

# HUMANISTA ÉRDEK VAGY PROTESTÁNS HIT?

Pesti Bornemisza Ferenc és könyvgyűjteménye (esettanulmány)

## HUMANIST INTEREST OR PROTESTANT FAITH?

Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest and his book collection (Case study)

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### ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

A Habsburg Monarchiával kapcsolatban sok kutatás született. Betekintést nyertünk a politikába, a gazdaságba és a társadalomtörténetbe. Újabban a hivatali világgal is foglalkoznak, de ezt vallás- és művelődéstörténeti szempontból nem vizsgálták. A Habsburg Monarchia tisztviselőinek kultúrájában és könyvműveltségében való vizsgálódás egészen új kutatási terület. Az egyes könyvlisták vagy könyvtárak alaposabb elemzése fontos adatokat szolgáltat az egyes tisztviselők és az egész csoport tudás- és műveltségi szintjéről.

Bornemisza Ferenc a 16. században a Magyar Kamara több tisztviselője közül az egyik volt. Életéről korábban már megjelent egy tanulmány. Tudása és műveltségi háttere azonban kevésbé ismert, akárcsak kortársaié. Könyvjegyzéke érdekes képet mutat számunkra a reformáció, humanizmus érintkezéséről a hivatalnokok között. A Magyar Kamara jegyzőjeként logikusan a katolikus hitet kellett volna preferálnia, de kis gyűjteménye azt mutatja, hogy inkább a reformáció tanai érdekelték. Emellett különböző egyházi műveket és néhány színvonalas humanista könyvet is birtokolt: Luther, Melanchthon, Sylvester és Pesti néhány szerző a gyűjteményéből. E lutheránus reformátorok és a korabeli humanista tudósok egyházi művei egy pénzügyi tisztviselő összetett érdeklődését mutatják.

Dolgozatomban Bornemisza személyes kapcsolatát mutatom be a reformációval. Fő kérdéseim: protestáns tisztviselő volt-e? Humanista volt-e, aki érdeklődött az új szellemi és intellektuális irányzatok iránt? Vagy élete és könyvlistája valami mást mutat nekünk? Egyedül volt a kamarában, vagy voltak más hasonló kortársak is?

### ABSTRACT

A lot of research has been done on the Habsburg Monarchy. We have gained insights into politics, economics and social history. More recently there has also been work on the administrative segment, but this field has not been studied from a religious and cultural history perspective. The study of the culture and literacy of the officials of the Habsburg Monarchy is a relatively new field of research. A more thorough analysis of individual book lists or libraries provides important information on the level of knowledge and education of individual officials and the group as a whole.

Ferenc Bornemisza was one of the several officials of the Hungarian Chamber in the 16th century. A paper about his life was published earlier. But his knowledge and cultural background are as little known as those of his contemporaries. His list

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of books gives us an interesting insight into the contact between the Reformation and humanism among the office holders. As a clerk in the Hungarian Chamber, he was a devout Catholic, but his small collection of books shows that he was interested in the Reformation. He also had several clerical works and some high-quality humanist books. Luther, Melanchthon, Sylvester and Pesti are some of the authors in his collection. The religious works of these Lutheran reformers and humanist scholars of the period testify to the complex interest of a financial official.

In my presentation, I will demonstrate Bornemisza's personal contact to the Reformation. My main question is: was he a Protestant official? Was he a humanist with interest on the new spiritual and intellectual trends? Or his life and his booklist is telling us something different? Was he alone among his fellow officials in the chamber or were there others like him?

**Kulcsszavak:** reformáció, humanizmus, könyvlista, tisztségviselők, Magyar Kamara, Magyarország, Habsburg Monarchia

**Keywords:** reformation, humanism, booklist, officials, Hungarian Chamber, Hungary, Habsburg Monarchy

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The Protestant Reformation is definitely one of the major movements of the western Christianity. The influence of the protestant Reformation on religious life and theology is obvious, but the influence on the daily life of the people, on non-theological literature, on printing and reading culture is not always clear. During the 16th century, the new varieties of Christianity spread across the continent and even outside of Europe. Previous and ongoing investigations deal with several topics of this great movement. Up till now we have many publications about the mainstream Reformation, like the most important reformers, their literature, the social background of the movement and the changes it made in society.<sup>1</sup> There are some ongoing researches about the Eastern-European reformation to.<sup>2</sup> But new fields which were not or only partially known before are still open for investigation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Owen Chadwick: The Reformation*, New York, 1990.; *A companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*. Ed. Howard Louthan – Graeme Murdock, Leiden, 2015.; *Newly: Reformations Compared Religious Transformations across Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Henry A. Jefferies and Richard Rex, Cambridge, 2024.

<sup>2</sup> *The Luther Effect in Eastern Europe. History – Culture – Memory*. Ed. Joachim Bahlcke – Beate Störtkuhl – Matthias Weber, Oldenburg – Berlin/Boston, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Good example for these topics the contact between Reformation and book printing and trading: *Andrew Pettegree: Brand Luther: 1517, printing, and the making of the Reformation*, New York, 2015.; *Reformation, Religious Culture and Print in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Honour of Andrew Pettegree*. Ed. Arthur der Weduwen – Malcolm Walsby, Leiden, 2022. Or another good example for these topics the forms of the radical reformation: *False Preachers and Prophets: Henry Gresbeck's Account of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster Translated and Edited*

In this paper I will try to explain a little known aspect of the early Reformation in the Habsburg Monarchy, which is the relationship between office holders and the Reformation. The main figure of this paper, Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest, was an official of Hungarian Chamber who had a small but interesting book collection which could give some insight into his knowledge and faith. In the framework of this study, starting from Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest's book list, I try to establish whether the owner had humanist sentiments and interests, or whether he was a Protestant official who – by accepting the new faith – belonged to a small unknown group of Protestant officials of the Chamber.

### **The Hungarian Chamber and Ferenc Bornemisza**

It is well known the Habsburgs were Catholics and they were the defenders of the Catholic faith, but during the 16th century the Reformation spread without much impediment in their countries, especially in the lands of the Bohemian Crown, in the Austrian hereditary lands<sup>4</sup> and even in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>5</sup>

During the 16th to 17th centuries, the most prestigious local representatives of the Habsburgs were the financial offices called chambers (Kammer/Camera). These institutes were usually based in the capital cities of each country in the Habsburg Monarchy and sometimes the sister or daughter organizations were set up in other important towns. The main duty of these chambers was the taxation of the country and the administration of estates of the crown. In addition, the officials of the offices had some minor tasks, for example acting as judge in local cases, taking part in diplo-

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by Christopher Mackay, Kirsville, 2016.; *Réka Újlaki-Nagy: Christians or Jews? Early Transylvanian Sabbatarianism (1580-1621)*, Göttingen, 2022.

<sup>4</sup> Robert John Weston Evans: *The making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700. An Interpretation*, Oxford, 1979. 3–40. More recently: *Howard P. Louthan: Austria and Bohemia In.: Reformations Compared. Religious Transformations across Early Modern Europe* Ed. Henry A. Jefferies and Richard Rex, Cambridge, 2024. 61–79.

<sup>5</sup> *Zoványi Jenő: A reformáció Magyarországon 1565–1600* [The Reformation in Hungary 1565-1600], Budapest, 1977.; *Zoványi Jenő: A reformáció Magyarországon 1565-ig*, [The Reformation in Hungary until 1565] Budapest, 1986.; *Csepregi Zoltán: A reformáció nyelve – tanulmányok a magyarországi reformáció első negyedszázadának vizsgálatára*, [The language of the Reformation – Studies about the Hungarian Reformation according to the analysis of its first quarter of the century] Budapest, 2013.; More recently: *Pál Ács: Reformations in Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest*, Göttingen, 2019.; Béla Mihalik: *In the shadow of the crescent moon: Hungary and Transylvania. In.: Reformations Compared. Religious Transformations across Early Modern Europe* Ed. Henry A. Jefferies and Richard Rex, Cambridge, 2024. 80–103.

matic missions or supporting the Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup> The Habsburgs set up two chambers in the Kingdom of Hungary. First the Hungarian Chamber was originally founded in the city of Buda in 1528, but due to the operation of the office collapsed. In 1531 the chamber was reestablished in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia).<sup>7</sup> In the middle of the 16th century (1567) a daughter institute (the Spiš Chamber) was set up in the town of Kassa (today Košice, Slovakia).<sup>8</sup> Thanks to previous and ongoing research, we know a comparatively large amount about the early modern operation of the two offices.<sup>9</sup> Also important, we have more and more information about the officials of the two chambers. Thanks to the published databases, the circle of people who served in the two organizations is becoming more and more clear.<sup>10</sup> We also have a big number of individual biographies of officials.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> About the Chamber system of the Habsburg Monarchy: *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit: Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen*. Hggt: Michael Hochedlinger – Petr Mata – Thomas Winkelbauer, Wien, 2019.825–927.

<sup>7</sup> *Acsády Ignác*: Magyarország pénzügyei I. Ferdinánd uralkodása alatt, [The finances of Hungary under the rule of Ferdinand I] Budapest, 1888. 50–51., *Ember Győző*: Az újkori Magyar közigazgatás története Moháctól a török kiűzéséig, [The history of Modern era Hungarian administrative offices from the battle of Mohacs to the end of the ottoman period] Budapest, 1946. 124–126., Newly: *István Kenyeres*: Die Ungarische Kammer, die Zipsen Kammer und die Kammergüter in Ungarn In.: *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit: Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen*. Hggt: Michael Hochedlinger – Petr Mata – Thomas Winkelbauer, Wien, 2019. 917–927.

<sup>8</sup> *Szűcs Jenő*: A Szepesi Kamara levéltára 1567–1813, [The archive of the Spiš Chamber 1567-1813] Budapest, 1990. 18–21.,

<sup>9</sup> *Ember Gy.*: Az újkori Magyar közigazgatás története i.m. 119–203. Kenyeres I.: Die Ungarische Kammer. passim.

<sup>10</sup> *Ember Gy.*: Az újkori Magyar közigazgatás története i.m.131–134., *Fallenbüchl Zoltán*: A szepesi Kamara tisztviselői a XVII–XVIII. században. [The office-holders of the Spiš Chamber during the 17th and 18th century] *Levéltári Közlemények* 38. (1967) No. 2. 219–232.; *Fallenbüchl Zoltán*: A Magyar Kamara tisztviselői a XVII. században. [The office-holders of the Hungarian Chamber during the 17th century] *Levéltári Közlemények* 39. (1968) No. 2. 251–262., Kenyeres I.: Die Ungarische Kammer. 917–927.

<sup>11</sup> About the German consillors of the Hungarian Chamber: *Gecsényi Lajos*: A Magyar Kamara tanácsosainak összetételéről a XVI. században. [About Hungarian Chamber's consil membership during the 16th century] In.: A történelem és jog határán. Tanulmányok Kállay István születésének 70. évfordulójára. Ed.: Seifert Tibor, Budapest, 2001. 55–70.; About the 16th century consilliours: *Gecsényi Lajos*: A döntést előkészítő hivatalnoki elit összetételéről. A Magyar Kamara veze-

However, we have good knowledge on the Chamber as well as the employees of these offices, there are still important research topics. For example, we have little knowledge on the officials' education or their relationship to the Churches and their faith.<sup>12</sup> Besides this we know almost nothing about the reading culture of these people, just as it is not clear whether they continued patronage activities, just as we do not know their impact on their social position.<sup>13</sup>

The life of Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest (?–1575?) is well known thanks to the work of József Bessenyei, who summarized his career. He was probably born in Pest or Buda at the beginning of the 16th century. His schooling is little known. Perhaps he attended the humanist school of Buda, before the Battle of Mohacs. During this period the Humanist school of Buda had excellent teachers like Bartholomeus Frankfordinus Pannonius and Simon Gryneus.<sup>14</sup> Besides them for a short time a friend of Martin

tői és magyar tanácsosai a 16. században. [About the judgment preparatory elite. The leaders and conciliours of the Hungarian Chamber during the 16th century.] In.: Gecsényi Lajos: *Gazdaság, társadalom, igazgatás. Tanulmányok a kora újkor történetéből*. Ed. Katona Csaba, Győr, 2008. 475–488.; A few biographies: *Gecsényi Lajos: Egy kamarai tisztségviselő a 16. században*. Nagyváthy Ferenc. [A Chamber office-holder in the 16th century. Ferenc Nagyváthy] In.: Gecsényi Lajos: *Gazdaság, társadalom, igazgatás. Tanulmányok a kora újkor történetéből*. Ed. Katona Csaba, Győr, 2008.; *Frederik Federmayer: Nováki Andreasich Mátyás. A győri káptalan jegyzőjének életútja*. [Mathias Andreasich of Novák. The life of the prebendal notary of Raab.] In.: *In labore fructus. Jubileumi tanulmányok Győregyházmegye történetéből*. Ed. Nemes Gábor – Vajk Ádám, Győr, 2011. 119–126; *Frederik Federmayer: Wolfgang Mórócz z Bekeftalvy (1575–1648)*. *Spoločenský vzostup kariérneho úradníka v ranonovovekom Uhorsku*. *Theatrum historiae* 9. (2011). 201–223.; *Frederik Federmayer: Hölgyi Gáspár kamarai tanácsos családja és a Bedy család*. [The family of Caspar Hölgyi and the Bedy family] In.: *Primus inter omnes. Tanulmányok Bedy Vince születésének 150. évfordulójára*. Ed.: Arató György – Nemes Gábor – Vajk Ádám, Győr, 2016. 189–200.

<sup>12</sup> *Frederik Federmayer: A jezsuita iskolákban végzett diákok és karrierlehetőségeik a Magyar Királyság 17. századi fővárosában*. [Carrier opportunities in the 17th century capital city of the Hungarian Kingdom, among the students of the Jesuit schools] In.: *Történelmi Szemle* 6(2018) No. 2. 218–236.; *Bálint Károlyi: Hiding Patrons or Lords without Patronage? Additions to the Patronage Activity of the Presidents of the Hungarian Chamber with an Outlook on the Habsburg Monarchy*. In.: *Pro&Contra*. (2021) No. 2. 5–29.

<sup>13</sup> *Károlyi Bálint: Tassy Gáspár ismeretlen levele Melith Péterhez*. [Caspar Tassy's unknown letter to Peter Melith] In.: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 137. (2021) No. 1. 80–85.; *Bálint K.: Hiding Patrons or Lords without Patronage?* i.m.

<sup>14</sup> *Mészáros István: XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis”*, [Our town schools and the „studia humanitatis”] Budapest, 1981. 16–20.

Luther, Konrad Cordatus also appeared there and taught in the school.<sup>15</sup> These humanists and early protestants may have influenced the young students at the school like Bornemisza. According to our current knowledge, Bornemisza did not attend any of the nearby European universities. After his schooling, he served in the court of King Louis II (1505–1526) of Hungary in Buda.<sup>16</sup> In the years before the battle of Mohács, Buda was a meeting place of the humanist thinkers and the first followers of the protestant Reformation. It is well known that Louis II and his wife Mary of Habsburg were interested in the works both of Erasmus and Luther.<sup>17</sup> During the first half of the 16th century, after the battle of Mohács, Bornemisza became an employee of the Hungarian Chamber. Unfortunately, research has so far been unable to identify what his role in the organization was. He was probably a lower-level employee like a scriba. During the 1560s, he got a small grant from King Ferdinand I (1527–1564) in the north-eastern part of the kingdom which was under the control of the supporters of Elisabeth Jagellonian (1519–1559) and her son, the elected king of Hungary, John Sigismund Zapolya (1541–1571). Bornemisza was arrested twice in quick succession. In the 1560s, Bornemisza travelled to Transylvania to inspect his property in Nagybánya (today Baia Mare, Romania), which Ferdinand I had been granted to him. Thanks to his poor communication – he lied to the chancellor of Transylvania on his intentions – Bornemisza was first imprisoned in Transylvania. After his release he went back to Hungary where he was also arrested – for the Hungarian authorities thought he became the spy of the Transylvanians – and his property was confiscated.<sup>18</sup> Later, during the 1570s he was settled down in Upper Hungary (today eastern Slovakia) which was the northeastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom. He became there a prominent representative of the local nobility. He probably died there in the second half of the 1570s.

Recent research has been able to supplement this with just some minor details. Since we cannot add new information on the course of Bornemisza's life based on current knowledge and research, I consider it important

<sup>15</sup> *Bencze Imre*: Konrad Cordatus, Luther Budáról indult küzdőtársa. [Conrad Cordatus Luther's comrade from Buda] In.: *Tanulmányok a lutheri reformáció történetéből. Luther Márton születésének 500. évfordulójára*. Ed. Tibor Fabinyi, Budapest, 1984. 132–149.

<sup>16</sup> *Botta István*: Huszár Gál élete, művei és kora (1503–1575), [Gál Huszár's life, works and age] Budapest, 1991.139.

<sup>17</sup> *Csepregi Zoltán*: A reformáció kezdetei II. Lajos Magyar Királyságában. [The beginnings of the Reformation in the Kingdom of Louis II] In.: *Levéltári Közlemények*, 88. (2017) No. 1-2. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Bessenyei József*: Pesti Bornemiszsa Ferenc kalandjai Erdélyben 1564-ben. [Ferenc Bornemisza's adventure in Transylvania in 1564] In.: *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis. Sectio Philosophica*, Tomus 13. (2008). No. 3. 363–371.

to highlight only one thing. In relation to his library, we cite connections to his life where appropriate.

### **The inventory of Bornemisza's books**

Research in Hungary is in a really good position, as many book lists from the 16th–18th centuries have been published, their ownership ranging from urban burghers to members of the aristocracy. The original reason for compiling these lists vary a lot.

Fortunately, in the case of Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest, we know the background to the drawing up of the book list. In 1565 Bornemisza arrived back to Hungary, but he was arrested by the Hungarian authorities because they thought he was the spy of the Transylvanians. During this period, an inventory was made of his goods and possessions. A list of his books was included in this document.<sup>19</sup> Presumably, because of this, his properties in Buda – which was under the control of the Ottomans – was also listed. Fortunately, the creators of the inventory are also known. The head of the delegation was Johannes Zermegh, his aides were Ladislaus Mossóczy and Mathias Angeli.

Zermegh's career was progressing nicely. Basically, Zermegh had a classic civil servant's career, in which he continuously moved up the ranks. In his early years he served the bishop of Zagreb, then Alexius Thurzó the governor of Hungary as a secretary. From 1554 he became the secretary of the Hungarian Chamber and, as the high point of his career, in 1558 he promoted to the councillor of the Hungarian Chamber.<sup>20</sup>

Ladislaus Mossóczy had a similar career, but he is not as well-known as his colleague. At the end of the 1540s, he was already serving in the Hungarian Chamber as a sub-accountant, and from 1555 he acted as the office's treasurer.<sup>21</sup> His career was highly supported by his uncle Zacarias Mossóczy the bishop of Nitra. An important fact that both Zermegh and Mossóczy were the former colleagues of Bornemisza.

Unfortunately, we do not have further information about Mathias Angeli, the third member of the delegation. We also have no information on whether Bornemisza got his collection back after his release. Considering that he later moved to Nagybánya, and that his friends and former colleagues who carried out the inventory were responsible for his release,

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<sup>19</sup> Magyarország magánkönyvtárak I, 1533–1657, [Hungarian private libraries I. 1533-1657] Ed. Varga András, Budapest-Szeged, 1986. 15–16.

<sup>20</sup> *Gecsényi L.*: A döntést előkészítő hivatalnoki elit i.m. 482.; Zermegh also was the author of a historical work. comp.: *Kasza Péter*: Néhány gondolat Zermegh János commentáriusáról [A few thoughts about Johannes Zermegh's commentaria] In.: *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum Tomus XXX*. Ed. Font Zsuzsanna – Ötvös Péter, Szeged, 2011. 242–248. 242–244. and passim.

<sup>21</sup> *Ember* 1946. 133.

it cannot be ruled out that he might have recovered his confiscated goods later.

Looking through the list of books,<sup>22</sup> we can see that, like the well-known libraries of common nobles, the number of books owned by Bornemisza in 1565 – only 25 items – was relatively small. In terms of its distribution by languages, it fits in with the Hungarian conditions of the time, since in addition to the twelve Latin books, there are nine works in Hungarian and four in German, and three other works are bilingual. It can also be said that it was a relatively new collection, as a significant portion of the authors were contemporaries, and the rest were books that, although written by older authors, were published again and again in the era. The list does not reveal the format and condition of the books, the only specification being that the collection included a manuscript item. We cannot discover a principle of arrangement in that the books were listed in a mixed manner in terms of their content, but at the same time, we will see that the small collection refers to the relatively wide range of interests on the part of Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest. An important feature of Bornemisza's book inventory is that the cataloguers wrote down only the title or topic of the books, and for this reason, there are some ways to analyse them.

Taking a closer look at the book list, compared to the Hungarian conditions of the period we find that works by ancient authors are conspicuously absent. This is a significant difference compared to the Hungarian book lists and library inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries, because in addition to their entertainment value, the works of ancient authors in Latin also served as schoolbooks in the Kingdom of Hungary, which basically had a Latin-speaking official world.<sup>23</sup>

If we are looking for other schoolbooks, we find only a Latin-Hungarian grammar. One of the most obvious possibilities is that in his collection he had Johannes Sylvester's *Grammatica Hungarolatina*, which was considered a period work, but its popularity was far behind of another similar work.<sup>24</sup> The other possibility was a much more popular work that had gone through several editions, the Latin grammar of the Transylvanian Saxon Johann Honter. It could be argued in favour of this work that we are talking about a work that already gone through several editions in the first half of the 16th century. Furthermore, Bornemisza's Transylvanian connections, which also gave him the opportunity to have Honter's book in his possession, are worth emphasizing. In my opinion, what might settle the debate in Sylvester's favour is the fact that the list includes a Latin-Hungarian

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<sup>22</sup> Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I 15–16.

<sup>23</sup> *Mészáros I.*: XVI. századi városi iskoláink i.m. 20–44.

<sup>24</sup> *Ioannes Sylvester*: *Grammatica Hungarolatina*, Ed. István Bartók, Budapest, 2006.



record, which is more suitable for the work of the author from Western Hungary.<sup>25</sup>

Moving on, we find only two historical books in the library of Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest.

The volume labeled „Bonfini” which is Antonio Bonfini’s *Rerum Hungaricarum* decades was a very common item in both Hungary and Transylvania. Bonfini wrote his work between the late 1480s and the middle of the 1490s. It contains the history of the Kingdom of Hungary until the death of Matthias Corvinus (1490). The most important part, from a political point of view, the fourth decade, which narrates the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, was finished after the death of King Matthias during the early years of reign of King Uladislav II. The question here is which edition of Bonfini’s work Bornemisza had in his collection. The first complete edition, edited by János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus), was only published in 1568, and so it can be ruled out since this was three years after Bornemisza’s arrest.<sup>26</sup> Thus, according to our current knowledge, the possibilities can be narrowed down to two earlier editions. Since Bornemisza visited Transylvania, it is tempting to think that it was a Latin Bonfini edition containing the original Latin text printed by Gáspár Heltai.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted, however, that Heltai’s edition came out in 1565, so we must be very careful with this conclusion. As it is well known, the printers of the period worked extremely fast by today’s standards.<sup>28</sup> Hence, it is more likely that Bornemisza’s library contained the first Bonfini volume, which was published in 1548 in Basel and contained only the first three decades. It was a quite popular version not just in Hungary but in Europe. This volume had a German and French translation too.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Johann Honter’s grammatical work published first in 1530. It followed by 14 editions until the end of the 1560s. *Bartók István*: „Poetica est...” Johann Honter latin grammatikájának irodalom elméleti vonatkozásai. [“Poetica est...” The literary theoretical aspects of Johann Honter’s latin grammar] In.: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 117. (2013) No. 2. 123–141.

<sup>26</sup> *Almásy Gábor*: Két magyarországi humanista a császári udvar szolgálatában: Dudith András (1533–1589) és Zsámboky János (1531–1584). 1. [Two Hungarian humanists in the service of the imperial court Andreas Dudith and Johannes Sambucus] In.: *Századok* 139. (2005) No. 4. 913.

<sup>27</sup> *Holl Béla*: „Sajtóhibák” Heltai Gáspár Bonfini-kiadásában. [Misprints in Caspar Heltai’s Bonfini edition] In.: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 74. (1970) No. 1. 49–50.

<sup>28</sup> *Péter Katalin*: Aranykor és romlás a szellemi műveltség állapotában a 17. században. [Golden age and decline in the intellectual culture during the 17th century] In.: *Történelmi Szemle* 27. (1984) No. 1-2. 82.

<sup>29</sup> *Ritókéné Szalay Ágnes*: Galeotto Marzio és Bonfini történeti művének kiadása [The publishing of Galeotto Marzio’s and Bonfini’s historical works] In.: „Nympha

Besides Bonfini's historical work the second volume with designation 'Cronica Hungarica' is definitely the grandiose work of Bornemisza's contemporary Sebestyén Tinódi who was a well-known epic poet and minstrel of the first half of the 16th century. The Cronica which is the edited form of his previous works published in 1554 in Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca, Romania). The book was dedicated to King Ferdinand I. It contains twenty-two Hungarian histories in song, mostly about the Hungarian history between 1540 and 1554. These songs have excellent value about their age. The readers of the book can have excellent knowledge about the middle of the 16th century, because Tinódi crowded his song with full particulars.<sup>30</sup>

The list of books includes István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi regni Hungariae* was also a common part of Hungarian and Transylvanian libraries and book collections. It was a manual of Hungarian customary law completed in 1514 and first published in Vienna 1517. This judicial book helped the legal intellectuals to find their way around Hungarian affairs. The book seems to have been particularly important among the official elite.<sup>31</sup> Although it is true that the Hungarian chamber was primarily a financial institution, those who served there had to have some legal knowledge, and as time progressed, it became desirable for them to possess increasing amounts of high-level legal knowledge. It is no coincidence that from the second half of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century, a significant number of the royal directors of legal affairs continued their careers as councillors of the chamber.<sup>32</sup> Apart from the *Tripartitum*, it was also common for the citizens of the country to own certain parliamentary provisions in printed form. In the small collection of Ferenc Bornemisza, we can also find one, which is believed to be the provisions of the Coronation Parliament of 1563.<sup>33</sup>

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super ripam Danubii": tanulmányok a XV-XVI. Századi magyarországi művelődés köréből. Ed. Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes, Budapest, 2002. 208.

<sup>30</sup> Tinódi Sebestyén Krónika. Ed. István Sugár. The preliminary written by Ferenc Szakály. Budapest, 1984. 32-35.

<sup>31</sup> The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts (the "Tripartitum") Stephen Werboczy (Laws of East Central Europe) ed. Bak, János – Banyo Péter – Rady, Martyn, Budapest – Idyllwild, 2005.

<sup>32</sup> The practice that the royal directors created to chamber councillors started 1586 with Bálint Baranyay (–1592) and ended with the creation of Jakab Püspöky (–1636) in 1635. comp. Geccényi L.: A döntést előkészítő hivatalnoki elit i.m. 485.

<sup>33</sup> After long negotiations the old emperor and king Ferdinand I. convocked the diet to Bratislava in 1563 to crown his first-born son Maximilian who was already crowned to emperor and king of Bohemia in the previous year. For the summary of the Diet of 1563 see: Monumenta Hungariae Historica 3. Monumenta Comititalia regni Hungariae 4. 1557–1563. Ed. Vilmos Fraknoi, Budapest, 1876. 369–439.

I think Ferenc Bornemisza's life can explain some items that are different from the books that make up the core of the collection. Three volumes in the list indicate that he tried to prepare for his move to Nagybánya. As is known, the city was one of the important mining towns of the country. Although Bornemisza managed to obtain the grant from King Ferdinand only after serious adversities, the fact that he later settled there and was a respected member of the local community even in the mid-1570s clearly shows his intentions. His interest in mining is attested to by the fact that the sixth item in the collection is a German-language book on mining. After it, the eleventh item is a volume dealing with alchemy, and the penultimate item was a text on the properties of metals. In my opinion, the reason for the acquisition of these works is that he was preparing for his move to Nagybánya, one of the centres of gold mining in Hungary. The mining manual and work on metals, as well as the interest in alchemy, suggest that Bornemisza wanted to profit from the opportunities offered by mining in his new residence. Finally, a small geographical publication may have helped him orient himself in the region.<sup>34</sup>

Orientation in the world was facilitated by two works. One of them was a Calepinus' Latin dictionary and the other was a copy of Johann Carion's world chronicle in a Hungarian edition. Calepinus's dictionary was also a popular publication at the time and went through several editions. The first edition of Calepinus's dictionary was published in Reggio in 1502. Later it was reprinted several times and then they added on other languages. Unfortunately, in our case, the list does not reveal which edition was in Bornemisza's collection. However, it is worth noting that the Paris edition of 1539 was already in Greek to Latin, and the Venetian version of 1546 was already drawn up in five languages. In our case, I consider this version to be more plausible; at least based on the place of publication, it is more likely.<sup>35</sup>

The Carion chronicle now in part leads us to the next topic, the longer-discussed area of religious literature. As it is well known, in the age of Reformation, Philipp Melanchthon played a significant role alongside Martin Luther. One of his works was the revision of Johannes Carion. Presumably, Ferenc Bornemisza's library had a copy of this version.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Mátyás-Rausch Petra*: A nagybányai politikai elit és a helyi bányászatban betöltött szerepe a kamarai kezelés éve alatt (1569-1579). [The political elite of Nagybánya and their role in the local mining industry during the years of chamber management] In.: URBS – Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv 8. (2013). 75–76.

<sup>35</sup> *Melich János*: Calepinus Szótára. [Calepinus' dictionary] Magyar Nyelvőr 41 (1912) No. 8. 357–367.357.

<sup>36</sup> *Imre Mihály*: Melanchthon paeonjai és magyarjai – adalékok a magyar protestantizmus történelmi identitásának alakulásához. [Melanchthon's Paeons and Hungarians - additions to the development of the historical identity of Hungarian

After this general overview and a few smaller clearly distinguishable groupings, it's time to turn our attention to items on the ecclesiastical themes that make up the largest group. This leads us to consider the question: in the case of Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest, was he a nobleman with humanist interests or a Protestant official.

Among Bornemisza's books, many works from different religious literatures are present. To begin with, there are several Scriptural works (or parts of them), as well as the works of some representatives of the Reformation. It is expedient to deal with the Bibles in more detail first, because looking at the entire list, we can find a total of six complete or partial Bibles. Overall, it can be said that Bornemisza owned mostly Hungarian translations, there being only one Testament in German on the list. Bornemisza probably knew the German language well. In his childhood, Buda was a mostly German city. At the humanist school of Buda, we know of many teachers who came from the German territories. After service in the court at Buda, Bornemisza had some knowledge of German. Based on this knowledge of the language, he was probably able to read and understand all his German language books well. I believe that it may be correct to identify the eighteenth item of the list, a German Testament, with Luther's 1522 translation of the New Testament or his 1534 translation of the Old Testament, even though the list does not indicate its author, presumably because contemporaries thought it clear who the author was.

In the other cases, we have a somewhat more difficult task, because by 1565, several parts of the Bible had already appeared in Hungarian. However, the thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first and twenty-third items of the short list are perhaps the easiest to identify. In the case of the *Fragmenta Biblia Hungaricae*, I think it is the translation of the letters of St. Paul by Benedek Komjáthi.<sup>37</sup> Although Komjáthi's book is the first work entirely in Hungarian, it was not printed in Hungary, but in Krakow. As it is known, the author was commissioned by Katalin Frangepán, because there was a need for a new translation due to the inadequacy of previous translations.<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that this is not a work that grew out of the Reformation. Komjáthi's work was influenced by the activities of Erasmus of Rotterdam and the need for a high-quality Bible in Hungarian, or at least a part of it,

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Protestantism] In.: *Az isteni és emberi szó párbeszéde. Tanulmányok a 16-18. századi protestantizmus irodalmáról.* Ed. Imre Mihály, Sárospatak, 2012. 137–139.

<sup>37</sup> *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok I. tomus. 1473–1600, [Old Hungarian printings] (RMNY)* Ed. Borsa Gedeon – Hervay Ferenc – Holl Béla – Käfer István – Kelecsényi Ákos, Budapest, 1971. 76–77.

<sup>38</sup> *Ács Pál: Keresztény humanizmus vagy előreformáció. A magyar erasmista bibliafordítók.* [Christian humanism or pre-formation. Hungarian Erasmian Bible translators] In.: *Ige-idők: a reformáció 500 éve.* Ed. Kiss Erika – Zászkaliczky Márton – Zászkaliczky Zsuzsanna – Székely Júlia, Budapest, 2019. 158.

to be available to readers. The finished letters of Saint Paul were among the first heralds of a kind of vernacular humanism.<sup>39</sup>

Behind the items 'Liber Evangeliorum Hungaricus' and 'Evangelio Hungarica', we must conjecture Komjáthi's contemporary, Gábor Pesti, and his main work, the Hungarian version of the four gospels (Wij Testamentum magijar nijelven).<sup>40</sup> The author was also a follower of Erasmus. Before his main work, Pesti translated the fables of the ancient Greek author Aesop. It is an interesting fact that one of the main supporters of printing the Hungarian translation of Aesop's Fables and the Four Gospels, was Albert Peregi, provost of Pécs and the president of the Hungarian Chamber.<sup>41</sup> Peregi is known as a great humanist of his time. His writings and published works are unknown, but his patronage on humanist authors is well known.<sup>42</sup> This fact confirms that the work of Komjáthi was not the product of the protestant Reformation.

In the case of the last item, I think behind the 'Testamentum Hungaricum' is the New Testament printed by its third humanist translator, Johannes Sylvester. Sylvester was also a follower of Erasmus. He studied at the University of Vienna and later he attended the University of Wittenberg. Later he worked under the patronage of Thomas Nádasdy (1498–1562). He was one of the greatest landowners in Western-Hungary during the 16th century. As a statesman in 1554 Nádasdy elected to the palatine of Hungary. He was among the first supporters of Protestant Reformation. Sylvester's translation of the Bible, however, was not Protestant in spirit; Sylvester himself remained a disciple of Erasmus, but also a Catholic. Johannes Sylvester organized a printing press in the town of Sárvár-Újsziget, which was one of the main estates of Nádasdy. The First Hungarian New Testament was printed there.<sup>43</sup>

In the case of the three early Bible translators, it has already been shown that the main driving force behind their work was not the Reformation. Their works were sometimes considered Protestant and sometimes Catholic, which is also true of their contemporary readers. In any case, I

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<sup>39</sup> *Pál Ács*: The Reception of Erasmianism in Hungary and the Contexts of the Erasmian Programme –The "Cultural Patriotism" of Benedek Komjáti In.: Pál Ács: Reformations in Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest, Göttingen, 2019. 45–57.

<sup>40</sup> RMNY I. 82.

<sup>41</sup> *Ács Pál*: Keresztény humanizmus vagy előreformáció. i.m. 159.

<sup>42</sup> *Varga Szabolcs*: Egy ismeretlen humanista: Peregi Albert pécsi prépost. [An unknown humanist: Albert Peregi, provost of Pécs] In.: Történelmi Szemle 53. (2011) No. 3. 370–375.

<sup>43</sup> RMNY I. 109–110.

believe that Bornemisza's book list shows us that the three authors achieved their goal and that their works reached a relatively wide audience.<sup>44</sup>

In the case of the remaining work, the *Pars Bibliae Hungaricae*, perhaps we should think of a part of the Bible of Gáspár Heltai and his circle, parts of which were published between 1550 and 1552 and between 1560 and 1565. Unfortunately, since the list doesn't give us any more information, we can't be sure which part it is.<sup>45</sup>

Regarding the Bibles there is the question of whether Bornemisza acquired them out of humanistic interest or religious conviction. Research showed relatively long time ago that the translations of the three humanist authors were not born out of a commitment to Protestantism, but rather along the lines of Erasmus' thought. In the longer term, none of the works formed an integral part of the readings of the Reformation. At the same time, I believe that in this case we are witnessing a specifically Hungarian phenomenon. As a result of the Reformation, Bible translations began along the line of Luther's, and the followers of the Reformation needed their own Bible in their native language. Since a complete translation did not appear in Hungarian until the end of the 16th century, people tried to fill in this gap as best they could, which is why they used these Hungarian translations. It clearly shows that in this case it is not a matter of humanistic interest, that we also find a German Bible in Bornemisza's library, and as soon as it became available, he also acquired a Hungarian translation.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the Bible, there are some other religious works on the list. Among the most significant representatives of the Reformation, Martin Luther's collection of talks by name is the seventh item on the list. In the absence of the original book, it is not possible to find out exactly which work of Luther's this is. It would be tempting to perhaps identify it with the Table Talks, but we must note that in 1565 we are already twenty years after Luther's death. Thus, it is easy to imagine that it is only a collection of books by Luther's disciples in this case.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Péter Katalin*: A Biblia olvasás mindenkinek szóló programja Magyarországon a 16. században [The Bible reading program for everyone in Hungary during the 16th century] In.: Péter Katalin: Papok és nemesek 45–46

<sup>45</sup> *Zvara Edina*: A Biblia magyar nyelven a XV-XVII. században [The Bible in Hungarian language in the XV-XVII. century] In.: Ércnél maradandóbb: a Vizsolyi Biblia vizsolyi példányának hasonmása. Ed. Monok István – Nyerges Judit, Budapest, 2006. 7.

<sup>46</sup> *Péter Katalin*: A Biblia olvasás. i.m. 47.

<sup>47</sup> *István, Monok*: Luthers und Melanchthons Werke in ungarländischen Bibliotheken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts In.: Luther und die Evangelisch-Lutherischen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen: Augsburgisches Bekenntnis, Bildung, Sprache und Nation vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918. Ed. Márta, Fata – Anton Schindling, Münster, Deutschland, 2017. 201–221. 203–204.

In addition to Luther, his Wittenberg colleague Philipp Melanchthon is represented in another “classic” of his in addition to the previously mentioned Charion Chronicle, namely his commentaries on the Book of Daniel. This work was very popular in the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as in Europe. Melanchthon prepared his first version in 1529, and the situation in Hungary – which he learned about mainly based on the stories of his Hungarian students<sup>48</sup> – prompted him to revise it and publish it again in 1542.<sup>49</sup> The work’s system of successive empires, as well as the conception of the Turks as the Antichrist, made the work particularly popular for the Hungarian and Transylvanian reading public.<sup>50</sup>

Besides Melanchthon’s commentaries on the Book Daniel, there is another apocalyptic book in the collection. The book by the famous Hungarian Bible translator Gáspár Károlyi’ entitled *The Two Books* is also on the list. Károlyi had strong connections with Wittenberg, as in 1556 he enrolled at the university, where he also attended the world history classes taught by Melanchthon, which began that year. The master course based on the Charion chronicle. Later, Károlyi was active as a Lutheran preacher in the Upper-Hungarian town Gönc, when the inventory of Bornemisza’s books made, and his work *The Two Books*, published in Debrecen in 1563, is considered a defining work of Hungarian apocalyptic literature. In the first part of his book, Károlyi draws attention to the parallels between Hungarian and Jewish history along the lines of a cause-and-effect relationship, creating the consciousness of being the chosen people. And in the second book, he focuses entirely on the end of the world.<sup>51</sup> In the work, Protestant ideas such as the statement against idolatry – evidently

<sup>48</sup> Melanchthon learned much about the Hungarian happenings from his previous and current students. One of them was Sigismund Thorda de Gyalu, who sent many letters to his previous master. Some of these letters already published. *Bauch Gusztáv: Adalékok a reformatio és a tudományok történetéhez Magyarországon a XVI. században.* [Additions to the history of the reformation and the sciences in Hungary in the 16th century] Magyar Történelmi Tár. 3. (1885) No. 8. Tomus. 519–540.

<sup>49</sup> *Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes: Miért Melanchthon? [Why Melanchthon?] In.: Kutak. Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből.* Ed. Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes, Budapest, 2012. 214–215.

<sup>50</sup> To the topic of Melanchthon’s Daniel commentaries and the apocalyptic literature: *Őze Sándor: Bujdosó királyok: Dániel könyvének birodalmi a 16. századi európai államelméletben [Hidding kings: the empires of Daniel’s book in the 16th century European state theory]* In.: *Episcopus, Archiabbas Benedictinus, Historicus Ecclesiae: Tanulmányok Várszegi Asztrik 70. születésnapjára.* Ed. Somorjai Ádám – Zombori István, Budapest, 2016. 225–232.

<sup>51</sup> *Szabó András: Károlyi Gáspár a gönci prédikátor, [Gáspár Károlyi the preacher of Gönc]* Budapest, 1984. 195–201.

referring to Catholics – and the presence of the Turk as divine punishment appear in the work.<sup>52</sup>

However, it is important to see that, in addition to the great reformers, other members of the first generation of the Reformation are also represented. In Bornemisza's library, Johann Spangenberg is the one who takes pride of place. Spangenberg belonged to Martin Luther's entourage. He was one of the major authors of the Protestant Reformation, and his works were extremely popular. Perhaps one of the impressions of this popularity is that he was represented by three of his works in the collection of Ferenc Bornemisza. This is not a big surprise, because Spangenberg, representing the orthodox trend in Lutheran thought, was still popular among Hungarian readers even at the end of the 17th century.<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, it is not easy to determine the exact title of these works. Perhaps behind the 'Postilla Spangenbergii Germanica' one can conjecture the author's work *Postilla für die jungen Christen, Knaben und Meidlein in Fragstücke verfasset* published in 1543, while in the case of the note *Epistola Spangenbergij* there are several possible solutions, as it seems Spangenberg devoted several books to the epistles for various feasts and Sundays. It is worth noting that these works were written between 1544 and 1556. Based on this, Bornemisza had very up-to-date information. It should also be noted that one of Spangenberg's works, which is mentioned only as 'Spangenbergius Germanicus' in the list, cannot be ruled out as having been printed in Gáspár Heltai's printing house.<sup>54</sup>

And finally at the end of the list an excerpted Bible was also included. The scribes of the inventory added the section 'Domini Hozutoti'. In my opinion this perhaps referring to the name of the owner or the author. During this period, the research knows György Hosszútóty who was the councillor of the Hungarian Chamber,<sup>55</sup> with whom Bornemisza most likely came into contact, so it can be assumed that the mentioned book can be brought in connection with him.

<sup>52</sup> *Ungváry Sándor*: A magyar reformáció az ottomán hódoltság alatt a 16. században, [The Hungarian Reformation in Ottoman Hungary territory in the 16th century] Budapest, 1994. 156–157.

<sup>53</sup> *Monok István*: A humanizmus és a protestantizmus áttűnései a Magyar Királyság és Erdély olvasmányműveltségében. [The transitions of humanism and Protestantism in the literacy of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania] Budapest–Eger, 2020. 210.

<sup>54</sup> *Thienemann Tivadar*: A XVI. és XVII. századi irodalmunk német eredetű művei I. [The german origins of the 16th and 17th century Hungarian literature] In.: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 33. (1922) No. 1. 74.

<sup>55</sup> *Gecsényi L.*: A döntést előkészítő hivatalnoki elit i.m. 481–483.



## Outlook

The question in this case is: Were there people with a similar attitude to Bornemisza or were there chamber officials with a similar book collection. Unfortunately, we have very few book collections from the first half of the 16th century.<sup>56</sup> Exceptional book collections are also known from the ranks of the nobility, such as the library of György Perneszi<sup>57</sup> or Imre Forgách,<sup>58</sup> but in our case these cannot be the basis for comparison, since none of them were clerks of any offices in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, the list of books prepared in 1561 by one of Bornemisza's contemporaries, perhaps his colleague, Jacobus Litteratus de Buda, is known.<sup>59</sup> According to our current knowledge, Jacobus de Buda had a similar background to Bornemisza, just as his service in the Chamber was similar, with the only difference being that he served at the Bratislava office until the end of his life. The mentioned book list shows many similarities with Bornemisza's collection. There are mostly books on ecclesiastic topics. Catholic authors like Saint Thomas of Aquino, the Franciscan friend Bernardinus de Busti, Jean Gerson, Albertus Pighius and Perbalt of Temesvár can be found in it. Besides the Catholics there is a work of the Lutheran humanist poet of Eobanus Hessus. In addition to all this, Jean Calvin is also represented in the small collection with one of his works.<sup>60</sup> This indicates that in one hand this collection was a mixture of piety and humanistic literature. On the other hand, it is clear that the owner was reading the authors of the new faith which indicates that Jacobus de Buda was already open to Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines.

Unfortunately, we do not have other inventories of the libraries or book lists of other chamber clerks from the 16th century. Naturally we do know that other officials also had books or even smaller or bigger libraries which included Protestant literature. A good example for this is Christoph Armbruster.<sup>61</sup> At this level of our knowledge we know that a

<sup>56</sup> *Monok I.*: A humanizmus és a protestantizmus áttűnései i.m. 34-35.

<sup>57</sup> *Borzák István*: Perneszi György könyvjegyzékéhez. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 66. (1962), 628-632.

<sup>58</sup> *Monok István*: A 16. századi köznemesség műveltségéről. [About the culture of the 16th century nobility] In.: Nadasdy Tamás (1498-1562): tudományos emlékülés: Sárvár, 1998. szeptember 10-11. Ed.: Söptei István, Szombathely, 1999. 105-116.

<sup>59</sup> A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából, Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése [About the Hungarian book culture's past. Béla Iványi's articles and collections], sajtó alá rend. és a függeléköt összeáll. Herner János, Monok István, Szeged, JATE, 1983 (Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 11.)54-55.

<sup>60</sup> *Monok I.*: A humanizmus és a protestantizmus áttűnései i.m. 37., 47-48.

<sup>61</sup> Christoph Armbruster came from Transylvanian Saxon family. He became the employee of the Hungarian Chamber. He served both at the Chancellery and at the Hungarian Chamber. At the highpoint of his career, he became the consiliour of the Chamber in 1561, but he died shortly after that in 1562. He was buried

couple of books remained with his sign in them including a Latin language translation opera omnia of Luther Martin.<sup>62</sup> Another chamber consillour Sigismund Thorda de Gyalu,<sup>63</sup> who after his return from Wittenberg helped out by the council of the city of Eperjes (today Prešov in Slovakia) in 1549, because they give 3 florins for the arrange of his library which was left behind.<sup>64</sup> Sad to say the source do not say a word what kind of books Thorda had in 1549.

For the time being, these scattered data only allow us to conclude that the average official of the Hungarian Chamber also had some kind of reading culture, which I believe was not lacking in the authors of the Reformation either. Thanks to the little and scattered data it is hard to identify the reading culture and knowledge of these people.

### Conclusion

In the title of the paper, I asked the question whether Ferenc Bornemisza of Pest was a noble man with humanist interests or an early protestant. After analysing his small book collection, we have obtained out some data. By tying these with the information about his life, we gain insight on his interests. Among his books, we find some works which belonged to everyday use, like the mining books and the judicial works. For our paper the most important works were those books which dealt with ecclesiastical topics. The great reformers like Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon appear with some works. Beside them there is the minor figure Johannes Spangenberg, whose works were popular among the general populace. In Hungarian, the only true reformer to be seen is Gáspár Károlyi. Besides his work Bornemisza had only partial translation of the Holy Bible. We already know that Komjáti, Pesti and Sylvester were originally humanist. Their works were born under the influence of Erasmus, not Luther. Because of the lack of a full protestant and Hungarian

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in Bratislava. vid.: *Mikó Árpád – Pálffy Géza: A pozsonyi Szent Márton templom későreneszánsz és korai barokk sír emlékei.* [Late Renaissance and early Baroque tombs of the Szent Márton church in Bratislava] In.: *Művészettörténeti értesítő.* 51. (2002) No. 1-2. 123–124.

<sup>62</sup> *Komorova, Klara: Luther műveinek 16. századi kiadványai a szlovák könyvtárakban és possessoraik.* [Luther's 16th century published works in the Slovakian libraries and their possessors] In.: *A Reformáció könyvespolca. Reprezentatív kiadványok Magyarországon a Reformáció korából.* Ed. Judit, P.Vásárhelyi, Budapest, 2017. 17–18.

<sup>63</sup> Sigismund Thorda de Gyalu came from Transylvanian noble family. He studied at Wittenberg and later in Padua. He was the school rector at Kosice and Presov. Later he became the employee of the Hungarian and Spis Chamber. vid.: *Póka Ágnes: Gyalui Thorda Zsigmond naplója (1558–1568)* [The diary of Sigismund Thorda of Gyalu], Budapest, 2021. 8–40.

<sup>64</sup> A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából, i.m.351.

translation of the Bible during the 16th century, however, the Hungarians had to use their works as a substitute. Bornemisza did the same. The lack of other humanistic works from the previous and contemporary authors and the presence of other Lutheran authors shows that Bornemisza was more interested in the new faith rather than in humanism. He was probably first influenced in this direction during his school years. In early 16th century Buda, people of the city encountered a mixture of humanism and the early Reformation.

In his later life we found Bornemisza in Transylvania, and after his release from prison, he moved to Upper-Hungary, where the Protestant faith spread the most after Transylvania.

Based on this information, I think Bornemisza had some kind of Protestant interests in 1565, most of his books having some relationship to Protestantism. We can cautiously assert that Bornemisza was an early Protestant noble of his age.