

# A Divided Hungary in Europe



A Divided Hungary in Europe:  
Exchanges, Networks and Representations,  
1541-1699

Edited by

Gábor Almási, Szymon Brzeziński, Ildikó Horn,  
Kees Teshelszky and Áron Zarnóczy

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**P U B L I S H I N G**



Volume 1

Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious  
Relationships

Edited by

Gábor Almási

A Divided Hungary in Europe:  
Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541-1699;  
Volume 1 – Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships,  
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## PREFACE

*A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks, and Representations, 1541–1699* is a three-volume series, which is the result of the collaboration of 29 scholars engaged in the study of the history of early modern Hungary and Europe. The work has been initiated and conducted by the research programme “Hungary in early modern Europe,” financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA), and headed by Professor Ágnes R. Várkonyi at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.<sup>1</sup> Our fundamental purpose was to provide state-of-the-art knowledge of early modern Hungary in a European context for an English-speaking audience. The title of the series may sound self-explanatory, but in the case of early modern “Hungary,” one needs to make a number of precursory remarks.

The medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which included Croatia in a personal union from the beginning of the twelfth century, gradually fell apart under Ottoman pressure after the fatal battle of 1526. This tragic battle, fought on the plain of Mohács, where even the young King Louis II lost his life in the swamps, meant the end of the large, independent kingdom, founded by King Saint Stephen in the year 1000. More directly, it led to a civil war between the parties of the new national king, John Szapolyai (1526–1540), and the Habsburg king, Ferdinand I (1526–1564), who had contractual rights for ruling the kingdom. Before Buda was captured by the Ottomans in 1541, Saint Stephen’s Kingdom had already been in the process of falling into three territorial-political units: “Royal Hungary”—the legal heir of the Kingdom of Hungary—under the Habsburgs, which continued to include Croatia; Transylvania and the eastern strip of the country (called Partium),<sup>2</sup> which soon had to give up

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<sup>1</sup> The research programme was hosted by the Department of Medieval Early Modern History at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest. We gratefully thank the support of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA, no. 81948) in financing this book project. We would also like to express our gratitude to Professor Ágnes R. Várkonyi, who guided this research programme with wisdom and discretion.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called Partium (*Partium Regni Hungariae, Partes adnexae*) comprised the northern and eastern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, which became connected to the Principality of Transylvania after its formation, without being a formal part of

pretences to the crown, rapidly developing into an Ottoman vassal state; and finally the areas that fell under Ottoman occupation with a frontier that continued moving mainly at the expense of “Royal Hungary.”

Transylvania, adopting the ambiguous status of a semi-autonomous Ottoman satellite state, at the same time became a secondary repository of Hungarian political traditions and a bastion of the Protestant churches, hence a permanent embarrassment to the Habsburgs. What remained of Hungary proper on the north-western part of the former kingdom, however, was unable to withstand Ottoman pressure without continuous Habsburg support. The resources of this land were in a great part consumed by military expenses, apparently more than was the case in the new Principality of Transylvania.

Although Hungary as one of Europe’s significant powers ceased to exist, the fiction—or ideal—of a unified country survived during the more than 150 years of Ottoman rule. This was also reflected on most of the maps prepared of Hungary, which kept ignoring the Ottomans and insisted on a medieval vision of the land. (The map on the cover of this book, distinguishing between “Hungaria Turcica” and “Hungaria Austriaca,” is one of the few exceptions.<sup>3</sup>) Naturally, in nourishing the idea of a glorious past state, the principal actors were the ruling class, held together by common legal-political traditions and cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the unifying forces of cultural and religious practices and institutions were significant also at lower levels of society, especially among the learned. The churches in divided Hungary disregarded political fragmentation. Protestant churches and Catholic missionaries alike were free to organise themselves in “Ottoman Hungary,” becoming the major cohesive forces of the area.

In legitimating this project that treats the parts of “divided Hungary” altogether and places the question of cultural exchange in its centre, one might easily overemphasise cohesive forces and a common territorial-historical consciousness. This is certainly not one of our goals. The fact that Buda was reconquered in 1686 and the Ottomans were entirely expelled from Hungary by 1699 should not influence our interpretation of past events in a deterministic way. By the second half of the sixteenth century,

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it. The territory originally (in 1570) consisted of the counties Bihar, Zaránd, Kraszna, Máramaros, Middle Szolnok, but underwent numerous changes in territorial range due to the Ottoman expansion and struggles between the Habsburgs and Transylvania.

<sup>3</sup> This map of the “Kingdom of Hungary” drawn by the Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu and dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy, lord chief justice of Hungary, also indicates a part of Transylvania (“*Transylvaniae pars*”).

Transylvania was already a distinct, independent principality—independent at least of the Habsburg Monarchy—and was considered, and desired to be considered, more and more as such abroad. Moreover, Transylvania had been and remained different from the rest of “divided Hungary” in many respects. This was most apparent in its political structure, in the curious system of three nations—the Hungarian nobility, the Saxons and the Székelys—represented at the Transylvanian Diet, and in the proportionally greater power and wealth of the prince, whose election was nonetheless controlled by the Sublime Porte. Aristocratic landowners were considerably poorer here, to the point that we can hardly speak of the check of the estates in Transylvania. Needless to say, “Ottoman Hungary,” integrated administratively into the Ottoman Empire, was even more different than Transylvania in regard to the Kingdom of Hungary, both in its political-economic system and cultural life, which were dominated, at least in the major cities, by an Ottoman presence, which added a further element to the cultural life of the territory, one unknown in the other two divisions of Hungary.

This is not to say that individual parts of “divided Hungary” were not themselves fragmented and heterogeneous—something that was far from exceptional in early modern Europe, but nonetheless deserves to be emphasised. The lands of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen were populated by a great number of ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously different groups, some of them enjoying political autonomy, like the population of Croatia—most of them Catholic Slavs—or the Lutheran Saxons in Transylvania, and some lacking any political recognition, like the Orthodox Romanians spread out in Transylvania. Besides heterogeneity, we should also stress the lack of a real capital, that is, a political centre with a royal court and a university. In the Kingdom of Hungary, political life was organised in the shadow of the Viennese imperial court, which attracted few Hungarians (unlike in the eighteenth century). Higher education gained impetus with the establishment of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava)<sup>4</sup>—on the western edges of the country—only in the seventeenth century. It was primarily the aristocratic courts and city

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<sup>4</sup> In referring to place names in historical Hungary, there is no good solution that equally satisfies all researchers of the Carpathian Basin. Since each country (Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria) which shares parts of the Kingdom of Hungary have their own historical traditions in the use of place names, while English-language publications vary in usage and concur only in a very few names (like the use of the German name Pressburg for Bratislava/Pozsony), we have decided to stick to the Hungarian tradition and mention the present version of place names in parentheses.

schools that made up for the lack of a political, cultural and educational centre. In the case of Transylvania, the princely court could only periodically compete in importance with the major cities such as Kolozsvár (Cluj), Nagyszeben (Sibiu), or Brassó (Braşov).

Despite fragmentation, heterogeneity and the continuous pressure of the Ottoman Empire, war-ridden “divided Hungary” saw a surprising cultural flourishing in the sixteenth century and maintained its common cultural identity also in the seventeenth century. This could hardly be possible without intense exchange with the rest of Europe, which has been the principal subject of our research programme.

This series of volumes approaches themes of exchange of information and knowledge from two perspectives: exchange through traditional channels provided by religious/educational institutions and the system of European study tours (Volume 1: *Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships*), and the less regular channels and improvised networks of political diplomacy (Volume 2: *Diplomacy, Information Flow and Cultural Exchange*). A by-product of this exchange of information was the changing image of early modern Hungary and Transylvania, which is presented in the third and in some aspects concluding volume of essays (Volume 3: *The Making and Uses of the Image of Hungary and Transylvania*). Unlike earlier approaches to the same questions, these volumes intend to draw an alternative map of early modern Hungary. On this map, the centre-periphery conceptions of European early modern culture will be replaced by new narratives written from the perspective of historical actors, and the dominance of Western-Hungarian relationships are kept in balance with openness to the significance of Hungary’s direct neighbours, most importantly the Ottoman Empire.

The invited authors of the volumes comprise key historians interested in questions of cultural history. The majority of them are Hungarian, working for academic institutions with a keen eye on both archival and printed sources. One of the goals of the volumes is to make their work known to a foreign language public in a coherent framework, dealing with some of the key questions that set the cultural and intellectual horizon and determined the image of early modern Hungary.

*The editors*

# INTRODUCTION

GÁBOR ALMÁSI

Information and knowledge circulated in early modern Europe through the movement of people and objects. Objects were most importantly letters, manuscripts, books, journals and newsletters, while people comprised students, diplomats, teachers, religious intellectuals, artisans, soldiers, businessmen and noble travellers (“tourists”). This volume addresses the larger question of how the exchange of ideas and men between “divided” Hungary and the rest of Europe affected culture, learning and intellectual networks in Hungary in the period of Ottoman occupation.

“Culture” is used here in the usual sense of the word.<sup>1</sup> It can be considered a feature of a group of people who are held together by a greater or lesser number of various attributes, such as common geographical location, law (social standing and political system), religion, learning, origins, history, language, sex, habits, customs and so on. These attributes are also central to the formation of individual and group identities; hence culture is also something that simultaneously holds a group of people together and distinguishes it from other groups.<sup>2</sup> The increasing use of the plural (cultures, histories, Reformations, Enlightenments, etc.) by early modern historians reflects a new awareness of the essential heterogeneity of pre-modern Europe. In fact, if any land was heterogeneous socially, culturally, ethnically and also politically and regionally, it was “divided” Hungary (a product of a narrative tradition in itself)—i.e. the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania and the Ottoman parts of medieval Hungary. Thinking in the plural—cultures, societies, languages—appears of primary importance in this region. It gives justice to the histories of early modern peoples of all

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<sup>1</sup> For interpretations of culture and cultural history, see P. Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge 2004); C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Muchembled in the “General Editor’s Preface” formulates the same in the following way: “[culture] simultaneously holds a *society* together and distinguishes it from other *societies*” (my emphasis). However, one should be cautious to avoid the modern associations of *society* with nation states. *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 4 vols., ed. by R. Muchembled (Cambridge 2007), 4:xxiii.

ranks and kinds, and helps us overcome some of the pitfalls of national historiographies, working usually with modern geographical concepts.

Thinking in the plural does not mean that we could not find commonalities of cultural exchange or make general statements of the region, i.e. on the special characteristics of its Reformation(s), political and feudal system(s) and ethnic and urban situation(s). For an illustrative example, let us make a short detour and take the question of Copernicus's reception in seventeenth-century divided Hungary. Although surviving instructional material from the period is extremely scarce, we can assert that even among the learned elite, Copernicus was mostly negatively received, when received at all.<sup>3</sup> And exceptions appear to confirm the rule. At the beginning of the century, a Jesuit scholar in Graz, the future archbishop Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), was not only a diligent reader of contemporary astronomers and mathematicians like Christophorus Clavius, but included in his erudite and critical treatment of Aristotle's *De coelo* also Copernicus's arguments.<sup>4</sup> Writing before the ban on Copernicus, Pázmány reproduced the problems and interpretations of past and present astronomers in a free and liberal manner. Pázmány's scholarly level was not reached by later Jesuits of the century, who all denied Copernicus's teaching, even Martinus Szentiványi (1633–1705), the first to undertake astronomical observations in Hungary (whose work is analysed by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf in this volume). Among the Calvinists it was seventeenth-century Hungary's foremost philosopher, János Apáczai Csere (1625–1659), a student of Johann Heinrich Alsted, who first aligned himself with Copernicus's world-system. The Puritan Calvinist Apáczai, who obtained a doctoral degree in theology at the new university of Harderwijk (1651), expressed his Copernicanism in his Hungarian-language *Encyclopaedia* (published in Utrecht in 1653), which was

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<sup>3</sup> J. Zemplén, "The Reception of Copernicanism in Hungary. A Contribution to the History of Natural Philosophy and Physics in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries," *The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory*, ed. by J. Dobrzycki (Toruń 1972), 311–356; F. G. Farkas, "Copernicus in Hungary. A Brief Overview of the History of Copernicus-editions in the Carpathian Basin," *Czas, Pamięć, Tradycja. Materiały konferencji*, ed. by B. Bojar (Warsaw 2010), 345–354, L. Székely, "A kopernikuszi fordulat és a kopernikuszi fordulat nyomán kialakuló új fizikai világgép Magyarországon" [The Copernican revolution and the new Copernican world-system in Hungary], *A honi Kopernikusz-recepciótól a magyar Nobel-díjakig*, ed. by G. Palló (Budapest 2004), 23–58.

<sup>4</sup> Petrus Cardinalis Pázmán, *Opera omnia. Tomus III. Tractatus in libros Aristotelis De coelo, de generatione et corruptione*, ed. by I. Bognár (Budapest 1897), 65–71, 80, 94. Cf. Zemplén, "The Reception," 316–317.

informed by Cartesian thought.<sup>5</sup> A near contemporary, János Pósaázi (d. 1686), an orthodox Calvinist professor of the Sárospatak high school (and alumnus of Leiden and Utrecht), presented in his natural philosophical textbook the parallel paradigms of Ptolemy, Copernicus and Tycho, but suggested suspending judgement about their appropriateness, while he personally did not find Copernicus's theory impossible.<sup>6</sup> Despite this probabilist approach typical of seventeenth-century science, Pósaázi's treatment of Copernicus was one of the least ambiguous among the Calvinists.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the only Lutheran scholar who positively sided with Copernicus was David Frölich (1595–1648) from Késmárk (Kežmarok). Neither a theologian nor a professor, he was perhaps the only seventeenth-century Hungarian independent scholar making a living from private tutoring and professional calendar making, for which he received the title of “imperial and royal mathematician,” and his geographical textbook attracted attention even abroad. These scattered data say, however, little of the general knowledge of Copernicus' system. To be sure, out of the c. 600 surviving copies of Copernicus's sixteenth-century editions, seven are registered in Hungary, and another eight copies can be tracked down from documents concerning the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Despite scattered positive data, Copernicus's system had apparently little influence on intellectual thought in Hungary, yet it did not remain completely unknown.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> On Apáczai's thought and the *Magyar Encyclopaedia*, see M. Szentpéteri, *Egyetemes tudomány Erdélyben: Johann Heinrich Alsted és a herborni hagyomány* [Universal knowledge in Transylvania: J. H. Alsted and the Herborn tradition] (Budapest 2008), passim.

<sup>6</sup> For Pósaázi, who “made the first attempt in Hungary to create a universal concept of the world,” see J. Zemlén, “Pósaázi János az első magyarországi ‘Philosophia naturalis’ (1667) szerzője” [J. P., the author of the first “Philosophia naturalis” in Hungary], *Fizikai Szemle* 9 (1959), 52–58 (also available on the internet).

<sup>7</sup> He (and probably Apáczai) provide the rare examples of treating Copernicus at all at a high-school level before the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. I. Mészáros, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája, 996–1948: általánosan képző középiskolák* [The chronology and topography of our secondary schools, 996–1948] (Budapest 1998), 30–47; I. Bán, *Apáczai Csere János*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Budapest 2003), 42–59.

<sup>8</sup> Farkas, “Copernicus in Hungary”; O. Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De revolutionibus* (Leiden 2002).

<sup>9</sup> For instance, the community of the Sabbatarians of Transylvania—a curious product of sixteenth-century radical Reformation—included Ptolemaic views in their songs, arguing apparently against Copernicus. This was, of course, not

This sketch of seventeenth-century Copernicanism has served to illustrate a traditional way of studying knowledge transfer, or reception history, which may be meaningfully pursued on a regional level. However, even in this case, the interpretation needs to be grounded in the actual context. For example, in Apáczai's case it is important to note that upon his return, his teaching at the modern Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) high school—where his predecessors were Johann Heinrich Alsted and Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld—proved to be too progressive for his contemporaries, who had the prince remove him (although not for his Copernican teachings). It was only the princess, Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, who also invited Comenius to Hungary, who saved his teaching career in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). A broader conclusion that comes to mind from this brief overview of Copernicanism is the lack of institutional structure for original scholarly contributions. In the lack of a royal court and a dearth of aristocratic patronage, eventually the colleges led by theologians were responsible for scientific activity.

In addressing the larger question of cultural exchange, this volume has chosen two traditional methods of research: the study of academic peregrination (movement of students) and intellectual-religious exchange (movement of letters, books and ideas) between Hungary and the rest of Europe. Moreover, cultural differences in early modern Hungary will be kept in mind. For example, historical data on the migration of “Hungarian” students towards Prussia in the middle of the seventeenth century is anchored in the cultural context of the German (Lutheran) towns of Upper Hungary in the north-east, from where the majority of the students departed (see András Péter Szabó's study in this volume). Likewise, the varying sense and significance of Dutch university education for Hungarian Calvinists are interpreted by placing outgoing and returning students in their Calvinist intellectual context in eastern Hungary, the Ottoman parts and Transylvania (see Réka Bozzay's study).

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surprising for a religious sect that based its teaching on a literal reading of the Old Testament. B. Varjas, ed., *Szombatos énekek. Régi magyar költők tára, XVII. század* [Songs of the Sabbatarians. Anthology of old Hungarian poets], vol. 5 (Budapest 1970), 242, quoted by K. Péter, “Comenius magyarországi elképzeléseiről. A Sermo secretus és a Gentis felicitas” [On Comenius's ideas concerning Hungary], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 21 (1985), 63–72 (available on the internet).



### *Touring Europe*

The investigation of study tours of students of early modern Hungary has always been an important research line in modern Hungarian historiography. Among the pioneers there was Károly Schrauf, the first to collect matriculation data in Vienna, Cracow and Rome, and the great historian and archivist of Italo-Hungarian relationships, Endre Veress, who gathered information about Hungarian students in Italy in two thick volumes already at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> More recent studies of academic peregrination have been initiated by another Transylvanian scholar, Sándor Tonk, who collected data in the 1970s on study tours of Transylvanian students in the Middle Ages, and finished the volume on the early modern times with Miklós Szabó more than 20 years later.<sup>11</sup> A corpus of peregrination studies has been initiated by László Szögi, who with a number of colleagues published a systematic, positivist survey of academic touring in pre-modern Hungary with a separate volume for each geographical direction of study.<sup>12</sup> This steadfast research into academic peregrination makes Hungary-Croatia and Transylvania probably the best-studied states in Europe (with the exception of the Baltic lands<sup>13</sup>) as far as study tours are concerned. Szögi and his team have published the results of

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<sup>10</sup> E. Veress, *A páduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)* [Matriculation data and other documents of students of Hungary at the University of Padua] (Budapest and Kolozsvár 1915); id., *Olasz egyetemen járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai (1221–1864)* [Matriculation data and other documents of students of Hungary at Italian universities] (Budapest 1941). K. Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* [Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna] (Budapest 1892); id., *Regestrum bursae hungarorum Cracoviensis* (Budapest 1893); id., *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-tól 1630-ig* [Matriculations of the Magyar nation at the University of Vienna] (Budapest 1902). We should also mention among the pioneers Vilmos Frankl [Fraknói] and Gyula Mokos.

<sup>11</sup> S. Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* [University attendance of Transylvanians in the Middle Ages] (Bucharest 1979); M. Szabó and S. Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban: 1521–1700* [University attendance of Transylvanian students in early modern times], ed. by Zsuzsa Font (Szeged 1992).

<sup>12</sup> The series is called “Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban” [University attendance of students of Hungary in the modern era] (publications of the Archives of Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1994–), which has now 19 volumes. Each volume has a foreign language summary.

<sup>13</sup> A. Tering, *Aesti-, liivi- ja kuramaalased Euroopa ülikoolides 1561–1798* [Estonians, Livonians and Courlanders at European universities] (Tartu 2008).

their research also in a number of German and English publications,<sup>14</sup> while more recently an independent volume addressed study tours directed towards Germany, with articles on important early modern destinations like Wittenberg, Altdorf, Heidelberg and Tübingen.<sup>15</sup>

This volume partly joins this strong scholarly tradition with chapters that cover subjects hitherto unstudied in depth, and partly offers new perspectives in approaching the problem of intellectual migration. Three of the chapters (by Gizella Keserű, Réka Bozzay and András Péter Szabó, respectively) are structured traditionally by study destinations or religious affiliation. Keserű and Szabó, in separate studies, present groups or destinations that have remained on the periphery of peregrination studies: the study tours of Unitarians of Transylvania and those of the Lutherans, who frequented Königsberg, primarily from north-east Hungary. Although these groups may appear less significant regarding the intellectual exchange of seventeenth-century Hungary and Transylvania, they perfectly illustrate the variety of the very different cultures existing side by side in early modern Hungary, and also the different uses to which study tours could be put. While Unitarians also frequented Dutch universities, this destination was usually reserved for their Calvinist compatriots. Réka Bozzay analyses the learning gained at Dutch universities—so important for seventeenth-century elite cultures in Hungary—and the ways it was applied and transmitted back in Hungary.

Two other studies address academic peregrination in a less traditional manner. Gábor Almási's introductory study aims to place academic touring into a comparative East-Central European context, giving some of the coordinates for measuring and interpreting frequency numbers. Ildikó Horn focuses on the study tours of a select group of Transylvanian society, the political elite, offering an interpretation for the apparent decline of foreign studies among their group in the seventeenth century. Finally, the

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<sup>14</sup> See for example *Universitas Budensis, 1395–1995: International Conference for the History of Universities on the Occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Foundation of the University of Buda*, ed. by L. Szögi and J. Varga (Budapest 1997); *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. by M. Fata and L. Szögi (Pécs 2001); *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa. Zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation – Sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen*, ed. by P. Wörster (Munich 2008).

<sup>15</sup> *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by F. Márta et al. (Stuttgart 2006). The mentioned contributions are by András Szabó, János Heltai, Wolfgang Mährle and Márta Fata.

study of Judit P. Vászárhelyi, focussing on intellectual networks, presents an exceptional story of academic touring.

The great emphasis on learned migration in Hungarian historical research might be explained by the fact that Hungary was among the last countries in Latin Europe to found a university, and certainly not even the foundation of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava) in 1636 solved the problem of higher education. The Nagyszombat University was a Catholic institution with two faculties and an essentially local (western Hungarian) significance, nevertheless becoming a primary place of socialisation for the learned Catholic elite; among *graduating* students the proportion of noblemen reached a staggering 85 per cent.<sup>16</sup> The delay in establishing a university centre is clearly the result of Hungary's Ottoman devastation, which, on the other hand, does not explain why earlier attempts at a university failed. As the country broke into three parts in the first half of the sixteenth century, it remained without a stable cultural-political centre, which was probably even more detrimental to cultural life than the lack of a university. It is less emphasised by literature that high schools in Hungary often fared much worse than could be expected, which also explains the popularity of academic high schools in neighbouring lands among Hungarians. While some humanist boarding schools established international fame in the sixteenth century (like the one in Bártfa), and others had noteworthy professors for shorter or longer periods of time (in Sárospatak, Kolozsvár, Gyulafehérvár, Debrecen, etc.), several contemporaries expressed opinions of overall dissatisfaction. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Albert Szenci Molnár, after spending the greater part of his life in German cities, depicted the Hungarian situation gloomily in the introduction of the first printed Latin-Hungarian dictionary. Unlike in prosperous German towns, where classes at school were organised by age and had two teachers each, and language learning was aided by a number of books (which parents could afford), in Hungary there were

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<sup>16</sup> K. Bognár et al., *A Nagyszombati Egyetem fokozatot szerzett hallgatói (1635–1777)* [Students with degrees at the University of Nagyszombat] (Budapest 2002), 65–66. The proportion of noblemen among matriculated students was naturally much lower, unfortunately we lack precise date. Cf. *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701*, ed. by A. Zsoldos (Budapest 1990). Just like the University of Graz, Nagyszombat attracted principally students from nearby areas. Bognár, *A Nagyszombati Egyetem*, 59–65. For Graz, see J. Andritsch, *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586–1782)* (Graz 1965), 217–227. (In Graz the proportion of noble students was 34% among the 705 matriculated students who came from Hungary and Croatia in the seventeenth century.)

most often only two teachers in an entire school, and the time was spent dictating words and expressions, since pupils did not have a dictionary at home. The heterogeneity of the classes made education potentially agonising: “This is why few teachers can carry this burden for longer than three years; they either crumble under pressure or hurry towards church offices as those are fatter and less burdensome.”<sup>17</sup> A few pages below, Molnár also confessed that once he was invited to teach at the famous Sárospatak College by a leading theologian. He replied to the invitation by saying that he was worried about the burden of such a position in that area, where students did not have adequate books or even a dictionary. And the theologian suggested in turn that he could do great service for his country by writing such a work.

A positive result of the want for a political and educational centre and the sad situation of high schools was religious and cultural heterogeneity, which survived longer and more vigorously into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in many other countries in Europe. This also led to relatively strong academic migration trends (at least with respect to the region’s economic strength) and produced a high degree of intellectual openness and receptivity towards foreign learning and culture. As the English traveller Edward Brown(e) wrote in 1673,

The Turkish Power so much prevailing, or threatening in these Parts; it is in vain, to expect any great University beyond Vienna. [...] And though they have had many Bishops, and learned men; yet they have had their Education many of them out of Hungary. [...] And the present Hungarians, which addict themselves unto Learning, especially those of Quality, do commonly Study at Vienna, Prague, or Breslaw; a small University, or publick Study there is at Schemnitz.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, the lack of a capital, that is, a cultural and educational centre, may have reinforced intellectual dividedness with very different levels and orientations of learning and culture among the different social and religious groups, some representing up-to-date knowledge of Western universities, others cultural parochialism or ignorance. The contrast between the narrow-minded country nobleman and the well-educated intellectual of the cities (who had mostly bourgeois or low

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<sup>17</sup> Albertus Molnar Szenciensis, *Dictionarium Latinoungaricum* (Nuremberg 1604), unpaginated (fourth page in “Praefatio ad lectorem”). Compare also with Comenius’s opinion about the abysmal state of education (esp. about the ignorance of the vernacular at school) in his *Gentis felicitas* (Amsterdam 1659), 26.

<sup>18</sup> E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria...* (London 1673), 14.

noble origins, foreign education and contacts) became especially marked by the end of the eighteenth century. In fact, by that time the average country noblemen apparently lacked the means (and perhaps also the ambition) to travel abroad and pursue a grand tour.<sup>19</sup>

Just how different noble peregrination was in the seventeenth century when compared to the sixteenth century is hard to tell exactly, as early modern aristocratic grand tours have been relatively little researched.<sup>20</sup> While the proportion of noblemen among students studying abroad appears at first sight considerable throughout the epoch, there were apparently huge differences between the Catholics and the Protestants. While every third student attending the University of Graz in the seventeenth century had noble origins, and the situation must have been similar also in Vienna,<sup>21</sup> there were only a few noblemen among the Calvinist and

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<sup>19</sup> The best documented grand tour from the late eighteenth century is that of Gergely Berzeviczy, analysed by Éva H. Balázs, which illustrates both the difficulties average noblemen had abroad and the frustrations even the richer ones could face upon meeting their wealthy French or German peers. É. H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely a reformpolitikus 1763–1795* [Gergely Berzeviczy the politician of the Age of Reform] (Budapest 1967).

<sup>20</sup> On the difference between a grand tour and a *Kavalierstour*, see M. Leibetseder, “Kavalierstour – Bildungsreise – Grand Tour: Reisen, Bildung und Wissenserwerb in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Europäische Geschichte Online* (EGO), ed. by Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz, 14 Aug. 2013, available at <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/leibetseder-2013-de>, accessed on 19 February 2014. The few recent available studies deal with the seventeenth century only: *Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja, 1699–1700*, ed. P. Ötvös (Szeged 1988); *Batthyány Kristóf európai utazása, 1657–1658* [The European tour of K. B.], ed. by N. L. Selestei and J. Herner (Szeged 1988); I. Horn, “Esterházy Pál: Itinerarium in Germaniam 1653,” *Sic Itur ad Astra* (1989), 21–48; A. P. Szabó, “Haller Gábor peregrinációja” [The peregrination of G. H.], *Kút* 3, 3–4 (2004), 1–43; K. Toma, “Nádasdy István európai tanulmányútja. A Kavalierstour alkalmazása a magyar főúri nevelési gyakorlatban” [The European study tour of I. N. The Kavalierstour as a part of Hungarian aristocratic education], in “*Idővel paloták...*” *Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században*, ed. by G. N. Etényi and I. Horn (Budapest 2005), 192–214; B. Benda and B. Dicső-Erdődi, “Erdődy György peregrinációja (1631–1635)” [The peregrination of Gy. E.], *Századok* 143 (2009), 919–943; G. Kármán, “Identity and Borders: Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Travellers in the West and the East,” *European Review of History* 17 (2010), 555–579.

<sup>21</sup> Statistical data on Vienna is very unreliable in this respect. See K. Bognár, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben 1526–1789* [Hungarian students in the academies of Vienna] (Budapest 2004), 25–26. For Graz, see fn. 16 above. See also J. Varga, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom kisebb egyetemén és*

Lutheran students studying in the Netherlands and Germany in the same period.<sup>22</sup> This observation raises questions that have not been addressed so far, and which cannot be dealt with in this introduction.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, it suggests that the scarcity of secondary literature on seventeenth-century “Kavalierstours”—oriented principally at sightseeing, aristocratic socialisation and networking—may only partially be the outcome of the dearth of surviving documents (travel instructions, diaries and correspondences). It appears that the number of such tours were indeed low in the seventeenth century, and not necessarily because of the obvious price difference between Western and Eastern Europe,<sup>24</sup> but more so because of profound social, political and denominational reasons. For Protestants the political function of a European study tour in the context of Catholic Habsburg Monarchy became more and more questionable.<sup>25</sup> It remained socially useful for those who aspired to a teaching position or, if possible, a church

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*akadémiáin, 1560–1789* [Hungarian students at the minor universities and academic schools of the Habsburg Empire] (Budapest 2004), 25–26.

<sup>22</sup> R. Bozzay and S. Ladányi, *Hongaarse studenten aan nederlandse universiteiten, 1595–1918* (Budapest 2007), 23. Among the 4,306 students who studied at German universities 1526–1700, we only know of 95 noblemen and 49 magnates. L. Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an deutschen Universitäten und Akademien, 1526–1700* (Budapest 2011), 26. For Prussia, see L. Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok lengyelországi és baltikumi egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526–1788* [Students of Hungary at universities and academies of Poland and the Baltic lands] (Budapest 2003), 28. Cf. also J. Heltai, “Die Heidelberger Peregrination calvinistischer Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen 1597–1621. Ihr Verlauf im Spiegel der Zahlen und ihre Auswirkung,” in *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by M. Fata et al. (Stuttgart 2006), 69. In Altdorf their proportion was higher (12%). W. Mährle, “Eingangstor ins Reich? Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Nuernberger Hochschule in Altdorf (1582–1799),” in *Peregrinatio Hungarica*, 103–105.

<sup>23</sup> Among other things, we have no clear (numerically based) picture of the success of the Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century among the nobility. According to the general consensus (which also lacks firm evidentiary support), divided Hungary became 90% Protestant by the end of the century (cf. J. Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus 1565-től 1600-ig* [Hungarian Protestantism in 1565–1600], ed. by S. Ladányi, Budapest 1977, 274) and remarkably was a majority Catholic again by the end of the seventeenth century, but we lack the precise chronology of the process.

<sup>24</sup> Money could be a problem also for the richest, see Szabó, *Haller Gábor*, 6, note 32; Toma, “Nádasdy István,” 205–207.

<sup>25</sup> Compare, however, the case of Austrian Protestants at the turn of the seventeenth century, mentioned in the conclusion of my study in this volume.

career—the goal of most Protestant students studying abroad. However, this does not explain why the growing number of Catholic aristocrats failed to go further than Vienna,<sup>26</sup> or why the interest in foreign education among the political elite dropped also in Protestant Transylvania—a question which is addressed in this volume by Ildikó Horn.

The decline in interest among the Transylvanian political elite in university education in the seventeenth century leads to the question of why the situation was different in the sixteenth century, especially in its last third, when half of the princely councillors studied abroad and all six chancellors had university degrees. The political success of educated men coincided with the general boom of university attendance all throughout Central Europe (including the Kingdom of Hungary), which has often been linked to greater noble attendance.<sup>27</sup> Curiously, it also coincided with the boom of publishing activity in divided Hungary. After a steady rise, the output of the printing presses excelled in number and variety (including thematic divisions, target groups and languages, with a continuous increase of Hungarian language publications) at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> These major trends in peregrination (with an accent on

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<sup>26</sup> Some exceptional Catholic aristocrats visited also Protestant countries like the Low Countries or England (like György Erdődi or Mihály Mikes). Benda and Dicső-Erdődi, “Erdődy György”; see also Szabó, *Haller Gábor*, 6, note 33.

<sup>27</sup> This latter has been considered to be the result of the pressure of men of low social origins in occupying powerful positions in state administration. J. H. Hexter, “The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance,” *Journal of Modern History* 22 (1950), 1–20; W. Rüegg, “Die soziale Herkunft der Studenten,” in vol. 2 of *Geschichte der Universität in Europa* (Munich 1996), 254–257; A. Seifert, “Das höhere Schulwesen. Universitäten und Gymnasien,” in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. by N. Hammerstein and Ch. Berg (Munich 1996), 1:197–226; G. Almási, *The Uses of Humanism. Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), and the East Central European Republic of Letters* (Leiden 2009), 54–55.

<sup>28</sup> See K. Péter, “Aranykor és romlás a szellemi műveltség állapotában [Golden age and decline in the state of intellectual culture],” *Történelmi Szemle* 27 (1984), 80–102. Péter emphasises that the beginning of the seventeenth century (1601–1635) led to stagnation in book production: apparently, some poorer target groups fell out, and consequently proportionally fewer secular works, fewer Hungarian books appeared. However, we should be cautious not to project early seventeenth-century crisis to the entire century (the same is valid for peregrination numbers, see my chapter below). Stagnation in Hungarian book production (c. 1595–1625)—due in many respects to the Long War—was followed by a new rise in publications, even if the proportion of the Hungarian-language books started indeed decreasing from 1640, and this process stopped only c. 1715, which perhaps may also indicate that the target group of readers narrowed down. Yet, the

the turn of the seventeenth century) were similar in the neighbouring countries. The uses of (foreign) university education for a political career had a similar peak in Vienna (or Prague) and Cracow.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, university attendance boomed everywhere largely in the same period of time (c. 1560–1620).<sup>30</sup>

The question of the apparent shortage of aristocratic grand tours in the seventeenth century leads to a number of other questions pertaining to chronology and intellectual and social history. The chapters of this volume aim to answer several of these important questions, while others remain to be addressed by future research.

### *Intellectual-religious relationships*

Reformation and subsequent confessionalisation radically reshaped not only the institution of academic peregrination—a medieval tradition that remained so crucially important for Hungary and Transylvania, struggling continuously for their political-cultural survival—but also the networks of intellectual-religious relationships with the rest of Europe. This may be illustrated best by a comparison of the two most famous “peregrinators” of the period, Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584)<sup>31</sup> and Albert Szenci Molnár

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data of books produced in Hungary should not be treated separately from the data of Hungarian publications outside Hungary (collected by “RMK III,” see fn. 9 in Monok’s study below). For Hungarian book production in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see recently J. Ecsedy, “Hetven év nyomdai körképe és mérlege (1601–1670)” [The balance of 70 years of printing history], in *Sylvae typographicae* (Magyar Könyvszemle és a MOKKA-R Egyesület füzetei, 5) (Budapest 2013), 11–33. For an overall picture of book production in Hungary, see Cs. Csapodi, “A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig” [Linguistic division of publications in Hungary before 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), 98–104 (available on the internet).

<sup>29</sup> Almási, *The Uses of Humanism*, 60–64. Cf. E. Trunz, “Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur,” in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. by R. Alewyn (Cologne and Berlin 1965), 147–181.

<sup>30</sup> A. Kohler, “Bildung und Konfession. Zum Studium der Studenten aus den habsburgischen Ländern an Hochschulen im Reich (1560–1620),” in *Bildung, Politik und Gesellschaft. Studien zur Geschichte des europäischen Bildungswesens vom 16 bis zum 20 Jahrhundert*, ed. by G. Klingenstein et al. (Vienna 1978), 64–123.

<sup>31</sup> On Sambucus, see A. S. Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden 2005); Almási,



(1574–1634) (on the latter, see the study by Vásárhelyi). Imperial historian and courtier of three emperors, Johannes Sambucus, like most of his learned contemporaries, was engaged in humanist practices, i.e. learned activities oriented towards the study of antiquity. In his time he was one of the greatest collectors of Greek and Latin manuscripts in Europe, and through his publishing activity he vigorously contributed to the transmission of ancient, Byzantine and Renaissance authors. The universal profile of his intellectual activity matched the trans-national and supra-confessional network he maintained through personal acquaintances and literary connections. His itinerary crossed the greater part of western Europe, from Wittenberg to Paris, and Naples to Antwerp. While privately a Lutheran, Sambucus enjoyed the patronage of three Catholic emperors. In contrast, 40 years later, the Calvinist Molnár maintained himself through an increasingly militant Calvinist network. His successes as a publisher, teacher and Protestant agent were congruent with the increased political role of Transylvania and Hungary in European Protestant alliances. If anyone profited from the advantageous political situation for international Calvinism, it was Molnár, who not only enjoyed the support of Hungarian Calvinist heroes, the princes of Transylvania, Stephen Bocskai and Gabriel Bethlen, but was more importantly also supported by men like Maurice of Hesse-Kassel and Frederick IV, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. A friend of leading German Calvinist intellectuals, Molnár's program of learning reflected his network's interests: it was principally patriotic, pedagogical and Calvinist. While patriotic, pedagogical and religious motivations were not missing from Sambucus's activity either, they failed to structure his life. Sambucus was a client of hyper-literate, open-minded and tolerant rulers, late Renaissance heirs of the Roman emperors, who could hardly be served with the same dignity through particularistic projects like the translation of the Psalms into Hungarian. Unlike the imperial historian Sambucus, Molnár socialised into a confessionally divided, highly politicised world that was rushing towards a great war, and in which his Hungarian identity and experience remained necessarily always in the forefront. Although he was no closed-minded Calvinist (as also the dedication of his *Dictionarium Latino-Ungaricum* to Emperor Rudolf reveals), his network and religious horizon was constrained by the increasingly isolating confessional barriers.

By the seventeenth century, confessional divisions had already a primary importance in shaping intellectual relationships, networks and the

mental world of men of letters. This was clearly as true for Calvinists as for Lutherans and Catholics. At the same time, networks and connections were channelled increasingly through institutional ties, of which Hungary hardly abounded in the seventeenth century. Partly as a consequence, partly as a result of the strong tradition of Renaissance studies in Hungary, research on intellectual-religious relationships has focussed more on the sixteenth than on the seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, historical study of seventeenth-century intellectual-religious relationships has always paid more attention to Calvinists than to Catholics, not to mention Lutherans.<sup>33</sup> This volume offers three studies on international Catholicism,

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<sup>32</sup> It is impossible to give a comprehensive list of literature here, even if foreign language, monographic publications do not abound. See in any case the works of R. J. W. Evans: *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700*. (Oxford 1979); id., *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683–1867* (Oxford 2006); G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century* (Boulder, CO. 2009). On humanism and international relationships, see M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, OH. 1986); *Antike Rezeption und nationale Identität in der Renaissance insbesondere in Deutschland und in Ungarn*, ed. by T. Klaniczay et al. (Budapest 1993); *Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Politik, Religion und Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by U. A. Wien and K. Zach (Cologne and Weimar 2004); *Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. by W. Kühlmann and A. Schindling (Stuttgart 2004); J. Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons: Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox* (Toronto 2007); Almási, *The Uses of Humanism*; D. Bobory, *The Sword and the Crucible: Count Boldizsár Batthyány and Natural Philosophy in Sixteenth-Century Hungary* (New Castle upon Tyne 2009). See also L. Szörényi, “Introduzione alla recente storiografia sul Rinascimento in Ungheria,” in *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in Early Renaissance*, ed. by P. Farbaký and L. A. Waldman (Florence 2011), 45–54. See also the numerous foreign language articles by Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, Tibor Klaniczay, Pál Ács, Farkas Gábor Kiss and Sándor Bene, to mention only a few names.

<sup>33</sup> On international Calvinism and Hungary see R. J. W. Evans, “Calvinism in East Central Europe: Hungary and Her Neighbours,” in *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, ed. by M. Prestwich (Oxford 1985); G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford 2000); M. Szentpéteri, “A Central European Example of 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Calvinist Intellectual Communication: Johann Heinrich Alsted and Albert Szenci Molnár,” available at <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/contentware/marci/cikk.htm>, accessed on 27 February 2014. On Reformation, confessionalisation and religious contacts in general, see *Iter Germanicum. Deutschland und die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn des 16–17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by A. Szabó (Budapest

that is, Jesuit scientific exchange and intellectual life (by Farkas Gábor Kiss, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf and Paul Shore), while not forgetting about the Calvinists either (see George Gömöri's contribution). The final two chapters address the theme of cultural exchange from two different perspectives. One of them studies intellectual exchanges as represented by books related to Hungary but published in Europe's three major sixteenth-century publishing centres, Paris, Basle, and Venice (István Monok). The other investigates the movement of foreign musicians in Hungary, men who belonged to the category of artisans and whose story shed light on cultural exchange from a different angle (Péter Király).

In the introduction to his chapter, Kiss outlines four ways of scientific knowledge exchange between seventeenth-century Hungary and Europe. Hungarian authors could enter into circulation quite randomly thanks to the work of foreign publishers—some examples are presented in Monok's chapter as well. Hungarian scholars could also publish their work abroad, and as we can see in Bozzay's chapter, Calvinists, for example, extensively used Dutch publishers (mostly, but not exclusively, during their study tours in the Netherlands).<sup>34</sup> Yet, the practice of publishing in foreign scientific journals did not start before the 1680s. Next, foreign travellers could also play a significant role in scientific knowledge exchange. Finally, Hungarian authors could be approached through the institutional and scholarly networks of foreign academic and religious circles. An example is provided by Gömöri, who investigates the alchemical and geographical interests of the Royal Society in "exotic" Hungary, which is eventually a story of failure, since the required information could not be

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1999); M. Fata, *Ungarn: das Reich der Stephanskronen: im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Multiethnizität, Land und Konfession 1500 bis 1700* (Münster 2000); K. Zach, *Konfessionelle Pluralität, Stände und Nation, ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur südosteuropäischen Religions- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Münster 2004); *Konfessionbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by V. Leppin and U. A. Wien (Stuttgart 2005); H. Hotson, "Central Europe, 1550–1700," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. M. Whitford (Kirkville, MO. 2008); I. Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Pluralität, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania, 1526–1691* (Leiden 2009); *Calvin und Reformiertentum in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Helvetisches Bekenntnis, Ethnie und Politik, vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, ed. by M. Fata and A. Schindling (Münster 2010). For Catholic (Jesuit) relationships, see the works by Paul Shore and Gábor Farkas Kiss.

<sup>34</sup> However, published copies were brought back to Hungary, and only rarely circulated abroad.

obtained from Hungarian Calvinist and Unitarian scholars. Despite the presence of c. 200 seventeenth-century Hungarian visiting students and travellers in England and Scotland,<sup>35</sup> the story reveals that intellectual contacts towards Hungary remained limited to the field of pious literature and church organisation. The same manner of communication is explored also in the chapter by Kiss, who reconstructs the exchange between Athanasius Kircher SJ in Rome and Jesuits and Catholics in Hungary. No wonder, Kiss claims, that the theme of the exchange was Hungarian subterranean “miracles” and alchemical procedures, since the “fragile scholarly infrastructure of the country was in a way predisposed to communicate miracles instead of the ordinary.” Hunger for the miraculous was a driving force also in the work of another Nagyszombat Jesuit, Martinus Szentiványi, who inserted erudite dissertations on distant non-European peoples and lands in the official Latin calendars of the university (see the study by Kristóf). Szentiványi, however, used his Catholic and Jesuit sources with much less criticism than the Viennese and Nagyszombat alchemists arguing against Kircher.

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<sup>35</sup> See George Gömöri’s excellent work on academic peregrination, *Hungarian Students in England and Scotland (1526–1789)* (Budapest 2005).

# TOURING EUROPE: COMPARING EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEAN ACADEMIC PEREGRINATION OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

GÁBOR ALMÁSI

This chapter presents a preliminary survey of East-Central European study tours in a comparative fashion, drawing several conclusions about Hungary in particular. The aim is to introduce the broader contexts, which can be the basis of further investigations, and not to permanently resolve the thorny questions about the changing functions of university attendance or the social constitution of the student body in early modern academic peregrination.

## *Universities in East-Central Europe*

East-Central Europe was much less densely populated and generally less urbanised than Western and Southern Europe, and we find likewise that the network of universities was relatively sparser, with vast regions having no university at all. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages the universities of Prague, Cracow and Vienna were thriving centres of European learning, and around 1400 they still ranked among Europe's largest universities.<sup>1</sup> Prague, however, the smallest of them, had an early crisis. As a result of the nationalist decree of Kutteneburg in 1409, the University of Prague

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<sup>1</sup> See F. Seibt, "Von Prag bis Rostock: Zur Gründung der Universitäten in Mitteleuropa," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. by Helmut Beumann (Cologne and Vienna 1973), 1:406–26; G. Klaniczay, "Late Medieval Central European Universities," in *Universitas Budensis, 1395–1995: International Conference for the History of Universities on the Occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Foundation of the University of Buda*, ed. by L. Szögi and J. Varga (Budapest 1997), 171–181.

became a tiny national institution with a single surviving faculty, which became the chief doctrinal authority of the Utraquists.<sup>2</sup> Although the Carolinum became receptive to humanist learning rather late (flourishing in the late sixteenth century with c. 50 yearly matriculations), it played a pivotal role in the Bohemian intellectual scene.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the Jesuit academy in Prague, the Clementinum, where only 40 per cent of the student population was Bohemian and 3 per cent Moravian, most of the students at the Carolinum had a Bohemian bourgeois family background and in general were content with an education in their home country.<sup>4</sup> The 1620 Battle of White Mountain meant that Prague's Utraquist academy was practically shut down and the university was re-established on the basis of Catholic absolutist rule, entrusted to the Jesuit order. Emperor Ferdinand II and his Jesuit confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini were keen to substantiate Catholic education so that young men would not go abroad where they might be influenced by Protestant institutions.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of our period, the University of Vienna was still the most important university for German students with 6,138 matriculates in the decade 1510–20 (with almost half of the student body belonging to the Rhenish nation). However, the educational crisis that developed parallel to the Reformation led to an especially long decline of the University of Vienna. In the 1520s the university attracted only 2,013 students, in the 1530s, 780, and in the year 1580 there were still only 200 matriculated

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<sup>2</sup> On the Kuttenberg Decree, see the special number of *Acta Universitatis Carolinae* 49 (2009); M. Nodl, "Auf dem Weg zum Kuttenberger Dekret: Von der Versöhnung der Nationen zum unversöhnlichen Nationalismus," *Bohemia* 49 (2009), 52–75; M. Nodl, *Dekret kutnohorský* [Decree of Kutná Hora] (Prague 2010).

<sup>3</sup> M. Svatoš, "Humanismus an der Universität Prag im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern*, ed. by H.-B. Harder and H. Rothe (Vienna and Cologne 1988), 154–66; F. Šmahel, "Die Karlsuniversität Prag und böhmische Humanistenkarriere," in *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by R. C. Schwinges (Berlin 1996), 505–13.

<sup>4</sup> The Clementinum also had a record of yearly 55 students in the last decade of the century, which—unlike in Olomouc—was followed by a sharp decline in the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. See *Album Academiae Pragensis Societatis Iesu 1573–1617*, ed. by M. Truc (Prague 1968), xxv.

<sup>5</sup> I. Čornejová, "The Period 1622–1654," in *A History of Charles University*, vol. 1, 1348–1802 (Prague 2001), 263–274, at 266.