

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE BOOK HISTORY OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: ASPECTS AND EXAMPLES

ISTVÁN MONOK

University of Szeged
monok@bibl.u-szeged.hu

Central Europe (Europe-Between, *Zwischeneuropa*) belonged to the sphere of German cultural influence. Western intellectual trends came also through German language areas either directly or indirectly by transmitting ideas (e.g.: the products of Renaissance intellectual trends or the ideas of the Enlightenment). At the same time the peoples of the region were also in direct connection with one another. In several cases the rulers of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland had been the members of the same dynasties but there were periods when personal union was the form of governance. The institutionally organised protection of the mother tongue, the establishment of national literature and science took place at different times and lasted from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the Czech language. This vision of cultural history is presented in this lecture by comparing the similarities and the differences in reading history of the region. The first examples are taken from the Protestant Reformation and its preceding Spiritual and Humanist movements. I will discuss the direct connections between Hungary and Livonia (through the two examples of the Hungarian translation and publication of Georg Ziegler's book and the Hungarian students of the Papal Seminary of Riga) touching also upon the shared university studies of students from several nations of Europe-Between (in Bologna, Padova, Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Strasburg, etc.).

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The Latvian National Library is commemorating the 500th anniversary of the arrival (1514) of the very first breviary printed for Riga (*Breviarium secundum ritum et usum Rigensis ecclesiae*, 1513) by organising an outstanding exhibition. Thinking of an exhibition that presents books all of which were published in 1514 one is tempted to believe that it is about old times. When entering the exhibition hall one steps into pre-Protestant Reformation times. The thematic selection of books, however, was so successful that the examples from 1514 recall our present days. The daily or annual rhythm of people living then does not differ that much from that of our lives. The exhibition takes us from birth to death presenting every-

day life with its daily religious practice, meals and holidays, as well as schooling from alphabet books to scholarly writings. It shows the intellectual torments the intellectuals of the time experienced, torn between the rationalism of Humanism and Christian Philosophy requiring a deep personal religious faith. It is all presented in a way a village priest or a professor or Erasmus Roterodamus, the uncrowned prince of scientists of the period might have experienced it.

Going through the publishing data of the books which came out in 1514 and are presented at the exhibition one will hardly ever see among them the towns of Central Europe, an area of many names. The fact that this area is called by so many names has, in itself, relevance and consequences for book history. Naming this area “Eastern Europe” is wrong by all means since it is synonymous with the “Eastern bloc” originating after World War II. For those living in Western Europe the term “Eastern Europe” is handy since problems can be swept under the carpet with it. The term “Central Eastern Europe” shows a “more open” approach but does not essentially differ from the previous one. It refers to a part of Europe which is under Eastern influence. If using this term one should, however, explain what one means by “Eastern” influence. Intellectuals in an effort to create Europe, and not merely the Common Market, in an effort to understand the sources of the tension among the peoples living in this area, published a collection of studies of more than a thousand pages about the sacred places, objects, forms and ideas of cultural memory.¹ The title of the book includes the term “Ostmitteleuropa” and from the contents it is clear what area it refers to geographically. It lists the Monastery of Rila (Рилски Манастир), Święta Lipka in Poland (in German: *Heiligelinde*), Kryžių kalnas from Lithuania (in German: *Berg der Kreuze*), Međugorje in Bosnia-Herzegovina, *Hrodna of Belarus* (in Belarusian: Гродна, in Polish: Grodno, in Lithuanian: Gardinas), Sevastopol and Devin in Slovakia (in Hungarian: Dévény) but nothing from the so-called Baltic countries, which are – according to this concept – not part of “Ostmitteleuropa” as a geographical and intellectual unit. I believe that “Ostmitteleuropa” and the Baltic countries make up the area called “Zwischeneuropa”.²

I myself join Harald Roth in calling the area bordering Eastern Christianity from the West but making an integral part of Western Christianity on the east side from Finland to the Adriatic Sea “Östliches Europa”.³ One can study the cohabitation of the two mentalities and moral practices in this area. From the point of view of book history this position of being located between Western and Eastern Europe means that the role of books and writing in the process of transmitting tradition from one generation to the other has been different than both in Western and Eastern Europe. With Eastern Christianity, in the case of both the Greek Orthodox and the Slavic Orthodox churches, image has had a more important role in daily religious practice or in transmitting theological ideas than in the more text-focused Western Christianity. This phenomenon can be

proven also by the fact that the conditions to produce books in the Eastern region were less present than in the western part of Europe. Let me refer here primarily to the difficulties paper production had in Eastern and Central Europe since the poorer population of these areas wore off their clothes out of which paper could have been made. If we look at the map indicating the paper mills in Europe of the fifteenth century, which we can do by going to <http://atlas.lib.uiowa.edu>, a wonderful and sufficiently didactic website entitled “The Atlas of Early Printing” created and maintained by the University of Iowa, one can clearly see what an advantage textile industry centres had in book printing. One can also state the fact that until 1500 in Central Europe there had been no paper mills outside of Lower Austria, Bohemia and Silesia except for Cracow. If we tick “trade routes” on the map one can clearly see the Eastern edge of Eastern Europe (or Europe-Between or “Zwischeneuropa”) while the Western border can be drawn by a line between Szczecin and Triest I believe.

Staying on the same website one can draw several other conclusions concerning the intellectual and book history of Central Europe. By ticking “Universities” one can see Prague (foundation in 1348), Cracow (1364), Vienna (1365), Óbuda/Buda (1395-1403, 1410-1418, and later on between 1475 and 1530) as well as Pozsony (in German: Pressburg) (1467-1475). The map does not include the colleges established by religious orders (*studium generale*, *studium particulare*) although these provided studies in higher education in many instances not only for the members of the order. This indicates to us that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cultural institutional network, including a school system, was created in the Central European area comparable to the one in Western Europe in addition to the institution maintained by the church hierarchy. The more and more secular cultural life of royal courts inspired the educated aristocrats and the Renaissance high priests to hold similar courts which then yielded remarkable scientific and cultural achievements. The appearance of printing is one of these. If you tick “spread of printing” while setting the slider to 1475 you can see that there were active officinas (printing shops) in Cracow, Buda and Chelmno then while there were none on the British isles at the same point of time. In the independent Polish Kingdom, in the Hungarian Kingdom, in the Czech Kingdom and in Silesia there had been several printing shops established by then. The productivity of these officinas, however, were nowhere near that of the bigger printing centres due to the lack of paper mentioned before and the high price of the paper. This can easily be demonstrated if you tick “Output by Location” on the website of the University of Iowa. One can get an even clearer picture of this if one takes a look at Philippe Nieto’s map of the first twenty most important printing centres in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. There are no towns indicated from Central Europe there and it shows that more than 90% of all printing was then done by German, French and Italian printers. This dominance lessening to a small degree with time

stayed until the middle of the seventeenth century while the output of printing in the Low Countries, England and Spain increased more and more. By studying the maps of printing in the fifteenth century one can see that Central Europe was and has remained an area of receptive cultures ever since. When feudalism was established in Europe there were regions in the geographical Europe where a different type of feudalism was created. These regions by the sixteenth century grew markedly apart. The peoples of Central Europe, even if several of their kingdoms managed to build an institutional system similar to that of Western Europe, were forced to enter a power play where they had to accept the subjugation of either a Western or an Eastern power group (while losing the opportunity to share the resources of the world outside of Europe).

The region of Central Europe has been under German cultural influence. The German influence was strong among nobility and decisive for the history of the culture of commoners. The town communities built by the laws of the Holy Roman Empire from what is Estonia today to Transylvania and to Croatia were the driving force behind the process which established public access to culture by the first half of the nineteenth century. From the sixteenth century on, the ideas of Protestant Reformation spread primarily through these communities. The programmes offered by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon or Johann Bugenhagen concerned all parts of the church, schools or the lives of town people. Books, printing shops and public libraries played a key role in these programmes. It is vital to highlight the fact that the ideas of the Reformation of Luther together with Humanism made an influence in the entire region of Central Europe. All the emblematic figures of Reformation in Central Europe, in addition to the fact that they were either priests or ones who had meant to become priests, were influenced by Erasmus Roterodamus one way or another, or Melanchthon made a major effect on them while they were studying in Wittenberg. It is well known that the classical philologist and philosopher of history Melanchthon had a decisive influence on young people then. The *Praeceptor Germaniae* is often quoted for saying the following: « *Utiliorem post sacrorum biblicorum lectionem esse nullum quam tragoediarum* » (Studying the Greek tragedies is the second most important thing to do from a moral point of view after Biblical studies).

Let me mention here three people from Central Europe in the sixteenth century to illustrate this parallel. The oldest of them is the Hungarian János Sylvester (1504 after 1551), who returned to Hungary after studying in Cracow (1524–1526) and Wittenberg (1529, and later on between 1534 and 1536). After his return he wrote and published a Hungarian grammar book (1539) and in 1541 the first complete New Testament in Hungarian. He got to know Erasmus' teachings in Cracow while Melanchthon made the greatest influence on him in Wittenberg. Similarly, the Finnish Mikael Agricola (approximately 1510–1557) also learnt Greek from Melanchthon between 1536 and 1539. We do not know

whether Sylverster and Agricola knew each other personally. Agricola published an alphabet book between 1537 and 1543 and from then on he worked on the Finnish translation of the Bible. He finished the New Testament in 1548 and has, therefore, been considered the father of literary Finnish. Similarly the Slovenian Primož Trubar (1508–1586) is claimed to be the founder of Slovenian literary language. Trubar had already been a consecrated priest and a prebendary when he read Erasmus' teachings. The vernacular programme of the scholars in Wittenberg made a great influence on him and in 1547 he officially left the Roman Catholic Church. He wrote twenty-four books out of which twenty-two were in Slovenian. Among them there was an alphabet book, a catechism, Mathew's Gospel (1555), and he also published the New Testament in Slovenian in two parts (1557, 1560).

We could also bring examples from the next generation: Johannes Bretke (Jonas Bretkūnas, 1536–1602) worked on the first Lithuanian translation of the Bible between 1536 and 1602. His contemporary, the Hungarian Gáspár Károlyi (1529–1591) lived to see the publication of his Bible translation in 1590. Unfortunately Bretke's translation remained a manuscript but as scholars say the *Thesaurus linguae lithuanicae* of the sixteenth century could be reconstructed from his book. Bretke wrote his books on history (especially the history of Prussia and the chronicle of Labiau, in Lithuanian Labguva, the present day Polesk in Russia, his first place of service) in German, while Károlyi gave the first example of the historical approach of Wittenberg applied in his book in Hungarian (Two Books), where he explored the reasons of contemporary events.

The first prints in vernacular in the region of Central Europe were almost entirely publications on Reformation. The Czech language, however, is an exception in several respects. The programme announced by Jan Hus at the beginning of the fifteenth century resulted in his tragic death. The translations made during the Hussite movement, and the efforts to reform the Church's ceremonial language by using the Czech language resulted in the formation of the Czech literary language, very early for this region. It is not by chance that the first printed book in Bohemia was in Czech (Trojanská kronika, Plzeň, 1476). The first printed book in Hungarian was published in Cracow in 1533 (the Epistles of Saint Paul translated by Benedek Komjáti). Scholars differ in their opinion whether Komjáti prepared the translation under Protestant influence or was guided by Erasmus' ideas. He was interested to find out whether the Hungarian language was capable of transmitting the holy essence of the Bible. The first publication in Estonian, however, was undoubtedly a Lutheran Agenda (Lübeck, 1525), while the Agenda was also published in Latvian in the same year. The catechism of Johann Koell and Simon Waradt in Estonian came out in 1535 in Wittenberg. The first book in Prussian, a catechism, was published in Königsberg in 1545, which was followed by Martynas Mažvydas' ((1520 cca.–1563) catechism in Lithuanian (1547, Königsberg), who took Luther's Little Catechism as a model. The first known

catechisms in Latvian were published in the same year in 1585 by a Catholic and a protestant author. We do not know where they were published. What is known is that Luther's Little Catechism was first published in Latvian in Königsberg in 1586.

I am not going to list here all the catechisms translated into the languages of Central Europe but let me say a few words of the Hungarian ones. A Lutheran catechism was first published in Transylvania and the Hungarian Kingdom in Greek in 1544 in Szeben, in Latin in Brassó in 1555. In 1564 a Calvinist catechism came out in Kolozsvár, the second edition of which in 1566 included Unitarian doctrines as well. The first Lutheran catechism appeared in Hungarian in 1550, the second and third edition of which we know from 1553 and 1555. The Calvinists published a catechism in Hungarian in Debrecen in 1562, another one in Kolozsvár, Transylvania in 1566, and a third one in Cracow in 1573. The Catholics published a catechism in Hungarian relatively late in 1599. A Lutheran catechism in Slovakian came out in Galgóc in 1585 for the benefit of the Slovak population of Hungary.

From the data listed here one can see that due to the Lutheran Reformation the German ministers and the intellectuals of different ethnic background were committed to supply the non-German population with catechisms with the intention to draw these communities to their own church. The Catholic Church made steps after the Council of Trent to publish catechisms, breviaries, and psalteries in vernacular (let me refer here to the above mentioned Latvian and Hungarian publications). The series of publications from the sixteenth century in Cyrillic Romanian of Transylvania are of special interest. Both the Lutheran and the Calvinist churches made efforts to convert the Romanian community for their own churches. This is why parts of the Bible translated into Romanian came out (the first one in Brassó in 1561), while the first catechisms in Romanian also conveyed Lutheran doctrines (1544, Szeben; 1561, Brassó). Twelve publications in Romanian are known from the sixteenth century, and all of them were published in Transylvania.

In addition to the publications, German and Lutheran influence can also be detected in the changes which occurred in library usage. Martin Luther appealed to the leaders of the German towns in 1524 to call their attention to the importance of schools, printing houses and public town libraries ("zur gemeinen Nutz"). In most of the towns where the houses and the libraries of the religious orders had been secularised the libraries were made public. These were later remodelled to fit Protestantism. Documents detailing the destruction of books rarely survived or only spoke of codices from medieval times as well as manuscripts being used for binding books. A good example of this is the Protestant school library of Némethújvár located on the Western borders of the Hungarian Kingdom, where the Lutheran patron aristocrat, Boldizsár Batthyány ordered the books of the local monastery of the Order of Saint Augustine to be used to bind books.

Examples for shared use of libraries open to the public can be cited from almost everywhere. One of the first such libraries was the Bibliotheca Rigensis, a public municipal library from 1523. Another example for this is the collection of the former Catholic parish library in Kőszeg in the Hungarian Kingdom, which was given to the town people for public use or “zur gemeinen Nutz” in 1535. The same happened in Tallin with the library of the Saint Olai church in 1552 and other examples could also be given.

Public use of libraries, however, did not spread only due to the Protestant school and religious programme “conscious faith is the true faith”. In German spoken regions already in the fifteenth century there were areas where town libraries were open to commoners due to the suggestion made by local Humanists. A real intellectual would act following his principles. Several Humanists acted like this in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when they opened their private book collections at least to their circle of friends and sometimes also to the commoners of their home place. International literature usually mentions the Benedictine Abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516),⁴ Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547)⁵ of Selestat (Schlettstadt) and Joachimus Vadianus (1484–1551)⁶ of Sankt Gallen but other examples can also be provided to prove this point. The presence of town libraries or town municipal libraries as well as their partial openness to public can be explained by the influence made by generations of Humanists. This is the case with the collections of the Town Municipality of Hamburg⁷ or Leipzig⁸ but especially Nuremberg, where the library was founded “dem almechtigen Got zu lob vnd ere vnd dem rate der stat vnd *der gantzen gemeyn zu nutz*” (for the greater glory of God thanks to the town municipality for the use of the entire community).⁹ Let me mention one more such example. In Wittenberg in 1512 Georg Spalatin purchased the books for the new university library “*pro communi omnium utilitate et doctorum et discipulorum nostrae academiae tam posteriorum quam praesentium*”, for the benefit and public use of the current and the future professors and students.¹⁰

Theoretically we can trace back this effort to Antiquity since Seneca wrote about unnecessarily big private collections.¹¹ In the thirteenth century similar ideas were attributed to Saint Jerome and in part linked to the teachings of the mendicant religious orders, which could be considered as forerunners to Protestant Reformation. These mendicants not only saw simple and poor life as the path to salvation. In their programmes openness to community and serving others played an important role. Guillaume Perault (approximately 1200–1271), a Dominican monk raised to be the Bishop of Lyon gave a lecture on unnecessarily too many books (*De superbia librorum*). He said that people kept these (e.g.: gilded manuscripts, etc.) for their material worth and did not care if the text had been corrupted. Furthermore, they did not allow others to study their codices.¹² Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) also found it important to lecture about people who

amassed books which they could not even read.¹³ The idea to create a Humanist collection of all the Ancient Greek and Latin texts was conceived in Florence in the fifteenth century. Cosimo Medici (1389–1464) offered his private collection as a base for this purpose but the successive generations of scholars did not have the means to achieve this goal in the town of Tuscany (let me refer here to the activities of Girolamo Savanarola for example). Therefore they helped the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus to enrich his Bibliotheca Corvina, a Humanist library he established to display his power.

The idea to establish private libraries soon appeared in books to educate nobility who would later lead countries and societies and also in writings on the theory of the states. In the sixteenth century the “*nobilitas generis*” and the “*nobilitas literata*”¹⁴ were already differentiated. The Polish Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503–1572) wrote that aristocrats did not serve “*res publica*” well if they educated only themselves and became well-read but only if they made the members of *res publica* educated as well.¹⁵ To achieve this purpose they should participate in the activities of “*publica institutio*” choosing the path of “*publica disciplina*” for their education.¹⁶ They should also open their libraries to the public as was suggested by Cyriacus Spangenberg in his “*Adelspiegel*”.¹⁷ Therefore when Martin Luther appealed to the German municipal leaders in 1524 (“An die Ratsherren aller Städten deutsches Landes”) in which he suggested them to found “*gutte librareyen odder bücher heuser*” (good bookshops and libraries)¹⁸ he did not pioneer in uncharted territory. Following this the regulations of the fast growing new church included the need to provide public libraries. Johannes Bugenhagen who put together the Church Ordinance (Kirchenordnung) in Braunschweig in 1528 and that of Pomerania in 1535 mentioned the idea of public libraries as a duty of the church.¹⁹ A document in Strasbourg from 1531 survived which said that a library should be founded so that poorer people who could read and write could use it (“*ein liberi anrichten ... die gemein wär, das die armen gelerten sich daran üben möchten*”)²⁰. Studying the history of almost all Protestant towns one could find similar examples. As we could see in the Central European region parallel to the examples mentioned above all types of public libraries were established without any belatedness. In this region different forms of public use of books are known in addition to the influence made by concepts and religious purposes because we were poorer in books and have remained so. This is why the library established by twenty-four priests in Szepes County (Zips, Špiess)²¹ of the Hungarian Kingdom at the end of the fourteenth century became a curiosity for international scholarly circles. The parish priests serving in different villages kept their books in a side building of the Saint James Church in Lőcse, the centre of the region and shared the use of the collection in their daily work. Its first catalogues survived from the first half of the fifteenth century. The Humanist Johann Henckel (1483–1539) contributed generously and when Lőcse’s population became dominantly Protes-

tant this library was enlarged in Protestant spirit. Another unique feature of Central Europe in shared use of books was the fact that copies usually belonged to several owners. This is proved by the hand written owner marks in the surviving volumes. The books which survived are more scribbled over than the ones kept in Western Europe which was not due to the undisciplined nature of the readers. A separate branch of scholars study the notes such as "... *et amicorum*", which refers to the shared use of the books that is the book was purchased by the first owner specifically for himself and for his friends.²² Many forms of this note is known, for example "*καὶ τῶν φίλων*", "*et sociorum*", "*sibi et amicis*", "*pro se et amicis*", "*et fratrum christianorum*". It is generally accepted that these notes were more common in Central Europe than elsewhere.

The influence Humanism and Protestant Reformation had in the context of book history is common all over Central Europe because the small number of the continuously active universities forced the population of this region to educate their intellectuals in the big university centres of Europe. The universities of Bologna, Padua, Cracow, Wittenberg, Strasburg (the academy of Johann Sturm), and later on Heidelberg were the most popular universities and this was where the young people of the region met in person. It is impossible to deal with all universities in one lecture. The shared influence Cracow and Wittenberg exerted was mentioned before. Let me highlight the fact that it was the Protestant Gymnasium or Academy (1538-1620) Johann Sturm (1507–1589) founded that was one of the major factors which influenced the organisation of local schools and the modernisation of pedagogical methods all over Central Europe. The effect Sturm's school achieved besides providing a meeting place for young people from Central Europe was to keep the deep religious faith of these young students by having religious disputes and offering many-sided arguments based on precise philological knowledge and a methodically applied approach. As the school's motto says: "*Propositum a nobis est, sapientem atque eloquentem pietatem finem esse studiorum*", the ultimate goal for acquiring knowledge and eloquence is the deepening, knowledge-based faith.

Catholic students from the entire Central European region followed the medieval routes of peregrination and visited mainly the universities of Italy. The Wittenberg of Philipp Melanchthon or the Strasburg of Johann Sturm, however, did not only attract the students who were inclined towards Protestantism because their Humanist, philological and rhetoric approaches were just as influential and decisive as their Christian philosophical (Erasmus Roterodamus) or theological views. Their theological views were, in fact, rather neutral, therefore students inclined towards religious non-conformism or free thinking happily visited these schools. Wittenberg and Strasburg lost some of their attraction compared to Heidelberg when there was an Orthodox Lutheran turn in them.²³ The Academy of Sturm could still preserve its uniquely strong rhetoric and Aristotelian logic na-

ture. The best example for this is the influence the “Triad johannique”²⁴ exerted on Lutheranism and then the revived Pietistic thinking²⁵ as well as the teaching of rhetoric and logic in schools of the entire Central European region. Let us remember that among the few publications which appeared in Riga in the seventeenth century there were six books by Johann Arndt (1555–1621)²⁶ when the Pietism of Halle became popular not exclusively among Lutherans.²⁷ It is not by chance that scholars speak of Erasmus’ method and Sturm-based approach as well as the town school of Riga.²⁸

The influence of a strong Humanist education and a religious mentality stemming from this education can be recognized in the careers of the intellectuals who played an active part in establishing the Academy of Sturm in 1538²⁹ and who were members of a generation that was faced with a choice in their intellectual and spiritual torments. Martin Bucer (1491–1551) and Pietro Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) were such scholars but especially personalities such as Francesco Lismanino (1504–1566) are cited here. Francesco Lismanino, a man of Greek origin from Corfu, was taken to Cracow as a child, then became a Franciscan monk in Italy and the confessor of the queen, Bona Sforza. Influenced by Vermigli, Sturm and Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590) he took up the Helvetian faith in Strasburg in 1556. The Academy of Sturm, where Jean Calvin (1509–1564) himself taught between 1538 and 1541,³⁰ and “the last Calvinist theologian”³¹ of which was the above mentioned Zanchi, influenced to a great extent the Central European region especially with the pedagogical methods of the founder Johann Sturm³², the studies in rhetoric (Cicero) and the history of political thinking (the politics of Aristotle and Ancient Greek theories of the state) of Melchior Junius (1545–1604) and the Latin philological teachings (especially Tacitus) of Matthias Bernegger (1582–1640).

After the foundation of the Academy in 1538, the majority of the students coming to Strasburg from Central Europe made their choice to get to know the religious disputes among the newly emerging Protestant ideas and to learn the Humanist arguments. This is why they came in touch with the founder of the Academy or the professors teaching there. The Hungarian Gergely Belényesi (?–?) attended Calvin’s lectures in Strasburg, later became a Calvinist preacher and visited Calvin in Geneva too in 1544. The Polish Cikowski brothers (Stanislas and Andrzej) and Krzyztof Trecy, who accompanied them to Strasburg, were students of the Sturm academy in 1563 and 1564.³³ They later founded a Calvinist school in Cracow. Trecy had fierce disputes with those who were champions of Anti-Trinitarian doctrines and who visited Strasburg and the Academy especially because this was a place for free rational thinking. These free-thinkers came to Strasburg in great numbers a little later³⁴ just like the Anti-Trinitarians of different origin.³⁵ The intellectual milieu in Strasburg was favourable to such meetings and disputes.

A substantial colony from Central Europe lived in Strasburg in the 1590s and in the first third of the seventeenth century. The Czech Zdeněk de Valdstein, three members of the aristocrat Žerotín family (Karl, Přemyslav, and Jetřich), Pertold de Lipé, Georg de Náchod and others studied here between 1598 and 1606.³⁶ The sons of Polish Anti-Trinitarians who founded the Gymnasium in Raków in 1603 were Melchior Junius' students.³⁷ Junius taught rhetoric to the sons of Hungarian noble families such as Péter Révay, Zsigmond Balassi, János Menyhért Eperjessy and András Ungnád,³⁸ as well as Johannes Plinius of Riga. This latter expressed his views on the transformations of the soul and the sins and the role play had in becoming an adult³⁹ during a dispute lead by the Hungarian Péter Révay. The legacy of Sturm and Junius was kept alive during the seventeenth century when this pedagogy was complemented by its visual side. There was a change in the history of pedagogy when the purely Aristotelian formal and deductive logic was complemented and not taken over by the dialectic logic teachings of Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) as well as the rhetoric of Bartholomaeus Keckermann (1572–1608). All this naturally led to Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670), whose *Orbis sensualium pictus* and *Janua linguarum vestibulum* were translated into almost all Central European languages and were used everywhere. The *Orbis sensualium pictus* was published in Riga in 1682, while the *Janua linguarum vestibulum* came out there after 1684.⁴⁰ The impact of Comenius went beyond that and his influence could be felt along with that of Sturm and Janus even in the second half of the seventeenth century. A good example for this is the rector of the Gymnasium in Tallin, Adam Heroldt (1659–1711) and his policy for publishing textbooks.⁴¹

The last example from book history I am citing in the present study is the history of influence of Georg Ciegler's⁴² (1551–1633) standard reference book. Ciegler was a true "Baltic" personality being born in Tallin, publishing his major books in Riga, and living the last two decades of his life in Königsberg, where he died in 1633. I decided to pick him from the history of Baltic late Humanism because he was one of the most important figures of European Stoic thinking along with Justus Lipsius. European Stoic thinking was one of the major factors with the above mentioned Ciceronian and Aristotelian influences (caused by the universities of Strasburg and Padua) in the formation of the mentality of this region. Ciegler, who was a minister in Riga published two books there; *De incertitudine rerum humanarum discursus* in 1598 (in two editions) and *Welt Spiegel Meniglichen zu diesen letzten Zeiten* in 1599, both were published by the printing shop of Nicolaus Mollinus.⁴³ The first one became a great success. It was published in German (Stettin, 1606; Hanau, 1609; Frankfurt am Main, 1615, 1616; Löcse, 1618; Lüneburg, 1633 and 1664), in Latin (Giessen, 1613), in Swedish (Stockholm, 1620), in Hungarian (Löcse, 1630; Kolozsvár, 1701, 1777), and in Flemish (Amsterdam, 1663). The most important for us is that after the German translation it was published in most editions in Hungarian. In Ciegler's lifetime

it came out in Lőcse in German as I mentioned above and in the translation of Albert Szenci Molnár (1574–1634) it appeared in Hungarian in 1630. The reason why it was published so many times in Hungarian is the history of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Transylvanian Principality in the first half of the seventeenth century. The population living under constant warfare needed moral guidance and an explanation if there was sense in following Christian ethical principles in their lives. The elderly Albert Szenci Molnár whose whole active life was an example for action, who published the Bible several times in Hungarian and translated several books into Hungarian, among others Jean Calvin's *Institutio religionis christianae*, resignantly looked back on his life and the meaning of his work. He must have met Ciegler's book first in Marburg when he stayed between 1607 and 1611. After the looting of Heidelberg in 1622, where he was beaten up by the Emperor's soldiers while his belongings were confiscated, he returned to Hungary in 1624 and later on to Transylvania, where he lived very poor. Several sources mentioned that in fact he led a miserable existence. This may have been one of the reasons why he accepted the assignment offered by Lorenz Brewer, the printer in Lőcse to translate Ciegler's book. He may partly have accepted to do this job to console himself and his contemporaries. A famous printer, Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis (1650–1702), who shared a similar fate, republished his translation in 1701, which re-appeared in 1777 as well. In the period of Hungarian national awakening this book had an important influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ferenc Kölcsey (1790–1838), the poet of our national anthem reached the same conclusion in his poem *Vanitatum vanitas* as Ciegler when considering the meaning of living a life of moral excellence. The fatalist Hungarian mentality, which has persisted ever since then in social and political life in Hungary stems to a great extent from this value system.

In my summary first of all let me return to the book I mentioned at the beginning of the present lecture (*Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa*). This book lists the memorial places of "*Ostmitteleuropa*", as well as religious centres, national memorial places and cult venues (which may be owned by several ethnic groups at the same time), enigmatic personalities and ideas which several ethnicities may think they exclusively own. In this volume a shared memory of the peoples of Central Europe is outlined as well as the tension points coded into the memory of each individual and nation. These knots of conflict are still untangled today and this is why it would be vital if politicians and decision makers read these studies.

On the other hand, the book by the *Akademie Verlag* of Berlin focuses on a geographical area called "*Ostmitteleuropa*", which in cultural history is less an integral unity than the one my present lecture was about.

I highlighted some important parallels, ones which prove that from the ninth century onwards in the western countries of Western Christianity, from Ireland to the Lithuanian principality, from Sweden to the Croatian Kingdom, which

had been in “*regnum associatum*” with the Hungarian Kingdom, the established church, educational and the cultural institutional systems were capable of unifying intellectual movements. The texture of which was of course Western Christianity as a cult while its unifying language was Latin, even if this texture got undone in the early Modern period and the unity of Western Christianity remained intact only in its basic teachings, while it adjusted to the needs of the religious communities that believed in it (Protestant Reformation and Catholic revival after the Council of Trent). The same happened to the language. Vernacular, the language of each nation gained ground in religious life as well as in acquiring knowledge or in artistic creation. German became, in the region of Central Europe (often called Europe-Between or *Zwischeneuropa*), the conveyor of ideas from books in Latin or the achievements of bigger Western or Southern cultures. The ideas of Enlightenment of the eighteenth century still reached this area primarily through German filters.

In our present lecture we were concerned with the aspects of Humanism, Protestant Reformation and late Humanism in book history. In each country of the region the production output of publication was different. Compared to Bohemia or the Polish Kingdom very few books came out in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Transylvania. The countries north also had different opportunities. All the cultures of the region were and have been ever since basically receptive in nature. This is why so many parallels and similar phenomena can be found in book history and the history of reception along the geographical line one can draw from Croatia-Slovenia-Hungary-Slovakia-Bohemia-Poland-Lithuania-Latvia-Estonia-Finland and less along the more Eastern line of Bulgaria-Valacchia-Moldova-Moldavia-Ukraine-Rusyns-Russia. Between the two lines historically and also in mentality there has been numerous points of contact. The book (*Religious Erinnerungsorte*) mentioned above, which is about sacred places of memory, left out the Baltic States while it outlined “*Ostmitteleuropa*” through the lenses of Western scholarship. By the way, due to the political groupings driven by economic interests which directly dictate to “free press” this false idea of “*Ostmitteleuropa*”, completely unjustified by history, is gaining ground more and more. What intellectual history as well as book history, on the other hand, suggests is a different geographical, ethnic and religious unity. For myself I call it Central Europe (*Mitteleuropa*) but since this term is usually referred to differently in geography therefore I’d rather use the term Europe-Between (*Zwischeneuropa*).

Notes

- 1 Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wunsch (Hg.): *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2013.
- 2 Peter van Ham, "The Baltic states and Zwischeneuropa: "geography is destiny"?" *International Relations*, 14 (1998), 2, 47-59.
- 3 Harald Roth (Hg.): *Studienhandbuch Östliches Europa. Bd. 1. Geschichte Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas*. Köln, Wiemar, Berlin, Böhlau Verlag, 1999 (Böhlau Studienbücher. Grundlagen des Studiums)
- 4 Klaus Arnold: *Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516)*. Würzburg, 1971 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg. Bd. 23.) S. 56–73.: *Trithemius als Büchtersammler und die Bibliothek von Sponheim*.; Roland Behrendt, "The Library of Abbot Trithemius" *The American Benedictine Review* 10(1959), 67–85.
- 5 Paul Adam, *L'Humanisme à Sélestat. L'Ecole. Les humanistes. La bibliothèque*. 3e. éd. Sélestat, 1973.; Hubert Meyer, "Beatus Rhenanus (de Sélestat) et sa bibliothèque" *Librarium* 19(1976) 21–31., Franz Hartweg: *Das Bildungsangebot in Schlettstadt in der zweiten Hälfte des XV. und im XVI. Jahrhundert*. In: Ludger Grenzmann, Karl Stackmann (Hg.): *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit. Symposium Wolfenbüttel 1981*. Stuttgart, 1984 (Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände 5.) S. 215–224.
- 6 *Bibliotheca Vadiani. Die Bibliothek des Humanisten Joachim von Watt nach dem Katalog des Josua Kessler von 1533*. Unter mitwirkung von Hans Fehrlin und Helen Thurnheer bearb. von Verena Schenker-Frei. St. Gallen, 1973 (Vadian-Studien. Untersuchungen und Texte. 9.)
- 7 Erich Zimmermann: *Hinrich Muremster und die älteste Hamburger Stadtbibliothek (1478/81)*. In: Christian Voigt, Erich Zimmermann (Hg.): *Libris et Litteris. Festschrift für Hermann Tiekmann*. Hamburg, 1959. S. 40–49.
- 8 Gustav Wustmann: "Geschichte der Leipziger Stadtbibliothek." *Neujahrsblätter der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Stadt Leipzig* 2(1906), S. 1–122.
- 9 Johann Petz: "Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bücherei des Nürnberger Rates. 1419–1538." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 6(1886), S. 138.
- 10 Maria Grossmann, *Humanisme in Wittenberg 1485–1517*, Nieuwkoop, 1975. 100–112.: *The Growth of a Humanistic Library*.
- 11 "*Vitiosum est ubique quod nimium est*" Seneca: *De tranquillitate animi* 9,4–7.; "*distringit librorum multitudo*" Seneca: *Epistola ad Lucilium* 1,2.
- 12 Guilielmus Peraldus: *Summa virtutum ac vitiorum*. Antverpiae, 1567. Tractatus 6.: *De superbia librorum* : Referring to Hieronymus he writes: "*Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel uncialibus ut vulgo aiunt litteris, onera magis exarata quam codices, dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices, quam emendatos*"
- 13 Franciscus Petrarca: *De remediis utriusque fortunae libri II*. Lugduni, 1585. pp. 177–184.
- 14 Laurentius Hunfredus (Humphrey): *Optimates sive de nobilitate*. Basileae, 1559. p. 326. ("*se armis, non literis natos predicant /sc. nobiles/*")
- 15 Andreae Fricii Modrevii *Commentariorum de republica emendanda libri quinque*. Vol. I. Ed. Casimirus Kumaniecki. Warszawa, 1953. p. 56–57.: "*Nulla est igitur compediosior ad sapientiam perveniendi via, quam lectio librorum tum sacrorum, tum etiam a viris eruditis conscriptorum.*"
- 16 Christianus Besoldus: *Discursus politici singulares de informatione et coactione ... Argentorati, 1626, sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri*. p. 16.: "*Ego puto publicam disciplinam in sapientia et con-*

- sensu totius civitatis fundatam, firmiorem quidem constantiam habere, quam ab unius quae iudicio pendet*” — p. 27.: “*Juvat et habere publicas bibliothecas ... nulliusque privati ...*”
- 17 Cyriacus Spangenberg: *Ander Theil des Adelspiegels*. Schmalkalden, 1594. ff. 75v–77v.: Von Bibliotheken oder Librareyen: “*Neben wolbestellten Predigstülen vnd rechtschaffen angerichten Schulen sind gute Bibliotheken nicht allein ein schönes lustiges Kleinodt, sondern auch ein notwendig stück, daran gar viel gelegen vnd solchs auch nicht wenig zu beförderung vnd erhaltung warer Religion vnd guter Künste nützlich vnd dienstlich ist. Denn alle Pfarrhern, Professores vnd Schulmeister des vermögens nicht sind das sie alle Patres, Historicos, vnd andere gute Autores für sich selbst zeugen möchten, deren sie aber doch nicht allwege allerding entraten können.*”
 - 18 Martin Luthers Werke. Hrsg. von Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake (et alii.) Weimarer Ausgabe. Bd. 15. 1899. S. 48.
 - 19 Braunschweig: “*Van librien. Unde sind in den steden in parhen unde klöstern etlicke librien, dar denne etlicke gude bökere inne sind, welcke itzunder iemmerlick unde schmelick vörkamen unde vörbrackt werden, dat men dar över ock bevelen unde vörordenen wille, dat solcke wol to hope vorsamlet werden, unde in einer iewelicken stad eine gemeine liberie geholden werde, vör de parners, predikers, scholmesters und scholgesellen etc.*” Cf.: Die evangelischen Kircherordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Hrsg. von Emil Sehling. 6. Bd. I. Hälfte. Die Welfischen Lande. 1. Halbband. Die Fürstentümer Wolfenbüttel und Lüneburg mit den Städten Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Tübingen, 1955. S. 396.; Cf.: Die evangelischen Kircherordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Hrsg. von Emil Sehling. 4. Bd. Das Herzogtum Preussen. Polen. Dei ehemals polnischen Landesteile des Königreichs Preussen. Das Herzogtum Pommern. Leipzig, 1911 (reprint: 1970) S. 336. Cf.: Otto Radlach: “Die Bibliotheken der evangelischen Kirche in ihrer rechtsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 12(1895), S. 153–173.
 - 20 Jean Rott, “Sources et grandes lignes de l’histoire des bibliothèques publiques de Strasbourg détruites en 1870.” *Cahiers alsaciens d’archéologie, d’art et d’histoire* 15(1971), 145–180. (ici: 145.)
 - 21 Florian Holik: “Die erste gelehrte Gesellschaft in Ungarn.” *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 2(1923) (Berlin-Leipzig) S. 383–399.; András Vizkelety: *Die Fraternitas XXIV plebanorum civitatum regalium in Oberungarn und der Handschriftenbestand Zipser Pfarreibibliotheken*. In: Natalie Kruppa (Hg.): *Pfarreien im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*. Göttingen, 2008, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. S. 327–338.
 - 22 Geoffrey D. Hobson, “Et amicorum”, *The Library* 5. series, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1949, 87–99.; Donatella Nebbiai Della Guarda, *Lecture e circoli eruditi tra quattro e cinquecento: a proposito dell’Ex libris “et amicorum”*, In *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell’età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell’associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Arezzo, 8–11 ottobre 2003*, a cura di Caterina Tristano, Marta Calleri, Leonardo Magnionami, Spoleto, 2006, 375–395.; Angela Nuovo “*Et amicorum*”: *Costruzione e circolazione del sapere nelle biblioteche privata del cinquecento*, In *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell’Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell’Indice*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Macerata, 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006, a cura di Rosa Maria Borracchini, Roberto Rusconi, Città del Vaticano, 2006, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 105–127. (Studi e testi, 434.); István Monok, “L’uso pubblico dei libri nell’Ungheria del Cinque e Seicento.” *La Bibliofilia* CXIV(2012) Nr. 2. 215–229.
 - 23 Instead of referring here to the numerous sources, studies and books let me mention here a study summarising the history of study trips in the early Modern period on a theoretical level: Matthias Asche: “*Peregrinatio academica in Europa im Konfessionellen Zeitalter, Bestandaufnahme*

- eines unübersichtlichen Forschungsfeldes und Versuch einer Interpretation unter migrationsgeschichtlichen Aspekten" *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 6(2005), S. 3–34.
- 24 Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603–1666), Johann Schmidt (1594–1658) and Johann Georg Dorsche (1597–1658)
 - 25 Dannhauer *Idea boni disputationis*, Strasbourg, 1629–1674. Cf.: Frank Muller, "L'évolution de l'image de propagande à Strasbourg dans les premiers temps de la Réforme" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 140(1994), 5–31.; Johannes Wallmann, "La spécificité de l'orthodoxie luthérienne à Strasbourg" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 136(1990), 9–27.
 - 26 *Latvijas citvalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588–1830. – Gesamtkatalog der fremdsprachigen Altdrucke Lettlands*. Izstrādājusī Silvija Šiško. Riga, 2013, Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka. Nr. 444–447, 479, 480.
 - 27 Johannes Wallmann: *Arndtrezeption im Baltikum. Johann Fischer und die Rigaer Ausgabe des Wahren Christentums von 1678/79*. In: Johannes Walmann: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Bd. 3. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, S. 258–276.; Martin Klöcker: *Geistliche und humanistische Literatur in deutscher und lateinischer Sprache im Zeichen von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*. In: Werner Buchholz, Anton Schindling (Hg.): *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721. Teil 3*. Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 2011 (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, Bde. 71.) S. 127–183. (hier: 147–149.)
 - 28 Martin Klöcker: *Geistliche und humanistische Literatur in deutscher und lateinischer Sprache im Zeichen von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*. In: Werner Buchholz, Anton Schindling (Hg.): *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung ...* S. 127–183. (hier: 151–153.); Cf. Gábor Kecskeméti, *Erasmian Method, Sturmian Source, Ameisian Intention: Cicero in the Schools as Transmitted by Erasmus and Sturm*, In Marcell Seők (ed.), *Republic of letters, humanism, humanities, Selected papers of the workshop held at the Collegium Budapest in cooperation with NIAS between November 25 and 28, 1999*, Budapest, Collegium Budapest, 2005, (Workshop series, 15), 93–105.
 - 29 Jean Sturm, *Quand l'humanisme fait école*, catalogue réalisé sous la dir. de Matthieu Arnold, Julien Collonges, Strasbourg, BNU, 2007.
 - 30 Cf.: *Quand Strasbourg accueillait Calvin, 1538–1541*, Catalogue réalisé sous la dir. de Matthieu Arnold, Strasbourg, BNU, Faculté de Théologie protestante, PU de Strasbourg, 2009.
 - 31 Christopher J. Burchill, "Le dernier théologien réformé: Girolamo Zachi" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 135(1989), 53–63.
 - 32 Cf.: Anton Schindling: *Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg, 1538–1621*, Wiesbaden, Steiner Verl. 1977; Lewis W. Spitz – Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education, The Reformation and Humanist Learning*, St. Louis, Concordia, 1995.
 - 33 Stanislaw Kot, "La rayonnement de Strasbourg en Pologne" *Revue des études slaves* 27(1951), 184–200.
 - 34 André Séguenny, *Les Antitrinitaires polonais en relation avec Strasbourg aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, In *Les contacts religieux franco-polonais du Moyen-Âge à nos jours, Relations, influences, images d'un pays vu par l'autre*, Actes du Colloque de Lille, 5-7 octobre 1981, éd. par Y.-M. Hilaire, Paris, Éd. du Dialogue, 1984, 136–141.
 - 35 Christopher J. Burchill, "Aristotle and the Trinity, The Case of Johann Hasler in Strasbourg 1574–1575" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 79(1988), 282–310.
 - 36 Hrudý, František, *Étudiants tchèques aus écoles protestantes de l'Europe occidentale à la fin du 16^e et au début du 17^e siècle*, Documents, préparés pour l'édition par Libuse Urbánková-

- Hrubá, préface par Bedřich Šindelář, Brno, Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970. 12, 109–115, 124–128, 238–242.
- 37 Pietrzyck, Zdzisław, “Les antitrinitaires du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand Duché de Lithuanie à Strasbourg dans les années 1538–1621” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 139(1993), 236–254.
- 38 Eckhardt Sándor, *Magyar szónokképzés a XVI. századi Strasszburghan*, Budapest, MTA, 1944; Gömöri, György, “A strassburgi akadémián tanuló XVI. századi magyarok album-bejegyzései” *Lymbus* 3(2005), 49–52.
- 39 Johannes Plinius: De animadversione et poenis ... oratio VI. M. Iohannis Plinii Rigensis Livonis (pp. 326 – 329) – pp. 384 – 397: De lvdīs et recreationibvs adolescentvm ... explicatvs a M. Ioan. Plinio Rigensi Livone. In: Aliqvot orationes in Argent(inae) acad(emia) exercitii gratia, scriptae et recitatae ab Illvstr(ibus) generos(isque) Nobilibus et aliis et ad tractandum propositae a Melchiore Ivnio ... Argentinae, Lazar Zetzner, 1590.
- 40 *Latvijas citvalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588–1830*. ... Nr. 587, 663.
- 41 Martin Klöcker: *Geistliche und humanistische Literatur* S. 127–183. (hier: S. 149–153.)
- 42 The different spellings of his name are the following: Ziegler, Ziegelmesiter, Tegelmeister, Pseudo-Gosvinus Betuleius, Pseudo-Josquinus Betulejus
- 43 *Latvijas citvalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588–1830*. ... Nr. 24, 27, 28.