

HUNGARIAN STUDENTS AND VISITORS IN 16-17TH CENTURY ENGLAND

GEORGE GÖMÖRI
University of Cambridge

One of the very first students at the University of Oxford whom we know by name is a "Nicholaus de Hungaria", a scholar maintained by Richard I,¹ yet no other Hungarian student follows him for the next few centuries. That is, at least, we have no knowledge of such student, although the names of Hungarian scholars keep cropping up in the registers of French and Italian universities throughout the Middle Ages. The University of Pécs in Southern Hungary, founded by Lajos (Louis) the Great in 1367 became defunct some time before 1400, and the University of Óbuda founded by the Emperor Sigismund (1389) did not have a long life either,² consequently in the 15th century Hungarians attended the universities of Vienna and Cracow in great numbers, while a century later Wittenberg and Padua attracted those desirous of pursuing their studies. For Hungarians England remained *terra incognita* and although Anglo-Hungarian diplomatic contacts did flourish at the time of Sigismund of Luxembourg or John Zápolya (a contemporary of Henry VIII's), we cannot speak of real cultural contacts between the two countries until the second half of the 16th century.

After 1526 (the decisive defeat of Hungarian forces at Mohács) several important developments take place in Hungary which raise the level of English interest in Hungarian affairs. The Turks take Buda in 1541 and occupy a large part of the Kingdom of Hungary but are unable to break through the defence line of the Upper Danube, held by troops loyal to the Hapsburg king. (After the Battle of Mohács the Hungarian estates could not agree over the succession and elected two kings simultaneously: Ferdinand I and John Zápolya.) In the chaotic decades that follow the majority of Hungarians (both in the Turkish-occupied areas and in Transylvania) embrace the Protestant religion. In contemporary English letters and dispatches Hungary features mainly as a stage on which Turks are to be fought and where one could achieve grand military feats (as did indeed Thomas Arundel, who was made Baron of the German Empire after his heroic conduct at the siege of Esztergom/Strigonium in 1595); the political status, however, of Hungary and Transylvania created interest not only in the context of Turkish-Western relations but also as a problem linked with the protection of religious freedom. Although after 1600 the Counter-Reformation, vigorously supported by the Hapsburgs, did manage to reconquer much lost territory in Western and Northern Hungary, part of the country

and almost the whole of Transylvania (from 1556 a semi-independent principality) remained staunchly Protestant. Throughout the seventeenth century English policies *vis-à-vis* imperial Hungary and Transylvania were finely balanced between what we may call state interests and a desire to help co-religionists suffering from repressive measures and militant Catholic intolerance

As for Hungarian visitors and students in England between 1570 and 1694, their interests and preoccupations varied considerably. On the whole, they sought profit either in a cultural or a religious sense: they wanted to visit the famous English universities *or*, if they had some money and time, study there for a while; some of them were also interested in the organization and practices of the Church of England; still others were open to Puritan doctrines and tried to further the cause of ecclesiastical reform in their native country. (In the middle of the 17th century any student of theology who had been to England was automatically suspect in Transylvania as a possible convert to "independentism", a supporter of radical reform within the Calvinist Church.)

The first Hungarian visitor whose name may be mentioned here as having visited Cambridge was Máté Skaricza, a native of Ráckeve, a teacher and disciple of the famous religious reformer and polemicist István Szegeði Kis. Skaricza visited England in the autumn of 1571 as part of his three-year long Grand Tour of Europe which included Padua, Geneva, Basle, Heidelberg, Wittenberg and Marburg; it was thanks to him that István Kis's first theological work was published in Basle (he gave it to Bèze); he met Tremellius in Heidelberg, Johannes Sturm in Strassburg and other famous Protestant scholars elsewhere. Skaricza reached England in the company of two other Hungarians, Tamás Dési and András Udvardi, his fellow-students at Marburg,³ but we know of the visit only from Skaricza's own account. During their short stay in Cambridge the host of the Hungarians was "Cevallerius", that is Anthony Rodolphe Chevalier, the eminent Hebraic scholar, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge since 1569. Chevalier was a French Protestant who had lived at one point in Strassburg and Geneva and knew Tremellius well⁴—it may well have been on the latter's recommendation that Skaricza and his friends came to see him. In the Latin account of his travels, published under the title of *Vita Stephani Szegedini*,⁵ Skaricza mentions Foxe and Dering too, as Englishmen who treated him with generosity in Cambridge. Edward Dering, the learned but quarrelsome Puritan divine, was also a Hebrew scholar; and as for John Foxe, the famous author of the *Actes and Monuments of the Church* . . .—he lived in London at the time and was probably only visiting Cambridge, to show his guests around. Skaricza was also presented to the Queen whom he describes as "rarissima virtutum Elisabeth". It is doubtful whether the Hungarian scholar's visit played any part in the fact that Szegeði Kis was amongst the very first Hungarian authors to be published in England: his *Tabulae analyticae de fide charitate et patientia* left the printer's in London in 1593.

The next Hungarian to appear as a student in Oxford, though not a matriculated one, was István Budai better known to readers of Hakluyt as Stephanus Parmenius Budaeus (or Budensis). He was one of those extraordinary travelling Humanists whose

luck (at least initially) almost equalled his talent as a Latin versifier. The facts about his life are not yet fully known, for example we still do not know in whose entourage or with what kind of recommendations he arrived in England in 1581. Other facts, however, are certain: he was born at Buda, he was educated first in Hungary, then in September 1579 he matriculated at Wittenberg but also visited a number of other European universities. In England Budai was the protégé of the Unton family and his first Latin poem (printed by Thomas Vautrollier in 1582) *Paeon* or "Thanksgiving Hymn" was dedicated to the much-travelled Henry Unton. He studied in Oxford for a couple of terms, living as Richard Hakluyt's "bedfellow" in Christ Church (where the younger Hakluyt was Lecturer, and Tutor on Aristotle),⁶ but in 1582 he was introduced to Sir Humphrey Gilbert whom he accompanied on his expedition to Newfoundland a year later. Well before this happened, Budai, or as he called himself in England Parmenius, published another long Latin poem, *De Navigatione* which gave credit to earlier English explorers and hailed Gilbert's plans to found a colony in the New World. These two poems and a descriptive letter from Newfoundland constitute the entire oeuvre of Parmenius; still, his figure was intriguing enough to warrant an excellent scholarly publication in our own times.⁷

The work of Quinn and Cheshire rekindled interest in Budai. Recently, I came upon a letter about him which, although published as early as 1700, has so far eluded the notice of other researchers. This is Jean Hotman's letter of recommendation for the Hungarian scholar addressed to William Camden, written in the spring of 1582. Jean Hotman (1552-1636), son of the famous author of the *Franco-Gallia*, came to England some time before Parmenius as instructor to the children of Sir Amias Paulet; in March 1581 he was incorporated at Oxford.⁸ As a member of Christ Church, he frequently met Parmenius. He was not the only one to have written to Camden about the Hungarian Humanist—Budai's name appears in the draft of a letter which Camden probably sent to Hakluyt.⁹ None the less, Hotman's Latin letter, the relevant parts of which I have translated into English, clears up several moot points about Parmenius. This letter was originally printed as "Epistola XIX" in the collection *Francisci et Joannis Hotmanorum . . . Epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1700):

It is your unparalleled friendliness towards foreigners that made me commend this (person): you already know him from the Paeon. My commendation to you is a real one, for I know him well in all respects. A Hungarian by nationality, born at Buda under Turkish rule, because of his religion and piety he has been attending German and English academies for many years now. He has spent a few months here and because of his scholarship, as well as his conduct, our people in Oxford accepted him with the highest praise. He deserves your goodwill and friendship; neither do I doubt that because of me and others you will expand your efforts for him most generously. With this you shall be doing a favour to both of us—especially to me.¹⁰

Jean Hotman's reference to the *Paeon* makes that poem indisputably the first publication of Parmenius in England. Moreover, his account of the Hungarian scholar's previous education with its pointed reference to "in Academiis Germanicis, Anglicisque" rules out the possibility raised by Quinn and Cheshire that Parmenius

may have studied at Pauda.¹¹ It also indicates the warmth with which the author of *De Navigatione* was accepted and, indeed, embraced by the Humanist elite of Oxford (which apart from the younger Hakluyt included Laurence Humphrey, Thomas and Henry Savile, and other refugee scholars such as the eminent Italian lawyer Alberico Gentili). Parmenius paid back the trust of the Oxford dons with a handsome compliment addressed to the University, especially with respect to its accomplished Latin poets: *dum spreto Helicone manebit / Ille Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia Musias* ("that shrine of Art, Oxford, which now the Muses sanctify / In place of Helicon").¹²

The rest of Parmenius Budai's story is sad: although he joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition as a learned chronicler of this enterprise, he did not return from the Westward voyage—when one of the ships, the *Delight* ran aground on 29th August 1583, he was amongst those drowned.¹³ In the words of Edward Hayes thus was lost "a rare poet of our time".¹⁴ All that he left behind was included by Richard Hakluyt in the second edition of *The principall navigations* (1600).

The next Hungarian visitors in England whom we know of (apart from István Kakas of Zalánkemén, special envoy of the Prince of Transylvania), were two students of theology, Gergely Váci and Imre Újfalvi (Szilvásújfalvi). They followed a route not unlike Skaricza's: having studied in Wittenberg and Heidelberg they came to England via Leiden. From a petition to Lord Burghley asking for passes and financial assistance, apparently written towards the end of their stay in England, it transpires that they had letters of recommendation from the University of Heidelberg and that the purpose of their visit to England was to see its Church and "well-founded Academies" (*Academias bene constitutas*).¹⁵ On the basis of Újfalvi's recently found *album amicorum*¹⁶ we can reconstruct the peregrination of the two Hungarians throughout the Queen's realm. They arrived in the early days of July 1595 and stayed for a month, visiting first Cambridge, then Oxford, and finally Greenwich and London. In Cambridge Újfalvi first called upon Peter Baro, Professor of Theology (soon afterwards Baro had to resign his chair because of his "proto-Armenian" views on predestination), but he also met Baro's opponent, the well-known Puritan William Whitaker and also Greek scholar Andrew Downes, both at St. John's. In Oxford Újfalvi and his friend paid their respects to two professors of Theology: John Rainolds, a staunch Puritan and a Ramist,¹⁷ and his very learned colleague Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College. They also met John Case, famed for his commentaries on Aristotle and suspected of Catholic sympathies. If in Cambridge there was a spate of Greek entries in Újfalvi's album, in Oxford more than one Hebrew motto appears on its pages, and amongst the contributors there are such Hebraists as John Harding, Edmund Carpenter and Philippus Fernandus. The latter, a converted Jew, and Hebrew scholar, fully displayed his skill as a linguist by his contribution of a conventional wisdom in no less than twelve different languages.¹⁸ Towards the end of July Újfalvi and Váci went to Greenwich where they met Archbishop Whitgift and probably saw the Queen, and the last English inscriber in Imre Újfalvi's album was none other than the author of *Brittania*, William Camden. (It should be added here that years later Újfalvi suffered persecution in his native Hungary for the criticism of Church government and he was

even jailed for some time—the relevant document suggests that he had Presbyterian leanings.)

The period between 1596 and 1617 appears to be as poorly represented in Hungarian visitors to England as it is rich in well-reported visits of other foreigners. Paul Hentzner, the Count of Waldstein, Thomas Platter Jr., and Louis Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, all embark upon their English journeys during this time; whenever their narrative reaches Oxford or Cambridge they wax enthusiastic to a man. Hentzner for instance thinks that the Oxford colleges and halls “excel all Academies in the Cristian world”.¹⁹ The Bodleian Library, that unique repository of books both English and foreign, opens in 1602 and in the following years attracts many distinguished foreign visitors. I have come across references to a speech by the first Librarian of the Bodleian, James, welcoming the king in 1605—these claim that James, naming the foreign users of the Library by nationality, mentions Hungarians as well.²⁰ On closer examination this report turns out to be false: Rawlinson C. 8.66, the manuscript on which it is based, names various nationalities but Hungarian is not amongst them.

In 1617 however a learned Hungarian visitor donated a book to the Bodleian. This was János Bánfihunyadi, known to his English contemporaries as Johannes or Hans Hunniades, alchemist and goldsmith turned “chemical operator”, and still later lecturer in chemistry in Gresham College. Bánfihunyadi came to London from his native Transylvania (probably via Germany) in 1608, and although in 1617 he made preparations to return home for good, he nevertheless came back to England a year later and lived there almost to his death in 1646. The Hungarian Bible, his gift to the Bodleian, was by way of a farewell present to Oxford, but as the library already possessed a copy of the named book it was later sold to Christ Church, where it still remains.²¹ Bánfihunyadi’s Bible contains an inscribed dedication in Hungarian and also a little poem in Latin written by the donor. The poem entitled *Ad Antiquissimam et Celeberrimam Academiam Oxoniensem* starts with the following sonorous words:

*Salve tam Patribus florens Academia doctis
Grandiloquisque sophis: Socratisque viris*

Since he dedicated a valuable book to the “Socrates-like fathers” of the Academy, Bánfihunyadi must have known some of them personally. It is certain that he was a friend of Arthur Dee’s (John Dee’s son) who studied at Oxford at one point, but he could also have known the famous mathematician Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall. What lends plausibility to this connection, is Ashmole’s information that a certain astronomic manuscript of Allen’s was copied by two hands and that William Lilly got his copy from “John Hunniades the great chymist”.²² Another fact supporting the likelihood of Bánfihunyadi’s close relationship with Allen is the Hungarian alchemist’s later cooperation with Sir Kenelm Digby, an ex-student of the Oxford mathematician.²³

Bánfihunyadi, who had a house in London, was often visited by his fellow-countrymen passing through or studying in "the new Troynovant"; most of the documented contacts come from the early sixteen-thirties. One man whom he did *not* meet was Márton Szepesi Csombor, author of the first Hungarian travelogue, *Europica Varietas* (1620) who was in England briefly in May 1618; in fact, it is quite likely that at the time Bánfihunyadi was in Transylvania or on his way back to England. As for Márton Csombor he did not set foot either in Oxford or Cambridge—he claims that he got "Cantuaria" and "Cantabrigia" mixed up and thus found himself in Canterbury instead of Cambridge. Modern critics are more sceptical—they believe that Csombor, not having enough money, loathed to admit that he had not been able to visit the town of "Whitakerus and Perkinsus" and therefore had made up this story.²⁴

It was only in the 1620s that Hungarian and Transylvanian students began to frequent English universities in greater numbers. There are good reasons for this: first of all, the traditional route of the Hungarian Calvinists student of theology underwent a change. Some decades earlier such a student would have studied at one of the German universities; after the "purge" of Calvinists at Wittenberg it was Heidelberg, Marburg, Herborn or Bremen that attracted him. The war that broke out on account of Frederick of Pfalz's election to the Bohemian throne and swept over Germany, forced the Hungarians to stay away from Heidelberg and other German academies; from 1621 onwards their peregrination took them further North, to "Belgian"—that is Dutch—universities. Franeker, Leiden and Utrecht quickly became favoured centres of learning for Hungarian and Transylvanian students following the "Helvetic creed" (as Calvinism was called in those days) and with financial help from towns, private patrons—rich landowners or the Prince of Transylvania himself—they managed to stay for years in the Low Countries. Hungarians who reached England in the sixteen-twenties can be regarded (with few exceptions) as a result of a spill-over from Dutch universities, though there were some cases where the student was using Leiden or Franeker only as a convenient springboard for England.

Sometimes, though, students would be specifically sent out to study in Holland *and* England. In October 1641 Péter N. Szerencsi, a Hungarian student of theology in London, reported to William Sancroft (at the time Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge) that György Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, chose three students from the Academy of Sárospatak to be sent abroad "ad studendum primum in Hollandiam, deinde in Angliam ablegavit", providing them with enough money to cover their considerable expenses.²⁵ The same letter shows that Szerencsi, who stayed in England until his departure for Leiden in the early summer of 1642,²⁶ had already visited Cambridge where he was well received not only by Sancroft but by other members of Emmanuel College whom he also thanks for their friendliness and hospitality.

The main sources which enable us to establish the identity of 17th century Hungarian students at English universities are: the letters of students to their patrons; gifts of books with the owner's or donor's inscription; the *alba amicorum* of Hungarian travellers or of those foreign students who met them; and finally, the book of foreign readers admitted to the Bodleian. I have left out university registers for the simple

reason that these students did not matriculate and only very rarely took degrees. Matriculation was expensive, college fees as much of a burden for the impecunious foreign student as today, and Márton Csombor probably assessed the situation realistically when he wrote: "(England) is not an expensive place when compared to Holland, but as for us it is very dear indeed".²⁷ So the tactics of Hungarian students who desired to stay in Oxford or Cambridge for a longer period of time would be something like this: having found a room in a hostel or an inn they would get in touch with the local professor of Theology or with another don sympathetic to the plight of foreign Protestants and ask for permission to attend lectures and use such facilities as the college library (or in the case of Oxford, the Bodleian).

Between 1620 and 1625 Hungarian visitors and students in England included those who were just passing through Oxford (Cambridge) and also those who spent a longer time actually studying. While Mihály M. Corvinus and probably Máté Csanaki (both in England in 1623) belong to the first category,²⁸ those who stayed longer include Máté Kecskeméti (the first Hungarian to sign his name in the "*Liber Admissorum*" of the Bodleian),²⁹ Benedek Bakay, János Tállyai and István Gyarmathi. Of these Máté Csanaki (1594–1636) was the most colourful personality. A student of theology, philosophy and finally medicine he visited most of the European universities from Cambridge to Padua during the eleven years of his peregrinations. His visit to England, which may have been one of several, preceded his matriculation at the University of Leiden on the 18th of October, 1623. It was there that he published his main work, *Controversiae Partim Logicae Philosophicae* (1625), an exposition and defence of Bartholomeus Keckermann's philosophy. After his return to Transylvania with a medical doctorate from Padua, Csanaki became Court Physician to the Protestant prince, György Rákóczi I. As for Bakay and Tállyai who spent several months in Oxford and Cambridge respectively (1625–26), they were supported by the town of Kassa, and from the letter sent by Bakay to the Council of Kassa it is clear that he only stayed in Oxford because "nearly all the famous schools of Germany were turned into dens of thieves and robbers",³⁰ i.e. were taken over by the imperial forces and their denominational character altered in such a way that no God-fearing Calvinist could study there. Incidentally, Bakay soon after his arrival in Oxford gave a thick folio to the Bodleian, a volume in Hungarian written by the Jesuit-trained Catholic Archbishop of Hungary Péter Pázmány. The book, amply annotated with sceptical comments by Bakay, is still in Oxford,³¹ and in my view the only reason for this unexpected gift was Bakay's sheer exhaustion from carrying the huge book around: he thus availed himself of the best opportunity to get rid of it.

In fact, Bakay's name appears on an important list of Hungarians who were reputed to have studied in England in the 17th century. This is to be found in a handwritten volume by István Helmecci entitled *Introductionis Historiam ad Ecclesiasticam Ungariae Reformatae* (1722), now in the Bodleian,³² and it comprises forty-five names, amongst them some which were not otherwise known to have been in England at all. It confirms previous information about György Salánki, a Hungarian translator of Erasmus (his translation was published in Leiden in 1627), and Pál Keresztúri, both

of whom visited England some time in the 1620s. Keresztúri's printed work is less important than his example as a teacher: he introduced new teaching methods in Transylvania which set much store by the application of the vernacular, and it was suggested that he had come to appreciate the importance of education in the mother tongue in England.³³ He taught in the 1630s at the Protestant school of Gyulafehérvár, and later became Court Chaplain to György Rákóczi I.

Thanks to the long negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe with Gábor Bethlen, in the 1620s England and Transylvania drew closer to one another and in January 1626 the Treaty of Westminster received Transylvania into the Protestant Alliance. This political proximity was the background to the visit of Péter Bethlen and his retinue in 1628. This young man was the nephew of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania (known by Ben Jonson as "Gabor"³⁴), and his journey round the states of Western Europe had diplomatic significance well beyond a courtesy visit. Péter Bethlen and his escort of six landed at Margate in February 1628 and proceeded to London where they were received by Charles I who provided a special coach for them. From a letter written by János Pálóczi Horváth, a gentleman accompanying young Bethlen, we learn that having spent two weeks in London they set out for Oxford and Cambridge. The sight of the colleges filled the Hungarian with admiration: "We have never seen more splendid buildings" enthuses Pálóczi Horváth; "some of these rise so much above the others like citadels—ah, if our country had just one of these colleges!"³⁵ In the same passage he describes the function of Oxbridge which he saw in the training of future leaders of Church and State—these colleges disgorge educated men every year just like "the wooden horse of Troy". We lack information as to the party's contacts in Oxford or Cambridge but they were probably received by the Vice Chancellors at both universities.

From the next batch of Hungarian students who reached England in 1629–30 we know at least five by name (János Madarasi, Pál Medgyesi, András Ruszkay, János Nábrádi and Péter Maksai Óse)—the first three came to Cambridge and the others to Oxford. The most outstanding member of the Cambridge contingent was Pál Medgyesi. After returning to Hungary he became the first translator of English religious literature into Hungarian, or rather the first one who worked from original texts; before him English authors were translated from Latin.³⁶ Medgyesi's first translation was *St. Austin's Religion* by a Brasenose man, William Crompton, and his next *Scala Coeli* by Lewis Bayle, Bishop of Bangor (both were published in 1632); but his greatest achievement came four years later. It was Bayle's *Praxis Pietatis*, a huge Protestant best-seller of the 17th century, second only to the Bible in popularity. In the foreword to this translation Medgyesi describes the circumstances in which he undertook his ambitious work: "I had started. . . to translate this book when still in England, in that ancient, most famous and memorable Academy of Cantabrigia".³⁷ Although he was forced to interrupt his work at that time, some years later in Debrecen the ageing Albert Szenci Molnár, the much-travelled scholar and grammarian (who had also visited England in 1624) prevailed upon him to take it up again and "do the whole translation from the English language".³⁸ Medgyesi spent about two terms in

Cambridge and while it is not known whether he could use any of the College libraries, he was certainly acquainted with Samuel Collins, Provost of King's and Regius Professor of Divinity from 1617 to 1651, as many years later he sent him a rare book from Transylvania.³⁹

Another Hungarian student of theology, János Madarasi, arrived in Cambridge after studies in Bremen and Leiden.⁴⁰ He was not a writer or translator but left behind other traces: he gave a present of two Hungarian books to the same person, John Mansell, President of Queens' College from 1622 to 1631. The first is a 17th century Bible still in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge, containing a handwritten note by Madarasi in which he thanks Mansell for his patronage and the permission of the use of his College's library; the other, Albert Molnár's Hungarian grammar, was sent first to Madarasi from Frankfurt (an der Oder) by a friend and then passed on by him to Mansell. The latter book is now in the library of Westminster College, London.⁴¹

At about the same time that Medgyesi started his translation of *Praxis Pietatis* in Cambridge, another Hungarian, Péter Maksai Óse was living in London and later in Oxford. According to one source he was supported financially by the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁴² which would explain how he was able to live in England from 1629 to September 1632. Maksai's contribution to English knowledge about the contemporary world was considerable—he wrote (probably in Latin) the relevant chapters on Transylvania and Hungary for the sixth edition of Botero's *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths thorowout the world* (London, 1630). These chapters gave the most up-to-date information on those distant countries at the time, providing a judicious summing up of Gábor Bethlen's political aims and possibilities. Maksai's stay in Oxford is documented by the entry of his name into the *Liber Admissorum* of the Bodleian in July 1632. After his return to Transylvania he taught at the Academy at Gyulafehérvár which from 1629 onwards had a number of distinguished foreign scholars on its staff (Alstedt, Piscator, Bisterfeld).

Some Hungarians who had studied in England at the time later became pillars of the Hungarian Puritan movement—for instance, Pál Medgyesi. In his *Dialogus Politico-Ecclesiasticus* (1650) he argues forcefully in favour of a Presbyterian-type organization of the Hungarian Calvinist Church, at the same time attacking the organizational structure of the Church of England. He quotes Bèze against the episcopalians and adds: "if only Archbishop William Laud had followed [the advice]". Whoever fails to reform the Church in a presbyterian spirit will come to grief, just as, says Medgyesi "this miserable England which has been flattering herself with the perfect administration of her Church" and now is amidst the worst troubles.⁴³ Medgyesi often quotes such English authorities as Whitaker, Parker and Ames but seems to have had inordinate respect for "Brightmannus, a man of truly prophetic soul" who had clearly foretold England's coming tribulations. On Brightman Medgyesi's source of information was probably a Puritan tract of 1641, "A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation" in which two fictitious characters discuss the prophecies of this English Puritan minister who had to flee Queen Elizabeth's England because of his intransigent anti-episcopalian views. If

this was the case, it indicates that people like Medgyesi could get new books from England many years after their departure from there.⁴⁴

Another noted Hungarian Puritan inspired by the English example was János Tolnai Dali. One of the last students of William Ames in Franeker in 1632, he reached England some time during 1633 and stayed for about five years. Towards the end of his stay he drew up a formal contract (a "Formula of Piety") to further the propagation of Puritan ideas in Transylvania and Hungary; this contract was signed by nine of his countrymen, all students of theology, then living in London.⁴⁵ We do not know much about the foreign contacts and studies of Tolnai's "London Ten"; some of them, and certainly the chief organizer himself must have visited Oxford or/and Cambridge. Tolnai Dali knew Hartlib and Dury, and he was on friendly terms with John Stoughton, a Cambridge scholar who later became minister in the London parish of Aldermanbury. Stoughton's book *Felicitas ultimae saeculi* completed in mid-1638, was in fact dedicated to Tolnai and addressed to György Rákóczi I, Prince of Transylvania. Tolnai returned to his native country soon afterwards, taking a manuscript copy of the book with him; but an extended version of Stoughton's last work was published only after the author's death in 1640 by the versatile Protestant educationalist Samuel Hartlib. Hartlib and his friend Dury were, as is well known, admirers of Comenius, while in Hungary Tolnai Dali was the first to show a serious interest in the educational views of Comenius; in 1650, as Rector of the Calvinist school at Sárospatak, he was instrumental in bringing the Bohemian refugees there. Another Hungarian student of theology and later a teacher at Sárospatak in whose work the influence of Comenius is apparent, is János Bényei Deák, who visited Oxford in 1635.⁴⁶

With the exception of John Stoughton, and possibly Hartlib, few English writers took notice of the great popularity of England amongst Hungarian Protestant intellectuals in the seventeenth century. There was one notable exception, though, in the mid-forties—John Milton who wrote in the *Areopagitica* (1644): "Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly . . . not their youth but their stay'd men, to learn our language and our theologic arts".⁴⁷ We can only guess as to whether Milton observed these visitors whilst still in Cambridge, or later, between 1639 and 1644 in London, for by the mid-1630s many Hungarian Puritans were more attracted by the so-called "lectures" in London halls and churches than by the theological courses of Oxford or Cambridge. In Milton's sentence the word "yearly" is significant: it shows that the flow of Hungarian and Transylvanian Hungarian students continued throughout the 1640s. It was during this period that two future Calvinist bishops, Mátyás Nógrádi and Péter Kovásznai visited England. Many years later Nógrádi translated a religious work by Arthur Hildersam (*CLII Lectures on Psalm LI*) and in the introduction excused himself for "his lack of perfection in the English language", maintaining at the same time that his translation managed to reflect the essence of Hildersam's thoughts.⁴⁸

In the mid-forties, partly as a reaction to political events in England, the authorities of the Reformed Church in Transylvania began a campaign against Tolnai Dali and his Puritan supporters. Synod after synod condemned his radical views on Church

organization; some of the accusations against him, though ridiculous, seem to have carried weight amongst his more conservative colleagues: "when in England he talked every day to Anabaptists, Puritans and independents".⁴⁹ For all the condemnations of Puritanism, the presbyterian principle began to take root in the Hungarian/Transylvanian Calvinist Church; also the Ramist-type educational reform introduced by Tolnai Dali at Sárospatak (where he enjoyed the protection of Prince György Rákóczi I's widow, Zsuzsánna Lorántffy) did much to enhance the standards of this particular Protestant school.

During Cromwell's protectorate the number of Hungarian visitors shows no sign of decrease: between 1652 and 1659 we know the names of no fewer than twenty-five students on longer or shorter stays in England. Many of these had strong Puritan sympathies; others may have had reservations about the regicide that followed the clash between King and Parliament. Gáspár Miskolczi Csulyak, for instance, deplored the King's execution in his *Angliai Independentismus* (English Independentism, Utrecht, 1654) a short account of the rise of independentism.⁵⁰ Others, like György Komáromi Csipkés, showed more interest in the language than in Church politics: after his studies in Utrecht he spent nine months in London (1651-52) and having written a Hungarian, and a Hebrew grammar, he also tried his skill at an English one, *Anglicum Spicilegium* (Debrecen, 1664). In the foreword of this work the author explains why in his view Hungarians should learn English: the English translated the Bible in a pure and accurate manner (he is referring here to the Bible of King James), and they also have many excellent religious writers whose example may be beneficial to their Hungarian brethren in faith.⁵¹

If Komáromi Csipkés visited Oxford or Cambridge, he did so only as a tourist. Others stayed long enough, however, to bring home academic trophies. In Anthony A. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* the names of three Transylvanian Hungarians appear as recipients of M.A. degrees, all between 1654 and 1656: they were Gáspár Tiszabecsi, István Budai, and Tamás (Gáspár's brother) Tiszabecsi.⁵² Either university fees were waived for these men or they received money from sources other than the usual patrons, for at this time no funds were explicitly earmarked in Transylvania for studies in England. On the other hand, Hungarian students did have preferential treatment in the Oxford of Cromwell's day: Wood claims that "several Hungarians who studied in Oxford, for the sake of the public library, some of which being poor, had commons daily allowed to them in Christ Church hall, by the favour of Dr. John Owen the dean, and the then canons of that house".⁵³ György Martonfalvi (later on Professor of Theology at Debrecen) could have been one of those Hungarians favoured by Owen: when he visited Oxford in December 1656 Owen was the very first person to write in his *album amicorum*.⁵⁴ One may add here that John Owen, who was Vice-Chancellor at Oxford until 1658 and ejected from Christ Church two years later, did not lose interest in the affairs of foreign Protestants even in later years—we find Hungarian visitors calling on him in London where he served as minister of an independent congregation in Leadenhall Street from 1673.⁵⁵ There are personally inscribed copies of his major theological work *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (1677) in at least

two Hungarian libraries, the former owners being Calvinist divines who visited London in the late 1670s.⁵⁶

During the Protectorate Hungarian students found support amongst the Cambridge dons as well. Their foremost benefactor was Joseph Hill (1625–1707) whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes as “non-conformist divine and lexicographer”.⁵⁷ He was also Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge and Senior Proctor in 1658, and one of the scholars very much involved in Oliver Cromwell’s hoped-for project, a new college for Durham.⁵⁸ Durham College was meant to break the academic monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge but it never really got off the ground. Only preliminary lists of staff were drawn up, one by the Oxford don Ezerel Tong which included Joseph Hill and his colleague from Magdalen John Peachell.⁵⁹ The Durham project was close to the heart of Samuel Hartlib (and through him also to Comenius) and while the Hungarians supported financially by Joseph Hill were not necessarily ex-students of Comenius (they hailed from Debrecen rather than Sárospatak), they were also Calvinist Puritans and fluent Latin speakers. One of them, Orbán Érsekújvári Karádi, visited Cambridge in 1656 and delivered Hill’s letter to the influential Utrecht Professor of Theology, Gisbertus Voetius.⁶⁰ Another protégé of Hill’s István Beregszászi wrote from London in May 1658 with political news from Transylvania and gave the London address where he and his three compatriots were staying.⁶¹ They were lodging in a certain Maria Parsons’ house in Bear Street. (I mention this seemingly insignificant fact because many years later it suddenly becomes relevant.)

When in 1677 a delegation of much-afflicted Hungarian Protestant ministers (both Calvinists and Lutherans) appeared in London to collect money for the reconstruction of the shattered Protestant Churches of Hungary, István Beregszászi was among their number. These ministers had become victims of the ruthless political offensive of centralistic Catholicism in Hungary—they had been sentenced by a special court to imprisonment and hard labour solely because of their Protestant faith and were sold as slaves for the galleys in Naples. After terrible sufferings they were freed from slavery by the Dutch admiral de Ruyter; having recovered their strength in hospitable Zurich, they set out for other friendly countries with the aim of raising funds and pleading their cause to the public. From England Beregszászi sent a letter to another Hungarian minister who had stayed behind in Zurich—it is a moving piece of writing, full of gratitude to those people in England whom he had known twenty years earlier and whose kindness and charity now filled him with hope once again. The good Mrs. Parsons is one of them:

*Apart from these (I met) in London the landlady of some Hungarians, Maria Parsons, at whose palace Mr. Köleséri lived for two years and where I lived after him. This very sweet lady together with her husband has shown much goodwill to us. Every Thursday three, four, sometimes five of us have lunch with her. She speaks Hungarian, Latin and English to us and keeps asking about numerous Hungarians from many years ago.*⁶²

This passage adds a rare personal touch to the picture of Anglo-Hungarian relations of those days.

In the same letter Beregszászi also reports on the progress of the collection in English churches which (with the help of an Appeal by the King) is going quite well. The person to whom he is writing is no stranger to England either—if he, as we have reason to believe, is the same János Rimaszombati who in 1661 was an impecunious student of theology appealing for aid to the Dutch Church of London, and later a visitor to Cambridge for whom the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Edward Rambour, wrote out a finely worded Latin pass on 11th February, 1662.⁶³ As for the previous lodger of Mrs. Parsons' mentioned in Beregszászi's letter, Sámuel Köleséri the Elder, he also stayed in Cambridge for some days or weeks in 1655, when in the library of Trinity College he "sucked the sweetest fruits of books", if we are to believe his handwritten dedication to a little Latin tract which he donated to the library.⁶⁴

The restoration of royal power in England did not keep Hungarian travellers away from these shores—on the contrary, a visitors' boom began soon after 1660. Now the range of Hungarians visiting England was more extensive than ever before: along with Puritans and Calvinist conformists we find Unitarians ("Socinians" or "anti-Trinitarians"), apart from the conventional students of theology, medical students and philologists. In fact, the fastest growing breed of Hungarians in Restoration England was the teaching profession, both private and public. There was not much of a language gap to bridge, for the language of tuition was invariably Latin. While the knowledge of Latin seems to have declined in 17th century England, it was reasonably well taught at the Calvinist school of Debrecen, at the Sárospatak of Tolnai and Comenius and at various schools in Transylvania. At the bottom of Pál P. Jászberényi's success story lies a thorough knowledge of Latin and the application of sound pedagogic principles.

Jászberényi came to England from Holland in 1658 and after a short spell in Oxford settled down in London where he opened a public school for the children of noblemen. He taught them Latin with less formal methods than customary at the time, and with instant success. In 1664 he published a textbook entitled *Fax Nova linguae latinae* or a "New Torch to the Latin Tongue" which ran to four editions, and contributed a poem in Latin to the broadsheet *Lacrymae Hungariae* (1665) commemorating the untimely death of the Hungarian military commander and poet, Count Miklós Zrínyi.⁶⁵ Another contributor to the same broadsheet was Ferenc Száki who in 1665–66 acted as private tutor to the children of Richard Norton of Southwick. Száki, who like other Hungarians in England had previously spent some years at Dutch universities, taught philosophy to Richard Norton junior. In the Bodleian there is a handwritten *Speculum Praeceptorum Logicorum Aristotelico-Rameorum* finished in December 1665 which confronts the texts of Peter Ramus with those of Heerebord, Professor of Philosophy at Leiden.⁶⁶ Before finding employment with the Nortons, Száki was in serious financial trouble and had to apply to the Dutch Church in London, a frequently used source of assistance to foreign Protestant scholars stranded in England.⁶⁷ Another Hungarian, János Kisvárdai sent a similar

application to the French Church in London, explaining the reasons which reduced him to extreme poverty and asking for a loan so that he would be able to pay his debts and "may be free to go to Cambridge to prosecute his studies, till he receives money from his country".⁶⁸

All the same, it was not only poverty-stricken Hungarians who visited Restoration England; there were also wealthy young men such as Miklós Bethlen whose *Autobiography* remains one of the best pieces of 18th century Hungarian prose. He crossed the Channel in December 1663 and stayed in England less than three months. During his stay he was introduced to Charles II and kissed his hand; he visited Hampton Court, Windsor, and Oxford where "the professors received us with great respect and dined us one after the other, but spoke Latin with difficulty".⁶⁹ Bethlen found the English very friendly and described the English custom of kissing guests (including strangers) with delighted, though humorous interest. He also related his experiences in a London brothel in the company of two other Hungarians, one of whom was the Mr. Jászberényi mentioned above.⁷⁰ Another comfortably well-off student was János Nadányi whose Hungarian history *Florus Hungaricus* (Amsterdam, 1663) was translated from Latin into English by James Howell and published in London in 1664. Nadányi studied in Utrecht and Leiden and may have visited England more than once; he was certainly in London in the summer of 1663 accompanied by his preceptor, the medic Gáspár Enyedi.⁷¹ It is possible that Nadányi actually paid Howell for his prompt translation of the Hungarian history and that Howell worked from a copy of Nadányi's manuscript delivered to him some time in 1662 by Enyedi or by the author himself.⁷²

Around 1670–71 several Hungarian students appeared in Oxford. One of these, Pál P. Tarcali whose father had also studied in England and Scotland, even produced a brief dissertation under the title *De vocatione gentium et conversione Judaeorum* which was published in Oxford in 1672. As Tarcali matriculated in Groningen in October 1670, it is likely that he arrived in England only a year later, probably in the company of another Hungarian, Mihály Tolnai, whom he had met while in Groningen.⁷³ The latter, who may have been the son of János Tolnai, the Puritan reformer, also developed a liking for England. From Oxford he gravitated to Cambridge where he stayed for several months; Thomas Page, a Fellow of King's described him in a letter dated 14th October, 1672 as "a studious, modest man, frequent at divine service and of a blameless behaviour".⁷⁴ Page wrote this to William Sancroft, by that time Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the end Mihály Tolnai found himself a suitable position (possibly with Sancroft's help) as Latin schoolmaster in Kensington, a position that he held for many years. When Miklós Bethlen's son, Mihály visited London in 1694 he saw Tolnai more than once; he was still alive in 1701 signing the *album amicorum* of a visiting Hungarian in Kensington as "Michael Tolnai, Hungarus, Hospes apud Anglos".⁷⁵

Another Hungarian who made a career in the permissive and dynamic England of Charles II. was György Szilágyi, penname Sylvanus, a classical philologist of remarkable energy and ingenuity. After studies in Heidelberg and Basle he surfaced in Oxford in

the early summer of 1671, composing there two Latin eulogies.⁷⁶ Both were achrostichs; the first, addressed to the University, suggested more or less that Oxford was the centre of the civilized world: "Noscere si cupias totius stemmata Mundi/Oxonium venias, haecque videre potes"; while the other honoured Thomas Barlow, the very learned Provost of Queen's and Professor of Divinity.⁷⁷ Szilágyi was but a poetaster, with another talent unusual amongst Hungarians—a flair for business. He went into printing popular editions of the classics, editing them himself; between 1676 and 1696 he published a work of Isocrates which was reprinted four times, and brought out cheap editions of Homer, Plutarch, Seneca, and Theocritus.⁷⁸ As the inscribed copies of his edition of the *Idylls* of Theocritus show, Szilágyi-Sylvanus visited Cambridge soon after the publication of this book (in 1678 or 1679) where he probably enjoyed the hospitality of Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely and ex-Master of St. John's.⁷⁹

From a letter addressed to Thomas Barlow by Isaac Basire, Anglican divine and ex-Professor at Gyulafehérvár in Transylvania, we can surmise that Barlow met one particular Hungarian who was supported by Basire: János (Johannes) Adami, who had arrived in England some time before 1670 and was still there in 1672; in the course of these two years he managed to publish two Latin poems (one also in English translation), which shows that he had at least some poetic talent. *Londinum Heroico Carmine Perlustratum*, a bilingual publication, was published in 1670 (as I managed to establish from a copy in King's College, Cambridge);⁸⁰ Adami's short farewell poem to Oxford must have appeared in the first months of 1671. Adami spent only a few months in Oxford but he certainly found patrons there, for at the end of the farewell poem he claims that it was they who, through their friendship, literally re-created him "the fallen Adam, out of a better clay" (*qui me seminecem donis animalis amicis / Et meliore luto lapsum recreastis Adamum*).⁸¹

Unless they had heard wild stories of Jászberényi's success or were hoping to establish themselves through Basire's connections, it is difficult to say what made Hungarian students of philology try their luck in England. In the case of printers it was different: someone choosing to learn the art of typography in Holland could easily take time off to visit England to try and find work (as a rule, illegally) as a printer's apprentice. The first Hungarian Transylvanian printer in London was young Mihály Udvarhelyi who spent only a few months there as Miklós Bethlen's servant in 1663 and 1664.⁸² Mihály Gávai followed him in 1676, and the Amsterdam-based Transylvanian master-printer Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu, inventor of the "Jansen-type", stayed there some time in 1687.⁸³ Finally, Adam Frank Jr., printer of many Socinian tracts (who also came from Transylvania), was living and presumably working in the English capital in the 1690s.⁸⁴

One of the most resourceful scholars who made their home in the London of Pepys and Wren was János Mezőlaki. An alumnus of Sárospatak and former student of Franeker and Groningen, Mezőlaki first arrived in England during the winter of 1666/67 and from January to March 1667 was in Oxford. From there he returned to the Netherlands only to come back to England in the September of the same year, and after a spell in London spent five months in Cambridge. Having published a theological

dissertation in Utrecht in 1670, he crossed the Channel for the sixth time and settled down in London, where he lived until his death in 1693. All this information can be gleaned from Mezölaki's amazingly rich *album amicorum*⁸⁵ which contains entries by such Cambridge worthies as Isaac Barrow, Peter Gunning, Henry More and John Pearson, and by their Oxford counterparts Richard Allestree, Thomas Barlow and Joseph Crowther. Mezölaki, though a Calvinist, did not neglect to contact highly placed representatives of the Church of England: Tillotson and Stillingfleet also signed their names in his album. Despite recurring financial problems (as one of his letters to William Sancroft shows),⁸⁶ Mezölaki somehow eked out a living in London by teaching Latin and, probably, philosophy. Although he died as a patient in Bedlam, the proximity of the date of his admittance to his death suggests meningitis or a tumour of the brain rather than mental illness.⁸⁷

Hungarian scholars in Restoration England included short-term visitors such as Sámuel Hodosi who out of his four months devoted 2–3 weeks to Cambridge and only a few days to Oxford (in London he met the leading non-conformist authority Richard Baxter),⁸⁸ but there were also long-term guests such as the mysterious Péter Almási, and the adventurous István Zádori. The mystery about Almási lies in his long and seemingly uninterrupted residence in London: he first appears there in November 1676 but is still in evidence in 1679 and 1681.⁸⁹ Was he a student, or, rather like Jászberényi and Mihály Tolnai, a Latin teacher? The latter seems plausible on the basis of his inscription to Hodosi's album where he quotes Horace rather than the Bible, and also because of his connection with Richard Busby, Headmaster of Westminster School.⁹⁰ As to Zádori, we know more about his circumstances—he was sent to England by Protestants of Samarja in Upper Hungary in 1680, he studied first in Oxford, then spent some time at the Scottish universities.⁹¹ This information was supplied by Zádori himself in his fund-raising letters to Sancroft and Dr. Richard Busby in 1682, at the time when he was poised to return to his native Hungary. News of the war raging there between the insurgents of Imre Thököly and the Imperialists may have been the main reason why Zádori suddenly changed course: he sailed to New England and it was from there that he wrote to thank Sancroft for his assistance. The rest of Zádori's fate is unclear. He left Boston for Jamaica and the last written reference about him comes from September 1685.⁹² We have no way of telling whether he died in Jamaica or managed to get back to his native Hungary.

The last Hungarian visitor to 17th century England to be dealt with here is Mihály Bethlen, son of Miklós Bethlen, Chancellor of Transylvania from 1691. He kept a diary of his peregrination throughout Europe, the English part of which is full of interesting information.⁹³ Mihály Bethlen was accompanied by his tutor János Borosnyai; they stayed most of the time in London but in February 1694 visited Oxford, and some weeks later, Cambridge. In Oxford they duly paid a visit to the Bodleian and Mihály Bethlen donated a book to the library, a history of Transylvania written in Latin by his grandfather.⁹⁴ Cambridge impressed the two Hungarians even more than Oxford. Having seen Newton's college young Bethlen concluded that Trinity was even more beautiful than Christ Church in Oxford, and added thoughtfully: "The people here are

perhaps even more learned and friendly than in Oxonium; they received us kindly, entertaining us every day".⁹⁵ He also describes a Cambridge degree ceremony where the *doctorandi* kneel down in front of the Vice Chancellor who admits them by laying a hand on their forehead; after this ceremony, Bethlen reports, "they do not eat that day until evening, in Popish fashion".⁹⁶

In London Mihály Bethlen saw the King and the opening of Parliament, made the acquaintance of Bishop Burnet, Hans Sloane of the Royal Society, and dined with Tillotson, then Archbishop of Canterbury. At the same time, he kept on meeting members of the small but lively Hungarian colony: Tolnai (the Latin master), Szilágyi-Sylvanus, Adam Frank Jr., the Transylvanian printer, and Jacob Bogdányi, the painter (later a favourite of Queen Anne).⁹⁷ His brief, but colourful description of English customs and sights makes his *Diary* both informative and enjoyable; indeed, in this no Hungarian traveller surpasses him until the 19th century.

To conclude, I have not tried to list *all* Hungarian students or visitors to England during the 17th century, only those were mentioned whose visit was particularly fruitful in one sense or another, and those who left behind a written proof of their stay in England. Most of them, as I have pointed out, were Protestant clergymen or theological students, though in the second half of the 17th century there was a slight increase in the number of medical students and philologists of various description. The majority of Hungarians stayed longest in London; in Oxford or Cambridge they usually spent only a term or two, taking degrees in very few cases. A fair amount of English religious literature was translated into Hungarian thanks to their efforts; on the other hand, their contribution to the English culture of the day was very small, taking the form of a few poems and/or theological tracts in Latin. The numerous books of English authors which have survived in Hungarian (and in some Transylvanian) libraries show that a certain kind of English literature was widely read by Hungarian Calvinists in the 17th century and that the original possessors were, with few exceptions, students who had been to England.⁹⁸ All this brings us to the conclusion that the period discussed in the above paper (and especially 1620–1694) was one of considerable English influence over Hungarian religious life and literature.

Notes

1. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II. (Oxford, 1958), p. 985.
2. *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (Edited by Tibor Klaniczay), (Budapest, 1964), p. 104.
3. For their Marburg matriculation see W. Falckenheimer (Editor), *Personen und Ortregister zu der Matrikel und den Annalen der Universität Marburg* (Marburg, 1904), p. 277.
4. *Dictionary of National Biography* IV. (London, 1908), p. 215.
5. This was Skaricza's introduction to Szegedi Kis *Theologiae sinceræ loci communes* (Basle, 1585), reprinted in *Studia et Acta Ecclesiastica* III. (Budapest, 1973).
6. *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, The Hakluyt Society LXXVI. (London, 1935), p. 27.
7. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius* (Toronto, 1972).

8. Anthony A. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1820), Pt. I, p. 217.
9. Quinn-Cheshire in *op. cit.* pp. 211–215 prints the original letter as well as its English translation. Camden's draft is dated April 5, 1582.
10. *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1700), p. 276.
11. Quinn-Cheshire, *op. cit.* p. 17.
12. *ibid.* p. 93.
13. *ibid.* p. 59.
14. *ibid.* p. 61.
15. British Library (London), Lansdowne MSS 42., fol. 33
16. It was first described by Bálint Keserű, "Újfalvi Imre és az európai 'későhumanista ellenzék!'", *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* (Acta Universitatis Szegediensis), IX (1969), pp. 3–46.
17. He is described as an "erudite and celebrated man" by the Baron of Waldstein: cf. G.W. Groos (ed.) *The Diary of Baron Waldstein* (London, 1981), p. 129.
18. Imre Újfalvi, *Album Amicorum*, (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (= OSZK), Budapest, MS Oct. Lat. 150. fol. 72–72/v.
19. P. Hentzner, *A Journey into England* (Strawberry Hill, 1757), p. 63.
20. W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1890), p. 33.
21. NA. 5.2. in Christ Church Library, Oxford. It was discussed in some detail by George Gömöri "New Information on János Bánfihunyadi's Life", *Ambix*, 24, Pt. 3. (November 1977), pp. 170–174.
22. A. A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (London, 1815), II, p. 544.
23. Sir Kenelm Digby, *Of the Vegetation of Plants* (London, 1669), p. 226.
24. Péter Kulcsár and Iván Sándor Kovács (Editors), *Szepsi Csombor Márton összes művei* (Budapest, 1968), p. 525.
25. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 66. fol. 108.
26. See his inscription J. Gheselius' *Album Amicorum*: British Library, MS Add. 28693. fol. 55.
27. *Szepsi Csombor*, *op. cit.* p. 207.
28. These travellers were already mentioned by Berta Trócsányi "Református teológusok Angliában a XVI. és XVII. században." *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok V–VI*, (1944), pp. 115–146. Mihály M. Corvinus's *album* is in the OSZK (Budapest) under MS Oct. Lat. 14; Csanaki inscribed his name in Johannes Hoffman's *album* which is in the Bodleian: MS Rawl. D. 933. fol. 155.
29. The date of his admission was August 18, 1624. Kecskeméti also visited Cambridge where he inscribed his name in Joachim Camerarius IV's *album*: British Library, MS Egerton 3039. fol. 79.
30. *Történelmi Tár* (Budapest), 1885, p. 183.
31. Péter Pázmány, *Isteni igazságra vezérlő Kalauz* (Pozsony, 1613). It is catalogued under T. 7. 4. Jur.
32. MS Additional A. 57. The list of students who have visited England is in Vol. II. fol. 108–109.
33. Géza Nagy, *Akik kősziklára építettek* (Kolozsvár, 1937), p. 101.
34. *The works of Ben Jonson*, Vol. VI. (Oxford, 1938), p. 337.
35. Pál Binder (Ed.), *Utazások a régi Európában*. (Bukarest, 1976), pp. 87–88.
36. These included Edmund Campion's *Decem rationes* (Vienna, 1607), King James I's *Basilikon dórón* (Oppenheim, 1612), and Perkins's *Catholicus Reformatus* (Debrecen, 1620).
37. Pál Medgyesi, *Praxis Pietatis azaz Kegyesség-Gyakorlás* (Debrecen, 1936), p. 12.
38. Medgyesi, *op. cit.* p. 14. As to Molnár's visit to England, see Róbert Dán–György Gömöri, "Szenci Molnár Albert Angliában", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1979/3, pp. 278–280.
39. The book never reached Collins, however; for the reasons see Bánfihunyadi's only surviving letter in *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny* 1874, p. 269.
40. Cf. Imre Czegele, "A brémai főiskola magyar diákjai (1618–1750)", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1974/1, p. 94.

41. Madarasi's inscription reads as follows: "Clarissimo viro domino Johanni Mansel, illustrissimi Collegii Reginalis Praesidi dignissimus Joannis Madarasi mittit Londino Cantabrigiã 25 Maii AD 1630".
42. *Utazások a régi Európában* p. 102.
43. Pál Medgyesi, *Dialogus Politico-Ecclesiasticus* (Bártfa, 1650), p. 174.
44. In the letter referred to in note 39, Bánfihunyadi informs Medgyesi that he is sending a book requested by him earlier; it is Henry Bunting, *Itinerary of Scripture* . . . (London, 1619).
45. Pál Berg, *Angol hatások tizenhetedik századi irodalmunkban* (Budapest, 1946), p. 85.
46. He was admitted as a reader to the Bodleian in February 1635. In 1634 he edited *Janua Linguarum* together with his pupils, the Transylvanian princes Zsigmond and György Jr. Rákóczi, see: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* I. 899.
47. John Milton, *Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 236.
48. Quoted by Berg, *Angol hatások* . . . p. 177.
49. Jenő Zoványi, *Puritánus mozgalmak a magyar református egyházban* (Budapest, 1911), p. 120.
50. Gáspár Miskolci Csulyak, *Angliai Independentismus* (Utrecht, 1654), p. 96, also discussed by Berg, *Angol hatások*, p. 150.
51. Berg, *Angol hatások*, p. 191.
52. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. II, pp. 181, 190 and 197.
53. *ibid.* p. 191.
54. Cf. George Gömöri, "Some Hungarian alba amicorum from the 17th century" in J. U. Fehner (Editor) *Stammbücher als Kulturhistorische Quellen*, (München-Wolfenbüttel, 1981), p. 99. Martonfalvi's album is in OSZK, MS Oct. Lat. 458.
55. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIV. (London, 1909), p. 1315.
56. Sámuel Hodosi and János P. Jablonczay. The two books are in Debrecen (Library of the Theological Academy, C 495) and OSZK, Budapest (Dogm. 367), respectively.
57. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX. (London, 1908), p. 853.
58. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration* (London, 1975), p. 234.
59. *ibid.* p. 236.
60. British Library, MS Add. 4277. fol. 173.
61. British Library, MS Ass. 4277. fol. 14.
62. Zürich Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibl. MS F/199.
63. J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum* III. Part II, (Cambridge, 1897), p. 2451–52. Rambur's pass is in Chetham Library, Manchester, MS A. 6. 77.
64. "De Christi Potestate", (Leiden, 1655).
65. Géza Kathona, "Zrínyi Miklós halálára 1665-ben Londonban megjelent gyászversek", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1975/2, pp. 218–225.
66. Its signature in the Bodleian is MS Rawlinson D. 234. Another Hungarian who supported himself by teaching was the Unitarian Péter Ádám (Rázmán), cf. János Herepei, *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, Vol. III. (Budapest–Szeged, 1971), p. 430.
67. Hessels, *Ecclesiae* . . . p. 2511.
68. *ibid.* p. 2479. Kisvárdai signs this letter as "Acad. Oxon. membrum".
69. Éva V. Windisch (Edited by), *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* (Budapest, 1980), p. 587.
70. *ibid.* p. 619.
71. Péter Körmendí, *Album Amicorum*, MS K. I. 461. fol. 53. The album is in the Library of the Theological Academy of the Reformed Church, Budapest.
72. Enyedi was in London already on July 12, 1662 (cf. Körmendí's album, fol. 66) and although Nadányi's inscription dates from 1663 he also may have been in England a year earlier, too.
73. Mihály Tolnai matriculated at Groningen on October 15, 1670, one day before Tarcali. Cf. Herepei, *Adattár* . . . Vol. III. p. 439. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this Mihály Tolnai is a different person from his namesake, author of *Szent Had* (1676).

74. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 43. fol. 41.
75. György Bonyhai's *album* OSZK, Budapest, MS Oct. Lat. 121. fol. 165. As to Tolnai's occupation in England see Sámuel Kaposi, *Omniarium* (microfilm, University of Szeged), note 217. Tolnai died and was buried in Kensinton in 1703.
76. These date from June 5 and July 14, 1671, respectively. Szilágyi's studies were interrupted in Basle in 1668 and although he calls himself "Medicus Pannonicus" there is no proof that he took a medical degree at any of the continental universities.
77. Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 54. fol. 105. The signature of the acrostich in praise of Oxford is Wood 276. A. (521).
78. There is no entry on him in *Dictionary of National Biography* but both *Régi Magyar Könyvtár vol. III.* and Wing list his publications. Apart from the authors named in the text he edited Aesop and Lucianus Samosatensis as well.
79. Both copies of the *Idylls* are in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. One of them is dedicated to Gunning himself, while the other one to Magister (Francis) Roper, Fellow of St. John's.
80. The entry in the catalogue of the British Library is incorrect. For more information on Adami, see György Gömöri in *Korunk* (Cluj-Napoca) 1977/No. 8 and 1978/No. 10.
81. British Library, 806. K. 16/56.
82. *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* p. 581.
83. Zsigmond Jakó (Ed.), *Erdélyi féniks* (Bukarest, 1974), p. 29.
84. Herepei, *Adattár. . . vol. III.*, p. 434
85. OSZK, Budapest, MS Duod. Lat. 108. For a more detailed description see G. Gömöri's article in *Stammbücher. . .* (Cf. footnote 54.)
86. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 37. fol. 45.
87. He was admitted to Bedlam on June 9, 1693, and died on September 29 of the same year. For this information I am indebted to Miss Patricia Allderidge, Archivist of the Bethlem Royal Hospital, Beckenham, Kent.
88. Hodosi's *album* in the OSZK: Oct. Lat. 777. Baxter's inscription is on fol. 45.
89. Cf. Nikléczi's *album*: OSZK, Duod. Lat. 81, fol. 3, also Hodosi's, *album* fol. 59. Almási's inscription in the book presented to Dr. R. Busby (Westminster College Library, London): *Szent Dávid királynak. . . 150 zsoldári* (Amsterdam, 1645).
90. Dr. Busby was Isaac Basire's friend and some of his Hungarian contacts were Basire's former disciples or friends in Transylvania. Péter Almási, however, may not have been one of these.
91. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 35. fol. 105.
92. M. Halsey (Editor), *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (New York, 1973), I, p. 78.
93. *Bethlen Mihály útinaplója* (Budapest, 1981). The chapter relating to England was published in a separate English translation by József Jankovics: "A Hungarian Traveller in Late 17th Century England", *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) VII. 1973, pp. 87-102.
94. *Bethlen Mihály útinaplója*, p. 92.
95. *Op. cit.* p. 95.
96. *Op. cit.* p. 96.
97. *Op. cit.* 87, 90 et al. On Bogdányi (Bogdani, Bogdane) see *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. II. p. 764.
98. Berg, *op. cit.*, also József Bodonhelyi, *Az angol puritánizmus lelki élete és magyar hatásai* (Debrecen, 1942).