy, mercury was considered the primary agent of transmutation (although the name ‘mercury’ could refer to another one hundred different materials), while Luna referred to silver, and Sol was the name of gold. On the basis of many alchemical texts, the chemical wedding of silver and gold – a relevant step in the production of the Stone – was not possible without the transmission of mercury. This is the tradition which the words of Homelius also reflected.

III. 3. 2. Laboratory Assistants

Since neither Batthyány nor Corvinus possessed the necessary education or training, assistants with a chemical expertise were indispensable for their experiments. Once the poet referred a young candidate he had found to Batthyány to be their assistant and he proposed that he would take him to Pozsony where the Count could talk to him and discuss the details and conditions of his eventual employment.⁴⁶⁹ In a letter from 1572, Herberstein expressed his worries that Batthyány laid too much trust in his new assistant; he warned Boldizsár that it would be unfortunate if the assistant wanted to go too far just like the alchemists tend to

⁴⁶⁸ “*Secreta huiusmodi non sunt quibusvis communicanda nec margaritae conculcandae.*” Letter of Homelius to Batthyány, 14 November 1587, Marchburg. Letter no. 19610. See the Gospel of Matthew 7, 6.

⁴⁶⁹ “*De labore diligenter inquisivi, aliquos habui, non tamen idoneos pro Tua Magnificentia nunc quondam recentem expiscatus sum, quem forsitan mecum adducam Posonium, ut ibidem colloquamus de omnibus circumstantiis.*” Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 18 March 1572, Vienna. No. 8066.

do.⁴⁷⁰ A couple of years afterwards, in 1574, at last Herberstein wrote about a pharmacist called Leopold, who was the brother-in-law of the chancellor, and who had come to live in Vienna because of his tenuous financial situation.⁴⁷¹ In half a year's time, Corvinus mentioned that he would send another young man whom he expected from Styria, or his own goldsmith, to help in the laboratory.⁴⁷² They received another assistant from Count Herberstein in the end, but in 1582, Corvinus complained that his assistant had done nothing for three months, giving himself completely to drinking and sleeping.⁴⁷³ Within a year, he was again looking for a laboratory assistant, but it was only in 1587 that he mentioned a young boy named Hans who worked for Batthyány in Szalónak. The father of this Hans had just been imprisoned in Sopron for firing off a rusty catapult which exploded, killing three men around him. Corvinus was trying to persuade Batthyány to intervene on behalf of this man so he would be set free because he was an expert in the processes of *resuscitatio* and *sublimatio* and thus, could be a great help to the Count.⁴⁷⁴

Apart from Corvinus, others also corresponded with Batthyány about alchemy and the physician Homelius from Pettau could really take pride in his laboratory assistant. In 1587, he reported to Batthyány that Johannes, the son of the famous Michael Neander, who dealt deeply into alchemy, was dwelling at his place.⁴⁷⁵ Needless to say, within a couple of months' time, Homelius had the young pharmacist Neander sent to Batthyány's, presumably at the latter's solicitation,⁴⁷⁶ and Hans had become his court pharmacist. From all these details it becomes apparent how hard it must have been to find an able and sober laboratory

⁴⁷⁰ Letter of Felician Herberstein to Boldizsár Batthyány from Guetenhag on 6 April 1572. Letter no. 18587.

⁴⁷¹ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 1 November 1574, Vienna. Letter no. 8078.

⁴⁷² Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 1 March 1576, Vienna. Letter no. 8094.

⁴⁷³ "...iam ultra tres menses nihil percepi, quod homo nostre minium aliquid tentaverit, credo quod totus sit aut somno aut vino deditus." Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 12 December 1582, Vienna. Letter no. 8101.

⁴⁷⁴ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány, 29 June 1587, Vienna. Letter no. 8109.

⁴⁷⁵ "Iuvenis ille Neander filius viri doctissimi Michaelis Neandri qui multum in chemicis laborat, nunc apud me est." Letter of Johannes Homelius to Boldizsár Batthyány, 6 March 1587, Marchburg (Maribor). Letter no. 19603.

⁴⁷⁶ Letter of Homelius to Batthyány, 18 April 1587, Pettau (Ptuj). Letter no. 19605.

assistant, and also, how determined Batthyány and Corvinus must have been, since, in spite of the various difficulties, they kept pursuing their experiments for decades.

III. 3. 3. Conclusions: Debut of Paracelsian Alchemical Medicine in Hungary

In sum, a closer inspection of a small and informal circle whose focal point was Count Boldizsár Batthyány in Western Hungary, leads to several interesting conclusions. Although due to the absence of original works left to posterity it is not possible to speak of Paracelsianism proper, the study of the Swiss master's works was practiced with great enthusiasm and diligence very early on and in a relatively unexpected place. Unexpected because due to the Ottoman expansion, Western Hungary was a region where peasants and noblemen lived in constant preparedness and warfare, which were hardly the ideal circumstances for scholarly research. Yet, Count Batthyány, from the moment he could afford it, pursued his various experiments. He relied largely on his books in this activity – books acquired with the help of Aubry, one of the best known book dealers – and his associates, two physicians, Pistalotius and Homelius, Corvinus the poet, and Herberstein, the mining entrepreneur, and a noble experimenter like himself. We do not know whether the pronounced Paracelsian inclination of the group had something to do with the Paracelsian background of Homelius. What is certain is that there is evidence that there were some very early readers of Paracelsus in Pannonia who kept in contact with each other, exchanged ideas and discussed their readings primarily through private correspondence. Most of them had their own laboratories, or at least, many of the necessary implements. They all used home-made medicines, the ingredients of which also reflected the impact of Paracelsus, and they often recommended various ways of remedies to each other. Nevertheless, they all were still looking for the elixir, the ultimate medicine believed to be able to restore lost perfection to the human body in an attempt to prolong life.

III. 4. QUI ME UNICE AMABAT. THE BOTANICAL FRIENDSHIP AND THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN CAROLUS CLUSIUS AND BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY

III. 4. 1. Introduction

There is a well-known anecdote that Clusius tells in his *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia* about a certain yellow soup served at the table of Boldizsár Batthyány.

I recall the year 1584 when we gathered for the harvest in the stronghold of Némétújvár of the illustrious hero Boldizsár Batthyány (he used to summon me by sending a carriage two or three times each year), and we retired to the inn, and once, while we were having our lunch, a dish of mushrooms boiled in their sauce was put on the table: then I, who very rarely eat mushrooms, and not knowing that the yellow colour was the mushroom's juice, I asked him in French (since that hero besides his native Hungarian tongue, spoke foreign languages perfectly: Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and Vandalic, that is, Croatian) and asked whether it was saffron that coloured the soup yellow. He, heartily laughing, addressed the other noblemen, since usually some eight or ten of them normally sat at his table at lunch: "Clusius Uram, that is, My Lord Clusius (and he said more in Hungarian to them) thinks that this soup is yellow because saffron was added to it: then they all started to laugh excessively, and wonder at my ignorance concerning the nature of mushrooms, especially those who knew that in that same year and already some years before I had been diligently studying – as well as many other kinds of plants – the varieties of mushrooms which grew on his lands."⁴⁷⁷

The soup was made of mushrooms,⁴⁷⁸ and it had a peculiar yellow colour, which Clusius, who enthusiastically studied but rarely ate mushrooms, attributed to saffron rather than to the mushrooms themselves. Such ignorance in matters of cuisine, displayed by the pioneering

⁴⁷⁷ Carolus Clusius, *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601), cclxxiii. "Memini anno M.D.XXCIII. ad Illustrem Heroem Balthasarem de Battyán sub vindemiae tempus accersitum (solebat enim ille bis aut ter singulis annis, missam, qua veherer, rhedam, ad se evocare) in ejus arce firmissimam Nemeth-Wywar hospitio exceptum, atque fortunatam semel in mensa, dum pranderemus, adpositum hunc fungum in lance cum suo jure elixum: tum ego, qui fungis minime vesci soleo, & ignarus croceam illam tincturam est boleti succo esse, gallico sermone ad ipsum (plures enim ille Heros peregrinas linguas praeter vernaculam perfectè callebat, Latinam, Italicam, Gallicam, Hispanicam, Germanicam, & Vandalicam, sive Croaticam, ab Vngarica diversam) valde crocatum, sive croco tinctum est hoc jusculum, inquam. Ille suaviter ridens, ad Nobiles viros, qui ejus mensae assidere soliti erant octo aut decem, conversus: Clusius Vram, hoc est, Dominus Clusius (& cetera verba ungarico idiomate proloquutus) existimat hoc jusculum, croco in eo dissoluto esse tinctum: tum omnes illi cachinnum sustollere, & mirari mihi ignotam boleti naturam, praesertim cum scirent, & illo, & praecedentibus aliquot annis, diligenter observasse, praeter alias multas elegantes stirpes fungorum quae apud eos nascerentur genera." I have quoted this paragraph in the first chapter in connection with Boldizsár Batthyány's knowledge of foreign languages.

⁴⁷⁸ According to József Csaba, the mushroom was "amanita caesarea." See József Csaba, "Magyar ethnobotanikai adatok Clusius műveiben" (Hungarian Ethno-botanical Data in the Works of Clusius), *Vasi Szemle* 27 (1973/4): 598.

and most thorough researcher of the dish being served made the other guests and the count himself laugh heartily. The warmth of the anecdote gives us a glimpse into the relationship between Clusius [Fig. 33] and his Hungarian host, who continued to invite the famous botanist both to his castle(s) in Western Hungary and on the field trips that he made in neighbouring lands.

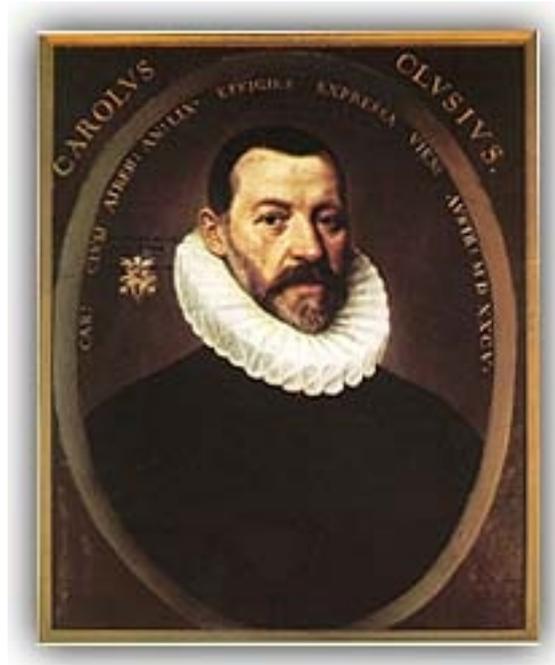


Figure 33. Portrait of Carolus Clusius by Jacob de Monte (1585), University Library of Leiden, Scaliger Institute.

III. 4. 2. Horticulture in Sixteenth-Century Hungary

Before discussing the garden of Boldizsár Batthyány in particular, it seems necessary to make some points in general about horticulture in Hungary⁴⁷⁹ in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although we are lacking in systematic descriptions or inventories from this period, by relying on the data available from the abundant private correspondence, we can see that in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary fruit production was the most widespread. During the reign of King Ferdinand I an interesting competition was even cultivated among the

⁴⁷⁹ On the general impact of Italian botany on Hungary see Andrea Ubrizsy-Savoia, *Rapporti italo-ungheresi nella nascita della botanica in Ungheria* (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2002).

Hungarian aristocrats, who tried to please his majesty by presenting him with the nicest and most delicious fruits – as early as possible. It was considered to be a triumph to be the first in the season to provide the ruler with the sweetest melon, peach or plum, and the noble ladies – traditionally responsible for the gardens – were encouraged by their husbands from the court to try and give of their best.⁴⁸⁰ The value of good fruit was almost as great as a well-written political speech in the Hungarian Diet, as is testified by Boldizsár Batthyány’s request to his wife to send a wagon of melons to Pozsony so that he could distribute it among the members of the Diet.⁴⁸¹ It was definitely also a good move to bribe state officials with certain delicacies before submitting a plea, as is evident in the letter from a servant whom Batthyány had sent to Vienna. In it, the servant named Pál, reports that before he handed the plea to János Liszthi, he gave him fruits, which the bishop of Győr accepted with much pleasure. Only then did Pál present the official papers to him.⁴⁸²

In this regard, the role of the Nádasdy family is, beyond doubt, of primary importance. The fame of the high quality of their fruits reached further than Vienna. Even Queen Mary of Hungary asked them for grafts of pear, apple, peach, and plum.⁴⁸³ They produced various types of pears and plums, and they also grew melon and apparently had orange and lemon trees in their gardens.⁴⁸⁴ From a letter we have exact data about a certain “great garden” that they built in 1546, with 104 orange trees and 50 lemon trees, which – taking the climate into account and supposing that they did not have greenhouses – seems to have bordered on true

⁴⁸⁰ Sándor Takáts, “Kertészkedés a török világban” (Gardening in the Turkish Period), in *Rajzok a török világból*, vol. 3, 366.

⁴⁸¹ Sándor Takáts, “Dinnyeszüret a hódoltság korában” (Melon Vintage in the Ottoman Period), in *Rajzok a török világból*, vol. 3, 392–393.

⁴⁸² Letter from Pál to Boldizsár Batthyány, 9 January 1574, Vienna. Quoted in Takáts, “Kertészkedés a török világban,” 371.

⁴⁸³ György Komoróczy, *Nádasdi Tamás és a XVI. századi magyar nagybirtok gazdálkodása* (Tamás Nádasdi and the Agriculture of the Hungarian Dominion in the Sixteenth Century) (Budapest: n. p., 1932), 84, and Sándor Takáts, “Kertészkedés a török világban,” 359–360.

⁴⁸⁴ Komoróczy, *Nádasdi Tamás és a XVI. századi magyar nagybirtok gazdálkodása*, 84–85.

exhibitionism. However, the lemon plant apparently did not produce enough fruits, since Palatine Tamás Nádasdy ordered new trees over the course of years to come.⁴⁸⁵

In Hungary, medicinal plants – similarly to exotic and rare spices – were often considered the most precious, and were even planted in the same parcel as the spices, surrounded by fences. Thus, the difference between medicinal and botanical gardens was frequently ambiguous.⁴⁸⁶ The design and establishment of a *hortus medicinalis*⁴⁸⁷ required specialised education, which very few doctors in Hungary possessed. Gáspár Szegedi Kőrös (Fraxinus) was one of the few who studied at the University of Padua, and later became the doctor of Palatine Tamás Nádasdy. Takáts⁴⁸⁸ cannot say with certainty whether Fraxinus created such a professional garden during his stay at Sárvár, while Fazekas⁴⁸⁹ claims that the erudite physician not only founded a great herbal garden with the help of the gardener, István Kerti (literally “István of the garden”), but also commissioned someone to paint these valuable plants. Indeed, the doctor himself intended to depict the plants, since he asked Palatine Nádasdy to send him a pencil and colours from Vienna, *Cerulam ad plantulas depingendas si otium magnificentiae vestrae fuerit, mihi mittat eadem*.⁴⁹⁰ According to Fazekas, the Nádasdys produced herbs in commercial quantities in their huge garden and had some true exotic plants, as well, such as almond and fig.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁵ János Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században* (Hungarian Renaissance Horticulture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) (Budapest: Enciklopédia, 1996), 28.

⁴⁸⁶ János Stirling, “Orvosi kertek Magyarországon a XVI. században” (Medical Gardens in Sixteenth-Century Hungary), *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 112–114.

⁴⁸⁷ The classification system of Konrad Gesner is quoted in Raymund Rapaics, *A magyarság virágai. A virágkultusz története* (Flowers of the Hungarians. History of the Flower-Cult) (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1932), 220–221.

⁴⁸⁸ Sándor Takáts, “Orvosságtudakozás és orvoslás a hódoltság korában,” 123, 129.

⁴⁸⁹ Árpád Fazekas, “A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról” (On Hungarian Herbariums), *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 97–99 (1982), 52.

⁴⁹⁰ He asked his lord for these instruments on 9 March 1554. A month later he reported to Nádasdy that “Nullam herbulam depinxi, si vestra magnificentia adfuisset, quamplurimas deliniassem...” A month afterwards he complained that the Viennese Slovak (“tót”) merchant misunderstood the order and sent him vitriol instead of green paint, slacked lime instead of pencil, and sour cherry gum instead of acacia gum. His letters were published in *A középkori Szeged műveltsége. Caspar Fraxinus (Kőrösi) de Zegedinus levelezése Nádasdy Tamás nádorral (1553–1562)* (The Culture of Medieval Szeged. The Correspondence of Caspar Fraxinus (Kőrösi) de Zegedinus with Palatine Tamás Nádasdy, 1553–1562), 102–103; 116–117; 77, respectively.

⁴⁹¹ Fazekas, “A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról,” 47.

Interestingly enough, the only professional *hortus medicinalis* we are sure of to have existed in this period⁴⁹² belonged to a good friend of Clusius, the doctor, poet and botanist Georg Purkircher⁴⁹³ from Pozsony. His was the first example of a small, urban botanical garden, a phenomenon which, due to the delay in the urbanisation process in Hungary, became widespread only in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁴

In connection with the medical gardens I mentioned the presence of various spices, some of which were exotic, while others were well known and used in everyday life. To the latter type belongs saffron, also known as crocus [Fig. 34], beyond doubt one of the most commonly used spices in the sixteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁹⁵ We know of some cases when a village paid their tax to the lord also in saffron,⁴⁹⁶ since the aristocratic custom of creating saffron gardens was successfully imitated by the peasants.

⁴⁹² Stirling, “Orvosi kertek Magyarországon a XVI. században,” 112.

⁴⁹³ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században* (Hungarian Renaissance Horticulture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) (Budapest: Enciklopédia, 1996), 75. See also István Weszprémi, *Succinta medicorum Hungariae et Transsilvaniae biographia* (1787) (4 vols.), and Endre Gombocz, *A magyar botanika története* (History of Hungarian Botany) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1936), 81–82.

⁴⁹⁴ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. Században*, 75.

⁴⁹⁵ Andrea Ubrizsy, in an earlier article (“Carolus Clusius és a termesztett növények” (Carolus Clusius and Cultivated Plants), *Botanikai Közlemények* 62 (1975/3): 225), attributed the dissemination of saffron to Clusius, while we have data concerning the frequency and popularity of this spice as early as 1528, when Menardus in his *Medicinales Epistolae* claimed that the saffron produced in “Pannonia” is superior to both the Italian and the oriental ones. See the article dedicated to saffron gardens by Sándor Takáts, “A sáfrányoskert” (The Saffron Garden), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History), ed. by Kálmán Benda (Budapest: Gondolat, 1961), 195–198.

⁴⁹⁶ Takáts, “A sáfrányoskert,” 195.



Figure 35. Flowering saffron plant.

Burghers also cultivated saffron in their fields around towns. Saffron enjoyed even greater popularity as a medicine, so much so that Pistalotius recommends it – mixed with *euphorbium* – against plague.⁴⁹⁷ Boldizsár Batthyány himself ordered huge quantities of saffron for the use of his household, primarily from Imre Forgách and Kata Zrínyi, who mass-produced it at their Upper Hungarian castle of Trencsén.⁴⁹⁸

Only one complete garden-inventory has survived from this period, interestingly enough from the territory of the Ottoman occupation, that of Bálint Török from Csurgó, dating to 1552. This inventory is also interesting because it describes 400 white lilies. These served not as decorative plants, but with their petals and leaves were used as material for

⁴⁹⁷ Nicolaus Pistalotius to Boldizsár Batthyány, 22 September 1576, Vienna. Letter no. 37488.

⁴⁹⁸ Takáts, “A sáfrányoskert,” 197.

cosmetics after distillation.⁴⁹⁹ The inventory also reveals the presence of various objects used for distillation and, indeed, from Iványi's research we know that the production of cosmetics and various herbal and flower "waters" greatly intensified in the seventeenth century.⁵⁰⁰

The design of Török's garden is also relatively original because it combines vegetables cultivated for consumption and valuable plants that had aesthetic uses. One could also often find decorative plants in orchards or low bush-fences surrounding beds of herbs or spices. This sort of garden, poor in decorative elements such as fountains or small statues, and combining the various characteristics of different types of gardens, is often referred to as a "Hungarian" type of garden.⁵⁰¹ Such gardens were divided into segments, which were further divided into beds. There was usually one species of plant in each bed. This reflects nothing of King Matthias' former luxurious parks. Rather, they were simple and practical, so that they became widespread among city-dwellers. These gardens, furthermore, closely resemble the kind of garden that the citizens of the Netherlands had attached to their houses.⁵⁰²

To sum up, in the second half of the sixteenth century aristocratic households were mostly involved in the production of fruits and vegetables, or saffron in greater quantities, while specialised medical or botanical gardens were but few, and even those belonged to highly educated physicians. Thus, we cannot consider this to be a widespread phenomenon yet.

⁴⁹⁹ Stirling, "Orvosi kertek Magyarországon a XVI. században," 114–115.

⁵⁰⁰ Béla Iványi, "'Vízégetés' Nyugat-Magyarországon a XVI–XVII. században" (Water-Burning (Distillation) in Western Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), *Az Országos Orvostörténeti Könyvtár Közleményei* 4 (1956): 5–33.

⁵⁰¹ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI – XVII. században*, 121.

⁵⁰² Stirling, "Orvosi kertek Magyarországon a XVI. században," 113.

III. 4. 3. Boldizsár Batthyány's Garden

After this brief overview of Hungarian horticulture in the second half of the sixteenth century, we shall attempt to reconstruct from the sources the garden and gardening work carried out by Boldizsár Batthyány, the trends that he followed, and what role Clusius played in this whole enterprise. Relying on the data provided by Béla Iványi, who was able to work on sources that have since been lost, it can be seen that Boldizsár Batthyány had a surprisingly early encounter with botany. In the year 1553 (when he was approximately eleven years old⁵⁰³), while he was spending time in the Slavonian town of Vinice with his tutor, Mihály Pomagaics, he wrote asking his father Kristóf for garden plants, cypresses, marjoram and lavender, so that he could refresh himself in the garden after the fatigue of studying:

*ut mittent nobis herbas hortenses, puta Cipressos, Amaracum, Spicanard et alia genera herbarum, quod nos dominationem Vestram Magnificam inservire volumus, hortum enim cupimus colere, ubi aliquando animi nostri gratia tedium studii levare possemus.*⁵⁰⁴

Boldizsár's father, Kristóf, sent flowers to Miklós Zrínyi in Szigetvár so they could make crowns from them,⁵⁰⁵ and he intensively bartered plants with a noble lady called Frakszia Choron, who sent him orange trees in exchange for rosemary.⁵⁰⁶ According to János Stirling, Kristóf Batthyány's garden was an early example of the *hortus italicus* type, free of architectural elements, fountains, statues and water constructions, but with many fruit trees and fruit-bearing plants, such as peach, pear and water melon.⁵⁰⁷ Similarly to the Nádasdy archives, there are a great number of data concerning the exchange of grafts and various fruits

⁵⁰³ Concerning Boldizsár's age at that time see the first chapter.

⁵⁰⁴ Boldizsár Batthyány to Kristóf Batthyány, 12 April 1553, Vinice. In Iványi, "Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát," 396.

⁵⁰⁵ János Stirling says that it was a widespread custom to make crowns from flowers. Rembertus Dodonaeus even wrote a book on the flowers suitable for crown-making. See Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI – XVII. században*, 23.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁰⁷ In 1562, Kristóf Batthyány sent such wonderful melons to Miklós Zrínyi that he gave him an excellent horse in exchange. Quoted in Takáts, "Dinnyeszüret a hódoltság korában," 392.

in the Batthyány letters as well. Thus, it can be concluded that the Batthyánys were also involved in fruit production on a relatively large scale (probably second in size in the region). These letters also testify to the fact that Batthyány not only collected plants but was also a well-known source of rare plants, one to whom others frequently turned. Elias Corvinus thanks him in a letter for the peach tree that the count sent to him and the bishop of Würzburg,⁵⁰⁸ while Joannes Homelius, for instance, asks for various flowers, such as tulips, daffodils and violets.⁵⁰⁹

The year 1570, when Boldizsár inherited Szalónak and Rohonc, marked the beginning of his large-scale book collecting activity. A book bill, released by the French book dealer Jean Aubry in 1571,⁵¹⁰ already reveals Batthyány's passion for the natural sciences. Among other things it contains the following titles: the *Idea Medicinae* by Petrus Severinus which we have mentioned above in connection with Batthyány's Paracelsian readings; the *Mercuriorum liber* and *De quinta essentia* of Raimundus Lullus; *De ratione conficiendi lapidis philosophici* by Laurentius Ventura and Joannes Garlandius; Gherhardus Dorn's *Artificii chymistici physici*.

Batthyány's library also proved useful in helping to determine whether he possessed books related to botany. In a bill written by Erhardt Hiller (after 1588),⁵¹¹ for instance, we can find Pliny's *Historia naturalis*; in another bill (after 1586)⁵¹² we find a certain *Pflanzbüchlin*,⁵¹³ perhaps one written by Johann Domitzer. He also had a copy of Rembertus

⁵⁰⁸ "Accepi duos corbes Duracinorum, pro quobus ago ingentes gratias, et obluti episcopo Wirzburgensi per fratrem, quo mihi familiaris est; fuit ipsi munus gratum ab Ungariam." Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 12 September 1577. Letter no. 8099 (microfilm no. 4795).

⁵⁰⁹ "Bulbos, Narcissos, Rosam de Hiericho, semen Violarum duplicatarum et alia quodam elegantiora rogo ut Mag: V.ra mihi impertinat." Letter of Joannes Homelius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Marchburg on 3 April 1587. Letter no. 19604 (microfilm no. 4830).

⁵¹⁰ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 21–24.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 83–93.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 93–99.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 94. As one of the many possibilities, see *Pflanzbüchlin der Lustgärten, Mit wunnssamer zierde, artlicher, nutzbaren vnd seltzamen impfung, allerhand Bäum, Kreuter, Blumen und früchten, ... auch dabey eins Haußuatters ordenliche arbeyt durchs gantze jar; Auß Theophrasto, Plinio, Varrone etc. Bawrenpractica oder Wetterbüchlin, ...* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Christian Egenolff, 1562).

Dodonaeus' *Frumentorum, Leguminum, Palustrium et Aquatilium herbarum* and the aforementioned *Florum, et coronarium odoratumque nonnullarum herbarum historia*.⁵¹⁴

Last but not least, Boldizsár had at least one work by Clusius, the *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentiva historia*;⁵¹⁵ others, which he definitely also owned, are today no longer in this collection. The great discovery, however, remains the *Stirpium Nomenclator Pannonicus*, which László Fejérpataky⁵¹⁶ found among the books of the Franciscan friary in Németújvár, and which first appeared in print in 1583. It was written by Manlius in Németújvár. Scholars have paid much attention to this index,⁵¹⁷ since it represents the first glossary of Hungarian plant-names, most of them are still valid today. The book was lost during the 1940s so that the only extant copy known today is in Göttingen.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 133–134: Rembertus Dodonaeus, *Frumentorum, Leguminum, Palustrium et Aquatilium herbarum, ac eorum, quae eo pertinent, Historia* (Antwerp: Christophorus Plantinus, 1566) (Coll. 1); *Florum, et coronarium odoratumque nonnullarum herbarum historia* (Antwerp: Christophorus Plantinus, 1568) (Coll. 2).

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 125–126: Carolus Clusius, *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentiva historia. Primum quidem Lusitanica lingua per Dialogos conscripta, a D. Garcia ab Horto prosegis Indiae Medico. Deinde Latino sermone in Epitomen contracta, et iconibus ad vivum expressis, locupletioribusque, annotatiunculis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate* (Antwerp: Chr. Plantin, 1579; third edition) (Coll. 1); Nicolaus Monardis, *Symplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum, quorum in medicina usus est, historia. Hispanico sermone descripta a D. Nicolao Monardis ... Latio deinde donata et annotationibus iconibusque affabre depictis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate* (Antwerp: Chr. Plantin, 1579; second edition) (Coll. 2).

⁵¹⁶ László Fejérpataky, "A németújvári ferences zárda könyvtára" (Library of the Franciscan friary of Güssing), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 8 (1883), 101.

⁵¹⁷ See, for instance, its new editions in *The Beginnings of Hungarian Ethnobotany: Stirpium Nomenclator Pannonicus*, ed. Stephanus Beythe (1583), Carolus Clusius (1584), David Czvitinger (1711), etc., *Ethnobotany and Ethnobiobiodiversity*, Bio Tár, *Collecta Clusiana* 2., ed. A. T. Szabó (Szombathely: Berzsenyi Dániel Tanárképző Főiskola, 1992); József Jeanplong and Imre Katona, "Clusius in Westpannonien. Beziehungen zu Boldizsár Batthyány und István Beythe," in *Carolus Clusius' Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia et Codex Clusii. Mit Beiträgen von einer internationalen Autorengemeinschaft*, ed. Stephan A. Aumüller and József Jeanplong (Facsimile edition) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó–Graz: Verlaganstalt, 1983), 34–39; Viktor Petkovšek, "Clusius' *Nomenclator Pannonicus* und seine Zusammenarbeit mit Joannes Manlius," in *Carolus Clusius und seine Zeit. Symposium in Güssing 1973 (Vorträge)*. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 54 (Kulturwissenschaften 19) (Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesmuseum, 1974), 24–32; József Csaba, "Magyar ethnobotanikai adatok Clusius műveiben," *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 4 (1973), 595–599; Szabolcs Ó. Barlay, "A Clusiusnál található magyar növénynevek kérdése" (The Question of Hungarian Plant Names in Clusius), *Magyar Nyelv* 44 (1949), 69–72; Mária Sztatky, "A magyar nyelvű természettudományos és orvosi irodalom a XVI. században" (Natural Scientific and Medical Literature in Hungarian in the Sixteenth Century), *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985), 91–97.

⁵¹⁸ Gedeon Borsa, Ferenc Hervay, Béla Holl, István Käfer and Ákos Kelecsényi, *Régi Magyarországi Nyomatványok 1473–1600* (Old Prints from Hungary, 1473–1600) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), no. 536.

Interestingly, among the books of the Németújvár library there are six volumes that have the name of Clusius written in them. Supposedly they were donations⁵¹⁹ by the botanist to the Protestant school, since they are mostly Latin grammar books and works by classical authors in Latin.⁵²⁰

How did the co-operation, even friendship begin between this young and ambitious aristocrat and the globe-trotting botanist who would never for very long enjoy wealth or stability in his life? According to Andrea Ubrizsy⁵²¹ and Ladislaus Batthyány-Strattmann,⁵²² Batthyány met Clusius at the Viennese court; Jeanplong and Katona⁵²³ have even suggested that Batthyány was a member of an informal Viennese imperial academy, together with courtly physicians and historians (such as Miklós Istvánffy, for instance), which Clusius also found very interesting. Csapody⁵²⁴ says that Batthyány could have met Clusius in the Low Countries during his travels. When and how did Clusius and Batthyány really meet? Unfortunately, we do not know exactly. However, Vienna seems to be the most plausible place, since both of them went there often.

Again, there are many suggestions concerning the earliest stay of the botanist in Hungary: Stirling⁵²⁵ relies on Csapody⁵²⁶ when indicating the year 1579 as the first time that Clusius visited Szalónak, while Aumüller⁵²⁷ suggests a date between 1578 and 1579.

⁵¹⁹ Horváth, “Egy növényjegyzék háttéréből,” 198.

⁵²⁰ Monok-Ötvös-Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 90, 146, 164, 192, 207, 213.

⁵²¹ Andrea Ubrizsy, *Die Beziehungen des Lebenswerkes von Carolus Clusius zu Italien und Ungarn* (Vienna: Internationale Clusius-Gesellschaft, 1977), 12.

⁵²² Ladislaus Batthyány-Strattmann, “Güssing und die Batthyány zur Zeit des Clusius,” in *Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der Wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius (Charles de l’Escluse) im pannonischen Raum*. Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderheft 5 (Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesarchiv, 1973), 112.

⁵²³ Jeanplong and Katona, “Clusius in Westpannonien. Beziehungen zu Boldizsár Batthyány und István Beythe,” 34.

⁵²⁴ István Csapody, “Clusius magyar mecénása és munkatársai” (The Hungarian Patron and Colleagues of Clusius) *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 3 (1973), 408; he, however, adds that if they did not meet at that time then the latest time they could have met would have been at the Viennese court (p. 409).

⁵²⁵ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században*, 25.

⁵²⁶ Csapody, “Clusius magyar mecénása és munkatársai,” 412.

⁵²⁷ Stephan A. Aumüller, “Wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in Wien,” in *Carolus Clusius’ Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorium brevis historia et Codex Clusii*, 31.

Jeanplong and Katona claim that Clusius stayed there as early as 1575.⁵²⁸ The letters (Table 1) do not help here since they are fragmentary. No correspondence exists in the strict sense. In the following summary it will be shown how enormous the chronological gaps are between letters. Istvánffi⁵²⁹ published all the letters of which he was aware (twelve in number), but for some reason he did not find half of the first, all of the second and also letter no. 8021 from Clusius to Batthyány, which are today housed in the Hungarian National Archives (MOL).

21/10/1577	Vienna	French	MOL	8014	second page unpublished
30/11/1577	Vienna	French	MOL	8015	unpublished
04/05/1578	Vienna	French	MOL	8016	Istvánffi
02/06/1578	Vienna	French	MOL	8017	Istvánffi
05/07/1578	Vienna	French	MOL	8018	Istvánffi
23/07/1578	Vienna	Latin	MOL	8019	Istvánffi
19/12/1579	Vienna	Latin	MOL	8020	Istvánffi
30/09/1587	Vienna	Latin	MOL	8021	unpublished
10/12/1587	Vienna	Latin	Cod.Vulc.101	11	Istvánffi
Description of <i>Tabuco latifolium</i>		Latin	MOL	no number	unpublished
Notes		Latin	MOL	no number	unpublished

Table 3. Letters of Clusius⁵³⁰ to Batthyány

13/04/1579 ⁵³¹	Németújvár	Latin	Amsterdam		unpublished
13/11/1584	Németújvár	Latin	Cod. Vulc. 101.	no. 7	Istvánffi
22/02/1585	Németújvár	Latin	Cod. Vulc. 101.	no. 8	Istvánffi
16/08/1585	Németújvár	Latin	Cod. Vulc. 101.	no. 9	Istvánffi
26/01/1586	Vinice	Latin	Cod. Vulc. 101.	no. 10	Istvánffi
11/11/1588	Németújvár	German	Cod. Vulc. 101.	no. 12	Istvánffi

Table 4. Letters of Batthyány to Clusius.

The first element in the correspondence is thus Clusius' letter from November 1577. Judging from its contents and tone, it was not the first one he sent during his acquaintance

⁵²⁸ Jeanplong-Katona, "Clusius in Westpannonien," 35.

⁵²⁹ Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához.*

⁵³⁰ Within the framework of the activities of the Clusius Project coordinated by the Scaliger Institute at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, all the letters written by and to Carolus Clusius had been digitalised and made accessible to all interested parties. The database is accessible through the homepage of the Scaliger Institute at the University Library of Leiden, <http://ub.leidenuniv.nl>.

⁵³¹ This letter hitherto has been completely unknown. It was discovered in Amsterdam by Prof. Dr. Paul G. Hoftijzer, director of the Scaliger Institute (Leiden).

with Batthyány. In this letter the botanist provided a short report on his situation in Vienna that meant he was unable to accept Batthyány's invitation to visit his lands. The first, surviving letter makes it abundantly clear that Clusius had already visited Batthyány's domain – "J'ay deliberé d'employer c'est yuer á la description des plantes qu'ay observé estant en mon voyage vers vous, qu'as autres que j'ay faict per ces montaignes d'Austriche"⁵³². He even contemplates commissioning someone to paint the plants that he had collected and described, and publishing the work in his homeland. He promised Batthyány that as soon as his position was clarified at the Viennese court and he received payments due him, he would visit the count and prepare his garden for spring: "Parquoy ie ne partiray point de ceste ville, sans premier vous alle baiser le mains, et vous remercier de tant de benefices qu'il Vous a pleu me faire mesmes sejourner aupres de vous 8 ou 10 jours pour dresser un peu Vre jardin au printemps."⁵³³ In the second, unpublished, part of the letter Clusius explained that Hubertus Languetus could not satisfy Batthyány's request to acquire a certain "Docteur Quercetanus" for him because he was ill. There was a book written by Josephus Quercetanus (Joseph Du Chesne) – not surprisingly concerned with metals – among those that were in the library of the Némétújvár Franciscan friary. It seems that Batthyány used all his connections to purchase books that really interested him.⁵³⁴ For the reconstruction of Batthyány's garden, it may be important that Clusius also promised to send a "cytronnier" (lemon tree) and an "arbrisseau de *pseudocapsicum*" (Jerusalem cherry) [Fig. 36], which he recommended not to expose to winter cold – together with the *canna indica*

⁵³² "I have decided to concern myself with the description of plants which I have observed on my way to you, and others which I found while travelling through the mountains in Austria." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 21 October 1577. Letter no. 8014 (microfilm no. 4794). Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 205.

⁵³³ "Since I would not leave this town before kissing your hands, and before I thank you for the many benefices which you have given me, I would stay at your place for 8 or 10 days to dress your garden for spring." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 21 October 1577. Letter no. 8014. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 205.

⁵³⁴ Josephus Quercetanus, *Ad Iacobi Auberti Vindonis De ortu et causis metallorum contra Cymicos Explicationem... brevis Responsio. Eiusdem De exquisita Mineralium, Animalium, et Vegetabilium medicamentorum Spagyrica praeparatione et vsu*. (Lyon: Johannes Lertotius, 1575).

(Indian-shot) [Fig. 37] he had sent earlier that year – and put them under the window inside the house.⁵³⁵

In the newly discovered letter by Batthyány from 1579,⁵³⁶ the Count writes to Clusius about the bitumen springs he had read about found in Hungary which are similar to the ones in France. He sent the botanist a sample of the liquid bitumen and remarked that peasants in his land use this to coat the joints of their carriages. He mentioned that it would be best if Clusius could visit him and see the bitumen springs with his own eyes.

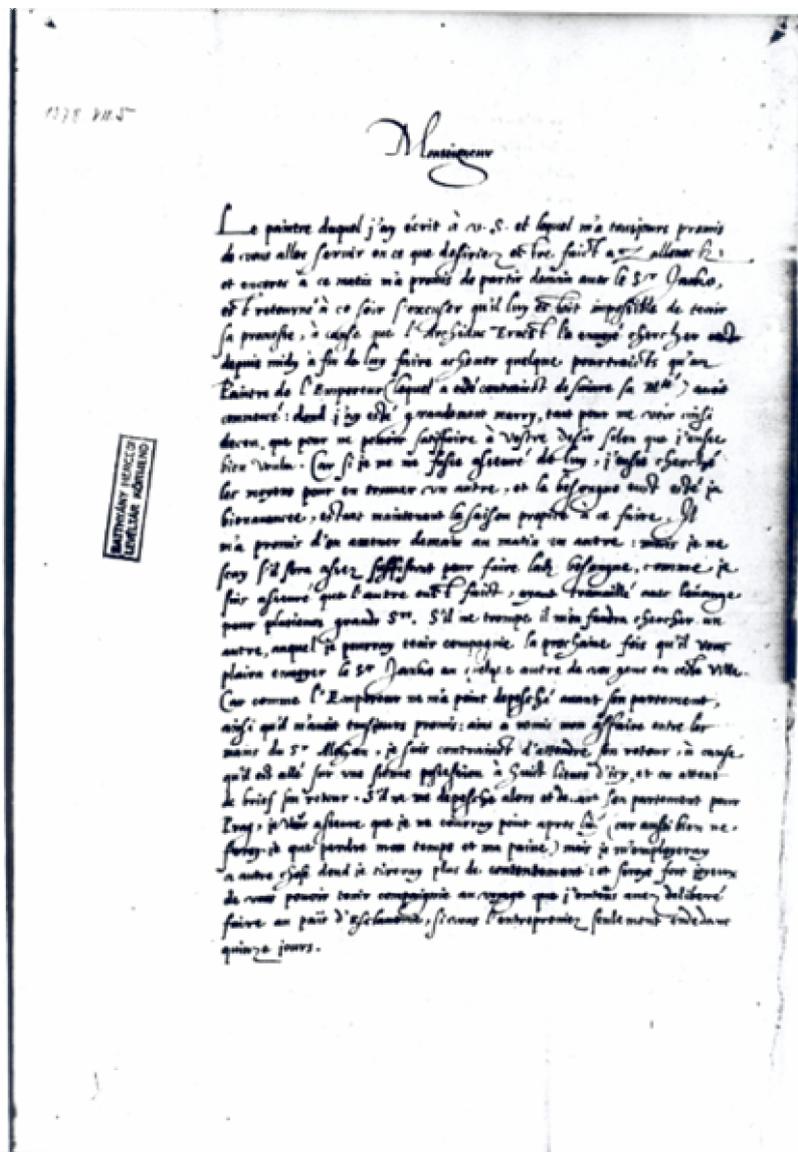


Figure 36. Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány, no. 8018.

⁵³⁵ Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány, 21 October 1577, Vienna. Letter no. 8014. Unpublished.

⁵³⁶ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Carolus Clusius from Némethújvár on 13 April 1579. Letter no. 636. Coll. Fab. 1867 (Amsterdam).



Figure 37. Jerusalem cherry (*pseudocapsicum*) plant.



Figure 38. Indian-shot (*canna indica*) plant.

III. 4. 4. An Unknown Painter and a Mysterious Job

Letter no. 8015, completely unpublished, is rich in historical data (such as news about confessional disputes) but does not contain anything concerning botanical issues, while letter no. 8016 is of primary importance in this regard. Stirling⁵³⁷ does not use the information from Takáts, according to which Batthyány had paprika in his garden, because the latter does not provide the source for his statement. On the contrary, everything is quite clear from the otherwise short letter which runs as follows:

⁵³⁷ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI – XVII. században*, 24, footnote no. 46.

Un *Palingenius*, et la recepte pour la petite bouche le jardinier Daniel à acheté comme ils me disent à ceste heure des marguerites, lesquelles se pourront planter en quelques couchettes comme en le *Balsamina* et le *Capsicum* sont merchez: a cause que sont belles fleurs.⁵³⁸

From this quotation it is evident that Clusius had produced an exact plan for the Batthyány's garden in Szalónak (a sketch that unfortunately did not survive). The botanist explained in detail where to put the various plants, and how to plant them.⁵³⁹ Apparently, Batthyány at this time was already growing *balsamina* (garden balsam) and *capsicum* (paprika), since Clusius tells him to plant daisies in the same manner. Apart from the plants, Clusius also sent him a book,⁵⁴⁰ which today may still be found in the collection of the Franciscan friary in Németújvár.

In the next letter Clusius says that he has changed the original plan of the little garden of Szalónak into a bigger one: “J’ay adjousté le plan de vré petit jardin de Zallonock un peu plus grand que celuy que je sy estant aux lieu.”⁵⁴¹ However, this letter contains more intriguing information, which has given grounds to a series of inaccurate interpretations. Here, Clusius talks about a certain painter for whom Batthyány has a task, some sort of job to accomplish.

J’ay parlé a l’un des bons peintres de ceste ville lequel est de nostre país, et s’entend fort bien en cest art de paindre en murailles, et parois { ... } Je vous assure qu’il ne se trovue ici a grand paine paintre qui vaille, et qui s’entend bien en son art: car la plus part ne sons que apprentifs pourtant ay-je parlé a celuy qui par le rapport mesme des meilleurs maistres, est l’un des principaux, soit pour *contrefaire au naturel*, ou pour

⁵³⁸ “A Palingenius and the recipe for the small tree. Daniel the gardener told me that he had just bought the daisies which have to be planted in beds similarly to balsam and paprika since they have nice flowers.” Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 4 May 1578. Letter no. 8016, published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 205.

⁵³⁹ “Je vous envoye la casse de bois plaine d’herbes, comme je les ay annotees en un papier: la distribution desquelles se fera selon l’ordre en iceluy contenu: pareillement aussi des graines. *Malva tamen hortensis posset in circuitu hortuli secundum murum seri*. Je vous envoye aussi un modelle pour patron des bois qui se doivent mettre alentour des Carreaux ou couches.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ Marcellus Palingenius, *Zodiacus vitae, hoc est, de hominis vita, studio ac moribus...* (Basle: Estates of Brylinger, 1566). See Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 66.

⁵⁴¹ “I have changed the plan of your small garden – which I know was there in Szalónak – for a bigger one.” Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 2 June 1578. Letter no. 8017. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 205–206.

paintre quelque histoires et telles choses semblables comme pourriez desirer.⁵⁴²
(emphasis added)

This is in the letter that follows, as well:

Le paintre duquel j'ay écrit á V. S. et lequel m'a tousjours promis de vous aller servir en ce que desiriez estre fait a Zallonock⁵⁴³

And also in letter no. 8019:

*Pictor cum quo primum egeram, quique proxime alium suo loco missurum dixerat, ipse ad Illustrem Vestram Dominationem proficiscitur, quoniam magnam partem operis absolvit quod illi a Serenissimo Archiduce injunctum fuerat. Opus tamen adhuc illi octo aut decem diebus, ut penitus absolvat. Interea **videre voluit quid in arce Illustris Vestrae Dominationis illi faciendum erit, et cum Illustri Vestra Dominatione de precio pacisci, postea huc redire cuperet, et mittere eum de quo ante dixerat ut paret ea quae illi significabit, dum ipse ea quae a Serenissimo Archiduce habet absolvat, quod octo ut dixi dierum spacio fieri potest.***⁵⁴⁴ (emphasis added)

According to a letter that has since been lost, the poet Corvinus was also involved in the search for a painter, as mentioned in Istvánffi: “Elias Corvinus fut également chargé de chercher un peintre.”⁵⁴⁵

In the earlier literature, these places were unanimously interpreted as referring to the skilful painter of the watercolours of mushrooms, today in the collection of Leiden University Library known as the *Codex Clusii*.⁵⁴⁶ However, if Clusius started to work on mushrooms

⁵⁴² “I have spoken to one of the better painters in this town who is from our country and who is very good at the art of wall painting and so on (...). I assure you that it is very hard to find a good painter here who is able and who knows his art well enough: mostly they are nothing more than apprentices. Thus, I spoke to one who is among the better masters and one of the main ones. He is good at painting natural subjects and certain historical subjects, and any similar thing that you may desire.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁴³ “The painter I wrote you about, my lord, each day promises me to offer you his services in the job you have for him in Szalónak.” Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 5 July 1578. Letter no. 8018. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 206–207.

⁵⁴⁴ “The painter that I spoke first with said that as soon as he is dismissed from his position, he will go to Your Magnificence, since he has accomplished the better part of the work which His Majesty the Archduke entrusted him with. That job will take another 8-10 days. Then he will be completely free. In the meantime, he wanted to see what he will have to do in the castle of Your Magnificence, and to agree with Your Magnificence about the price, then he would like to come back here (...) and he could have 8 to 10 days of free time.” Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 23 July 1578. Letter no. 8018. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 207.

⁵⁴⁵ Letter of Elias Corvinus to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 21 August 1578. Quoted in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 185. There is no letter by Corvinus among the “missilis” letters of the MOL with this content and date.

⁵⁴⁶ The only exception is Hunger’s great work which seems to have been neglected on this issue by later scholars. He also finds it hard to accept that this earlier correspondence would regard the depiction of

only in the first half of the 1580s, more precisely, in 1584,⁵⁴⁷ then we can exclude the idea that the hunt for a good painter in 1578, involving both Clusius and the poet Corvinus, was for the sake of the depiction of the mushrooms.⁵⁴⁸ In these years Clusius worked more on Pannonian and Austrian flora.⁵⁴⁹ In 1579 he met Plantin in Antwerp to discuss details of its publication. The final manuscript was ready by 1580, and the work appeared in print in 1583. The first letter in which Batthyány mentions the mushrooms and their depiction comes only from the year 1584:

*Gratum mihi fuisset, si Dominatio Tua praeterita aestate me visitasset, tum ut eas quas hactenus depingi curavi, variorum fungorum species, Tua Dominatio antequam typis mandarentur ostendissem; tum ut cum eadem de aliis quoque rebus gravioribus communicassem.*⁵⁵⁰

The letter which follows in chronological order⁵⁵¹ from Batthyány does not mention mushrooms again. Therefore we can conclude that the work was actually carried out and indeed, that the painter had produced the watercolours.

Due to the gap between the letter written in the summer of 1578 and the “next” one from April 1579, we cannot know with certainty what exactly it was Batthyány wanted the painter to paint for him and whether in the meantime they had managed to organise the artist’s travel to Szalónak or whether he had finished the job. Since Clusius says that the

mushrooms. F. W. T. Hunger, *Charles de l’Ecluse (Carolus Clusius), Nederlandsch kruidkundige 1526–1609* (Carolus Clusius the Dutch Botanist 1526–1609) (2 vols.) (The Hague, 1927–43), vol. 1, 160.

⁵⁴⁷ Aumüller, “Wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in Wien,” 33. Also, the anecdote to which I referred in my introduction is from 1584, when Clusius obviously came to stay with Batthyány. At that time, it was already well known that he was concerned with mushrooms.

⁵⁴⁸ Both Istvánffi and Ubrizsy assume that this earlier correspondence concerned the depiction of the mushrooms, although Istvánffi has doubts that the painter mentioned here actually executed the painting of the mushrooms in 1584. See Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 186.

⁵⁴⁹ Carolus Clusius, *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Pannoniam, Austriam et vicinas quasdam provincias observatarum historia quatuor libri expressa* (Anwerp: Platin, 1583). Facsimile edition in 1965 by Akademische Druck, Graz.

⁵⁵⁰ “I was really pleased that you visited me last summer, the time when I desired to have depictions of the various species of mushrooms before they were sent to print.” Boldizsár Batthyány to Carolus Clusius, 13 November 1584, Németújvár. Cod. Vulc. 101. no. 7. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 208.

⁵⁵¹ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Carolus Clusius from Németújvár on 22 February 1585. Cod. Vulc. 101. letter no. 8. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 208.

painter, his compatriot, could find eight days in his schedule to do what Batthyány required, it can be assumed that the task was not a large one.

If these conclusions are right, then one more question remains: what was the job that Batthyány intended for the painter in the year 1578? It was just as likely to have been either something to decorate his castle or the depiction of plants. Given the expressions that Clusius uses to describe the painter's strengths, such as "depicting natural subjects" ("contrefaire au naturel") or his saying that summer is "the right season for that work" ("la saison propice á ce faire"), it seems likely that the job involved some plants. If so, is it possible that the watercolours painted in 1584 were not the first that Batthyány ordered from Clusius? If this job was ever carried out, it may even have been related to an earlier work by Clusius.

In the period in question, Clusius finished two translations (*Orta* and *Monardes*) and worked on a volume about the flora of Pannonia. However, there is another work that should be taken into account, that is, the *Aliquot notae in Garciae Aromatum Historiam*, published in 1582, and dedicated to Boldizsár Batthyány. The fact of its dedication would suggest that one way or another Batthyány supported Clusius in this enterprise. It is well known that this book was a report on the discoveries that Sir Francis Drake made during his journey, most importantly the potato. However, it is less well known that Batthyány was among the first in the region to grow this new plant in his garden. This, perhaps, may also explain the connection between him and this work. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to examine the illustrations of the *Aliquot notae*, although they were supposedly painted in London, where he travelled in 1581 to study new plants. Batthyány's mysterious commission for a painter must have been for something else – if it ever was actually carried out.

If for a moment we recall the words of Clusius in the first of his letters Batthyány that have come down to us,

J'ay deliberé d'employer c'est yuer á la description des plantes qu'ay observé estant en mon voyage vers vous, qu'as autres que j'ay faict per ces montaignes d'Austriche,

et une partie de l'Esté prochain (si Dieu me donne si longue vie) *a faire peindre les plantes*, a fin qu'estant retourné au país je les puisse faire mettre en lumiere,⁵⁵²
(emphasis added)

it is possible to connect Clusius' intention of having the plants depicted and Batthyány's intention of finding a painter for a job just in the same period. Indeed, the *Historia rariorum aliquod stirpium observatarum per Pannoniam* is richly illustrated, containing 358 woodcut images, although that is far too much work to have completed in the eight days that Clusius mentioned at one point in a letter. Furthermore, in this case the artist was either Gerard van Kampen who produced the illustrations on the basis of the drawings of Clusius and Peeter van der Borch, or the son of Virgil Solis in Frankfurt. Van Kampen and van der Borch were compatriots of Clusius but it is questionable whether either of them worked in the Imperial court of Vienna, and whether any of them may have been the painter for whom we are looking.

In conclusion, the "hunt" for a skilful painter in 1578 cannot be connected to the depiction of mushrooms in 1584 because in that period Clusius was involved in other projects and publications and had not yet started his research on mushrooms. Furthermore, the formulations in the letters are so unclear that only the simple fact that Batthyány had the intention of hiring a painter in the summer of 1578 for some unknown job can be taken for granted.

The next letter that contained some botanical information was from 1578, and, apart from mentioning the painter for the last time, Clusius promised to bring some bulbs to plant in the garden at Szalónak, as agreed earlier:

*Ego cum illo quem missurus est (si Dominus Althan discesserit) proficisci potero, mecumque feram bulbos quos ordine disponam in horto Illustris Vestrae Dominationis in Zollonock, uti cum proxime istic essem pollicitus sum.*⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² "I have decided to become engaged with the description of plants which I have observed on my way towards you, and others which I found while going for the mountains in Austria, to have the plants painted during a part of next summer (if God gives me long life), so that on my return to the country I can have them published..." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 21 October 1577. Letter no. 8014. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 205.

More than a year later, Clusius sent many plants to Batthyány through the latter's *familiaris*, Farkas (Wolff) Schaller, who obviously functioned as a courier between the count and Vienna. The botanist sent seeds of two varieties of nasturtium, lupine and green peas:

*Dedi illi et aliquot semina veluti Nasturtii veri duorum generum quod serendum erit primo vere cum Thymo. Lupinus vero silvestris flore luteo odoratissimo et elegantissimo serendus est cum legumina seruntur videlicet Martio, si per frigora licet, aut Aprili. Pro Piso silvestri grebensi, mitto Pisum sativum elegans quod duntaxat summis caulibus flores fert. Seretur is cum aliis pisis.*⁵⁵⁴

In the same letter, Clusius thanked Batthyány for his invitation to Szalónak, although due to his obligations in Vienna he could not accept it. He was, however, most welcoming about the idea of an excursion to the Styrian Alps in the Spring. In a letter from more than nine years later, the botanist was still busily involved in the enrichment of Batthyány's garden. He sent two Indian-shot plants, which have to be planted in small baskets or wooden boxes, and kept in the room.

*Mitto ad ipsam binas Cannae Indicae plantas unam vetustam minorem semine natam haec aestate debebunt statim in sportulis aut capsula lignea imponi terra adjuncta et ita in conclavi adservari*⁵⁵⁵

He also forecasts a particularly cold winter, because of which neither grapes nor mushrooms grew in great quantities. In the last of his surviving letter there is little information concerning gardening issues. Rather, it is a nice example of how private letters

⁵⁵³ "I will go with him (if Lord Althan comes back) to you, bringing along bulbs which I will arrange in your garden at Szalónak as I promised last time." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 23 July 1578. Letter no. 8019. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 207.

⁵⁵⁴ "I have given him some seeds, two sorts of nice nasturtiums, one which has to be sown together with thyme in earl spring. The *lupine silvestris*, which has extremely fragrant and very elegant yellow flowers, has to be planted with legumes around March, if it is not too cold, or in April. Instead of *pisum silvestris Grebensis* I send you *pisum sativum elegans* which has flowers on the edge of its stem. It should be sown with the other peas." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 19 December 1579. Letter no. 8020. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 207.

⁵⁵⁵ "I send you two *canna indica* plants, one older and smaller, germinated from seed this summer. They have to be kept in wooden baskets or boxes so that you must put soil on them and keep them inside the house." Letter of Carolus Clusius to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 30 September 1587. Letter no. 8021. Unpublished.

were used to spread news, especially if the correspondents were in contact with different parts of Europe.

In connection with the book on mushrooms, I have already mentioned the letter by Batthyány written in 1584, the second of his few letters that have come down to us. In it, Batthyány asks Clusius for various things:

*Vestram itaque dominationem officiose rogatam volo, ut ea mihi suam operam in conquirendis iis seminibus locare velit: praesertim in semine thymi legitimi, caeterisque quorum flores apibus maxime grati esse solent.*⁵⁵⁶

Batthyány's last surviving letter to Clusius from 1588 has often been referred to because it reveals the enthusiasm and passionate collecting euphoria of this "amateur scientist," who set his valuable Turkish prisoner, Ali Bey, free in the hope that he would bring him bulbs that could only be found in the gardens of the Turkish Sultan.

Ich lasz meinen gefangenen dem Alli Begg im kurz hierein zihen in die Turkhaÿ. Er vermeint er will mier schöne Plummell herrauß bringen, er zeigt an dasz die Jacenn so hie vorhanden sein nicht die Keisteny dem in des Türkischen Kaysers Gartten die haben zu 36 Plettel-Plummen sein ghorder schönem toppelten. Des wegen bitt ich dem herrn. Er wolle mier allerley derselbige gattung ein vorzochnusuz schicken das ich ihme kan furlege nicht underlassen wellen und thuen uns in den reichen schuz Gottes hieneben bevehlen.⁵⁵⁷

In the same letter, Batthyány sent some antique pieces (perhaps coins) and gold to Clusius in Frankfurt, asking him to bring him more bulbs and buy him new books:

hiemit uberschicke ich dem herrn 24 Antiquidet sambt einen goldt gulden, der herr welle mir den also vor guett haben bis ich was meherers für bringen schon diewill ich dem herrn hie furaus durch zu schikkenn. Und bitt auch dem herrn, wo etwasz in der zeit von neuenn büchern aus-gehen würdt⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶ "I very much beg you, my lord, to be kind and help me with the correct arrangement of seeds: especially with the thyme seeds, and also, tell me which flowers the bees most prefer." Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Carolus Clusius from Németújvár on 22 February 1585. Cod. Vulc. 101. letter no. 8. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 208.

⁵⁵⁷ "I have recently set my prisoner, Ali Bey, free to go back to Turkey from here. He claims that he will bring me nice flowers from there. He says that the hyacinths which we have here are not the same as those in the garden of the Turkish Sultan, since those have 36 petals." Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Carolus Clusius from Németújvár on 11 November 1588. Cod. Vulc. 101. letter no. 12. Published in Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához*, 209–210.

⁵⁵⁸ "Hereby, I send you, my lord, 24 antiquities together with a golden florin; my lord may be satisfied with them until I will be able to get something more, which I will then send to my lord. And I also beg you, my lord, to look around for new books and send them to me along with some new flowers which we do not have here." *Ibid.*

Newness and exoticism were thus of primary importance in choosing the kinds of plants Boldizsár Batthyány was looking for. The plants, flowers and herbs were doubtless a pleasure to look at, and were useful in thousands of other ways, but to have something in one's garden that no one else had: that was both a challenge and a triumph.

Let us summarise what plants and what sort of garden Boldizsár Batthyány had between 1570s and 1590 in Szalónak. Based on testimony in the few surviving letters, it is sure he received a “cytronnier” (a lemon tree), *pseudocapsicum* (Jerusalem cherry), *malva hortensis* (garden mallow), *balsamina* (garden balsam), *capsicum* (paprika), various herbs, grains, bulbs, daisies, two sorts of *nasturtium* (garden cress), *thymus* (thyme), *lupinus* (lupine), *pisum sativum* (green peas) and *canna indica* (Indian-shot) from Clusius. These plants were organised in beds and also along the walls of the garden; for instance, the botanist recommended that Batthyány should plant mallow in a circle, following the line of the walls, while daisies should be planted in small beds just like balsam and paprika, since all these plants have nice flowers. Furthermore, he had hyacinth, most probably potato,⁵⁵⁹ as well as daffodils, violets and perhaps even tulips in his garden, because Homelius asked Batthyány to send him some of those plants. According to Ubrizsy, it was from Batthyány's garden that Clusius received some seeds of the cocoa tree and some branches of coffee bushes.⁵⁶⁰ Also, it is due to Clusius that Batthyány discovered some of the beautiful flowers that grew on his lands such as the *hemerocallis liliasphodelus flava* (in Hungarian “sárga sásliliom,” a type of day lily which is early blooming and has sunny yellow blooms).

Illum autem maximam copiam sponte nascentem in multis uliginosis pratis, non procul ab oppido et munitissima Nemethwywar Illustris herois Balthasaris de Batthyany in arce, qua Occidentem spectat, annis MDLXXIX et LXXX deinde inveni sed incolis neglectam, ubi florentem sub finem mensis Maii et Iunii initio eruebam. Batthyanus admiratus adeo elegantem et odoratum florem in ipsius fundo nasci,

⁵⁵⁹ Stirling claims that it was Clusius who brought the potato into Hungary. Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet*, 27. If so, he probably also gave Batthyány samples of this new plant.

⁵⁶⁰ Ubrizsy, “Carolus Clusius és a termesztett növények,” 225.

*multas ilico istius plantas cum suis cespitibus erui iussit et corbibus in suum hortum inferri.*⁵⁶¹

III. 4. 5. Conclusions

Further crumbs of similar information may be recovered from the vast, mostly unpublished and, not yet researched letters of the Batthyány family, although it is unlikely that the information they contain would not change our conclusions substantially. The presence of paprika in Batthyány's garden for the first time in Hungary,⁵⁶² his enthusiasm for rarities and new and exotic plants, and his collecting spirit reveal an attitude to the natural world markedly different from that of his ancestors. Through the creation of his garden in Szalónak he took part in an international and very lively exchange of plants, and joined the exciting experimental introduction of new species to Hungary.

As mentioned earlier, Hungarian scholars have dedicated much of their attention to the *Stirpium Nomenclator Pannonicus*, written in co-operation with Clusius and István Beythe. The circumstances of its production and of the illustrations of the *Codex Clusii* are also well known.⁵⁶³ Furthermore, it can be assumed that apart from the financing of the watercolours in the *Codex Clusii*, Batthyány may well have supported the publication (or at least the illustration) of certain other works by Clusius. I attempted to reconstruct the garden of Boldizsár Batthyány on the basis of the published letters and the unpublished ones that I have come across in the Hungarian National Archives. This reconstruction showed that the focal point of sixteenth-century Hungarian erudite botany lay beyond doubt within Batthyány's circle, where the scholarship of Clusius met an appreciative and supportive

⁵⁶¹ Carolus Clusius, *Rariorum plantarum historia* (Antwerp: Moret, 1601), 137.

⁵⁶² Andrea Ubrizsy-Savoia, "Carolus Clusius és a termesztett növények" (Clusius and the Cultivated Plants), *Botanikai Közlemények* 62 (1975), 225, and Rapaics, *A magyarság virágai*, 236.

⁵⁶³ Istvánffi, *A Clusius-Codex mykologiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához; Carolus Clusius' Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia et Codex Clusii.*; Gombocz, *A magyar botanika története; Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der Wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse) im pannonischen Raum*; Ubrizsy, *Die Beziehungen des Lebenswerkes von Carolus Clusius zu Italien und Ungarn. Clusius' Pilzkundliche Aquarelle.*

public, one that welcomed the new discoveries he made or transmitted. Thus, the count's hobby extended beyond his individual possibilities, something he was well aware of.

However, Batthyány was not alone in this enterprise. Not only did he receive suggestions and plants from one of the most prominent botanists of his time, Carolus Clusius, but he was also supported by István and András Beythe, a father and son, who shared his passion and who were educated in this field.⁵⁶⁴ István Beythe, before coming to live in the court of Batthyány, spent years at Sárvár⁵⁶⁵ at the residence of the Nádasdys, where Fraxinus was doctor to the Palatine Tamás Nádasdy for years, and, as mentioned earlier, supposedly created a great herbal garden there. Both István Beythe and Péter Melius Juhász⁵⁶⁶ probably acquired their notions of botany from Fraxinus: while the former's expertise manifested itself in co-operation with Clusius, the latter was the first in Hungary to write a herbarium in Hungarian (Kolozsvár: Heltainé, 1578). If we add to this the fact that another prominent figure in the history of Hungarian medicine and botany, namely Gergely Frankovics⁵⁶⁷ (or Frankovith), through his friendship with István Beythe, was also connected to the Németújvár scientific circle.⁵⁶⁸ His work, entitled *Hasznos es fölötte szikseges könyv* (A Useful and Particularly Necessary Book), was printed by Manlius (Monyorókerék (Eberau), 1588). In this period, which saw the emergence of Hungarian botany, all the most important participants, botanists, patrons, fruit producers, printers, doctors and herbalists were connected with each other, creating a small elite. It seems, furthermore, that while Sárvár

⁵⁶⁴ András Beythe, *Fives Köniv* (Güssing: Manlius, 1595). This work translates parts of Matthiolus, and otherwise relies on Melius Juhász and the Hungarian plant names from the *Stirpium Nomenclator Pannonicus*. See Fazekas, "A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról," 45, 55. See also the first chapter.

⁵⁶⁵ Fazekas, "A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról," 52; Tamás Grynæus, "(Gyógy)növényismeretünk a reneszánsz és a reformáció korában" (Our Notions of (Herbal) Plants from the Renaissance and Reformation), *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 108; Mária Sztatky, "A magyar nyelvű természettudományos és orvosi irodalom a XVI. században" (Natural Scientific and Medical Literature in Hungary in the Sixteenth Century) *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 97; Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században*, 30.

⁵⁶⁶ Fazekas, "A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról," 52–53; see also the introduction of Attila Szabó to the reprint edition of Melius' *Herbárium* (Herbarium) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978), 46.

⁵⁶⁷ Károly Alföldi-Flatt, "Frankovith Gergely és orvosbotanikai műve" (Gergely Frankovith and his Medico-Botanical work), *Természettudományi Közöny* 37 (1895), Supplement no. 2: 49–59.

⁵⁶⁸ Stirling, *Magyar reneszánsz kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században*, 22.

was both the main fruit producing area and also the *alma mater* of a generation of scholars with medico-botanical education, it was in the circle of Boldizsár Batthyány that their knowledge and talent found real expression. The reason why Szalónak and Németújvár became the regional centre of very sophisticated botanical work, unique in its intensity and its highly scholarly nature, can be found in the person of Carolus Clusius and his successful co-operation with the small circle formed around the figure of Count Batthyány. It is due to his indefatigable desire for knowledge that resulted in the production of the first work on “Pannonian” flora, the first Hungarian nomenclature of plant names, and the absolutely pioneering work on mushrooms. However, it was through the support of Batthyány (both financial and scholarly) and the Beythes (scholarly) that his efforts were productive.

What Batthyány gained through his friendship and co-operation with Clusius was not only a series of both large and small triumphs connected to the new plants in his garden, planted for the first time in the region, but also the achievement of having his name recorded forever.⁵⁶⁹ Apart from being remembered as a powerful aristocrat and successful warrior, Batthyány finally made his mark in the history of botany as well, since Clusius did not forget about his friends and patrons. He took every occasion to mention them in various anecdotes in various works and to emphasized their role in his own discoveries, thus, illustrating his unique modesty and friendly nature. Besides the dedication to the *Aliquot notae*, and the anecdote that was mentioned in the introduction, the name of Batthyány may be found in numerous works by Clusius as well.

Once again, when he offered excuses for not being able to provide details about the taste of various edible species of mushrooms he discovered in Pannonia (as he always found their nature abhorrant), Clusius recalls how Batthyány used to tease him about this:

⁵⁶⁹ See the dedication in Carolus Clusius, *Aliquot notae in Garciae Aromatum Historia* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1582), and the innumerable references to things that the botanist heard and saw while staying with Batthyány, such as local anecdotes, legends concerning plants, and so on. In the *Rariorum plantarum historia* alone he mentions Boldizsár Batthyány twenty-six times (see pages 20, 57, 104, 137, 169, 181, 189, 233, 267, 272, 278, 287, 315, and Roman letters no. 18, 22, 32, 36, 38, 86, 191, 196, 229, 262, 273, 276).

*Ea ut Lector boni consulat, etiam atque etiam rogo: et enim mihi non licuit de singulorum sapore vel gustu certi quidpiam pronunciare, quandoquidem fungis non vescor, et natura ab illorum semper abhorruī. Quamobrem Illustris ille Heros **Balthasar de Batthyan, cuius memoriam, dum vivam, colam** (e vivis autem ille excessit anno MDXC hoc est, circiter biennium post quam Vienna Francofurti me contuli) cum intelligeret me de fungis in eo regno nascentibus aliquid commentari velle, videns (ut erat vir lepidus et valde facetus) dicere solebat: ubi, inquit, que meditaris in lucem protuleris, insigniter te nugari dicam, qui de iis rebus scribere in animum induxeris quas ne semel quidem gustare unquam volueris.⁵⁷⁰ (emphasis added)*

Nevertheless, the simplest and warmest formulation of their decennial relationship may be found in a dedication to another friend, Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli, in which Clusius calls the late count *amicus* and remembers him as *Illustri Heroe Balthasare de Batthyan, haereditario Dapiferorum Regni Ungariae praefecto*, someone who loved him in a unique manner, *qui me unice amabat*.⁵⁷¹

III. 5. FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

Throughout this dissertation I have been almost exclusively using the term ‘friendship’ to describe the personal bonds between Boldizsár Batthyány and those who were in regular correspondence with him and met him occasionally. This was a conscious choice and not the idealisation of the relationships between a powerful Hungarian nobleman and his contacts belonging to the most various social strata. Indeed, ‘friendship’ could be both the synonym and antithesis of ‘patronage’:⁵⁷² both could be vertical or horizontal with the very same vocabulary and emotion. In what lies the difference, then? Patronage⁵⁷³ is traditionally

⁵⁷⁰ Carolus Clusius, *Rariorum plantarum historia* (Antwerp: Moret, 1601), CCDXXVI (276).

⁵⁷¹ Carolus Clusius, *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia*, cclxii, in appendix to *Rariorum plantarum historia* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601), cclxii.

⁵⁷² Guy Fitch Lytle, “Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe,” in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 47.

⁵⁷³ On patronage in Central Europe see, *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450–1650*, ed. by Ronald G. Ash and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Karin Jutta MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria: the Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521–1622* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); and *Klientensysteme im Europa*

defined as being “founded on the reciprocal relations between patrons and clients.” A patron is “a person who uses his influence to assist and protect some other person, who becomes his ‘client,’ and in return provides certain services to his patron.”⁵⁷⁴ The relationship between patron and client is reciprocal, personal (not commercial) of some duration, and asymmetrical, that is, the two parties are of unequal social status.⁵⁷⁵ At the same time, ‘friendship’ (*amicitia*) “did not carry any inherent notions of differential social status” and it was “sufficiently ambiguous to encompass both social equals and unequals”⁵⁷⁶

The reciprocity of the relationship between patron and client means that in exchange for protection and financial support (eventually political support as well) the patron offers, the client provides certain services. These services usually contributed to the reinforcement of the patron’s political and social weight, to his image and representation by means of works of art, dedication of written or musical pieces, *panegyrica*, organisation and participation in festivities in honour of the patron, just to mention a few of the most common ones. Although quite often friends would do similar ‘favours’ for each other and their contacts would also be of longer duration and of personal nature, their relationship would not imply (while it does not exclude it either) asymmetry, different social standing.

Boldizsár Batthyány was definitely a friend and equal to Count Felician Herberstein, who belonged to old Styrian nobility. The two neighbours also spent some of their free time together, dedicating themselves to their hobbies such as fishing or hunting. They often exchanged small gifts, favours and good advice, especially in connection with the alchemical experiments, a favourite pastime they both cherished. However, it is clear that they

der frühen Neuzeit, ed. by Antoni Mańczak (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988); and Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts, 1517–1633* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

⁵⁷⁴ Jeremy Boissevain, “Patronage in Sicily,” *Man* 1, no. 1 (1966), 18.

⁵⁷⁵ *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, ed. by Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London: Duckworth, 1977).

⁵⁷⁶ Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 11. Although his observation is made on the basis of the usage and occurrence of the expression ‘patronus’ and ‘amicitia’ in the period of the early Roman Empire, it is valid for sixteenth century as well. See also, Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13.

participated in these activities as equals of the same age and social rank who happened to share the same interests in many things. Thus, theirs was a friendship, one that lasted for twenty years, and only their deaths brought it to an end.

The situation with Elias Corvinus is slightly different. Among the regular contacts I have examined more thoroughly in this dissertation, he is the only one who demonstrably received payment for his services. I have referred to his letter in which he reproached Batthyány for not sending him for years his *stipendium* on which they had previously agreed.⁵⁷⁷ In return, Boldizsár gave him a horse and money, even though less than Corvinus had asked for. There was apparently was some kind of a contract, or at least an agreement, between the two of them, on the basis of which Corvinus acted as Batthyány's agent dealing with the purchase of books the count needed for his library and materials for his experiments, while also representing him and taking notes for him in his current lawsuits (against Conrad Pappenheim, for instance⁵⁷⁸). Even though Corvinus had also been granted nobility for his merits in the battlefield, he was not a social equal of Batthyány's. Judging by the tone of his letters, however, it is also obvious that he was not in a completely subordinate position. He did not depend on Batthyány; while he probably was not a wealthy person, he had other income than the sporadic salary provided by the Hungarian count. Also, he never moved to Batthyány's court, he did not become a courtier, thus, their relationship, despite the assymetry, was again more of a friendship of two intellectual equals connected by a common interest in alchemy and medicine than that of a patron and his subservient client. It is interesting to note that the choice and primary position of Corvinus in Boldizsár Batthyány's intellectual network is rather peculiar if one takes into account that the poet was not only a Catholic but, due to his academic position and honours received, was very close to the Viennese court that Batthyány was trying so eagerly to avoid. On the other hand, his regular

⁵⁷⁷ Letter no. 8103.

⁵⁷⁸ See the letters of Elias Corvinus in the Appendix.

contact with Corvinus helped Batthyány receive first-hand information on what was going on at court, and the poet in the big city also had access to a variety of books and materials the count needed to buy. Indeed, this friendship allowed Batthyány to extend his ears to Vienna without being there in person.

The physicians, Johannes Homelius and Nicolaus Pistorius, were also rather friends than clients. If anyone should have been considered a client in the relationship with the two of them, that person would definitely be Boldizsár Batthyány himself since he was the one who mostly benefited from their acquaintance. He often consulted the doctors and requested their professional help for himself, and his family members. Furthermore, as mentioned above, Pistorius did various small errands for Batthyány, such as mediating in business matters between various merchants of Vienna and the count, or buying special items on his travels to Italy, however, these services may well be considered as friendly favours. The doctor, in exchange, received wine and fruit from Batthyány, and it could have been due to the count's recommendation that he found permanent employment as the personal physician of another aristocrat, Ferenc Nádasdy. Therefore, even though Pistorius once used the expression *patronus* to Batthyány,⁵⁷⁹ this relationship was also a friendly one in which both parties gave and received freely and informally. In the case of Homelius, though, the friendship also developed into an intellectual exchange of ideas. The physician was involved, just like Boldizsár Batthyány, in alchemical experimentation, and he was more than willing to share his knowledge, impressions and opinions with the count. I have also suggested that he may well have been the source of inspiration for a specific Paracelsian tinge in Batthyány's medico-alchemical interest and experimentation, considering the family heritage of Johannes Homelius the Elder. While Homelius also provided medical services to Batthyány, it is true

⁵⁷⁹ Letter no. 37500.

for him as for Pistorius and Corvinus that they remained independent from the count, and their lower social status did not imply a subordinate position.

Boldizsár Batthyány's relationship with Carolus Clusius is the one which is closest to the traditional idea of patronage. Clusius was in serious financial need when Batthyány started to "send a couch for him" and lure him from Vienna to his estates, and while there is no mention of money between the two of them, it is sure that Clusius received the best treatment possible when he dwelled with Batthyány, not to mention the ideal conditions for scholarly research and work which was always most valuable. Again, while the 'patron' supported the 'client,' he also got involved in his scholarly activity in person, as someone who was very much interested and knowledgeable in botany. Clusius paid with the only things he possessed and he could offer: his friendship and the innumerable references to Boldizsár in his published works. I suggest that in their relationship, Count Batthyány was the friend – he signed all his letters to Clusius as "*amicus*" – who provided shelter, food and accommodation for the botanist in need, and allowed him access to the vast meadows and forest on his estates, which were rich in flowers, plants and mushrooms, thus providing him with unmatched research material. At the same time, Clusius was the friend who did not miss a single occasion to accentuate the magnanimosity of Batthyány, to connect him to his international acquaintances, to move every mountain to track down a book the count wanted, and to pay homage to the "hero of Németújvár."

None of these friends became courtiers in Németújvár. The only one known of at present who lived permanently in the count's household and benefited from his patronage every day was the court pastor, István Beythe. However, this cannot be treated as a form of cultural patronage in the sense of financial support in exchange for services, inasmuch as the role of court pastor was an employment with its own rules and regulations. Beythe did not receive his salary for perpetuating his patron's name, but rather, for taking care of his soul.

His services were mostly of a religious nature, and he was subordinate to his Church and God rather than a mundane lord. Nevertheless, his invitation to the position was a conscious choice on Batthyány's part; Beythe did express his gratitude for the (religious) patronage by dedicating three of his written works to Boldizsár and his wife,⁵⁸⁰ and probably the pastor was the author of the verses on the count's epitaph as well. Perhaps their relationship was the most formal of all, which could be explained by the fact that Beythe depended upon Boldizsár Batthyány financially, and his career largely depended on his patron's good will.

III. 6. THE WEIGHT OF BATTHYÁNY'S COURT

It is not evident whether the small number of actual courtiers in Némétújvár, and thus, of possible 'clients,' was a choice or, rather, a possibility for Batthyány. Boldizsár Batthyány was known to be one of the wealthiest large landowners and aristocrats in Hungary in his time but his riches mostly consisted of his lands and what was produced on them. Similarly to his Hungarian contemporaries, he did not often have a great deal of cash at hand, that is to say, he regularly had liquidity problems. At the same time, he lived in close vicinity to the Ottoman Empire and his estates were under constant military threat. Batthyány had to spend a large percentage of his income on equipment for his soldiers and sacrifice huge sums of money on border defense.⁵⁸¹ This particular situation makes it impossible and unnecessary to compare his court to other courts which were not so directly exposed to the Ottoman threat; the results would predictably show that the Batthyány residence was only a minor centre with no permanent apparatus of poets, artists, and other courtiers. However, such a comparison

⁵⁸⁰ Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*, 221–222, no. 642–644.

⁵⁸¹ *Gemeinsam gegen die Osmanen: Ausbau und Funktion der Grenzfestungen in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Katalog der Ausstellung im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv 14. März – 31. Mai 2001*, ed. by Géza Pálffy (Budapest–Vienna: 2001); Ágoston, "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary"; and Géza Pálffy, "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, 111–135, 115; see furthermore, Pálffy, "A bécsi udvar és a magyar rendek" (published also in German, "Der Wiener Hof und die ungarischen Stände im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 109, no. 3–4 (2001), 346–381.

would mean that the intellectual activities occurring at the Batthyány court would be taken out of their context; consequently, it would not be possible to appreciate them properly. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Boldizsár Batthyány was able to attract an internationally highly acknowledged scholar, Carolus Clusius, to Németújvár, which in many respects could not compete with Vienna. The gesture itself should not be left out of consideration; Batthyány gave shelter, and what is more, provided intellectual challenge, for someone whom the Viennese court considered a *persona non grata* because of his confession. This move by Batthyány can be interpreted as conscious opposition to the centralised institution of the imperial court, and a message that he was able to offer an alternative for unwanted or unappreciated intellectuals.

The small dimension of Boldizsár Batthyány's court is also relative; there were at least ten noble youths residing at his court at all times to receive their education, if one can believe Clusius' description of the castle's tavern and the eating customs. There was the court pastor and his family, a court apothecary (at least in a certain period), a teacher (or teachers), dozens of menservants and maids, while there must have been a number of armed men as well to protect the castle and its inhabitants. The castle of Németújvár was once an imposing edifice, the ruins of which today still dominate the landscape around it, and one can assume that the Batthyánys tried their best to fill it with friends and relatives. I would estimate that a number of fifty to one hundred people would have lived there permanently, to be fed and taken care of by the lord. Even besides the numerous inhabitants of the castle and the expenses the border defense meant for Batthyány, he found the resources to purchase over a thousand books, keep up the expensive hobby of alchemical experimentation, offer his financial support for the translation and publication of an extraordinary Greek alchemical manuscript, and afford himself such luxuries as jewellery. He also corresponded with Pietro Ferrabosco, probably on construction matters, perhaps having in mind some tasteful

modernisation of one of his castles, considered buying a special musical instrument, a mechanical organ, and paid a stipend to Corvinus from time to time. His son, Ferenc, even travelled to Italy. All this suggests that Boldizsár Batthyány's court was not only large but also wealthy one, even though the widow's claim that upon his death that Boldizsár had left a huge debt behind when he died, leaves the impression that the magnate did not always respect his limits. And while there often was a shortage of cash, there was usually plenty of fruit, crops, fish and game to feed the noble youth and the other inhabitants at the court.

IV. BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY THE PUBLIC FIGURE

IV. 1. THE DISOBEDIENT WARLORD AND POLITICIAN

We can say without stretching the facts, that Boldizsár Batthyány never became a courtier. Not only did he spend as little time in the Imperial court as possible but he apparently did not prove obedient either. Most of the information we have on him from the last decade of his life is similar to the scandal he caused in 1583 at the Diet in Pozsony⁵⁸² and risked arrest. Around 1585, it became more and more obvious to the ruler that Batthyány and others were secretly supporting István Báthori, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland, whom many saw as an alternative to the Habsburgs on the throne of Hungary. The conspiracy – if we can call it that at all – and speculations were, however, abruptly deprived of their cause when Báthory unexpectedly passed away on 12 December 1586.⁵⁸³ In 1587, however, Boldizsár was requested by the Emperor to walk the disputed Hungarian-Moravian border to establish the frontier for which he asks for money and his delayed salary as well.⁵⁸⁴ Thus, it seems that he did not lose all credibility at court.

In 1576, Emperor Maximilian II died in Regensburg and his funeral rites took place in Prague on 22 March 1577.⁵⁸⁵ On this occasion we find Boldizsár Batthyány carrying the Holy Crown of Hungary as the last person in the funerary procession.⁵⁸⁶ Only a month later, on 21 April 1577 his brother-in-law, György Zrínyi celebrated his wedding with Zsófia Stubenberg⁵⁸⁷ in Radkersburg⁵⁸⁸ and he asked Boldizsár to help him with the preparations

⁵⁸² Together with Ferenc Nádaszy he made a third appeal to the Emperor in order to ease the general discontent among the Hungarian aristocracy. See Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*, 67.

⁵⁸³ Lajos Szádeczky, “Báthory István és egy magyarországi összeesküvés” (István Báthory and a Conspiracy in Hungary), *Századok* 20 (1886): 851–866.

⁵⁸⁴ MOL, Libri regii, no. 33.

⁵⁸⁵ Boldizsár Batthyány’s invitation is in MOL P 1313, Memorabilia, no. 347.

⁵⁸⁶ Pálffy, “Magyar címerek,” 244.

⁵⁸⁷ His first wife was Countess Anna ab Archo. Their engagement ceremony took place in 1567 according to a letter of invitation from Margit Széchy, widow of Count Julius ab Archo addressed to the entire Batthyány

and be his best man.⁵⁸⁹ The two of them had a mostly cordial relationship throughout the years of their long acquaintance and kinship. They were neighbours and this usually caused some tension even between friends although otherwise they had the same objectives: to stop the Ottoman advance in Hungary in general and into their lands in particular. They were together in many of the expeditions which the Emperor had explicitly forbidden, claiming that these expeditions endangered the delicate peace treaties with the Ottoman sultan.⁵⁹⁰ Indeed, in one of his letters György Zrínyi tells Boldizsár that the Emperor is angry because of their last “trip” they had made with the “captains and voivods of Croatia” over the past few days and he ordered them to appear in front of him in Vienna.⁵⁹¹ On another occasion, Zrínyi asks Batthyány to try and persuade the Emperor, so that he will give them a greater freedom to strike at the Ottoman troops in response to the damage they are constantly causing “down there,” and he hopes they can take revenge for the burning down of the town of Kanizsa.⁵⁹² They also decided not to pay tithes or some kind of rent (*árenda*) to the archbishop and the cardinal. Zrínyi wrote, “you did well my lord that you stood up and spoke for the freedom of this poor ruined country,”⁵⁹³ and he asks Boldizsár for advice, as he would also rather not pay. However, in his next letter György admits that he had to send 300 thalers to the cardinal because he had become very angry with him (György).⁵⁹⁴ As the Zrínyis (originally Subić, an old and powerful Dalmatian noble family) had possessions by the Adriatic sea, they often sent the Batthyánys various fruites de mer, mussels, shrimps, oysters, squids, and so on.⁵⁹⁵ Members of the Zrínyi family travelled to Venice quite often so they could pass on first-hand

family. Letter of Margit Széchy to Kristóf Batthyány from Trencsén on 14 November 1567. Letter no. 922 in the Archives of the Művészettörténeti Intézet, Budapest, in the Regesta Collection made by Joanelli and Iványi.

⁵⁸⁸ Štefanec, *Heretik njegova veličanstva*, 123.

⁵⁸⁹ Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Csáktornya on 9 April 1577. Letter no. 53641. He asks Batthyány to bring to him all his silverware, plates, dishes and send him his cook as well.

⁵⁹⁰ Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*, 51.

⁵⁹¹ Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vép on 21 February 1571. Letter no. 53583.

⁵⁹² Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vép on 2 March 1574. Letter no. 53608.

⁵⁹³ Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Csáktornya on 10 June 1570. Letter no. 53566.

⁵⁹⁴ Letter of György Zrínyi to Boldizsár Batthyány from Csáktornya on 15 June 1570. Letter no. 53567.

⁵⁹⁵ See letters no. 53564, 53573, 53605.

news and deliver goods not available in Hungary. It would seem only reasonable that Boldizsár also used this connection to acquire books but we have not found any reference to books in Batthyány's correspondence with György or other members of the Zrínyi family.

The friends usually involved a third party in their military expeditions, Ferenc Nádasdy,⁵⁹⁶ the adored only son of the late Palatine Tamás Nádasdy⁵⁹⁷ and Orsolya Kanizsai. Nádasdy was also a great warrior and he became a legend among the Ottomans who referred to him as the “black Bey,” probably because he wore black armour in battle (according to another explanation this was simply due to his black hair and moustache).⁵⁹⁸ Their forays were mostly disapproved of by the Emperor⁵⁹⁹ as there was an active peace treaty between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Padishah. This agreement, nevertheless, was repeatedly broken many times on both sides, especially in the border region where the enemy was often visible. Hungarians would usually claim it was the Ottomans who made incursions, burnt some villages within the territory of Royal Hungary, and their actions were only necessary counter-actions to their aggression. Hundreds of letters of complaint have survived from this period in which Ottoman officials, and Sinan (Szinán) Pasha in particular, brought complaints against the Nádasdy-Batthyány-Zrínyi trio, because they were not respecting the agreement and causing damage to the Ottoman army. In one of his letters, Kara Oveys (Ovejsz) Pasha addressed the Habsburg ruler in the following way:

We would like to understand, Your Majesty, whether György Zrínyi, Ferenc Nádasdy and Batthyány are subjects of the Roman Emperor or not? We would like to know whether they belong to you as it does not fit the agreement at all that they gathered a huge army and moved to the province of Bosna⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁶ Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*; and Takáts, “Nádasdy Ferenc (a fekete bég) ifjúsága,” 33–69.

⁵⁹⁷ On Tamás Nádasdy see *Nádasdy Tamás nádor családi levelezése* (The Private Correspondence of Palatine Tamás Nádasdy), ed. by Árpád Károlyi and József Szalay (Budapest: MTA, 1882); and Péter, “The Idea of the Community of Intellectuals,” 141–167.

⁵⁹⁸ Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*, 51.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.* After a successful military action led by Nádasdy, Batthyány and Zrínyi in 1583 against the Turks in the conquered Transdanubian region, the Begler Bey of Buda threatened the Emperor that his army would march directly to Vienna if the Hungarian lords did not stop these attacks. The Emperor immediately forbade his subjects to carry out any similar actions but they did not seem to pay too much attention.

⁶⁰⁰ “Zrínyi György, Nádasdy Ferenc, Batthyány, ha római császár hívei-é? Nem-é? Akarjuk megérteni, ha ti hozzátok valók, ez semmiképpen nem illik a frigyhöz, hogy nagy haddal felkészültenek, és Boszna tartományba

One of their outstanding military successes, the victory at Sárkánysziget,⁶⁰¹ near Kanizsa⁶⁰² in 1587 was celebrated in a pamphlet.⁶⁰³ Boldizsár's military successes are reported in a newspaper, "Neue Zeitung auß Ungern"⁶⁰⁴ which was printed by Joannes Manlius in 1587 in Monyorókerék (Eberau).⁶⁰⁵

His last letter is dated 31 January 1590 from Rohonc and is addressed to his *familiaris* Márton Knezich. In it he writes, "In Tóvár on the table you will find a book with many recipes in it and the letters of Doctor Melius as well, please send them all to me, if you do not find them on the table, here, I give you the key to the cupboard, check there too."⁶⁰⁶ The "Doctor Melius" mentioned by Batthyány is probably⁶⁰⁷ the physician Homelius with whom

mentenek..." Letter of Kara Oveys Pasha to Emperor Rudolf II on 27 July 1579. Quoted in Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*, 127.

⁶⁰¹ The poem is published in Štefanec, *Heretik njegova veličanstva*.

⁶⁰² The united troops of Kanizsa, the armies of the Vandalic border region and the private armies of the landlords Nádasdy, Batthyány and Zrínyi defeated the huge army of Sehszüvár (better known as Sasvár in Hungarian), Bey of Szigetvár, north of Kanizsa, near Kacorlak. This army was just returning to the garrison at Sziget bringing with it many hostages. In the battle 2000 Turkish soldiers fell and 1300 ended up as prisoners to the Hungarians. Among the hostages we find Ali Bey, son-in-law of the Padishah, probably identical with the one Batthyány held hostage (or rather, a guest) in his castle, and whom he let go back to Istanbul because he promised to send him some special narcissus bulbs from the Sultan's garden (see Chapter Two). Nagy, *Az erős fekete bég*, 51–52. On the complaints against Sasvár Bey see Géza Dávid, "Szigetvár 16. századi bégjei" (The Sixteenth-Century Beys of Szigetvár), in *Tanulmányok a török hódoltság és a felszabadító háborúk történetéből. A szigetvári történész konferencia előadásai a város és a vár felszabadításának 300. évfordulóján (1989)* (Studies about the Ottoman Period in Hungary and the Wars of Liberation. Proceedings of the Historical Conference on the 300th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Fortress and the City (1989), ed. by László Szita (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1993), 170–171.

⁶⁰³ Fridericus Latomus, *Victoria Sarkanizethana quae illustribus et magnificis dominis, belli ducibus, Georgio comiti Zrinio in Zakaturn, &c. praesidii Canisiensis Generali Francisco de Nadasdi comiti perpetuo Terrae Fogaras, &c Balthasaro Buthiani Baroni in Güssing etc. divinitus contigit, 11 Augusti Anno etc. 87. Versibus decantata a Friderico Latomo*. Impressum Graecii Styriae, Typis Joannis Fabri, anno MDXCIII. See Ilona Hubay, *Magyar és magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban 1480–1718* (Flyers, Newspapers and Pamphlets in Hungarian or Related to Hungary in the OSZK), *Az OSZK Kiadványai XXVIII*. (Budapest: OSZK, 1948), no. 337, 71.

⁶⁰⁴ Bibliothek OFM Graz, A 65/ 63, 17.

⁶⁰⁵ Arnold Magyar summarised the military deeds of Boldizsár Batthyány in the following: "Als Generalkapitän von Transdanubien befestigte er Kanizsa, schlug 1578 einen Angriff des Beg von Sziget mit 3000 Reitern ab, siegte 1580 über Skanderbeg bei Gabornok, 1587 über den Pascha von Sárvár und die Bega von Mohács und Fünfkirchen, wobei 2000 Türken fielen, die Bega bei Kanizsa gefangen genommen und die gefangenen Christen befreit wurden." Magyar, *Güssing*, 98.

⁶⁰⁶ Letter of Boldizsár Batthyány to Márton Knezich from Rohonc on 31 January 1590. Although this letter did not survive, it was quoted in Iványi, "Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát," 408.

⁶⁰⁷ The name Melius was quite commonly used in the period. It was also possible that the Melius mentioned in the letter refers to Péter Melius (or Méliusz) Juhász, the contemporary Hungarian theologian and botanist.

the Count corresponded even in his later years. His letters and the book of recipes were probably very much needed because of Batthyány's illness which must have been grave as only a day later on the 1st of February he passed away in his Rohonc residence. He must have been ill for some time already, since Miklós Pálffy wrote to him on 3 January 1590 that he excused Boldizsár before the Emperor because of his illness that prevented him from appearing in the Viennese court.⁶⁰⁸ The cause of his death is described by Miklós Istvánffy, the chancellor of Hungary, as "a pain in his chest and short breath."⁶⁰⁹ His epitaph can be seen today engraved on the wall of the Franciscan friary in Németújvár (Németújvár) and the verses, perhaps written by István Beythe,⁶¹⁰ read as follows:

*Nosti quis fuerim, sed qualis, deinde videbis,
 Cum patriae fines undique Turca premet,
 Tunc passis manibus ferat auxilium tibi quaeres,
 Sed nemo fiet, qui tua damna levet,
 Noscar et in tota patria mihi nomen habebo,
 Posteritas nostri sic memor omnis erit,
 Me sors bona tulit, iam vivo munere Christi,
 Haec vita est cunctis anteferenda bonis,
 Magnifico D[omi]no: Balthasari Batthyany Consil[iario] S[acro]sanctae] Caes[ariae]
 M[aiestatis] etc., Pio Syncero Patri Patriae Domi Militiaeque faelici, Qui excessit 1.
 Febr[uarii] an[no] 1590, Posteritas dicavit.⁶¹¹*

However, István Botta, in his study on Méliusz Juhász quoted a letter of Johannes Crato von Kraftheim written to Joachim Camerarius the Elder on 21 April 1561, in which the former wrote, "Dominus Melius sic proponit." Botta suggests that this Melius (originally G. Mehl) could have been known to Batthyány, and could be the one referred to in the Count's last surviving orders. I find it more plausible to assume that Melius was an endearing pet name for Homelius with whom Batthyány had regularly corresponded in his later years, both about alchemy and medicine. On Méliusz Juhász see, István Botta, *Melius Péter ifjúsága. A magyarországi refomáció lutheri és helvét irányú elkülönülésének kezdete* (The Youth of Peter Melius. Beginnings of the Division between the Lutheran and Helvetic Variants of Reformation in Hungary) (Budapest: MTA, 1978), 13. On Méliusz see also, Alexander Sándor Unghváry, *The Hungarian Protestant Reformation in the Sixteenth Century Under the Ottoman Impact* (Mellen, 1989), 275–314.

⁶⁰⁸ Letter of Miklós Pálffy to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna on 3 January 1590, letter no. 35195.

⁶⁰⁹ Letter of Miklós Istvánffy to Carolus Clusius from Vienna on 13 April 1590. Codex Vulcanius 101, no. 16. "Interim et Magnificum Dominum Battiany, fortissimum praestantissimumque virum, ac utriusque nostrum amatissimum amisimus, totius patriae incredibili dolore. Is Calendis februarii veteris Calendarii, dolore pectoris, ac respirandi difficultate obiit."

⁶¹⁰ Magyar, *Güssing*, 99.

⁶¹¹ "You know who I was, but of what kind, you will see later, When the Turks press on the borders of the homeland from all over, Then you will search for help with outstretched hands, But no one will be there who could ease your pain, People will recognize me and my name will be known in the entire homeland, All posterity will remember me, My good fate took me away, I live now through the grace of Christ, This life is to be preferred more than any wealth, Magnificent Lord Balthasar Batthyány councilor of his Majesty the Holy

In another one of his letters to Carolus Clusius, a common good friend to both Istvánffy and Batthyány, the chancellor repeats the bad news,

*Ego, charissime Clusi, salutem abste Domino Bathiany dicere non potui, nam prius quam literas tuas accepissem ille, Dei voluntate, ultimum clauserat diem, dolore pectoris et respirandi difficultate exanimatus quod omnium nostrum ingenti dolore, et rerum iactura evenit. Is enim erat, de quo illud recte et vere dicere poteramus.*⁶¹²

The news of his death spread throughout Europe,⁶¹³ and while no funeral speech has survived, his friends, and most importantly the faithful Clusius, commemorated Boldizsár Batthyány in the most eternal way.

Roman Emperor, etc., Pious and honest father of the homeland, lucky at home and in war, Who died on the 1st of February in the year 1590, Posterity dedicated [this monument].

⁶¹² Letter of Miklós Istvánffy to Carolus Clusius from Eperjes on 8 June 1590. Codex Vulcanius 101, no. 17. “My dearest Clusius, I could not give your greetings to Lord Batthyány because even before I received your letter, he fell asleep in God from a pain in his chest and a shortage of breath, which causes infinite pain to all of us and happened so unexpectedly. He was a man of whom we can really and truly say this.”

⁶¹³ His death is mentioned in a letter by van Hoghelande to Carolus Clusius, no. 168-002a in 1591, “Dominus de Batthyan, quem ex tuis Observatoum Pannoniis satis intelligo non vulgarem tibi fuisse amicum, satis tibi ereptum vel tuo recte nomine doleo.” I thank Florike Egmond for calling my attention to this detail.



Figure 39. The gravestone of Boldizsár Batthyány in the wall of the Franciscan friary of Németújvár.

*“Images are mute witnesses and it is difficult to translate their testimony into words.”
/Peter Burke/*

V. 2. THE GALLERY OF ANCESTORS: BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY’S PORTRAITS

Only two portraits known of Boldizsár Batthyány are known, neither of which are contemporary. The better-known painting, which shows Batthyány in a standing posture pointing at a letter, belongs to the so-called “gallery of ancestors” of Rohonc (no. 9) [**Fig. 1**]. This collection reflects the habit of the Hungarian aristocracy, more typical from the

seventeenth century onwards, to decorate their ceremonial halls with lifesize portraits of the family ancestors. This was the “gallery of ancestors,” which constituted the only decor of a building in the seventeenth century. The representation of illustrious family members aimed at neither historical fidelity nor artistic perfection; it had as its goal the representation of the ancestor in his full dignity, ornamented with clothes and objects which would also add to this effect.⁶¹⁴ The portraits of the family’s ancestors were usually interspersed with portraits of great national heroes, the founding fathers of the Hungarian Kingdom, tribal leaders of the Magyars, and so on, in order to place the individual in historical perspective and accentuate continuity with the great “Hungarian” figures.⁶¹⁵ The paintings were images of status in which the ambience, posture, and clothing and the individual character determined the honourable man. They were usually hung out in a separate room or hall, or even, a corridor.

616

The gallery of ancestors in Rohonc was started in the last third of the seventeenth century,⁶¹⁷ while Boldizsár Batthyány’s portrait was painted in the eighteenth century.⁶¹⁸ Parallely to the one in Rohonc, there was another portrait gallery in the Németújvár castle of the Batthyánys, however, even less is known about this collection, except that it is still displayed in one of the rooms of the castle. That is where the other portrait of Boldizsár derives from (no. 12) [Fig. 40]. Both portraits had an inscription with similar content. While on the Rohonc portrait this inscription was cut off (and thus preserved, at least until the early

⁶¹⁴ *A Batthyányak évszázadai. Katalógus* (Centuries of the Batthyánys. Exhibition Catalogue) (Szombathely–Körmend: Szombathelyi Képtár, 2005), 25.

⁶¹⁵ Gizella Cenner-Wilhelmb, “A ‘Mausoleum’ metszetei után festett vezérsorozat” (The Leader-Series Made after the Engravings of the ‘Mausoleum’), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar nemzeti galéria, 1988. márc.–aug.* (Aristocratic Galleries of Ancestors, Family Portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Joint Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, the Museum of Applied Arts, and the Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988), 72.

⁶¹⁶ Miklós Mojzer, “Az ősgaléria – mint egykori és mai kiállítás” (The Gallery of Ancestors – as an Exhibition in the Past and the Present), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*, 9.

⁶¹⁷ The perhaps fragmentary collection today kept in the Hungarian Historical Gallery, was commissioned by the Batthyány family for their Rohonc castle in the last third of the seventeenth century. See, Cenner-Wilhelmb, “A ‘Mausoleum’ metszetei után festett vezérsorozat,” 72.

⁶¹⁸ *A Batthyányak évszázadai. Katalógus*, 33.

twentieth century), it is still present on the Németújvár image. The Rohonc caption reads as follows,

*Mgnif. Balthasar de Batthian vixit a. 1590 dapiferorum regium magis: isignis generalis bellicum, dice taliter ad examen fortificandae: Canisae delectus, Scanderbegum turcam 1581 trucidat. Fit indigena regn: Bohemiae studuit etiam Parisiis*⁶¹⁹ (Magnificent Boldizsár Batthyány, lived until 1590, Master Royal Purveyor, distinguished general of war, he ordered some fortifications, entrusted with Kanizsa, he killed Skander Bey in 1581, was made into an inhabitant of the Kingdom of Bohemia; he also studied in Paris.)

The inscription on the Németújvár portrait, for a comparison, claims that,

Magnificus Balthasar de Batthán vixit a. 1550 Dapiferorum Regal. Magister insigni. generalis belicus d aetaliter ad examen fortificandae Canisae dellatus Scanderbegum turcam anno 1581 trucdat. Fit indigena Regni Bohemiae studuit etiam Parisiis (Magnificent Boldizsár Batthyány lived until/in/around 1550, Master Royal Purveyor, distinguished Master general of war, (?) so he ordered (?) the fortification of Kanizsa, he killed Skander Bey in 1581. He was native/elect of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and also studied in Paris).

It is interesting to see that the two inscriptions would be identical if not for the numerous errors in the Latin of that from Németújvár, which would make it impossible to understand were the other, grammatically correct, text not known. It indeed appears as if the Németújvár portrait was a (bad) copy of the Rohonc portrait, and the inscription was copied by someone whose Latin was very poor. On the basis of the meagre literature on the origins of these paintings, however, it seems that the Németújvár painting was made in the seventeenth century, before the Rohonc one, which was said to have been painted in the eighteenth century. Thus, one cannot exclude that the process of copying happened the other way round: the Rohonc portait was made after the Németújvár one and the person who copied the inscriptions auomatically corrected its errors.

⁶¹⁹ *Az országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum állagai IV. rész. Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok* (Fonds of the Hungarian National Museum of Fine Arts, Part IV. Hungarian Historical Gallery), ed. by Peregriny János (Budapest, 1915), 53.



Figure 40. Portrait of Boldizsár Batthyány by unknown painter from the seventeenth century. Németújvár, Gallery of the Ancestors.

I infer that the dating of the Rohonc portrait is reliable and based on the analysis of the objects surrounding the figure and the clothing he is wearing. Indeed, in the background of Boldizsár Batthyány on the Rohonc painting a typical Baroque column is visible. There is no such architectural element on the Németújvár portrait. The rest of the details correspond to one another with the exception of the size of the figure. The Rohonc portrait is full-figured, while the Németújvár painting shows Boldizsár thigh-high; somehow the full-figured painting emanates more dignity and majesty than the other one. The posture is the same: Boldizsár Batthyány is standing pointing at a sealed letter with his left hand. The letter is placed on a table covered by cloth, probably velvet. On the more recent portrait, there are also an ink-well and a quill, while the earlier one has only the letter. Even his dress is almost the same; he is wearing ceremonial attire, the elegant aristocratic outfit which had become an unmistakable indicator of Hungarian nationality (although it was often worn by Habsburg rulers as well as Viennese envoys in Constantinople).⁶²⁰ Interestingly enough, there is no sword displayed on the earlier painting, only its ornamented hilt is visible, and instead of it being tied around the waist, it hangs from the figure's shoulder. Boldizsár Batthyány is wearing an overcoat lined with fur, and a very luxurious belt set with precious stones, while his cap is decorated with a feather as was customary. His face looks somewhat younger on the older painting.

There are some noteworthy details about these two paintings. I am convinced that one is a copy of the other, and, if the chronology is reliable, than it must have been the Rohonc one that was copied from the Németújvár portrait. This means that the person who commissioned it, or the painter who created the second portrait intervened in the text of the inscription and corrected the Latin. However, the content remained essentially the same. And this is what makes the analysis highly intriguing: the content is quite obscure at some

⁶²⁰ Emőke László, "A magyar nemzeti viselet a családi arcképek tükrében" (Hungarian National Attire as Reflected in the Familiar Portraits), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*, 35–40. Furthermore, see note 132.

places if not directly mistaken. The first sentence on the older painting, for instance, claims that Batthyány *vixit anno 1550*. Nowhere was this date considered to be the date of Boldizsár Batthyány's birth; or, if *vixit* is understood as "lived until," then the inscription is even more confusing, since the date of his death was widely known already among his contemporaries. It is possible that the date 1550 is the result of misreading of a sentence which could have had *vixit a. 50*, that is, lived up to the age of 50 – which is more or less correct. More puzzling is the statement that he was *indigena Regni Bohemiae* which can be interpreted as "native of" or "elect" of the Kingdom of Bohemia. He did not have much contact with Bohemia whatsoever, although he corresponded with the Czech nobleman Peter Vok Rožmberk whose sister became the second wife of Miklós Zrínyi and thus a relative of Batthyány's. It was his son Ferenc who married the daughter of a Polish aristocratic family, Éva Lobkowitz Poppel, who also owned large landholdings in Bohemia. We do not know of Boldizsár Batthyány possessing any lands there. The last sentence repeats the widespread legend that Boldizsár Batthyány studied in Paris. The Németújvár painting, furthermore, has grammatical errors as well; it has *belicus* instead of *bellicus*, something like *d aetaliter* instead of *dice taliter*, *dellatus* for *delectus*, *trucdat* instead of *trucidat*.

Nevertheless, what should be the most striking is the evident contradiction between image and text. While Boldizsár Batthyány is depicted as a humanist nobleman pointing at a letter, rather than resting his hand on the hilt of his sword as was usual in the representation of Hungarian aristocrats from this period (who all were warriors as well), the text refers most to his military achievements. His being a general of war, his fortification works, his victory over Skander Bey (who, by the way, was not killed by Boldizsár Batthyány), his captainship of Kanizsa. The same was the case with his epitaph presumably written by Beythe; that inscription also accentuates his qualities as a warlord and notes how much his country will suffer from the Turks now that he is gone.

Why is it, then, that the painting, uniquely in the family, shows a dignified nobleman who, while wearing a slight indication of his military background, points at a letter? What does the letter stand for exactly? Is it there to refer to his humanist learning, or rather, literally to his habit of writing and receiving many letters? Furthermore, from the grandson, *Ádám Batthyány*, onwards, the figures of the Batthyány family in the Rohonc gallery of ancestors, following international trends in portrait painting, usually in military attire, tended to be posed in the open, most often with their familiar residences in the background, usually in military attire.⁶²¹ *Boldizsár Batthyány*, however, posed in a closed space, inside the castle.

There are many questions in connection with these two portraits of *Boldizsár Batthyány*, most of which have to be left unanswered at this state of research because so little is known about the paintings, especially their history.⁶²² Art can be an imprint of social reality, and even if the piece of art distorts that reality, the distortion itself is evidence of mentalities, ideologies and identities. This is what *Burke* calls the ‘mental’ or ‘metaphysical’ image of the other.⁶²³ Was there a contemporary portrait both these painters copied from and which was later lost? Do the portraits and the inscriptions tell about the way posterity pictured *Boldizsár*? If there was an original contemporary or slightly later portrait, could that one have had the same inscription or was the text written centuries later and that is the reason why it is largely incorrect? One can assume that *Boldizsár Batthyány* commissioned a portrait of himself since this was a widespread habit among his fellow Hungarian aristocrats, and also because a portrait of his wife is extant from only a couple of decades after his death [Fig. 15]. If there was a relatively contemporary depiction of *Batthyány*, is that the reason why he is pointing at a letter? How well known was it among his offspring that he had such a

⁶²¹ *Gizella Cenner-Wilhelmb*, “A portré és a magyar nemesi társadalom” (The Portrait and the Hungarian Aristocratic Society), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*, 30.

⁶²² We know that the collection which once embellished the castle of Rohonc was confiscated by the Viennese court in 1849, after the sentence of the minister *Kázmér Batthyány*. It was acquired by the Hungarian National Museum from the bequest of *Enea Lanfranconi* in 1895.

⁶²³ *Peter Burke*, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 30.

large collection of letters? His son, Ferenc, would definitely have known about them, as would all the later generations since it is due to their keeping those letters that hundreds of them have come down to us. It was more a matter of taste or preference what a commissioner felt was more fitting to depict Batthyány with, more as a humanist who corresponded with a great many interesting figures of the European intelligentsia or a warrior with weapons. This latter was the case even with Tamás Nádasdy, for instance, who was a highly cultured man rather than a warrior, and yet, he is depicted wearing a full armour since that was the fashion of his times.

Returning to the inscriptions: Is it possible that basic facts about Boldizsár Batthyány's life were forgotten only a century or so after his death? Did they believe that Boldizsár actually was enrolled at the university in Paris, or did *studuit* imply that he "learned and saw," gained experience in France? Or was the distortion intentional? Does the inscription reflect the way posterity wanted to see or did see a great ancestor? All these questions, for now, remain open. What I am convinced of is that the two portraits are not so similar by accident. One is a copy of the other, and perhaps both of them were made after an older, even contemporary, painting representing Boldizsár Batthyány. It would be useful and interesting to find out more about them, since visual evidence, indeed, can tell a great deal about history.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation I have examined the life and work of a singular individual in sixteenth-century Hungary. Boldizsár Batthyány's life story has brought us closer to the everyday worries, duties, but also, the interests and entertainments of a man of noble birth. His biography provided us with an insight into his background, his education, the travels he undertook, the experiences he had in his youth and, the way these experiences may have manifested themselves in his conduct after he settled down and got married. Indeed, while collecting data for his biography and setting up the chronology of his life, I tried to emphasize possible influences that may well have determined the directions his interests in natural sciences took. Familial relations were also highly relevant in an age when confessional differences could turn members of the same family against one another in the same way as different understandings of loyalties and politics. All of this, however, would not make sense if the facts and figures are not placed in their social and historical contexts.

In my introduction, I addressed the question of whether the portrait of an individual can serve as the basis for general conclusions concerning the mentality of a historical period. In this work I attempted to develop a parallel story of an individual and the age he lived in. While writing the biography of Boldizsár Batthyány, I approached the question of what the main trends in science in the sixteenth century and the Count's personal involvement were in scientific activities. Some of the crucial points where Batthyány became acquainted with a particular branch of science are clearly identifiable from his life story: his father's passion for books certainly influenced him, as did his old tutor who was very knowledgeable in botany. Not all his sources of inspiration are possible to delineate, however. It is still not possible to say with certainty where Batthyány's interest in alchemy and Paracelsian medicine came from, and naturally the stimulus may not necessarily have been any particular person at a

given place or time. Nevertheless, the example of Batthyány provided a personal account of the way and extent of individual involvement in scientific experimentation and patronage.

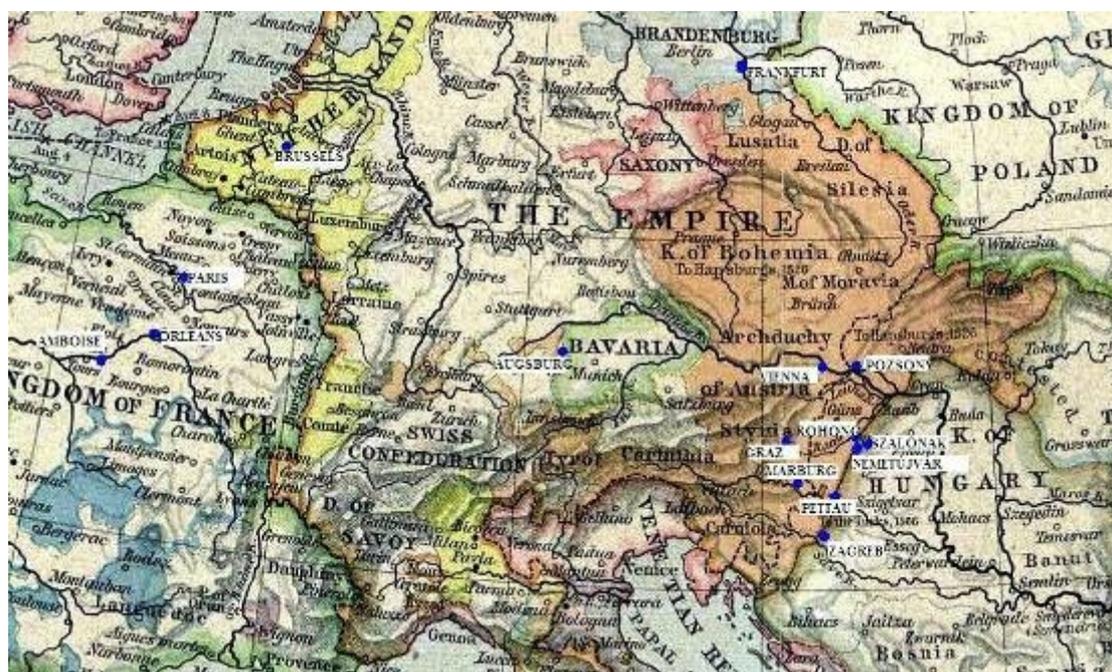


Figure 41. Map of Central Europe in 1560, with the places relevant in Boldizsár Batthyány's life.

His vast correspondence with a handful of European intellectuals proved to be an excellent source of information for studying the processes surrounding the exchange of information and objects in this period. Many plants and books, for instance, were brought to Western Hungary through such individual channels, attached to private letters exchanged between the patron and his friends. The exchange of information was also invaluable. Batthyány did not have to leave his estate to hear about new trends in the world; his protégés and friends provided him with both gossip and intellectual news.

Nevertheless, the fact that there was an individual in Western Hungary who was well connected in Europe and was specifically interested in botany and alchemy need not have qualified Batthyány's life and interests as an exemplary case study. He may well be a unique phenomenon. However, if we look around the aristocratic courts of Europe, we will find innumerable parallels to his career. The princely courts in Germany have been very well

studied.⁶²⁴ The figure of patron-practitioner or prince-practitioner, also emerges in Denmark, as well as in Moravia, Silesia,⁶²⁵ Poland and Bohemia. King Frederik II of Denmark (1534–1588) was a great supporter of the astronomer and alchemist Tycho Brahe and appreciated his talents to such an extent that he bequeathed an entire island to him, the Island of Hven, where he could pursue his studies and experiments undisturbed.⁶²⁶ The same Tycho later accepted the invitation of Emperor Rudolf II to Prague where he continued his astronomical observations and various other pursuits. Count Wolfgang II of Hohenlohe⁶²⁷ (1546–1610), Count Moritz of Hessen-Kassel⁶²⁸ (1572–1632) and, Ernst of Bavaria, Bishop of Passau⁶²⁹ (1500–1560), all “employed” alchemists at their courts. This coincided with the fact that the second half of the sixteenth century saw a boom in mining activity in Europe. Many aristocrats became involved in mining and, thus, needed expert help in their economic enterprise,⁶³⁰ however, this naturally was only one of the reasons for the increased interest of nobility in alchemy.

Olbracht Łaski,⁶³¹ Palatine of Sieradz (1536–1605) left his mark abroad as well. A nobleman who visited England in 1583, he was received by the young poet Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Leicester. He met the famous occult and magic practitioners John Dee and

⁶²⁴ Debra L. Stoudt, “‘Proba tum est per me’: The Heidelberg Electors as Practitioners and Patrons of the Medical and Magical Arts,” *Cauda Pavonis* 14, no.1 (1995), 12–18.

⁶²⁵ Manfred Fleischer, “The Institutionalisation of Humanism in Protestant Silesia,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975), 256–274; and Idem, “The Garden of Laurentius Scholz: a Cultural Landmark of late-Sixteenth Century Lutheranism,” *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 9 (1979), 29–48.

⁶²⁶ Cristianson, *On Tycho’s Island*.

⁶²⁷ Jost Weyer, “Graf Wolfgang II. von Hohenlohe (1546-1610) und die Alchemie – Ein Arbeitsbericht,” in *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. by Christoph Meinel, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 99–106.

⁶²⁸ Bruce T. Moran, “Privilege, Communication, and Chemytry: The Hermetic-Alchemical Circle of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel,” *Ambix* 32 (1985), 110–126. See also his *The Alchemical World of the German Court. Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572 – 1632)* (Suttgart: Steiner, 1991).

⁶²⁹ Felix F. Strauss, “The ‘Liberey’ of Duke Ernst of Bavaria (1500–1560),” *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961), 128–143.

⁶³⁰ Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton–Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁶³¹ Ryszard Zieliński and Roman Żelenski, *Olbracht Łaski. Od Kieżmarku do Londynu* (Olbracht Łaski. From Késmárk to London) (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1982); and Jan Kasprzak, “A Riddle of History: Queen Elizabeth I and the Albertus Laski Affair,” *Polish Review* 14 (1961), no. 1–2.

Edward Kelly as well.⁶³² He was present at the Oxford debate staged for Giordano Bruno. He himself was heavily involved in occult and magical speculation and he returned to Poland in the company of Dee and Kelly who entered his service. He must also have been a supporter of Paracelsian medicine as he financed the Cracow edition of the late master's *Archidoxae* by Adam Schröter in 1569. In 1586, Łaski visited another Central European prince-practitioner, Vilém Rožmberk⁶³³ (1535–1592) who then hosted the two ill-famed “magicians” in his residence at Trěboň. Vilém and his brother Peter Vok (1539–1611) were relatives of the Zrínys and thus, of the Batthyánys, since their sister Eva was the second wife of Miklós Zrinyi, the hero of the battle of Sziget against the Ottoman Turks. The brothers were deeply engaged in alchemical experimentation at their residence in Krumlov (Český Krumlov, Czech Republic). Unfortunately, only one short letter⁶³⁴ has survived, a missive written in the vernacular from Peter Vok to Boldizsár Batthyány which does not reveal whether they had exchanged previous letters and ideas about alchemy. These names and familiar connections relate Boldizsár to another interesting group of people, eminent and wealthy individuals in other parts of Central Europe. Łaski and the Rožmberks shared his interests in alchemy and the occult in general, and built their own network of international acquaintances, or rather, celebrities in the field of occult arts.⁶³⁵ Their examples, together with that of Batthyány, support the argument that there was a general tendency among European aristocrats in this period for getting involved in the practice of alchemy and other “fashionable” branches of the occult sciences.

We can see that there was a very intense cultural and scientific exchange and experimentation on-going in territories which have traditionally been considered by historians

⁶³² György Endre Szőnyi, *Exaltatio és hatalom Keresztény mágia és okkult szimbolizmus egy angol mágus műveiben* ('Exaltatio' and Power. Christian Magic and Occult Symbolism in the Works of an English Magus), *Ikonológia és Műértelmezés* 7 (Szeged: JATEPress, 1998); and Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*.

⁶³³ Jaroslav Pánek, *Poslední Rožmberk. Životní příběh Petra Voka* (N. p.: Brána, 1996).

⁶³⁴ Letter of Peter Vok Rožmberk to Boldizsár Batthyány from Vienna, undated, letter no. 40270.

⁶³⁵ Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, 247–248.

as peripheral in the sixteenth century. Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, as well as the court of the Danish King in Northern Europe were home to a series of individual initiatives which, on the other hand, corresponded to and integrated into the general (Western) European intellectual tendencies. The scale of these individual activities may not have approximated the work going on at the larger courts in Germany, for instance (except for the Danish royal court), nevertheless, they were neither a late echo nor a bad copy of their Western spiritual relatives. Mobility, when accompanied by wealth and interest in science and culture, allowed aristocrats from Central Europe to be part of the same intellectual networks and share in the enthusiasms of their western counterparts.

Naturally, all these individual initiatives had their own distinctive features and were far from being mere imitations. In Germany, the interest in alchemy, as noted above, was also motivated by economic considerations, especially from the seventeenth century onwards.⁶³⁶ In Hungary and the neighbouring lands, the intensifying interest in alchemy and metallurgy was also largely due to the involvement of aristocrats in the mining industry – as the example of Felician Herberstein has shown. However, in Royal Hungary, the conduct of an aristocrat was also thoroughly influenced by his feelings for or against Habsburg politics. We may assume that Batthyány's reluctance to be a regular presence at the Imperial court contributed to his wish to set up a completely independent intellectual centre, a meeting point for scholars far away from Vienna, and later, from Prague.

This wish for independence was reflected and, indeed, demonstrated in Batthyány's book collection that could have rivalled even the Imperial library of Vienna (if Batthyány had been granted twenty years more to live); via friendship with wealthy individuals from the world of intellectuals; through providing shelter to people unwelcome in the Habsburg Hereditary Lands because of their confession, and so on. From this point of view,

⁶³⁶ A good example is that of Becher, see Pamela H. Smith, "Alchemy as a Language of Mediation at the Habsburg Court," *Isis* 85, no. 1 (1994), 1–25; and Idem, *The Business of Alchemy. Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

representation was much more than a display of wealth and power. Or, to be more precise, the intended audience for this display of representation was much more obvious. It did not aim at fellow aristocrats, rather, it could have easily been directed at the Habsburg ruler himself as a form of open defiance at the centralisation of royal power and its establishment outside of Hungary. If so, the message was clear. Batthyány warmly welcomed Clusius on his estate. The noted botanist had been forced to leave the Imperial court mostly because of his Protestantism, and Batthyány made the best of his acquaintance. He also allowed Manlius who had been banned from the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, to set up his printing press in Németújvár. Furthermore, he disobeyed the Emperor's commands repeatedly when he conducted small forays against Turkish troops, defying the wish of the ruler and without his previous knowledge. All this and many other examples discussed elsewhere in this dissertation suggest that, in the case of Batthyány, the way he chose to represent himself had a strong political agenda as well.

Not everything was meant for the eyes and ears of the Habsburg rulers, though. Alchemy always walked hand-in-hand with secrecy and the letters of the Count and his friends contain many references to their attempts to hide what they were dealing with and the kind of books he received. There were suggestions⁶³⁷ that the reason Batthyány and his friends were so secretive about their alchemical experiments was because Emperor Rudolf II, for instance, considered it a personal privilege and did not like to hear that others were also involved in the occult arts. These speculations, however, take us very far from the main focus of the dissertation.

Unfortunately, Batthyány never became an author. We are unable to attain an insight into his thoughts and ideas through reading his works, or even, notes. The alchemical

⁶³⁷ Szabolcs Ö. Barlay, “‘A németújvári hősosz’ (Batthyány-portré)” (‘The *Heros* of Németújvár.’ (Portrait of Batthyány)), in *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról* (Flower on Ruins. Chapters on the Renaissance after Mohács) (Budapest: Széphalom Könyvműhely, 1986), 183–238. This, by and large, is the Hungarian version of Barlay's German article, “Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanistenkreis.”

“notebook” – probably a collection of notes the Count took while pursuing experiments – seems to have disappeared after it was last seen by the historian Tibor Antal Horváth in the 1950s. It would have allowed us to estimate the extent of Batthyány’s experimentation work, the way he approached the problems and how he may have felt when he successfully carried out an experiment. This ‘silence’ on Batthyány’s part may have various explanations from the lack of university education to the patron’s preference of remaining in the background and letting “professionals” deal with philosophising and writing. As a patron, however, he can be approached through the works of his protégés since the fact that he deemed their work worthy of his attention and financial support reveals much of his own interests – and this is what I have attempted in the previous chapters.

Boldizsár Batthyány lived less than fifty years. What would have happened if he had been given the opportunity to continue and cherish his interests even further? Would that have changed anything? We will never know. His only son Ferenc seemed more than inclined to cultivate his father’s love for science and culture but he also died young. Most of his adulthood revolved around the Fifteen Years War, thus, it is not possible to say whether had he been granted more ideal circumstances for intellectual activities what he would have achieved. He kept in touch with some of his father’s friends and acquaintances, Istvánffy, Balassi, the Beythes, and he even made the proverbial trip to Italy which his father never succeeded in doing. He followed in his father’s footsteps in many respects. He provided shelter to wandering Protestant intellectuals, and a couple of them – perhaps to express their gratitude – left some books behind in Németújvár.⁶³⁸ He enlarged his father’s book collection but he did not make such large-scale acquisitions as had Boldizsár. His library still needs to be researched so that we can tell whether he, for instance, employed the same book dealers for his purchases as had his father. At the same time, there are no indications that he

⁶³⁸ Monok, “Württembergi exulánsok Batthyány Ferenc udvarában.”

was as devoted to or as interested in the natural sciences as Boldizsár had been. Ferenc's son, Ádám, turned his back on the occultism and Protestantism of his grandfather and father, and in his time the fabulous book collection was even in danger of being destroyed due to his confessional views and different interests.

Thus, Batthyány was given approximately twenty years to leave his mark on history which is very little time to make much of an impact. However, we are now able to evaluate and appreciate much more clearly what his personal mission and devotion represented for the whole of sixteenth-century Hungarian science and culture. He was a man with interesting hobbies but he did not found any schools or institutions where his work as a patron could have been continued. He was driven, among many other things, by an elementary human characteristic: curiosity.⁶³⁹ He wanted to learn new things every day only to satisfy his own personal curiosity, and one can be sure that the little successes and discoveries he made for himself alone or with the help of his friends caused him genuine pleasure. He was also a collector: apart from books, Batthyány greatly appreciated other antiquities, old (presumably Roman) coins and objects,⁶⁴⁰ which must have been plentiful around his castles, and he also commissioned various pieces of jewelry. While it is not known that Boldizsár Batthyány set up a cabinet of curiosities, which was getting more and more fashionable and widespread in the late-sixteenth century, one can imagine that by the time of his death he had collected many rare and curious objects, just as he had books and plants. With his death, the short-lived natural scientific outburst in Hungary dissipated to be resurrected in a very different form during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among contemporary Hungarian aristocrats there was a general interest in botany, for instance, and a wish to patronise cultural activities. Yet, the way Batthyány became personally involved in the

⁶³⁹ Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: the Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur–Reading: Harwood Academic, 1995).

⁶⁴⁰ See, for instance, the letter of Clusius, Cod. Vulc. 101., no. 12.

processes of experimentation and brought together both innovations and the people who were good, if not the best at them, was not found anywhere in Hungary in his time.

In conclusion, as far as the question and nature of patronage and representation is concerned, it is possible to say that although Batthyány's interests and conduct largely corresponded to some of the most popular intellectual trends in Europe, it also had its own individual features. The data used to examine them however remains mostly circumstantial, historical and subject to interpretation. Nevertheless, there is little question that in sixteenth-century Hungary, in the face of the Ottoman conquest and the expanding Habsburg Empire, there was an individual who recognised and appreciated innovative thought and discoveries. Boldizsár Batthyány used his wealth to initiate something new in science in Western Hungary. He built up and maintained an intellectual network which comprised physicians, humanists, a botanist and, book dealers. He used these connections to receive up-to-date information about the latest trends, new books, and particularly the topics that interested him most, alchemy and botany. Although his circumstances did not permit him to settle intellectuals permanently at his court, he did take every opportunity to invite them and reinforce these connections through personal meetings. He successfully created an intellectual milieu, a microcosm which bore all the distinctive features of the cultural macrocosm of the Europe of his time while at the same time being unique and unrepeatable.

VI. APPENDIX

VI. 1. THE FUNERAL SPEECH ON FELICIAN AND RAYMUND VON HERBERSTEIN (EXTRACTS)

David Reuss. *Zwo leich und trostpredigten ober dem seligen abschied und begrebnis des wolgebornen herrn, herrn Feliciani, freyherrn zu Herberstein, Newberg⁶⁴¹ unnd Gutenhaags⁶⁴², erbkammerers und erbdrucksass⁶⁴³ in Kärndten⁶⁴⁴, röm[ischer] käis[erlicher] mayest[ät] hoffkriegs rath, herrn auff Langkowitz, und dess berg und müntzwesens innhabern zu Nagy Banya⁶⁴⁵ in obern kreiss Ungern: so den 21. decemb[ris] im 1590. jar in Gott entschlaffen, und folgends im 91. den 21. aprilis daselbsten in die stadtkirchen begraben worden ist.*

Und dann, ober dem begrebnis des wolgebornen herrn, herrn Reymundi auch freyherrn zu Herberstein, etc. vorgedachtes herrn Feliciani sohn, seligen, so ihme in der regierung succidiret, und zu Nagy Banya den 21. octob[ris] anno 91. inn Gott verschieden, und folgendes den 19. aprilis anno 92. ehrlichen zur erden bestattet, und auch in die stadtkirchen daselbst begraben worden ist.

Schalten inn grosser versamlung vieler deutschen und ungern, auch städtlicher vom adel und ritterstandes.

Jetzo aber in druck verfertigt durch den ehrwürdigen unnd wolgelarten herrn M[agister]. David Reussium Quernfurdensem⁶⁴⁶, derselben ihren g[naden] zu Herberstein hofpredigern, unnd dann aller deutschen bergleut daselbst und dess gantzen umbkreises pfarherrn. Leipzig, bey Johan[nes] Beyer. 1595.

(Aii r) Der wolgebornen frawen, fraw Magdalena freyin geborne von Kuntzberg, nachgelassene witwe zu Herberstein meiner gnedigen frawen. Und dann: dem wolgebornen herrn, herrn Friderico⁶⁴⁷ freyherrn zu Herberstein, Neydberg⁶⁴⁸ und Gutenhaag, erbkammerer und erbdrucksass in Kärndten, herrn auff Langkowitz⁶⁴⁹, meinem gnedigen herrn. Und auch: dem edlen ehrnvesten und hochgelehrten herrn, herrn Johann Erck beyder rechten doctorn, und jetzo des Newsteterischen⁶⁵⁰ kammer, berg und müntzwesens regierern unnd innhabern, meinem gebietenden herrn. Gnade, friede und trost von Gott dem Vater durch Jesum Christum unsern einigen herrn und heyland, und Gott dem heiligen Geiste, dem troster aller betrübten bloden hertzen, sampt meinen underthenigen diensten, und schuldiger bitt und vorbitt zu Gott, jederzeit zuvor.

Wolgeborne gnedige fraw und wolgeborner gnediger herr auch edler hochgelehrter gebietender herr doctor. So anderst die (Aiii v) sprichwörter war sind, die man von unsern

⁶⁴¹ Neuberg (Styria, Austria).

⁶⁴² Gutenhag (Styria, Austria).

⁶⁴³ Erbtruchseß = Master Royal Purveyor.

⁶⁴⁴ Province of Carinthia (Austria).

⁶⁴⁵ Nagybánya = Baia Mare (Romania).

⁶⁴⁶ Querfurt város (Saxony, Germany).

⁶⁴⁷ Johann Friedrich, the second son of Felician von Herberstein. With minor interruptions he had been hirig Nagybánya until 1601. In 1601 together with his brother Felix he thanks Voivode Zsigmond Báthory for receiving the mines of Kapnik back. See Kruppa, 2004. 1193.

⁶⁴⁸ Neuberg (Styria, Austria).

⁶⁴⁹ Maria Lankowitz town (Styria, Austria).

⁶⁵⁰ Neustadt = here: Nagybánya (Máramaros County, Romania).

verstorbenen guten freunden redet: Was da liebt, das betrübt. Und von kindern spricht man, wenn sie abscheiden: kinder kommen von hertzen, und gehen wider zu hertzen. So wird es nicht ohne sein, e[ure] g[nade] unnd ehrveste herrligkeit sampt allerseits adelichen freundschaften, werden sich ob dem tödtlichen abgang e. g. geliebsten ehegatens und herrn vaters, so wol auch getrewsten födderer unnd patroni, herrn Feliciani und dann herrn Reymundi, e. g. sons, und bruders, auch gelehrigen discipuli, freyherrn zu Herberstein, seligen, höchlich bekümmern und betrüben. (...)

(**Aiv v**) Dieweil ich dann nun, wolgeborne fraw⁶⁵¹, gnediger und gebietender herr, dem wolgebornen herrn, herrn Felician, seliger gedechtnis, freyherrn zu Herberstein, etc. e[ure] g[nädige] liebster ehegehülffe: herrn vater[liche] e[ure] herrlig[ligkeit] patron, Moecaenas und födderer, eine leichpredigt allhier bey seinem adelichen begrebnis vor menniglichen gethan. (**Aiv r**) Aber, weil auch under des sich noch so unversehener weise, ein anderer kleglicher betrübter fall begeben, mit dem jungen herrn, herrn Reymundo⁶⁵², seligen, freyherrn zu Herberstein, etc., der noch kaum recht ein halbes jahr regieret und ihn der liebe Gott so plötzlich von diesem jammerthal abgefoddert, auch die begrebnis ihr g. umb erheblicher wichtiger ursachen willen lang auffgezogen, also, das sich gleich biss zur selbigen zeit ein jahr verlossen, da wir den wolgebornen herrn, herrn Felicianum zur erden bestetigten. Daß ich auch mit dieser leichpredigt so fast nicht eilen sondern warten wollen, biss die andere (wie geschechen) auch darzu kommen, und zugleich mit einander beysammen gesetzt und gedruckt werden möchten, welche nun (Gott lob) durch mich verfertiget worden sind. (...)

(**Bi r**) Es ist auch umb beiderseits adelichen freundschaftt und umb der hindergelassenen erben willen geschechen, welche eins theils von wegen der weiten reise nicht han können zugegen sein bey der leichpredigt, eins theils aber der erben sind noch unmündig und unerzogen auff das wenn diese predigt ihnen zulesen fürkommen möchte, sie sich darinne ersehen, sie nicht etwa an der seligkeit dieser adelichen personen zu zweiffeln hetten. (...)

(**Bii v**) Eben darumb hab ich auch diese predigt in so fernen landen zu Leipzig, sechs meilen von meinem vaterlande⁶⁵³ drucken lassen, nicht das ich damit grossen rhum erjagen, oder mich dadurch erst bekant und mir einen namen machen wolte, denn (Gott lob) ich zuvor, nicht allein allhier, sondern auch draussen in ehren bekannt bin, ob schon etliche böse unnd leichtfertige leute weis nicht was fürgeben, sondern darumb, dieweil, wie in der leichpredigt vermeldet dise adeliche person, der wolgeborne herr, herr Felician, seliger, noch kaum vier jar vor seinem abschied in ipsius viduitate dieselbigen lender durchreiset sein name und thaten besser möchten bekannt werden.

So wird auch dadurch unsere religion und glaube (**Bii r**) offenbar werden, das wir deutschen allhie aus allerley nationen und zungen versamlet, Gott lob und danck, noch bey der gesunden lehr Göttlichs worts und den rechten gebrauch der h[eiligen] sacramenten, wie die Christus selbst verordnet und im catechismo Lutheri auff's richtigste, sampt der alten und nu mehr durch Gottes gnad reformierten augspurgischen confession erkleret worden sind verblieben und was an keine irrige verführische lehr⁶⁵⁴ derer im Ungerland und Siebenbürgen leyder allzuviel im schwang gehen gehenget haben. Nam Ecclesia nostra, Dei gratia, est ut rosa inter spinas, florens er vigens. Wil geschweigen, dass umb der ursachen willen, sonderlich weil Gott lob die bergwerck sich noch zimlich erzeigen, und die arbeiter trewlich und vergnüglich bezalet werden, man ihnen auch günstig, gelinde und geneigt ist, auch schutz

⁶⁵¹ Barbara von Hofkirchen, the first wife of Felician von Herberstein, mother of Raymund, Friedrich, Felix (or Felician), Barbara, Eva, and two boys, Constantin and Alexander who died in infancy.

⁶⁵² Raymund von Herberstein (1572-1591), the oldest son of Felician's.

⁶⁵³ That is Querfurt which lays at approximately 75 km distance from Lepzig.

⁶⁵⁴ He most probably refers to the Antitrinitarians.

und schirm haben, junge bergleute so etwas versuchen wollen, wo sie oberflüssig verhanden, lust und lieb sich herein zubegeben, gewinnen werden, denn es bey weiten die meinung nit hat, wie etliche auch fürneme leute draussen im lande, etc. fürgeben, und zu denen welche etwa anheim gezogen ire eltern zubesuchen, gesagt: Der hermsteiner sey ein stück von dem türcken, und die leute würden hinein auff die schlachtbanck gefüret: O nein, hie wirstu es wol anderst innen werden, lies nur mit fleis! **(Biii v)** Da solln nu e. g. [Johann Friedrich] diese leichpredigt als in welcher dieses jungen Feliciani⁶⁵⁵ vaters ankunfft, geburt, leben, tugenden und abschied, nach notturfft beschrieben, fleissig beylegen, und mitlerzeit, wenn das junge herlein durch Gottes gnad erwachsen und zur schulen gehalten worden were, ime dieselbige zulesen fürlegen, ermanen und sagen: Sihe liebes sönlein, wie einen frommen vater du gehabt, wie gottsfürchtig er gewesen, wie christlich er gelebt, wie offft er sich hat gebrauchen lassen, und wie selig er gestorben. (...)

(Biii r) Conveniunt rebus nomina ubique suis, welchs auch e[ure] g[nade] durch ihren eigenen namen Friderich⁶⁵⁶ q[uasi] freuden und friedenreich erinnert werden, weil freilich e. g. herr vater⁶⁵⁷ friedliebend und zu aller einigkeit geflissen gewesen ich auch diese predigten e[uer] h[err]⁶⁵⁸ zugeschrieben, nicht allein darumb, weil e. h. gute und stete conversationes und colloquia mit herrn Feliciano, seligen, geübt und gehalten, und demnach zu seiner familiaritet, welchs nicht **(Biv v)** jedem auch hohes standes begegnet, und dann zu vielfaltigem schweren reisen und sachen als in Schweden und Polen zuverrichten, gewürdiget, auch nach vollendung solcher reisen mit irer g. eltern sone, herrn Reymundo beyden seligen, in Italiam auff die hohe universitet⁶⁵⁹ der sprachen und guten künste halben, verschicket, und nach abgang offtgedachtes herrn Feliciani zugleich widerumb mit im herein kommen, da dann e. h. die erste leichpredigt selbst gehöret und folgends herrn Reymundum nach freundlicher vergleichung etlicher sachen zur regierung bestetigen helffen, und letztlich ihm auch, als in der liebe Gott von diesem jamerthal ab gefordert dass geleit zu seinem rhubtlein geben da dann e. h. die ander leichpredigt auch gleiches falls von mir gehöret. Sondern allermeist darumb. Weil e. h. von den wolgebornen herrn, herrn Christoff von Königsperg⁶⁶⁰ zum Pernstein⁶⁶¹, röm. khey. may. hofkriegsrath, den wolgebornen herrn, herrn Wolfgang⁶⁶² freyhern von Hofkirchen zu Calmüntz⁶⁶³ und Dressidel: und dann dem edlen und gestrengen herrn Balthasar Wagen zu Wagenspurg⁶⁶⁴ und Weln⁶⁶⁵, etc. als der noch unmündigen herrlein und erben zu Herberstein, geerhabern und nechsten freunde zu der regierung des gantzen Newsteterischen⁶⁶⁶ cammer, berg und münztwesens designiret und verordnet worden ist, das e. h. in solchem ihrem itzigen schweren tragenden ampte, auch solche ihr g. gehabten tugenden gedencken, und den christlich und in der furcht des herrn nachschlachten möchten. (...) **(Ci v)** Befehle hiemit e. g. sampt derselben jungen herrlein und frewlein, brüder und geschwistern hie und anderswo, und e. h. in den schutz des allerhöchsten (...) Geben zu Nagy Banya, oder in Ungrischen Newstadt, in Vigilia S. S. Trinitatis, nach

⁶⁵⁵ The third son of Felician von Herberstein, Felician II also called Felix.

⁶⁵⁶ Friedrich von Herberstein.

⁶⁵⁷ Felician von Herberstein.

⁶⁵⁸ Doctor Johann Erck.

⁶⁵⁹ That is, the University of Padua.

⁶⁶⁰ A relative, perhaps the brother of Magdalena von Königsberg, the second wife of Felician.

⁶⁶¹ Bernstein = Probably Borostyánkő (Burgenland, Austria).

⁶⁶² Barbara von Hofkirchen, probably the sister of Felician's first wife.

⁶⁶³ Probably the town of Kalmüntz (Germany).

⁶⁶⁴ Wagensburg Castle (Carinthia, Austria).

⁶⁶⁵ Weln town (Austria).

⁶⁶⁶ From Nagybánya.

unserm alten calender, aus dem pfarrhofe im 1592. jare (...) David Reussius quernfurdensis⁶⁶⁷ bernsteinischer hofprediger daselbsten, etc.

(**Ci r**) Die erste leich und trostpredigt ober dem seligen abschied und begrebnis des wolgebornen herren, herrn Feliciani, freyherrn zu Herberstein, Neydberg und Gutenhaag, etc. so den 21. decembris im 1590. jare zu Nagy Banya in obern Ungern an der siebenbürgischen grantz in Gott verschieden, und folgend den 21. april[is] des 1591. jahres in die stadtkirche daselbsten ehrlichen beleytet und begraben worden ist (...)

(**Civ v**) Wie ist aber anno domini 1540 das ist ohngefahr für 50 jahren ein mensch und demnach mit allem dem was demselben natürlicher weise von Adam angeerbet, als die sünde unnd Gottes zorn, der ewige todt und die verdammis auff die welt geborn, in dem hochlöblichen erzherzogthumb der Steyermarck, von adelichen eltern. Denn ihr g[naden] vater, seliger, ist gewesen der wolgeborne herr, herr Görg Andrea⁶⁶⁸, freyherr zu Herberstein, Newberg unnd Guttenhaag etc. Ein fürtrefflicher, berhümpter und wolgeübter erfahrner herr, weiland beyder aller durchleuchtigsten und unüberwindlichsten römischen keisern und königen Caroli V. und Ferdinandi gebrüdern, hochlöblichster gedechtnis, kriegsrath, und obrister ober die gantze adeliche ritterschafft und kriegsvolck in Steyermarck, welcher auch unter andern fürnemen thaten den zwispalt so etwan zwischen den venedigern und röm. keys. mayest. sich dazumal erhebt, componiret unnd hingelegt hat, gleich wie auch der wolgeborne herr, herr Sigmund⁶⁶⁹, freyherr zu Herberstein, seliger, als obgedachter ihr g[naden] herrn vaters, löblicher bruder, sich oft in Muscoviam⁶⁷⁰, Poloniam, Lituaniam, Tartariam und andern derselbigen mittenächtigen ländern, fried und einigkeit, pact und verbündnis zwischen den aller fürnembsten inn dieser welt potentaten, anzurichten und zu stifften, sich hat gebrauchen lassen, ja so oft dieselbigen obgedachten länder peragiret und durchreiset, auch derselben eins theils wilden und ungeschlachten völker, sitten und mores, so wol (**Civ r**) auch der länder gelegenheiten dermassen erkündiget, dass er eine gantze chronica⁶⁷¹, die noch im druck ist, davon geschrieben hat.

Ihr g. seligen, fraw mutter ist gewesen fraw Helena auff Perschach⁶⁷² freyin, derer herr vater auch vorgemeldter beyder röm. keys. Caroli V. und Ferdinandi, etc. obrister kriegsrath in Oesterreich gewesen, und ist demnach unser gnediger herr weiland, vom vater und mutter, hohes stammes und adelichen geblüts entsprossen und herkommen, welchs in der welt ein grosser rhum ist, sonderlich wenn solcher adel von tugenden und ritterlichen thaten wegen, sein ankunfft hat (...) (**D v**) Also haben auch diese unsers gnedigen herren eltern, ihre gn[ade] inn die hohe weitberhümpte fürstliche schul und universitet zu Grätz⁶⁷³, die noch heut zu tage floriret und berhümpt ist, gesendet, allda sie dann, neben der reinen lehr, welche die beste mitgab ist, so die eltern ihren kindern geben (**D r**) können und sollen, denn wer die erwehlet, hat das beste theil erwehlet, gute künste und sprachen gelernet, oder ja zum wenigsten daselbst das fundament gelegt, damit hernach was dapffers und fruchtbarliches hat mögen drauff gebawet werden. Ist auch endtlich von dannen inn die fürtreffliche alte universitet Paduam in Italien verschicket, da er dann auch dieselbige zeit nicht unnützligen verspildert, sondern sich in den freyen künsten der philosophy, medicin, so wol auch in

⁶⁶⁷ From Querfurt.

⁶⁶⁸ Georg Andreas von Herberstein, nephew of Sigmund von Herberstein.

⁶⁶⁹ Sigmund von Herberstein (1486-1566).

⁶⁷⁰ Moscow.

⁶⁷¹ *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549; German edition: Vienna, 1557). The full biography of Sigmund von Herberstein was published only in 1855 in the edition of Theodor Georg von Karajan (*Sigmunds von Herberstein Selbstbiographie*, Vienna).

⁶⁷² Helena von Pöttschach, mother of Felician von Herberstein.

⁶⁷³ Graz.

occultis naturalibus⁶⁷⁴, dermassen sich geübt, das kaum etwas hat können fürgebracht werden, davon er nicht etlicher massen gut wissenschaftt gehabt hette, hat auch zugleich mit in seinen obligenden studiis gantz Italien, Hispanien, Franckreich und Niderland⁶⁷⁵, neben andern umbligenden provincen perlustrirt. Auch von Venedig inn die insel Maltha, so zur zeit des apostels Pauli Melytae⁶⁷⁶ genennet, kommen, in welcher reise dann er freilich vile seltzames wunderliches dinges wird gesehen und erfahren, auch sich manchen sawren wind wird haben anwehen lassen müssen, wie es dann offft grossen herrn inn dieser welt auch zu ergehen pflaget, ja manchmal ehe denn einem armen.

Aus diesem ihr g. vielfaltigem langwirigen reysen, dann ist das erfolget, das er nicht alleine die lateinische sprache gar lieblich geredet, sondern auch italianischen, spanischen, frantzösischen sprache trefflich kündig gewesen, so wol als seiner mutter sprache, unnd die alle fertig gelernet hat, darumb er dann als ein fürtrefflicher wolgelehrter orator zu hochmechtigen sachen gebraucht ist, als der eventus darthun und anzeigen wird: Ach es ist doch war, wer nicht ausskam, kam auch nie heim. Als nun ihre g. seliger aus der frembde wider (**Dii v**) anheim kommen, in ihr geliebtes vaterlandt, ist sie nach Wien in Oesterreich verreiset, und sich alda nach dem willen Gottes in den ehestand begeben, da ist ihm aus sonderlicher vorsehung Gottes die wolgeborne fraw, fraw Barbara⁶⁷⁷ freyin, geborne von Hofkirchen, dess wolgebornen herrn, herrn Wilhelm freyherrn von Hofkirchen als vatern, und dann der wolgebornen frawen, frawen Evae freyin, geborne Vöglin, all jetzt in Gott rhuend, beyde hohes und adeliches geblüts und stammes, fromm und Gottsfürchtig geneigt gegen dem reinen wort Gottes, darüber sie gar manchen harten straus erduldet, sonderlich aber wolthetig gegen den armen, eheleibliche tochter vermälet wodern, welchs geschehen anno Christi 1570 jetzt für 21 jaren, in welcher züchtigen liebreichen wehrenden ehe, sie dann unser lieber Gott mit jungen ölzweiglein und allerlieblichsten leibsfrüchten reichlich gesegnet, dass sie eilff kinderlein, herrlein und frewlein mit einander gezeuget, deren eins theils in ihrem vaterlandt abgeschieden, eins theils, als Alexander und Constantinus⁶⁷⁸, ligen allhier zu Nagy Banya in der kirchen, und fast eben an dem orte, da itzt ihr g. körper hingelegt, und also zu ihnen versamlet werden sol, und erwarten inn seliger hoffnung des frölichen jüngsten tages. Eins theils aber, als herr Reymund, Friderich, Felix, Barbara und Eva, die sind noch im leben, Gott erhalte sie nach seinem willen.

Wie aber vor fünff jahren diese zwey liebe durch den zeitlichen todt getrennet wurden, wie ihr wol drumb wisset, unnd auff derselben ihrer g. gewesenem ehgemahl, seliger, begeren und letzten willen, ihr körper unnd feretron gen Gutenstein⁶⁷⁹ deduciret ward, wirdt ihr (**Dii r**) g. zum andernmal nach seiner witwenschaft die wolgebrone fraw, fraw Magdalena von Küntzberg⁶⁸⁰, freyin, unser gnedige fraw vermählet, mit welcher er auch inn einem tüchtigen ehebette widerumb ein junges frewlein und gewünschtes helenichen gezeuget, das auch noch beim leben ist, Gott erhalte es weiter und verleihe ihr wachung und zunemung, wie im alter also auch im waren erkenntnis Gottes, und lasse im ja in seinem schutz die von ihr g. kinder ihr verlassenen leibesfrucht, so noch unterm mütterlichen hertzen verschlossen ligt, gnediglich befohlen sein.

⁶⁷⁴ The term most probably designates the non-canonical objects such as alchemy which was pursued by great many students and professors but mostly secretly, rather than inside the walls of the university. Earlier we have pointed out the techniques applied in alchemy, such as assaying, and so on, proved to be very useful in mining and metallurgy as well. Felician may have acquired the basics of mining technology in padua as well.

⁶⁷⁵ The Low Countries (The Netherlands).

⁶⁷⁶ Melita = Malta (in Latin).

⁶⁷⁷ Barbara von Hofkirchen, daughter of Wilhelm von Hofkirchen and Eva Vöglin.

⁶⁷⁸ Alexander and Constantinus von Herberstein. The sons of Felician who died in infancy born from Barbara.

⁶⁷⁹ Gutenstein town, Lower-Austria.

⁶⁸⁰ Magdalena von Königsberg, the second wife of Felician.

Wie sich aber ihr g. seliger beyde gegen Gott, ihrem gemahl, kinder, gesinde, und andern armen leuten in solcher zwifachen ehe verhalten, ist uns allen alldieweil wir umb sie und sie umb uns gewesen, wol bewust, und müssens unbeschwertens hertzens unnd gewissens frey heraus sagen, dass es anderst nicht geschehen, denn wie einer adelichen erbaren person gebüret unnd zugestanden hat. Denn wie ihr g. in ihrer jugend zu förderst zum wort Gottes gehalten und drinn erzogen worden, wie sie dann inn der christlichen lehre gut fundament gehabt. Also ist sie auch hernach ein besonderer liebhaber Göttliches worts gewesen, fromme lehrer und seelsorger gefödert und ihnen unterschleiff geben, auch mit eigenen grossen ankosten herein inn diesen weiten wilden orth zween magistros, als m[agister] Bruno Quinos⁶⁸¹, meinen landtsmann, und den m[agister] Wolfgangum Gotzium⁶⁸², einen gelehrten mann, die meine symmisten gewesen, unnd auch nun von dannen inn die höchste universitet versetzt sind, nemlich in himmel, von **(Diii v)** von der weiterhümbten christlichen academia Wittemberg herein beruffen, und vor der zeit drey prediger allein, auff ihr ankosten gehalten hat, und gedencke allhier billich seiner lieblichen rede, die er eins mals zu mir, als ich ihr g. voriges gemahels feretron hinaus beleitet, zu Guttenstein nach Essens thete, mich vermahnde, ich solte nicht lang draussen verziehen, sondern mich auffs eheste wider herein begeben, denn “Es were nicht möglich eine so grosse menge volcks von allerley nationen und zungen zu regieren, wenn nicht das wort Gottes, durch welchs die menschen zum gehorsam ermanet, gepredigt würde” (...)

So hat auch ihre g. die heilige schrift und reine bücher, sonderlich doctoris Martini Lutheri und magistri Iohannis Mathesii⁶⁸³ senioris seligen schriftten mit besonderem fleis und ernst gelesen, auch mit mir oft, sonderlich aber *De ultimis rebus mundi et de tristissima ultima clade ac interitu Gog et Magog cum eorum affectis* freundlich conferiret, und des bapsts abgötterey, gewel und hoffart, die ihr g. selbst mit augen gesehen, neben andern umschwebenden secten condemniret und verworffen, auch eine rechte hausskirche gehalten, in dem ich nicht alleine auffm saal fast eine woche umb die ander gepredigt und die sacramenta administriret, denn das ist unser kirche, sondern oft selbst oder durch die praeceptores **(Diii r)** die jungen herrlein, frewlein, weisslein, derer immerdar ihre g. etliche erneret, so wol auch das frawenzimmer, examiniren lassen, was sie aus der predigt gemerckt, oder doch etwas davon ober der tafel zum angehör des hofgesindes, repetiret. Auch sonst teglich in der wochen, morgens, mittags und abends, vor und nach dem tisch gebetlein, etliche psalmen recitiren lassen, und welchs sich zuverwundern, meinem abwesen (weil ich auch andere mehr und weitere örter zubesuchen habe) dem hofgesinde und den bergleuten die evangelia mit den ausslegungen, aus der hausspostill Lutheri⁶⁸⁴, fürgelesen, wie ihr ihm des alle zeugnis geben müsset. Es soll auch ein jeglicher haussvater ein hausspfarr sein, und das mit seinen kindern und gesinde repetiren, was sie in der kirchen gehört, damit es bey ihnen wüdeln möge. (...) Dessgleichen hat er auch noch, Gott lob, in seiner gantzen herrschafft Güttenstein⁶⁸⁵ reine evangelische prediger, welcheich alle gesehen, und mit Ihnen conferiret habe, derer nicht viel in Oesterreich, so nahend umb Wien, funden werden. (...)

(Div r) Ihr g. sind anfenglich einer gantzen ersamen landschafft und ritteschafft in Steyermarck verordnetet, und rhat gewesen. Nachmals des durchleuchtigen hochgebornen **(Ei v)** fürsten und herrn, herrn Caroli, ertzherzog in Oesterreich und Steyermarck, geheimer innerster rhat, dessgleichen dess aller durchleuchtigsten höchstgebornen fürsten unnd herrn, herrn Rudolphi II. röm. keys. auch könig[licher] may. rath, und hofkriegsrath, derentwegen

⁶⁸¹ Valószínűleg azonos Bruno Quinos német költő és teológussal († ?1583), a *Disce mori Oder Sterbe Kunst* (Budissinae, 1580) c. költemény szerzőjével.

⁶⁸² Wolfgang Götz, aki a wittenbergi egyetemen tanított, és Felician hívására érkezett Szatmárra.

⁶⁸³ Joannes Mathesius (1504-1565) teológus.

⁶⁸⁴ Martin LUTHER: *Hauspostill, über die Sontags und der fürnemesten Feste Evangelien*. Leipzig, 1544.

⁶⁸⁵ Gutenstein.

sie dann beyde in obern und untern kreytz Ungern hin und wider auff den grentzheusern so wol inn den beengstigten bergstedten hin und wider wol bekant gewesen, umb der vielfaltigen comissionen willen, darinne sich ihr g. haben gebrauchen lassen, unnd dem vaterlande zu gutem viel mechtiger unrichtigkeiten und zwitrachten gestillet, das kriegssvolck gerne gehöret, unnd so viel müglich, vielen mangeln abgeholfen, eins mals zu Canischa⁶⁸⁶ in Nider Ungern, etlichen fessern wein die bödem ausschlagen lassen, so nicht aller ding richtig gewesen, damit das arme kriegssvolck nicht an der gesundheit schade liedde, unnd (wie ich weiss) dasselbige mal, etliche tausendt gülden von seinem eigenen gelde dem kriegssvolck fürgereicht, darumb er von demselbigen höchlich geliebet und gerümet, ja als ein vater derselben nach langen zeiten muss gerümet werden. Und zwar hiervon auch nicht viel wort zumachen, so hat sein reysen in ihr g. jugend nicht auffgehört, sonder ist auch in ipsius viduitate, in hochmechtigen sachen über land und see, durch Germaniam, Saxoniam, Daniam, et per mare Balticum in Scweciam⁶⁸⁷ usque gesendet, auch noch in ihre g. höchster krankheit von röm. keys. may. angelanget worden, sich in einer commission zugebrauchen lassen, welchs ohn allen zweiffel ihr g. nicht abgeschlagen, wo nicht die krankheit uberhand genommen hette. **(Ei r)** Was für gratien, gunst und förderung ihr gn. seliger auch bey königlicher maye[stät] in Polen Stephano Bathorio⁶⁸⁸, löblicher gedechtnis, durch ihr wol verhalten verstand, kunst unnd redlichkeit erlanget, wissen wir auch, in dem ihr g. jetz gedachte kön. mayest. in Polen, nicht allein bey dem vorigen so röm. keys. mayest. Rudolphus, ihr verheissen und geleistet, erhalten, sonder noch zu einer grössern gratien obern und untern Ferne Sev⁶⁸⁹, das ist, zweyen dörffern, sampt derselbigen umbligenden wäldern, so nicht schlecht, sondern ein regale donum ist, verehret und sie darüber privilegiret hat welchs billich gerhümbt werden mus.

In was autoritet, gratien und ansehen ihr g. auch bey ihrer fürstlichen durchleuchtigkeit, herren Sigismundo Bathorio⁶⁹⁰ fürsten inn Siebenbürgen und grauen in Zeckelland⁶⁹¹ kommen, ist auch auss dem vorigen leicht abzunehmen, dass auch ihre fürstl. durchl. ihr g. und uns deutschen samptlich, nach dem abschied vorgemeldter königl. mayest. in Polen, etc. in seinem lande duldet, und alle günstige förderung und guten willen, als ein sonderlicher liebhaber der deutschen, erziehen und bewiesen, ja ihr g. so sehr geliebet, das ihre fürst. durchl. sie zu einem vatern angenommen, und auch veterlich mit ihr gehandelt, in dem ihr g. drey gantzer jahr ohn einige solution und arenda das gantze wesen frey genossen, und solch vaterhertz nach ihr g. todt, an der wolgebornen frawen, fraw Magdal[ena] freyin zu Küntzberg, nachgelassene wittib zu Herberstein, und beyderseits erben gnugsam hat mercken lassen, in dem ihr fürstl. durchl. die zeit der dreyen frey jar noch mit einem prolongiret hat, ehe noch der *haeres legitimus* **(Eii v)** drumb geworben, und jetzo nach diesem den termin auff sieben jahr lang den erben zu gutem erstreckt hat.

Das sind alles fürstliche tugenden und werth das mans in die chronicam setzte, und rhümens und lobens werth, beydes an ihr fürstl. durchl. so ungerischer nation ist, die es an frembden bewiesen, und an ihr g. seliger, dem wolgebornen herrn, herrn Feliciano freyherrn zu Herberstein, das sie es dahin hat bringen können, denn das ist nicht derwegen geschehen, das etwa ihr gna. hin und her gewancket oder von röm. key. may. abfellig und meyneidig worden were, nein, das lob solt und mus ihr gn. in ewigkeit behalten, dass sie ihren eid den sie Gott unnd ihrer röm. keys. maiest. geschworen, trewlich und unverbrüchlich biss in seine grube gehalten, sondern es ist alles geschehen, umb ihr gna. redlichkeit, kunst und

⁶⁸⁶ Kanizsa (Hungary).

⁶⁸⁷ Sweden.

⁶⁸⁸ István Báthory King of Poland (1576-1586) and Prince of Transylvania (1571-1575).

⁶⁸⁹ (Alsó- and Felső-) Fernezely (Romania).

⁶⁹⁰ Zsigmond Báthory Prince of Transylvania (1581-1597, 1598-1599, 1601-1602).

⁶⁹¹ Székelyföld (Szeklerland).

geschicklichkeit, verstands, holdseligkeit, erfahrungheit und feundligkeit willen, auch da sichs ein mal ein wenig streubete, wie sichs ansehen lies, so hat auch eben dadurch ihr gn. solchs leicht zur söhning bringen mögen.

Dessen geben ihr nun letzt viel hoher adelichen personen beyderseits, mit ihrer gegenwertigkeit bey diesem begrebnis, gnugsam zeugnis, das sie dieselbige in ihrem leben trewlich gemeinet und hertzlich geliebt haben. Das bezeuget auch eine gantze burgerschafft allhier mit ihrem klagen und sehnlichem mitleiden, und lassen sich fast alle hören: „Es sey jetzt gleichsam ihr brodtvater dahin, durch welchen sie in gros und grösser auffnemen hetten kommen mögen.“ Ja freilich ists die warheit, wer es glauben wolte, es wirdt nicht bald einer (**Eii r**) kommen, der wöchentlich 2000 cronen ausslohen unnd auffs bergwerck wenden wirdt, Gott geb es sey nutz oder schaden.

Denn nun dieses insonderheit zumelden, wie so gar grosse lust, lieb und gefallen, dieser fromme herr zu den bergwercken getragen, und was für einen reichen verstand er darzu gehabt, und wie trewlich er das seinige daran gestreckt, das wo er nur von einem bergwerck auch wens schon verlegen gewesen, gehöret, dasselbige nicht unversucht gelassen, solts auch noch in so wilдем gebirge gelegen, und noch was mehres gekostet haben. Quid tentasse nocer[e]. Quae nocent, docent.

Hie wil ich nu gar geschweigen, was er für sachen andersswo, sonderlich zu Guttenstein, angerichtet und gebawet, als eine sehr lustige wohnung, der sich auch ein fürst nicht schemen dürffte, müle, draatzieh, eisenhammer, glasshütte, sensenschmidte, etc. und ein wenig euch zudencken erinnern, was hie nicht durch ihn angerichtet worden sey, von eröffnüng und gewältigung der gruben und stollen hie und zu Felschio Banya und andersswo mehr: von erbawung der buchwercke, hütten, kupffer und eisenhammer. Item, des müntzhauses und scheidgadens: vom holtz flössen, kolungen, und andern sachen so zur handlung nothwendig. Was war Fegkety Banya⁶⁹² vor sieben jaren? Ein wilde wüsteney, itzt ists wie ein klein stedtlein, darinne sich auch oft 200 oft mehr und weniger personen erhalten, da gleichfalls auch hütten, bergwerck, wasserkünste, etc. und dergleichen erbawet sind. So wol auch auffm Raynick⁶⁹³, Leppisch⁶⁹⁴, Kyssmist⁶⁹⁵, etc. So wol auch zum theil zu Felschio Banya⁶⁹⁶, welche handlung meisten theils erst nach ihr g. (**E iii v**) Widerkunfft vor 4 jaren in schwang bracht worden, ob sie schon zuvor auch gewesen. Bedenckt sonderlich allhier das grosse werck und die kunst in der gruben, was das für ein gebeude sey, unnd was für unkosten drauff gehen. wie oft hat man am tag eine gesetzt, bald aber ander, bald es wider also versucht das wasser zu halten, und das ander zugeweltigen, biss jetzunder diese ganghafftige, durch den erbaren Christophorum Huber von der Woyza kunstmeistern, angegeben unnd zugerichtet ist, Gott gebe dass sie möge erspriesslich sein, welchs alles zuvor allhier nie gehöret, auch wol breit und weit nicht gesehen ist. Denn ja die grube dermassen aussgehawen, dass das wasser an etlichen örtern 60 an etlichen 50 lachter tieff und in die 500 lachter lang stehend gefunden worden, also das man im berge drinnen mit scyllen und kleinen känlein hin und her fahren kan, und nun in jares frist 68 ross vom tag oben in den schacht hinein in 200 lachter biss auffs wasser hernieder gelassen worden, so das wasser bringen, und Gott lob ein zimliche mass heraus bracht haben, welchs was es kostet, ein jeder abnemen kan, wer weis wie viel der ross noch hinein müssen.

Dieses alles wenden ihr g. auff, nicht geitzes oder gewinns halben, wie mancher das jenige so er etwa ein mal heraus bekommen, inn seine truhnen legen würde, Gott gebe es fiele hernach obern hauffen oder nicht, sondern alles aus sonderlicher neigung unnd inclination zu den bergwercken und zu erhaltung land und leute, wie ich dann das mit warheit rhümen und

⁶⁹² Feketebánya (Szatmár County, Romania).

⁶⁹³ Kapnik.

⁶⁹⁴ Lápösbánya or Laposbánya (Szatmár County, Romania).

⁶⁹⁶ Felsőbánya (Szatmár County, Romania).

sagen kan, das ihr g. allhier unnd andern hendeln, in die 1000 personen (ich rede allhier von deutschen unnd ausslendischen (**E iii r**) ohne was ungerische bürger, bawren und walachen sind in diesem umbkreiss) zu speisen unnd zu erhalten gehabt, derer einer 6 thaler, der ander 4 etliche 3, 2, 1 thaler wöchentlich zu lohn genommen, mancher 80 pfenning, und der aller geringste knab 60 ungerische pfenning, mehr dann ein halben thaler, derer doch wenig sind, da haben ihre gn. ihre eigene schmide, schneider, schlösser, zimmerleute, fleischhacker, tischler, schuster, müller, becken, döpffer, fuhrleute, und fast alle handtwerck, ohne was zu den bergwercken, goldkunst und münztwesen gehört, summa, es gereicht dieses alles nicht allein dieser stadt zu mercklichem nutz, sondern auch gantz Siebenbürgen und dem umbligenden kreytz, sintemal ihr g. das seinige, und was Gott geben im bergwercke trewlich unter die leute sprengete, die arbeiter willig zahlet, welche es wider unter die leute geben, und da einer unter denen solte mangel gelitten haben, hette es, da es unter viel 100 schlössern gewesen, herfür müssen, welches er auch mit zu besserung seiner eigenen erblender gethan hat, desswegen er dann auch, wie billich, hinwider von den bergleuten dermassen geliebt, geehret und gerhümet worden, dass sie ihr g. ober 100 meil wegs nicht allein wenn sie auff sein unkosten gefordert, sondern auch ultro frey unnd gutwillig hauffen weiss zugezogen, solt sich gleich mancher herein mit garten beholffen haben, unangesehen, das die reise weit, gefehrlich, und so zurechnen hinderm türcken ist, für welchem sich sonst deutsche nation fürchtet. Solchs wirdt ihr gn. nun ein jeglicher bergmann rhümlich nachsagen, denn es ist je gewisslich war.

(**E iv v**) Ob nun aber schon wenig nutzses bissher für solche ihre gn. mühe, sorg und fleis möchte erfolget sein, wie denn bergwercke nicht alle jahr schütten können, so ist doch hieran kein zweiffel, das es nicht forthin, weils nun ins werck gebracht, unnd die tag gebew fast vollendet unnd eingestellet sind, geschehen solte, das hilff du getrewer Gott nach deinem willen, du theilest zeitliche güter aus, deines gefallens, machst arm unnd reich, wie du weisest, das es den menschen zu leib und seel noth ist.

Also han sich auch ihr gn. gegen andern leuten, beyde so bey ihr mit diensten und nicht verhafftet gewesen, freundlich, demütig und wolthetig gegen dem dürfftigen erzeiget. Sie han niemands verachtet, oder sich jemandis zu gut düncken lassen, sondern jederman gerne mit rhat und that gedienet, den krancken personen aus ihrer eygenen apotecken, so viel möglich, umb sonst artzney mitgetheilet, so wol den bürgern als den unserigen, das dancke ich ihr auch und rhüme es billich. Die so etwa vom türcken gefangen unnd erledigt worden, nicht allein bey ihr am hof und tisch gehalten, sondern sie bekleidet, mit zehrung und ehrung versehen, und die mit gelegenheit weiter geschickt und promoviret, auch den faulen unnützen walachen in der thewren zeit getreyd für gereicht, und ihnen alle arbeit, robot und verdienste bezahlet, unangesehen das sie verpflichtet umbsonst zu dienen, und ihr g. die proventus zu reichen, dafür sie doch nichts denn undanck von dem bösen gesindel wider empfangen hat, aber es ist kein wunder, der wolthaten wirdt bald vergessen. *Nihil citius senescit quam gratia.*

(**E iv r**) Letzlichen hat noch an ihrer g. eine sonderliche tugend herfür geleuchtet, die heist patientia, welchs kreutlein wol gut, aber nicht in allen garten wechst, damit er auch viel seiner widerwertigen überwunden und zu gutem gebracht, welchs auch, da es nicht geschehen, wir lengst aus dem lande hetten stampieren müssen, ja hat ihm ehe offtmals selbst unrecht thun lassen, ehe er mit rechtem recht procediren, oder sich mit der nachbarschafft unnd bürgerschafft einlegen wollen, wie er dann oft geklagt, „Ach, hab ich hie nicht patientiam gelernet, so weis ichs nicht.“ Und den tag vor seinem ende sagt er, als wir eines unrühigen menschen gedachten: „Wer jetzt in der welt mit ruhe leben unnd fort kommen wil, der mus nicht alleine niemands unrecht thun, sondern auch darneben viel unrecht leiden.“ freylich: *Durum patientia frango. Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit imperare.*

Das hat er auch gethan gegen seinen eigenen dienern und bergleuten, welche ihn offtmals in mutwilligen schaden geführet, in dem sie untrewlich gehauset, oder aber dem

gesauff, wie der deutschen art ist, obgelegen, und ihre arbeit versaumet haben, und da gleich zu zeiten ein ernst mit der straff der gefengnis mit gelauffen, so hats ein tag oder zween gewehret, darnach war es vergessen. Was ist das auff die bösen buben? Warlich Gott wird solcher widerspenstigkeit, die sie an dem frommen herrn geübt, **rechen** und wider vergelten, und werden noch wünschen, das ihr g. noch lebten, denn eben solcher undanck ist eine ursache, umb welcher willen Gott der herr solche patronos pflegt abzufodern, und aus den zeenen zu reissen. Tum demum intelligimus (**Fi v**) bona, quae cum in potestate habuimus ea amisimus. (...)

Dieweil dann niemand in diesem leben ohne sünde ist, so ist auch niemand ohne creutz, noth und todt, wie denn auch diese adeliche person, ihr sonderlich creutz und kranckheit gehabt hat.

Denn sie ist mit des hellischen fewers podagra⁶⁹⁷ belestigt gewesen, darzu oft an febern, oft am calculo oder sand unnd andern kranckheiten zugleich mit gelegen, allermeist aber das unleidliche reissen cholicam in marck und beinen, auch im gantzen leib unnd allen gliedmassen empfunden, welche langwirige kranckheiten, ob sie schon zu zeiten nachgelassen, dass sie widerumb haben gehen können, ihn doch dermassen abgemattet, dass alle medicamina nichts geholffen, ob sie schon ihr gn. immerdar dess besten getröstet, es werde nicht noth haben.

Zween tag für seinem abschied, als er sich zimlich schwach befunde, schickten sie nach mir, da tröstet ich ihr gna. auss Gottes wort, wie sie auch sich selber, und redeten von allerley löblichen sachen, denn auch ihr gn. bey guter vernunfft biss an ihr ende verblieben ist. (...) (**Fii v**) Da sprach ich: Es ist freylich keine bessere artzney denn die so in der bibel gefunden wird, darinne steht als in einem schönen lustgarten der baum dess lebens Jesus Christus mit allen seinen wolthaten, welcher von dem im waren glauben esse und trincke, der werde den todt nicht sehen ewiglich. (**Fii v**) Ja freylich, sagt er, ist das ein edles kreutlein, und colloquirete mit seinem gemahl und uns von schönen tröstchen sachen, liess auch zu zeiten eine schöne doch erbarliche weltliche history mit lauffen, sintemal diese adeliche (**Fii r**) person trefflich beredet und facundus gewesen, derer man mit lust und lieb zugehöret, und je mehr sie gered, je mehr hat man begird empfangen, ihr ferner zu zuhören, lies sich mehr auff der senffte herumb tragen, und blieb so vernünfftig und bescheiden, dass er auch des herrn Ferdinandi grafen zu Hardeg⁶⁹⁸ etc. und obersten in Zagmar⁶⁹⁹, hoffmeister und andern audientz und guten bescheid gabe, dessen wir uns höchlichen verwunderten, befahl auch dem herrn Cornelio Klognitz meinem lieben gefattern, wardein unnd müntzmeister ernstlich, solchen seinen befehl und willen zu exequiren, welchs noch desselbigen abents geschach.

Eben desselben tages umb den abend, welchs war der 20. decemb[ris] als sich ihr g. ohne zweifel schwach empfunden, fragten sie ihren medicum: „Domine Daniel⁷⁰⁰. Quid sentis de meo morbo?” Magnifice d[omine] aiebat medicus gallus, optime, wolt des besten trösten. Aber ihr g. liessen nicht nach, sondern fragten gar ernstlich und baten, ihr die wahrheit zuberichten. Darauff antwortete der artzt: „Magnifice domine, natura est debilis: continua febris accessit, pulmones sunt laesi” etc. Darauff concludireten i. g. selber sagende: *Ergo moriar*, und bitte euch alle die ihr allhier stehet, ihr wolt nicht von mir weichen, sondern heute bey diser meiner disposition vorbleiben, ich verhoffe ein seliges stündlein, welchs mir mein herr Jesus Christus verleihen wolle. Ach das sey ferne, sagte ich, dass wir

⁶⁹⁷ Podagra = gout.

⁶⁹⁸ Count Ferdinand von Hardegg was Captain-General and Regional in the Border Region in Upper Hungary between 1591 and 1592-ig, Captain-General in the Border Region of Győr from 1592 till 1594, and finally Captain-General of Szatmár and the Trans-Tisza Region from 1589 until 1592. See Pálffy, 1997. In 1595 he was condemned and executed for giving up Győr.

⁶⁹⁹ Szatmár town (Romania).

⁷⁰⁰ Daniel, the French doctor of Felician von Herberstein.

euch in diesem ewrem letzten paroxismo verlassen solten. Redet darauff sein liebstes hochbekümmertes gemahl an, mit diesen worten: „Liebe tochter (denn also pfleget er sie aus hertzhlicher lieb zunennen) wenn mich (**Fiii v**) ja der liebe Gott von dieser welt abfördert, so verfüg dich in Zagmar, zuvorhüten vieler nachrede und argwohns, da wirstu vom herrn grafen unnd seinem gemahl, alle lieb, gunst, schutz unnd beforderung befinden, bis zu seiner zeit, das du kanst weiter hienaus kommen.

Als sich aber die fraw i. g. gegen im mit freundlichen lieblichen worten erklereten, sagende: Was sie alda machen solte? Wir umbstehenden es auch für unbequemlich hielten, nicht zwar die fraw ihr gnaden, sondern anderer vieler armer leute halben, welche weren zerstrewet worden, besunne sich ihr g. eines andern und sprach: Nun meine liebe tochter Magdalena, ich hab ja bissher deiner geschonet, als meines augapffels, und dich gar nichts lassen der berg sachen halben angelegen sein, und darob bemühen, doch wenn du wollest hie verbleiben, und dich der sachen unterfangen, biss zu deiner zeit, were es gar gut.

Darauff antwortete i. g. gemahl: Ja mein hertzallerliebster herr. Was werden aber die kinder (vermeinend die nachgelassenen herren zu Herberstein) darzu sagen, die sind nu gros und erwachsen, sagten i. g. es sind alles deine kinder, sihe da hastu den herrn Cornelium, den herrn Theodorum und Stanislaum, die werden dir ja auch, wie mir, trewlich dienen, unnd las sie nicht von dir, sonderlich den stentzel. Denn ich habe bey dem bürsel trew gespüret. Ermanet derwegen den herrn Cornelium seiner zuvorgetanen eydespflicht, er wolle bey der fraw i. g. so wol trewlich nach seinem abschied als zuvor im leben handeln, und als jetzt gemelter Cornelius solchs mit eingereichter hand ihr gn. beiden (**Fiii r**) zusagte, sprach ihr g. seliger zu mir: Herr David. Das habt ihr gehört, des werdet ihr mit zeugnis sein, so war als ihrs wisset am jüngsten gericht zuvorantworten.

Bald darauff begerten ihr g. von mir einen bogen pappir, feder und dinten, inwillens an ihr fürstl. durchlechtig in Sieben Birgen zuschreiben, weil ihr g. immer auff besser gesundtheit gehoffet, das er ihr fürst. d. selbst ersucht hette, aber weil die hende beginnieten zusincken und zittern, kondt er nicht mehr denn zwey wörter, illustrissime princeps, wol leserlich schreiben, doch hielten wir so viel an: Er solte auff einen reinen bogen pappir unten seinen namen schreiben, nachmals mir oder einem andern dictiren, was sein will sey nur summariter, es solte hernach ordentlich inn ein concept gebracht, auff den bogen geschrieben und ihr f. d. zugesendet werden. Nein sagten ihr g. das kan nicht gesein, nemet einen andern bogen pappir unnd schreibt, welchs geschach, und auch alsbald, doch nach ihr g. abschied zu i. f. d. in Siebenbürgen gesendet ward.

Was aber dictiret unnd geschriben worden, ist hie unnoth zuerzehlen, denn es ward darinne gedacht, eines secreti, welchs ihr g. in unserm abtrit nur einer einigen person, als dem herrn Cornelio bey eydespflicht vertrauet, das niemands keinem, denn ihr fürstl. durch. zu entdecken.

Als nun diesen vorrichtet, und ich gleich wider zur thür dess grossen saals hienein gieng, sagten ihr gn. seliger: „Jetzt wil ich nun die weltlichen sachen einem andern befehlen, unnd mich hinfurt mit Gott bekümmern, beten, und das heilig abentmal (**Fiv v**) zu einem seligen viatico mitneme“, dazu ich ihn zuvor ermanet hatte, lies sich derwegen mit seinem reissbettlein, mitten in den grossen saal tragen, und alle seine diener und wer dahin kam, umb ihr herstehen, thet seine confession öffentlich, ward drauff im namen Jesu Christi von mir absoluiret, unnd mit hertzhlichem gebet und dancksagung mit dem waren leibe und blute Jesu Christi zu vergebung seiner sünden versichert, do er auch zuvor jeden allen von hertzen grund verziehen und vergeben, ward wiederumb an seine vorige stelle getragen, ruhete und schlief ein wenig (...)

(**Gi v**) Do es sich ein wenig verzog, und ein seufftzer dem andern folgte, knieten wir nieder sämptlich für das bette, beteten, einmal oder zwier für den betriesen, ein gebetlein sampt dem vater unser, und da wir das letzt mal beteten, und wieder auffstunden und zum

bette traten, thet er einen seufftzer, und entschlief also sehligklich im herrn Jesu, also das mans kaum vermerckte, welchen er auch zuvor, als er das abendmal empfieng, in dem gebetlein mit mir, seine seele zu trewen henden befohlen hatte.

Dieses ist geschehen, im 1590. jhare, den 21. tag decemb[ris] früe zwischen 4 und 5 uhrn, aetatis ipsius (**Gi r**) fünffzig weniger 15 tage, wie er kurtz zuvor vor seinem ende solchs selber gesagt hat, nach dem 14 kinderle ein vater worden ist.

Und so viel sey nun von diser hohen adelichen verstorbenen personen, ihrer geburt und ankunfft, leben und wandel sampt ihren tugenden, dapffern thaten, kranckheit und abschied gemeldet.

Nun wollen wir auch zum andern von den lebendigen reden, und hören und lernen, wie wir uns solches alles in nutz machen sollen.

VI. 2. SELECTED BOOKS OF BOLDIZSÁR BATTYÁNY⁷⁰¹

Albertus, Magnus. *Alberti Magni ... Introductiones. In Libros Aristotelis Physicorum. De Coelo et Mundo. De Generatione et corruptione Meteorum. De Anima*. Straßburg: Hulderici Morhardi, 1520. (Güssing) (no. 308)

Albertus, Magnus. *Philosophiae Naturalis Isagoge sive Introductiones. In libros Aristotelis physicorum, de coelo et mundo, de generatione et corruptione Meteorum, de anima*. Straßburg: Ulricus Morhard, printed by Luca Alantsea, 1520. (Güssing) (no. 309)

Albertus, Salomon. *Tres orationes. Prima De cognitione herbarum, tyroni medicinae apprime necessaria. Secunda De Moschi aromatis preciosissimi natura et officacitate. Tertia De disciplina Anatomica ... authore Salomone Alberto ...* Nürnberg: Off. Catharinae Gerlachiae, 1585. (Güssing) (no. 310)

Albinas. *Flores (astrologiae) Albinasaris*. Augsburg: Erhardt Ratdolt, 1488. (Güssing) (no. 385)

Alexi Petri Montani (Alessio Piemontese, also known as Pedemontanus) *Alchimey buch* (“nicht identifizierbar”⁷⁰²), probably *De secreti*. Venice: 1538. (no. 171)

Al-Kindi, Abu Yusuf Yakub ibn Ishak ibn Subbah. *De medicinarum compositarum gradibus investigandis*. Lyon: Jean Mareschall, 1584. (today in Güssing) (no. 91)

Antonius, Gazius, ed. *Corona florida medicinae seu de conservatione sanitatis*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1491. (Güssing) (no. 332)

Apomasar. Leunclaius, Johannes, interpr. *Apomasaris Apotelesmata, sive De significatis et eventis insomniorum, ex Indorum, Persarum, Aegyptiorumque disciplina. De promptus ex Io. Sambuci bibliotheca liber, Io. Leunclaiio interprete*. Frankfurt: Wechel, 1577. (no. 79)

Argillata, Petrus de, **Albucasis**. *Chirurgia Argelate cum Albucasi. Eximii artium medicine doctoris Magistri Petri de Largelata Bononiensis chirurgie libri sex*. Venice: Luca Antonius de Giunta Florentini, 1520. (Güssing) (no. 474)

Arnaldus, de Villanova, **Murchius**, Thomas, ed. *Speculum medicinae*. Lyon: Franciscus Fradin, printed by Balthazaris de Gabiano. 1504. (Güssing) – handwritten recipe inside, and the name of Ambrus Bejczy as previous owner. (no. 332)

Artemidorus, Daldianus, **Ryff**, Walther Hermann, trad., **Melanchton**, Philipp, collab. *Traumbuch Artemidori, vorweilen durch Gualtherum H. Ryff verteutsch. Jetzund von newen überlesen, gebessert mit vilen Capiteln u. dem 5. Buch, so zuvor nie verdolmetscht, gemehrt. Samt eyner Erinnerung Philippi Melanchtonis Von underscheid der Träum u. angehenkten Bericht, was von Träumen zu halten seie*. Strasbourg: Josias Rihel, 1572. (no. 173)

Aubert, Jacques. *De metallorum ortu et causis contra chemistas ... explicatio*. Lyon: Johannes Berion, 1575. (no. 48)

⁷⁰¹ The descriptions derive from Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány*; the numbers given in brackets refer to their numbering system. Only the books where “Güssing” is written after the title, are today still in Németújvár.

⁷⁰² Monok, Ötvös and Zvara, *Balthasar Batthyány*, 67.

Baccius, Andreas. *De Thermis Andreae Baccii Elpidiani ... libri aseptem ... De lacubus, fontibus, fluminibus, de balneis totius orbis et de methodo medendi per balneas*. Venice: Vincentius Valgrisius, 1571. (Güssing) (no. 202)

Belovacensis, Vincentius. *De alchimia et rebus metallicis et speculo*. Basel, 1571. (Güssing) (no. 619)

Bessonius, Jacobus. *De absoluta ratione olea et aquas et medicamentis simplicibus*. Zürich: Andreas Gessner jun., 1559. (Güssing) (no. 422)

Bonus Lombardus, Petrus. **Toxites**, Michael, praef. *Introductio in divinam chemiae artem integra*. Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (Güssing) (no. 411)

Camerarius, Joachimus. *Commentarius de generibus divinationum ac graecis latinisque earum vocabulis Autore Ioachimo Camerario ...* Leipzig: Steinmann, printed by Voegel, 1576. (Güssing) (no. 40)

Cardanus, Hieronymus. *Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici de rerum varietate libri XVII*. Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1557. (Güssing) (no. 370)

Clusius, Carolus. *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentiva historia. Primum quidem Lusitanica lingua per Dialogos conscripta, a D. Garcia ab Horto prosegis Indiae Medico. Deinde Latino sermone in Epitomen contracta, et iconibus ad vivum expressis, locupletioribusque annotatiunculis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate. Tertia editio*. Antwerp: Chr. Plantini, 1579. (Güssing) (no. 382)

Clusius, Carolus, transl., annot. *Symplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum, quorum in medicina usu est, historia. Hispanico sermone descripta a D. Nicolao Monardis ... Latio deinde donata et annotationibus iconibusque affabre depictis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate. Altera editio*. Antwerp: off. Chr. Plantini, 1579. (Güssing) (no. 382)

Corti, Matteo. *Ad tyrunculos dosandi methodus*. Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Dessenius, Bernardus. *Medicinae veteris et rationalis adversus oberronis cuiusdam ... Georgii Fedronis ac universae Sectae Paracelsicae imposturas, defensio ... Accessit praterea purgantium medicamentorum usitatorum, et pilularum, in minore pordere, Particularis dicisio*. Cologne: Johannes Gymnicus, 1573. (Güssing) (no. 234)

Dorn, Gerhardus. *Artificii chymistici physici 1. Chymisticum artificium naturae, theoricum et practicum: cuius summarium versa pagella clarius indicabit, liber planè philosophicus, in gratiam omnium verae philosophiae naturalis studiosorum aeditus*. O. O. 1568. (no. 14)

Dorn, Gerhardus. *Artificii chymistici physici 2. Accessit etiam tertiae parti De praeparationibus metallicis in utroque Lapidis philosophorum opere maiore minoreque tractatus excellentissimus*. O. O. 1569. (Güssing) (no. 15)

Dorn, Gerhard. *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi: Continens obscuriorum vocabulorum, quibus in suis Scriptis passim utitur, definitiones*. Frankfurt: Rab, 1584. (no. 108)

Dorn, Gerard, ed., comm. *Theophrasti Paracelsi Libri V. De vita longa, brevi, et sana Deo. Triplici corpore...* Iam dudum ab ipso authore obscure editi, nunc vero opera et studio Gerardi Dornei Commentariis illustrati. Frankfurt: Rab, 1583. (Güssing) (no. 109; no. 531)

Dorn, Gerard, interpr. *Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum, ex omnibus quae de his ab ipso scripta reperire licuit hactenus. Accessit Genealogia mineralium atque metallorum omnium eiusdem autoris*. Frankfurt: A. Wechel, 1581. (Güssing) (no. 589)

Dorn, Gerhardus. *Lapis metaphysicus, aut philosophicus, qui universalis medicina vera fuit patrum antiquorum, ad omnes indifferenter morbos: etiam eos quos incurabiles vocant ut illi qui curare non potuerunt*. O. O. (Basel?), n. p., 1571. (Güssing) (no. 13)

Egenolff, Christian, ed. *Pflanzbüchlin der Lustgärten, Mit wunnsamer zierde, artlicher, nutzbaren und seltzamen impfung, allerhand Bäum, Kreuter, Blumen und früchten, ... auch dabey eins Haußvatters ordenliche arbeyt durchs gantze jar; Auß Theophrasto, Plinio, Varrone etc. Bawrenpractica oder Wetterbüchlin, ...* Frankfurt am Mayn: Christian Egenolffs seligen Erben (one possible solution of the title in the book bill which only has "Pflanzbüchlin") (no. 281)

Epimetheus, Franciscus, **Reusner**, Hieronymus, ed. *Pandora, Das ist, Die Edleste Gab Gottes, oder der Werde unnd Heilsamme Stein der Weisen, mit welchem die alten Philosophi, auch Theophrastus Paracelsus, die unvolkommene Metallen durch Gewalt des Fewrs verbessert. Ein Guldener Schatz, welcher durch einen Liebhaber diser Kunst ... erst jetzt in Truck verfertigt*. Basel: Samuel Apiarius, 1582. (no. 107)

Erastus, Thomas. *Explicatio quaestionis famosae illius, utrum ex metallis ignobilibus aurum verum et naturale arte conflare possit*. Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (no. 411)

Erastus, Thomas. *Epistola de natura, materia, ortu atque usu lapidis sanulosi, qui in Palatinatu ad Rhenum reperitur*. Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (no. 411)

Erastus, Thomas. *Disputatio de putredine in qua natura, differentiae, et causa putredinis, ex Aristotele ... a Thoma Erasto*. Basel: Leonhardus Ostenius, 1580. (Güssing) (no. 412)

Erastus, Thomas, **Grynaeus**, Johannes Jacobus, ed. *De astrologia divinatrice epistolae. D. Thomae Erasti, iam olim ab eodem ad diversos Scriptae, et in duos libros digestae ... opera et studio Ioannis Iacobi Grunaei*. Basel: Petrus Perna, 1580. (Güssing) (no. 412)

Erastus, Thomas. *Disputationum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi Pars prima*. Basel: P. Perna, 1572/1573. (Güssing) (no. 9)

Erastus, Thomas. *Disputationum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi Pars quarta et ultima*. Basel: P. Perna, 1573. (Güssing) (no. 34)

Erastus, Thomas. *Disputationum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi Pars tertia ... cui accessit Tractatio de causa (morborum) continente, eodem authore ...* Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (Güssing) (no. 203)

Erastus, Thomas. *Disputationum de nova Philippi Paracelsi medicina pars altera*. Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (no. 411)

Fenotus, Johannes Antonius. *Alexipharmacum, sive antidotus Apologetica, ad virulentias Iosephi cuiusdam Quercetani Armeniaci, evomitas in libellum Iacobi Auberti, de ortu et causis Metallorum contra Chymistas. Beigaben Epistola Magistri Antiti de cressonieres, ad magistrum Alchymistarum Coryphaum*. Basel, 1575. (Güssing) (no. 48)

Ferrerius, Augerius, **Cardano**, Geronimo. *De pudendagra lue hispanica ... Ferrerii (De radice cina et sarza parilia iudicium ... Hieronymi Cardani)*. Antwerp: Martinus Nutius, 1564. (no. 666)

Ficinus, Marsilius, **Pictorius**, Georgius, comm. *De studiosorum tuenda sanitate ... liber cum Georgii Pictorii Villingani scholiis diligenter enarratus ... Accedunt eiusdem Pictorii in septimum Plinii naturalis historiae librum, enarrationes*. Basel: Sixtus Henricpetri, 1569. (Güssing) (no. 550)

Foligno, Getile da. *De proportionibus medicinarum*. Lyon: Jean Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Garbo, Tommaso del. *Tractatus de reductione medicinarum ad actum. De gradibus medicinarum*. Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Garlandius, Johannes. *Compendium Alchimiae, sive in tabulam Smaragdinam Hermetis Trismegisti peri chymeias commentarii*. O. O. n. p., 1571. (Güssing) (no. 11)

Garlandius, Johannes, **Villanova**, Arnoldus de. *Compendium alchimiae Ioannis Garlandi Angli ... cum dictionario eiusdem artis, atque de metallorum tinctura praeparatio neque eorundem libello, ante annos DXX eodem authore conscripto. Adiecimus eiusdem compendii per Arnoldum de Villanova explicationem. Cum tractatu de salium aluminiumque varietate et usu, scripturis incerti*. Basel, 1560. (Güssing) (no. 11)

Geber. *Gebris Philosophi Summa perfectionis magisterii in sua natura ... Librique investigationis magisterii et Testamenti eiusdem Geberis, ac Aurei Trium verborum Libelli, et Avicennae summi me dici*. Venice: Petrus Schöffler, [Ioannes Bapt. Pederzanus], 1542. (Güssing) (no. 420)

Gemma, Cornelius. *De naturae divinis Characterismis, seu Raris et admirandis spectaculis, causis, indicatiis, proprietatibus rerum in partibus singulis universi Libri II*. Antwerp: Chr. Plantinus, 1575. (Güssing) (no. 421)

Dictionarium quod Gemma Gemmarum vocant. Hagenau: Henricus Gran, printed by Johannis Rynman, 1518. (Güssing) (no. 395)

Gesner, Conrad, **Carronus**, Jacob, **Wolf**, Caspar, **Philiater**, Evonymus. *Conradi Gesneri Tigurini ... Historiae animalium libri 5. Qui est De serpentibus natura. Ex variis schedis et collectaneis eiusdem compositus per Iacobum Carronum Francofurtensem. Adiecta est ad calcem, Scorpionis insecti historia a D. Casparo Vuolpio ... ex eiusdem Paralipomenis conscripta. Accesserunt indices nominum serpentium secundum diversas Linguae ...* Zürich: off. Froshoviana, 1587. (no. 152)

Gesner, Evonymus. *De secretis remediis liber aut potius thesaurus, Evonymo Gesnero Philiatro authore*. Zürich: A. Gessner, 1554. (Güssing) (no. 422)

Goebel, Johannes. *Thermalium aquarum in Misnia apud Hermunduros sitarum: prope Annaebergum et Wolckensteinum: In duos libros distincta per Johannes Goebelum ... Accessit appendix thermarum Germaniae praecipuarum ex diversis authoribus in librum tertium collecta*. Leipzig: Steinman, printed by Voegel, 1576. (Güssing) (no. 40)

Gorris, Pierre de. *Formulae remediorum, quibus vulgo medici utuntur*. Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Gratarolus, Gulielmus. *Verae alchimiae artisque metallice, citra aenigmata doctrina, certusque modus, scriptis tum novis tum veteribus nunc primum et fideliter maiori et parte editis, comprehensus quorum elenchum a Praefatione reperies*. Basel: H. Petri and P. Perna, 1561. (Güssing) (no. 427)

Gratoroli, Guilielmo, **Augurelli**, Giovanni Aurelio. *Alchemiae, quam vocant, artisque metallicaee, doctrina, certusque modus, scriptis tum novis, tum veteribus*. Vol. 1.: Rosarius minor (In fine: Chrysopoeiae libri III. Augurelli). Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (no. 661)

Guinther von Andernach, Johann, **Etschenreutterus**, Gallus, transl. *Aller heilsamen Bäder und Brunnen natur, krafft, tugendt und würckung, so in Teutschland bekandt und erfahren ...* Straßburg: Christian Müller, 1571. (no. 59)

Hemming, Nicolaus. *Admonitio de superstitionibus magicis vitandis*. Copenhagen: Johann Stöckelmann et Andreas Gutterwitz, 1575. (no. 56)

Hermes Trismegistos, Flussas, Franciscus, ed. *Mercurii Trismegisti Pimandras utraque lingua restitutus, Domini Francisci Flussatis Candallae industria ...* Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1574. (Güssing) (no. 42)

Jordanus, Thomas. *Peste Phaenomena seu de iis quae circa febrem pestilentem apparent, exercitatio*. Frankfurt: Andreas Wechelus, 1576. (no. 64)

Junius, Hadrianus. *Nomenclator, omnium rerum propria nomina variis linguis explicata indicans multo quam antea emendatior ac locupletior Hadriano Junio medico autore. Tertia editio*. Antwerp: Christophorus Plantinus, 1583. (the Güssing copy is not of BB) (no. 41)

Lascovius, Petrus. *De Homine magno illo in rerum natura miraculo et partibus essentialibus, Lib. II*. Wittenberg: Johann Cratos Erben, 1585. (Güssing) (no. 133)

Lullus, Raimundus. *Raimundi Lulli ... Mercuriorum liber iam tandem subsidio manuscripti exemplaris perfecte editus. Item eiusdem apertorium, repertorium, artis intellectiva theorica et practica, magia naturalis*. Cologne: Birckmann, 1567. (Güssing) (no. 10)

Lullus, Raimundus. *Summula ... brevissimo compendio sacramentorum alta complectens mysteri*. Strasbourg: J. Knobloch, 1504. (Güssing) (no. 560)

Lullus, Raimundus. *Raymundi Lulli ... De secretis naturae, seu de Quinta essentia liber unus, in tres distinctiones divisus, omnibus iam, partibus absolutus. Adiecta est eiusdem epistola ad Regem Robertum de Accurtatione lapidis Philosophorum: cui adiunctus et tractatus de quis ex scriptis Raymundi super Accurtationis epistolam ab Artis studioso collectus*. Cologne: J. Birckmann, 1567. (Güssing) (no. 558)

Lullus, Raimundus. *Codicillius seu vademecum Raymundi Lullii philosophi doctissimi, in quo fontes alchimicae artis ac philosophiae reconditoris uberrimae traduntur. Secunda editio in qua innumerabiles loci multorum exemplarium collectione restituuntur, et multa prius ommissa supplentur*. Cologne: haer. Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1572. (no. 667)

Maestlin, Michael. *Ephemerides novae, ab anno ... 1577 ad annum 1590 supputatae ex tabulis Prutenicis*. Tübingen: Georgius Gruppenbach, 1580. (Güssing) (no. 36)

Matthaeus, Silvaticus, **Moretus**, Matthaeus, ed. *Liber pandectarum medicinae*. Vicenza: Hermann Lichtenstein, c. 1479. (Güssing) (no. 499)

Meietus, Paulus. *Opuscula illustrium medicorum de dosibus, seu de iusta quantitate et proportione medicamentorum*. Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Mizaud, Antoine, **Matalius Metellus**, Johannes, ed. *Antonii Mizaldi Monluciani Galli, Medici, Memorabilium, sive Arcanorum omnium generis, per Aphorismos Digestorum. Centuriae IX*. Cologne: Johann Birckmann, 1572. (no. 653)

Montagnana, Bartolomeo. *De modo componendi medicinas, et de dosi*. Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Morienus, Romanus. Bernardus **Trevisanus**. Robertus **Vallensis**, collab. *De Re metallica, metallorum transmutatione, et occulta summaque antiquorum medicina libellus, praeter. Ad calcem. add. tabulae breves ab eodem R. Vallensi conscriptae quae antiquorum intentionem de pulveris philos. compositione ... declarant ... Responsio ad Thomam de Bononia Caroli Regis Octavi medicum de mineralibus, et elixiris seu pulveris philosophici compositione Bernardi Trevirensis ...* Paris: Guillaume Guillard, 1564. (no. 665)

Morienus, Romanus, **Calvet**, Bartholomé, **Robert** of Chester, **Khalib** ibn Yazid al-Umawi. *Moriendi Romani, quondam eremitaie Hierosolymitani, De transfiguratione metallorum, et occulta, summaque antiquorum philosophorum medicina, libellus (Liber de compositione alchymiae ... quem Robertus Castrensis de Arabico in Latinum transtulit)*. Paris: G. Guillard, 1559. (no. 12)

Palingenius, Marcellus. *Zodiacus vitae, hoc est, de hominis vita, studio ac moribus optime instituendis libri XII. cum indice lopleitissimo*. Basel: Nicolaus Brylingers Erben, 1566. (Güssing) (no. 165)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus, **Dornius**, Gerardus, interp. *Aurora thesaurusque philosophorum ... Gerardo Dornio interprete*. Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1577. (no. 76)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus. *Theophrasti Paracelsi von hohenheim, des fürtrefflichsten Doctors der Medicin Schreiben von den Frantzosen in IX Bücher verfasst: inn welchen nicht allein der Ursprung, Zeichen sampt anderer Artzten bisher begangne Irthummen erkant, sondern auch die Rechte wahre Cur tractirt wirt jetzt erstmals von einem Liebhaber der Artzney an Tag geben*. Basel: P. Perna, 1577. (no. 77)

Paracelsus, Philippus Theophrastus. *Von dem Bad Pfeffers, Gelegen in ober Schweitz, von seinen tugenten, krefftten und wirckung, ursprung und herkommen, Regiment und ordinantz*. Strasbourg: Müller, 1571. (no. 59)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus, **Macer**, Gregorius, annot., **Schröter**, Adam, transl. *Archidoxae Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi ... ac Mysteriorum naturae scrutatoris et Artificis absolutissimi Libri X*. Cracow: Matthiae Wirzbietae, 1569. (no. 532)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus, **Schröter**, Adam, ed. *De Praeparationibus P. Theophrasti Paracelsi ... Libri duo. Cura et industria, summaque fide et integrate ab Adamo Schrötero ...* Cracow: M. Wirzbietae, 1569. (Güssing) (no. 532)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus. *Ein nutzlicher Tractat von dem Vitriol und seiner tugendt*. Strasbourg: Ch. Müller, 1564. (no. 652)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus. *De Spiritibus planetarum sive metallorum doctoris Theophrasti Paracelsi ab Hohenheim libri III. Eiusdem De tinctura physica liber 1. De gradationibus liber 1. De cementis liber 1. De signis Zodiaci et eius mysteriis ...* Basel: P. Perna, 1571. (no. 293)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus, **Bodenstein**, Adam von, ed. *Metamorphosis Theophrasti Paracelsi, dessen Werck seinen Meister Loben wirt was num darin Tractirt wirt, wirt volgendts blat nach der Prefation anzeigen Durch D. Adamen von Bodenstein mit besten Fleiss ... in Druck gegeben*. Basel: Samuel Apiarius, P. Perna, 1574. (no. 655)

Paracelsus, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus. *Philippi Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi ... Centum quindecim curationes experimentaque a Germanico idiomate in Latinum versa. Accesserunt Quaedam praeclara atque utilissima a B. G. a Portu Aquitano annexa. Item abdita quaedam Isaaci Hollandi de opere vegetabili et animali adiecimus. Adiuncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi a Rouillasco Pedemontano.* Geneva: Johannes Lertout, 1582. (Güssing) (no. 589)

Paracelsus, Theophrastus. *Theophrasti Paracelsi Wunder Artzney unnd Verborgine Geheimnisse Allergeheimnissen, etc. in III Bücher verfasst.* Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1586. (no. 236)

Perna, Petrus, ed. *Auriferae artis, quam chemiam vocant, sive turba philosophorum.* Basel: P. Perna, 1572. (Güssing) (no. 539)

Peucer, Casparus. *Commentarius de praecipuis generibus divinationum.* Wittenberg: Johannes Lufft, 1572. (Güssing) (no. 299)

Pictorius, Georgius. *Georgii Pictori ... Opera nova, in quibus mirifica, iocos salesque, poetica, historica et medica Lib. V. complectitur...* Basel: off. Henricpetriana, 1569. (Güssing) (no. 550)

Pictorius, Georgius. *De illorum daemonum, qui sub lunari collimitio versantur, ortu, nominibus, officiis ... et quibus mediis in fugam compellantur Isagoge, quibus accedit de speciebus magiae ceremonialis ... quam Goetiam vocant, Epitome.* Basel: S. Henricpetri, 1569. (Güssing) (no. 550)

Plinius Secundus, Caius, **Benedictus Veronensis**, Alexander, ed. *Historiae naturalis libri XXXVII. Cajus Plinius Secundus. Ab Alexandro Benedicto emendatiores redditi.* Venice: Johannes Rubeus et Bernardinus Vercellenses, 1507. (Güssing) (no. 244)

Plutarchus, Chaeroneus, **Camerarius**, Joachimus, ed. **Turnebus**, Adrianus, transl. *De Natura et Effectationibus Daemonum Libelli duo Plutarchi Cheronensis. Cum Explicationibus, et Prooemio Ioachimi Camerari.* Leipzig: J. Steinmann, printed by Voegel, 1576. (Güssing) (no. 40)

Porta, Giambattista della. *Magia naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium libri IIII.* Antwerp: Chr. Plantin, 1576. (no. 175)

Quercetanus, Josephus. *Ad Iacobi Auberti Vindonis De ortu et causis metallorum contra Chymicos Explicationem ... brevis Responsio. Eiusdem De exquisita Mineralium, Animalium, et Vegetabilium medicamentorum Spagyrica praeparatione et usu.* Lyon: Johannes Lertotius, 1575. (Güssing) (no. 48)

Richardus, Anglicus. *Correctorium alchymiae ... Das ist Reformierte Alchimy, oder Alchimeibesserung, und Straffung der Alchimistischen Mißprüuch: ... Richardus Anglicus.* Strasbourg: Bernhardt Jobin, 1581. (no. 663)

Rondelet, Guillaume. *De ponderibus, sive de justa quantitate, et proportione medicamentorum liber.* Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Rupescissa, Johannes de, **Lullus**, Raimondus, **Gratarolus**, Wilhelmus, **Savonarola**, Michael. *Ioannis de Rupescissa Qui ante CCCXX Annos vixit de consideratione Quintae essentiae rerum omnium, Opus sane egregium. Arnoldi de Villanova Epistola de sanguine humano distillato. Raimundi Lullii Ars operativa et aliae quaedam. Omnia ad selectissimam*

materiam medicam, et morborum curationem, viaeque conservatione mirabiliter facientia. Nunc primum in lucem data. Accessit Michaelis Savonarolae Libellus optimus de aque vitae ... Basel, 1561. (no. 663)

Ryff, Walther Hermann. *Das Kreüter buch oder Herbarius, das buch von allen kreütern, wurtzlen und andern dingen, wie mans bruchen soll zu gesundtheit der menschen; Item wie man versten soll die gradus. Als wannman lißt, das kraut ist warm, kalt, trucken, oder feücht etc. Am ersten, andern, dritten, oder vierten grad, vor nit im truck außgangen. Von neuüwem corrigiert und gebessert.* Strasbourg: Balthassar Beck, 1540. (no. 167)

Severinus, Petrus. *Idea medicinae philosophicae, fundamenta continens totius doctrinae Paracelsime, Hippocraticae, et Galenicæ ...* Basel: Sixtus Henricpetri, 1571. (Güssing) (no. 9)

Simonius, Simon. *Artificiosa curandae pestis methodus.* Leipzig: J. Steinmann, printed by Ernest Voegelin, 1576. (Güssing) (no. 42)

Sommer, Fabianus. *De inventione, descriptione, temperie, viribus, et imprimis usu, thermarum D. Caroli III. Libellus.* Leipzig: Ioannes Steinmann, printed by Voegel, 1571. (Güssing) (no. 217)

Sporisch, Johannes. *Idea medici: cum Tractatu de symptomatibus crudelissimis, quae sacrificioni et cucurbitularum usui Brunae incolis in Marchionatu Moraviae supervenerunt: et De debre epidemia anni ab incarnatione Servatoris nostri 1580.* Frankfurt: haer. A. Wecheli, 1582. (no. 589)

Thurneysser, Leonardus. *Almanach und Schreib Kalender ... Auff das Jahr 1577 ... Calculiert und beschreiben, durch Leonhard Thurneisser zu Thurn, Churfürstl. Brandenburg, bestallten Leibes Medico.* Berlin: Michael Hentzke, 1576. (no. 67)

Trevisanus, Bernardus, **Wolf**, Heinrich, collab., **Toxites**, Michael, collab. *Von der hermetischenn Philosophia, das ist, Vom gebenedeiten Stain der weisen, der hocherfahrenen und fürtrefflichen Philosophen Herren Bernhardi Graven von der Marck und Tervis ein Büch. Item Dicta Alani, darinn alles hell und klar an tag geben wirdt. Ex libris Henrici Vuolffii. Praef. Michael Toxites.* Straßburg: Ch. Müller jun., 1582. (no. 662)

Ulsenius, Theodoricus, **Pictorius**, Georgius, comm. *De Pharmacandi comprobata ratione medicinarum simplicium rectificatione, symptomatumque purgationis hora supervnientium emendatione, libri duo per Theodoricum Ulsenium Med. carmine conscripti, et per eiusdem D. Pictorium Scholiis illustrati.* Basel: S. Henricpetri, 1569. (Güssing) (no. 550)

Ventura, Laurentius, **Garlandius**, Johannes, argum. *Laurentii Venturae ... De ratione conficiendi Lapidis philosophici, liber unus, ad Othonem Henricum Principum Palatinum. Huic accesserunt eiusdem Argumenti Ioan. Garlandii Angli liber unus. Et ex Speculo magno Vincentii libri duo.* Basel: n. p., 1571. (Güssing) (no. 619)

Villanova, Arnaldus, **Taurelli**, Nicolaus. *Opera omnia: Cum Nicolai Taurelli ... annotationibus.* Basel: off. Pernea per Conradum Waldkirch, 1585. (no. 11)

Vittori, Benedetto. *Compendium, de dosibus medicinarum.* Lyon: J. Mareschall, 1584. (Güssing) (no. 91)

Wierus, Joannes. *Wieri De Ira Morbo, eiusdem curatione Philosophica, Medica et Theologica, Liber.* Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1577. (no. 56)

Yishaq ben Slomoh ha Yisraeli (Isaac Iudaeus), **Posthius**, Johannes, trad. *Isaaci Iudaei, Salomonis Arabiae Regis adoptivi filii, De diaetis universalibus et particularibus, libri II. Liber omnibus philosophiae et Medicinae, imo Sanitatis studiosis, apprime necessarius, superiori seculo ex Arabica lingua in Latinam conversus, nunc vero opera D. Ioannis Pesthii Germershemii sedulo castigatus et in lucem editus.* Basel: S. Henricpetri, 1570. (Güssing) (no. 214)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Sources

Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, Budapest)

- P 1313 Main body of the Batthyány archives
microfilm no. 1282–1288 Memorabilia
- P 1314 Private correspondence of the Batthyány family
microfilm no. 4770–4927 Missilis letters in alphabetical order of the
senders

Archives of the Batthyány-Strattmann Múzeum, Körmend

Ht. 90. 1. series

Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz

Sanität, Laa. Antiquum, Gruppe IX, Karton 1, Heft 1–2, 4–5; K. 2, H. 7.

Published Sources

Abaffy, E. Erzsébet. *Dunántúli missilisek a XVI. századból* (Transdanubian *Missilis* Letters from the Sixteenth Century). Budapest: A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványa, 1968

Agricola, Georgius. *De re metallica* (Basel: Froben, 1556). Tr. by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover. New York: Dover Publications, 1950

Bobory, Dóra. “Felician von Herberstein (1540–1590) stájer főúr rövid életrajza és magyar kapcsolatai David Reuss gyászbeszéde alapján” (Short Biography and Hungarian Connections of the Styrian Count Felician von Herberstein, on the Basis of the Funeral Oration by David Reuss) *Lymbus* (2005): 5–26

Carolus Clusius' Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia et Codex Clusii. Mit Beiträgen von einer internationalen Autorengemeinschaft. Ed. Stephan A. Aumüller and József Jeanplong. (Facsimile edition) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó-Graz: Verlaganstalt, 1983

Clusius, Carolus. *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Pannoniam, Austriam et vicinas quasdam provincias observatarum historia quatuor libri expressa.* Antwerp: Plantin, 1583

_____. *Aliquot Notae in Garcia Aromatum Historiam.* Antwerp: Plantin, 1582

_____. *Rariorum plantarum historia.* Antwerp: Plantin, 1601

Eder, Georg. *Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium Virorum Archigymnasi Viennensis*. Vienna, 1559

Forgách Ferenc Magyar története 1540–1572 (Hungarian History by Ferenc Forgách). Monumenta Hungariae Historica II/16. Ed. Fidél Majer. Pest: 1886

Historia Szigethi (...) per M. Samuelem Budinam Labacensem in Rerum Hungaricarum Historia. Ed. Johann Georg Schwandtner. Vienna: Johann Paul Kraus, 1746

Iványi, Béla. “A körmendi Batthyány-levéltár reformációra vonatkozó oklevelei I: 1526–1625” (Charters of the Batthyány Archives of Körmend related to the Reformation I). In *Adattár 29/1. Iványi Béla anyaggyűjtése*. Ed. László Szilasi. Szeged: JATE, 1990

_____. “A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái/ Acta Memorabilia in tabulario gentis principum de Batthyány reperibilia.” *Körmendi Füzetek* 2 (1942)

_____. “A körmendi levéltár missilis levelei II/ Litterae missiles in tabulario principum de Batthyány reperibiliae.” *Körmendi Füzetek* 5 (1944)

Karajan, Th. G. von, ed. *Johannes Tichtel's Tagebuch 1477 bis 1495. Sigmunds von Herberstein Selbstbiographie 1486 bis 1553. Johannes Cuspinian's Tagebuch 1502 bis 1527 und Georg Kirchmair's Denkwürdigkeiten 1519 bis 1553*. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum I. Vienna: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1855

Kóta, Péter. “Batthyány Ferenc végrendelete 1559-ből” (Ferenc Batthyány's Last Will from 1559). In *A Batthyányak évszázadai. Tudományos konferencia Körmenden 2005. október 27–29* (The Centuries of the Batthyánys. Scientific Conference in Körmend 27–29 October 2005). Körmend: Körmend város önkormányzata, 2006. 53–64

A középkori Szeged műveltsége. Caspar Fraxinus (Kőrösi) de Zegedinus levelezése Nádasdi Tamás nádorral (1553–1562) (The Culture of Medieval Szeged. The Correspondence of Caspar Fraxinus (Kőrösi) de Zegedinus with Palatine Tamás Nádasdi, 1553–1562). Ed. Nándor Szmollény. Szeged, 1910

Latomus, Fridericus. *Victoria Sarkanzigethana quae illustribus et magnificis dominis, belli ducibus, Georgio comiti Zrinio in Zakaturn, &c. praesidii Canisiensis Generali Francisco de Nadasdi comiti perpetuo Terrae Fogaras, &c Balthasaro Buthiani Baroni in Güssing etc. divinitus contigit, 11 Augusti Anno etc. 87. Versibus decantata a Friderico Latomo*. Impressum Graecii Styriae, Typis Joannis Fabri, anno MDXCIII.

“Letter to Sir William Cecil, February 16, 1563.” Ed. R. W. Grey, Philobiblon Society, *Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies* 1 (1854), 12. 1–16

Paracelsus, Theophrastus. *Theophrastus Paracelsus Werke*. Ed. Will-Erich Peuckert. 8 vols. Basel-Stuttgart, Schwabe & Co. Verlag, 1965

Paracelsus Sämtliche Werke. Nach der 10bändigen Huserschen Gesamtausgabe (1589-1591) zum Erstenmal in neuzeitliches Deutsch übersetzt. 4 vols. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1928–32

The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney. Ed. Albert Feuillerat. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962

Reuss, David. *Zwo Leich und Trostpredigten ober dem seligen Abschied und Begrebnis des... Feliciani Freyherrn zu Herberstein... und... herrn Reymundi, auch Freyherrn zu Herberstein... herrn Feliciani Sohn...* Leipzig: Johannes Beyer, 1595 (largely published in Bobory, “Felician Herbertsein,” see below, and see also the Appendix)

Ruland, Martin (the Elder). *Lexicon alchemiae sive dictionarium alchemisticaum, cum obscuriorum verborum et rerum hermeticarum (...) planam explicationem continens*. Frankfurt am Main: Palthenus, 1612

Sivori, Francesco. *Memoriale delle cose occorse a me Franco Sivori del signor Benedetto dopo la mia partenza di Genova l'anno 1581 per andar in Vallachia*. In: *Petru Cercel și Țara-Românească la sfârșitul sec. XVI*. Ed. Stefan Pascu. Sibiu, 1944

Szilágyi, Sándor. *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* (Records from the Transylvanian Diets). 3 vols. Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1875–1877

Veress, Endre. *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai* (Registers of Hungarian Students at the University of Padova). Budapest, 1915

_____, ed. *Báthory István király levélváltása az erdélyi kormánnyal (1581–1585)*. Budapest, 1948

_____, ed. *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldavei și Țării-Românești*. Bukarest; III. (1585–1592)

_____, ed. *Antonio Possevino della Compagnia di Gesù: Transilvania (1584)*. Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum 3. Budapest–Kolozsvár: 1913

_____, ed. *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király levelezése* (The Correspondence of István Báthory Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland). Vol. 2. (1576–1586). Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944

Zrínyi Miklós *a szigetvári hős életére vonatkozó levelek és okiratok* (Letters and Documents Concerning the Life of Miklós Zrínyi, the Hero of Sziget). Ed. Samu Barabás. 2 vols. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek 29. Budapest: MTA, 1898–1899

Literature

Abaffy, E. Erzsébet. “Beythe István nyelvéről.” *Magyar Nyelv* 50 (1954/3–4): 246–254

Abraham, Lyndy. *Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

Ágoston, Gábor. *A hódolt Magyarország* (Ottoman Hungary). Adam, 1992

_____. “Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power,” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, no. 1 (1998), 126–141

_____. “Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary.” In *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*. Ed. Béla Király and László Veszprémy (Boulder, Co: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 85–110

Alföldi-Flatt, Károly. “Frankovith Gergely és orvosbotanikai műve” (Gergely Frankovith and his Medico-Botanical Work) *Természettudományi Közlöny* 37, suppl. 2 (1895): 49–59

Almási, Gábor. *The Uses of Humanism. Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) and the Humanist Network in East-Central Europe*. PhD dissertation. Central European University, Budapest (2004).

Asch, Ronald G. and Birke, Adolf M., eds. *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility. The Court in the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Aumüller, Stefan A. “Wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in Wien.” In *Carolus Clusius’ Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia et Codex Clusii. Mit Beiträgen von einer internationalen Autorengemeinschaft*. Ed. S. A. Aumüller–J. Jeanplong. (Facsimile edition) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó–Graz: Verlaganstalt, 1983. 28–33

Barlay, Ö. Szabolcs. “400 éves francia levelek és könyvszámlák. Batthyány Boldizsár és Jean Aubry barátsága” (400 Years Old French Letters and Book Bills. The Friendship of Boldizsár Batthyány and Jean Aubry). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977): 156–64

_____. “Radéczy püspök híres hársfája. Egy 400 évvel ezelőtti irodalmi kör” (The Famous Linden-Tree of Bishop Radéczy. A 400-years-old Literary Circle). *Vigilia* 11 (1976): 744–748

_____. “Elias Corvinus és magyarországi barátai” (Elias Corvinus and his Hungarian Friends). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977): 345–353

_____. “Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanistenkreis.” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95 (1979): 231–51

_____. *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról* (Flower on Ruins. Chapters on Post-Mohács Renaissance). Budapest: Széphalom Könyvműhely, 1986

_____. “A Clusiusnál található magyar növénynevek kérdése.” *Magyar Nyelv* 44 (1949): 69–72

Bartoniek, Emma. *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* (Chapters Concerning the History of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungarian Historiography). Budapest: MTA ITI és MTA könyvtára, 1975.

A Batthyányak évszázadai. Katalógus (Centuries of the Batthyánys. Exhibition Catalogue). Szombathely–Körmend: Szombathelyi Képtár, 2005

Batthyány-Strattmann, László. “Güssing und die Batthyány zur Zeit des Clusius.” In *Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der Wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius (Charles de l’Escluse) im pannonischen Raum*. Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderheft 5. Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesarchiv, 1973. 104–121

Baumgärtel, Hans. *Vom Bergbüchlein zur Bergakademie: Zur Entstehung der Bergbauwissenschaften zwischen 1500 und 1765/1770*. Freiburger Forschungshefte D50. Leipzig, 1965

The Beginnings of Hungarian Ethnobotany: Stirpium Nomenclator Pannonicus, ed. S. Beythe (1583), C. Clusius (1584), D. Czvittinger (1711), etc. Collecta Clusiana 2. Ed. A. T. Szabó. Szombathely: Berzsényi Dániel Tanárképző Főiskola, 1992.

Békefi, Antal. “A vasi várak zenei élete a török megszállás idején II: A Batthyány család váraiban, Németújvárott, Rohoncon, Szalónakon, Körmenden és Borostyánkő várában.” *Vasi Szemle* 20 (1966): 5–41

Benda, Borbála. *Étkezési szokások a 17. századi főúri udvarokban Magyarországon* (Eating Customs at the Seventeenth-Century Aristocratic Courts in Hungary). Ph.D. dissertation. ELTE University, Budapest, 2004

Benda, Kálmán. *Habsburg-abszolútizmus és a rendi ellenállás a XVI–XVII. században* (Habsburg Absolutism and the Resistance of the Orders in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries). Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975

Benedict, Barbara M. *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001

Beretta, Marco. “Humanism and Chemistry: the Spread of Georgius Agricola’s Metallurgical Writings.” *Nuncius* 12, no. 1 (1997): 17–47

Berlász, Jenő. “Könyvtári kultúránk kibontakozása a 16-17. században” (The Development of our Library-Culture in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve 1973*. Budapest: OSZK, 1976.

Bessenyei, József. “König Ferdinand und die ungarische Aristokratie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Partei Ferdinands.” In *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*. Ed. Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler Münster: Aschendorff, 2003. 79–94

_____. *A Nádasdyak* (The Nádasdy Family). Budapest: General Press, 2005

Bevilaqua-Borsody, Béla. *A magyar serfőzés története* (History of Hungarian Brewery). 2 vols. Budapest: n. p., 1931

Die Bibliothek Dernschwam. Bücherinventar eines Humanisten in Ungarn. Ed. Jenő Berlász, Katalin Keveházi and István Monok. Szeged: JATE Irodalomtörténeti Tanszéke, 1984

Blair, Ann and Anthony Grafton. “Reassessing Humanism and Science.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 535–540

Bobory, Dóra. “Angaben aus Balthasar Batthyány’s Briefwechsel.” In *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek*. Burgenländische Forschungen Sonderband XXVI. Bibliotheken in Güssing im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Band II. Ed. István Monok, Péter Ötvös, and Edina Zvara. Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesarchiv, 2004. 223–236

_____. “Egy fejezet a botanika történetéből: Carolus Clusius és Batthyány Boldizsár” (A Chapter in the History of Botany: Carolus Clusius and Boldizsár Batthyány). *Iskolakultúra* 14, no. 10 (2004): 94–110

_____. “*Qui me unice amabat*. Carolus Clusius and Boldizsár Batthyány.” *Proceedings of the Conference “Clusius in a New Context.”* Forthcoming in May 2007 by Edita, Dutch Royal Academy

_____. “The Renaissance Mages.” In *Mutations et maturations. 1520–1560. Époque de la Renaissance*. 20 vols. Vol. 3. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Forthcoming in 2007

_____. “Batthyány Boldizsár és humanista köre. Erudíció, természettudomány és mecénatúra egy 16. századi magyar főúr életében.” (Boldizsár Batthyány’s Humanist Circle. Erudition, Natural Science and Patronage in the Life of a 16th-Century Hungarian Nobleman) *Századok* 139, no. 4 (2005): 923–944

Borbás, Vince. “Clusius *Rariorum aliquot stirpium...* Appendixének kétféle kiadása” (Two Different Editions of the *Rariorum aliquot stirpium...* of Clusius), *Természettudományi Közlöny* 34 (1902), supplement 68: 191–192

Borsa, Gedeon. “Die Buchdrucker des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Band 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965. 1–33

_____ and Ferenc Hervay and Béla Holl and István Käfer and Ákos Kelecsényi, eds. *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok 1473–1600* (Old Prints from Hungary, 1473–1600). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971

Botta, István. *Melius Péter ifjúsága. A magyarországi refomáció lutheri és helvét irányú elkülönülésének kezdete* (The Youth of Peter Melius. Beginnings of the Division between the Lutheran and Helvetic Variants of Reformation in Hungary). Budapest: MTA, 1978

Bradish, J. A. “Dichterkrönungen im Wien des Humanismus,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 34 (1937), 367–383

Briggs, Robin. *Early Modern France 1560–1715*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

- Bromehead, C. N. "Mining and Quarrying to the Seventeenth Century." *A History of Technology*. Vol. 2. *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*. Ed. Charles Singer et al. New York, 1956. 1–40
- Buck, August, and Georg Kaufmann, *et al.*, eds. *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert. Kongreß des Wolffenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Renaissanceforschung und des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Barockliteratur 1979*. 3 vols. Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1981.
- Bullard, Melissa Meriam. "The Inward Zodiac: A Development in Ficino's Thought on Astrology." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1990): 687–708
- Burke, Peter. "Erasmus and the Republic of Letters," *European Review* 7, no. 1 (1999), 5–16
- _____. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001)
- Butterfield, Herbert. *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300–1800*. London: Bell & Sons, 1949
- Buza, János. "Mezőgazdaság és parasztság a török korban" (Agriculture and Peasantry in the Turkish Period). In *Sárvár monográfiája* (Monography of Sárvár). Ed. Ferenc Horváth. Szombathely: Sárvár Város Tanácsa, 1978. 243–304
- Cavallo, Guglielmo and Roger Chartier, eds. *A History of Reading in the West*. Tr. Lydia G. Cochrane. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.
- Cenner-Wilhelmb, Gizella. "A 'Mausoleum' metszetei után festett vezérsorozat" (The Leader-Series Made after the Engravings of the 'Mausoleum'). In *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar nemzeti galéria, 1988. márc.–aug.* (Aristocratic Galleries of Ancestors, Family Portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Joint Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, the Museum of Applied Arts, and the Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988
- _____. "A portré és a magyar nemesi társadalom" (The Portrait and the Hungarian Aristocratic Society). In *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar nemzeti galéria, 1988. márc.–aug.* (Aristocratic Galleries of Ancestors, Family Portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Joint Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, the Museum of Applied Arts, and the Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988
- Chartier, Roger. *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Tr. Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

_____ and Alain Boureau and Cécile Dauphin, eds. *Correspondence. Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. Tr. Christopher Woodall. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997

Clulee, Nicholas H. "At the Crossroads of Magic and Science: John Dee's Archemastrie." In *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*. Ed. Brian Vickers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. 57–71

Cohen, I. Bernard. "The Newtonian Revolution." In *The Scientific Revolution. The Essential Readings*. Ed. Marcus Hellyer. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003

Copenhaver, Brian P. "Natural Magic, Hermetism, and Occultism in Early Modern Science." In *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*. Ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 261–301

_____. "Did Science have a Renaissance?" *Isis* 83, no. 3 (1992): 387–407

_____. *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

Crisciani, Chiara. "Alchemy and Medieval Universities. Some Proposals for Research." *Universitas* (1997), no. 10 (online source)

Le crisi dell'alchimia. Micrologus 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995

Cristianson, John Robert. *On Tycho's Island. Tycho Brahe, Science, and Culture in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

Crosland, Maurice. "Early Laboratories c. 1600–c. 1800 and the Location of Experimental Science." *Annals of Science* 62, no. 2 (2005): 233–253

Csaba, József. "Magyar ethnobotanikai adatok Clusius műveiben." *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 4 (1973): 595–599

Csapodi, Csaba, András Tóth and Miklós Vértesy. *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (The History of Hungarian Libraries). Budapest: Gondolat, 1987

Csapody, István. "Clusius magyar mecénása és munkatársai." *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 3 (1973): 407–415

Csontos, János. "A bécsi udvari könyvtár hazai vonatkozású kéziratái" (Manuscripts Related to Hungary in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 9 (1884): 157–308

Da Kosta Kaufmann, Thomas. *Court, Cloister, and City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995

_____. "Jagellonians and Habsburgs: Art of the Courts c. 1500." In *Court, Cloister, and City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995. 51–95

Dankanits, Ádám. *XVI. Századi olvasmányok (Sixteenth-Century Readings)*. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1974

Dávid, Géza. “Szigetvár 16. századi bégjei” (The Sixteenth-Century Beys of Szigetvár). In: *Tanulmányok a török hódoltság és a felszabadító háborúk történetéből. A szigetvári történész konferencia előadásai a város és a vár felszabadításának 300. évfordulóján (1989)* (Studies about the Ottoman Period in Hungary and the Wars of Liberation. Proceedings of the Historical Conference on the 300th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Fortress and the City (1989)). Ed. László Szita. Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1993

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987

Debus, Allen G. “Paracelsianism and the Diffusion of the Chemical Philosophy in Early Modern Europe.” In *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*. Ed. Ole Peter Grell. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1998. 225–244

_____. “Chemists, Physicians, and the Changing Perspectives on the Scientific Revolution.” *Isis* 89, no. 1 (1998): 66–81

_____. *The French Paracelsians. The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

_____. *The English Paracelsians*. London: Oldbourne, 1965

Dobbs, Betty Jo Teeter. “Newton as Final Cause and First Mover.” In *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*. Ed. Margaret J. Osler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 25–40

_____. *The Janus Faces of Genius: the Role of Alchemy in Newton’s Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

_____. *The Foundations of Newton’s Alchemy, or, The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975

Dorren, Gabrielle. “Plichtsgetrouw tegen wil en dank.” In *Maria an Hongarije. Konigin tussen keizers en kunstenaars (Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht and in the Noordbrabants Museum’s-Hertogenbosch, 11. September to 28 November 1993)*. Ed. Bob van den Boogert and Jacqueline Kerkhoff. Zwolle, 1993

Dudík, Beda. *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte*. Brno, 1852

Durling, Richard J. “Conrad Gesner’s Liber amicorum 1555–1565.” *Gesnerus* 22 (1965): 134–159

E. Kovács, Péter. “Erzherzog Ferdinand und Ungarn (1521–1526).” In *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*. Ed. Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler Münster: Aschendorff, 2003. 57–78

Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature. Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994

Eastwood, Bruce S. “On the Continuity of Western Science from the Middle Ages: A. C. Crombie’s Augustine to Galileo.” *Isis* 83, no. 1 (1992): 84–99

Eckart, Wolfgang U. “Antiparacelsismus, okkulte Qualitäten und medizinisch-wissenschaftliches Erkennen im Werk Daniel Sennerts (1572–1637).” In *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance*, ed. by August Buck. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992. 139–157

Eckhardt, Sándor. “Batthyány Boldizsár a francia udvarban” (Boldizsár Batthyány in the French Court). *Magyarságtudomány* 2 (1943): 36–44

_____. “A körmendi Balassi-émlékek.” *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények* 67 (1943): 26–48

Edelmayer, Friedrich and Alfred Kohler, eds. *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1992.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (1st edition: 1979)

_____. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (1st edition: 1983)

Elekes, György. “Paracelsus és a paracelsismus sorsa Magyarországon” (History of Paracelsus and Paracelsianism in Hungary). *Orvostudományi Közlemények* 3 no. 2 (1942): 33–42

Eliade, Mircea. *The Forge and the Crucible*. New York: Harper, 1962

Erdősi, Péter. “Franco Sivori fortélyos barátságai. 16. századi olasz emlékirat egy erdélyi fogolyszabadításról” (The Cunning Friendships of Franco Sivori. Sixteenth-Century Italian Memoirs about the Rescue of a Prisoner in Transylvania). In *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században* (They Became Palaces... Hungarian Courtly Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries). Ed. Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn. Budapest: Balassi, 2005. 276–313

Evans, R. J. W. *Rudolf II and his World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973

_____. *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979

- _____. “The Wechel Presses. Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627.” *Past and Present* (1975), suppl. 2. Oxford: The Past and Present Society, 1975. 1–74
- Fabó, András. “Beythe István életrajza.” *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő* 4 (1963): 210–268
- Fallenbüchl, Zoltán, ed. *Magyarország főméltóságai* (The High Dignitaries of Hungary). Budapest: Maecenas, 1988
- Farkas, Gábor. “A 16–17. századi polgári könyvtárak típusai” (Typology of the Civil Libraries in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 100–121
- Fazekas, Árpád. “A magyar nyelvű herbárium-irodalomról” (On Hungarian Herbaria). *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 97–99 (1982): 43–64
- Fejérpataky, László. “A németújvári ferences zárda könyvtára” (Library of the Franciscan Friary of Güssing). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 8 (1883): 100–137
- Fenton, Edward, ed. *The Diaries of John Dee*. Charlbury: Day Books, 1998
- Ferrari, Marco. “Alcune vie di diffusione in Italia di idee e di testi di Paracelso.” In *Scienze. Credenze occulte. Livelli di cultura*. Florence: Olschki, 1982. 21–29
- Feuer-Tóth, Rózsa. *Art and Humanism in the Age of Matthias Corvinus*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990
- Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994
- Fleischer, Manfred. “The Institutionalisation of Humanism in Protestant Silesia.” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975): 256–274
- _____. “The Garden of Laurentius Scholz: a Cultural Landmark of late-Sixteenth Century Lutheranism.” *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 9 (1979): 29–48
- Forbes, R. J. “Metallurgy.” In *A History of Technology*. Vol. 2. *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*. Ed. Charles Singer et al. New York, 1956. 41–80
- _____ and Cyril Stanley Smith. “Metallurgy and Assaying.” In *A History of Technology*. Vol. 3. *From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution, c. 1500–c. 1750*. Ed. Charles Singer et al. New York, 1957. 27–71
- _____. *A Short History of the Art of Distillation. From the Beginnings up to the Death of Cellier Blumenthal*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. (1st edition: 1948)
- Frankl (Fraknói), Vilmos. “Egy XVI-ik századbéli magyar fűvész és orvos emlékezete” (Remembering a Sixteenth-Century Hungarian Doctor and Herbalist) *Századok* 7 (1873): 525–537

- Frimmová, Eva. “A Pálffy-könyvtár” (The Pálffy Library). In *Blue Blood, Black Ink. Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700: International Travelling Exhibition; Zagreb, Martin, Bratislava, Budapest, Burg Forchtenstein, Fall 2005–Fall 2007*. Ed. István Monok. Budapest: OSZK, 2005. 129–133
- Gál, István. “Philip Sidney’s Guidebook to Hungary.” *Hungarian Studies in English* (Debrecen) 4 (1969): 53–64
- Gettings, Fred. *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils*. London–Boston–Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981
- Gilly, Carlos. “Der Bekenntnis zur Gnosis von Paracelsus bis auf die Schüler Jacob Böhmes.” In *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen. Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van het Westen*. Ed. Gilles Quispel. Baarn: Tirion, 1992. 400–441
- Glesinger, Lavoslav. “Paracelsus in Slovenija” (Paracelsus and Slovenia). *Zavod za zgodovino medicine medicinske fakultate v Zagrebu* 27 (1958): 440–445
- _____. “Der Humanist Andreas Dudith im Kreise der Antiparacelsisten.” *Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung* 7 (1967): 3–12
- Goldammer, Kurt. *Paracelsus in neuen Horizonten. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Vienna: VWGÖ Verlag, 1986
- _____. *Paracelsus. Natur und Offenbarung. Heilkunde und Geisteswelt* 5. Hannover: Theodor Oppermann Verlag, 1953
- Gombocz, Endre. *A magyar botanika története* (History of Hungarian Botany). Budapest, 1936
- Gömöry, György. “Sir Philip Sidney magyarországi kapcsolatai és hírei Magyarországról” (The Hungarian Connections of Sir Philip Sidney and his Information on Hungary). *Kortárs* 27 (1983): 428–437
- _____. “Sir Philip Sidney’s Hungarian and Polish Connections.” *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 24 (1991): 23–33
- Grell, Ole Peter. “Introduction. The Enigma of Paracelsus.” In: *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*. Ed. Ole Peter Grell. Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 1998. 1–18
- _____. and Bob Scribner, eds. *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996
- Grynaeus, Tamás. “(Gyógy)növényismeretünk a reneszánsz és a reformáció korában” (Our Notions of (Herbal) Plants in the Renaissance and in the Reformation). *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 105–110

Gulyás, Pál. *A Zsámboky-könyvtár katalógusa, 1587* (Catalogue of the Zsámboky Library, 1587). Szeged: Scriptum, 1992 (1st edition: 1941)

H. Takács, Marianna. *Magyarországi udvarházak és kastélyok* (Hungarian Court Houses and Castles). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970

Hall, Rupert. "The Scholar and the Craftsman in the Scientific Revolution." In *Critical Problems in the History of Science*. Ed. Marshall Clagett. Madison, Wisc., 1959. 3–23

Halleux, Robert. *Les Textes Alchimiques*. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 32. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979

_____. "L'alchimiste et l'essayeur." In *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Ed. Christoph Meinel. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986. 277–291

Hannaway, Owen. "Georgius Agricola as Humanist." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 553–560

_____. "Laboratory Design and the Aim of Science: Andreas Libavius versus Tycho Brahe." *Isis* 77, no. 4 (1986): 584–610

_____. "Theology, Politics and Chemiatria: the Establishment of the Chair of Chemistry at the University of Marburg (1609). In *Human Implications of Scientific Advance: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of the History of Science, Edinburgh, 10–15 August 1977*. Ed. E. G. Forbes. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978

Hatvani (Horváth), Mihály. *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból* (Hungarian Historical Documents from the Archives of Brussels and the Library of Burgundy). Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria 1. Vol. 2. Pest, 1857

Hausner, Gábor and István Monok and Géza Orlovsky. *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története* (History of the Bibliotheca Zriniana). In *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya* (The History and Holdings of the Bibliotheca Zriniana). Ed. Tibor Klaniczay. Budapest: Argumentum–Zrínyi, 1991

Heka, László. "Közös hőseink" (Our Common Heroes). *Tiszatáj* (2002), no. 10

Holmyard, E. J. *Alchemy*. Penguin: Edinburgh, 1957

Hortobágyi, Tibor. "Clusius und Ungarn." In *Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der Wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse) im pannonischen Raum*. Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderheft 5. Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesarchiv, 1973. 168–181

_____. and József Jeanplong. "Clusius, a botanikus" (Clusius the Botanist). *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 3 (1973): 407–419

Horváth, János. *A reformáció jegyében* (In the Sign of Reformation). Budapest, 1953.

Horváth, Mária. “Egy növényjegyzék háttéréből. Adalékok a németújvári (güssingi) könyvtár alapításának körülményeihez” (The Background of a Nomenclature. Information concerning the Circumstances of the Foundation of the Güssing Library). *Magyar Nyelv* 78 (1982): 191–203

Horváth, Sándor. “A Batthyányak és a horvátok” (The Batthyánys and the Croats). In *A Batthyányak évszázadai. Tudományos konferencia Körmenden 2005. október 27–29* (The Centuries of the Batthyánys. Scientific Conference in Körmend 27–20 October 2005). Körmend: Körmend város önkormányzata, 2006. 45–52

Horváth Tibor Antal hagyatéka. Regesták a körmendi levéltár missiliséből vegyes tárgyakra vonatkozóan. XVI–XVIII. század (The Estate of Tibor Antal Horváth. Regestas from the the Missilis Letters in the Körmend Archives Concerning Various Subjects. Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries). Ms 5264/1. MTA Kézirattár, Budapest.

Hubay, Ilona. *Magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban 1480–1718* (Flyers, Newspapers and Pamphlets in Hungarian or Related to Hungary in the OSZK). Az OSZK Kiadványai XXVIII. Budapest: OSZK, 1948

Hubicki, Włodimierz. “Paracelsists in Poland.” In *Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to Honour Walter Pagel*. Ed. Allen G. Debus. London: Heinemann, 1972. 2 vols. Vol. 1. 167–176

Hunger F. W. T. *Charles de l’Escluse (Carolus Clusius) Nederlandsch kruidkundige 1526–1609* (Charles de l’Escluse, Dutch Botanist 1526–1609). 2 vols. ’S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927

Huszár, Lajos. *Habsburg-házi királyok pénzei 1526–1657* (The Coins of Ruler from the Habsburg House). Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar egyetemes éremtár III. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975

_____. *Az erdélyi fejedelemség pénzverése* (Coining in the Principality of Transylvania). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995

Istvánffy, Gyula. *A Clusius-Codex mykológiai méltatása adatokkal Clusius életrajzához* (Mycological Evaluation of the Clusius Codex with References to the Biography of Clusius). Budapest: published by the author, 1900.

Iványi, Béla. “Batthyány Boldizsár a könyvbarát” (Boldizsár Batthyány the Bibliophile). In *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából* (Records from the Past of Hungarian Book-Culture). Ed. Bálint Keserű. Szeged: JATE, 1983. 389–435

_____. “,Vízégetés’ Nyugat-Magyarországon a XVI–XVII. században” (Water-Burning in Western Hungary in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). *Az Országos Orvostörténeti Könyvtár Közleményei* 4 (1956): 5–33

_____. *Könyvek, könyvtárak, könyvnyomdák Magyarországon 1331–1600* (Books, Libraries, Printing Presses in Hungary from 1331 to 1600). OSZK Kiadványai IV. Budapest: OSZK, 1937.

_____. “A körmendi levéltár missilis levelei II/ Litterae missiles in tabulario principium de Batthyány reperibilia” (The Missive Letters of the Körmend Archives). *Körmendi Füzetek* 5 (1944)

_____. “A körmendi levéltár memorabiliái/ Acta Memorabilia in tabulario gentis principium de Batthyány reperibilia” (The Memorabilia Collection of the Körmend Archives). *Körmendi Füzetek* 2 (1942)

Jakó, Zsigmond. *Írás, könyv, értelmiség* (Writing, Books, Intellectuals). Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976

Jankovics, József and István Monok, eds. *Dudith András könyvtára. Részleges rekonstrukció* (The Library of András Dudith. Partial Reconstruction). Szeged: Scriptum, 1993

Jeanplong, József and Imre Katona. “Clusius in Westpannonien. Beziehungen zu Boldizsár Batthyány und István Beythe.” In *Carolus Clusius’ Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia et Codex Clusii. Mit Beiträgen von einer internationalen Autorengemeinschaft*. Ed. Stephan A. Aumüller and J. Jeanplong (Facsimile edition). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó–Graz: Verlaganstalt, 1983. 34–39

Jenei, Ferenc. “Ismeretlen irodalmi levelek a Batthyány-levéltárból.” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74 (1960): 687–692

Kahn, Didier. “Les débuts de Gérard Dorn d’après le manuscrit autographe de sa ‘Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae’ (1565).” In *Analecta Paracelsica. Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims in deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. Joachim Telle. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994. 59–65

Kalapis, Zoltán. “A Zrínyi-család emlékei Ozalytól Szalánkeménig” (Memories of the Zrínyi Family from Ozaly to Szalánkemén). *Létiünk* (2005): 111–131

Kardos, Tibor. “Deákműveltség és magyar reneszánsz” (Latinity and Hungarian Renaissance). *Századok* 7–10 (1939): 295–491

Karpenko, Vladimir. “The Chemistry and Metallurgy of Transmutation.” *Ambix* 39, no. 2 (1992): 47–62

Kasprzak, Jan. “A Riddle of History: Queen Elizabeth I and the Albertus Laski Affair.” *Polish Review* 14, no. 1–2 (1961)

Katona, Imre. *Brueghel és a Batthyányiak*. Budapest: Magvető, 1979

_____. *A Báthoryak, Batthyányak, és Zrínyiek Habsburg ellenes mozgalma* (The Anti-Habsburg Movement of the Báthorys, Batthyánys and Zrínyis). *Savaria* 2 (1964): 159–174

_____. “A Batthyányak és a reformáció” (The Batthyánys and Reformation). *Savaria* 5–6 (1971–72): 435–466

- _____. “Sárvár és a Nádasdyak a XVI. században és a XVII. század elején” (Sárvár and the Nádasdys in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries). *Savaria* 1 (1963): 239–255
- _____. “Clusius és kora” (Clusius and his Time). *Vasi Szemle* 27, no. 3 (1973): 398–407.
- Kelecsényi, Gábor. *Múltunk neves könyvgyűjtői* (Famous Book Collectors from our Past). Budapest: Gondolat, 1988
- Kerscher, Hans. “Neuburg and der Donau und Paracelsus.” *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt* 136 (1984): 25–54
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989
- Kincses, Katalin, ed. ‘*Im küttem én orvosságot...*’ *Lobkowitz Poppel Éva levelezése, 1622–1640* (‘I Have thus Sent you Medication...’ The Correspondence of Éva Lobkowitz Poppel, 1622–1640). Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1993
- Király, Péter. *A lantjáték Magyarországon a XV. századtól a XVII. század közepéig* (Lute Music in Hungary from the Fifteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century). Humanizmus és reformáció 22. Budapest: Balassi, 1995
- Klaniczay, Tibor. *A múlt nagy korszakai* (The Great Epochs of the Past). Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1973
- Knecht, R. J. *The French Wars of Religion 1559–1598*. Harlow: Longman, 1996 (1st edition: 1989)
- Kneschke, Ernst Heinrich. *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*. 10 vols. Vol. 4. Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1863
- Koltai, András. *Batthyány Ádám és könyvtára* (Ádám Batthyány and his Library). A Kárpát-medence kora újkori könyvtárai (Early Modern Libraries of the Carpatian Basin). Budapest–Szeged: OSZK Scriptorum, 2002
- _____. “A Batthyány család körmendi központi levéltárának kutatástörténete.” *Levéltári Közlemények* 71 (2000): 207–231
- Komoróczy, György. *Nádasdi Tamás és a XVI. századi magyar nagybirtok gazdálkodása*. (Tamás Nádasdi and the Agriculture of the Hungarian Dominion in the Sixteenth Century). *Tanulmányok a magyar mezőgazdaság történetéhez* 3. Budapest: n. p., 1932
- Konečný, Lubomír. *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*. Prague: Artefactum, 1998
- Koyré, Alexandre. *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe*. Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. “Studies on Renaissance Humanism During the Last Twenty Years.” *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962): 7–30

Krisztinkovich, Béla. “Anabaptista orvosok, gyógyszerészek a higiénia szolgálatában” (Anabaptist Physicians, Pharmacists in the Service of Hygiene). *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 20 (1961): 88–117

Kruppa, Tamás. “Erdély és a Szentszék kapcsolatai” (Relationship between Transylvania and the Holy See). *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 117, no. 4 (2004): 1166–1193

Kubinyi, András. *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* (High Priests, Ecclesiastical Institutions, and Religiousness in Medieval Hungary). Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközössége, 1999

Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 1962

_____. *The Copernican Revolution. Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957

Kumar, J. U. *Geschichte der Burg und Familie Herberstein*. Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1817

Kumorovicz, L. Bernát and Erzsébet M. Kállai, eds. *Kultúrtörténeti szemelvények a Nádasdiak 1540–1550-es számadásaiból* (Cultural Historical Data in the Records Books of the Nádasdis in the Years 1540–1550). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1959–1960

Kusukawa, Sachiko. *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: the Case of Philip Melanchton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995

Kühlmann, Wilhelm. “Humanistische Verskunst im Dienste des Paracelsismus – Zu einem programmatischen Lehrgedicht des Michael Toxites (1514–1581).” In *L’Alsace de l’Humanisme à la Réforme et à la Contre-Réforme. Histoire, littérature, culture*. Ed. Jean-Marie Valentin. Paris, 1995

Láng, Benedek. *Mágia a középkorban* (Magic in the Middle Ages). Budapest: Typotex, 2007

László, Emőke. “A magyar nemzeti viselet a családi arcképek tükrében” (Hungarian National Attire as Reflected in the Familiar Portraits), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar nemzeti galéria, 1988. márc.–aug.* (Aristocratic Galleries of Ancestors, Family Portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Joint Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, the Museum of Applied Arts, and the Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. 35–40

Le Goff, Jacques. “The Whys and Ways of Writing a Biography: the Case of St. Louis.” *Exemplaria* 1, no. 1 (1989): 207–225

Levi, Giovanni. “Les usages de la biographie.” *Annales ESC*, no. 6 (1989): 1325–1336

- Lindberg, David C. "Conceptions of the Scientific Revolution from Bacon to Butterfield: A Preliminary Sketch." In *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*. Ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 1–26
- Lindroth, Sten. *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600-tallets mitt* (Paracelsism in Sweden until the Middle of the Seventeenth Century). Lychnos Bibliotek 7. Uppsala, 1943.
- Long, Pamela O. "The Openness of Knowledge: An Ideal and Its Context in 16th-Century Writings on Mining and Metallurgy." *Technology and Culture* 32, no. 2 (1991): 318–355
- López Piñero, José María. "Paracelsus and his Work in 16th and 17th Century Spain." *Clio medica* 8 (1973): 113–141
- Lucentini, Paolo and Vittoria Perrone Compagni. *I testi e codici di Ermete nel Medioevo*. Florence: Edizione Polistampa, 2001
- Ludányi, Mária. "Könyvtárrendezés Thurzó György nádor udvarában 1611-ben" (Cataloguing in the Library of Palatine György Thurzó in 1611). In *Collectanea Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* (Studies in Honour of Tibor Klaniczay). Ed. Géza Galavics, János Herner, and Bálint Keserű. Adattár XVI – XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 10. Szeged: JATE, 1990. 271–277
- Lundquist, Kjell. "The Plant Material in the Renaissance Garden of Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg (1581–1597) on the Island of Ven – a Restoration Project in Progress." *Museologia Scientifica* 14 (1998), no. 1, suppl. 223–235
- Lytle, Guy Fitch and Stephen Orgel, eds. *Patronage in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981
- Maćzak, Antoni. "From Aristocratic Household to Princely Court. Reconstructing Patronage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court in the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*. Ed. Asch, Ronald G. and Adolf M. Birke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 315–327
- Madas, Edit and Monok, István. *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon. A kezdetektől 1730-ig* (Book-Culture in Hungary from the Beginning to 1730). Budapest: Balassi, 1997
- Maggiorotti, Leone Andrea and Florio Banfi. "Pietro Ferabosco." *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 34 (1933): 156–173
- Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Adattár*. 15 vols. Budapest, 1902–1934
- Magyar, Arnold. *Güssing. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte des Südburgenlandes bis zur Gegenreformation*. Graz: Selbstverlag des Franziskanerklosters, 1976
- Magyary-Kossa, Gyula. *Magyar orvosi emlékek* (Hungarian Medical Records). 4 vols. Reprint edition. Budapest: HOGYF EDITIO, 1994–1995 (1st edition: 1929-1931)

- Mamiani, Maurizio. *Storia della scienza moderna*. Bari: Laterza, 1998
- Mandosio, Jean-Marc. “L’alchimie dans le classifications des arts et des sciences.” In *Alchimie et philosophie à la renaissance. Actes du colloque international de Tours (4–7 Décembre 1991)*. Ed. Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton. Paris: VRIN, 1993. 11–41
- Marosi, Ernő. *Kép és hasonmás: művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* (Picture and Image: Art and Reality in Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995
- Marquet, Jean-François. “Philosophie et alchimie chez Gerhard Dorn.” In *Alchimie et Philosophie à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international de Tours (4–7 Décembre 1991)*. Ed. Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton. Paris: VRIN, 1993. 215–221
- Máté, Györgyi. “Jean Bodin és a magyar későreneszánsz” (Jean Bodin and the Hungarian Late Renaissance). *Irodalomtörténeti Dolgozatok* 142. Szeged: JATE BTK, 1981
- Mátray, László, ed. *Régi magyar filozófusok* (Old Hungarian Philosophers). Budapest: Gondolat, 1961
- McMullin, Ernan. “Bruno and Copernicus.” *Isis* 78, no. 1 (1987): 55–74
- Merkur, Daniel. “The Study of Spiritual Alchemy: Mysticism, Goldmaking, and Esoteric Hermeneutics.” *Ambix* 37 (1990): 35–45
- Mojzer, Miklós. “Az ősgaléria – mint egykori és mai kiállítás” (The Gallery of Ancestors – as an Exhibition in the Past and the Present), in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar nemzeti galéria, 1988. márc.–aug.* (Aristocratic Galleries of Ancestors, Family Portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Joint Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, the Museum of Applied Arts, and the Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988
- Molloy, Peter M. *The History of Metal Mining and Metallurgy: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publ., 1986
- Mommsen, Theodore E. “Petrarch’s Concept of the ‘Dark Ages’.” *Speculum* 17, no. 2 (1942): 226–242
- Monok, István, ed. *Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek I, III, VI, XI. Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája 1535–1750* (Issues on the History of Libraries. Bibliography of Book Catalogues from 1535 until 1750). 8 vols. Szeged: Scriptum, 1981–1997
- _____. “Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás” (Boldizsár Batthyány the Francophile). In *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 29 (2006) (Ötvös Péter Festschrift): 185–198

- _____. “A magyarországi főnemesség könyvgyűjtési szokásai a XVI–XVII. században” (Book Collecting Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries). *Café Babel* 14, no. 4 (1994): 59–68
- _____, ed. *Magángyűjtemények Magyarországon 1551–1721* (Private Collections in Hungary, 1551–1721). Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek I. Szeged: JATE Központi Könyvtára és I. sz. Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Tanszéke, 1981
- _____. “XVI–XVII. századi olvasmánykultúránk” (Our Reading-Culture in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 104 (1988): 78–82
- _____. “Württembergi exulánsok Batthyány Ferenc udvarában.” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 119 (2003/2): 205–211
- _____ and Péter Ötvös and Edina Zvara. *Balthasar Batthyány und seine Bibliothek. Bibliotheken in Güssing in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Band II. Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband XXVI.* Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesarchiv, 2004
- _____. “Lesende Magnaten und Bürger im Westungarn des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.” In *Bibliothekar und Forscher. Beiträge zur Landeskunde des burgenländisch-westungarischen Raumes. Festschrift für Norbert Frank zum 60. Geburtstag.* Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 2003. 179–190
- _____. “Private Bibliotheken in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert.” In *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, ed. by Werner Arnold, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997. 31–53.
- _____, ed. *Kék vér, fekete tinta. Arisztokrata könyvgyűjtemények 1500–1700. Nemzetközi vándorkiállítás. Katalógus* (Published also in English as *Blue Blood, Black Ink. Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700: International Travelling Exhibition; Zagreb, Martin, Bratislava, Budapest, Burg Forchtenstein, Fall 2005–Fall 2007.* Ed. István Monok. Budapest: OSZK, 2005). Ed. István Monok. Budapest: OSZK, 2005
- _____. “A Bánffy család alsóindvai udvara és könyves műveltsége” (The Court and Bookish Culture of the Bánffy Family from Alsóindva). In *Blue Blood, Black Ink. Book Collections of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700: International Travelling Exhibition; Zagreb, Martin, Bratislava, Budapest, Burg Forchtenstein, Fall 2005–Fall 2007.* Ed. István Monok. Budapest: OSZK, 2005. 61–63
- _____. “Zrínyi Miklós a könyvgyűjtő” (Miklós Zrínyi the Book Collector), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 91–92 (1987–1988). 175–179
- Moran, Bruce T. “German Prince-Practitioners: Aspects in the Development of Courtly Science, Technology, and Procedures in the Renaissance.” *Technology and Culture* 22, no. 2 (1981): 253–274
- _____. “Privilege, Communication, and Chemystry: The Hermetic-Alchemical Circle of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel.” *Ambix* 32 (1985): 110–126

_____, ed. *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European court, 1500–1750*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1991

_____. *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen, 1572–1632*. Sudhoffs Archiv, Beihefte 29. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991

_____. *Distilling Knowledge. Alchemy, Chemistry and the Scientific Revolution*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press, 2005

Mout, Nicolette. “The Court of Rudolf II and Humanist Culture.” In *Rudolf II and Prague. The Court and the City*. Ed. Eliška Fučíková, James M. Bradburne, Beket Bukovinská, Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Lumomír Konečný, Ivan Muchka, Michal Šroněk. In association with Prague Castle Administration and Skira. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. 220–222

Muir, Edward and Guido Ruggiero, eds. *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*. Tr. Eren Branch. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991

Multhauf, Robert P. “John of Rupescissa and the Origin of Medical Chemistry.” *Isis* 45, no. 4 (1954): 359–367

_____. *The Origins of Chemistry*. London: Oldbourne, 1966

_____. “The Beginning of Mineralogical Chemistry.” *Isis* 49 (1958), no. 1: 50–53

Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* (The Families of Hungary with their Coats of Arms and Genealogical Tables). 13 vols. Budapest: Friebeisz, 1857–1868

Nagy, László. *Az erős fekete bég. Nádasdy Ferenc* (The Strong Black Bey, Ferenc Nádasdy). Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1987

Newman, William R. and Anthony Grafton, eds. *Secrets of Nature. Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA–London: The MIT Press, 2001.

_____. “Introduction: The Problematic Status of Astrology and Alchemy in Premodern Europe.” In: *Secrets of Nature. Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton. Cambridge, MA–London: The MIT Press, 2001. 1–37

_____. *Promethean Ambitions. Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature*. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2004

_____. *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: a Critical Edition, Translation and Study*. Leiden: Brill, 1991

_____ and Lawrence M. Principe. “Alchemy versus Chemistry: the Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake.” *Early Science and Medicine* 3 (1998): 32–65

- Nutton, Vivian. "Greek Science in the Sixteenth Century Renaissance." In *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen, and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. J. V. Field and A. J. Frank. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 15–28
- Obrist, Barbara. *The Book of Secrets of Alchemy. Constantine of Pisa. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1990
- Az országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum állagai IV. rész. Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok (Fonds of the Hungarian National Museum of Fine Arts, Part IV. Hungarian Historical Gallery). Ed. János Peregriny. Budapest, 1915
- Osborn, James M. *Young Philip Sidney, 1572–1577*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972
- Osler, Margaret J. "Rethinking the Scientific Revolution: New Historiographical Directions." *Intellectual News* 8 (2000): 21–30
- _____. "The Canonical Imperative: Rethinking the Scientific Revolution." In *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*. Ed. Margaret J. Osler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000
- Osten, Sigrud von. *Das Alchimistenlaboratorium Oberstockstall – ein Fundkomplex des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Niederösterreich*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1998
- Ötvös, Péter. "A németújvári ferences kolostor könyvtára" (Library of the Franciscan Friary of Güssing). *Vigilia* 55 (1990): 745–748
- Pach, Zsigmond Pál and Ágnes R. Várkonyi, eds. *Magyarország története 1526–1686 (History of Hungary 1526–1686)*. In: *Magyarország története tíz kötetben (History of Hungary in Ten Volumes)*. 10 vols. Vol. 3, tomes 1–2. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985
- Pagel, Walter. *Paracelsus. An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*. Basel: Karger, 1982 (2nd, revised edition)
- Pálffy, Géza. *A tizenhatodik század története (History of the Sixteenth Century)*. Magyar Századok. Budapest: Pannonica, 2000
- _____, ed. *Gemeinsam gegen die Osmanen: Ausbau und Funktion der Grenzfestungen in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Katalog der Ausstellung im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv 14. März–31. Mai 2001*. Budapest–Vienna: 2001
- _____. "A bécsi udvar és a magyar rendek a 16. században" (The Viennese Court and the Hungarian Orders in the Sixteenth Century). *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999): 331–367
- _____ and Miljenko Pandžić and Felix Tobler. *Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Migration der Burgenländischen Kroaten im 16. Jahrhundert/Odabrani dokumenti o seobi*

Gradišćanskih Hrvata u 16. stoljeću. Eisenstadt–Željezo, Hrvatski kulturni i dokumentarni centar Eisenstadt, 1999.

_____. “Magyar címerek, zászlók és felségjelvények a Habsburgok dinasztikus-hatalmi reprezentációjában a 16. században” (Hungarian Coats of Arms, Banners and Insignia in the Representation of Dynasty and Power of the Habsburgs in the Sixteenth Century). *Történelmi Szemle*, no. 3–4 (2005): 241–275

_____. “Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században” (Regional and Borderland Captain-Generals and Vice Captain-Generals in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary). *Történelmi Szemle*, no. 2 (1997): 113–126

_____. “Der ungarische Adel und der Kaiserhof in der frühen Neuzeit.” In *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr, 1526–1740*. Ed. Václav Bůžek and Pavel Kral. České Budějovice, 2002. 133–152

_____. “Der Wiener Hof und die ungarischen Stände im 16. Jahrhundert.” In *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 109 (2001), 346–381

_____. “The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” In *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*. Ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2002. 111–135

Pánek, Jaroslav. *Poslední Rožmberk. Životní příběh Petra Voka*. N. p.: Brána, 1996

Paracelsus. Das Werk – die Rezeption. Beiträge des Symposiums zum 500. Geburtstag von Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, genannt Paracelsus (1493–1541) an der Universität Basel am 3. und 4. Dezember 1993. Ed. Volker Zimmermann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995

Paracelsus. Werk und Wirkung. Festgabe für Kurt Goldammer zum 60. Geburtstag Salzburger Beiträge für Paracelsusforschung 13. Ed. Sepp Domandl. Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1975

Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Ed. Joachim Telle. Heidelberg Studien zur Naturkunde der Frühen Neuzeit 3. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991

Pascu, Stefan. *Petru Cercel și Țara-Românească la sfârșitul sec. XVI* (Petru Cercel and Wallachia in the Sixteenth Century). Sibiu, 1944

Payr, Sándor. *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története* (History of the Transdanubian Evangelic Diocese). Vol.1. Sopron, 1924

_____. “Mária, a humanista magyar királyné” (Mary the Humanist Hungarian Queen), *Protestáns Szemle* 17 (1905): 163–172, 223–235

Pereira, Michela. *Arcana Sapienza. Storia dell'alchimia dalle origini a Jung*. Rome: Carocci, 2001

_____. "Alchemy and the Use of Vernacular Languages in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 74, no. 2 (1999): 336–356

_____. "Alchemy and Hermeticism: An Introduction to this Issue." *Early Science and Medicine* 5 (2000): 115–120

_____. *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymond Lull* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1989)

_____. *Il testamentum alchemico attributo a Raimondo Lullo: edizione del testo latino e catalano dal manoscritto Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 244*, ed. by Michela Pereira and Barbara Spaggiari. Florence: Tavarnuzze, 1999

Péter, Katalin. "The Idea of the Community of Intellectuals in the Mind of a Renaissance Maecenas: Tamás Nádasdy, 1498–1562." In *Republic of Letters, Humanism, Humanities*. Ed. Marcell Sebök. Workshop Series Publications 15. Budapest: Collegium Budapest and NIAS, 2005. 141–167

_____, ed. *Beloved Children. History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2001

_____. "Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Hungary." In *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*. Ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 249–261

_____. *A reformáció: kényszer vagy választás? (Reformation: Constraint or Choice?)*. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2004

Petkovšek, Viktor. „Clusius' *Nomenclator Pannonicus* und seine Zusammenarbeit mit Joannes Manlius." In *Carolus Clusius und seine Zeit. Symposium in Güssing 1973 (Vorträge)*. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 54 (Kulturwissenschaften 19). Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesmuseum, 1974. 24–32

Peuckert, Will-Erich. *Pansophie. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weißen und schwarzen Magie*. Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1956

Pferschy, Gerhard and Peter Krenn, eds. *Katalog der Landesausstellung Die Steiermark. Brücke und Bollwerk. Schloß Herberstein bei Stubenberg 3. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1986*. Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchives 16. Graz: Leykam, 1986

_____, ed. *Siegmund von Herberstein. Kaiserlicher Gesandter und Begründer der Rußlandkunde und die europäische Diplomatie*. Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchives 17. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1989

- Pinkowski, Jennifer. "The Alchemist's Lab." *Archaeology* 57, no. 6 (2004): 27–31
- Poznik, Aleksander. "Osnovne Paracelsusove teze in njegovo bivanje v Ptuj" (Paracelsus' Basic Theses and his Stay at Ptuj). *Zbornik za zgodovino naravoslovja in tehnike* 8 (1985): 115–125
- Press, Volker. "The Imperial Court of the Habsburgs: From Maximilian I to Ferdinand III, 1493–1657." In *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court in the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*. Ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 289–312
- Prickler, Harald. "Beiträge zur evangelischen Presbyterologie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts auf den Batthyány-Besitzungen des heutigen Südburgenlandes." In *Reformation und Gegenreformation im Pannonischen Raum*. Ed. Gustav Reingrabner and Gerhard Schlag. Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1999. 39–93
- Priesner, Claus. "Basilius Valentinus und die Labortechnik um 1600." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 20 (1997): 159–172
- Puder, Sándor. *Paracelsus. Paracelsus magyar vonatkozásaival* (Paracelsus and his Connections with Hungary). Budapest: Vajda János Társaság, 1942
- Pumfrey, Stephen. "The Spagyric Art; or, the Impossible Work of Separating Pure from Impure Paracelsianism: a Historiographical Analysis." In *Paracelsus. The Man and his Reputation, his Ideas and their Transformation*. Ed. Ole Peter Grell. Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 1998. 21–51
- Pumm, Lisbeth. *Die Klosterbibliothek Güssing. Ein Zeitzzeuge der Reformation und Gegenreformation im burgenländischen Raum*. Vienna, 1992. MA thesis.
- Purkarthofer, Heinrich. *Die Herrschaft Herberstein in der Steiermark zu Beginn des 16. Jh.s bis 1628*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz. 1960.
- _____. "Geschichte der Familie Herberstein." In *Die Steiermark. Brücke und Bollwerk. Schloß Herberstein bei Stubenberg 3. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1986*. Ed. Gerhard Pferschy and Peter Krenn. Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchives 16. Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 1986. 529–530
- Quellmalz, Werner, and Helmut Wilsdorf. *Bergwerke und Hüttenanlagen der Agricola-Zeit*. Berlin, 1971. Suppl. 1 of *Ausgewählte Werke* by Georgius Agricola. Ed. Hans Prescher. 12 vols. Berlin, 1955–74
- R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *A királyi Magyarország 1541–1686* (Royal Hungary 1541–1686). Budapest: Vince, 1999
- Radvánszky, Béla. *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian Family Life and Household in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). 3 vols. Budapest: Helikon, 1986

Rapaics, Raymund. *A magyarság virágai. A virágkultusz története* (Flowers of the Hungarians. History of the Flower-Cult). Budapest: Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1932.

_____. *Magyar kertek. A kertművészet Magyarországon* (Hungarian Gardens. Gardening in Hungary). Reprint edition. Budapest: Unio Civilis, 1993

Rattansi, P. M. “Recovering the Paraclesian Milieu.” In: *Revolutions in Science. Their Meaning and Relevance*. Ed. William R. Shea. Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1985. 1–26

Réthelyi, Orsolya. “Die Anfänge der Ofener Hofhaltung der Königin Maria von Ungarn.” In *Maria von Ungarn (1515–1558). Eine Renaissancefürstin*. Ed. Martina Fuchs and Orsolya Réthelyi with the cooperation of Katrin Sippel. Münster: Aschendorff, 2007

Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes. “Zsámboky János levelei Batthyány Boldizsárhoz” (Letters of János Zsámboki to Boldizsár Batthyány). In *‘Nympha super ripam Danubii.’ Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (‘Nympha super ripam Danubii.’ Studies on the Hungarian Culture in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century). Humanizmus és reformáció. Budapest: Balassi, 2002. 213–217

_____. “Hortus musarum: egy irodalmi társaság emlékei” (Hortus musarum: the Memory of a Literary Circle). In *‘Nympha super ripam Danubii.’ Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (‘Nympha super ripam Danubii.’ Studies on the Hungarian Culture in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century). Humanizmus és reformáció. Budapest: Balassi, 2002. 219–222

Roberts, Gareth. *The Mirror of Alchemy: Alchemical Ideas and Images in Manuscripts and Books from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*. London: British Library, 1994

Roberts, Julian and Andrew G. Watson, eds. *John Dee’s Library Catalogues [with facsimiles]*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990

Romhányi, Beatrix. *Kolostorok és Társkáptalanok* (Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters). Budapest: Pytheas, 2000

Rossi, Paolo. *La nascita della scienza moderna in Europa*. Bari: Laterza, 1997

Sarton, George. *A History of Science. Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries BC*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953

_____. *The Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science during the Renaissance, 1450–1600*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955

Sárvár monográfiája (Monography of Sárvár). Ed. Ferenc Horváth. Szombathely: Sárvár Város Tanácsa, 1978

Charles Schmidt. *Michael Schütz genannt Toxites. Leben eines Humanisten und Rztes aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*. Strasbourg: n. p., 1888

The Scientific Revolution. The Essential Readings. Ed. Marcus Hellyer. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003

Sebök, Marcell, ed. *Republic of Letters, Humanism, Humanities.* Collegium Budapest Workshop Series 15. Budapest: Collegium Budapest and NIAS, 2005

Seegers, Ulrike. *Transformatio energetica. Hermetische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert.* PhD dissertation. University of Stuttgart, 2002

Segonds, Alain Philippe. "Tycho Brahe et l'alchimie." In: *Alchimie et philosophie à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international de Tours (4–7 Décembre 1991).* Ed. Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton. Paris: VRIN, 1993. 365–378

Schultheisz, Emil and Lajos Tardy. "The Contacts of the Two Dees and Sir Philip Sidney with Hungarian Physicians." *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* suppl. 6 (1972): 97–111

Shackelford, Jole. "Early Reception of Paracelsian Theory: Severinus and Erastus." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 1 (1995): 123–135

_____. "Paracelsianism and Patronage in Early Modern Denmark." In *Patronage and Institutions. Science, Technology and Medicine at the European Court 1500–1700.* Ed. Bruce T. Moran. Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1991. 85–109

Shapin, Steven. *The Scientific Revolution.* Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997

Shumaker, Wayne. *Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns.* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1972

Smith, Pamela H. "Alchemy as a Language of Mediation at the Habsburg Court." *Isis* 85, no. 1 (1994): 1–25

_____. *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire.* Princeton-Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994

Sóskuti Tárnok, Alajos. *A Batthyányi Herczegi és Grófi Nemzetség Leszármazása* (Genealogy of the Batthyányi Kindred). Nagykanizsa: Wajdits József, 1875

Soukup, Rudolf Werner and Helmut Mayer. *Alchemistisches Gold Paracelsistische Pharmaka. Laboratoriumstechnik im 16. Jahrhundert. Chemiegeschichtliche und archäometrische Untersuchungen am Inventar des Laboratoriums von Oberstockstall/Kirchberg am Wagram.* Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997

Stagl, Justin. *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550–1800.* Chur: Harwood, 1995

Štefanec, Nataša. *The Ascent of the Zrinski Family and their Role in the Spread of Protestantism in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.* M. A. Thesis, Central European University, Department of History. 1997

_____. *Heretik njegova velicanstva povijest o Jurju IV Zrinskom i njegovu rodu* (His Majesty's Heretic: the Story of George Zrinski IV and his Family). Zagreb: Barbat, 2001

Stirling, János. *Magyar Reneszánsz Kertművészet a XVI–XVII. században* (Hungarian Renaissance Horticulture in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century). Budapest: Enciklopédia, 1996

_____. “Orvosi kertek Magyarországon a XVI. században” (Medical Gardens in Sixteenth-Century Hungary) *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 111–115

_____. “Egy híres kert Csurgón a XVI. század közepén” (A Famous Garden in Csurgó in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century). *Somogy* 1 (1986): 82–85

Stoudt, Debra L. “‘Proba tum est per me’: The Heidelberg Electors as Practitioners and Patrons of the Medical and Magical Arts,” *Cauda Pavonis* 14, no.1 (1995), 12–18

Strauss, Felix F. “The ‘Liberey’ of Duke Ernst of Bavaria (1500–1560).” *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961): 128–143

Sugár, István. *Szigetvár és viadala* (The Fortress of Sziget and its Fall). Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1976

Suhling, Lothar. “Georgius Agricola und der Bergbau: Zur Rolle der Antike im montanischen Werk des Humanisten.” In *Die Antike-Rezeption in den Wissenschaften während der Renaissance*. Ed. August Buck and Klaus Heitmann. Mitteilung der Kommission für Humanismusforschung 10. Weinheim, 1983. 149–165

_____. “‘Philosophisches’ in der frühneuzeitlichen Berg- und Hüttenkunde: Metallogene und Transmutation aus der Sicht montanistischen Erfahrungswissens.” In *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Ed. Christoph Meinel. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986. 293–313

Sutter Fichtner, Paula. *Emperor Maximilian II*. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2001

Sviták, Jan. *Hermetic Philosophy in Renaissance Prague: 1. John Dee in Bohemia, 2. Sir Edward Kelley*. Chico, CA: author's edition, 1980–1989

Szabadváry, Ferenc. *A kémia története Magyarországon* (History of Chemistry in Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972

Szabó, András. *Respublica litteraria*. Budapest: Balassi, 1999

Szádeczky, Lajos. “Báthory István és egy magyarországi összeesküvés” (István Báthory and a Conspiracy in Hungary). *Századok* 20 (1886): 851–866

Szakály, Ferenc. *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* (Oppidum and Reformation. Studies in the Early Urbanisation in Hungary). Humanizmus és Reformáció 23. Budapest: Balassi, 1995

_____. *Virágkor és hanyatlás* (Golden Age and Decay). Magyarok Európában, vol. 2. Budapest: Háttér, 1990

_____. “A sárvári ‘provinciális humanista kör’ és a reformáció kezdetei” (The ‘Provincial Humanist Circle’ of Sárvár and the Beginnings of Reformation). In *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára* (In the Service of Science. Writings to Honour Kálmán Benda on his Eightieth Birthday). Ed. Ferenc Glatz. Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993. 83–96

Szathmáry, László. *Magyar Alkémisták* (Hungarian Alchemists). Budapest: Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1928

_____. “Mária királyné és Paracelsus” (Queen Mary of Hungary and Paracelsus). *A Magyar Gyógyszerésztudományi Társaság Értesítője* 8, no. 2 (1932): 274–282

_____. “A magyar iatrokémikusok” (The Hungarian Iatrochemists). In *Régi magyar vegytudorok* (Old Hungarian Chemists). Piliscsaba–Sopron–Várpalota: Magyar Tudománytörténeti Intézet–Nyugat-Magyarországi Egyetem–Magyar Vegyészeti Múzeum, 2003. 15–25

_____. “Régi magyar szeszes italok és szeszipari műszavak” (Old Hungarian Spirits and Technical Terms used in Distilling Industry). In *Régi magyar vegytudorok* (Old Hungarian Chemists). Piliscsaba–Sopron–Várpalota: Magyar Tudománytörténeti Intézet–Nyugat-Magyarországi Egyetem–Magyar Vegyészeti Múzeum, 2003. 259–262

Szentmártoni Szabó, Géza. “Balassi Bálint barátsága Batthyány Boldizsárral és fiával, Ferencel” (The Friendship of Bálint Balassi with Boldizsár Batthyány and his Son Ferenc). In *A Batthyányak évszázadai. Tudományos konferencia Körmenten 2005. október 27–29* (The Centuries of the Batthyánys. Scientific Conference in Körmenten 27–29 October 2005). Körment: Körment város önkormányzata, 2006. 205–216

Szerémi (Artúr Odeschalchi). “A gróf Draskovich-család levéltárában talált XVII-ik századbeli feljegyzés” (A Seventeenth-Century Note in the Archives of the Count Draskovics Family). *Történelmi Tár* (1890)

Szirmay, Antal. *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, története és polgári esmérete* (The Geographical Position, History and Inhabitants of Szathmár County). Buda: published by the author, 1809

Szlatky, Mária. “A magyar nyelvű természettudományos és orvosi irodalom a XVI. században” (Natural Scientific and Medical Literature in Hungarian in the Sixteenth Century). *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 109–112 (1985): 91–97

Szőkefalvi Nagy, Zoltán. *A kémia története Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1972

Szőnyi, György Endre. *Titkos tudományok és babonák. A XV–XVII. század művelődéstörténetének kérdéseire* (Secret Sciences and Superstitions. Some Questions of the Fifteenth-Seventeenth Century Cultural History). Budapest: Magvető, 1978

_____. “John Dee angol mágus és Közép-Európa” (The English Magus John Dee and Central Europe). *Valóság* 17 (1974): 47–57

_____. *‘Exaltatio’ és hatalom. Keresztény mágia és okkult szimbolizmus egy angol mágus műveiben* (‘Exaltatio’ and Power. Christian Magic and Occult Symbolism in the Works of an English Magus). Ikonológia és Műértelmezés 7. Szeged: JATEPress, 1998

_____. “The Occult Sciences in Early Modern Hungary in a Central European Context.” In *The Role of Magic in the Past. Learned and Popular Magic, Popular Beliefs and Diversity of Attitudes*. Ed. Blanka Szeghyová. Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2005. 29–44

_____. *John Dee’s Occultism. Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004

Tabernigg, Teodor. “Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Güssing.” *Biblos* 23 (1972): 167–175

Takáts, Sándor. *Rajzok a török világból* (Sketches from the Turkish Era). 3 vols. Budapest, 1915–1917

_____. “A magyar és török íródeákok” (The Hungarian and Turkish Scribes). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 1. 1–104

_____. “Száldokfa” (Linden Tree). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 3. 305–318

_____. “Dinnyeszüret a hódoltság korában” (Melon Vintage in the Turkish Era). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 3. 388–395

_____. “Első tulipánjaink” (Our First Tulpis). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 3. 378–387

_____. “Kertészkedés a török világban” (Gardening in the Turkish Era). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 3. 358–377

_____. “Orvosságtudakozás és orvoslás a hódoltság korában” (Exchange of Medical Notions and Medicine in the Ottoman Period). In *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 3. 93–135

_____. *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History). Ed. Kálmán Benda. Budapest: Gondolat, 1961.

_____. “A sáfrányoskert” (The Saffron Garden). In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History). Ed. Kálmán Benda. Budapest: Gondolat, 1961. 195–198

_____. “A méheskert” (The Bee Garden). In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History). Ed. Kálmán Benda. Budapest: Gondolat, 1961. 199–203

_____. “A vadkert” (The Beast Garden). In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Cultural History). Ed. Kálmán Benda. Budapest: Gondolat, 1961. 204–207

_____. *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok* (Great Hungarian Women from the Past). Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1982

_____. “Zrínyi Miklós temetése” (The Funeral of Miklós Zrínyi). In *Régi idők, régi emberek* (Historic Times, Historic People). Budapest: Athaeneum, no year. 113–123

_____. “Batthyány Kristóf levelezéséből” (Some Letters from the Correspondence of Kristóf Batthyány). *Magyar Nyelv* 6 (1910)

_____. “Balassa Bálintról” (On Bálint Balassa). In *Régi idők, régi emberek* Budapest: Athenaeum, 193?. 127–153

_____. “Műveltségtörténeti közlemények III. A magyar patika” (Cultural Historical Proceedings III. The Hungarian Pharmacy). *Századok* (1907)

Taylor, Sherwood F. *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry*. London: William Heinemann, 1951

Telle, Joachim. “Astrologie und Alchemie im 16. Jahrhundert. Zu den astroalchemischen Lehrdichtungen von Christoph von Hirschenberg und Basilius Valentinus.” In *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance*. Ed. August Buck. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992. 227–253

_____. “Paracelsus bei Kaiser Maximilian I.” In *Paracelsus. Werk und Wirkung. Festgabe für Kurt Goldammer zum 60. Geburtstag*. Salzburger Beiträge für Paracelsusforschung 13. Ed. Sepp Domandl. Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1975. 315–333

_____. “Johann Huser in seinen Briefen. Zum schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert.” In: *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Ed. Joachim Telle. Heidelberg Studien zur Naturkunde der Frühen Neuzeit 3. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991. 159–248

_____. “L’art symbolique paracelsien. Remarque concernant une pseudo-“Tabula Smaragdina” du XVI^e siècle.” In *Présence d’Hermès Trismégiste*. Ed. Antoine Faivre and Frédéric Tristan. Paris: Albin Michel, 1988. 184–208

Testi, Gino. *Dizionario di alchimia e di chimica antiquaria*. Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2002 (1st edition: 1950)

Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*. 8 vols. New York: Macmillan&Co., 1923–1958

Thury, Etele. *A dunántúli református egyházkerület története* (History of the Transdanubian Reformed Diocese). Vol. 1. Pápa, 1908

_____. “Felső-Őrs reformációja” (Reformation in Felsőörs). *Protestáns Szemle* 15 (1903): 292–305

Tóth, Béla. *Curiosa Hungarica. Magyar ritkaságok* (Hungarian Curiosities). Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907 (2nd enlarged and corrected edition)

Tóth, István György. “Körmend a kora újkorban (1526–1809).” In *Körmend története*. Ed. László Szabó. Körmend, 1994. 98–179

_____, ed. *A Concise History of Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina and Osiris, 2005

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. “The Paracelsian Movement.” In *Renaissance Essays*. London: Fontana, 1985 (1st edition 1961). 149–199

_____. “The Count Physician and Paracelsianism.” In *Medicine at the Courts of Europe, 1500–1837*. Ed. Vivian Nutton. London–New York: Routledge, 1990. 79–94

Tschinkel, Augustin. “Paracelsus bei König Ferdinand I.” In *Paracelsus. Werk und Wirkung. Festgabe für Kurt Goldammer zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. Sepp Domandl. Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, 1975. 335–343

Tylecote, R. F. *A History of Metallurgy*. London: Metals Society, 1976

_____. *The Early History of Metallurgy in Europe*. London, 1987

Ubrizsy-Savoia, Andrea. *Die Beziehungen des Lebenswerkes von Carolus Clusius zu Italien und Ungarn. Clusius’ Pilzkundliche Aquarelle*. Vienna: Internationale Clusius-Gesellschaft, 1977

_____. *Rapporti italo-ungheresi nella nascita della botanica in Ungheria*. Pécs, 2002

_____. “Carolus Clusius és a termesztett növények” (Carolus Clusius and the Cultivated Plants). *Botanikai Közlemények* 62, no. 3 (1975): 223–226

_____. “Clusius levelező társai” (Clusius and his Correspondents). *Vasi Szemle* 32, no. 1 (1978): 145–154

Unghváry, Alexander Sándor. *The Hungarian Protestant Reformation in the Sixteenth Century Under the Ottoman Impact*. Mellen, 1989

Uray, Piroska. “Az irénizmus Magyarországon a 16–17. század fordulóján” (Irenism in Hungary at the Turn of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century). In *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században* (Literature and Ideology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries). Ed. Béla Varjas. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987. 187–207

- Urbach, Zsuzsanna. “Marginal Remarks to Buegel’s *Sermon of St. John the Baptist in Budapest*.” In *Flemish Art in Hungary*. Ed. Carl van de Velde. Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2004. 79–90
- Urbán, László. “Kultúra és egészségügy” (Culture and Healthcare). In *Sárvár monográfiája* (Monography of Sárvár). Ed. Ferenc Horváth. Szombathely: Sárvár Város Tanácsa, 1978. 419–457
- Vadai, István. “Batthyány Ferenc és Balassi Bálint” (Ferenc Batthyány and Bálint Balassi). In: *A Batthyánys századai. Tudományos konferencia Körmenden 2005. október 27–29* (The Centuries of the Batthyánys. Scientific Conference in Körmend 27–29 October 2005). Körmend: Körmend város önkormányzata, 2006. 217–222
- Vámbéri, Gusztáv. „Reformation und Gegenreformation in Ungarn. Beziehungen des Clusius zu Batthyány.” In *Carolus Clusius und seine Zeit. Symposion in Güssing 1973 (Vorträge)*. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 54 (Kulturwissenschaften 19). Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesmuseum, 1974. 40–42
- Vámosy, István. *Adatok a gyógyászat történetéhez Pozsonyban* (Data Concerning Medical History in Pozsony). Pozsony: Pozsony szabad királyi város közönsége, 1901
- Varga, András, ed. *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. (1533–1657)* (Hungarian Private Libraries 1533–1657). Budapest–Szeged: MTA–JATE, 1986
- Varju, Elemér. “A gyulafejevári Batthyány Könyvtár” (The Batthyány Library of Gyulafehérvár). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 24 (1899)
- Várkonyi, Ágnes, ed. *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Hungarian Renaissance Courtly Culture). Budapest: Gondolat, 1987
- _____. *A királyi Magyarország. 1541–1686* (Royal Hungary, 1541–1686). Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 1999
- Véghely, Dezső. *Történelmi adatok F. Őrs, A. Őrs és Lovas helységek egyházi reformációjához* (Data Concerning the Reformation in F. Őrs, A. Őrs and Lovas). Manuscript. OSzKK, Fol. Hung. 1209.
- Vickers, Brian. “Analogy versus Identity: the Rejection of Occult Symbolism, 1580–1680.” In *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*. Ed. Brian Vickers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. 95–163
- _____, ed. “Introduction.” In *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984
- Vitnyédi István levelei 1652–1664: adalékul a XVII. század politikai és erkölcstörténetéhez (The Letters of István Vitnyédi from 1652–1664. Some Data Concerning the Political and Moral History of the Seventeenth Century). Ed. András Fabó. *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 15-16 (1871–1872). vol. I. 194

- Vocelka, Karl. *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1576–1612*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981
- Waczulik, Margit, ed. *A táguló világ magyarországi hírmondói* (Hungarian Messengers of the Expanding World). Budapest: Gondolat, 1984
- Webster, Charles. “Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine.” In *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. Charles Webster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 301–334
- _____. *From Paracelsus to Newton. Magic and the Making of Modern Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982
- Weeks, Andrew. *Paracelsus. Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997
- Wenzel, Gusztáv. *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* (Critical History of Mining in Hungary). Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1880.
- Westfall, Richard S. “The Scientific Revolution Reasserted,” in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by Margaret J. Osler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 41–56
- Weszprémi, István. *Succinta medicorum Hungariae et Transsilvaniae biographia*. 4 vols. 1787
- Weyer, Jost. “Graf Wolfgang II. von Hohenlohe (1546–1610) und die Alchemie – Ein Arbeitsbericht.” In *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Ed. Christoph Meinel. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986. 99–106
- Wilkinson, Alexander S. *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542–1600*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004
- Wurzbach, Constant von. *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*. Vol. 8. Wien, 1862
- Zambelli, Paola. “Teorie su astrologia, magia e alchimia (1348–1586) nelle interpretazioni recenti.” *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 27 (1987): 95–119
- _____. “Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 69–103.
- Zanier, Giancarlo. “La medicina Paracelsiana in Italia: Aspetti di unaccoglienza particolare.” *Rivista di storia della filosofia* 4 (1985): 627–653
- Zbornik splošne bolnišnice dr. Jožeta Potrča Ptuj 1874–2004* (Miscellany of the General Hospital “Dr Jože Potrč” in Ptuj, 1874–2004). Ptuj: Ptujška tiskarna, 2004. 120–121

- Zemplényi, Ferenc. *Az európai udvari kultúra és a magyar irodalom* (European Courtly Culture and Hungarian Literature). Budapest: Universitas, 1998
- Zieliński, Ryszard and Roman Żelenski. *Olbracht Łaski. Od Kieżmarku do Londynu* (Olbracht Łaski. From Késmárk to London). Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1982
- Zika, Charles. "Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 104–138
- Zimányi, Vera, ed. *A herceg Batthyány család levéltára. Repertórium* (Archives of the Princely Batthyány Family. Repertory). Levéltári leltárak 16. Budapest: Művelődési Minisztérium Levéltári Osztálya, 1962
- _____. *A rohonc-szalónaki uradalom jobbágysága a XVI–XVII. században* (The Serfs of the Rohonc-Szalónak Dominion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968
- _____. *Der Bauernstand in Herrschaft Güssing in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* Eisenstadt: Rötzer, 1962
- Zimmermann, Volker, ed. *Paracelsus. Das Werk – die Rezeption. Beiträge des Symposiums zum 500. Geburtstag von Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, genannt Paracelsus (1493–1541) an der Universität Basel am 3. und 4. Dezember 1993*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995
- Yates, Frances A. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964

www.hab.de
www.onb.ac.at