

VICTOR SEGESVARY

The History of a Private Library in 18th Century Hungary

THE LIBRARY OF PÁL AND GEDEON RÁDAY

Translated from Hungarian by Edith Enikő Jókay, née Zoltáni



Mikes International

THE HAGUE, Holland

2005

Kiadó

'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL' alapítvány, Hága, Hollandia.

Számlaszám: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Cégbejegyzés: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

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Publisher

Foundation 'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL', established in The Hague, Holland.

Account: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Registered: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

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Email: mikes_int@federatio.org

Postal address: P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland

ISSN 1570-0070

ISBN 90-8501-035-7

NUR 694

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

Today we publish the very first book written by Victor Segesvary which is, until today, one of the few systematic histories of a private library in Hungary that, in particular, played a considerable role in the nation's cultural life.

The present volume was first published in Budapest, in 1992, by the Ráday Collection (Ráday Gyűjtemény). This *editio princeps* was brought out at the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the death of Gedeon Ráday, one of the founders of the library. We publish electronically this volume with the permission of the Ráday Collection.

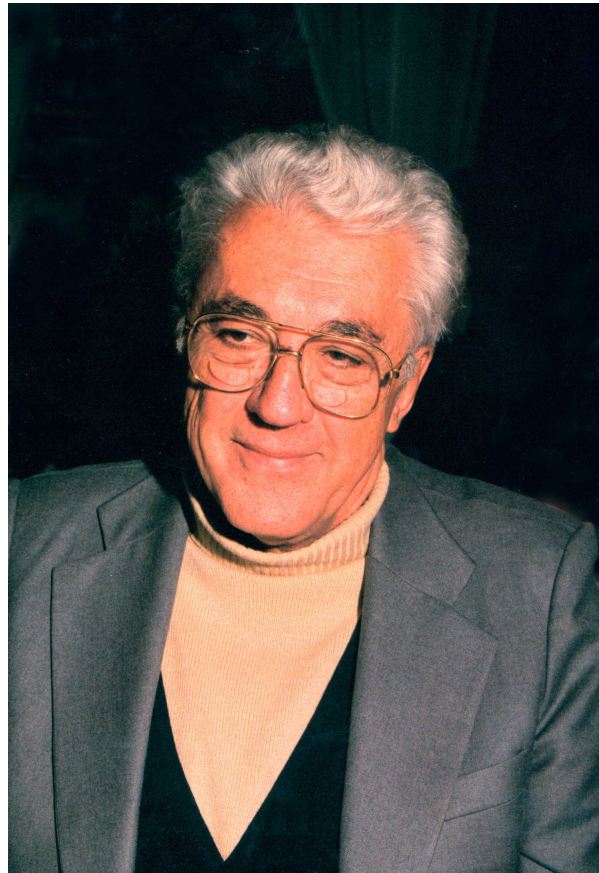
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The Hague (Holland), July 20, 2005

MIKES INTERNATIONAL

**IN MEMORIAM LÁSZLÓ PAP
AND KÁLMÁN BENDA**



VICTOR SEGESVARY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	JÖCHER, Christian Gottlieb, <i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> [General Biography of Germany]. München-Leipzig, 1875-1912.
AGL	<i>Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon</i> [General Lexicon of Scholars]. Leipzig, 1750.
Brockhaus	<i>Der Grosse Brockhaus</i> . 15 th ed. Leipzig, 1931
Graesse	GRAESSE, Jean George Théodore, <i>Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique</i> [A Treasure of Rare and Precious Books or New Bibliographical Dictionary]. Vols. 1-7. Dresden, 1859-1900.
IT	<i>Irodalomtörténet</i> [Literary History]
ITK	<i>Irodalomtörténeti Közlöny</i> [Bulletin for Literary History]
Kempelen	KEMPELEN Béla, <i>Magyar nemes családok</i> [Hungarian Noble Families]. Budapest, 1911.
Löffler–Kirchner	<i>Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens</i> [Lexicon About All Aspects of Book Publishing]. Ed. Karl LÖFFLER and Joachim KIRCHNER. Leipzig, 1935-1937.
MKSz	<i>Magyar Könyvszemle</i> [Hungarian Review of Books]
MTAK	<i>A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kézirattára – Irodalmi Levéltár</i> [The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Literary Manuscripts]
Műv. Ért.	Művészettörténeti értesítő [Bulletin of the History of Art]
Nagy Iván	NAGY Iván. <i>Magyarország családai címerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal</i> [Hungarian Families with Coats of Arms and Generational Tables]. Ed. Friebeisz István. Vols. 1-13. Pest, 1857-1868.
OL	<i>Országos Levéltár</i> [National Archives]
Petrik	PETRIK Géza, <i>Magyarország bibliográfiája, 1712-1860</i> [Bibliography of Hungary, 1712-1860]. Budapest, 1891.
RA/A, RA/Doc.	<i>Ráday Archives</i>
RA/CGR	<i>Ráday Archives/Correspondence of Gedeon Ráday</i> – (all letters, for which no specific location is given, are located here)
RA/CPR	<i>Ráday Archives/Correspondence of Pál Ráday</i> – (all letters, for which no specific location is given, are located here)
RA/MC	<i>Ráday Archives/Manuscripts Collection</i>
RA/228. fasc.	All bills, if their location is not specifically indicated, are in this fasciculus
RGG	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> [Religion in History and in our Age]. Tübingen, 1927-1931.
RGyÉ	<i>A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyve</i> [Yearbook of the Ráday Collection].
RMK	<i>Régi magyar könyvtár</i> [Library of Old Hungarian Books]. Ed. Károly Szabó. Budapest, 1879-1898.
RMNy	<i>Régi magyar nyomtatványok</i> [Old Hungarian Prints]. Ed. Gedeon Borsa. Budapest, 1971-1983.
RPE	<i>Ráday Pál Emlékkönyv</i> [Remembering Pál Ráday]. Ed. Tamás Esze. Budapest, Református Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1980.

- RTH** *Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* [Encyclopedia of Protestant Theology and Churches]. Founded by I. I. Herzog. 3. ed. Ed. A. Hauck. Vols. 1-24. Leipzig, 1896-1913.
- Szinnyei** SZINNYEI, József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The Life and Works of Hungarian Writers]. Budapest, n.d.
- Zoványi–Ladányi** ZOVÁNYI Jenő. *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*. [Lexicon of Protestant Church History in Hungary]. 3. corr. enl. edition. Ed. LADÁNYI Sándor. Budapest, 1977.
- (no. XXX)** The numbers and letters in parenthesis following book titles and their impressum indicate the code under which the item can be found today in the Ráday Library.

EXPLANATION OF CURRENCIES USED IN THE 18. CENTURY

The currencies of the time were:

One Rhenan (rh) forint = one and a half Hungarian or short forint (in the documents it is often difficult to determine which one is meant).

One rh forint = 20 garas = 60 krajcár = 120 dénár (100 of the latter = one Hungarian forint)

The value of the Rhenan forint according to a 1896 table is 1 gold forint = 4 rh forint, i.e. $4 \frac{4}{5}$ Hungarian forint.

(The correspondence of various currencies is cited from MATLEKOVITS, Sándor. *Magyarország a Millénnium évében, 1896-ban*. [Hungary in the Year of its Millennium, in 1896] (Budapest:1899). Vol. 8, p. 483

In 1722 one pound of bacon cost 12 denars, i.e. 1 rh forint would buy ten pounds (5.6 kg) bacon; in 1770 beef cost $2 \frac{1}{2}$ kr a pound, one chicken 5 kr, 8 eggs 3 kr; so, 1 rh forint would buy 24 lbs of beef, 12 chicken, or 160 eggs. A pair of men's riding boots cost 1 ft 6 kr

(Concerning the prices given above, sources of information are *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* [Hungarian Review of Economic History] 1894. 51 and 354, and WEIS (FÖLDES), Béla, "Beiträge zur Preisstatistik von 1200 bis 1800" [Contributions to Price Statistics 1200 to 1800] and the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Pest*. [Statistics Yearbook of the City of Pest]. Vols. 1-2. (Pest: 1873).

FOREWORD

The Roman poet Horatius counseled, “Novum prematur in annum” let your manuscript rest for nine years before you publish it. The monograph by Viktor Segesváry had waited thirty six years to appear. True, not of his volition.

Viktor Segesváry graduated from the Reformed Theological Academy in Budapest in 1952 and followed his interests to become the librarian of the Ráday library of the Danubian Reformed Church. The director of the library was Professor László Pap. He developed the library, which previously had only served the pedagogical needs of the Academy into a research institution and thus transformed the Ráday library into one of the scholarly centers of the Reformed Church. In the 1950s, the political leadership already shackled the government research institutes, but the entities of the Church could still act relatively freely. The lectures at the Ráday Collection proved to be a regular meeting place of various specialists, who could familiarize themselves with the treasures of the Collection, an integral component of Hungary's historic heritage. The first reviews of the history of the Ráday family's library were also presented there.

László Pap entrusted Segesváry with the task of writing the history of the Ráday family library that formed a part of the collection. It was well known that this library constituted the most complete collection of works of the European Enlightenment in Hungary, but up to that point, no systematic research concerning it had been done. It was not determined whether Gedeon Ráday, the poet and scholar, had established his library only for his own pleasure, or had more far-reaching goals in mind. In other words, to what degree did the collection serve to inform Reformed intellectuals, who in the 18th century were denied access to public life, in order to further a conscious Protestant cultural policy?

The main source of Segesváry's work was the family archives which revealed not only the references of the political and cultural aspects of the collecting process, but made it possible to determine the time, the method, and the price of almost every publication. Thus, the history of the library contributes not only to the awareness of Protestant culture, but also to the knowledge of valuable data about the collection and purchase of books in Hungary.

Professor József Szauder, a well-known specialist of the 18th century Hungarian literature, who unfortunately deceased at an early age, edited the completed manuscript. Based on his recommendation, the Institute of Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences assumed the task of publishing the work. The revolution of 1956 and the emigration of Viktor Segesváry prevented its publication.

The work, however, has not lost any of its significance during this enforced “rest,” so with the approval of the author we publish the original 1956 text. We only updated the bibliography and corrected the bibliographical notations that have changed in the intervening years.

We are convinced that the publication of this monograph represents a valuable contribution to a more thorough understanding of Hungarian cultural aspirations in the 18th century.

Kálmán Benda

[The following hand-written lines by Kálmán Benda were reproduced on the back cover of the first edition of the book. They summarize the destinies of Victor Segesvary's book after he left Hungary in 1956.]

Segesváry Viktor 1954-56 között írták Ráday Gedeon könyvtáráról szóló munkáját. Akkor a Ráday Könyvtárban volt könyvtáros, és az igazgató, Pap László meghívására felkérte erre a témára. A tény az volt, hogy a munka az Honfoglalásügyi Intézet kiadásában jelenik meg. A kérésre 1956 őzén Graudner József letörölte, pártállásban igen jó véleményt mondott róla. Úgy volt, hogy őstől máris tudták kerülni a nyomdába adását.

Azért, hogy 1956 októberében Segesváry nyugatra ment, a kiadás is leállt: disszidens munkáját nem lehetett kiadni. Pap László elkerült a Ráday Könyvtártól, Graudner is más beosztásba került, így aratán a megjelentetés teljesen leesett a napirendről. Segesváry kinti politikai megfigyelésének teljesen leesett a napirendről. Segesváry kinti politikai megfigyelésének teljesen leesett a napirendről. Segesváry kinti politikai megfigyelésének teljesen leesett a napirendről.

Később pedig, hogy a könyv nem jelenhetett meg, mert igen értékes, másutt nem található adatokat hoztunk arra, hogyan, milyen anyagi, szellemi és orvosi nehézségek közegett, milyen nagy áldozatok árán állt össze a XVIII. század egyik legjelentősebb hazai könyvtára.

A kérésre, melyet még annaridején bízott rá az Segesváry, a Sárospalotai Ref. Nagykönyvtárban helyrehozni, a szertő lapoknak minden szempontból való fenntartásával.

Budapest, 1967 szeptember 15-én

Bendakálmán

The English translation of the text is as follows:

Viktor Segesváry wrote his work about Gedeon Ráday's library between 1954-1956. At the time, he was a librarian in the Ráday Library and started his research into this subject following the instruction of the director, László Pap. It was intended to be published by the Institute of Literary History of the Academy of Sciences. The manuscript was evaluated and edited by József Szauder, who highly appreciated the work's quality. The manuscript was expected to go to the press in the autumn of the same year.

With Segesváry's departure to the West in October 1956, the publication was stopped. László Pap left the Library, Szauder was also transferred to another post, and therefore the idea of publishing the work was abandoned. Segesváry's political activities abroad rendered it impossible to think again of the publication of his manuscript.

It is truly regrettable that the work could not be published because it contains very interesting information, not available anywhere else, concerning the material, spiritual and organizational difficulties that were encountered, as well as the sacrifices made by the Rádays, when creating one of the most significant libraries in the country in the 18th century.

I place the manuscript that Segesváry entrusted to me at the time in the Great Reformed Library of Sárospatak, to safeguard and maintain all the rights whatsoever of the author.

INTRODUCTION

COLLECTING BOOKS IN 18TH CENTURY HUNGARY

The 18th century is the most productive period in the history of Hungarian book collection. Even though during the preceding centuries we can find collections in the country that formed a significant part of the international world of book collecting – I am thinking especially of the world renowned library of King Mathias Corvin – it is this era, especially the decades after 1750, that produced the greatest number of Hungarian collectors, and the majority of the famous libraries. This upswing in the history of libraries happened in the moment of political change, at the time of significant years of historic progress. Therefore, we will find its motives partially in the old era and partially in the new.

We need to analyze those factors which represented the foundation of this progress and realize that the details about the book collecting of the Rádays fit thoroughly into the general history of the 18th century. We also have to delineate the cause and effect relationships as well as the major characteristics of this progress. The picture we gain will allow us to examine the development, the holdings, the lending practices, and the overall image of the library of Pécel.

The Rákóczi War of Independence ended in the treaty of Szatmár in 1711. The nationwide struggle of the country did not result in the expected outcome, the fight for independence failed. The Hapsburgs gained unlimited power over the country, expressed in the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, where the aristocracy gave up all its rights that could have constituted grounds for shaking off the rule of the Austrian monarchs. Charles the Third, of course, demanded from the upper class of the feudal society that it recognize the rights of the absolute monarch in exchange for leaving the upper class' lands and acquired rights untouched. The nobility thus achieved agreement with the king, and became the supporter of the Court until the late 1760s, when they found themselves in opposition to Vienna's economic policy. From the parliamentary session of 1764 on, the nobility started to oppose the monarch. The centralization and germanification policies of Joseph the Second thus led the nobility into opposition which resulted in a national resistance movement, the unsuccessful parliamentary session of 1790-92 and the repression of the conspiracy of the Jacobins.

Thus, Hungary could not govern itself between 1711-1790 and was at the mercy of the court in Vienna. The goal of the economic policy of the Court was to create ever growing food reserves in Hungary to underpin the industrialization efforts of Austria and to develop a source of raw materials for the Austrian industry. Therefore, they encouraged agricultural production, suppressed the fledgling Hungarian industry and prevented exports. At this time, we can already find the first signs of bourgeois development, but in Hungary the whole process manifested indications opposite to those in Western capitalist states. In the West the introduction of modern taxation, the upward trend of industrialization and the economic policy based on protectionism and the rapid exploitation of new means of transportation served the purposes of wealth creation and the development of the middle class, whereas in Hungary the development of the Austrian provinces, the interests of Austrian society constituted the goals of the regime. Beginning in the 1740s, the Hapsburgs made use of more deleterious means to choke off the beginning of Hungarian capitalist development. As a result of high import duties, import restrictions and state subsidies as well as granting special privileges limited to Austrian merchants and maintaining customs borders between the two countries, Hungarian exports were dried up. The effect was felt by the landowners not only in the export of grain but especially in the commerce of wine and also seriously harmed the Rádays. The economic policy of the Court was topped off by forced centralization, which became apparent in complete political subordination, as expressed by the formation of the Governing Council, and the dependence on the chancery of the Court. The formation of a permanent army meant military domination of the country in the service of absolutism.

In this situation, in spite of the many obstacles, the slow transformation of Hungarian agriculture began showing an ever growing percentage of manorial farming. The landowners produced more and more for the market and were constantly striving to increase their free hold estates. Markets were assured for the increase in agricultural products by the growing need of the Austrians and state purchases for the maintenance of the military. Thus – although within certain limits – the income of the landowners increased which they invested in the growth of their holdings and also in cultural development. The first result of our analysis therefore is that the change to manorial farming and the resulting larger incomes were the financial prerequisites for the founding of so many well-known libraries in the second half of the 18th century.

Corresponding to the change of production, the state of society also underwent changes during this century. The situation of the peasantry, especially the so-called contractual serfs, became more tolerable because at the time of the liberation from Turkish rule large areas became uninhabited and needed to be repopulated, therefore less burden was placed on the shoulders of Hungarian serfs and the foreign settlers. This was the reason why in the early decades of the century a sizable internal migration took place from the west and north to counties in the south. Later the overall situation deteriorated and tension escalated. The spread of manorial farming was accompanied by the looting of the peasant's lands. The landowners continued to acquire ever larger tracts of land, the lots of serfs diminished in size from generation to generation, lands held by communities shrank and those bordering on the villages previously cultivated for common profit slowly disappeared. Maria Theresia's 1767 statute concerning labor wages did not help; indeed it codified the takeovers, because it recognized the limits imposed on seigneurial lands and cancelled the community ownership of lands. In some localities, her decrees worsened the existing situation. Many serfs were unable to bear the burdens imposed, and to make the heavy contributions extracted by landowners and the state, and joined the increasing number of wanderers and vagabonds who put their hopes in the return of Rákóczi. For half a century the nobility had been a supporter of Court politics and had done nothing to change the laws which limited development. It only began its opposition to the power of the Hapsburgs when it became apparent that the intention of the landowners to impose an ever growing taxation on the serfs collided with the plans of the monarch; the latter wished to reduce the financial burden of her subjects, because she feared the loss of her most reliable source of income. This unpatriotic era was thus filled with social tensions, and characterized by a false mood manifested through the cry, *Vitam et sanguinem*, engaging the nobility to help the Empress who had requested assistance in her war against Prussia, the lack of success of national resistance, the anti-feudal peasant revolts such as the one in Békésszentandrás or those of Pető–Törő–Bujdosó.

In the light of the evident political and social tensions, we have to examine the cultural life of the nation in the areas of literature, science, books – their printing, publishing and trade – in the dialectical relationship between support for the nation and opposition to the foreign monarch. Vienna was well aware that language represented a mighty weapon for a suppressed, exploited people, as did culture and knowledge, and therefore attempted to keep Hungary in its backwards state. Martini, the all powerful member of the Council of State “wisely” said that it would be dangerous to give the Hungarians culture, because they could play a role for Austria similar to that of the Americans for the English. The Jacobins were already aware of this: Ignác Martinovics wrote in 1792, that for the outbreak of a revolution two things are necessary: the development of brain power, i.e. the diffusion of culture, and the excessive oppression of the people. The former is fast developing and the latter is assured by the clergy and aristocracy.¹ The different libraries served as important tools for the “development of brain power.” Their creation was made possible by several factors, i.e., the availability of financial prerequisites, the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the development of local book publishing and trade, and finally the influence of baroque taste which lasted all the way to the end of the 18th century. The collection of books became possible for individuals and a wider strata of society only after the discovery of printing – as Konrad Lautenbach wrote in 1597 in *Frankfurter Marckschiffer-Gespräch*.² This possibility was also enhanced by the deep seated thirst for knowledge of the new historical era which inspired the interest in books, and a wish to acquire them. In fact, very early on, at the turn of the 15th-16th centuries, the first modern style bibliophile appears, Jean Grolier, who collected

¹ MARTINOVICS, Ignác. *Status regni Hungariae* [The Status of the Hungarian Kingdom]. In: *Writings of the Jacobins*. Ed. Kálmán Benda/. (Budapest: 1957). Vol. 1. p. 770.

² WIDMANN, Hans. *Geschichte des Buchhandels vom Altertum bis zum Gegenwart* [The History of the Book Trade from Antiquity to the Present]. (Wiesbaden: 1952), p. 1.

beautiful books, in beautiful covers. 100 years later, we find aristocratic and numerous city libraries in Italy, France, Germany. Around 1609 the first public library, the Ambrosiana, is opened in Milan.³

Due to the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, at the moment of the disintegration of feudalism, collecting books was not only a necessity and a privilege for the aristocracy, but became a possibility for the lesser nobility, even for the third estate, the middle class. As the 18th century reached back to the heritage of humanism, the interest in promising research was reborn, as well as the wish to find the truths of nature and of human existence. Scholarship became more organized. This passage is signalled by the foundation of academies of sciences,⁴ the ever increasing number of scientific journals, the *Journal des Savants*, the *Acta Eruditorum*, and others. The man of the Enlightenment was a man who read, who acquired knowledge, since only from books could he become informed about scientific achievements; only through the transmission of the written word could he become aware of the ideas that called into question accepted authorities, promised a new world, transformed his whole outlook. The basic existential requirement of the Enlightenment, as a movement and trend of ideas, was that books should travel great distances, take the light of common sense and humanness to many people. Therefore it also depended on making available even more libraries to friends, acquaintances, and those with a thirst for knowledge. The new interest in intellectual pastimes increased the need for books and widened commercial possibilities. Thus, the production of books also climbed. The forces of production and the scientific and artistic requirements of the Enlightenment combined to create the prerequisites for the tremendous progress of libraries.

It was also under the influence of the Enlightenment that the struggle for the predominance of the national language and the creation of national literature commenced. A special feature of this movement in Hungary was that, due to the strengthening of Hapsburg feudal absolutism and the pervasiveness of the baroque style combined with the progress of the Counter-reformation, a large percentage of Hungarian language literature was driven into the background. As a result of the influence of the last stage of humanism, and especially of the Reformation, in the six decades between 1570-1630, the amount of printed matter in Hungarian grew by huge numbers. In 1580, 75.2 per cent, and in 1630, 62 per cent of all published materials were in Hungarian. But between 1640 and 1770, Latin regained its dominance, the percentage of Hungarian publications dropped precipitously, in 1731 all the way to 19.4 per cent. Especially in the 18th century does this trend become apparent, when “from the 1720s on the publication of printed matter in all languages in Hungary rises markedly, but at first Latin, then later, German increases so much that between 1720-1780, the percentage of Hungarian books does not even gain 10 per cent.”⁵ A more profound reason can be found in the expansion of Catholicism. After the Council of Trident, the church reorganized and slowly reoccupied the lost terrain. Its international language, Latin, was the expression of its supranational character. Therefore, it is natural that the percentage of prints in the Hungarian language was reduced by “the progress of the Catholic restoration’s steadily increasing publications.”⁶ On the other hand, if there was justification for the use of Latin at the time of humanism because of the underdeveloped character of national languages and the high requirements of the humanists – after the Reformation and the spread of the Hungarian language one can only regard the dominance of Latin as a sign of decline, the opposite of progress.⁷ This point is decisive concerning the progress of national education, because “the printing of books only becomes a national treasure, a means of spreading general culture, a mass

³ VORSTIUS, Joris. *Grundzüge der Bibliotheksgeschichte*. [Main Characteristics of Library History]. (Leipzig: 1936), p. 23.

⁴ 1720: Prussian Academy of Sciences; 1725: Russian Academy of Sciences, etc.

⁵ CSAPODI, Csaba. “A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig” [The linguistic breakdown of printed matter in Hungary until 1800]. *MKsz*, 1946, pp. 100 and 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 102. The Baroque style did not encourage national tongues anywhere, for example, not even in Austria: “The esteemed Baroque period in Austria was accommodating to the arts in general, but expression in the German language was completely suppressed.” CLOETHER, p. 33.

⁷ “Az irodalomtörténeti kutatás helyzetéről és feladatairól” [The Conditions of Literary Research and its Tasks]. Lectures of KLANICZAY Tibor. In: *IT*, 1952, p. 119.

medium, when the overwhelming majority of book production becomes, due to the language, accessible to all members of society.”⁸ This fact also plays a crucial role – after Apáczai and Zrinyi – in the evaluation of our scientific Latin literature. Thus, the Enlightenment gave preference to the national language as one of the most important elements of culture. The dominance of the national language was therefore one of the most basic requirements of national and bourgeois development and the establishment of the middle class. So, it is obvious that researching the history of libraries of the century, we must constantly keep in mind what significance the collectors attributed to the collection of Hungarian language publications and the care and nurture of the national language. The national feelings of the collectors could be defined by the affection for or rejection of literature in Hungarian.

The demand for the use of the national language which the Enlightenment had brought was the most significant requirement of national consciousness. This era of formation into nationhood in the history of libraries manifested itself in the fact that collectors became ever more aware that they needed to open their libraries to the public. The establishment of public libraries commenced when the owners of collections opened the doors to their jealously guarded treasure, or donated all their holdings in order to improve the level of general education and culture. As a consequence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the increased interest in reading had created much bigger markets than the previously common fairs. It had also increased the production of printers. Several thousand copies of a work were needed; this insured a tidy profit for the publisher. This easily realized profit brought with it the questions of the rights of the author, the publisher and the rights of reprints.⁹

The need for publications along with efforts to develop the language and the nascent literary life, started slowly to grow. However, the production of Hungarian printing in the 18th century from the point of view of national culture lagged behind the accomplishments of previous centuries. At the beginning of the century, the figure of Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis represents the end of a classic period in the history of Hungarian printing presses. In this period, the business point of view was still not primary, but the service of the culture of the nation was; when the renewal and élan of the great movements that transformed our culture, such as humanism, the Reformation, and the early stages of the Counter-reformation were still in effect; when there were men, such as Misztótfalusi, who accepted challenges that exceeded their possibilities in order to serve the cause of culture and education. After the Rákóczi war of independence the old, famous presses either ceased to exist – such as the one at Lőcse¹⁰ – or lost their significance; only one or two maintained their previous reputation. The newly established presses were up against the disinterested readership, the limitations imposed by the state, and the censorship of the Jesuits. The presses in these times were still the only industry that due to the small numbers of printers were not members of guilds. This characteristic proved to be helpful later on, because the limitations of guilds could not affect the capitalistic development of individual enterprises. The political and governmental center of the country during this century was Pozsony, the cultural and scholarly center during the first five decades was Nagyszombat. But later on, especially after the university was moved to Buda, Buda and Pest gained prominence. Naturally, the printing industry became concentrated around these focal points. Buda played an important role already in the first decades due to the products of Landerer and, later, the Nottenstein Press.

Although the Hungarian art of printing most of this century – until 1760 – cannot boast of treasures of cultural achievements that would equal those of the preceding century and a half, we can still safely say that

⁸ CSAPODI, *loc. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

⁹ At this age reprints are not universal in Hungary; there are no such entrepreneurs as Trattner in Austria or Varrentrap in Germany. In order to make reprints profitable, considerable capital was required, which the Hungarian publishers were not able to procure, so the copies found in Hungary are only calendars and popular editions, – reprints, which most often implied the infringement of the royal copyright, which basically falls outside the purview of the problem of reprints. Thus – in the Hungarian situation – protection of the rights of authorship and publication only became a burning question in the 19th century.

¹⁰ In 1717 the press was accused of publishing works forbidden by the censors, and only due to the guarantees of the city council was its further operation permitted. Later also, the Jesuit censor blocked the publication of several works, which were already partially printed. In 1747 the fire that devastated the town also burned down the press, most of its equipment was bought by Ferenc Károlyi. GÁRDONYI, Albert, “Hazai könyvtermelésünk a Pragmatica Sanctio korában” [Production of Hungarian Books in the Era of the Pragmatica Sanctio]. *MKsz*, 1944, p. 9.

in spite of the limiting factors imposed on it, and it had made considerable progress. This development can be measured first of all in the notable increase in the number of new presses and a considerable increase in publications and number of copies. At the beginning of the 1710s, only 8 presses were active in the country;¹¹ by the end of the century their number reached 40.¹² Examining the establishment of the presses in the 18th century, we find that municipal authorities had assumed a leading role in defending the presses against the power of the church and the state in their cities. Starting from the middle of 1720s, to establish a new workshop, one needed to apply through the Council of the Governor General to the Chancery. Permits were issued on the basis of the interests of the dominant church or of the state and did not take into consideration the interest of the development of Hungarian culture. Therefore, this edict became one of the factors that blocked the progress of the development of the presses.

The most serious problem faced by the printers, aside from the interventions of the state and church which caused many difficulties, was the generation of profit. The characteristic of book printing or publishing is that “it is, by nature, destined to meet mass demand, and so it can only be successful where the prerequisites of mass consumption exist. To create mass consumption, it is forced to produce printed materials to satisfy mass needs.”¹³ Such mass consumption items were first of all textbooks, calendars, inspirational readings and popular literature. The significance of the latter – circulated at markets – was underestimated in the past, even though they were important for the education and culture of the period. For example, outstanding authors, such as István Gyöngyösi, were made popular through these publications. Of course, some publishers, i.e. printers, engaged in fierce competition in the publication of these profitable editions. From the start, they tried to gain advantages by requesting the privileges from the king. The great number and importance of privileges remind us that this process was one of the indicators of the change of the political situation and the fact that, albeit late and barely noticeably, Hungarian printing had entered the period of modern development.

The substantial increase in the production of publication also bears witness to this process. At a certain point the creative forces had to produce this result, and the repression along with the delayed cultural development explains the reason why that the level of quality of this vastly more numerous productions remained so low. “If we consider conservatively the production in the 18th century of the presses of Nagyszombat and Debrecen at around 1 ½ million – writes Zoltán Trócsányi – together with those of Pécs, Győr, Eger, Pozsony, Buda, Sopron, Kassa, Kolozsvár, etc., we can perhaps put at 4 million the number of all Hungarian books published in the 18th century.”¹⁴ In the 90s, as a response to the storm of political events, inspired by the winds of revolution, the number of publications increased significantly; in 1790-91, 500 political tracts were published.¹⁵

Censorship proved to be a serious impediment to the development of our presses and the publication of books. The printer, who also acted as publisher – the two enterprises had not yet been separated – could never predict if the censor would forbid the distribution of a book at the last minute, in

¹¹ In Kolozsvár Sámuel Telegdi Pap, in Szeben Miklós Hetzdorfer, in Brassó the Seuler press, in Lőcse the Breuer press, the city printing house of Debrecen, in Komárom István Töltési and finally the Jesuit presses of Nagyszombat and Kassa.

¹² For example the printer Antal Gottlieb in Vác, once publisher of Kármán's review, *Urania*.

¹³ GÁRDONYI, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁴ TRÓCSÁNYI, Zoltán. “A 18. század magyarnyelvű nyomtatványainak meghatározása” [The Identification of Hungarian Printed Matter of the 18th Century]. *MKsz*, 1938. 197. See also: ZOLTAY, Lajos, *Debrecen város könyvnyomdájának 18. századi működése* [The Activities of the Printing House of the City of Debrecen in the 18th Century]. (Debrecen: 1937). The largest printing house of the country was the one in Nagyszombat which, aside from small items, published between 1745 and 1773, 382 works in Latin, 62 in Hungarian, 36 in German, 46 in Slovak, 5 in French and 1 in Croatian, altogether 532 works. From 1773, the year when it came under public ownership, until 1776, the last year of its operations in Nagyszombat, 52 Latin, 2 Hungarian, 2 German and 2 Slovak works were issued. TRÓCSÁNYI, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ BALLAGI Géza. *A politikai irodalom Magyarországon 1825-ig* [Political Literature in Hungary until 1825]. (Budapest: 1888) p. 283.

which case their investment would be lost. “Free thought, writing, printing ... where these three do not exist ... make it fruitless to look for man or knowledge. He who wants to deny freedom of thought to man, is indeed the greatest of tyrants,”¹⁶ says Sámuel Decsy. The 18th century reactionary censorship in Hungary truly served the interests of arbitrary power and its operation, even in the times of the influential and enlightened van Swieten. It weighed heavily on Protestants and the propagators of the new revolutionary ideas and scientific discoveries. It proved to be the most suitable means in the hands of the church and the state in suppressing the printing industry. The complaint of the county of Bihar in the case of censorship on September 30, 1793¹⁷ clearly indicates its damaging and outrageous effect. The complaint, which according to Kálmán Benda, was written by Kazinczy, affirms the serious and flagrant charge in the face of the powers that be, that the world is already considering us to be barbarians, because books are censored which in the other lands of the king can be distributed freely. Is this not harming our culture – our nation’s education – he asks, and his voice echoes Georg Christoph Lichtenberg’s witty and sarcastic words, who writes: “The book, which deserved its banning, is the catalogue of forbidden books.”¹⁸

After the perusal of the characteristics of our 18th century presses, we need to turn our attention also to the book trade, since “a book’s essence is twofold: it represents intellectual value, and at the same time it is also a commodity that cannot be compared to any other commodity.”¹⁹ The development of Hungarian commerce in books lagged far behind that of countries that were farther along on the road to middle class culture, where in addition to the wide network of consignments, a much more stable set of sales terms²⁰ was practiced and used book sales became separated from retail book sellers.²¹ At that moment, Hungarian conditions resembled the situation of the first half of the 17th century in Germany. The system was one of general bookshops, but among the consignment merchants we cannot find independent booksellers, bookbinders dispersed all over the country that were in touch with one or several presses and would render an account for the received goods afterwards.²² The rules of the bookbinders’ guild specified their respective rights in the book trade. At the same time, the printers themselves were also engaged not only in the sale of their own products but also that of others’. In the age of consignment trade, fairs used to be of great importance. The significance of the fair in Frankfurt, and later in Leipzig, as the center of international trade is well known. In Hungary, the great fairs that drew crowds from all over the country were responsible for establishing opportunities for the trade in books. “The fair was the first efficient means of distribution of books” – states Albert Gárdonyi – “and in stalls not only popular literature but publications of literary value were sold. Before the structure of the book trade was developed, buyers had to be found for the publications

¹⁶ *Pannoniai Fénisz, avagy hamvából feltámadott magyar nyelv* [The Phoenix of Pannonia, or the Hungarian Language Resurrected from its Ashes]. (Vienna: 1790) pp. 190-191.

¹⁷ “The detractors of our nation declare us to be barbarians and even today they claim this. If the activities of modern censors also be considered, we fear we will receive blame for such things. For will not the absence of culture be criticized, especially in view of censored philosophical books. But books printed by the publishers of his majesty are sold publicly and freely.” MARTINOVICS, Ignác. *Status regni Hungariae* [The Status of the Hungarian Kingdom]. In: *Writings of the Jacobins*. Ed. Kálmán Benda/. (Budapest: 1957). Vol. 1. p. 951 (translated from the Latin original).

¹⁸ LICHTENBERG, Georg Christoph. *Vermischte Schriften* [Various Works]. (Göttingen: 1844) Vol. 2 p. 69.

¹⁹ MEINER, Annemarie. *Der deutsche Verlegerverein, 1886-1935* [German Publishers Association, 1886-1935]. (Leipzig: 1936) 2.

²⁰ The point of the system is that the booksellers enter into exchanges with each other, with the proviso that at the determined time the unsold wares are returned, and they only pay for books sold at regular store prices, after deducting 33.5 per cent profit. WIDMANN, *op. cit.*, 56.

²¹ The decree of 1775 gave support for such developments because it enabled the trade of old and bound books by people who were ineligible otherwise, if they obtained permission from the council of the Governor-General.

²² For example, the list of bookbinders in contact with the Debrecen city press between 1730 and 1780, in ZOLTAY, Lajos, *Debrecen város könyvnyomdájának 18. századi működése* [The Activities of the Printing House of the City of Debrecen in the 18th Century]. (Debrecen: 1937) p. 7. Sámuel Dreschovszky of Kassa, János Zalonyi Nagy of Nagyvárád, and Gergely Szász of Komárom were in contact with the printer Nottenstein of Buda; in GÁRDONYI, 1944. *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

at fairs, because in the print workshops they were not looking for buyers; book lists or newspaper ads could barely guarantee a buying public. In contrast, the fairs increased the desire to purchase, it was easier to entice buyers. Perhaps that was the reason why the book trade became independent relatively late. In addition to the printers, the bookbinders also engaged in book sales, because they could improve the appearance of their products and attract the attention of the people at the fairs.”²³

In the last decades of the century, a decisive development is noticeable in the history of Hungarian book trade. One of its most important causes was the huge holdings of the libraries of the dissolved religious orders. The tremendous number of books that came on the market was made more accessible to collectors. The book trade finally separated from publishing and its center came to be Pest along with Pozsony which was close to the big market of Vienna. The first independent bookseller, Gellért Mauss, settled in Pest in 1748. From the point of view of the ever more independent book trade, the ordinance promulgated on August 13, 1772, was of great significance. It delineated the necessary prerequisites for engaging in the occupation of a bookseller. In the 70s and 80s the catalogues typical of the era became numerous as well. Such had been published by printers – for example in 1754 Landerer in Pozsony – and became over time a permanent part of the book trade. They appeared especially at the times of the fairs, such as Lettner company's or Ernest Klopstock's catalogues; later booksellers would print them regularly for the information of the buying public. The booksellers' catalogues also functioned as scientific journals reviewing new books. This goal was the deliberate aim of many companies, which the foreword of the 1779 catalogue of the company of Weingand and Köpff – one of the oldest bookshops of Pest – also demonstrates. The history of Ráday library also sheds light on the fact that in the last quarter of the century the merchants in Hungary already boasted of a wide range of contacts abroad. These connections allowed them to fulfil the orders of collectors in far away markets.

The forces that determined one of the interesting and promising periods in the history of libraries in Hungary, were numerous; on one hand the power of the state that served the interests of Vienna, on the other hand, the widening financial and market possibilities; the growth in incomes; the ideas of the Enlightenment which transformed our literary life; the requirement of the use of the national tongue, and the national feeling that built self-esteem. All these factors were determinant in this promising and interesting period of the Hungarian publishing and book trade. The library of Pécel was created under these conditions; we, therefore, need to analyze the elements of the process of the collection of books by the Rádays in such a historical framework.

To give a complete picture, it would be most useful and necessary to combine the individual elements of the history of Ráday library with those of the history of other great collections, – Sámuel Teleki, Ferenc Széchényi, György Festetics, István Csáky, or Sámuel Bruckenthal; to compare the data about the acquisitions, or the existing mementos of the loans of these libraries. Nevertheless, this study is not possible now due to the lack of monographs dealing with the detailed histories of these libraries. The publications that have appeared so far are short and generally are not based on research in archives. Thus, on the basis of currently known materials it is impossible to establish a detailed comparison. This work awaits the researcher who after the publication of these short monographs will be in a position to compile a comparative study of the history of Hungarian libraries.

²³ GÁRDONYI, 1944. *loc. cit.*, p. 1. See also: KÓKAY, György: *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Ungarn* [The History of Book Trade in Hungary]. (Wiesbaden: 1990) pp. 71 and passim.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RÁDAYS

In the case of privately owned libraries the personality of the collectors puts its individual characteristic stamp on the collection especially as the acquisition and selection of the books require many sacrifices. Therefore, I consider it proper to group the material concerning the 18th century Ráday library around two personalities, to discuss the era of Pál Ráday and Gedeon Ráday, and to always examine the life of the library in relationship with these two men. So with the premise that the library and the personality of the collector, his spiritual and intellectual orientation, his education and his political opinions, are closely related, we have to investigate the Ráday family in general and then go into the details of the lives of Pál Ráday and Gedeon Ráday.

Before the Turkish invasion the Ráday family was very well off; their estates were situated in the northern parts of the county of Pest which included Ráda from which the family derived its name.¹ With the advance of the Turks, when the lands between the Danube and the Tisza were lost, the family tried to save its holdings by relocating further north to the county of Nógrád. However, there they could only purchase parts of already existing estates; their former lands very rapidly became nothing but desolate wasteland and only ruins remained of the former villages. András Ráday – the grandfather of the founder of the library – was the sub prefect of the county of Pest who also fled north in the middle of the 17th century. He was a highly regarded member of the gentry in Nógrád. The older of his two sons, András, was the district administrator of the county of Pest-Pilis around 1650; the younger, Gáspár, the father of Pál – preferred to work on his estates and only accepted offices of sub prefect and county treasurer for short periods of time.

The value of the family estate was greatly reduced by its fragmentation; nevertheless, the family's existence was assured by the lands inherited, and divided among siblings and augmented by the share of the inheritance of the mother. The estate was governed from the manor house in Alsóludány in Nógrád county; Pécel only became the center at the time of Gedeon Ráday. Land cultivation corresponded to the characteristics of the land and the practices of gentry farming. On the northern hilly section, the basis of the cultivation was the system of fief estates; in the southern hilly regions, where the Turks had devastated the lands and decimated the population, extensive steppe cattle raising was the preferred method for the most part. Where some settlements remained the Rádays attempted to bring in settlers, to populate the villages and make agriculture more profitable. We hear about such settlements also at the time of Gedeon, who brought Protestant Styrians to Iklad and Harta. The families owned some lands, manorial land in tillage and meadows which they exploited for themselves, that is the size of the field did not exceed the double of a serf's lands. Not contiguous, larger manorial farms could be found anywhere. In 1700 Pál Ráday built a stone house at the manor of Ludány, and Gedeon had his chateau built at Pécel in 1764. The modest state of their financial affairs is characterized by the inventory that had been compiled during the youth of Gáspár Ráday, which mentions books along with their other belongings.² Pál Ráday and Gedeon Ráday came from the gentry but were not yet clearly differentiated from the lesser nobility similar to squires who worked the land of some fief holdings. The harm caused to the family by the war was substantial. Their higher level of education and culture can be explained by the fact that since their conservative cultivation of the land

¹ Regarding the Ráday family generally, see the Introduction to *Ráday Pál iratai, 1703-1706*. [The papers of Pál Ráday, 1703-1706.] Vol. 1. Eds. Kálmán Benda, Tamás Esze, Ferenc Maksay and László Pap. Budapest, 1955, as well as BALÁZS, László. "A Ráday-család és könyvtára" [The Ráday Family and Their Library]. *RGyÉ*, Vol. 6. 1989. pp. 135-143.

² *RA*, 6. fasc. This data does not support the presumption that the ancestors of the Rádays "acquired the most notable works of their period since the 18th century ... " as Kornél Rupp states in *MKsz.* 1897, 173. Regarding the Ráday fortune, see also BALÁZS, *loc. cit.* 142.

no longer sufficed for a comfortable lifestyle, they tried to make up the difference by accepting various county offices. But these two factors, their education and county offices, were not sufficient to have them be recognized as equals to the aristocrats beholden to Vienna or the group of aristocrats who had flocked to Rákóczi during his War of Independence. They just did not possess large enough estates or wealth. Only at the time of Gedeon Ráday II, Gedeon's son, a prominent representative of josephinism, did the family receive its title and get admitted to aristocratic circles.³

The two Rádays who had established and built up the library were of noble descent. They represented the mostly Protestant, specifically, for the most part, Reformed county gentry, but in talent and education they were outstanding. Father and son played opposite roles; the first, the fighter for independence, after the failed rebellion leader of the Protestant resistance; the second, withdrew from the political sphere, and was only a resistant at heart, became an organizer of the literary life of the nation and a collector of books. Nevertheless their lives joined in the service of their nation.

³ Although the rank of Baron and then Count had been bestowed on the old Gedeon as well, that was only due to the behavior and ambition of his son. On this topic, I refer to Endre Zsindely's study in manuscript, *Gedeon Ráday*.

1. Pál Ráday



Pál Ráday's portrait by Ádám Mányoki

He was born on July 2, 1677 in Losonc and received an excellent education. He started his schooling in Losonc, where at the time the educational principles of János Sturm were followed.⁴ He went to school here for about two years until the completion of syntaxis,⁵ then he was sent to Rahó, where János Braxatoris (Bánóczy)⁶ had a school for young gentlemen. He spent a short time there because Braxatoris left Rahó in 1683 to settle in Rozsnyó. Then his father took him home to Losonc and employed reputable teachers for the education of his son. A student of Braxatoris, Mihály Missovicz,⁷ who taught him for the longest time, had the greatest influence on him, "to whom I owe the most of my progress in knowledge," he stated. These two teachers had a strong pietist influence over him which transformed, enlightened and shaped his deep piety. In 1693, he went to Selmec in order to learn German and the following year to Körmöc; but meanwhile he was also engaged in "higher sciences." At the age of 18, after completion of his studies, Ráday entered adulthood with a broad knowledge in the fields of law, literature, history and theology. (The latter replaced philosophy in accordance with the habits of his time). In addition to Hungarian, he wrote at a literary level in Latin, spoke German and Slovak well and understood French. Even though,

⁴ *Autobiography. (Ráday Pál iratai, op. cit. 35. and passim); NÉGYESSY, László. Rádai Ráday Pál munkái. Bevezetés [The works of Pál Ráday de Ráda. Introduction]. (Budapest, 1889); GORZÓ, Gellért. Rádai Ráday Pál. [Pál Ráday de Ráda]. (Budapest, 1915). and the already cited Introduction to Ráday Pál iratai, op. cit.*

⁵ The second grade of the gymnasium; GORZÓ, *op.cit.*

⁶ The best known educator of the period. SZINNYEI, Vol. 2, column (abbr. col.) 1329.

⁷ For his life see ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 409.

due to his financial difficulties, his father could not send him abroad to study, Pál Ráday had reached the highest level of the then customary Hungarian education. This education coupled with his profound sensibility, his particular talents, his writing and negotiating style, marked him much above the usual country gentleman of his time.

For two years starting in 1695, he studied law with his future father-in-law, the county notary, Pál Kajali; later his father sent him to the court of Count Simon Forgách, landowner in Nógrád, lieutenant general, later marshal in the Kuruc army – the Kuruc War of Independence against the Hapsburgs led by Rákóczi at the turn of the 17th century – to be trained as a soldier. In 1699, he returned to his place of birth and became the county notary. Recognized for his talents and his likeable personality he was given an ever increasing role in conducting county affairs. In 1703, he was already in charge of negotiations with surrounding counties as well as the court in Vienna. “Here in the life of the county he acquires political skills, administrative experience, knowledge of human character; his mediation skills develop, he becomes thoroughly acquainted with the economic situation of his county and of all northern Hungary, the problems of the peasantry and the gentry, the paragraphs of the feudal constitution and the national grievances, even the central organizations which dealt with Hungarian matters in Vienna when he negotiated there.”⁸ All these matters played an important role when, in the War of Independence, he was able to complement Prince Rákóczi’s wide intellectual horizon and international awareness with knowledge of local issues, legal and historical characteristics. Summarizing the sketch of his intellectual and cultural development, it is evident that Ráday’s interest turned foremost towards the theological, philosophical, legal, historical and political sciences, but the time spent in Transdanubia, bordering Turkish occupied territories, also left its mark on him. Military sciences interested him to a much lesser degree. Further factors that contributed to his formation at the turn of the century were a baroque mentality which fostered his interest in the life of the court, as well as a classical education, his love for old Latin literature, a phenomenon characteristic of this era. From these points of departure we can directly trace his orientation in the collection of books.

The most decisive years of the life of Pál Ráday was the period of the Rákóczi War of Independence. In 1703, at the age of 26, he joined Rákóczi when the Prince was confined along with the gentry of Nógrád in the fortification of Gács; he came to realize that he was not confronting a peasant revolt and that there was an opportunity, on the basis of a widely supported national consensus, for a fight against the Hapsburgs. He accompanied Pál Kajali, his future father-in-law, to the camp at Tokaj to report the fidelity of the people of Nógrád. The Prince engaged him immediately as “intimus secretarius.” Soon he was leading the secret chancery because he was regarded as knowledgeable in local matters, a good stylist, and a trustworthy person who could be entrusted with the preparation and finalization of documents concerning sensitive domestic and foreign questions. When he proved his aptitude by writing the manifesto, *Recrudescunt vulnere inclytæ gentis Hungariæ*, in which he presents the just battle of the Hungarian nation to the people of the world – Rákóczi commissioned him with the preparation of more and more secret documents. All preparatory work of the measures to be taken for the establishment of an independent national state was done by the secret chancery, “the innermost intellectual workshop of the fight for independence.” Ráday prepared the meeting of the 1705 parliament of Szécsény, the Diet of 1706 in Huszt, the parliamentary sessions of Marosvásárhely and Ónod in 1707. He wrote the proposals of the Prince, at the meetings represented his opinion and put the decisions into final form. He compiled even the extensive regulations for the Kuruc army. One of the most significant tests of his political and diplomatic talent took place in 1706. The Prince sent him to Transylvania with the task to win over the nobility of northern Transylvania, vacillating in their support because of the Austrian military successes, and to prepare the alliance of Transylvania and Hungary. Ráday won over this social class almost about to forsake the cause of the nation after the defeat of the battle of Zsibó. He succeeded in obtaining that the representatives of Transylvania, militarily already lost, appeared as allies of Hungary at the peace conference with the emperor. The Prince named Ráday head of the chancery of Transylvania in 1707 and, in addition, head of the military chancery from 1709 on. In 1703, he also became comptroller of the mining cities and in the fall of 1707, the auditor of the recently established Society of Nobles.

As the leader of the secret chancery, Ráday held the key to the diplomacy of Rákóczi. He corresponded with ambassadors and chargé d'affaires abroad – in France, Germany and Poland, – directs their activities and was in personal touch with several of the leading politicians and diplomats of

⁸ The preceding quotations are from *Autobiography, in Ráday Pál iratai, op. cit.* 37, 11 and 12.

foreign courts. They discussed with him in his private capacity international aspects of the war of independence. Among these men, we find Daniel Ernest Jablonski⁹ the preacher of the Prussian court, who would later lend support to Gedeon, Ráday's son, during his study tour; Piper, the Swedish Chancellor, and Hermelin or Müllern from 1709 on, the Swedish Royal Secretaries. In addition to these activities, Pál Ráday was Rákóczi's number one diplomat, the representative of the Prince and confederate estates at significant negotiations. In 1704 and 1705, he visited the kings of Sweden, Prussia, and Poland; in 1707 he was a member of the delegation that was sent to the Czar under the leadership of Bercsényi, resulting in the Hungarian-Russian alliance signed in Warsaw; in 1709 he went to Bender and offered King Charles XII of Sweden a mediation with Russia. In 1710, he was again at the Czar's court, and then he carried on discussions with the Voivod of Moldova and the Polish palatines. He was one of the representatives of the Prince at the peace conference with the Emperor, and in 1711 Rákóczi sent him to Debrecen to see János Pálffy. He became increasingly independent in composing documents and taking care of matters, but in spite of his independence he was only the purveyor of the ideas of the Prince. The latter had the intellectual acumen, the experience and the global vision of relations between European monarchs, necessary for the establishment of the apparatus of a national state.

Finally, Ráday's activities as a writer deserves a particular mention. Besides the powerful *Manifesto*, he composed Rákóczi's declarations of Újvár, the proclamations to the Croatian nobility, to Hungarians, and to Transylvanians. The pamphlet entitled *Explosio punctoriae repplicae caesareae*, which – after the breaking up of the negotiations of 1706 – described for the world the perfidious behavior of the court of Vienna was also written by him. The voluminous pamphlet that appeared in the fall of 1706 delineating the fateful role played by the Jesuits in Hungary (a leaflet that until now has been misidentified as written by Ádám Vay), was his work as well. He was the editor and author until 1710 of *Mercurius Veridicus ex Hungaria*, the first newspaper in Hungary. His endeavors as a writer were certainly facilitated by his library; therefore, in the evaluation of book acquisitions we will attempt to point out those volumes, which could have served him in such activities.

After the defeat of the War of Independence, Ráday decided in the fall of 1711 that he would accept the amnesty offered in the peace treaty of Szatmár, in spite of his intimate relationship with the Prince, which endured to the end of his life. Together with his family, he returned from Poland and swore allegiance to Count Herberstein, president of the military council. In the remaining two decades of his life, he devoted himself to his family, the collection of books and the Reformed church. This is the period from which we have the only unbroken records of his acquisitions. He continued to participate in various Diets as the representative of his county Nógrád, but did not attain positions at a national level. However, he led, until his death, the fight of the Hungarian Reformed churches against the ever-increasing efforts at re-catholization; this battle at the time represented one form of the fight against the Hapsburg dynasty. Consequently, Ráday adjusted to the changed situation, but never became a servant of the court.

Finally, we have to remember Pál Ráday as an outstanding Protestant poet of hymns, whose *Spiritual Devotion* is one of the most often reprinted books of the 17th century. His work in this field is also connected to certain books that enriched his thoughts with fresh ideas and emotions.

After a colorful and meritorious life, Pál Ráday died on May 20, 1733 and left his estate to his son Gedeon, who was studying in Francfort-on-the-Oder. His contemporaries already recognized his work as a book collector and his love for his country's literature. Dávid Sárkány delivering the eulogy at his funeral said: "It would not be fitting not to mention the close relationship that this departed gentleman of dear memories maintained all his life with the sciences and the books of wise men, a relationship so intense that when he could find a spare moment from the pursuit of the common good and his household, he could find no more pleasant entertainment than the reading of books. He felt especially close, more than his fellow citizens, to

⁹ Daniel Ernest Jablonski (1660-1741) – the grandson of Comenius, bishop of the "Czech" brothers, Czech Protestants who had moved to the North Sea, – from 1693 on the preacher at the Prussian court. He was a spokesman for the Protestant unionist aspirations and the Hungarian War of Independence at this court. KVAČALA, Jan. *Fünfzig Jahre im preussischen Hofpredigerdienste, D.E. Jablonski* [Fifty Years Service as the Prussian Court's Preacher, D. E. Jablonski]. (Dorpat: 1896).

books written in our Hungarian language, for which he, regardless of cost, was constantly searching and collecting.”¹⁰

¹⁰ SÁRKÁNY, Dávid. *Halotti magyar oratio ...* Sárkány Dávid által. [Hungarian Funeral Oration ... by Dávid Sárkány.] (n. p. n.d.)

2. Gedeon Ráday



Engraving of Gedeon Ráday as “Friend of the Muses”

He was born on October 1, 1713.¹¹ His childhood was spent in Ludány, Pécel, and Losonc, in the Puritan atmosphere of his family home where the memory of the War of Independence, freedom of the people and of religion was jealously guarded. His father directed his education so that his son “would devote all energies to the education of the nation” – writes Kazinczy.¹² In this time, the Protestants, as second-class citizens, could not participate in national politics and they could only get ahead if they forsook their religion and principles.

¹¹ For his biography see *Ráday Gedeon összes munkái*. Összegyűjtötte és bevezette Váczy János. Bevezetés. [The Collected Works of Gedeon Ráday. Collected and introduced by János Váczy. Introduction.] Budapest, 1892. and VAS, Margit, *Ráday Gedeon élete és munkássága* [The Life and Works of Gedeon Ráday]. (Budapest, 1932).

¹² KAZINCZY, Ferenc. *Magyar Pantheon* [Hungarian Pantheon]. /National Library, Vol XXXVI. / (Budapest, 1886) p. 25.

At the age of 10, he was enrolled at the Lutheran Gymnasium of Pozsony under the tutelage of the outstanding scholar of the era, Mátyás Bél. He lived at his house as well, so this good friend of his father was completely in charge of his upbringing. He became very fond of his tutor. The gymnasium in Pozsony under the leadership of Bél and then Vilmos Beer represented the new and modern pedagogy of pietism. The young Ráday acquired his knowledge of German and Latin and the foundation of his extensive education. He received here his first impressions of the political life by frequenting the sessions of parliament in 1728 and 1729 and observed the battle of his coreligionists who were cruelly forced to sign on to the Maria Oath. He met many people, among them, Ádám Mányoki, the great Hungarian portrait painter of the 18th century¹³ who had just returned from Dresden, and of whom he became a close friend. The period of Pozsony in Gedeon's life ends at this moment because, starting a study trip, he travelled to Germany. Mányoki, the modest and talented youth praised by his teachers, followed the wishes of Pál Ráday, and travelled with him. The military council created many difficulties in issuing the passport, but the permission finally arrived in the spring of 1731, and the young man, eager to study, and the artist, who felt misunderstood and forced to leave, set out together on the trip.

This voyage was preceded by much planning and deliberation. Pál Ráday had been in correspondence since the beginning of 1727, with András Kármán,¹⁴ the grandfather of the poet, whom he sponsored during his studies. He also corresponded with Pál Gyöngyösi, the minister from Kassa,¹⁵ who living in exile at the time, had become a university professor in Francfort-on-the-Oder, but he also asked the advice of Mátyás Bél. In the end, he decided to send his son to Berlin where he could entrust him to the care of his old friend Daniel Ernest Jablonski, who became not only a sponsor for the young man, but as an influential person at the court, he could introduce him to many and arrange for meeting friends of his father. This decision of Pál Ráday also makes clear his political stance, since it was not without importance whether his son was sent to Vienna with the offsprings of members of the nobility siding with the court; or he was sent to Protestant Prussia, considered hostile by the Vienna court, one of the of the most outspoken anti-Hapsburg country in Europe. During one year at the Joachimicum gymnasium in Berlin, Gedeon followed a varied course of study: theology, archaeology, logic, political history, history of the church, stylistics, and rhetoric. In private lessons, he learnt French, drawing and dance. Thus prepared for his university studies, he went with Jablonski to Francfort-on-the-Oder at the Easter of 1732, and settled there on his own. The University of Francfort-on-the-Oder provided a Calvinist education; many Hungarian and especially Transylvanian students attended its courses, and in the person of Pál Gyöngyösi, a Hungarian was on the faculty. Among the students, he became friends with Sámuel Szilágyi¹⁶ who came from a teacher's family in Nagyenyed. Later Szilágyi became one of the purchasing agents for his collection. Following the traditions of the Hungarian gentry, he completed his academic studies in law. He also read theology and asked for his father's permission to enrol in Professor Hoffmann's¹⁷ course, "De intimis aulorum statisticis."¹⁸ Thus, Ráday received the most modern education in accordance with the principles of political science of the times. Among his subjects, we find not only statistics, but also world and political history as opposed to church history; he emphasized law as against theology, natural law versus natural theology. All these factors represented the triumph of Enlightenment in education. At German universities, this was due to the pietism and rationalism of Halle, and the influence of political science. Already during his travels, Ráday began

¹³ For the relationship between Mányoki and the Rádays, see ZSINDELY, Endre. "Mányoki Ádám levelei Ráday Pálhoz" [The letters of Ádám Mányoki to Pál Ráday]. *Művészettörténeti értesítő* [Bulletin of Art History], 1954. No. 2. and from the same author, "Külföldi magyar kortársak Mányoki Ádámról" [Hungarian contemporaries abroad about Ádám Mányoki] *Ibid.*, 1955. No. 2.

¹⁴ ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, p. 295, and SZINNYEI, Vol. 5, col. 1049-1051.

¹⁵ ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, p. 229, and SZINNYEI, Vol. 4, col. 65-71

¹⁶ ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, p. 605.

¹⁷ Christian Gottfried Hoffmann (1692-1734), from 1718 professor of natural and international law in Leipzig, from 1723 professor juris primarium in Francfort-on-the-Oder. *AGL*, Vol. 2, col. 1653.

¹⁸ Gedeon received permission but his father thought that the fee of 50 thaler is too high for a semester course. In: Pál Ráday's letter to his son, September 15, 1732. RA/CGR.

collecting books, which we will discuss later when we analyze his acquisitions. The death of Pál Ráday in May 1733 suddenly interrupted this study tour, which required great sacrifices from the family, but proved to be decisive for the education, the book collection activities and literary role of Ráday. Summarizing the first phase of his life, we can say that he received a broad education in which next to the theological and legal strands the effects of the Enlightenment are clearly discernible, as is his wide knowledge of his nation's life. His knowledge of French is especially noteworthy, as is his love for French culture inspired by the atmosphere in Francfort-on-the-Oder.

After his return home, he assisted his mother in the managing of the estate, and started to participate in church and political life. In 1741, for the first time, he took part in the parliamentary session as the representative of the county of Pest and was a member of the committee attending the coronation. During all his life, these two items became intertwined, i.e. political action and the protection of his church. Conditions until 1780 were similar to those of the time of his father; self-defence of the Protestants against the Hapsburgs and their policies was the only resistance the nobility was able to put up during the century. Ráday participated in the parliaments of 1741, 1752, 1764 as the representative of the county of Pest; he accepted county offices willingly, but did not wish for Court appointments. When Sámuel Szilágyi, the Reformed agent in Vienna, tried to convince him in 1744 to apply for the titular office of consiliarius, he advised his friend with great anger to withdraw the application submitted in his name – he did not want to hear about title and rank “whose every letter is dependent on human opinion. Why would I ask for a shadow, which if first considered good, is still only a shadow, and if considered bad, a disgrace?” This point of view stemmed from his father's stance against the Hapsburgs and lasted all his life, of which his contemporaries were also aware. That is why those that were loyal to the Court brought a complaint against him accusing him of rebellion in 1767¹⁹ and ascribed to him anti-Hapsburg pamphlets, which had appeared anonymously in 1791.²⁰

The political activities of Ráday became significant during the reign of Joseph II, in 1781, at the time of the Edict of Tolerance. He became involved in the affairs of the Transdanubian district as head elder as well as in matters concerning the whole church and the entire country. The agents active in Vienna always turned to him for advice and instructions, since not only did they respect him, but also knew him well or were his friends. After the Edict of Tolerance was issued, a Protestant delegation stayed permanently in Vienna to take care of difficulties or problems as they occurred. One of the most active members of the delegation, his son, Gedeon Ráday II, sent daily reports to his father about the imperial audiences and remedies for the complaints of the Protestants. The old Ráday directed the work of the delegation through his advice. The memorandum expressing thanks of the Protestants for the Edict, clearly reflects the ideas and the style of the old Ráday. At the same time he communicated the atmosphere and mood in Hungary – he himself fought the Catholic majority in the Pest County Assembly, because it wanted to send a unanimous protest against the Edict – and summed up, point by point, his reasoning in the defence of free exercise of religion for the Protestants. His arguments correspond to the feudal legal concepts, but are, nevertheless, a typical expression of Hungarian Protestant legal thought. He does not refer to the characteristic demands of the Enlightenment or refer to new ideas, but stands on the old traditional religious laws and on the basis of their paragraphs. As a member of the county's delegation, he participated in discussions in Pozsony about the problems of educational reform, and hoped that together with Transylvania “we can bring uniformity in education to our two countries.”²¹ Both Rádays judged the policies of josephinism from the point of view of their benevolent effects for Protestantism and, although they were weary of the attempts at enforced germanification, they became supporters of absolutism. Thus, as evidence of the equal treatment of Protestants, they were between the first to receive the title of Baron (1782), and then that of Count (1790).

The significance of Gedeon Ráday in the history of Hungary is greatest in the literary realm. Along with his collection of books, he imported forms of western European poetry. The importance of his study tour becomes even more evident as he invents his ‘Ráday-rhyme’. His poem *Tavaszi este* [Spring Evening] is

¹⁹ Letters of Sámuel Szilágyi to Gedeon Ráday. Marosvásárhely, February 5, 1768.

²⁰ Samuel Kohlmayer, lawyer, police spy's report to Franz Gotthardi, April 13, 1791. *OL*, private library, 11. fasc. 15. bundle.

²¹ Letter of Gedeon Ráday to his son. Pest, March 17, 1782.

one of his early attempts (1735), only published in 1790. Due to his sharp criticism, the pleasant but empty verses called leonines were slowly abandoned. All his life he wrote poetry, but he published them only in the final five years, 1787-1792. We have 42 poems in print, many small fractions, and a few newly discovered manuscripts. His literary activities, as a poet, are not as important as his role as “father of Hungarian men of literature,” in the words of Lőrinc Orczy. His activities resembled those of Kazinczy in his later years. He was a supporter and inspirer of scientific experiments, the leader of Hungarian literary life until his death in 1792. His education, refined taste, library and other collections brought him much recognition. Authors turned to him for advice, sending him their work for evaluation, so Pécel, by the eighties, became a literary and scientific center. An entire literary circle came into being around the old Ráday. He took care of new editions or supported works in progress; for example, in Pozsony the Hungarian poetry collection of Miklós Révai, and at the other end of the country, the new editions of Zrínyi and Gyöngyösi in Marosvásárhely. His support meant much not only because he backed such enterprises with an authority due to his social position and generally recognized cultural role, but also because he gave access to old, valued, printed or manuscript materials, and made available many literary information, hitherto unknown. Often he would send such copies of individual author's work to the editors of new editions when the latter had not even suspected their existence. People constantly consulted him about linguistic questions and he made final decisions about the methods of language renewal problems. With the foundation of the Scholars Society of Kassa and the beginnings of the *Magyar Museum* [Hungarian Museum], edited by Kazinczy and Batsányi, he saw his old project being realized and accepted the sponsorship of the paper with as much enthusiasm as he became the main collaborator for *Orpheus*, the paper that Kazinczy had started in 1790. He not only evaluated the incoming articles for the *Museum*, but also took care of administrative tasks, engaged a proofreader, János Földi, though corrected every issue himself. He also tried to find other authors; the authors' circle of György Aranka, Sándor Kovásznai, Sámuel Zilai joined the *Museum* group through his efforts. He participated even in marketing the paper through his many connections. In addition, he was a great supporter of Hungarian theatre, and endeavored to establish a theatre where actors would play in the Hungarian language. About his literary activities, we can safely say that his influence has long outlived him; his goals and taste lived on with Kazinczy and came to realization in the following century.

Gedeon Ráday died on August 6, 1792 at the age of 79. From his works not many have survived, because the family – lacking appreciation for his literary efforts and activities during his lifetime – destroyed most of his manuscripts after his death. His contemporaries kept his memory alive and Kazinczy justly predicted that “later ages would be anxious to discover every bit of news about Ráday.”²²

²² KAZINCZY. Ferenc. *Pályám emlékezete* [Memoirs of my career]. (Budapest, n.d.), 121.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIBRARY IN THE AGE OF PÁL RÁDAY

1. The Areas of Collection and the Agents

Compared to the era of Gedeon Ráday, we can only sketch a more modest picture of this era of the library. Concerning acquisition, transportation or bookbinding as well as the library's cultural role we could find fewer concrete details in the archives. Even in these early years, however, different areas of collection become apparent together with the different social and educational backgrounds of the various agents. These two aspects are particularly interdependent at the time of Pál Ráday: certain types of buyers are involved in various areas of the collection. These areas of collection are naturally divided into those at home and abroad, further subdivided in the Transylvanian and western Hungarian, the Viennese and, in a larger sense, foreign areas of collection.

In reference to the latter two, we can say that collection in Vienna was mostly undertaken by the agents at the imperial chancery of the Reformed churches; in large university towns, which were the centers of intellectual life and book printing, Hungarian students sponsored by Ráday undertook this task. In Hungary, church officials, professors and students were executing the commissions, be it in Transylvania or in northern Hungary. This is quite understandable if we consider the leading role of Ráday in his church. Beside the commissioned buyers, we need to mention his friends, relatives, and admirers, who wanted to please him by looking for and sending him books. In general, we can deduce that in the four areas of collection, the agents were well known to him personally, and this type of familiar connections, elsewhere already disintegrating, was still in its late flowering among the persecuted Protestants.

Not only was the work of these agents, students, professors and ministers of great import in finding what Ráday wanted, but so was their role as informants on the markets. In a letter, dated October 4, 1726, Mihály Szatmári Paksi tells Pál Ráday that the publication of the collected works of a fine man, whom he knows personally including his thoughts about theological problems, is just getting under way, in form of sermons, in the Hungarian language. A year later, he informs him that Lampe, a theologian of Utrecht, had published the work of his father-in-law, Pál Debreceni Ember, – *Historia Ecclesiastica Hungariae* – in quarto, for the price of 3 forint. He even corresponded with Lampe on this matter. Also – continues Szatmári Paksi – one pious professor of theology is promoting the publication of the Hungarian Bible “according to the edition of Tótfalusi.”¹ Moreover, in Nuremberg Professor Alphen² and his collaborators had already finished printing the New Testament. The letter of András Kármán from Utrecht gives identical news about Lampe and the publishing of the Bible in Utrecht.³ There details are very important, being characteristic of the collection efforts of both Rádays, especially that of Gedeon. Their agents always kept track of the intellectual, literary, scientific events of the countries in which they lived, and informed their sponsor about them. We can thus understand the thorough knowledge of Gedeon Ráday of what happened in the scientific field of his times; how he tried always to acquire the latest publications, having often watched them produced and completed. It would be no exaggeration to say the same about Pál Ráday in respect of Hungarian books that, as patron, also helped to publish some individual works.

¹ We know nothing about this edition of the Bible.

² Hieronymus Simons van Alphen (1665-1742), Dutch Reformed theologian. He was a professor in Utrecht from 1715 until his death. *ADB*, col. 294-295.

³ September 1, 1727. *RA/A*, II. 240.

An interesting fact regarding the above-defined areas of collection of the library is that Transylvania was always associated with the acquisition of definite types of literary material. It is certain that books arriving from Transylvania were exclusively Hungarian in accordance with the surviving data in the archives. The next section, treating the acquisitions of Pál Ráday, further proves this detail.

2. Growth of the Collection

a) Acquisitions

Surely, Pál Ráday must have tried to purchase books already before 1711 – one section of his library dates from his time as a notary and his student years, and from years of the War of Independence – but we have no concrete data from this period. He inherited a few volumes from his father, father-in-law and uncle, János Darvas.⁴ Then he bought those, which he needed, so he must have purchased at the end of the 17th century the various *Vita Aulica* and *Hermes Aulicus*,⁵ which followed Castiglione's *Il corteggiano* in spreading information about the life of the European courts, their intrigues and the art of conversation and diplomatic persuasion. From among his books on theology several must have been acquired in the beginning of the century; as his *Lelki Hódulás* [Submission of the Soul], reflecting puritan piety, which appeared at Kassa in 1710, and points to the influence of such works on him. Part of his acquisitions of legal and historical works must also be early; they must have been on the shelves of his room when he composed many important declarations concerning the national liberation war, or when he got ready for diplomatic discussions of great consequence.

Based on archival research we can speak of book collecting only after 1711, especially between 1720-23. Data encompassing a larger span of time is, however, only available in the correspondence of Pál Ráday and Mihály Szathmári Paksi. Others are more infrequent and dispersed in time, cover different areas and are different in their characteristics. In this period, Szathmári Paksi was living in Marosvásárhely and was searching for Hungarian books for Ráday. The other data are connected with collectors in Hungary, Pozsony, Vienna, and university centers abroad, and refer to literature published in western Hungary and abroad.

Thus, we consider first Transylvania from which Mihály Szathmári Paksi was sending Hungarian books to Ludány or Pécel.

Szathmári Paksi⁶ was born in 1683; his father was a Reformed preacher in Mezőkaszony whom his contemporaries called the “Hungarian Cicero” due to his oratorical skills. He studied in Gyulafehérvár and Tállya and enrolled in the Reformed College of Sárospatak, which was temporarily transferred to Kassa. From here, he was soon invited to take up a teaching position in Győr, and then in 1702 he returned to Kassa and Sárospatak. In 1708, he was rector in Tokaj, from where he went, at the end of 1709, to learn from foreign professors in Franeckera and Utrecht. In the fall of 1711, he returned to Tokaj as minister and married Judit, the daughter of Pál Debreceni Ember. It seems probable that his relationship with the Rádays stems from this period because Pál Debreceni Ember was pastor in Losonc in these years and had a close

⁴ The work of DEBRECENI EMBER Pál, *Garisim és Ébál* belonged to András Ráday; Pál Kajali owned the *Acta comitalia Hungarica Soproniensia*; in the two books by CZEGLÉDI István, *Az országok romlásáról* [The Destruction of Countries] and *A megtért bűnösnek a lelki harcban való bajvívásáról* [The Repentant Sinner in Spiritual Battle], as well as in CSUZI CSEH Jakab's *Edom ostora, avagy Abdiás próféta* [The Whip of Edom or the Prophet Abdias] we find the bookmarks of János Darvas.

⁵ So, for example, the works of Johannes Müller and Henricus Petraeus (Herdesanus).

⁶ ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 575 and KONCZ József, *A marosvásárhelyi ev. református kollégium története* [The History of the Reformed College of Marosvásárhely]. (Marosvásárhely: 1896) pp. 149-154.

relationship with the Rádays. His reputation spread all over the country and, at the beginning of 1716, the main consistory invites him as professor to Gyulafehérvár. Harassed and persecuted by the Germans, he is obliged to take refuge with his school at Marosvásárhely in 1718 and teaches at the theological faculty. He stayed there until 1734; his correspondence with Pál Ráday and his activities, so important for the library, took place during this period. In 1734, the Reformed college in Sárospatak invites him to be the rector. Though in the meantime the Transylvanian church elects him general notary who would assure him the right to become later its bishop, he, nevertheless, left Transylvania for his beloved school. During his ten-year tenure, until his death in 1744, he established order in the life of the school disorganized by internal strives.⁷ His work was mostly theological and pastoral, many of his funeral orations survived in print; at foreign universities; he had become acquainted with the results of the new natural sciences of his age, and he himself wrote about problems that were in the center of scientific interest of his times. In the college of Gyulafehérvár he first taught philosophy and natural science and wrote a schoolbook for his students entitled *Physica contracta iuxta principia Neotericorum* (Kolozsvár 1719).

In the collection of manuscripts of the Ráday library, twenty of his letters written to Pál Ráday are preserved. These letters of course do not all deal with library matters, many of them concern questions related to the Ráday family. He was the intermediary between the two families concerning the marriage of Ester Ráday and László Teleki, transmitting the proposal to the Rádays.

His first letter regarding the library is dated October 4, 1726 in Marosvásárhely, the last on January 4, 1732. The letters are not evenly distributed during the 5 years separating these two dates; the majority is from 1727, so most of Szathmári Paksi's acquisition activities – according to the available evidence – fall in the year 1727. It is certain that Ráday commissioned Szathmári Paksi already before 1726 for the purchase of Hungarian books. As mentioned in the letter of 1726 referred to above, he writes that he is constantly busy trying to get the books of "authors not mentioned in the catalogues sent to him." Besides, he acknowledges receipt of 60 Hungarian forint that György Tussai⁸ gave him at the end of summer.⁹ His letter to Ráday, dated August 10, 1724, mentioned by Lajos Eötvös in 1860, who saw it, deals with the acquisition of books and therefore is a valuable source for the library's history.¹⁰

It is apparent from his letters that his activities were limited to the meager opportunities of the local market. He did not have sufficient money to travel or search for books on sale, nor did he have enough time. His letters evidence the impoverished conditions of life in Transylvania at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which, in turn, explains the extraordinary lack of development of the book trade. He used the services of the local bookbinder,¹¹ son of a printer in Kolozsvár, encouraging him to find the necessary works, but he made little progress through him (March 15, 1727); he tried to convince a minister's widow to

⁷ In these years the fight between the professors János Tsétsi and Gergely Nagymihályi Szomoló deteriorated so much that school discipline and order collapsed. After their dismissal, which occurred in 1734, Szathmári Paksireestablished order.

⁸ Land owner in the county of Zemplén, his wife Ilona Ráday, Pál's sister. NAGY, Iván, Vol. 9, p. 356.

⁹ The notation in the calendar from August 1726 by Mrs. Pál Ráday, Klára Kajali, does not contradict this when she writes "When Mr. Tusai left for Transylvania I let him have 50 German forint for the purchase of books." [At this time the value of the German forint was 50 per cent higher than the Hungarian forint].

¹⁰ EÖTVÖS Lajos writes in his article "újabb pótlék a pápai nyomda történetéhez" [Additional Information to the History of the Press of Pápa] (*Századok*, 1869, pp. 331-332): "I can safely assume that the publication of János Kanizsai Pálfi's Prayer Book called *Arany temjénező* [Golden Censer] is the one mentioned in a letter of Mihály Szathmári, professor in Marosvásárhely. This is an extremely interesting letter from the point of view of our old practices in book collecting; written August 10, 1724 to Pál Ráday, who at the time had already started the collection of the books for the Ráday Library which became so famous later. In this letter, writing about old Hungarian authors and books, he says among other things: 'I am not mentioning the many beautiful prayer books, such as the *Golden Censer*, *Lilium humilitatis*, *Garden of Paradise*, *Smoking Oakum*, etc., etc.'" In: BALÁZS, László, *op cit.* p. 141. note 13.

¹¹ Who this bookbinder was I have been unable to determine. At this time, Sámuel Telegdi Pap, a colleague of Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis, was working in the press of the Reformed College of Kolozsvár. It can be assumed that he belonged to this large family. From the year 1710 on, Mihály Szentgyörgyi also worked in Marosvásárhely. In: TOLNAI Gábor "Két erdélyi könyvkötő" [Two Transylvanian Bookbinders]. *MKSz*, 1941. 364-365.

sell a few books,¹² because Hungarian authors were more likely to be found in the parishes. News traveled slowly, so he missed such opportunities as the auction of the Prince's library, and could not acquire some good authors from there. In almost every letter he promised, however, to continue to search for books with great diligence and to return any left over funds. Serious illness also prevented him from being more efficacious, "the Good Lord has smitten this small province with many calamities" as he complained in October 1730 – typhoid devastated the area, and he himself suffered from it immobilized in his bed for six weeks. His main excuse for the slowness in acquisition is the deterioration of the intellectual life of the country: "About books, I will be diligent, but I find very few, because our nation does not favor the reprinting of good books two or three times, only licentious poems of no value."¹³

The material acquired by Szathmári Paksi was mostly made up of works by Transylvanian Protestant authors. In 1726, he bought from the minister's widow István Melotai Nyilas' work written against the Socinianists,¹⁴ and Pál Medgyesi's *De disciplina ecclesiastica* [The Discipline of the Church].¹⁵ He praises both, but especially the latter: "The latter I would love to own myself; it is excellently written quoting the contributions of many intelligent authors. However, I would like still more to please Your Lordship than to keep it for myself." During the year 1727, including the two books already mentioned, because he could only forward them early in 1727, he sent twelve books to Ráday. Therefore, he mentions six in March (March 5, 1727). These are Melotai in quarto, Pál Medgyesi in quarto, a few funeral orations in quarto, among which were his own works,¹⁶ – he writes about them: "With a few I humbly want to please Your Lordship;" then István Hegyesi's *Kegyességnek nagy titka* [The great secret of piety] in octavo,¹⁷ the *Thabera* of Reverend Mihály Vári, "the work of an excellent and knowledgeable man,"¹⁸ and, finally, the book of Pál Keresztúri in 12°. ¹⁹ He did not yet send a detailed account because the 60 forint were more than sufficient, but "indicated their respective prices on the first page of each." In June (June 27, 1727), he reports about four other books, mentioning their price. These are the works of Kristóf Sóvári Soós²⁰ for 90 pennies; of Mihály Szathmár-Németi²¹ for 2 ft 40 pennies; of Ferenc Pápai²² for 1 ft and the *Florus Hungaricus*

¹² The widow of Sámuel Petki Nagy. Petki Nagy was a preacher in Marosvásárhely during the first decades of the 18th century. He died in 1721, Szathmári Paksi delivered his funeral oration (published in Kolozsvár in 1725). He was known as a man interested in literary works, but there are no traces of his works, he is not mentioned in any bibliography. Szinyei mistakenly attributed to him the publication of the poetry of János Lázár in 1795, mixing him up with professor Sámuel Zilai.

¹³ For the spiritual and intellectual situation in Transylvania see the articles of Zoltán Trócsányi in *MKSz*, 1938.p. 375, and 1943, p. 433.

¹⁴ *Speculum Trinitatis, azaz a Szent Háromság egy bizony örök Istennek ... maga kimutatása* [Mirror of the Trinity, or the Self-Manifestation of the Holy Trinity as Eternal God]. (Debrecen: 1622). *RMK* Vol. 1. p. 521.

¹⁵ *Dialogus politico-ecclesiasticus* [Political-Ecclesiastical Dialogue]. (Bártfa 1650). *RMK* Vol. 1. p. 831.

¹⁶ Today there are no funeral orations from him in the original holdings of the library.

¹⁷ HEGYESI, István, *Kegyességnek nagy titka*. [The Great Secret of Piety]. (Kolozsvár: 1686). *RMK* Vol. 1. p. 1352. Numerous editions of it are known from the 16th and 17th centuries. In the copy of the Ráday Library there is an inscription from Ráday Gedeon's wife, Katalin Szentpétery.

¹⁸ *Thabera: azaz Istennek olyan meg gyulladt tűze* [Thabera: or God's Holy Fire]. (Kolozsvár: 1716.)

¹⁹ Károly Szabó editor of the *RMK*, is unaware of the work of Pál Keresztúri in 12° folio format; therefore either we are dealing here with an unknown or lost work, or – more likely – an error. I believe we have to think rather of his work *Csecsemő-keresztvény* [Infant – Christian] (*RMK* Vol 1. 678.) which, according to a notation in the book, was still in the library of the College in Nagyenyed in 1716, the school of Szathmári Paksi. He probably acquired it as a duplicate and sent it to Ráday.

²⁰ *Postilla, azaz Epistoláknak ... magyarázatja* [Postilla, i.e. the Explanation of the Epistles]. (Bártfa: 1598.) *RMK* Vol.1. 299. This work was listed in one of the catalogues of Gedeon Ráday but is not in the collection today.

²¹ *A négy evangélisták szerint való dominica ...* [Sunday Sermons Based on the Four Evangelists]. (Kolozsvár: 1675.) *RMK* Vol. 1, 1779.

[Hungarian flowers] of János Nadányi²³ for 72 pennies. On July 17 he announces the acquisition of two books: *Pajzs, a békességes tűrésnek pajzsa* [The Shield of Peaceful Tolerance] by János Haller²⁴ and “a Catholic prayer book.”²⁵ After a three-year long silence, he again courted Ráday with a new package, containing a little book, *Leiki olaj* [Spiritual Oil]²⁶ to which he had attached the Hungarian Charta²⁷. Finally we read in his letter dated January 4, 1732, that he tried to please his beloved Lord with “some funeral orations ... knowing that such items are seldom printed, here or abroad.”

The delivery of books was mostly carried out by György Tussai, who at that time stayed for a longer period in Kolozsvár – he perhaps even lived there – but went back to his home in northern Hungary several times. When he did not go himself, he always found a reliable person who was going to Hungary and could take the books with him. The students of Szathmári Paksi were also used for this task. Like during Gedeon's lifetime, students and academics were the most reliable messengers for news and books, either between Transylvania and Hungary – the two homelands – or between Hungary and foreign countries. Therefore, Szathmári Paksi sent the four books mentioned in the letter of June 17, 1727 by István Ladányi to György Tussai or, according to a note of July 19, directly to Ráday. It seems likely that at first István Ladányi only wanted to travel to Kolozsvár, but after he had decided to go farther, Tussai entrusted him with the books. This letter also mentions another messenger, Pál Sárkány, with whom he sent Haller's *Shield* and the “Catholic Prayer Book.” As “he is an excellent young man,” Szathmári Paksi highly recommends him to his patron. The books sent by Szathmári Paksi certainly reached Pál Ráday – even if the archival evidence shows no proof of this – because most of them can be found at present in the 18th century collection of the library. In conclusion, it appears that among Pál Ráday's books the great majority of the Transylvanian publications were procured by Szathmári Paksi, but considering the existing holdings we have to assume that other buyers as well contributed Hungarian works to his library.²⁸

In our analysis of the increase in the library's holdings of Hungarian publications in the first phase of its existence, we now turn from Transylvania to western Hungary and foreign countries. We must in the first place think of Pozsony from where Ráday certainly received some books. Mátyás Bél lived and taught there. He maintained close friendly relations with the highly cultivated gentleman of the County of Nógrád, one of the sources of inspiration of Hungarian scholarship. Bél sent him the manuscript of *Notitia Hungariae* asking for his opinion and suggestions. These suggestions were later incorporated in the manuscript before publication.²⁹ It is therefore to be expected that Bél himself acquired books for his friend given the opportunity, although I have only found one indirect reference to this. Ferenc Fatavics,³⁰ supported by Ráday, was a peasant boy who supervised Gedeon when studying in Pozsony, wrote to Ráday that given

²² *Pax Crucis, azaz Szent Dávid 150 zsoltári, 150 könyörgésben* [Pax Crucis, i.e. the 150 Psalms of David in 150 Invocations]. (Kolozsvár: 1710.) *RMK* Vol.1. p.1775.

²³ (Amsterdam: 1683.) *RMK* Vol. 2. p. 2192

²⁴ (Monastery of Csik: 1682.) *RMK* Vol. 1. p. 1273.

²⁵ It cannot be determined which Catholic prayer book he had in mind because there are none in today's original holdings.

²⁶ DOBRAI CSULÁK, Sámuel, *Leiki olaj* [Spiritual Oil]. (Kolozsvár: 1730.)

²⁷ I could not determine what this might have been.

²⁸ Szathmári Paksi notes in January 1732 that when he finds books anywhere, he sends them but “even with many inquiries I can barely find any that are not listed in the catalogue.”

²⁹ Addenda to the section on the County of Nógrád in *Notizia*. RA/A, see: Pál Ráday's literary manuscripts, fasc. 107.

³⁰ Pál Ráday sponsored Ferenc Fatavics, who was a very gifted serf youth, by financing his studies. He directed him toward the law and even indicated that he could eventually obtain the title of a noble. He also offered him the job of estate manager. (RA/CPR). Fatavics accepted the offer and served the family faithfully for 48 years. He lived in Sőreg, from where he regularly visited the sprawling estates.

the opportunity Mátyás Bél would acquire the books requested (October 24, 1723). It is unlikely that Bél, with his foreign connections and greater possibilities, would not help his esteemed friend; he probably sent his own works as well to the library. The letters of Fatavincs supply two more points relating to activities in Pozsony. These show that he as well as other instructors engaged in the education of Gedeon, were commissioned to purchase books or arrange for the binding of the volumes bought. In his letter of January 4, 1725, we read: "I am sending Your Honor the books finished by the bookbinder." Later he spent weeks searching for a work of Kegelius³¹ that he was able to buy.³²

In Vienna, the Hungarian Reformed Church's agents at the Imperial Chancery were in charge of book purchases. Close ties bound these agents to Pál Ráday, the general inspector of the church, who after all was responsible for collecting contributions from the church synod and various dioceses for them, thus taking care of them when the representation in Vienna was not yet definitely established.³³ About their activities from the point of view of the library not many traces remain. It is certain, however, that Ráday stayed in touch with his two agents from the middle of the 1710s until his death. Mihály Sípos³⁴ took care of forwarding letters and newspapers – such as *Mercure historique et politique*³⁵ through Buda to Ludány.³⁶ Ráday's interest in the press is not surprising, since he was for many years editor of the *Mercurius Veridicus* [The True Messenger], a well-known journal. This explains that he enriched his library with newspapers of his time and for 18 years regularly subscribed to the *Mercure*, which appeared in The Hague. His relationship with Zsigmond Csejthey, a Vienna agent from 1728, is only referred to by a note and this from the year 1721 when Csejthey was not yet an official agent. "I gave Mr. Csejthey's student 25 forint for the acquisition of the Bible,"³⁷ notes in his calendar Pál Ráday.

The data available about foreign acquisitions point to an extensive activity. As I have already mentioned, the students and ministers who traveled abroad were book buying agents, with whom Ráday was either friends or whom he sponsored in their study tours. Pál Gyöngyösi, the minister from Kassa, whose life was a series of vicissitudes and who was sent into exile by the imperial government accusing him of authoring a subversive anti-Jesuit pamphlet, corresponded with him until the end of his life. During the first years of his exile, he tried to return home and his old benefactor, Ráday, supported his request. In his letter dated March 14, 1726 from Berlin he writes that the Prussian king is interceding on his behalf and thanks Ráday who had assisted Gyöngyösi in this endeavor through Jablonski. In the postscript of his letter, he makes mention of the sending of a book: "Illustrious Lord, I am transmitting you with this letter the newest English author's little book *Echiridion praecum* [A Precious Handbook],³⁸ a book of the most enlightened and heavenly spiritual life; it will occasionally be cause for gratitude by many." In a postscript the information about the *Enchiridion praecum* is of secondary importance, what is significant is that he would in the future when there is an opportunity, acquire and send books to his patron. It is certain that he did so when he

³¹ In the original holdings of the library we find two versions of the translation of Kegel's work, i.e. the one Péter Debreczeni published in Leyden in 1637, and another, the so-called Deselwich edition, published in Lőcse in 1629. (*RMK* Vol.1. 669 and 696.) Therefore it is not possible to identify which one is meant here.

³² The letters of Fatavincs to Pál Ráday of January 10, 1725 and March 5, 1725. Gedeon Ráday's letter to his mother, February 25, 1725 (RA, The correspondence of Klára Kajali, fasc. 108.) Pál Ráday's letter to his wife July 24, 1725 (RA, Pál Ráday's letters to his wife, fasc. 92.)

³³ Correspondence of Pál Ráday with Mihály Sípos, Zsigmond Csejthey and András Döry, RA/A. II. 77, 78, 82, 91, 94, 99, etc.

³⁴ Probably identical with the one mentioned by NAGY Iván, p. 219.

³⁵ Published in The Hague, most of the volumes between 1714 and 1732 are found in the library's holdings.

³⁶ RA/A. II. 76-77, p. 82.

³⁷ The Bible discussed here is probably the New Testament in Latin and Greek which belonged to Pál Ráday, with the commentary of Theodore de Bèze. Its binding is in perfect condition and particularly interesting.

³⁸ BOEHME, Anton Wilhelm, *Enchiridion praecum, ad promovendum solidioris pietatis studium collectum* [A Handbook of Various Studies to Promote Common Piety]. (London: 1715.)

became professor at the University of Francfort-on-the-Oder and acquired a great reputation. Therefore, we can safely assume that later on Gyöngyösi sent books, mainly theological works, to Ráday.

Another buyer of foreign publications for Ráday was András Kármán who, having completed his studies in Debrecen and Sárospatak, studied in Utrecht with the help of Ráday. He arrived in the great university city in the summer of 1727, and in his letter of September (September 1, 1727) he recounts his arrival, his studies, his financial situation and, finally, two matters of interest to Hungarians, one of which we have already referred to regarding the publication of the Bible. Further on he writes: "I will study the works of Carl Adolph Lampe *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria* [The History of the Reformed Church in Hungary], which runs all the way to the present, a copy of which I will send to you, Most Illustrious Lord, at the first opportunity." The church history of Pál Debreceni Ember came into Ráday's collection in such a manner. Kármán remained through all his foreign travels a buyer for Ráday. Further proof is the letter written by Pál Selyebi from Bremen in August 1729.³⁹ From his letter it is clear that Ráday had commissioned him to buy books, "... about the books entrusted to me by His Lordship," and Selyebi, in accordance with the instructions received, immediately contacted Kármán who, at this time, was probably studying in Leyden, indicating the list of desired books and inquiring about the possibilities of acquisition and prices. The information received from Holland was not encouraging; the prices were high, they asked 25 ft for the *Lexicon-Historico-Criticum* [Historical-Critical Lexicon] by Bayle;⁴⁰ of the *Geographicum Lexicon* [Geographical Lexicon]⁴¹ Kármán is not aware. The two volumes of the two Vitriarius' *Opera omnia iudicialia* [Collected Works in Law]⁴² cost 8 or 9 ft and he saw only one copy of the *Corpus Omnium Poetarum* [Collection of All Poets]⁴³ that went at a high price at an auction. However, Selyebi was able to purchase for his patron, cheaply for 7 thalers only, another copy of this volume assembling the work of 170 poets, at an auction in Bremen. Therefore, we can count this volume to the foreign acquisitions of the library in this period. The information in the letter of Selyebi about the auctions and acquisitions abroad give us a considerably larger perspective of Pál Ráday's collecting, than the picture presented by the available archival materials. Remarks in the letters of Ádám Mányoki and Daniel Ernest Jablonski indicating that they supplied foreign newspapers to Ráday also belong to this section about foreign acquisitions.⁴⁴

Finally, we need to mention the catalogues, mostly from Pál Ráday, which show books offered by the merchants Dussart in Berlin⁴⁵ and Peter Conrad Monath in Nuremberg,⁴⁶ the company Gleditsch and Weidmann⁴⁷ in Leipzig, as well as by Gerhard Thomas in Torun and Johannes Gabriel Grahl and Adam Weber⁴⁸ in Vienna. They are proof that Ráday had acquired booksellers' catalogues, which became the source of his lists of books to be acquired. They make it likely that not only Gedeon, but Pál Ráday also had

³⁹ Selyebi, about whom the lexicons seem to know nothing, must have left with the support of Ráday and arrived in Bremen through Leipzig and Halle. His only known letter to Ráday was dated August 23, 1729 (in private collection).

⁴⁰ *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, probably the 1720 Rotterdam edition.

⁴¹ The given title is so general that it is impossible to identify it.

⁴² The works of Philipp Reinhard Vitriarius, and of his son Johann Jacob Vitriarius.

⁴³ *Corpus omnium poetarum latinorum* [Collection of all Latin poetry]. (The Hague-London: 1721).

⁴⁴ For the letters of Mányoki see Endre ZSINDELY 1954, *op. cit.*, 1954.

⁴⁵ I have found no pertinent data concerning him in the dictionaries.

⁴⁶ Löffler-Kirchner, Vol. 2. p. 477.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol.1. p. 636.

⁴⁸ I could not find either name in the dictionaries.

direct contacts with some book dealers. This conjecture is further buttressed by the fact that we have no knowledge of his having corresponded with anyone to take care of his purchases either in Torun or Nuremberg. Thus, our panorama widens further and we can find every characteristic of the purchasing policy pursued in later years already in the first decades of the library. The catalogues and lists in this period already point to an orderly, systematic method of collecting. Thus, Pál Ráday did not act in a haphazard way but in accordance with definite goals.

b) Gifts to the Collection

Although the number of works that became a part of the library and were given to Ráday as gifts is meager indeed, we do need to mention them. Those writers and ministers with whom he was in contact often presented him with copies of their works or other books as tokens of their esteem or gratitude. Pál Debreceni Ember, for a long time minister at Losonc and his life long friend, dedicated his book called *Garizim and Ebal* to his father. Ferenc Pápai Páriz, whom he had supported in the publication of his dictionary in 1708, also sent him a copy as a sign of his gratitude, so did Szathmári Paksi who sent him his work, *Physica contracta*. From among the students whom he had sponsored abroad, András Kármán dedicated his theological treatise, which was published in Utrecht, to his patron. In 1724 Sámuel Negyedi⁴⁹ sent him from Hamburg “a little Hungarian book translated by a Hungarian student.” (August 2, 1724); Daniel Ernest Jablonski, with whom he became friends for life during his ambassadorial stay in Berlin, on July 8, 1704 dedicated to him the book of François Turretinus entitled *Institutio theologiae elencticae* [A Syllogistic Theological Treatise]. Ráday's wife also received books as presents, for example, Kata Pekry presented the *Ébresztő kakasszó* [The Awakening Crowing of the Cock]⁵⁰ to her in 1707.

⁴⁹ I did not find his name in the lexicons.

⁵⁰ (Lőcse, 1702) *RMK* Vol.1. p. 1736.

3. The Cataloguing System of Pál Ráday

The library's catalogue handwritten by Ráday in 1720 shows 13 subject areas.⁵¹ These are:

Theology

Theology of Christianity's adversaries

Ascetics

Histories

Church histories

Chronologies

Geography

Politics

Philosophy

Philology

Law

Poetry

Rhetorics and other classics

This division is similar to that of the catalogues produced abroad during the second half of the seventeenth century and at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The majority of cataloguers did not follow the example of Konrad Gessner who had compiled a systematic, scientific bibliography, but followed the order established at the university faculties. They grouped the material into the four categories of theology, law, medicine, and the arts, under the principal terms in alphabetical order. Gabriel Naudé, the famous librarian of Richelieu and Mazarin, also adopted such a classification. The system developed by Jean Garnier, the Parisian Jesuit in 1678, had a great impact at the time. He subdivided human knowledge on the basis of talents: to the higher intellect corresponds theology; to the lower reasoning human knowledge, subdivided into philosophy, medicine, humanities; the knowledge of time – of memory – is, according to him history, and, finally, the reasoning about the collectively generated knowledge of economy, law, state, and society. Ismael Bouillau, the cataloguer of the library of Jacques Auguste de Thou, developed his system further. Daniel George Morhof only used a tripartite system, i.e. literature, humanities, and practical arts; Leibniz on the other hand enlarged the scheme of previous cataloguers to ten classes, when he became the caretaker of the princely library of Wolfenbüttel at the beginning of the 1690s. His categories were theology, law, medicine, intellectual philosophy, the sciences of imaginary matters or mathematics, the sensual sciences or physics, philology, world history, literary history, general and mixed works.

Consequently, the cataloguing system of Pál Ráday was up-to-date, and met the scientific criteria of the age, although within his limited collection he did not need to make further subdivisions. He identified six major categories: theology, history, philosophy, philology, law, and literature. Then, he proceeded with some

⁵¹ Naturally here it is a question of the library's cataloguing system that the collector formulated on the basis of the available materials; at the same time the bibliographic approach is consistent, taking into consideration all the works of literature. See GULYÁS, Pál. *A bibliográfia kézikönyve* [The Handbook of Bibliography]. (Budapest, 1941) pp. 244 and 360.

differentiation within categories: he divided theology into Protestant and Catholic, mentioning especially devotional literature; history he divided into world and church history but made chronology as an independent category that in other systems formed a subdivision of history. He separated works he defined as “Politici” from books in the legal field, which Garnier had incorporated in the studies of economy. Another fascinating feature of Pál Ráday’s catalogue is that he created a separate division for geography in contrast to all the other systems, which had combined it with either history or philosophy.

4. Analysis of the Holdings

After having discussed the different areas of collecting, the various agents, the details concerning acquisitions and the gifts Ráday received, we turn now to the examination of the library’s holdings based on existing catalogues and archival material referring to acquisitions. We have to determine the intellectual trends represented by the collection, and the degree to which it mirrors the ideas of the era. Thus, we shall be able to relate the collector’s place in society, his education and his political views to the various parts of the collection, as the latter naturally bear witness to his personality and thinking.

The library holdings reveal some truly characteristic features. They clearly show the typical traits of the Protestant gentry, even though at a much higher level than the average of the age. Pál Ráday – as I have already indicated in his biography – belonged to the most cultivated strata of the Protestant gentry. Nevertheless, the characteristics of his library point beyond his personal traits, to the typical culture and education of his social class. We have to emphasize the great number of Hungarian books in his collection, which indicates that “he had a special love for books written in our mother tongue, which exceeded that of other Hungarians.” We find such a determined, goal-oriented collection of Hungarian books for the first time in Hungarian library history in Ráday’s activities; we have to appreciate this fact from the point of view of the cultural development of the nation. In the given historical moment, when feudal absolutism endeavored with all coercive measures at its disposal to stifle the national literature and culture and when the use of Latin again became dominant due to the influence of strengthened catholicism, it was a decidedly courageous step to collect the Hungarian literature of the past 150 years and save it for future generations. This was also a revelatory attitude of the nationalist stance for Ráday, the chancellor of Rákóczi, proving that he had remained a true Kuruc in his soul – in spite of some contradictions in his later life.

Theology. Most of his books are works of theology. They are not the only proof of his sincere and deep Christian faith, but also point to the important role that he played in the life of his church as its inspector general. It is further proof of his love of Hungarian books, since the Hungarian literature of the preceding century mainly consisted of religious polemical or devotional works, i.e. church literature. The collection of these items underscored his interest in the life of his nation and its culture. This is also evidenced in his correspondence with his agents where he seldom asks to search for exclusively theological works; rather he tries to acquire “Hungarian authors” for his collection.⁵²

The books on theology point in two directions: on one hand, we find the best known representatives of seventeenth century Protestant orthodoxy – among them those of the so-called federal theology too; – on the other hand, many treatises – I will only mention Amesius and Pál Medgyesi among them – which clearly indicate the strong Puritan leanings of Ráday’s religious faith. He truly was a late but outstanding representative of Hungarian puritanism and even the new pietistic influences strengthened his puritanical traits. Besides the hermeneutical and confessional works, those of Protestant polemics were also present among the works on theology. These truly characteristic products of the seventeenth century were represented in his library, among others by the works of István Matkó of Kézdivásárhely. It is especially important to mention works like the *Fides Jesu et Jesuitarum* [The Faith of Jesus and the Jesuits] that denounced the Jesuits, which refers us to the grand pamphlet written when he was chancellor of Prince Rákóczi; or the *Apologia* of Jewel and the *Romanocategorus* by Márton Csiba which supplied him with

⁵² See his letters written to Szathmári Paksi.

arguments in the meetings of the mixed committee (*mixta commissio*), which had been called to settle religious controversies after 1711.

There were relatively few works of Catholic theologians in Ráday's library; they were, in the first place, such works as those of the convert Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris. This represents a negative aspect because the denominational stance evidently limited the collection of Hungarian books.

Among the historical works divided by Ráday into worldly and church histories, we can distinguish four groupings:

a) *Works dealing with ancient history.* The predilection for classical Antiquity, inherited from the Renaissance, led collectors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to assemble works of ancient historians as well as of classic poets that made up an important part of the seigniorial libraries' holdings and of those of educated men. In Ráday's library ancient historians were represented by Tacitus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Justinus and, concerning the Jews, Josephus Flavius.

b) *The historical works of the two preceding centuries*, i.e. the most recent historical material. Ráday was interested in the history of the great powers of his time. This interest derived logically, in addition to his attraction to history, from his serving as Rákóczi's main diplomat, from the problems he encountered and from his reminiscences of his experiences. Works that refer to German history are Bertius' *Commentaria rerum Germanicarum* [Comments on Events in Germany], the story of Charles V by Staphilus, the wandering Lithuanian scholar, or the quite recent *Mercurius Germanus* [German Messenger]. The works of Guicciardini and Sande refer to Holland and Belgium; the work of Gramond, the president of the parliament of Toulouse, called *Historia Galliae* [Gallic History], and the work of Jacques Auguste Thou, the famous statesman and diplomat of Henry IV, *Historia mei temporis* [History of my Times], narrate the most interesting periods of French history. In the general history category, we find the works of Christian Funck and George Horn – among which the latter appeared less valuable because it was not based on thorough research.⁵³ Also present are the documents and memoirs concerning the peace of Ryswick. Not all these works are especially remarkable because they belong to the widely available literature of the era; only one needs particular mention, the history by Thou, which was re-published with updates during the entire seventeenth century and belonged to the best historical works of the age.

c) *Hungarian history.* The third section of the history collection comprised of works dealing with Hungarian history. Among these, we find such primary sources in Ráday's library as the chronicles of Bonfini and Istvánffy, and from among works, published abroad concerning Hungary, the books of Casper Ens and Balthasar Han. The more recent history is represented by János Bethlen's *Rerum Transylvanicarum* [Of Transylvania], the valuable study of Parschitius from 1702, an old friend of the Kajali and Ráday families, and the work attributed to Vanet, fiscal counselor of the municipality of Montpellier, called *Histoire des troubles de Hongrie*.

d) Finally, we need to discuss the works listed by Pál Ráday as belonging to *church history*. These books do not present a varied picture as far as we can ascertain from available catalogues. This category is mainly made up of books dealing with the situation of Hungarian Protestantism after 1680, including publications containing Governmental rules concerning Protestant churches; however, one French pamphlet stands out which appeared in 1721, without indication of place of publication, reflecting the new ideals of the Enlightenment as against the darkness of religious intolerance. Among other works it is worth mentioning the *Historia persecutionum ecclesiae Bohemicae* [History of the Persecution of the Bohemian Church], which reminds us of the interest with which Pál Ráday followed the fate of the errant Czech Protestants, especially that of the "Ecclesia vaga Bohemica" in Hungary.

If we have a look at the books of *philosophy*, we find an interesting and important difference between the worldview of Ráday and that of later periods. We discover that Ráday lists among the works of the idealist philosophers books dealing with the natural sciences summarizing their results. In Ráday's thinking there was still no differentiation between science and philosophy, which is in accordance with what was dominant for centuries, and of which Aristotle had laid the foundations. Plinius and Seneca represent the ancient philosophers, Agrippa the philosophy of the Renaissance, while from among modern philosophers Descartes had the greatest influence on Ráday. Even though there is no work by Descartes in the collection,

⁵³ ADB, Vol.2. col. 1709.

two works represent his entirely new thinking, – the *Encyclopédia* of Le Grand in French and the one by Apáczai Csere in Hungarian.

Beside theological and historical books, *works in the legal and political fields* made up the third, most numerous section. Among the legal treatises there are, almost exclusively, the *Tripartitum* of Werbőczy (a treatise summarizing Hungarian feudal law) and its various, successive commentaries, the laws and decisions of parliament, or compendiums on Hungarian legal practices which Ráday needed during the War of Independence or after 1711 when he held several offices. This gives to his collection the character of a nobleman's library. Pál Ráday, as well as his son, were products of the Hungarian nobility, and could never rid themselves of its formalistic legal views; Gedeon Ráday's position during the controversies surrounding the Edict of Tolerance offered a proof of this. In addition to these standard works, we find Justinian's *Institutio* as well as the writing of Grotius in this category. Aside from the latter, no other representative of the school of natural law appeared in Ráday's collection – and this represents a major lacuna. It can be explained by the previously mentioned view reigning in feudal society, which was averse to the natural law conceptions propagated by the Enlightenment. To the section on politics Ráday added, in the spirit of Aristotle, the works dealing with the state and, on the other hand, following Machiavelli's doctrine, treatises on how to get along in public and court life, i.e. describing the practical skills necessary to reach one's goals in a feudal society. Among the first, we have to point to Machiavelli's famous *Princeps* and the works of Justus Lipsius and Diego Saavedra, representatives of the so-called "elegant-classical" romanticism. From among the works on the art of getting on in court circles, I only refer to the various *Vita Aulica* [Court Life] and *Hermes Aulicus* [Court Messenger], to the book on the art of conversation by Johann Adam Weber, and Antonio Guevara's *Horologii principum* [Princes' Clock] that narrated the lives of princes. This court literature, typical of European feudalism, was a product of the eighteenth century baroque that lost all meaning with the triumph of the Enlightenment.

Finally among the works of poetry and rhetoric the second edition of Gyöngyösi's *Murányi Venus* [The Venus of Murány] and the first edition of *A porából megéledett phoenix* [The Phoenix Risen from its Ashes] is worthy of mention, beside some well-known classics. The only incunabulum that was acquired probably by Pál Ráday is a volume of the sermons of Pelbárt Temesvári published in Hagenau in 1499.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LIBRARY IN THE AGE OF GEDEON RÁDAY PART ONE

1. The Areas of Collection

The golden age of the library encompasses the six decades between 1733-1792 when Gedeon Ráday was engaged in collecting books. His library was one of the centers of intellectual and literary life during the age of the Enlightenment in Hungary. There is considerable archival material at our disposal concerning this period, which allows us to get a clear picture of the acquisition practices of an 18th century nobleman, the widespread, spontaneous network of buyers and the extended activities of a booklover's passion for collection. At the same time, we get an insight into the limitations imposed by the social and technical conditions of the era.

The picture that we have sketched about the library's areas of collection and its buyers in the age of Pál Ráday holds true in this period as well, but as a consequences of the increased activities we see an enrichment of the library holdings. Two decisive changes need to be mentioned: one, a shift of emphasis in the process of acquisition and the significance of the agents; the other, the increased importance of booksellers concerning purchases in Vienna and Pozsony. While the center of acquisition lay in Transylvania for Pál Ráday, – according to the evidence reviewed, – his son Gedeon made most of his purchases in Vienna and big cities abroad.

The predominance of Vienna is characteristic of this era; it is natural for us to focus on Gedeon Ráday's objectives as a collector in the increasing market and the bustling trade in books in the imperial city. Ráday had inherited his father's love of Hungarian books, therefore he was constantly engaged in trying to acquire not only old editions but also the literature reflecting ideas of the Enlightenment. At the same time, he was eager to collect beautiful and valuable editions published abroad, satisfying his encyclopaedic thirst for publications from all branches of knowledge. The market in Hungary was not extensive enough for wide scale acquisitions so he naturally turned to Vienna, the nearest big city. In the second half of the 18th century, a great market for books had developed in that city, with regular auctions, with booksellers who had widespread foreign contacts, where merchants from other cities, such as Leipzig, Nuremberg and Basel, had opened branches or had permanent agents. Therefore, two thirds of the acquisitions of the library in the age of Gedeon Ráday came from the Viennese market – from merchants and auctions.

Transylvania remained the main source of older Hungarian publications for Ráday during the period of 1748-1770 through the activities of Sámuel Szilágyi and Péter Bod during the first two decades, as well as after 1782 when he had intensive contacts with two professors in Marosvásárhely, Sándor Kovásznai Tóth and Sámuel Zilai. Similar Hungarian literature was acquired in Upper Hungary, Sárospatak and Lőcse, but we will discuss these purchases in connection with activities in Pest. At the same time, the role of Pozsony relates completely to Vienna, not only because it served as an intermediary for conveying books from Vienna and places further west, but also as a source of acquisition of foreign language books through István Nagy, first, and, later, Anton Löwe, the bookseller, who remained in contact with Ráday for decades. The collecting carried out by Gedeon Ráday covered a much bigger territory than his father's, and included the markets of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. His circle of buyers was made up of students studying in Basel, Zurich, Utrecht, Leyden, and Francfort-on-the-Oder; through his agent Thiele, Leipzig, Dresden, Gotha and other cities of Saxony became a part of his network.

During this period in the life of the library, the buyers' profile remained essentially the same, i.e. ministers, professors, and students, mostly Gedeon Ráday's acquaintances, took care of the commissions. The aforementioned shift of emphasis manifested itself in that the majority of purchases were taken care of by the agents in Pozsony and Vienna. Their role in the time of Pál Ráday was not significant; after 1735, it became ever more pronounced. The activities of Sámuel Nagy, the Reformed Church's agent in Vienna from 1763 on, must be emphasized in this respect. His name is closely linked to the important and numerous purchases on the Viennese market where, aside from his preceding activity in Basel, he faithfully executed Ráday's orders for thirty long years. The agents continued to supply their patron with pertinent information on literature and trade as we have already delineated in the first chapter. In addition, since the buyers were well aware that Ráday was interested in everything, they supplied him in their letters with information on scientific and literary events of the university cities in which they stayed.

Aside from the buyers, Ráday maintained direct contact with several merchants in Pozsony and Pest. He dealt with them either in person or through letters, but he also often sent to them his agents. No concrete data about direct contacts with merchants have survived from the era of Pál Ráday – certain notes only provide suppositions – so a new and important factor made its appearance in the history of the Ráday's book collection.

2. Growth of the Library's Holdings: Acquisitions in Transylvania and Hungary

a) *Transylvania*

In looking over the acquisition in the second period of the library's life – following the sequence of the first chapter – we will first analyze details concerning collection in Transylvania.

Gedeon Ráday included Transylvania in his collecting after 1748. During the one and a half decades following the death of his father, we have no records at all of anyone having purchased books for him in this region or in any of the regions east of the Danube. Thus, it is safe to say that collecting activities only took place in Pozsony and Vienna. 1748, therefore, represented a turning point because Sámuel Szilágyi – formerly agent and buyer in Vienna – received the title of baron and was appointed to the Court of Appeals at Szeben.

Sámuel Szilágyi, son of Péter, the professor, should not be confused with Bishop Sámuel Szilágyi of Piskáros, with whom, according to the archival records, Ráday had no relationship.¹ Szilágyi, after completing his studies in Nagyenyed, went abroad to get a more thorough knowledge at foreign academies, and from November 24, 1728 on, he attended lectures at the university of Francfort-on-the-Oder. Here he took care of Gedeon Ráday, he reported about the young man to the father, Pál, and the two students became good friends. This friendship continued later as well, when Ráday led the life of a nobleman and Szilágyi became an agent. When for his services he received the rank of baron in 1748 and became Justice to the Transylvanian Court of Appeals, he wrote his letters from there to his friend. He wrote a work *Keresztyén Seneca, az az: L. A. Seneca munkáiból kiszedegetett keresztyéni virágok* [The Christian Seneca,

¹ Margit Vas confuses them in her biography of Ráday; "Sámuel Szilágyi, minister in Hódmezővásárhely, later Bishop, due to his vast knowledge of languages and foreign literature gives advice about the purchase of foreign language works." Vas, Margit, *op.cit.*, p. 140. Moreover this cannot be true because Ráday was also multilingual and had a thorough knowledge of foreign literature. The letters that are still available in the Ráday library, mostly dated in Szeben (Transylvania), prove it beyond a shadow of a doubt, that this person was the agent, later justice at the Appellate Court, Sámuel Szilágyi.

i.e. Christian Flowers picked from L. A. Seneca's Works],² and his letters demonstrated a keen intellectual interest.³ He died in 1771.

Fifty-six of his letters addressed to Ráday have survived, which he sent from Vienna and Transylvania – Szeben, Marosvásárhely, and Meggyes. From the point of view of the library his significant activities took place during the fifteen years he spent in Vienna, his letters from Transylvania show few details about book purchases. He wrote mostly about family or political matters. A few messages pertain only to books, or manuscripts. This is a proof that Szilágyi acted on behalf of Ráday in his search for valuable manuscripts, whose acquisition or at least copying he assumed. "I have already found two manuscripts; one of Böjti,⁴ the other a work of Soterius,⁵ the latter is just as important as the former. I do not yet have them" (May 7, 1749). Thus the lines (letters dated: March 15, 1749; May 7, 1749) of this good friend prove – together with other archival materials⁶ – that Ráday collected manuscripts as well as books. So the first agent in Vienna can be considered as Ráday's buyer until his death in 1771, as he was still offering his services in December 1766. At the same time, he discusses with his friend historical works, that clarify some problems of Hungarian history and could, partially, correct Pray.

Much more significant than the activity of Szilágyi is the role of Péter Bod and Ráday's relatives, the Teleki family, in the purchase of Transylvanian publications. Bod was the minister of Count József Teleki's widow, Kata Bethlen.⁷ He must have met Ráday at the home of this highly cultured book collector, all the more that Ráday's brother-in-law, Count László Teleki, was the "orphaned" lady's nephew. Naturally, Ráday turned to his book collector relative and her scholarly minister to ask for their help in the acquisition of Transylvanian books. Bod had been the Minister in Magyarigen since 1749, but did not lose contact with the Lady, his former employer, and spent much time at her house. Ráday visited his sister and brother-in-law in the early 1750s in Transylvania, as we learn from Bod's letter, and they probably discussed the books to be sent on this occasion. Bod's letters between 1754 and 1756 paint a clear picture of the acquisitions in Transylvania and he even attaches to one of them the list of the acquired works.⁸

According to Ráday's letter on April 26, 1754 he first of all requested of Bod the part of Lady Teleki's catalogue he did not yet have: "During My Lord's stay in Transylvania I had copied Milady Teleki's catalogue; those works that were not found on the list, I copied from my notes and now I have sent them to Your Lordship." The complementing and sending of this catalogue was only the beginning of the process of acquisition of books, which probably started in the fall of 1754. Bod's lines refer to this: "Not long ago, I asked the young József Teleki to write to Your Lordship and send the list of Hungarian books because, since Your Lordship had requested it, I am ready to comply; but some are rather expensive, and if they were in the catalogue, we would not buy them here. Not long ago I discovered a few rare and beautiful Hungarian

² (Vienna: 1740) 2. ed. 1770.

³ His favorite theory was that the Cumanians who attacked the Hungarians, were not a separate people, but Hungarians living in the mountains of Transylvania, not yet subjugated by the state or Christianity. He proves this in a long and detailed letter to his friend on April 20, 1767.

⁴ Most likely this is the manuscript of the work of Böjthy (Böjte) Antal, a Jesuit preacher, who at this time was living in Udvarhely or Marosvásárhely. His published works: *Magyar nyelvtudomány* [Hungarian linguistics], (Marosvásárhely: 1790); *A nemes magyar nyelv írásának vagy szólásának tudománya*. [The Science of the Writing and Speaking of the Noble Hungarian Language] n.p. 1794. SZINNYEI, Vol. 1, col. 130.

⁵ György Soterius, Lutheran pastor born in Szászbuda, who after a lengthy stay abroad became minister in Szászkeresztúr in 1708, and died on February 10, 1788. His important work about the history of Transylvania remained in manuscript; his other work, *Scriptores Hungarici et Transsylvanici* [Hungarian and Transylvanian Writers] was a catalogue following David Czvittinger's model. SZINNYEI, Vol. 12, col. 1305.

⁶ See the letters of József Szentpéteri-Hodor to Gedeon Ráday; for example, the one written on May 10, 1760, in which he writes about sending an original manuscript by Balassi.

⁷ See NAGY Iván, Vol. 11. p. 82.

⁸ The sections of the letter dealing with library history have been published by Áron Kiss in *MKSZ*, 1882. pp. 257-263.

books, and bought them. If we have the catalogue on hand, we can make purchases with more assurance” (December 16, 1751). These lines make it clear that Ráday at that time, in 1754, already had a considerable library, and Bod was aware of it.

The requested catalogue arrived in the first months of 1755, and Bod acknowledges it in his letter of April 16. “I have received Your Lordship’s letter of March 20 from Ludány and Mr. Sámuel Nagy’s letter from Pest of March 24 together with the list of Hungarian books. I was very pleased to get it, because up till now I delayed buying certain books that I ran across not knowing if they are needed or not. Those which do not appear on the list, especially the older ones, I will try my best to acquire. I have not received any other lists of your books. This catalogue I will send to Rev. Ajtai⁹ in Enyed and to her Ladyship Teleki n Héviz.” These lines demonstrate that Lady Teleki and Mihály Ajtai, professor at Nagyenyed, became part of the circle of collectors for Ráday. This fact is also proven by the list that Bod attached to his letter, showing the books that he had sent to Ráday as well as those purchased by Lady Teleki.

“Countess Teleki has bought the following volumes for Your Lordship:

1. Tótfalusi Bible¹⁰
2. A little book of Rézmánn from Rotterdam containing instructions in Christian belief¹¹
3. The explanations of the Psalms of Tofeus¹²
4. The explanations of the Old Testament of György Kultsár¹³
5. The secrets of the Jesuits¹⁴
6. Sunday sermons of Péter Bornemisza, third part¹⁵
7. Sunday sermons of Szatmár Németi¹⁶

⁹ Mihály Ajtai Abod: 1735-1737 the court preacher of Countess Teleki, Kata Bethlen; 1737-1755 professor in the college of Nagyenyed. ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 16.

¹⁰ *The Bible*. Transl. Gáspár Károli. Ed. Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis. (Amsterdam: 1865) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1324. Two copies exist in the Ráday library and both are in very poor condition. It is impossible to determine if one was the copy acquired by Lady Teleki, not even if those two copies are from Gedeon Ráday’s collection

¹¹ SALÁNKI, György, *Rotterdami Rézmánnak a keresztyén vitészséget tanító kézben viselő könyvecskéje* [The Little Book of Instruction of Christian Valor of Rézman of Rotterdam] (Leyden: 1627) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 563.

¹² TÓFEUS, Mihály, *A szent soltárok resolutioja* [The Meaning of the Holy Psalms] (Kolozsvár: 1683) *RMK*, Vol. 1, p. 1302.

¹³ KULCSÁR, György, *Postilla*. Since it is not to be found in the library, it cannot be ascertained if it is an edition of Alsólindva, or one of the two editions of Bártfa.

¹⁴ *Jezsuita páterek titkai* [The Secrets of the Jesuit Fathers]. This work was already in the collection at the time of Pál Ráday; it is likely that the copy now extant is his acquisition and the one discussed here was returned by Gedeon Ráday because he already owned it. Bod’s remark also refers to this in the same letter: “ ... I see that I have bought two which are already in the collection.”

¹⁵ BORNEMISSZA, Péter, *Harmadik része az evangeliumokból ... való tanuságoknak* [The Third Part of the Testimonies of the Gospels] (Sempte: 1575) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 119, and *RMNy*, Vol. 1, p. 362.

¹⁶ SZATMÁRNÉMETHI, Mihály, *Dominiciális praedikátziók toldalékja* [Additions to Sunday Sermons]. (Kolozsvár: 1686) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1353.

I myself bought:

1. Noe's Ark by Mihály Sárpataki¹⁷
2. The book about the Christian faith by Tamás Félegyházi¹⁸
3. The work of György Enyedi in Hungarian,¹⁹
and a few other things.”

This is the only list that survived from the Transylvanian purchases. We do not know if all the books listed reached Ráday, but for some, specifically those bought by Bod, we have Ráday's notations: “Mr. Türi⁷⁶ has given me the three mentioned below and in addition three others (these were given to me in Ludány, and since they are not here, I do not remember their names) but it seems:

First: A book about the Trinity, by Anonimus, in 8°, if I remember correctly, its title is *Igasság Sarka* (The Corner of Truth),²⁰

Second: A little work of the preacher of Debrecen, Sámuel Köleséri,

Third: Its title does not come to my mind now because I am confusing it with other works recently acquired. I have made these notes only to certify that Mr. Türi²¹ had delivered them.”

The acquisition, of course, was extremely difficult, because so many of the old valuable publications had been destroyed: “I have been truly trying to acquire the books but have not gotten very far, because their age and the many battles which took place in the country have destroyed them; it is a miracle that in this country, burnt by the Tatars, turned to ashes by the Turks, we can find anything at all, since one devastation followed another” (September 20, 1756). Here he echoes Szathmári Paksi and the professors and students, who had been abroad, but after their return home struggled to survive and were desperate to see Hungarian cultural life stagnating and so underdeveloped in comparison to the West, as a result of centuries of oppression. But he pointed beyond them, as he, a theologian, never rejects secular literature and his every word demonstrates his deep sorrow about the painful state and the devastation suffered during history. He judges the lamentable state of his own age from this point of view and refers in bitter tones to the censorship that is strangling book printing and publishing. “The typesetters endure the same conditions in which Your Lordship saw them while in Transylvania. They have not begun any new publications, they do not dare because of the censors and to apply for permission is very burdensome. I have asked for reprint of the little Biblical History but they do not dare to print it ...” (April 26, 1754). So he cannot hope for the acquisition of all the books requested: “Your Lordship has indicated that he wants to send 100 ft for the purchase of Hungarian books; many, many Hungarian books would be needed to spend all this money” (April 16, 1755). This quotation, thus, clearly indicates how less extensive were collection activities in Transylvania than the acquisitions in Vienna where, at the time of Samuel Nagy especially, more than 1,000 ft were spent each year.

Between the spring of 1755 and the fall of 1756, both Lady Teleki and Bod continued to collect books for Ráday. The former asked several ministers to purchase books not only for her, but also for the

¹⁷ SÁROSPATAKI, Mihály N. *Noé bárkája* [Noah's Ark]. (Kolozsvár: 1681) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1264.

¹⁸ FÉLEGYHÁZI, Tamás, *A keresztyéni igaz hitnek részéről való tanítás* [The Teaching of the True Christian Faith]. (Debrecen: 1583) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 202; *RMNy*, Vol. 1, p. 525.

¹⁹ ENYEDI, György, *Az ó és újtestamentumbeli helyek magyarázatja a háromságról* [The Explanations of the Verses Concerning the Trinity in the Old and New Testaments] Transl. from the Latin by Máté Toroczkai. (Kolozsvár: 1619) *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 494.

²⁰ Since Ráday was writing from memory, he obviously was mistaken, and confused the works about the Trinity with the work of Sámuel Köleséri, *Idivesség sarka* [The Corner of Redemption], which he mentions in second place. The first edition of this latter (Sárospatak: 1666; *RMK* Vol. 1, 1038.) was undoubtedly acquired by Ráday, and is still in the collection today.

²¹ For his biography see the chapter on foreign acquisitions.

famous collector of Pécel.²² As a result of this circle of buyers, close to thirty books was acquired, which Ráday wanted to be delivered to Pécel by István Lázár.²³ His plan could not be realized because the books were in Lađy Teleki's library in Szeben, she herself in Gernyeszeg, so Lázár, who was in a hurry, could not get them.²⁴ Their sending was left to László Teleki who indicates that the books were, at the end of September, on the way from Szeben.²⁵ No other news about the activities of Bod and other Transylvanian buyers have survived; only from much later, January 1766, is there a letter (January 21) which shows that the preacher of Magyárigen continued his search for books on behalf of Ráday during the 50s and 60s.²⁶

Ráday and Bod remained friends from the 1750s to 1769, when the latter died; the author of *Magyar Athenas* [The Hungarian Athenas] did not work in vain for the growth of the library at Pécel. Ráday showed his gratitude by buying for him in Pest the newly published historical works²⁷ which he needed for his studies and sent these to him; he even financially supported the publication of one of his books (April 26, 1754). That is why Bod writes in September 1756 with appreciation: "I will feel privileged, if I find a book missing from your list, to buy it and send it. In addition, as far as the prices of these volumes are concerned, Your Lordship should not worry because you have prepaid the sending of the two Hungarian authors' works. I can never repay you, but I fervently hope that I can receive with your help the latest published books in Hungary, should they be in history or law" (September 20, 1756).

The collection in Transylvania almost ceased between 1770 and 1778, and even in the last decade of Ráday's life there was no marked increase in the number of books received from there. The acquisitions, as I have already indicated, were mainly important because of the great value of the Hungarian works purchased there. In 1770 Daniel Cornides,²⁸ an outstanding representative of our 18th century scholarship, who at the time was secretary to József Teleki in Szeben, attached the list of books for sale from the library of János Seivert,²⁹ Lutheran minister in Szeben, to one of his letters to Ráday.³⁰ In this list, according to Cornides, there are five rare and valuable works for which the owner asked 10 ducats or 50 Hungarian gold forints and it was not likely that he would lower the price even to 8 ducats. Cornides asked for instructions from Ráday to reserve them or not. These lines do not point to regular collecting, but show that Cornides, from Upper Hungary, knew the Rádays well and wanted to please the famous collector. Once he sent him a valuable engraving, at another time he reported the above opportunity to purchase books in Szeben.³¹

²² February 20, 1756. Published in *Figyelő* [Observer], 1876/6, p. 173; it is missing from the archives of the Ráday family.

²³ KEMPELEN, Vol. 4, p. 357.

²⁴ István Lázár to Gedeon Ráday. Dabas, October 15, 1756.

²⁵ László Teleki to Gedeon Ráday. September 22, 1756.

²⁶ "Please, my Lord, send me the list of Hungarian books as soon as possible – no one would serve better than I as long as I know what is needed. The College of Enyed is not far and rare is the book that is not available there. I have to go around in the parishes and if I notice something, I will serve most willingly."

²⁷ Thus, for example, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini ... cura et studio Joannis Georgii Schwandtner* [Old and True Writers on Hungarian Matters ... Ed. Johann Georg Schwandtner] (See Ráday's letter dated September 20, 1746)

²⁸ SZINNYEI, Vol. 2, col. 113-115.

²⁹ ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, p. 404.

³⁰ Dániel Cornides to Gedeon Ráday. Szeben, October 2, 1770. The list is no longer attached to the letter.

³¹ In his letter of July 2, 1770 he writes that being familiar with Ráday's collection of engravings of Hungarian scholars, he would like to please him with one. He indicates the title of one of the works of the Transylvanian writer whose figure is reproduced on the engraving, *Breviculus originum rationum et praecipue Saxonicae in Transylvania* [Short Account of the Reason of the Original Establishment of the Saxons in Transylvania] (Nagyszében: 1696, *RMK* Vol. 2, p. 1865); on the basis of this information it is possible to ascertain that the engraving depicted Bálint Franck, Count and Royal Justice of the Saxons. SZINNYEI, Vol. 3, col. 720-721.

Beside the acquisitions in Transylvania by Péter Bod and Lady Teleki, we can only speak of further collecting in the period of 1788–1792, when Sámuel Zilai, professor in the college of Marosvásárhely was searching for Hungarian books for Ráday: “I will devote all my energies to look for Hungarian books, as well as ask others, as soon as I learn which books Your Lordship needs. I await the catalogue” (January 23, 1788).

Sámuel Zilai was born in 1753. He studied in Marosvásárhely, and after working as a librarian and teacher, in 1781 went to Utrecht. There he rendered valuable services to Hungarian literary life, – among others, he had the poems of Janus Pannonius printed as commissioned by Sámuel Teleki, – and also fulfilled the purchase orders of Teleki, reported about auctions and his discussions with booksellers. In the spring of 1784, we find him in Heidelberg but we do not know when he returned home. In 1788, he became assistant professor in the college of Marosvásárhely working with Sándor Kovásznai Tóth (1730-1792),³² after the death of the latter, he was promoted as the professor of philology in 1792. In September 1798, he was named rector of the college, although he continued teaching many subjects – three languages, history, exegesis. The major results of his literary activities were (i) the publication of Miklós Zrínyi's *Ne bántsd a magyart* [Do not harm Hungarians] in 1790; (ii) Count János Lázár's poems with the title *Külömb-külömbféle világi dolgokat az erkölcsökre szabogató magyar versek* [Hungarian Poems on How to Adjust Worldly Matters to Morality] in 1795, and, most importantly, (iii) the distribution of *Magyar Museum* [Hungarian Museum] in Transylvania and Székelyland (eastern Transylvania). In his literary activities he benefited of the advice and support of Ráday; his letters evidenced the difficulties of working in textual criticism and also indicated the widening of readership of the *Museum*. At age 47, his health began to deteriorate and he died at the height of his productive years on June 16, 1800.³³

According to his letters, his collecting activities brought very little to the collection of the library at Pécel. We find only one reference to him, in the fall of 1788 Ráday encouraged him to obtain the chronicles of István Benczédi Székely and Gáspár Heltai. Zilai responds: “I have been inquiring about the chronicles of István Székely and Gáspár Heltai. I have traced them, but I have not yet seen them, so I cannot report about their condition. When I see them and if they are in good condition I will purchase them for Your Lordship” (October 12, 1788). In January of the following year, he is sad to report that he found two copies of Gáspár Heltai's work and one of István Székely's, but none is complete. So he cannot send them to Ráday, but he asked traveling students to find them (January 21, 1789). One of the characteristics of Gedeon Ráday's method of book collecting can be seen here. As a careful collector, he was unwilling to buy incomplete works; his agents were aware of this, and so declined to purchase incomplete works or those that were in poor condition.

The transportation of books from Transylvania was always occasional, as it was customary in that era. They asked either an acquaintance or a student traveling abroad to take the “package” with them. Foremost in this endeavor were the Telekis, because many members of this large family were constantly traveling between the two countries and were the most trustworthy. László Teleki sent a package to his brother-in-law in September 1756; previously Bod gave a few works to Sámuel Türi to deliver them to their destination. Sámuel Türi later became an agent in Vienna. Often it was only possible to get the packages to the nearest larger center, such as Debrecen, and from there good friends would send the books on with another postman.³⁴ The same means were used when Ráday sent Bod in Transylvania newly purchased books or to Kovásznai and Zilai different publications for their literary studies.³⁵

³² ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 342.

³³ KONCZ, József, *A marosvásárhelyi ev. ref. kollégium története* [The History of the Reformed College of Marosvásárhely] (Marosvásárhely: 1896) pp. 233-237.

³⁴ Typical of this is the fate of one of the book packages meant for Bod, which Ráday gave to Sámuel Szeremlei. He forwarded it to Ferenc Tatai Csirke, pastor in Debrecen, to send it to Transylvania. Tatai could not find a suitable person for a long time, therefore when Mrs. Szeremley planned on traveling to Transylvania, he gave it back to her to be handed to István Pataki, Chief Judge in Kolozsvár. From him, the package came to László Teleki, and finally reached Péter Bod. Ferenc Tatai to Gedeon Ráday. Debrecen, August 12, 1755.

³⁵ Zilai recommends the students Dávid Bora, Sámuel Dienes, and Sándor Farczádi to carry the books, or the merchant in Pest, Natorp, who has “tremendous correspondence” with Szeben, from where Ferenc Benkő, minister of the central church could have relayed the shipment.

b) Pozsony

We have already seen before that some acquisitions were made in Pozsony, and the limited written sources indicate a low level of activity there. Even though in the time of Gedeon Ráday the number of books sent to Pécel increased, their number was largely exceeded by purchases in Vienna. However, the significance of Pozsony was in particular as a conduit between the foreign and Viennese circle of agents and the library at Pécel.

Though the purchases in Pozsony were mainly executed by agents, István Nagy or János Mihályfalvi, or the tutor of his grandchildren, István Szerencsi Nagy; Ráday was also in direct contact with the merchant Anton Löwe.

The archives do not shed much light on the activities of István Nagy – from the point of view of the library his Viennese activities were most notable. We know little about his life, he does not figure in bibliographies and biographical lexicons. From December 1755, his letters from Vienna about library matters are the first indications about him. According to these, he was in Vienna for a short time in the late fall of 1755, but returned to Pest for the winter of 1756, but in May 1757 we see him again in the imperial city. Between 1757-1759 he lived in Vienna. He writes in an undated letter, which might have been written before 1757, that he is not going to live in Pest if he can support himself in Vienna. In this he was successful; he became an assistant to the Reformed agent at the chancery, Gergely Dömjén, and soon writes that he has rented two rooms after living with Gergely Dömjén for three days. His address was: “Der Hofmarkt in Carminithl Hausz in anderten Stock” (February 11, 1757).³⁶ His relationship with Gergely Dömjén is also mentioned by Jenő Zoványi who wrote in 1914 in his article *Ágens választás 1762/63-ban* [Selection of Agents in 1762-63],³⁷ that in the summer of 1762 Sámuel Túri was opposed by István Nagy in the competition for the office of agent, mentioning that previously he had worked in Pozsony, and that Nagy for “several years was active in the Viennese agency, as an assistant (*adjunctus sollicitator*) to Dömjén.”³⁸ Besides this work he also took care of Ráday’s commissions. His life in Vienna must have been rather varied and busy; due to his activities at the chancery, he was at home in Viennese society, and, in addition to acquiring more legal knowledge, he gained insight into the social life of the city. In 1759 he took István Nogell’s place as agent at the Council of the Governor-General in Pozsony. During his years in Pozsony, he married Theresia, daughter of József Pázmándy from the village of Csép in the county of Komárom. The wedding was held three weeks after the Day of St. Michael, and he invited the Rádays (5 August 22, 1766).³⁹ In 1775, he resigned his post as agent, and thus his activities lost their importance from the point of view of the history of the library. He probably retired to farming; we have no more data about the rest of his life.

From 1775, János Mihályfalvi⁴⁰ the successor to István Nagy, sometimes made purchases, but in his letters, he reports mostly about agency matters. Until 1780, there was no other buyer active in Pozsony; Ráday’s purchased directly from Löwe during this period. Between 1780-1783, István Szerencsi Nagy, a minister with literary interest and a good friend became involved in book collection in Pozsony.

Szerencsi Nagy was born into a family of pastors.⁴¹ After he completed his studies in Székelyudvarhely and Nagyenyed, he went abroad and enrolled at the University of Francfort-on-the-Oder. Upon his return he filled the post of tutor for Gedeon and Pál, the grandsons of Gedeon Ráday.

³⁶ He only stayed ten months in his first lodging, because on December 19, 1757 he writes already that his address had changed and he was currently living “Der Sanckt Stephan gegen hinüber in Löwen Apothecken Hauss im 4. Stock” [in the Lion Pharmacy House on the fourth floor across from St. Stephen’s].

³⁷ ZOVÁNYI, *loc. cit.*, 1914, pp. 79-91, 151-168, 222-239.

³⁸ ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 599.

³⁹ “I am invited to a dance on Wednesday, Mr. Túry will be there too, – he writes in one of his friendly letters – we would like to invite the young gentleman as well if Pécel were closer.”

⁴⁰ Agent in 1775-1787; ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 16.

⁴¹ ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 599.

His collecting activities took place in this period. In his letters, he wrote either of the children or of books, and he paints a vivid picture of their social life and of the Court's visits to Pozsony. Most interesting, and from the point of view of historical research most important, are his remarks concerning the public mood about the Edict of Tolerance (letters of February 18, 1782; July 9; December 28; and March 1, 1783). In the spring of 1783, he was elected minister in Győr, where he worked until his death on June 4, 1789. In this last period of his life he was active in literary pursuits; he prepared the new, completed edition of *Magyar Athenas* [Hungarian Athenas]. He carried on a lively correspondence with Ráday, and when he ran across a good book, he did not fail to call attention to it. He was widely mourned in Transylvania as well.⁴²

From among the buyers in Pozsony, it was only Szerencsi Nagy, who, like the buyers of Pál Ráday or the Viennese Sámuel Nagy, informed Gedeon Ráday about newly published works, and recommended such for purchase. He informed him, for example, of the recently printed work of Watteroth, a treatise about tolerance;⁴³ he also told him that the secretary of Count Festetics (the same Festetics who so often was Ráday's rival at auctions in Vienna) had brought him János Sylvester's *Prefatio* [Preface]; he might send it down, if needed (December 7, 1781).⁴⁴

I will present the data referring to this period's collection in Pozsony in the same order as in the following chapter regarding acquisitions in Vienna. First, I will present the purchases from the auctions, then those from booksellers; separately I will mention the magazines, and finally the role of Pozsony in the transmission of books.

There are two sources of information about the auctions in Pozsony. This limited number in comparison to the great number of auctions in Vienna is not surprising, since Pozsony's book market was only significant in Hungarian books, so the auctions were rare. István Nagy writes about the preparation of one of the auctions; the books of János Szászky-Tomka, director of the Lyceum in Pozsony, were to be sold there. Szászky-Tomka had himself been an agent of Ráday during the 30s and 40s and died in August 1762. His books were not yet listed in a catalogue put together by the beginning of December according to Nagy, "as soon as a catalogue becomes available, I will send it to Your Lordship. If they auction them off, I will let you know plenty of time in advance, even though her Ladyship forbids it, as I received Your Lordship's instructions beforehand" (December 2, 1762). By January, he had followed up on the books and found out that Szászky had received some money from Adonyi, a tax collector,⁴⁵ who was a distant relation. Adonyi came to an understanding with the widow, that in order to settle the debt he would receive all the books but supposedly only wanted to sell the manuscripts. István Nagy could not reach him because he had suddenly left for Pest. Nagy suggests that Ráday should go to see him (January 15, 1763). The auction was cancelled and we have no information that would show that Ráday obtained Szászky-Tomka's books from Adonyi. A special interest of this letter is that it points to the opposition of Ráday's wife, Katalin Szentpétery, who wanted to prevent book purchases on such a grand scale because of the family's financial difficulties.

We can as well read of another auction in preparation in the letter of János Mihályfalvi, the agent who succeeded István Nagy. On November 8, 1775, he acknowledged receipt of the list of books noted in

⁴² Sámuel Zilai to Gedeon Ráday, dated March 18, 1789.

⁴³ WATTEROTH, Heinrich Joseph. *Für Toleranz überhaupt und Bürgerrechte der Protestanten in katholischen Staaten* [For Tolerance in General and the Rights of Citizens of Protestant Faith in Catholic States].

⁴⁴ Szerencsi Nagy not only fulfilled the orders of Ráday, but he also was active in respect of the publication of certain books. Ráday at this time was already regarded as the "holy sage" of Hungarian literary and scientific life, as a motivator and guide; Szerencsi was helpful to him in this area as well. He maintained ties with Landerer, the printer in Pozsony, with whom he had discussions about a book of apiculture according to his letter of July 9, 1782. Before publication, Landerer delivered the manuscript himself to Ráday in Pest. At the same time, Szerencsi Nagy took care of the publication at Landerer's of the prayerbooks of Kristóf Sturm and Johann Tied (PETRIK, Vol. 3, pp. 457 and 640) which József Kármán had translated into Hungarian. He was happy to report to Ráday that as soon as the censors returned the work, they would start printing. In 1787, during his tenure as minister in Győr, he planned the publication of all the works of Gyöngyösi with the help of Ráday, at the printing house of Streibig. He mentions this in his letter of August 20, 1787.

⁴⁵ This person probably was Pál who received his title from Maria Theresia in 1765. NAGY Iván, Vol. 1. p. 7.

the catalogue of the library of Count Szluha.⁴⁶ “Unfortunately,” he writes, Mr. Conradi who had accepted the task of acquiring them finally admitted that Countess Szluha had already come to an agreement with Count Jankovics⁴⁷ because Jankovics would take the whole lot.” However, he would continue to push Conradi to try everything (November 8, 1775). In addition, a financially much better situated bidder made his appearance, as so often at the Viennese auctions of the 60s, who acquired the valuable material leaving the collector from Pécel out in the cold. We cannot read anything more about the Count Szluha library; other letters of Mihályfalvi and his remarks about shipping or delivery of books are not significant; however, the letters are exceedingly interesting regarding the political or cultural life of the period.

In connection with the activities of István Nagy in Pozsony, we know only of a few acquisitions. He bought, for example, the works of Du Pin for Ráday, but the sixteenth volume remained with him because it was intermingled with his own books; so he promised to bring it personally (March 3, 1761).⁴⁸ Not only did he have the bookbinder bring Veismann’s *Ecclesia Historia* [Church History], but he also had him bind it and took it himself to Pécel (September 24, 1765).⁴⁹ It is not his acquisitions that are important but his role as an intermediary, because for over 10 years he was the bond between Vienna and Pécel.

The name of Anton Löwe, bookseller in Pozsony, is already known in the specialized literature⁵⁰ but his commercial activities have not yet been analyzed, just as the history of the book trade in Pozsony remains to be written by future researchers. Therefore, the data below could serve for discussions on both topics mentioned.

Löwe, the only bookseller in Pozsony, was in direct contact with Ráday, especially between 1774 and 1780. Their relationship continued for three years after 1780, when István Szerencsi Nagy kept in touch with him as the agent for Ráday. Most of Löwe’s letters do not represent a special value from the point of view of the growth of the library’s holdings at Pécel, because he just reminds his client of his unpaid bills. At any rate, we can surmise that Ráday was in a difficult financial position at the end of the 70s and so he owed even small amounts. Perhaps he was absent minded as well, but it did not change the fact that his agents and the merchants were constantly pestering him.

In his letter of May 10, 1773, Löwe indicates that he sent to Ráday the books he ordered; he hopes that both the bindings and the contents will be satisfactory. He asks him to hand over the price of 36ft, 1 kr to Father Horányi⁵¹ who will forward it. In August 1774, the collector of Pécel ordered 38 works⁵² for a sum of 328 ft, 30 kr.⁵³ On the bill Löwe lists, among others, *Le monarque accompli*,⁵⁴ *Guillaume* by Bitaubé⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Count György Szluha, who obtained the title for the family; his wife was the Countess Rozalia Zinzendorf. NAGY, Iván, Vol. 10, p. 768.

⁴⁷ It cannot be determined which Jankovics is meant; probably the famous collector’s, Miklós Jankovics’ father, of the same name.

⁴⁸ DU PIN, Louis E. *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*. Vols. 1-19. (Paris: 1693) (no. 0,809)

⁴⁹ WEISSMANN, Christian Eberhard. *Introductio in memorabilia ecclesiasticae historiae Novi Testamenti*. (Halle: 1745) (no. 0,708)

⁵⁰ The relevant data are contradictory. Some of them suggest that Löwe, born in Ulm, established his bookshop in Pozsony in 1784.

⁵¹ SZINNYEI, col. 1069-1076.

⁵² Of these volumes, made up mostly of editions of the Bible and sermons, these are worthy of interest: *Collection complète des œuvres* de DIDEROT. Vols. 1-5. (London: 1773) (no. 0,369), for 12 ft; NOLLET, *L’art des expériences*. Vols. 1-3. (Paris: 1770) (no. 0,3136), for 6 ft; János THOMAS, *Nouvelle grammaire française et hongroise*. (Sopron: 1763) (no longer available in the library), 1 ft 30 kr; *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*. Vols. 1-6. (Paris: 1770) (no. 0,4188) for 8 ft, and, finally, *Lettres* de Madame de SEVIGNE. Vols. 1-8. (Amsterdam: 1766) (no. 0,2080), for 8 ft 30 kr.

⁵³ The bill is located in RA 228. fasc.

and a *Decameron françois*⁵⁶ which he could not find and send to Ráday (February 26, 1775). In May of 1775, the situation remained the same but he promised that upon his return from Leipzig, he would send the package, including *Le monarque accompli* and a *Decameron françois* to Pécel. He only mentions these two, and no longer talks about Bitaubé's *Guillaume*, which Ráday obviously had acquired in the meantime, because it is in the collection of the library.⁵⁷ Ráday promised the payment of the bill in his own handwriting, in two instalments on St. George's Day (April 27) and on St. Michael's Day of the year 1775 (September 29). It seems that he had not paid even the first instalment on time, because the merchant called his attention in May to the fact that Ráday owed him 150 ft.; Löwe explained that he needed the money because of the great expenses he had incurred in connection with the book fair in Leipzig. In June of the same year, he gratefully acknowledged the payment, and called his client's attention to the books he would send to the fair in Pest, which were all beautiful and new, he had bought them at the Easter fair in Leipzig. In spring of the following year (March 12, 1776), with six month's delay, he received the second instalment, but reported that he could not find *Le monarque accompli* and the *Decameron françois*. The printing of the former had been prohibited; the second was available, but its price had increased, and so he recommended that Ráday choose from his catalogue books whose price corresponded to the value of the two, i.e. 2 ft 30 kr and 4 ft 30 kr.

At the beginning of March 1777, Löwe sent the *Memoria Hungarorum*'s third volume of Horányi,⁵⁸ which he published recently, to Ráday with the latter's acquaintance, Kuneth.⁵⁹ The money owed for it, 11 ft, he requested with the sum of 150 ft, which was due in October of the previous year as the second instalment for Graevius *Thesaurus Italiae*⁶⁰ purchased on August 31, 1775. Kuneth who had returned to Pozsony, volunteered to forward the sum to Löwe, but Ráday seemed to think that he had settled his accounts with Löwe through his agent Mihályfalvi up to 300 ft during 1776. The merchant attached Ráday's bill for 150 ft to his letter of April 11, 1777, and called attention to the fact that he had only given a receipt for 150 ft. Ráday was still in arrears on August 21, when Löwe was asking for the payment of a debt of 161 ft. By the summer of 1778 (July 2, 1778) this unpleasant misunderstanding had been settled, and the merchant reported in the same month on the books ordered by Ráday but not yet sent to him, and he included his latest catalogue. He also let his client know that the *Histoire Générale de la Chine*⁶¹ had been published in six volumes and thus was complete. In this Löwe was mistaken, because six more volumes appeared until 1783. Only one volume of the *Cheffs d'oeuvres dramatiques*⁶² had already appeared. Löwe's letters written in the two following years have been lost, although we can safely assume that he must have corresponded with Ráday between summer 1778 and spring 1780. Of the letters extant today, the last is dated March 11, 1780; in this letter, he requests that the payment of the remaining 59 ft, 20 kr be sent to him with a merchant from Pozsony, because he cannot go to Pécel.

Between 1780-83, the tutor of Ráday's grandsons, István Szerencsi Nagy was in charge of purchases from Löwe. The merchant from Pozsony supplied a large number of books to Pécel in this period,

⁵⁴ Perhaps *L'esprit des monarques philosophiques*. (Vienna: 1765), which is not in the library now but figures in the old catalogue.

⁵⁵ BITAUBÉ, Paul Jérôme, *Guillaume en dix chants*.

⁵⁶ D'USSIEUX, *Le Décameron françois*. Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1775) (no. 9,2749).

⁵⁷ (Amsterdam: 1773) (no. 9,3758).

⁵⁸ (No. 0,2769/3).

⁵⁹ I could not find his name in various lexicons.

⁶⁰ GRAEVIUS, Johann G., *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*. Vols. 1-10. (Leyden: 1725) (no. 0,152)

⁶¹ *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annale de cet empire*. (Paris: 1777-1783) (no. 0,110)

⁶² I did not find a similarly titled work, *Cheffs-d'oeuvres des théâtres étrangers*, in the old catalogue of the library; GRAESSE mentions one work, which had been published in Paris in 1722-23.

so during 1781 26 works in 66 volumes for 264 ft 51 kr.⁶³ Part of this sum, 200 ft. Szerencsi Nagy paid in species on June 17, 1782, the rest was still unpaid in January 1784. Szerencsi Nagy looked for the *Allgemeines Kirchenrecht bey der Evangelischen Confessionen*⁶⁴ which the merchant did not have on hand, but had ordered it, and was waiting for it (June 17, 1782). Two months later he reported (August 21, 1782) that Löwe had the 1780 edition of Johann Nösselt's *Anweisung*.⁶⁵ The previous October he had bought this book for Ráday, but was not certain if it was the same edition. This book contains an index and according to the title page it is the second corrected edition; the merchant was asking a high price for it, 2 ft, so he asked Ráday if he needed this book.⁶⁶ Thus we can see in the case of acquisitions in Pozsony as well, that Ráday followed with particular attention the publication of various editions of individual works and tried to purchase them, if possible, for his library.

All these data show the close relationship between Ráday and Löwe in the years 1775-83, in the course of which Ráday spent approximately two to three hundred forint every year for acquisitions in Pozsony. It is interesting to note that, besides the German theological literature, Ráday bought exclusively French literary works from Löwe. This fact not only shows the education and interest of the collector in French culture, but also points to the wide circle of Löwe's agents. These works he must have acquired at foreign book fairs, first of all in Leipzig – which was after Frankfurt the center of book trade in Germany – possibly from French merchants directly, or larger German booksellers. We can measure the development of the Hungarian book trade, as compared to the situation in the first half of the century, not only by the activities of the Pest booksellers but by those of Pozsony as well, and consider Löwe's participation in international commerce through the fair at Leipzig as one of the indicators of this development. We still cannot claim that Löwe could be compared to those foreign traders who, at the same time, handled consignments and had their own publishing house. Löwe's business was limited by censorship and by undeveloped financial and cultural conditions; he had only a small capital and lacked a wider market; so he could not compete at all with foreign retail booksellers. The fairs represented really his markets and he seldom found clients like Ráday.

As far as subscriptions for newspapers are concerned – “novellas” in the language of the age – we only found one reference to such a transaction. It is, however, important because it refers to one of the buds of Hungarian Enlightenment literature, which he acquired for his collection and shows as well Ráday's care for every new fruit of a slowly awakening Hungarian culture. On February 2, 1783, Szerencsi Nagy reports that he subscribed to the *Magyar Hírmondó* [Hungarian Newsletter]. By that time, Barcafalvi Szabó Dávid had taken over the editorship of this paper from Mátyás Ráth and Szerencsi Nagy arranged with him its forwarding to Pest. In fact, he had already subscribed to this paper earlier (1780-1783). When we examine the acquisitions of Vienna, we will see that he also subscribed to the *Magyar Kurir* [Hungarian Courier] and the *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek* [Military and Other Noteworthy Stories]. Thus, he completed his collection with the newest Hungarian periodicals.

We finally need to discuss in connection with acquisitions in Pozsony the role, which this city played in the constitution of the Pécel collection, by forwarding mail and packages from Vienna and foreign markets to Pest, i.e. Pécel, and back. We find relevant information already during the years of 1730-1740 in the letters of Szászky-Tomka, even though real collecting activities had not yet started here.

Szászky-Tomka was born September 7, 1694 in Zólyom. He pursued his studies in Rozsnyó, Besztercebánya, Győr and Pozsony, and between 1719-1721 at the University of Jena. He returned to Győr

⁶³ The works mentioned in the bill that I find significant are: *Commentaire historique sur les oeuvres de l'auteur de la Henriade*. (Neuchâtel: 1776) 1 ft (no. 0,5746.); *Les nouvelles découvertes de Prusse*. (Paris: 1781); 5 ft 30 kr (no. 0,2802); ROBERTSON, William, *Histoire de l'Amérique*. Vols. 1-4. (Amsterdam: 1778) 6 ft 30 kr (no. 0,85); VOLTAIRE. *Histoire littéraire*. Vols. 1-4. 10 ft (the title is wrong because the lexicons do not mention such a work, nor can it be found in the old library catalogue.)

⁶⁴ The author is not identified and the work is not included in the subject catalogue either.

⁶⁵ NÖSSELT, Johann August, *Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgemeinen Bücher*. (Leipzig: 1780).

⁶⁶ The library has a second edition, published in 1780 (no. 0,2119); this work was obtained from Löwe through the offices of Szerencsi Nagy. Szerencsi must have sent another work of Nösselt in October 1781, *Verteidigung der Wahrheit und Göttlichkeit der christlichen Religion*. (Halle: 1769), which is still in the library.

in 1721 as rector. In 1732, he became teacher at the Lutheran Lyceum in Pozsony; starting in 1747, he led the school as rector. During his tenure in Pozsony he was in constant contact with Ráday and acted as his agent. He resigned in 1760 and died in 1762. One of his brave and significant steps was that already in 1734 he started teaching Hungarian history and organized a Hungarian literary and debating society at the school. He achieved a great reputation in history and especially geography. With his literary activities, he served the awakening of intellectual and scientific life of the country.⁶⁷

Szászky-Tomka greatly respected Ráday, and considered him such an outstanding member of his social class as to be unique in Hungary, a follower of Minerva rather than Diana (February 13, 1734). On Christmas Eve 1734, he writes about the arrival in Vienna of certain books from Germany and the difficulties of their passing through customs in Bruck.⁶⁸ Surely, these books must have been the books purchased by Gedeon Ráday during his stay in Berlin and Francfort-on-the-Oder even though a year and a half had passed since his departure. Further indication for this is that the package arrived in Vienna through Boroszló (Breslau/Wroclaw), the same route that were used a decade earlier to send money and wine to the young Ráday studying in Francfort-on-the-Oder. In addition, the role played by Pál Gyöngyösi, the university professor in Francfort-on-the-Oder also points in this direction. Ráday must have received the report from Seydel about the arrival of the medals and books in Vienna of which Szilágyi also took charge, in addition to the merchant Straub. He directed them on to Pozsony, from where Szászky-Tomka sent them with local movers to Pest. The role of Szászky-Tomka as a conduit can be seen in the lines where he indicated his purchase of Franckenberg's *Herold*⁶⁹ that the Viennese merchant Monath had sent him; he did not yet know its price, – it seemed that it would cost 10-12 ft according to his letter dated September 15, 1735. On another occasion, he acknowledged receipt of the sum of 20 ft on behalf of another bookseller and bookbinder, which he forwarded (January 12, 1736). In these letters of autumn of 1735 and the following winter, he reported on books from Nagyszombat, perhaps he had acquired these for his friend. Because of the delay of the bookbinder, he could promise part of the books only for St. Michael's Day, when he would send them with the Podmaniczky brothers, and the rest, all octavo-sized, undamaged and bound works, he sent to Pécel in January 1736.

Szászky-Tomka's letters also provide a valuable insight into the way contemporaries of Ráday appreciated his poetry, and complete substantially our understanding of the role of the library of Pécel in the intellectual and cultural life of the era. I will discuss his remarks on this subject in the last chapter.

During his time as agent in Pozsony, István Nagy not only made purchases but, just as Szászky-Tomka, he was intermediary as well between the imperial city, Vienna, most important for acquisitions, and the collector who lived in Pécel. This was especially true at the beginning of 1761 when Sámuel Nagy was not staying permanently in the imperial city, and István Nagy executed Ráday's orders by traveling from Pozsony to Vienna. For example, at the beginning of 1761 (January 13), he forwarded those books which the collector bought himself in the bookshop of Herinnes in Vienna.

For the delivery of the books, the agents in Pozsony mainly used friends and acquaintances. Since traffic between Pozsony and Pest was frequent, there often were people available for this purpose. So in August 1766, the bailiff of Count Ádám Teleki delivered a shipment from István Nagy (August 22, 1766) and in February 1783, Szerencsi Nagy used the services of "Mr. Benczur"⁷⁰ to send the books ordered by Ráday (February 2, 1783).

⁶⁷ SZINNYEI, Vol. 13, col. 28; MARKUSOVSKY, Sámuel, *A pozsonyi ág. hitv. lyceum története*. (Pozsony: 1896)

⁶⁸ The case of György Megyaszy, Sámuel Lévy, and István Szoboszlai whose books were held back for twelve years, is well known. SCHERMANN, Egyed, *Adalékok az állami könyvcenzúra történetéhez Mária Terézia haláláig*. [Contribution to the History of State Censorship of Books Until the Death of Maria Theresia] (Budapest: 1928), and Ernő FINÁCZY, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Mária Terézia korában*. [The History of Public Education in Hungary in the Age of Maria Theresia] (Budapest: 1899)

⁶⁹ FRANCKENBERG, Friedrich Leutholf, *Europäischer Herold*. (Leipzig: 1705) (no. 0,2933)

⁷⁰ This must be a reference to József Benczur (1728-1784), the Lutheran school's principal who became counselor in Pozsony in 1776, and from 1784 was employed by the imperial Kamara. SZINNYEI, Vol. 1, col. 813-814.

c) Pest and Other Parts of Hungary

The importance of the role of Pest as a place of collection suddenly increased in the 1770s. The materials purchased there during the last two decades of Gedeon Ráday's life vastly surpassed those acquired either in Transylvania or in Pozsony or, for that matter, in any other part of Hungary. This trend seems natural since the fast growing Pest was becoming more and more significant in the economic and cultural life of the country as it is amply demonstrated by the newest evidence unearthed by historical research. The investigations of Albert Gárdonyi leave no doubt that Pest had become the center of the book trade in the second half of the 18th century, and it was there, in the heart of the country, that the only significant book market developed. Therefore, it is understandable that Ráday who lived in nearby Pécel but also had a house in Pest, spent much time there and made most of his book purchases by booksellers in the city, especially by Weingand and Köpff. He could directly negotiate with them, place his orders, discuss his requests or problems, pay his bills in person. He only designated someone to represent him if he was ill or staying in Pozsony or Vienna.⁷¹

For these reasons, there exists very little archival documentation regarding his acquisitions in Pest. We cannot find relevant correspondence, reports or notes – it is only through the bills and accounts of the traders, especially Weingand and Köpff, that we can have some idea of the quantity and quality of the books sent to Pécel.

The first independent book dealer of Pest was János Gellért Mauss, who settled there in 1748. Ráday was in touch with him and made several purchases in his shop during the 50s. In this respect, we find indications in a bill from Mauss from 1753 and another one from 1758. These do not point to major purchases – Ráday paid him 43 ft 22 kr in 1753, and prepaid 40 ft for a *Hispania Illustrata* [Spain Illustrated];⁷² the bill from 1758 amounts to only 8 ft 37 kr. The books acquired from Mauss as well as those from Löwe, were mostly French. We find among them an *Oeuvres de Molière*⁷³ in 12°, and, in similar size, the *Oeuvres de Destouches*⁷⁴ as well as an *Essai sur l'histoire des belles lettres*.⁷⁵ In particular, works which demonstrate Ráday's interest in the nascent library sciences must be emphasized such as, for example, *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque*⁷⁶ and the two volumes, in Latin, of *Relationes de libris novis*;⁷⁷ on the other hand, *Leçons de physique*⁷⁸ of Nollet represents the natural sciences, Cicero's *Epistolae* [Letters] and

⁷¹ For example he asked Sámuel Sárói Szabó, a lawyer in Pest (one of the defense lawyers in the case of the Hungarian jacobins) to pay the bookseller 100 Tallers. Sárói Szabó assured Ráday in his letter of April 26, that he had deposited the sum a long time ago, indeed the notes of Weingand and Köpff prove that Sárói Szabó paid on April 3, 1782, 150 ft to Ráday's account.

⁷² *Scriptores variae Hispaniae illustratae seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae*. [Various Authors of Spain Illustrated, or Things and Cities of Spain] (Frankfurt: 1603) (no. 0,544)

⁷³ MOLIÈRE, Jean Baptiste. *Oeuvres*. Vol. 1-4. (Paris: 1773) (no. 0,2770; its size is, however, not 12°, but 8°.)

⁷⁴ DESTOUCHES, Philippe Néricault, *Oeuvres*. Vol. 1-4. (Amsterdam-Leipzig: 1755) (no. 0,2465)

⁷⁵ Such a title is neither in the library catalogue nor in the bibliographies. The author's name was probably not indicated on the bill in accordance with the custom of the times.

⁷⁶ FORMEY, Jean H. Samuel, *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque peu nombreuse, mais choisie*. The work is mentioned on the list of 1753, thus Ráday bought from Mauss, the first edition that came out around that time. Today we find the third and fourth Berlin editions of 1755 and 1756 (nos. 0,2842 and 0,299)

⁷⁷ It was published in Göttingen under the aegis of Johann David Michaelis, the editor of *Göttinger Gelehrter Anzeiger*; the library has now the volumes from 1752 through 1755 (no. 0,4345).

⁷⁸ NOLLET, Jean-Antoine, *Leçons de physique expérimentale*. Vols. 1-4. (Paris: 1753-1764) (no. 0,2147)

Orationes [Speeches],⁷⁹ Justin and Ovid,⁸⁰ the classical literature. The only work related to Hungarian culture is a volume of Janus Pannonius.⁸¹ A list written by Ráday is more indicative of acquisitions from Mauss than the bills, and contains primarily books in Latin and scientific works, grouped by subject.

Weingand and Köpff were Ráday's major suppliers⁸² from among the principal book dealers of Pest. They were good businessmen, had wide scale international connections, and so could serve the need of such a systematic collector of good taste as well as the Viennese booksellers. From the beginning of the 70s until the middle of the 80s, this company truly delivered large quantities of books to Ráday. Weingand, one of the co-owners, was justified in saying to Ábrahám Komjáti, the tutor of Kazinczy, that "he sold as much to Ráday as to all other buyers together."⁸³ Parts of the accounts that can be seen even today are recorded in a folio-size notebook the title of which is: "List of the books that Mr. Gedeon von Ráda received from the bookshop Weingand and Köpff in 1776." The notes are from November 9, 1775 through April 8, 1784, while other lists surfaced here and there at the time of the re-organization of the library. Based on this data it is possible to compound a summary of the purchases made from Weingand and Köpff:

1774	9 works	29 ft	(purchases made on March 5 and May 30)
1775	110 works	322 ft 53 kr	
1776	96 works	389 ft 05 kr	
1777	124 works	524 ft 11 kr	
1778	96 works	362 ft 35 kr	
1779	82 works	312 ft 32 kr	
1780	79 works	335 ft 47 kr	
1781	50 works	203 ft 16 kr	
1782	41 works	156 ft 09 kr	
1783	34 works	117 ft 10 kr	
1784	23 works	108 ft 05 kr	
<u>1785</u>	<u>8 works</u>	<u>18 ft 36 kr</u>	(April-May) ⁸⁴
Total:	762 works	2 850 ft 10 kr	

⁷⁹ Both are in the library in several copies, so it is impossible to determine which came from Mauss.

⁸⁰ Several of the works of Justinus and Ovid can be found in the catalogue – thus it cannot be determined which one is mentioned.

⁸¹ JANUS PANNONIUS, *Poematum elegiarum et epigrammatum libri III.* (Buda: 1754). From among the works cited, the works of Molière and Destouches, and the *Essay sur l'histoire* cost 6 ft each. Formey's *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque* cost 24 kr, one volume of *Relationes* 2 ft 45 kr. Ráday paid for Nollet's work 8 ft 30 kr, for Cicero and Ovid 3 ft 54 kr, for Justinus 1 ft, for Janus Pannonius 36 kr.

⁸² GÁRDONYI, Albert, *Régi pesti könyvkereskedők.* [Old booksellers of Pest] (Budapest: 1930), 18 and passim.

⁸³ Kazinczy Ferenc. *Magyar Pantheon.* (Budapest: n.d.), p. 26.

⁸⁴ The overall number of items purchased from Weingand decreased in this period not only due to the financial difficulties that Ráday was experiencing in those years. He paid more than 100 ft at the beginning of the 80s to Weingand's for the books that the merchant had purchased at the Schultens auction in Leyden and from the Luchtmans booksellers. In 1782 Weingand and Köpff billed for 650 ft for these items.

A profile of the sales from Weingand and Köpff is known from their catalogs; I, therefore, do not find it necessary to discuss in detail the works figuring in the accounts. I will only mention those among the several hundred that are characteristic of the interests of their collector. The books that came into the collection of Pécel from this company represent a varied picture; the majority are in Latin and German, but there are many French ones as well. From the thematic point of view, works of theology and science are found among them as well as literature and different editions of the classics. Weingand and Köpff delivered to Ráday the fruits of Hungarian scientific activities of the age, written in Latin, especially the works of historians; for example the *Analecta* [Analects] by Wagner,⁸⁵ the *Historia critica* [Critical History] by Katona⁸⁶ or the different studies of Pray.⁸⁷ However, we can also see on these lists the works of György Bessenyei reflecting the spirit of the Enlightenment, like *A filozófus* [The Philosopher], *Hunyadi János* [János Hunyadi], *Anyai oktatás* [Maternal Education], and *Társaság* [Society].⁸⁸ From these merchants Ráday was also able to procure Riccoboni's *Histoire du théâtre italien*⁸⁹ which today still is the only copy in Hungary; Voltaire's *Henriade*⁹⁰ and Helvétius' *Oeuvres*,⁹¹ works by eminent writers that prepared the French revolution; the missing parts of some works and serial publications, such as *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*,⁹² and new additions to magazines. These outstanding representatives of the early book trade in Pest also executed for Ráday purchases abroad; for example at the Luchtman brothers⁹³ in Leyden, where Ráday paid 1475 ft 29 kr in 1779-1780 for books bought in the first place at the Schultens auction.⁹⁴

Beside the company of Weingand and Köpff, Ráday did business with Ignác Strohmayer,⁹⁵ too, who opened a bookshop in Pest at the end of the 1730s. According to Albert Gárdonyi,⁹⁶ when the company went

⁸⁵ WAGNER, Károly, *Analecta Scepussii*. [Analects of Scepus] Vols. 1-4. (Vienna: 1774-1778) (no. 0,2811) Weingand charged 4 ft for each of the first and second volumes, 2 ft 8 kr for the third and fourth.

⁸⁶ KATONA, István, *Historia critica primorum Hungariae ducum*. [Critical History of Hungary's Early Princes] (Pest: Weingand and Köpff, 1778) (no. 0,2708).

⁸⁷ *Dissertatio historico-critica de Sancto Ladislao ...* [A Historical-Critical Dissertation Concerning St. László] (Pozsony: 1774); price 1 ft (no. 0,4680) or *Dissertationes historico-criticae in annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarorum et Hungarorum*. [A Historical-Critical Dissertation Concerning the Old Annals of the Huns, Avars, and Hungarians] (Vienna: 1775); price 2 ft 45 kr (no. 0,2838).

⁸⁸ *A filozófus*. [The Philosopher] (N.p. 1777); 1 fl 30 kr; *Hunyadi János élete és viselt dolgai*. [The Life and Acts of János Hunyadi] (Vienna: 1778); 15 kr; *Anyai oktatás*. [Maternal Education] (Vienna: 1777); 15 kr; *Egy magyar társaság*. [A Hungarian Society] (Vienna: 1777); 18 kr. Ráday had several works of Bessenyei bound together, the volume has the no. 0,3354.

⁸⁹ RICCOBONI, Lodovico, *Histoire du théâtre italien*. (Paris: 1731) 7 ft 8 kr (no. 0,5659)

⁹⁰ *Henriades libri X*. (Mannheim: 1775) 1 ft 36 kr (no. 04318)

⁹¹ HELVÉTIUS, Claude Adrien, *Oeuvres complètes*. Vols. 1-4. (London: 1776-1778) (no. 0,5449)

⁹² *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*. (Berlin-Stettin: 1765-1784). There are 61 volumes in the library, twelve volumes with addenda (no.1.333).

⁹³ Jordan Luchtmans (1652-1709) established a bookstore in Leyden in 1683. His son, Samuel, continued it in 1708, his grandsons Samuel and Johann took charge of it in 1755. In 1814 Brill took it over and it is still doing well. *Löffler-Kirchner*, Vol. 2, p. 373.

⁹⁴ I have found no data in the lexicons regarding his life.

⁹⁵ GÁRDONYI, *op cit.* 1944. p. 35. He mentions Ráday along with Barkóczy, Prónay, Csáky, Szathmári, Puky, Verseggy, Schaffrath, Sinai, Ráckevi and Ézsaiás Budai as ones who ordered from Strohmayer and he notes, "Among these men, no one showed interest for Hungarian books, and it seems that in this era only the great Széchényi truly cared for the collection of Hungarian books." The present study proves that this statement is false.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 32.

bankrupt, Ráday put in a claim for some consigned goods. In the archives, only one bill refers to the relationship of Ráday and Strohmayer: the bookseller acknowledges receipt of 33 ft 30 kr on October 12, 1789 for the books purchased on July 24 and August 6. Among these, the works of Mirabeau are the most interesting.⁹⁷ Thus, this bookseller, who was an informer of the secret police,⁹⁸ did not play a significant role in the constitution of the library.

In other parts of Hungary, especially in the Felvidék (the northern highlands), individuals occasionally collected works for the benefit of the library. We will glance at these sporadic acquisitions, because even if not significant, they are characteristic of the thoroughness and wide circle of interest of the collector.

In the collection of books, Ráday made use of members of his family as well as his estate managers. When his grandson Pál Ráday, at the young age of 20, became a judge of the County Court of Eperjes, he entrusted him with the search for old Hungarian books, especially in poetry. This is understandable as Lőcse was very close to Eperjes where the famous Breuer Press had been active. He was foremost interested in the first editions of the works of Gyöngyösi and Beniczky: "Since Lőtse is close to you, I hope that you will be able to get for me the oldest Lőtse editions of Gyöngyösi, that is,

1. *Cariclia*, which appeared there in 1700,
2. If possible the first edition of *Nymfa, vagy is Magyar Ország Siralmai* [Nympha, or The Lamentations of Hungary] and if it can no longer be found, one of the oldest Lőtse editions,
3. The oldest edition, or if possible, the first edition of Benyitzky.

The above-mentioned two works of Gyöngyösi are needed because Professor Kovásznai in Marosvásárhely wants to publish all the works of Gyöngyösi in a beautiful and if possible completely accurate edition and he has informed me of this project. I have the oldest first editions of *János Kemény* and the *Vénusz of Murány*, but the *Cariclia* and *Nymfa* are missing from the old editions. If the above listed three books are available and you let me know, I will send their payment at the first opportunity. In general, any old Hungarian books, especially of poetry, which can be had where you are, I will gladly take, if you let me know, because the printing shop of Lőtse used to be very famous, the best Hungarian books appeared there, perhaps some are still available."⁹⁹

The grandson cannot have carried out his grandfather's requests, because there is no trace in the archives of any purchases. Only in a letter of the fall of 1788 (October 14, 1788) did he recommend his host's Hungarian prayer book which they could not use. Three books were bound together in this prayer book: 1. István Huszti's *Keresztyén jószágos cselekedetekkel teljes paradicsomi kertecske* [The Little Garden of Paradise Filled with Good Christian Deeds] (Kolozsvár: 1658),¹⁰⁰ Mihály Ács' *Arany Lánc* [Golden Chain] (Lőcse: 1696)¹⁰¹ and, of the same author, *Zengedező mennyei kar* [The Singing Heavenly Chorus] (Lőcse: 1696).¹⁰² He asked how much he could promise for this work, bound with a clasp, and in good condition. The two works of Ács mentioned above were originally in Ráday's library but are missing today' thus we cannot know if his grandson bought them for him.

⁹⁷ MIRABEAU (Riqueti), Honoré Gabriel. *Histoire secrète de la Cour de Berlin*. Vols. 1-3. (n.p. 1789) (no. 0,3506), 3 ft 45 kr, and *La vie de Frédéric II*. Vols. 1-7, 9 ft – it does not figure anymore among the books of the library.

⁹⁸ KÓSA János. *Pest és Buda elmagyarosodása 1848-ig* [The Increase of the Hungarian Population in Pest and Buda until 1848]. (Budapest: 1937) p. 228.

⁹⁹ Gedeon Ráday's letter to his grandson Pál Ráday. Pest March 30, 1788. RA/Ráday III. Pál's correspondence. 206 facs.

¹⁰⁰ *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1524.

¹⁰¹ *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1489.

¹⁰² *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 490

Ráday's agents were mostly active in purveying of shipments¹⁰⁴ but one of the messages of Ferenc Fatavics, who was bailiff of the Ráday estate and lived in Sőreg, makes reference to collecting already in 1747 in the northeast part of the Felvidék, that is, before the purchases made in the mid-fifties of which we know more. He writes to his lord on November 27, 1747, while transporting wine from Szentpéter to Pest, that he put 36 books in a sack, according to the specifications given; when Ráday wishes it, he will get a man to deliver them.

Among the acquaintances, Sámuel Meskó¹⁰⁵ acquired "some good Hungarian books" for his friend (November 21, 1743) whereas János Dániel Perliczy,¹⁰⁶ a well known physician and the Ráday family's doctor, offered to Ráday 156 parts, in 12 volumes, of the *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*,¹⁰⁷ which Ráday bought from him and completed the series with four additional volumes.¹⁰⁸ In fact, Perliczy acted, at several occasions, as intermediary between Ráday and Peter Conrad Monath.¹⁰⁹ Sámuel Gazur,¹¹⁰ rector of the gymnasium at Selmecbánya, recommended and sold books to Ráday several times. He attached a list of his books for sale to his letter dated April 9, 1753 – no longer available – and asked for them, along with three volumes of Melius, 13 ft.¹¹¹ Added to this the cost of previously purchased volumes, 25 ft 11 kr, the sum of all of Ráday's debts came to 38 ft 11 kr. It seems he needed the money badly, because he was willing to accept 28 ft for all, if Ráday would keep everything.

József Csapó,¹¹² legal advisor to Prince Eugene of Savoy and father of a knowledgeable physician of the same name, who had been Ráday's friend since the time of Pál Ráday, informed him (August 26, 1757) that "the Hungarian Mars in verse"¹¹³ which Ráday had wanted, was available in Komárom from "István Kazaj, his young friend"¹¹⁴ who worked at the royal court of appeal and lived in Mr. Adonyi's house.¹¹⁵ We have no evidence that Ráday indeed bought this work from him which still exists in his library.

¹⁰⁴ The manager of Ludány, György Magyar, reports on eleven books, partially bought from, partially given as present by the bailiff in Ság, which he directed to Pécel.

¹⁰⁵ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 7, p. 437.

¹⁰⁶ SZINNYEI, Vol. 10, col. 798-801.

¹⁰⁷ *Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den gegenwärtigen Zuständen ...* Vols. 1-16, from 1740 through 1755 are in the library. (no.: 0.4186).

¹⁰⁸ His letter to Ráday from Losonc, dated August 16, 1753. The series received from Perliczy was not complete, parts 61, 120, 121, and 122 were missing. Ráday tried to acquire these through Gellért Mauss from the Monath Company in Nuremberg. He was successful. This small data adds to our picture of the bookseller of Pest about whom we know only very little.

¹⁰⁹ Monath's bill for Perliczy, dated April 8, 1752, on which he marked the books ordered for Ráday.

¹¹⁰ SZINNYEI, Vol. 3, col. 1057-1058.

¹¹¹ There were three works in the Pécel collection by Peter Melius Juhász, one of the greatest figures of the Calvinist reformation in Hungary. *Válogatott prédikációk*, [Selected Sermons] (Debrecen: 1563); (*RMK* Vol. 1, p. 54; *RMNy* Vol. 1, p. 116); the *Debreceni Hitvallás* [Creed of Debrecen] of 1567 (*RMK* Vol.1, p. 60; *RMNy* Vol. 1, p. 229) and *A Szent Jánosnak tett jelenések... magyarázata* [Explanations of St. John's Apocalypse], (Várad: 1568); (*RMK* Vol. 1, p. 69; *RMNy* Vol. 1, p. 259). They are still in the collection, but it cannot be established whether these are the copies bought from Gazur.

¹¹² SZINNYEI, Vol. 2, col. 100.

¹¹³ LISTIUS, László, *Magyar Márs avagy Mohách mezején történt veszedelemnek emlékezete* [The Hungarian Mars or the Reminder of the Calamity at Mohách] (Vienna: 1653) (no. *RMK* 3,10).

¹¹⁴ KEMPELEN, Vol. 5, 408.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 31.

The purchases made by Ferenc Kazinczy for Ráday deserve special mention. Kazinczy wanted to be of service to the “saintly old man,” his idol; living in Kassa, he looked for several books from the local press to please Ráday. In February 1786 Ráday asked Kazinczy for the first time to search for books from the Kassa press. He asked him to look for the work of Lajos Erdődy, which describes a garden in Szepes County.¹¹⁶ The author donated a copy to him, but either someone borrowed and did not return it, or it was stolen. Another book in Hungarian he asked for was by Pater István Kaprinai about the Lord’s Supper in 8°. ¹¹⁷ As he wrote, “the little work is written in good Hungarian and with moderation not common among Catholics.” Finally, he wanted the *Magyar Bibliotheca* [Hungarian Books], in 4°, by the Jesuit András Spangár, which was published in Kassa in 1738.¹¹⁸ He was especially keen to obtain the first of these books and asked Kazinczy that if it was not available at the press, to look for it elsewhere, he was willing to pay more just to get it. He would have liked to obtain the catalogue of the Kassa press, even if it was published together with a calendar (February 28, 1786).¹¹⁹ On March 7, Kazinczy let him know that he had gotten the works of Spangár and Kaprinai in Landerer’s press, but the printer knew nothing of the work of Lajos Erdődy. He was not able to obtain a catalogue either, because it had not been published since 1777.¹²⁰ András Puky took the two works to Pécel¹²¹ and it was discovered only then that Kazinczy had mistakenly sent Spangár’s *Magyar Chronica* [Hungarian Chronicle]¹²² instead of *Magyar Bibliotheca* [Hungarian Books]. After much searching Ráday’s friend in Kassa was finally able to purchase Lajos Erdődy’s work, the *Magyar Sans Souci* [Hungarian Sans Souci] for which Ráday “thanked him especially” in March 1782.¹²³

A remark of Ádám Bartholomaeides,¹²⁴ Ráday’s bailiff in Lucin, also points to the ever-widening circle of the collectors. He writes that “the reverend Professor Bányai¹²⁵ has not yet gotten involved in the buying of Hungarian books saying that he had not yet received the list, which he is awaiting from the young preacher of Pécel to be sent for the Easter holidays” (April 22, 1755). In the same letter Bartholomaeides recounts his meeting with Mihály Pápai,¹²⁶ minister in Tarcal at the time, about certain books. We learn from one of Pápai’s letters to Ráday, no longer available, that he also was active in helping to increase the collection of Pécel; in his note from M. Tarcal¹²⁷ he reports about some books already acquired and some that could be bought. “I have no doubt, that Your Lordship has received my letter and the books sent

¹¹⁶ SZTÁRAY, Mihály, *Ujj Sans-soucinak avagy gondnélkül való helynek rövid leírása*. [The New Sans Souci or A Short Description of the Carefree Place]. Transl. from the French by Lajos DIÓSZEGHI ERDŐDY. (Leipzig: 1777) (no.: 9,5842)

¹¹⁷ KAPRINAI, István, *Úrnapi bizonyítás*. [Demonstration of Corpus Christi] (Kassa: 1770) (no. 0,5993).

¹¹⁸ *Magyar könyvtár* [Hungarian Library]. This work of András Spangár remained in manuscript; Ráday confounded it with his *Magyar krónika* [Hungarian Chronicle], published in Kassa in 1738.

¹¹⁹ KAZINCZY *Ferenc levelezése* [The Correspondence of Ferenc Kazinczy]. Ed. by János VÁCZY. (Budapest, 1890), Vol.1, p. 91.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* P. 94.

¹²¹ KEMPELEN, Vol. 8, p. 440.

¹²² KAZINCZY, *op cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 102 and 119.

¹²³ KAZINCZY, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 123.

¹²⁴ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 1, p. 211.

¹²⁵ István Bányai-Szabó, 1743-1767, professor at Sárospatak. ZOVÁNY–LADÁNYI, p. 46.

¹²⁶ Mihály Molnár Pápai Tóth, a famous occultist, minister at Tarcal from 1748-1755. SZATHMÁRY, László, *Magyar alkémisták*. (Budapest: 1928), p. 234.

¹²⁷ The capital letter M is perhaps an abbreviation of Mező (Mezőtarcal).

by Mr. Laszky. Now I am again sending a package containing a little history in 4° and three in 8°, which come from Lőtse, printed by the Breweriana press, and that are very rare indeed nowadays; the one of Tzeglédi, although available in a different print, is not as clear as this one.¹²⁸ There are two Visolyi Bibles in Kassa; but one that Mr. Igaz, an honorable button maker, has in his possession, has three pages handwritten replacing the missing ones, the other, in the possession of a bookbinder, Szatmári, is even more incomplete. Mr. Tussai has the Marcus Aurelius in Hungarian;¹²⁹ I commissioned the bookbinder of Patak to purchase it, who promised to get it forthwith.¹³⁰ Ráday tried to obtain the *Vízolyi Biblia* [The Bible of Vázsolly] from others as well, it seems it was difficult to find an undamaged copy. Mihály Pápai was aware of Ráday's perfectionism, so he did not even attempt to purchase an incomplete copy. At the end of the 1770s, Ráday succeeded in obtaining a beautiful copy of the 1599 edition of the *Károli Biblia* [The Bible, translated by Károli Gáspár]. László Szemere¹³¹ who had also been searching for one for Ráday, discovered a copy at József Gelley's¹³² "who promised that he would send in exchange two Bibles with golden binding for the Vízoly Bible, that he would then send to His Lordship to Péczel as His library did not yet have this edition" (April 19, 1779).

Ráday also asked Mihály Pápai about the books of the physician József Szentpéteri Hodor.¹³³ The latter stayed in Tokaj in the summer of 1752, so it was easy for Pápai to let him know that if he wanted to sell his books, now was the opportunity, he would not find a better buyer anywhere. Hodor wrote to Ráday offering him the requested works, "the minister at Tarczal, the right reverend Pápai shared Your Lordship's letter with me, in which you mention the catalogue of my books. Up until now, I have had no desire to sell, because I was born and raised among books and I am still living quietly and happily among them, without any useless worldly desires. However, because some people have borrowed some precious books from me and never returned them, I have started to consider that it would be better to sell those books that I can live without, and then have them wickedly stolen. Knowing Your Lordship, I can gladly offer a few pieces, because I have always honored Your Lordship's untiring reading and constant diligence and have always held you in esteem, and still do, as I heard the spreading good news from every direction. In our country, as I see it, few follow the same path as Your Lordship, be it the edition of beautiful works as the Hungarian *Homerus* of István Gyöngyösi demonstrates, whose work about the life of János Kemény is in my collection in its first edition;¹³⁴ be it in the collection of a variety of works, of which I have a great number in Latin and French, a few in German. Wishing Your Lordship God's blessing from year to year, generation to generation, for the glory of our nation, of your old family and of our holy faith, so that you can continue to live in good health and peace" (April 19, 1779). In response to Ráday's query, Hodor wrote that he would give the following works to Ráday (the list was attached to the July 30, 1752 letter of Szentpéteri Hodor): the work, at

¹²⁸ Pápai probably wrote about István CZEGLÉDI's *Czeplédi Istvánnak sok szenvedésiről, árestáztatásáról, Posonba ... citáltatásáról, és uttyában ... kimulásáról ... íratott siralmas versek* [The sad poems written about the great suffering, arrest, summons to Posony, and death underway of István Czeplédi]. (Lőtse: 1710; *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1776). *PETRIK*, Vol. 1, p. 482.

¹²⁹ PRÁGAI, András. *Fejedelmek serkentő órája, az az Marcus Aurelius császárnak életéről* [The Inspiring Hours of Princes, that is the life of Marcus Aurelius]. (Bártfa: 1628; *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 566; *RMNy* Vol. 2, p. 1400), a work which figures in the old register of the library.

¹³⁰ PRUZSINSZKY, Pál, HAMAR, István. *A budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia Ráday könyvtárának múltja es jelene* [The Past and Present of the Ráday Library of the Reformed Academy of Theology of Budapest]. (Budapest: 1913), pp. 25-26.

¹³¹ The grandson of Rákóczi's brigadier and good friend of Pál Ráday. *KEMPELEN*, Vol. 10, p. 118.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 289.

¹³³ VESZPRÉMI, István, *Succinta medicorum Hungarorum et Transsylvanorum biographia*. [Short Biographies of Hungarian and Transylvanian Medical Doctors] (Leipzig: 1774-1787), Vol.1, p. 182.

¹³⁴ (Leipzig: 1693; *RMK* Vol. 1, p. 1442) Károly Szabó had seen two copies of the Leipzig edition in the library – it can be assumed that one had been acquired by Ráday from Szentpéteri Hodor. But in the course of centuries both have disappeared.

present being with László Mocsári,¹³⁵ concerning the *Historia pontificium Romanorum* [The History of Roman Popes] by Bartholomaeus Sacchi de Platina,¹³⁶ the *Thesaurus chronologiae* [Chronological Treasures] by Johannes Alsted, printed in Herborn;¹³⁷ as well as some other works, given by Pál Lósi¹³⁸ to István Isaak,¹³⁹ of Platina,¹⁴⁰ in folio. We have, thus, completed the survey of purchases made in Hungary. It behoves us to recognize that it not only demonstrates the different forms of collecting but the width of the network that covered the whole country, – a colorful, rich tapestry – but also shows how his contemporaries appreciated and valued the book collection efforts of Gedeon Ráday.

¹³⁵ KEMPELEN, Vol. 7, pp. 237-240.

¹³⁶ Bartholomaeus SACCHI DE PLATINA, *Historia de vitis pontificium Romanorum*. [History of the Life of Roman Popes] (Cologne: 1610) (no. 0,710)

¹³⁷ Today it cannot be found in the collection.

¹³⁸ This name is not known either to Iván NAGY nor to KEMPELEN.

¹³⁹ KEMPELEN, Vol. 5, pp. 194-195.

¹⁴⁰ The following editions of the works of SACCHI DE PLATINA can be found in Ráday's collection: Nuremberg: 1481 (no. I. 143), 1551 (no.: 0,1336) and 1664 (no. 0,1490), all of them without indication of the place of publication.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LIBRARY IN THE AGE OF GEDEON RÁDAY PART TWO

Growth of the Library's Holdings: Acquisitions in Vienna

The book collecting activities of Gedeon Ráday in Vienna were not without precedent. His father, Pál, also had connections not so much with the book market, which compared to later epochs was modest, but with the agents of the Reformed Church. The latter were mostly engaged in sending of foreign “novellas” – periodicals – to Pécel. At this time, the role of Vienna from the point of view of the library was quite insignificant. Its importance started to increase from the very first year of Gedeon Ráday because relations with the booksellers were made easier by the fact that Ráday's first correspondent was Sámuel Szilágyi, the Reformed agent at the Imperial Chancery, his close friend and classmate in preceding years. Later, István Nagy, whose activities in Pozsony we have already reviewed, and Sámuel Nagy were Ráday's representatives.

a) Agents

István Nagy must have arrived in Vienna in the fall of 1756, and for three years, he became the very soul of collecting activities there. His acquisitions show definite characteristics from the point of view of the library's holdings. He established relationships and identified sources of acquisitions which Sámuel Nagy simply took over later. We can discern the laying of the groundwork of the first extensive collecting activity, which took place between the 1760s and 1790s during his years in Vienna.

Starting with the beginning of the 1760s, Sámuel Nagy who was also an agent of the Reformed Churches at the Chancery took charge of book purchases for the collector of Pécel. During his three decades of work, Vienna became the center of acquisitions and a high percentage of the holdings of the library originated there in this period. In the 1780ss, Daniel Cornides appeared on the scene, and took care of some orders, though carrying out orders for acquiring books stayed in Sámuel Nagy's hands until the death of Gedeon Ráday.

Sámuel Nagy, the grandson of Bishop István Kocsi Major, was born somewhere along the Danube. He completed his studies, including theology, in Debrecen. Then he became the tutor of the children of the Ráday family in Pécel for eight years. During this time, very warm and friendly relations developed between him and the family, shown by the gratitude and affection mirrored in his farewell letters (see his letters to Gedeon Ráday between 1760-1762). It seems likely that he left Pécel early in 1759, and stayed in Vienna until February 1760 preparing his study trip in Western Europe (letter dated January 22, 1760). It was during this short time that we see his first Viennese acquisitions followed by those in the city on the Rhine. In February 1760, he arrived in Basel and on March 1, he enrolled at the university. He had to return to Vienna in the fall of 1760 because of a long and serious illness; there he enrolled to study medicine. At this time, he was already helping Gergely Dömjén in carrying out the duties of the agent and in May 1762, when with the death of Dömjén the position of agent of the Hungarian Reformed Churches became vacant, Sámuel Nagy also put in his bid. Besides Ráday, the Trans-Tisza District of the Church also supported him.

He was in competition with István Nagy who, however, soon withdrew; with Sámuel Türi, the Transylvanian agent, who had lost his good reputation because of his “intolerable behavior” and egotism; with Pál Szathmáry Király, lieutenant of the guards, and Benedek Dékány, a lawyer in Tolcsva. Szathmáry Király's candidature was the most dangerous for Nagy because he enjoyed the complete support of the Church District between Budapest and the Tisza, where György Szathmáry Király, the civilian head of the Church and Bishop Márton Csáji were as much adamant in recommending him as the Trans-Tisza District insisted on Sámuel Nagy's candidature. After lengthy negotiations, discussions and two election rounds, agreement was reached to appoint Sámuel Nagy. He stayed in his office until 1797, and served loyally and honorably. His work is significant from the point of view of the Hungarian Reformed Church; the archives of the Agent's office are proof of his devotion and love in defending the interest of the Reformed Church against the Catholic Church and the Viennese Court. He wrote to the Court numerous memoranda in defense of protestantism – one among them, *Brevis et sincera deductio status religionis evangelicorum, iuriumque ac legalium libertatum eosdem concernentium, divae olim reginae Mariae Theresiae exhibita* [A Brief and Sincere Summary of the Status of the Evangelical Religion, Together with Its Rights and Legally Recognized Liberties, Exposed for the Attention of the Former Divine Queen Maria Theresia] was published in 1790. He lived the last five years of his life, until 1802, in Pécel and died there.¹

In addition to István Nagy, Sámuel Türi was, between 1756-60, the other agent for Ráday in Vienna. He came from a noble family. After completing his studies at home, he went abroad for four more years of study. Between 1757-1762, as the successor to István Nagy in the latter's capacity of assistant to Gergely Dömjén, he took care of matters concerning the Transylvanian churches. Since, after the death of Dömjén in 1762, he was unable to secure the post of agent of the Hungarian Reformed Church – especially because the church in Hungary did not want to see the two agencies combined – he kept his status as Transylvanian agent. We do not know when he resigned from this post; the only certainty is that between 1784-1791 he was royal court judge in Szeben.² Seven of his letters to Ráday have been preserved. These indicate that they were old acquaintances; it is thus natural that Türi also would have handled book purchases during his stay in Vienna. However, he was needed only until Sámuel Nagy began his activities.

Before we go into the details of the collecting activities in Vienna, we need to examine the characteristics of the work of Sámuel Nagy. Our analysis is applicable to the activities of other agents, too, especially those in Vienna. The reason we present the picture through the activities of one agent, Sámuel Nagy, is that the Viennese acquisitions between 1760-1790 represent the fulfilment and enrichment of the objectives of all previous activity. For the growth of the library, acquisitions during these years are the most significant and are almost completely documented in the archives.

During 1759, Sámuel Nagy got involved along with István Nagy, in the collecting of books for Ráday. He became acquainted with the booksellers who sent him the books, and negotiated with them. After his return from Basel – when he at first helped Dömjén with the agency's affairs, then acted independently in that post – he was able to meet many useful and worthwhile men, whose goodwill he could rely on during his work in acquiring books requested by Ráday. Considering the entire history of the library, it becomes evident that the agents played a most important role in the collecting of books, due to their official duties, which facilitated their access to many important people. This fact is also amply demonstrated in the chapter concerning the agents in Pozsony.

In this era, just as it is true in our times, book collectors and their agents had two options for acquiring books: auctions and booksellers³ were of at least the same importance in the acquisition of books for the library as the booksellers. In Vienna, there were incredibly numerous auctions from month to month, and they dealt with high numbers of volumes. Deceased high priests and aristocrats, famous collectors, the bankrupt wealthy put their collections on the market. Since Vienna's growing book market was becoming

¹ ZOVÁNYI, *loc. cit.*, 1914.

² ZOVÁNYI, *loc. cit.* According to Zoványi, he was assistant to Dömjén only between 1759-1762, but István Nagy's letters (February 11 and December 27, 1757) prove that he was already working for him in 1757. György Aranka and Sámuel Zilai mention him as associate judge of the Court at Szeben.

³ The quantity of books purchased from individuals was not significant in the growth of a large eighteenth century library.

better and better known, collections from the countryside were brought to the capital, in hopes of getting higher prices. An auction of a large library would last for days, often the collection was divided by size, one day the octavos, the next the quartos, the third the folio editions. In some cases, we see groupings by subject in the auctioned materials. The sale of some groupings, for example the quartos or history books would last for several days. If a large number of books went unsold, they would include them in a new catalogue and in a month or two were put up for auction again. All this is described in the correspondence of Sámuel Nagy, which proves that classifying books according to their dimensions was generally the method at auctions in the era of Maria Theresia in Vienna. At auctions there was a wider selection than at the booksellers; special items, old editions, the books and collectors specializing in specific subjects were to be found in catalogues (November 7, 1768). In addition, the prices were much lower than those of any bookseller (June 19, 1761; October 8, 1762).⁴ Many books remained unsold even at low prices, so they were attached individually to others, so the buyer was obliged to buy both (letter without a date). The rarities, the unique or ornate editions often went for the same high price at the auctions as at the booksellers. Sámuel Nagy complains about this from time to time, that he paid a lot for books at auction because they were extremely rare (March 7, 1768).

Ráday was always interested in auctions, and in his letters, he constantly encouraged Sámuel Nagy not to miss even one where good books could be had. Nagy's remarks point to this when he defends himself "that according to Your Lordship's orders, I am mindful of the auctions here: as proof, I am attaching a new catalogue" (10 June 9, 1761). Several times he reassures Ráday by sending him a catalogue, "Only to allow any fears of Your Lordship that some great books might be listed"(January 5, 1769).

Sámuel Nagy was in constant touch with several well-known booksellers in Vienna⁵ and made purchases from them for Ráday. A major part of his purchases came from Friedrich Bernhardi and Emerich Felix Bader, with whom István Nagy also was in contact. He often bartered with these merchants and paid for the books with wine. He bought much less from the Viennese subsidiary of the famous old Monath company than his predecessor. Concurrently new names also appear in the history of Ráday's book collection, which indicate at the same time the growth of the Viennese book market and the growing number of booksellers. He acquired a large number of books from Bauer, another bookseller in Nuremberg who maintained a shop in Vienna. Jahn was from Leipzig, who only stayed in Vienna at the time of the fairs, at specific periods, thus relations with him – as was the case with other merchants who lived in different cities and only had branches in the imperial capital – involved many difficulties and troubles. In a letter dated February 1, 1762 from Nagy, we read that the "Leipzig bookseller" had closed his shop, so he could not ascertain the price of certain books and had to wait until the bookseller came again for the next fair. Although the shop of Newenstein was in Vienna, he did not manage it himself; Sámuel Nagy always negotiated with the manager, Herinnes.⁶ It is interesting that Nagy barely mentioned Johann Thomas Trattner in his letters.⁷ He probably did not make many purchases in the store of the biggest Viennese printer of the time⁸ and his opinion of this typical representative of early capitalism was that it was not worthwhile to turn to him "because he is just playing of being a gentleman, his employees take care of all matters" (June 24, 1768).

Sámuel Nagy was in constant touch with these merchants from the spring of 1761; his letters from this period indicate that he established relations with them. He knew how to deal with these people; his ability, which allowed him to take care of the sensitive and difficult tasks of the Agent's office, was also a big

⁴ The second letter is located in RA/A. II. 720.

⁵ References to them in the specialized literature are very sparse. I could find data only in reference to the Monath company. (See note 56 of Chapter Two, dealing with the library in the age of Pál Ráday.) A monograph published in 1952 discusses Trattner (see note 7). Bernhardi is mentioned in the ordinance of the council of February 3, 1775, in a list of bookbinders who received commissions to sell the products of the Jesuit Press of Nagyszombat, which had grown into a university press (MKSz 1944-1946, 162). As far as the others are concerned, I only had some references in the letters of Sámuel Nagy at my disposal.

⁶ He calls it "Newenstein's gopher" in his letter of September 14, 1762.

⁷ CLOETHER, *op. cit.*

⁸ Once he reports that he ordered SOLGER's *Bibliotheca* from him on December 28, 1765, and again on June 14, 1766.

help in the purchase of books. Already at the time of the organization of book collection in Vienna, his skill and aptitude became apparent and he was able to give useful advice to Ráday. He was willing to make sacrifices in order to maintain good relationships with the merchants. “We commissioned the works of Isocrates in folio from the bookseller of Leipzig, which he brought back in an edition by Stephanus in Greek and Latin – it is a handsome edition, but without annotation. However, we had also bought at auction this work in a Basel edition with notes by Hieronymus Wolf, but maybe we should keep the first one so as not to disappoint him. Otherwise, he will not accept any commissions in the future” (September 9, 1762).⁹ On the other hand, these merchants were also willing to compromise. “As I mentioned above, if Your Lordship buys big quantities they are ready to wait a year for the money since, given all expenditures at present, it would be inconvenient to assume such great expenses now” (April 15, 1762).¹⁰ In early bourgeois Vienna, the book trade followed this golden rule just as much as the full-grown capitalism of the nineteenth century: the one who bought in great quantities did not need to pay all at once. This concession was important for Ráday because he was often late with his payments, although his financial troubles only became serious in the 1780s. To buy “quantities” was not hard for him because the money spent every year for books made this possible. The letters of Sámuel Nagy also indicate (March 22, 1763) that through the years Ráday bought a rather constant volume of books, which Nagy acquired according to Ráday’s orders and only exceeded the amount in the case of particularly valuable works.

Nagy sent the catalogues of the merchants as well as those of the auctions to Ráday. The catalogues of the booksellers were printed in sections, by letter; as soon as Sámuel Nagy received a letter he sent it to Pécel; for example, the list of authors whose name started with S that were available at Bader’s or, in an abbreviated way, Herinnes’ letter F. It often happened that the catalogue of the auction came out late; the auction would start in a few days, so Ráday’s response with his wishes would not arrive in time. In such a case Nagy, who knew his patron’s taste, would not let pass a particularly valuable or extraordinary work, but bought it before the instructions arrived. He was particularly adept at getting his hands on catalogues of which only a few copies were printed;¹¹ to have the catalogue assured a definite advantage, because great battles were fought around some valuable libraries or works, and it depended on the cleverness of the agent as to who acquired the rare volumes. Ráday had to compete with such buyers as the imperial library, or Prince Liechtenstein, or the Hungarian Festetics or Teleki families, who possessed more significant financial means than he did to fulfill their bibliophile passions.¹² If a merchant acquired a valuable work, the situation was not hopeless, because he would be willing to resell it with a little profit. For example, it happened at an auction in 1763 that the merchant Bernhardi obtained the works of Rufinus before Ráday’s people could have bought them, but with extra payment, they might be obtained from him. In this competition in which the agents of different collectors opposed each other on the book market, Sámuel Nagy could call on his wide circle of contacts made through working as the agent of the Reformed church, as well as his acquaintances in higher social circles and his relationships among the Viennese bourgeoisie.

⁹ Letter located in RA/A. II. 722.

¹⁰ Sámuel Nagy must be thinking here about the expense of the construction of the manor house.

¹¹ Nagy refers to the significance of the acquisition of the catalogues in his letter of May 4, 1762. He defends himself against the reproach of his commissioner, who takes exception to the fact that others learn sooner than he about some books for sale, and he writes that he never shared the catalogues with others so that they could not buy the books Ráday wanted from under his nose.

¹² Nagy mentions Liechtenstein in his letter of March 25, 1768; regarding the Telekis and the bidding war at the auction of Utrecht (see the letters of Sámuel Zilai to Sámuel Teleki. OL. The Teleki family’s archives from Marosvásárhely, Sámuel Teleki’s section, numbers 2166-2177). Pál Festetics, Lord Lieutenant, Vice President of the Chamber (1725-1782), was a competitor to Ráday three times; Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* [A Historical-Critical Dictionary], from the proofreader, one work of Johannes A. Jessen (or Jessinsky), a physician from Breslau 4-5 days after the appearance of the catalogue (see letter of Nagy of November 6, 1761), and the book written about the plants of Hungary at the Justiniana auction. Festetics got his hands on all three before Ráday (January 20, 1764, located in RA/A. II. 808).

During the three decades between 1760 and 1790, Sámuel Nagy was regularly in touch with Ráday, exchanging letters more than once a week.¹³ Today there exist 263 of his letters, of which 258 are dated after the 1760s. Through the data contained in them, we can safely establish what the characteristics of his activities were and a clear picture emerges of the collecting practices of a private library in the 18th century.

b) Auctions

We hear about the first Viennese auctions already at the end of the 1750s, in the time of István Nagy. In 1757 died Trautsohn, archbishop of Vienna,¹⁴ a friend of the enlightened Archbishop Gottfried van Swieten, president of the censorship commission. István Nagy writes in several of his letters¹⁵ about the archbishop's catalogue of books that were to be auctioned off, but the publishing of the catalogue had been delayed. He reassured Ráday that the auction would take place only a month after the publication of the catalogue. Through Bader he had acquired the catalogue of Brifau's¹⁶ books but by the time he got to the auction, only the folio and quarto copies were left, the octavos had been sold (January 22, 1760).

Sámuel Nagy mentions auctions for the first time before leaving for Basel at the beginning of the 60s; he reports the auction of the books of Count Zinzendorf.¹⁷ Two weeks later he indicates that he had mailed the catalogue from which "the censor had deleted many titles" (January 15, 1760). When he left for Basel on January 22, he entrusted the purchase of books partly to John Drozdik, the Lutheran agent,¹⁸ partly to István Nagy, who visited often Vienna. He mentions the auction of the Zinzendorf collection in his letter written on the day of his departure. According to him, István Nagy insisted that Ráday come to Vienna for the auction next spring. Unfortunately, we have no information about Ráday's or his agent's participation at this auction, or if books were bought there for the collection in Pécel – although it can be assumed that Ráday in fact went to Vienna in 1760.

After his return to Vienna, the first auction at which Sámuel Nagy made a purchase for Ráday was the "Wapfstiana"¹⁹ of which he sent the catalogue to Pécel in June 1761. It lists mostly books on medicine,

¹³ In order to avoid delays Nagy would always indicate changes of address. According to his missive of March 26, 1761, he was living "in Grósz Kúszén Pfenning bey dem Rothen Turm, Prajbig Hoff-Tompeter," he is still there in August, but by December his address is "bey Páler Thor zu Hoff-Klemferischen Haus." On October 4, 1765 his address is "Zu der Schuler Strasse in Carmisinischen Haus II. Stock." In March 1768 he is still living in Schuler Strasse. Ráday often misaddressed his letters; so Nagy asks him on October 4, 1765 and June 6, 1773, not to address his letters to Sámuel Szilágyi, as for example in May 1773, because they get lost, and it could harm his reputation if he accepts letters with a different agent's name on them. Ráday was getting old, and so mixed up the two Sámuels – his agent was clever enough to tip the mailman, so he would give him the wrongly addressed letters.

¹⁴ Trautsohn von Falkenstein, Johann Joseph (1707-1757), cardinal and Viennese prince primate. He was a scholar who was especially interested in Hebrew and Greek. His library, the value of which was estimated at 6000 ft was finally not auctioned off, but incorporated in the bishop's library of Vienna. *ADB*, Vol. 38. pp. 520-522. – The list of his books was published with the title *Bibliotheca Trautsohniana* and can be found under code 9.4221 in the Ráday library.

¹⁵ Letters without dates, at the end of István Nagy's correspondence, with one exception which is located in RA/A. II. 601.

¹⁶ I couldn't find Brifau's name in any lexicon.

¹⁷ Count Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig (1700-1760), the great figure of pietism was born in Dresden. That it was his library is proven by the forceful intervention of the censors, because the works he owned reflected his religious orientation, which evoked opposition even in Protestant Saxony.

¹⁸ The agent of the Hungarian Lutheran Church at the Chancery from 1760 through 1790. ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, 16.

¹⁹ He wrote about him in his letter of June 19, 1761 and July 19 – but he must have misspelled the name because I could not find one resembling it in any lexicon.

but there are other interesting items such as the papers of the Paris and Berlin “societas” [scientific societies]. He hopes the books will be cheap “because money is tight now, and judging from the previous auction’s prices, it can be assumed that they will not be expensive.” The auction took place in the beginning of August. From the list of books marked by Ráday, Weinmann’s *Herbarium*, in four volumes, a professor of philology bought in the end for 59 ft 30 kr (August 25, 1761). Nagy assured Ráday that Herinnes also had it, in ten volumes and in folio regale, the half of which contained etchings, i.e. in an edition satisfying much more the needs of a bibliophile collector.

The Knorr auction took a long time;²⁰ already in June 1762 Sámuel Nagy wrote that they were expecting it for St. Michael’s Day (June 2, 1762).²¹ He sent the catalogue in the middle of September, which was returned to him from Pécel with the wanted books marked. However, he did not have at his disposal the necessary amount of money. So he suggested that the sum of 110 ft sent for Herinnes by Ráday to be spent on the books of the Knorr auction, adding this money to the sum already earmarked for this auction. He had already negotiated with the merchant and had come to an agreement with him that he would grant a postponement of payment and provide, nevertheless, the Latin and French books Ráday wanted to have. It would be necessary to have a larger amount of money available” – he writes at the same time – “as money is tight in Vienna, and books will be selling at a low price.” To arouse his patron’s interest, he lists a few titles: “Muratorius Scriptorum,”²² the London edition of “Thuanus,”²³ the acts of Landorpius²⁴ and “Cudworth.”²⁵ This attempt did not succeed, the 110 ft had to be paid, and Nagy ran out of money again. So he chose the following solution: he added to the 24 Dutch gold coins which he had received from General Rhédey²⁶ the money received from István Nagy, namely 83 ft 48 kr, and he rounded the whole sum to 200 Rh. Ft. Following the accepted custom, he went to see the heirs in the company of Herinnes, the local manager of Newenstein, so he could come to an agreement with them. He told them that he would buy a great quantity of books and deposit the sum of 200 Rh. ft as an advance with the proviso that he would pay the rest of the money on the twentieth day of the following month. The books would remain with the owners until payment was made in full (October 1 and 8, 1762).²⁷ The auction started on September 30 with the offering of the small sized books. Of these Sámuel Nagy only considered two as worthy of purchase, Dithmar’s work *Die Staaten Brandenburg*²⁸ and a *Voyage de deux Mahométans*.²⁹ He let pass the *Éléments de géométrie*

²⁰ It is difficult to determine who the owner of the library was. It seems likely that it was the library of the engraver Georg Wolfgang Knorr who also was interested in botany and paleontology (born in Nuremberg on December 30, 1705, died on September 17, 1761).

²¹ RA/A. II. 694.

²² MURATORI, Lodovico Antonio, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [Authors Writing About Italian Affairs]. Vols. 1-25. (Milano: 1723-1751). Sámuel Nagy bought it from Bernhardt for 290 ft (no.: 0.1279)

²³ THOU, Jacques de, *Historia sui temporis*. [History of His Own Times] Vols. 1-7. (London: 1733) (no.: 0,465). The inscriptions in the book show that it did not come from Knorr’s library.

²⁴ LANDORPIUS, Gaspar. *Der Kayserlichen under Königlichen Mayestät ... acta publica und Handlung ... von Ursachen des Teutschen Kriegs*. (Francfort: 1627) It is possible that this volume came from the Knorr auction (no. 0.2981)

²⁵ Certainly this is the work of CUDWORTH, *Systema intellectualis* [Intellectual Systematics] which Nagy later bought for Ráday (no. 0.1874).

²⁶ Count János Rhédey, lieutenant general, imperial and royal chamberlain. NAGY, Iván, Vol. 9, p. 748.

²⁷ RA/A. II. 718 and 720.

²⁸ DITHMAR, Justus Christoph, *Entwurf der Königlichen Preussischen und der Churbrandenburgischen Staats Wissenschaft*. (Francfort: 1750) (no. 0.5085).

²⁹ Such a work cannot be found in the library; Ráday did own a dozen or so travel descriptions, but not this one.

by Rivard³⁰ because it might be bought somewhere else; as well as De Piles' *Cours de peinture*³¹ which Baron Knorr's agent purchased for much more than its size would warrant – as Nagy remarked. He obviously did not know how rare this book was. For the work of Du Clos³² he purposely did not bid more than the price for which it was available at the booksellers; Molière's *Oeuvres* they noted erroneously in the catalogue because it consisted of only the "known comedy's" second volume, so it was sold as a partial work.³³ On the other hand, at the beginning of the century a little work under Molière's name was published in Amsterdam – he writes as consolation – made up of 2-3 comedies,³⁴ available from Drozdik for about 5 garas (October 1, 1762).³⁵ On October 8 he gives an account of the auction of the books in octavo; he passed on the following works that had been earmarked by Ráday: #3238,³⁶ Puttens' *Entwurf einer juristischen Encyklopaedie*;³⁷ #3536, Jussi *Gesamlete Politische und Finanzschrift*,³⁸ and #4496, *Le théâtre de Marivaux*.³⁹ These books were sold at a price that was the same as the booksellers' and they were not that rare. He was, however, truly sorry to have let go the *Bibliothèque Angloise*,⁴⁰ which they bid up to 24 ft with Count Par,⁴¹ but then Sámuel Nagy gave in because Ráday only wanted to give 12 ft for it, even though the opening bid on it had already been higher. He remarks encouragingly that perhaps it could be obtained from the library of Count Czobor,⁴² which he had organized and handled since spring, because in time this also would be sold under the table (October 8, 1762). The Knorr auction dragged out – on October 13 the books in quarto, on next Monday the books in folio were on the block. Among these, Ráday had decided against the works of Hieronymus and others, so Nagy bought different ones instead (October 15, 1762). Finally, in the last days of December Nagy signals the sale of the last volumes at this auction and asks for Ráday's instant reply indicating which ones he would want (December 30, 1762).

The books that were left over from the auction of the last months of 1762 came up for auction again at the end of February and March 1763. Because of the lack of money – which had been the

³⁰ RIVARD, Dominique Francois, *Éléments de géométrie, avec un abrégé d'arithmétique et d'algèbre*. (Paris:1732).

³¹ PILES, Roger de, *Cours de peinture par principe*.

³² DU CLOS, Dominicus, *Observationes circa aquas minerales diversarum provintiarum Galliae in Academia Scientiarum Regia anno 1670 et 1671 factas*. [Observations Concerning Mineral Waters in Different Provinces of France, Exposed at the Royal Academy of Sciences in the Years 1670 and 1671] It was published both in Paris and Leyden.

³³ Unfortunately it cannot be determined which play of Molière is meant by Sámuel Nagy.

³⁴ Perhaps it is the 1704 Amsterdam edition (GRAESSE, Vol. 4, p. 562), *Les oeuvres de Monsieur Molière*, in duodecimo. Today the library owns MOLIÈRE'S *Oeuvres* in the 1773 Paris edition, in 6 volumes.(no. 0.2770).

³⁵ RA/A. II. 718.

³⁶ These numbers indicate the numbers in the auction catalogue.

³⁷ Perhaps Puteanus; but I did not find such a title under this author.

³⁸ JUSTI, Johann Heinrich Gottlob, *Gesammlete politische und Finanzschriften*. Vols. 1-8. (Copenhagen: 1762-1764).

³⁹ Most likely MARIVAUX, Charles Pierre, *Oeuvres de théâtre*. Vols. 1-4. (Paris: 1740), which Ráday obtained later (no. 0.2081).

⁴⁰ *Bibliothèque Angloise ou histoire littéraire de la Grande Bretagne*. Vols. 1-15. (Amsterdam: 1717). Ráday acquired it in later years (no. 0.254).

⁴¹ Such a last name does not appear in bibliographic lexicons.

⁴² Count József Czobor, who had wasted all his fortune, died poor as a beggar as the last member of his family. NAGY, Iván, Vol. 3. p. 210.

roadblock in the acquisition of books of the Knorr auction – Nagy had to forgo some books. Although he had made a down payment of 100 ft to the impatient heirs in the middle of February (February 15, 1763 and February 19, 1763), the next couple of days he did not even go near to the place of the auction because he had no instructions from Ráday (March 25, 1763).⁴³ In his letter of March 25, he complains about the beautiful books, which were there, many that do not usually come up for auction: Bingham,⁴⁴ *Histoire des papes*,⁴⁵ etc. Thus, not having heard from Ráday, he missed the auctioned books in the spring of 1763. Ráday's silence was due to either his illness or the difficulties with the construction and furnishing of the chateau at Pécel that took place during the early 1760.

In the meantime, during the first weeks of the New Year, Nagy gives an account of another attempt to acquire books. At the beginning of January (January 7, 1763),⁴⁶ he notes that he had several conversations with Baron Bartenstein⁴⁷ who was the caretaker of the Knorr books that had not been put up for auction, and Nagy was trying to get his hands on several volumes, of which most were probably forbidden books. Although he has not seen them yet – he writes – there must be many valuable books among them. Bartenstein assured him that if there were volumes that the bishop of Passau had not bought out of the catalogue that they had sent him earlier, so Nagy could have them. Until the middle of January the bishop's answer had not arrived, this did not matter because Ráday could not send money anyway. We have no more additional information in the correspondence of Nagy about the discussions with Bartenstein and the privately sold books of the Knorr library; but the surviving expense accounts in which several items are listed as paid for the prohibited Knorr books, prove that Nagy had bought from among them at least 30-40 works for Ráday.⁴⁸

Therefore, it is safe to assume that from the material of Knorr's auction a great number of books were added to Ráday's collection despite the lack of money, due to the construction costs at Pécel. Unfortunately, only fragmentary accounts of these purchases are left, so we cannot summarize how many books and for how much Nagy was able to buy. At any rate, the details about the Knorr auction shed light on the difficulties of purchasing books at auctions, but at the same time paint a vivid picture of the atmosphere surrounding the constitution of Gedeon Ráday's library.

Later we do not hear in such detail about even one of the auctions, but the remarks about some of them enrich our understanding of difficulties encountered and from how many sources the books for the collection of Ráday at Pécel were acquired. At the end of 1763, on December 25, the lustiana⁴⁹ auction took place; Nagy bought, among others, volumes 1665 through 1680 of the *Journal des Sçavants*, the scientific and literary review that had been started in 1665 by Denis de Sallo and was unique in Europe at the time.⁵⁰ The books he had bought at this auction were sent only in February of the following year. He had trouble in

⁴³ The last 5 letters are located in RA/A III. 720, *ibid.* A. II. 721, II. 732, II. 744, and, finally, II. 756.

⁴⁴ Joseph BINGHAM'S *Origines ecclesiasticae [Origins of the Church]* is one of the first works in Christian archeology. *RGG*, Vol. I, p. 1121.

⁴⁵ Probably he had in mind Johann Heinrich HEIDEGGER'S *Histoire du papisme*, published in Amsterdam in 1685, which Ráday obtained later. (no. 0.2510)

⁴⁶ RA/A. II. 735

⁴⁷ Johann Christoph Bartenstein, a remarkable personality in the intellectual life of the period, a tutor of Joseph II. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 87-93.

⁴⁸ I will discuss the acquisitions of prohibited works at the end of the chapter.

⁴⁹ Perhaps the reference is to Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi (1720-1771), chamberlain, the first systematizer of political science. *ADB*, Vol. 14, pp. 747-752.

⁵⁰ The numbers 2-169 of this journal are still in the library (no. 0.75) with the exception of #110 (Nagy's letter to Ráday, January 20, 1764: RA/A II. 80). The heirs commissioned Jahn, the merchant in Leipzig, to get the missing volumes. He promised them to get those as well as the following volumes. However, he failed to fulfil this promise, as the material presently found in the library proves.

sending them. At the auction of Count Saffran's⁵¹ books in September 1765 he bought Le Long's *Bibliotheca sacra* [Sacred Books],⁵² the Paris edition of 1723, in folio, two parts bound in one volume in English bookbinding, its price was 6 ft 30 kr (October 4, 1765). On February 25 1766, he reports on the Esterházy auction⁵³ where he bought 33 works⁵⁴ for 73ft 33 kr which, with the exception of a few “priest bindings” (he probably meant paper bindings), were all in English or French bindings. The two most famous works, *Cérémonies et coutumes*⁵⁵ and Leonhardus Uncius' poems⁵⁶ he had to forego, because they had been bid up so much. The former was bought for 232 ft and the latter – of which Nagy's opinion was that its miserable poems lacking in beauty would not be worth more than 8 garas – was sold for 7 ft 3 kr, but it could have even fetched 6-7 goldens. In general, at the auction the books went for exorbitant prices (February 25, 1766).

The analysis of the materials that were purchased at this auction for the library at Pécel is not only important from the point of view of the history of the library (because many valuable pieces of the French Enlightenment were added to the collection at this time) but because it sheds light on the behavior of one of the most important Hungarian aristocrats, the Prince Miklós Esterházy. He collected and read, besides the works on Poland and Russia necessary for him as a diplomat, the literary products of the French literature and philosophy proclaiming a new world, although he did not sympathize with their ideas. Among the books about Poland, we have to mention the work of Zalasowsky, *Ius regni Poloniae* [The Law of the Polish Kingdom],⁵⁷ as well as the work entitled *Essay politique sur la Pologne*,⁵⁸ relating to Russia *Discours sur le progrès des beaux arts en Russie*⁵⁹ and a *Sammlung russischer Geschichte*⁶⁰ in six volumes. The French Enlightenment is represented foremost by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's three works *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*; *Les avantages et les désavantages des sciences et des arts*, and *Principes du droit politique ou contrat social*.⁶¹ An early forerunner of the Enlightenment, Jean Bodin, is represented by *Universae naturae theatrum* [The Theatre of Universal Nature],⁶² the well-known Danish dramatist Ludvig Holberg's *Remarques sur quelques positions, qui se*

⁵¹ No such family could be identified in the lexicons; it is therefore probable that Sámuel Nagy misspelled the name.

⁵² LE LONG, Jacques, *Bibliotheca sacra* ... In 1861 it was still in the library, it has since been lost.

⁵³ At this auction the books of Miklós Esterházy (1711-1764), keeper of the crown, ambassador to Russia, the brother of the famous book collector Károly Esterházy, bishop of Eger, were sold; this is proven also by the fact that among the books bought by Ráday there were some about Russian affairs. NAGY, Iván, Vol. 4., P. 92.

⁵⁴ *Series librorum ... Gedeonis Ráday in licitatione librorum ... Comitibus Esterhazy comparatorum.* RA/A 228. facs.

⁵⁵ *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres* ... The extant copy in the library was bought later by Ráday, a three volume (Amsterdam 1723-1735) edition, with the engravings of Picart (no. 0.248).

⁵⁶ Lenart UNCIUS, minister in Szászváros. SZINNYEI, Vol. 14, col. 661-662. Three of his printed works are known: i/ *Elegia de obitu Principis Joannis II, regis Hungariae*. [Elegiac Poem at the Death of János II. King of Hungary] (Wittenberg: 1571; *RMK* Vol. 3, p. 4807; ii/ *Poematum libri VII*. [Seven Books of Poems] (Kraków: 1579; *RMK* Vol. 3, 679; and iii/ *Elegia de morte Christophori Báthory*. [Elegiac Poem at the Death of Kristóf Báthory] (Kraków: 1584; *RMK* Vol. 3, p. 731. Ráday owned a volume entitled *Poemata*.

⁵⁷ (Warsaw: 1741-1742) at a cost of 75 ft (no. 0.891).

⁵⁸ (Warsaw: 1764) its cost 2 fl 6 kr (no. Hist. b. 2720).

⁵⁹ 1760 its cost 17 kr (no. 0.5833).

⁶⁰ (St. Petersburg: 1732) cost 8 ft 30 kr (no. 0.53445).

⁶¹ (Amsterdam: 1762) cost 2 ft 30 kr (no. 0.3129); Vols. 1-2. (London: 1756); cost 2 ft 6 kr (no. 0.4980), and (Amsterdam: 1762) cost 2 ft (no. 0.3389).

⁶² (Hanau: 1605) cost 2 ft 30 kr (no. 0.3202).

*trouvent dans l'esprit des loix*⁶³ is worth mention. At the same time, the work of Count Henri Boulainvilliers, an admirer of feudalism and serfdom, *Histoire de l'ancien gouvernement de la France*⁶⁴ represents the thinking of the *ancien régime*. Finally, among the books bought at the Esterházy auction were many from the theatrical literature of the age such as Marivaux,⁶⁵ the representative of French sentimentalism, and a volume, which disappeared from the library, containing the collection of operas performed by the Académie Royale de Musique of Paris.

At the auction of the bookseller Brifau, Nagy bought 18 works for 141 ft 41 kr. From this lot, one original edition is worth mentioning: Petrus Comestor *Historia scholastica* [Scholastic History].⁶⁶ Besides this one, we find among them: the two volume work of Sebastian Le Clerc, *Traité d'architecture avec des remarques et des observations très utiles*;⁶⁷ *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* by an unknown author;⁶⁸ the works of Jacques Lenfant; the summary of the histories of the three church councils before the Reformation, quite significant from the point of church history;⁶⁹ and, finally, Paul Freher *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum* [Theatre of Highly Cultivated Men]⁷⁰ which was of great use to Ráday in the compilation of historical portraits.

The Mannagetta auction,⁷¹ where one of the bidders was the Prince of Liechtenstein, took place in the spring of 1768. Eighty-seven volumes – a really great number – were purchased here but their significance was also in the quality of the works purchased. The library's oldest printed book, the *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis* [Against Those Discrediting Plato]⁷² of Cardinal Bessarion, was purchased for 4 ft 6 kr; the 1488 edition of Brünn of the *Chronica Hungarorum* [Hungarian Chronicle]⁷³ of János Turóczi and the works of the Italian Bishop Johannes Antonius Campanus in their second edition of circa 1500⁷⁴ came into the Pécel collection from the Mannagetta auction. From the sixteenth century editions, Sámuel Nagy acquired a whole series of works at this auction. The most valuable among them, the volume of poetry of Konrad Celtes *Amorum libri IV* [Four Books on Love]⁷⁵ published by the Viennese Sodalitas

⁶³ (Copenhagen: 1753) cost 58 kr (no. 0.5710)

⁶⁴ Vols. 1-2. (The Hague: 1727) cost 51 kr (no. 0.5304)

⁶⁵ *Oeuvres de théâtre*. Vols. 1-4. (Paris: 1740) its price 4 ft 20 kr (no. 0.2081)

⁶⁶ (Strasburg: Georg Husner, 1500) cost 16 kr (no. I 139)

⁶⁷ (Paris: 1714) cost 10 ft 6 kr (no. 0.4782)

⁶⁸ Its cost was 7 ft 30 kr (no. 0.787)

⁶⁹ *Histoire du concile de Constance*. Vols. 1-2. (Amsterdam: 1727) (no. 0.412); *Histoire du concile de Pise*. (Amsterdam: 1724) (no. 0.2824); *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites et du concile de Basel*. (Utrecht: 1731) (no. 0.407). Nagy paid for the three together 25 ft 6 kr. Lenfant (1661-1728) was a court preacher in Berlin and member of the consistory, and from 1724 on he was also member of the Academy.

⁷⁰ (Nuremberg: 1688) cost 8 ft 448 kr (no. 4.564 Hung.)

⁷¹ According to the ex libris the owner, Johannes Guglielmus Mannagetta, came from an old southern Austrian family. Perhaps he is the same as Giovanni Guglielmo Mannagetta, court counselor, the secretary of the secret council, who played an important role in the establishment of the Hungarian council of the governor-general. EMBER, Győző, *A m. kir. helytartótanács ügyintézésének története. 1724-1848*. [The History of the Administration of the Hungarian Royal Council of the Governor-general, 1724-1848] (Budapest: 1940), pp. 1-3.

⁷² (Rome: Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1469) (no. I. 159)

⁷³ Ráday paid the most for this work (except for the work of Celtes) 40 ft (no. I. 195)

⁷⁴ *Opera*. [Works] Ed. Michael Ferus. (Venice: Bernardinus de Vianis) cost 4 ft 48 kr (no. I. 82)

⁷⁵ (Nuremberg: 1502) (no. I. 124).

Danubiana, which were illustrated by Albrecht Dürer's engravings. Its value at the auction was raised by the fact that it was printed on parchment – probably for a high-ranking patron. So Ráday's agent paid the most for this work, 42 ft 6 kr, because “they were bidding for it for the imperial library, and when it became ours, the librarian Kollár⁷⁶ said that because of its rarity it is worth 100 goldens” (March 7, 1768). At this auction the prices were generally high “I cannot remember such an expensive auction; but it was due to the rarity of the books,” writes Nagy, so he had to forego many items because of their high prices. The many books from the sixteenth century acquired at this auction, besides the one of Celtes, are Haly's *Liber totius medicinae necessaria* [Compendium of All Necessary Medical Knowledge],⁷⁷ the collection of Boethius writings,⁷⁸ Oppianos' works in Greek and Latin,⁷⁹ the latter translated by Laurentius Lippe. The commentaries on Aristotle by Philoponus,⁸⁰ Alexander Niphus,⁸¹ Simplicius⁸² as well as the latter's commentary on Epictetus,⁸³ the works of Giovanni Pontano,⁸⁴ Thaddaeus Florentinus,⁸⁵ and Johannes Ludovicus Vives,⁸⁶ the Greek Grammar of Johannes Metzler,⁸⁷ the work describing all the diseases by Alexander Benedictus,⁸⁸ the books of Zohar and of Averroës on medications.⁸⁹ The principal acquisitions at the Mannagetta auction were mainly

⁷⁶ Adam Kollár, jurist (1718-1783), from the spring of 1749 he was employed by the Imperial Library, and from 1773 on he was its director. SZINNYEI, Vol. 6, col. 741-745.

⁷⁷ HALY, Albohazen, Filius Abenragel. *Liber totius medicinae necessaria*. [Compendium of All Necessary Medical Knowledge] Ed. Michael de Capella. (Lyon: Jacob Myt, 1523) cost 1 ft 36 kr (no. I. 11)

⁷⁸ *Opera*. [Works] Ed. Henricus Loritus Glareanus. (Basel: Henrich Petri, 1546) cost 8 ft 48 kr (no. I. 98)

⁷⁹ Printed together with it: PSEUDO-OPPIANOS, *De Venatione libri III*. [Three Books on Hunting] (Venice: Aldus and Asulanus, 1517) cost 2 ft 39 kr (no. I. 51)

⁸⁰ *Annotationes commentariae in libros priorum resolutionum Aristotelis*. [Annotated Commentaries on Aristotle's Earlier Theses] (On the basis of the lectures of Ammonius) (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1548) cost 2 ft 59 kr (no. I. 104)

⁸¹ *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros*. [Explanations of All of Aristotle's Books] (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1546) cost 1 ft 54 kr (no. I. 161)

⁸² We find several of his works in the catalogue: *Commentaria in quattuor libros de coelo*. [Four Books of Commentaries on the Heavens] (Venice, Hieronymus Scotus, 1540); *Commentarii in libros de anima*. [Book of Commentaries on the Soul] (Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1543); *Commentationes in praedicamenta*. [Comments on Categories] (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1553). The price of the works purchased at the Mannagetta auction was 51 kr; Ráday had the above mentioned books bound together (no.: I. 96).

⁸³ *Commentarius in Enchiridion Epicteti*. [Commentary on Epictetus' Manual] (Venice, Hieronymus Scotus, 1546) cost 40 kr (bound together with the commentaries of Aristotle).

⁸⁴ *Opera*. [Works] (Venice: Aldus and Asulanus, 1518) cost 46 kr (no. I. 47) and *Opera omnia soluta oratione composita*. [All Works in Composite Discourse] (Venice: Aldus and Asulanus, 1518) cost 2 ft 61 kr (no. I. 122); this still has Mannagetta's ex libris.)

⁸⁵ *Opera*. [Work] (Venice: without printer, 1527), and bound together with *Commentarii in C. Galeni Michratechnen*. [Commentaries by C. Galenus Michratechnos] (Naples: Antonius Fricius, 1522) cost 1 ft 26 kr (no. I. 171)

⁸⁶ The Basel edition of four of his works by the press of Johannes Oporinus in 1541; Metzler's work was bound with it; together they cost 2 ft 40 kr (no. I.118).

⁸⁷ *Primae grammatices Graecae partis rudimenta*. [Elementary Greek Grammar] (Hagenau: Johann Setzer, 1532)

⁸⁸ *Omnium ... morborum signa, causae indicationes ...* [Manifestations of All Sicknesses, With Indication of Their Causes] (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1539) cost 2 ft 35 kr (no. I. 121)

scientific, though we find many natural history and medical books on the lists, for example Avicenna,⁹⁰ different bibliographical treatises,⁹¹ representatives of scientific systematizations, and a few historical, artistic, legal and theological works. Books referring to Hungarian matters or by Hungarian authors are only a few. Besides the work of Turóczi we can name *Rudimenta cosmographica* [Elements of Cosmography] by Honterus,⁹² a work called *Corpus decreta constitutionum et articulorum Regni Hungariae* [Collection of Constitutional Decrees and Ordinances of the Hungarian Kingdom],⁹³ and finally a “short little book” mentioned by Sámuel Nagy as *Apologia pro clero Hungariae* [Apology for the Hungarian Clergy]⁹⁴ listed in the library’s catalogue as *Defense of Péter Pázmány*.

The information about acquisitions of the Mannagetta auction are also important for the history of the Ráday library, in particular, and the book trade, in general, because they point out how differently books were valued in an eighteenth century auction. For books, which today are considered the most valuable, small sums were paid compared to the prices of the fashionable and popular works of the time.

At the Pohl auction,⁹⁵ in the summer of 1768, Sámuel Nagy paid 110 ft 18 kr for the books bought for Gedeon Ráday.⁹⁶ The nineteen books listed in the accounts are mostly the works of Church fathers of the early centuries Ireneus,⁹⁷ Cyril,⁹⁸ Cyprian,⁹⁹ Tertullian,¹⁰⁰ Justinus,¹⁰¹ and Lactantius,¹⁰² as well as works referring to them and a few historical writings.

⁸⁹ ZOHAR, Abhomeron, *Liber Theizir dehalmodana vahaltadabir, i.e. Rectificatio medicationes et regiminis*, and [Theizir Dehalmodana Vahaltadabir, or Correct Use of Medicines and Regimes] and AVERROËS, *Liber de medicina* [Book on Medicine], the two works were included in *Geminum de medica facultate opus* [Twin Books on Medical Science], published by Jacob de Giunta’s press in Lyons in 1531; cost 17 kr (no. I. 5)

⁹⁰ *Libri in re medica*. [Books on Medicine] (Venice: 1564) cost 7 ft 13 kr (no. 0.1384)

⁹¹ For example: ALEGAMBE, Philippe, *Bibliotheca scriptorum societatis Jesu*. [Books of Jesuit Authors] (Antwerp: 1643) cost 10 ft 30 kr (no. 0.1305); BOISSARD, Jean Jacques, *Bibliotheca chalcographia clarissimorum virorum*. [Books of Engravings of Very Famous Men] (Francfort: 1650) cost 21 ft 3 kr (no. II. Hist. List. 162); LAMBECIUS, Petrus – HESSELIUS Daniel, *Bibliotheca acroamatica*. [Books on Esoteric Teachings] (Hannover: 1712) cost 3 ft 30 kr (no. 0.3203)

⁹² Two editions of Honterus works, the 1595 Prague edition (*RMK* Vol 3, p.861) and the 1600 Cologne edition (*RMK* Vol. 3, p. 945) were in Ráday’s collection, so it cannot be determined which came from the Mannagetta auction.

⁹³ The aboved cited, and in the list mistakenly titled, *Tripartitum opus decretorum, constitutionum et articulorum regum in clyti Regni Hungariae* in three volumes, is to be understood here, published in Vienna in 1628; (*RMK* Vol. 3, 1416); their differing title pages were mixed up by the person who wrote the list. The work cost 7 ft (no. *RMK* 3,40)

⁹⁴ It was at this auction that he bought for Ráday the panegyrics relating to the Jesuit academy of Molsheim which in 1617 was elevated to university status, and two volumes of the first doctoral theses defended there (no. 0.4481) and apologized, that “it is rather expensive, but there is some work in it, *Apologia pro Clero Hungarico*, which is valued at 6 golds as a rarity” (His letter dated March 7, 1768). The work’s exact title is: BALÁSFY, Tamás. *Apologia pro clero et aliis catholicis Hungariae*. (Vienna: 1620; *RMK* Vol. 3, p. 1279)

⁹⁵ I did not find data about the library owner in the lexicons.

⁹⁶ The list includes the books bought on August 5, 1768. I assume therefore that this is a summary, as is the one about the Mannagetta auction, and no other works from this auction landed in the library at Pécel.

⁹⁷ *Opus ... in quinque libros digestum ...* [Works... presented in five volumes] Ed. Desideius Erasmus. (Basel: Hyeronimus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, 1548) cost 9 ft (no. 132. Ant.)

⁹⁸ There were three editions of his collected works in the Ráday library: *Opera*. (Basel: 1566) (no. 0.881. Ant.); *Opera omnia*. (Oxford: 1703) (no. 0.252); *Opera omnia*. (Paris: 1720) (no. 0.228) For the volume bought at the Pohlana auction Ráday paid 14 ft 30 kr.

⁹⁹ The collected works of Cyprianus appear in five editions in the catalogue; the one of Erasmus in Basel, by Johann Froben, in 1521 (no. I. 81); the one printed in Lyon in 1537, by the workshop of Sebastianus Cryphius

In 1769, Sámuel Nagy could not participate at the auctions of Neuberg and Führenberg.¹⁰³ At the former, his agent had to give up the works of Plato to the agent of the English ambassador, even though he had gone as high as 36 ft, but the competitor paid 50 ft and bought it. The volume concerning the so-called process of the Cistercians was purchased by Count József Teleki¹⁰⁴ for 6 ft, but if Ráday insists on having it, he is ready to exchange it for something else (May 23, 1769). The account concerning this auction shows twenty-five works, for a sum of 163 ft 14 kr. The great majority of the books listed are works of classic authors published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵ About the auction of Führenberg, Nagy only says that he received the sum of 300 ft sent with Ferenc Kossuth, Ráday's manager at Pécel (April 7, 1769).

In this same year, the holdings of the bookseller Newenstein also came up for auction. Nagy could not attend it, and his agent "did not accurately follow his instructions," so they missed a few good books (November 28, 1769). The agent bought Videmann¹⁰⁶ in a bad state, but Nagy defended him, because "he could not examine it closely during the auction, and they would not take it back." Ráday may accept it: because, "this was not a big expense and since His young Lordship showed an interest, it was good he should be mangling this one, rather than another more expensive book."

Between the fall of 1770 and spring of 1771 Sámuel Nagy reports on other auctions in his letters and accounts. These auctions are those of Senckenberg¹⁰⁷ and Kayserling.¹⁰⁸ About the books of Senckenberg he already writes on June 17, 1768, "Poor Baron Senckenberg has died. The part of his library that does not concern the German public law and other laws will be put up for auction this year." However, the auction did not take place before the fall of 1770, when he sent Ráday the list of purchased books. These do not give a complete picture of the acquisitions, so we cannot pinpoint with the same accuracy, as we did with the auction of Mannegetta, how many works and of what value came from there to the Pécel collection. The extant financial accounts list 66 works, for which Ráday paid 152 ft 7 kr. These books are mainly legal studies – we find among them compendia of Russian law, English or Swedish law, or those resuming the legal practices of the most diverse countries and colonies – to systematic works on feudal or knightly laws. Besides these, we find the "bibliothecas" in great numbers. In analyzing the acquisitions at this and other auctions – as already noted previously – that Gedeon Ráday's careful acquisition of these scientific works clearly evidences his thirst for knowledge and his encyclopedic orientation, coupled with an inclination for

(no. I. 114) in Antwerp in 1542, printed by Johannes Crinitus (no. I. 179) and in Amsterdam in 1700 (no.: 0.2884); and, finally, the one from Venice which appeared in 1728 (no. 0.2429). We cannot determine which came from the Pohl auction; the price of the copy purchased there was 4 ft 33 kr.

¹⁰⁰ Ráday owned from his complete works, *Opera* [Works], the one with commentaries by Beatus Rhenanus, published in Basel by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus in 1550 (no. I. 89); the edition of Paris in 1641 (no. 0.843), and the one of Venice in 1744 (no. 0.2847). Ráday paid 10 ft for one of them at the above auction.

¹⁰¹ It must be an acquisition from Pohl either the Basel 1555 edition of his *Opera* [Works] (no.: I. 232. Ant.) or the *Opera quae exstant omnia* [All Extant Works] from Venice 1747 (no. 0.2455) cost 6 ft.

¹⁰² *Opera omnia*. [Works] (Leipzig: 1739) cost 4 ft (no. 0.2660)

¹⁰³ It is not possible to identify either of the owners.

¹⁰⁴ Ráday's nephew who studied with Sámuel Nagy in Basel.

¹⁰⁵ For example HORATIUS, Quintus Flaccus, *Opera*. [Works] Vols. 1-2. (London: 1733) cost 11 ft 9 kr (no. 0.3618)

¹⁰⁶ The library holdings have no works from Widemann.

¹⁰⁷ SENCKENBERG, Heinrich Christian (1704-1768), famous jurist, he published many works and source materials. *ADB*, Vol. 14, pp. 1-12.

¹⁰⁸ I could find no indication which member of the family owned the library that was auctioned off in 1779.

systematic treatment of the library's holdings.¹⁰⁹ The Senckenberg books were forwarded only a year later – indicates Nagy on November 12, 1771.¹¹⁰

Regarding the Kayserling auction, he shows his irritation that part of the books was sold privately under his nose, while everybody bargained for the rest (March 19, 1771). From this auction only a short account, – containing a few works for 42 ft 3 kr – has survived; we need to consider this only as a fragment rather than a complete list of the materials bought at this auction. Of the acquired works, we should mention the Márton Brenner edition of Bonfini's *Rerum Hungaricarum decades* [Decades of Hungarian History],¹¹¹ the works of Plato¹¹² and an *Atlas Anglicanus* [Atlas of Great Britain].¹¹³

Sámuel Nagy reports on the last detailed auction in April and May 1773. He notes the beginning of the auction of the Krauss library¹¹⁴ on April 10. He recommends two valuable editions of the Bible to Ráday, one was published by Estienne in Paris, in folio, and in two volumes; the other was published before the Reformation, also in folio, but printed somewhere else. Nagy got the auction catalogue back with Ráday's indications in time, but he was only able to purchase some of the books, because he had to forego many due to the very high bidding (May 4, 1773). It is characteristic for this auction, a situation with which we meet in the Ráday library's history only here, that the books were divided by subject for each auction day, and within subject areas, by size. On May 11, Nagy wrote to Ráday that they were selling the theological books right then, but only those that were octavo sized, so Ráday's order for quartos and folios had reached him in time. Nagy could not attend this auction personally, but sent one of his people instead. He promised to send the accounts for the purchases soon, and asked that "what I pay for them; kindly send right away, because I will need that money."¹¹⁵ Two lists have survived which show the books bought at the Krauss auction; on these lists we find twenty-three works, for 130 ft 29 kr. Among the works on the lists, the "Stephanus" edition (after the Parisian printer Estienne) Bible¹¹⁶ and the two volumes of Old and New Testament from before the Reformation,¹¹⁷ the Sabatier edition of the Latin Bible,¹¹⁸ the volume of the poems of Queen Marguerite of Navarre,¹¹⁹ are worthy of mention. The major acquisitions dealing with Hungarian matters were the works of

¹⁰⁹ As proof of this serve his handwritten notes which can be found among the documents of the Ráday library, as he tried to organize his own knowledge; for example he compiled the list of philosophers from the beginning of time, or the list of English writers, etc. RA/A 227-228. fascs.

¹¹⁰ RA/A. II. 986.

¹¹¹ (Basel: Robert Winter, 1543; *RMK* Vol. 3, p. 344); cost 4 ft 24 kr (no. RMK 3.31)

¹¹² *Opera, quae extant omnia*. [Works] Vols. 1-3. (Paris: Henri d'Estienne, 1578) cost 25 ft 41 kr (no. 0.461. Ant.)

¹¹³ *Atlas Magnae Britanniae*. (London: n.d.) cost 4 ft 43 kr (no. Geogr. b. 30)

¹¹⁴ This last name is so common that it is impossible to identify the owner of the books.

¹¹⁵ May 11, 1773. RA/A. II. 997. This remark points to the fact that – as we will see in the chapter about various editions – Ráday's financial difficulties started already at the beginning of the 70s, and that he often was in debt to his agent.

¹¹⁶ *Biblia utriusque Testamenti* [The Bible of Both Testaments]. Editio Oliva Roberti Stephanus. Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1557) cost 10 ft (no. 2446. Ant.)

¹¹⁷ *Biblia latina*. [The Latin Bible] Vols. 1-2. (Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1481) cost 18 ft (no. 158)

¹¹⁸ *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*. [Old Latin Versions of Sacred Books] Vols. 1-3. (Reims: 1743) cost 16 ft 33 kr (no. 0.4074).

¹¹⁹ *Marguerites de la Marguerite*. [The 'marguerits' of the Marguerite] (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547) cost 47 kr (no. I. 119)

Callimachus Experiens,¹²⁰ the chronicle of Conradus Urspergensis¹²¹ and one work each of Bonfini and Istvánffy.¹²²

During the 1770s and 80s, Sámuel Nagy's letters do not mention auctions; only in the summer of 1783 (July 19) does he write about the auction of the deceased Adam Kollár's¹²³ books. The latter was the director of the Imperial Library. Nagy tried to get the catalogue and sent word to Ráday. Unfortunately we have no archival evidence in respect of his participation in the auction of the Kollár collection nor do we know whether individual works from Kollár's library came into the Pécel collection.

In his letter of 1782, Daniel Cornides¹²⁴ mentions some Viennese auctions. In 1782 Cornides became the secretary of József Teleki and traveled with him in Italy and France. Before their journey abroad, in April 1782, he was in Vienna and obtained some books for his employer, József Teleki, as well as his esteemed friend Ráday, and supplied information about the news of the book market. His attention was mainly directed toward the auctions; so in his letter of April 10, he writes about them. At one, he had to give up one of the works desired by Ráday, the *Mémoires* of Madame de Staël, because it was incomplete, although it would have cost only 20 kr. The well known work of Hoffmann, *De Vino Hungarico* [Of Hungarian Wines]¹²⁵ in German translation *Ungarischer Wein*, was not sold at all. The *Mappa von der Situation zwischen Belgrad und Semlin* [The Map Describing the Situation Between Belgrad and Semlin]¹²⁶ did not yet come up, but he promised to buy it. At a different auction which, judging from the listed Hungarian works or those referring to Hungary, must have been in the possession of a Hungarian collector, even books not in the catalogue were available. Cornides considered Haugen's *Ungarische Chronick* [Hungarian Chronicle]¹²⁷ the most valuable, as well as the handwritten volumes of the *Acta Diaetalia* [The Acts of the National Assembly] from the years 1754 and 1764-1765. The former was made up of one, the latter of two clearly and well written folios. He acquired these for 44 kr, which is 1 ft 9 kr for Teleki. Finally, Cornides signaled a third auction's start for April 27 (April 19, 1782) at which, as he heard it, expensive Dutch traveler's tales in beautiful bindings would be sold.

These details stemming from the years 1782-1783 prove that Ráday's collecting activities continued through the 80s – although their pace started to slow in the second half of the 70s. Ráday's agents continued, during this period, to participate in what went on in the book market as they had done during preceding decades.

¹²⁰ *Historia de rege Uladislao, seu clade Varnensi*. [The History of Ulászló's Reign, or the Defeat of Várna] (Augsburg: Sigmund Grimm and Max Wirsung, 1519) cost 35 kr (no. I. 14)

¹²¹ (Strassburg: Craton Mylius 1537) cost 3 ft 6 kr (no. I. 149)

¹²² The listing does not say which edition of Bonfini's *Decadas* and Istvánffy's *Historia* they had purchased; the former's price was 5 ft 30 kr, the latter's 3 ft.

¹²³ Information on Kollár was given in footnote 76 of this chapter.

¹²⁴ Concerning Cornides see note 37 of Chapter 3.

¹²⁵ The Latin work of Friedrich HOFFMANN, professor in Halle is entitled *Dissertatio inauguralis physico-medico de vini Hungarici excellentie natura, virtute et usu*. [A Physical and Medical Consideration of Hungarian Wines, and Their Excellent Nature, Virtue and Use] (Halle: 1721) I found no data about a German translation.

¹²⁶ It does not figure in the catalogue of the library.

¹²⁷ HAUGEN, Hans, *Der Hungern Chronica. Inhaltend wie sy anfenglich ins Land kommen seynd*. [Chronicle of the Hungarians, and How They Originally Came to Their Land] (Vienna: 1534) cost 1 ft 50 kr. It is likely that the library copy no. I. 147 is the one acquired by Cornides.

c) Merchants

After this overview of the auction scene, we can turn to other data that will serve to round out the picture. We shall review the purchases from, and the discussions with the merchants as well as those characteristics of Ráday's book collection activities which I have already delineated in the first chapter, for example, the acquisition of certain editions or the completion of works in serial publication.

In the first period of the library's existence, we have heard of relations with Viennese booksellers and books bought from them, and the search for some editions or works. Sámuel Szilágyi was Gedeon Ráday's commissioned agent in the imperial capital.

After his return from abroad, Szilágyi became the Agent of the Protestant churches at the Chancery and remained in his post until 1748. About his book acquisitions we know only during the last four years – although he had previously been helpful in transporting a shipment from abroad for his friend in Pécel. Ráday was in Vienna in 1744 and had come to an agreement with one of the booksellers, probably Bernhadi, for a few books. Szilágyi took these books – Gyraldus' *Opera omnia* [Works],¹²⁸ Borrichius *De poetis* [Of Poets]¹²⁹ and Fabricius *Bibliotheca*¹³⁰ – and since Ráday had put down 2 ducats, he had to pay only the rest, 40 ft to the bookseller. At the same time, he prepaid 40 ft for the *Acta Eruditorium* [News for the Cultivated Men] published in Leipzig.¹³¹ Ráday had agreed to pay the merchant 154 ft for these volumes published between 1682 and 1743, and the five volume index. The rest needs to be paid, writes Szilágyi to his friend, when the whole series arrives, – expected for the middle of September. Ráday had pressed Szilágyi for the acquisition of the *Acta Eruditorium* several times; apparently he gave much importance to having in his collection one of the foremost scientific journals of the period. Already these details, from the first phase of his acquisitions in Vienna, point to Ráday's encyclopedic interests and knowledge which characterized all his activities. The fact that he wanted to own all the volumes of the *Acta Eruditorium*¹³² (from 1731 known as *Nova Acta Eruditorium* [New Series of the News for the Cultivated Men]) shows Ráday's systematic "purchasing policies" and care in striving to buy the periodical issues of journals or other works published in instalments. In the same vein, in 1744 Szilágyi bought the fourth volume of Mátyás Bél's *Notitia* which was published in 1742. During 1745-1746, Szilágyi writes several times about book purchases and book bindings (January 12, 1745 and January 20, 1746, September 26, October 28, November 22 and 26), but we only find a detailed list in his letter of September 1746: "The Honorable Count Sámuel Teleki left yesterday by boat for Hungary, with whom I have sent the books for my beloved Lord; he promised to take them to Pest and leave them in good hands, letting us to know where. If Your Lordship should hear about them earlier than I, please have them delivered to Pécel. I sent the following:

¹²⁸ GYRALDUS, Lilius G., *Opera omnia*. Vols. 1-2. (Leyden: 1696); cost 17 ft (no. 0.143)

¹²⁹ BORRICHIVS, Olaus, *De poetis publicis disputationibus*. [The Public Dispute Between Poets] (Francfort: 1683); he paid 42 kr for it. (no. 0.3540)

¹³⁰ FABRICIVS, Johann A., *Bibliotheca graeca*. [Books in Greek] Vols. 1-14. (Hamburg: 1705-1740) cost 28 ft (no. 0.2302). Ráday also bought another work by Fabricius: *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*. (Hamburg: 1721-1746). The first fifteen sections of this edition, up to the letter P, appeared in four volumes between 1734-1735; the P-Z sections of six parts were published in 1746. Szilágyi must have sent volumes 2 through 4, which came out in 1735. The three volumes cost 3 ft 30 kr (no. is 0.339)

¹³¹ Professor Otto Mencke edited the *Acta Eruditorium* patterned after *Journal des Savants*, and published it in 1682 for the first time. His son and grandson edited it all through the 18th century twice monthly in a two-sheet format. It played an important role in the scholarly life of the time.

¹³² The library has the years 1682-1759, with supplements and indexes (no. 0.97 and 0.98); all in 18th century decorative leather bindings.

Corpus Historiae Bizantinae [Byzantine History] in 23 volumes¹³³

Hasii, *Posphorus* [Phosphorus], 1 volume¹³⁴

La Révolution d'Hongrie in 6 volumes¹³⁵

Ariosti in 3 volumes¹³⁶

but Herberstein's *Moscoviticum*¹³⁷ was left behind.”

Among the book merchants in Vienna, Szilágyi maintained contact with Friedrich Bernhardi; Ráday was a client of Bernhardi for forty years between 1740-1780. Bernhardi's role in the growth of the collection is significant, especially after 1755 and during the stay of Sámuel Nagy in Vienna, since he provided numerous valuable works for the library in Pécel. The archival evidence brings to our attention only a few facts but these are enough to paint a picture of the first years of the purposeful, many-layered activity we see during later periods.

Szilágyi left Vienna in 1748. After his departure, book acquisitions ceased there for years. There are no indications that Ráday received any book shipment from Vienna until contacts were reestablished by István Nagy who, as we have learned from his biography, resided permanently in Vienna from the beginning of 1757. As assistant to Agent Dömjén, he carried out the requests as commissioned by Ráday. Nagy had already previously taken care of books purchases for Ráday in Pest. On February 25, 1756 he lets Ráday know that he is constantly searching for *Le Spectacle de Natur*,¹³⁸ but we know nothing more about his purchases there. From the point of view of the library his years spent in the imperial city are more important than his activities in Pest or Pozsony (as described in the preceding chapter).

In Vienna he first of all built his contacts with the larger book merchants: with Friedrich Bernhardi who had supplied Ráday when Sámuel Szilágyi was working there; with Emerich Felix Bader, and the branches of the Nuremberg merchants of Bauer and Monath. Thus, Sámuel Nagy continued the solid relationships already established by him. Acquisitions were always preceded by lengthy correspondence – as we have already indicated at the beginning of the chapter. As Ráday kept an eye on newly published works, he informed Nagy of his wishes, and indicated the lacuna which he had discovered while organizing his library and reading the books received. Nagy would send him the catalogue of individual booksellers or book auctions. It often happened that by the time these catalogues were returned with Ráday's wishes to Vienna, the merchant had already sold the book, or the auction was over. It also occurred occasionally that Nagy misunderstood the order, and bought a book twice, or that the bookseller to whom Ráday had directly written bought two copies. So in March 1757 (an undated letter and dated March 8, 1757) Monath ordered two copies of the twelve instalments of Stafferus' *Grundlegung der Christliche Religion*,¹³⁹ maintaining that Ráday had ordered them. He wanted an urgent reply whether it really so happened; he himself could not remember exactly. This case also demonstrates Ráday's thoroughness; he sometimes ordered two copies so if one is borrowed and perhaps lost, the other would remain in the library. There are also indications

¹³³ Second edition. Parts 1-25 in 23 volumes. (Venice: 1729) cost was 160 forint (no. 0.156)

¹³⁴ HASIUS, I. M., *Phosphorus historiarum*. [The Phosphorus of History] (Leipzig: n.d.) (no. 0.1951)

¹³⁵ *Histoire des révolutions de Hongrie*. Vols. 1-6. (The Hague: 1739); not found in the library's holdings.

¹³⁶ ARIOSTO, Lodovico, *Opere in versi e in prosa*. (Venice: 1741) (no. 0.2490).

¹³⁷ HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*. [Comments on Events in Moscow] (Basel: 1571) (no. 4-74 Hung. Ant.) For the latter four works Szilágyi paid the merchant 18 ft.

¹³⁸ *Le Spectacle de la Nature ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle*. Vols. 1-8. (Francfort – Liège:1752) (no. 0.4147)

¹³⁹ STAFFER, Johann Friedrich, *Grundlegung zur wahren Religion*. Vols. 1-12. (Zurich: 1746-1753) (no. 0.370)

that sometimes the merchants would send Ráday books he had not ordered. In the summer of 1757 (June 28 and July 8) István Nagy asked if he should pay Bauer for the *Lettres Anglaises*¹⁴⁰ and Agricola;¹⁴¹ on July 15 he reports that he had paid for both to the absent merchant's agent, 8 ft for the *Lettres Anglaises*, 7 for Agricola. About the latter it later turned out that it had been sent to Pécel in error, but the merchant was willing to take it back. Ráday returned one edition of Rousseau to Monath because he found it incomplete. The merchant promised "that he would give another book for Rousseau ... one without comedies that are forbidden and are not decorated." (December 19, 1757).

Ráday bought all missing items in every series, and had his agents trace missing individual volumes, i.e. he collected conscientiously and systematically. In connection with the Viennese acquisitions we can see many examples of his intentions. He had István Nagy search for the second volume of Struve's *Bibliotheca*¹⁴² and the third volume of Goujet's *Bibliotheca*,¹⁴³ but the search was not successful; the former had not even left the printing press.¹⁴⁴ One part of Reaumur's six volume treatise *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes* [Notes Concerning the History of Insects] (no.: 0,4146) was missing. This was kept on a check list and Nagy's letters between the spring and fall of 1757 (one letter without date, the others dated March 8 and June 25) repeatedly report that Bernhardi, from whom they had purchased the other volumes, still could not get the missing part, but the merchant took back the second volume of engravings which he had mistakenly sent to Pécel. Ráday paid attention to the appearance of new volumes of serial publications, thus the agent could order or buy them immediately. So, for example, we can follow the acquisition of *Todten Gespräche*,¹⁴⁵ a series that was published over several years – its first summary page was only printed in 1758 – between 1757-1759.

An especially worthy characteristic of Ráday's collecting method, already apparent during István Nagy's time, is that not only did he try to acquire missing volumes, but different editions of the same work. He already possessed the Amsterdam edition of *Histoire de Théâtre*¹⁴⁶ so he had István Nagy return it to Bader, and ordered the first and second Paris edition (February 6, 1759).¹⁴⁷ Türi, his other agent during that decade, emphasizes that he sent the edition of Reuberus¹⁴⁸ that Ráday had ordered (March 4, 1757).

¹⁴⁰ VOLTAIRE, Francois Marie-Arouet, *Lettre philosophique sur les Anglais*. (1731). Not found in the library today.

¹⁴¹ This remark can refer to two different works: one AGRICOLA, Rudolph, *De inventione dialectica libri III*. [Three Books on the Dialectic of Inventions] (Basel: Heron Alopecius, 1523) (no. I.39), or AGRICOLA, Georg, *De re metallica libri XII*. [Twelve Books on Metals] (Basel: 1657) (no. 0.846)

¹⁴² *Bibliotheca historiae litterariae*. [Books on Literary History] Vols. 1-3. (Jena: 1754-1763) (no. 0.2226).

¹⁴³ GOUJET, Cl. P., *Bibliothèque française*. Vols. 1-18. (The Hague: 1740-1756) (no. 0.263)

¹⁴⁴ He wrote about this in his letter of March 8, 1754. The second volume of STRUVE's *Bibliotheca historiae litterariae* [Books on Literary History] is still being discussed at the end of 1757 (December 27, 1757). The book only appeared in 1761, so we can count it among Sámuel Nagy's acquisitions.

¹⁴⁵ *Die Geschichte des Jetzigen Kriegs ... in Gesprächen im Reiche der Todten*. Vols. 1-4. (Leipzig: 1756-1760). Besides this one, there is in the library one volume from 1774-75 and another from 1781 (no. L 0.676). These works are sarcastic, ironic writings, characteristic symptoms of the beginning opposition to the decaying social order – nevertheless, critical opinions, because of fear from the police, are put in the mouths of the dead.

¹⁴⁶ *Histoire du théâtre français*. Vols. 1-15. (Amsterdam: 1735-1749) (no. 0.338)

¹⁴⁷ The two works are not identical. The latter is from Louis TRAVENOL and Jacques DUREY. *Histoire du Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique en France*. Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1757) (no. 0.3838). From the two we only have the second in the holdings of the library.

¹⁴⁸ REUBERUS, Justus, *Scriptores veteres qui Caesareum et imperatorum Germanicorum res per aliquot saecula gesta littereris mandarunt*. [Ancient Writers Who Narrated in Literary Form the Deeds of German Emperors in the Course of Last Centuries] (Francfort:: 1726) cost 10 ft (no. 0.424)

During the purchases there were of course some disagreements between the merchants and Ráday's agents. The letters of István Nagy and Türi, who often worked together, give a true picture of the situation. Especially the tone of Türi's letters show a sharp language inveighing against the merchants – sometimes with wit – but his criticism is not completely trustworthy since we are aware of his bad temper from the time of the agent elections.¹⁴⁹ “Since booksellers belong to the merchants' guild, the more valuable their wares, the cleverer the sellers have to be. I had one or two problems, not with incompetence, but with their devious ways for their own profit” he writes on September 3, 1756. It did not matter with which one he was negotiating: “They are all birds of a feather” (May 4, 1757). Türi kept in contact mostly with Monath, bought Reuburus's work from him, as well as Vulfius' *Oeconomica* [Economics]¹⁵⁰ and Plinius' *Panegyricus* [Panegyric]¹⁵¹ even though Monath charged a few more krajcárs for the latter two than did Bernhardi. He bought them anyway “because he had sold the others more cheaply, in particular the Schultinga¹⁵² by 1 ft, the Lucanus¹⁵³ by 1 ft 48 kr than Bernardi, so considering this, I kept the other also” (March 4, 1757). István Nagy had complaints against the Monath company, saying that they did not work hard to acquire the books in time: “If Monath delays the acquisition of the books this long; I will tell him that I will need another bookseller” (undated letter).

Thus, differences arose because Ráday and his agents considered the prices for the desired books too high. In February 1757, negotiations with Bernhardi took place. He did not want to sell the “expensive book” – István Nagy does not go into details in his letters – for only 120 ft, so he and Türi decided to go to see all the booksellers in one day, and buy the books (February 11, 1757) from the one who is willing to sell at their price. Türi complains regarding this purchase: “As far as the books are concerned, I have talked enough with Mr. Bernardi, but I think he is a hard man, he received the idea of lowering the price of the books with disdain.” (June 8, 1757). Ráday wanted to buy Wolff's *Elementa Mathesis* [Elements of Mathematics],¹⁵⁴ although he already had a copy in his collection. Monath would not sell it for 25 ft, as he had before, saying “books cost more now than before.” Therefore, Nagy had to pay the higher price. In general, they paid regularly and on time; it only happened rarely that István Nagy did not have sufficient funds at hand and he had to ask for the merchants' patience. They – for example Bernhardi – “waited willingly” and took new orders in spite of unsettled bills (December 19, 1757). Around this time, István Nagy did the first barter with wines with the merchant Bernhardi on behalf of Ráday¹⁵⁵ – selling him a barrel (approximately 75 liters) – for 10 golds (212). This transaction provided a good basis for their business relationship in later decades, because such barter became a regular feature in the course of the years.

In 1759, István Nagy became agent in Pozsony, and we hear nothing further of the activities of Türi – probably because of the problems with the agent's election. When between 1759-1761, Ráday had no agent in Vienna; he himself was in correspondence with the merchants. Moreover, when he traveled to Vienna for

¹⁴⁹ See ZOVÁNYI's article in the 1914 volume of *Protestáns Szemle*.

¹⁵⁰ WOLFF, Christian, *Oeconomica*. Vols. 1-2. (Halle: 1754-1755) (no. 0.346)

¹⁵¹ PLINIUS, Gaius S., *Panegyricus* (curante Arntzenio). (Amsterdam: 1738) (no. 0.1816)

¹⁵² SCHULTINGUS, Antonius, *Jurisprudentia vetus Ante-Iustianiana*. [Ancient Jurisprudence From Before the Time of Justinian] (Leipzig: 1737) (no. 0.2896)

¹⁵³ LUCANUS, *Pharsalia, sive belli civilis libri decem*. [Pharsalia, or Ten Books on Civil Wars] Various editions are available in the library.

¹⁵⁴ Wolff, Christian, *Elementa matheseos universae*. [Elements of Universal Mathematics] Vols. 1-5. (Geneva: 1743). It cannot be found in the library now.

¹⁵⁵ Letter without a date. In contrast to Nagy, Türi did not succeed in coming to terms with Bernhardi about the wine business, so Ráday wanted to break his relationship with the merchant, his oldest Viennese contact. “He does not want to accept the wines, so he is looking for thousand difficulties, instead of showing kindness like the other booksellers. So if Your Lordship pleases, in my humble opinion, give me instructions, and name the books which Your Lordship absolutely wants, send me their price, and I will not be bound to one bookseller, if I have to buy in species.” (January 28, 1757)

official matters in 1760, he contacted them personally. At the same time, István Nagy in Pozsony helped with the Viennese purchases. In this period, Ráday bought books from Bernhardi, Bader, Newenstein and Herinnes. Friedrich Bernhardi writes in his letter of July 17, 1760, that the 1748 edition of Rousseau's works – the most recent edition – wanted by Ráday, is nothing else but the 1734 edition enlarged. Only the date had changed, but the censors do not want to permit its sale because it contains *Mandragora* and *Epigrammata turpia* [Depraved Epigrams].¹⁵⁶ However, Ráday can get the latter, in a four-volume edition, at any time,¹⁵⁷ writes the merchant. It seems that Ráday had requested several different editions because he ordered *Théâtre Française* again, even though he had already commissioned István Nagy to buy it. Bernhardi could supply neither this one nor the *Théâtre Angloise*. Nevertheless, he did promise to acquire them. According to the letters already cited, during the years 1759-1760, Ráday bought from Bernhardi books worth 285 ft. Bernhardi indicates that he received the payment from István Nagy for the debt remaining from the last purchase on July 3, 1759.

The letters of Emerich Felix Bader (July 25, December 3, and December 19, 1760) also point to the purchasing of foreign publications. Ráday had him searching for the Paris edition¹⁵⁸ of the works of Athanasius for a long time, but Bader could still not find it until the summer of 1760, it was that rare. He reported that he had commissioned that it be bought immediately and sent to him if it came up for auction or would be available in Paris or other places. He recommended the Cologne edition instead, two folio volumes, in Greek and Latin, in an attractive binding, and costing 15 ft. Ráday did not buy this latter, but the former is in his collection; it can be assumed that Bader bought it for him. On December 19, the merchant acknowledged the sum of 185 ft, which settled the account. During his visit to Vienna, Ráday bought at Herinnes also; on January 13, 1761, István Nagy indicated that the books had been forwarded to Pécel.

Sámuel Nagy took charge of book purchases in Vienna from 1761 on. During his period of activity the library's holdings increased at a fast pace; this growth was due to auctions and the merchants with whom contact had been established. He was in touch with the same people active in the book trade of the imperial city as his predecessors. He was in regular contact with these booksellers and had good relations also with Jahn, the merchant from Leipzig, in 1761. His Viennese colleagues, who were afraid of the competition, had reported the latter to the police. The authorities sealed his shop so that it could not harm the native booksellers while they were carousing." So he could only negotiate with him during the fairs, Jahn would report on the orders at the time of the next fair (June 19, 1761). At the Bernhardi company a change occurred in 1765 when the old Bernhardi who had been a faithful supplier to Ráday, died of dropsy and the business was taken over by his nephew, who did equally well in serving the collector from Pécel.

At the beginning of this chapter, I sketched the picture of the Viennese acquisitions based on the correspondence of Sámuel Nagy; here I just wish to recall the process of acquisitions, the numerous instances when he indicates forwarding of catalogues of Bader, Bernhardi, Herinnes, or Jahn, or where he acknowledges Ráday's replies. I indicated also that Ráday did not only collect on the basis of what the merchants offered, but he also let his agent know which books he, as a highly cultured and well informed collector, wanted for his library. Ráday paid particular attention to the news about books in the newspapers to which he subscribed and when he saw a newly published work or a work to be published, he immediately let his Viennese agent know, asking that he look for it, and buy it. If the local market did not have the desired work, then he had a well-known bookseller search for it abroad (April 21, 1761).

It often happened that Sámuel Nagy recommended books to his patron, which he thought worthy of purchase. Most of the time he made sure that they did not wind up with someone else before Ráday's answer arrived – indeed he often bought them, asking for his commissioner's approval afterwards.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ The above mentioned works cannot be found among the works of Rousseau in the two editions of 1722 and 1734 which exist in the Ráday library.

¹⁵⁷ It can be found in the holdings of the library (no. 0.2565)

¹⁵⁸ *Opera omnia*. [Works] Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1698) (no. 0.2438.)

¹⁵⁹ For example, he bought Johann Peter de Crousas' *Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien et moderne*. (The Hague: 1733) for 3 ft (no. 0.2881); Sylvester Sguropolus' *Vera historia unionis ... sive concilii Florentini ... narratio*. [The True History of Church Unity... or Narrative of the Florentine Council] (The Hague: 1660) for 2 ft (no. 1302), with the *post facto* permission of his employer.

He praised Moser's book,¹⁶⁰ especially its second volume, very highly and recommended it, saying "its author is a good Christian and a stranger to the currently fashionable licentiousness" (January 1, 1762). He bought the history of the Dutch scientist Offerhaus,¹⁶¹ which he considered a worthy piece of critical history: "It is written with much application, based on original sources to which he refers everywhere. I consider it worthy of being a part of Your Lordship's collection, because we have yet no better work of reference" (September 22, 1766).¹⁶² He had also acquired Desbillons' *Fabula* [Fables]¹⁶³ before receiving instructions: "What persuaded me to send them was that Your Lordship has a collection of newer poets. He is a contemporary of ours who had received popular praise, evidenced by the fact that, when the first edition which was not as complete, was published in Paris they reprinted it in England, which is a rare thing. Moreover, I thought that it is necessary to add recent poets to complete the collection." But if there were to be no room in Pécel's library for these tales – he writes contritely – he would be glad to take the book back and keep it for himself" (October 5, 1771).¹⁶⁴ At the end of 1765 he sent Le Long's *Bibliotheca*, which he had bought at the Saffran auction – and he appended the *Exemplar reconciliationis cum Hungaris factae 1606* [Example of the Reconciliation with Hungarians in 1606],¹⁶⁵ "thinking that Your Lordship would like it for the Hungarian collection." (December 13, 1765). All these examples not only point to acquisitions by Sámuel Nagy made independently, but also indicate the circle of interest of the collector, who liked Hungarian books, the new literature, historical writings based on sources, and "good Christian" books. Nagy called Ráday's attention to the *Temple des Muses*¹⁶⁶ that he must have overlooked in the catalogue: "It is for this reason that I recommend it besides Ovid in my last letter; however, its companion *Temple des Muses*, caused what harm? Because this one also is truly beautiful and not more expensive" (May 4, 1762). This detail is even more interesting because we know that Ráday liked the engravings of the *Temple des Muses* so much, that he had the fresco painter Scherevitz paint the ceiling and walls of his cupola room with these images.¹⁶⁷ In addition, Nagy forwarded the offers of the merchants to Ráday. It was through him that Bader called Ráday's attention to *Défense de la Religion tant naturelle que révélée contre les Infidèles et les Incrédules* which Gilbert Burnet had translated from English to French.¹⁶⁸ It was not being sold in Vienna, and the merchant had just come across it coincidentally (May 23, 1766).¹⁶⁹

Sámuel Nagy searched for the missing volumes of serial works, just as the other agents of Ráday had. If a book were not complete, he would not send it to Pécel until the missing parts were found.

¹⁶⁰ MOSER, Johann Jacob (1701-1785), professor of law in Tübingen, later held different posts in Vienna, Stuttgart, and Francfort-on-the-Oder. Due to the influence of pietism, he became a practicing Christian and because of his steady opposition against the willful prince of Württemberg, he was imprisoned for 6 years. His writings reveal a practical, moderate pietism, sparkling with human warmth and love. Sámuel Nagy must have recommended one of his religious tracts to Ráday, but today there is only one of his legal compendiums in the library.

¹⁶¹ OFFERHAUS, Leonhard, *Compendium historiae universalis*. [Compendium of Universal History] Vols. 1-2. (Gronigen: 1755-1756) (no. 0.2781)

¹⁶² RA/A II. 905.

¹⁶³ DESBILLONS, Francois. *Fabulae aesopicae*. [Aesopian Fables] Vols. 1-2. (Mannheim: 1768) (no. 0.3501)

¹⁶⁴ RA/A II. 984.

¹⁶⁵ *Exemplar reconciliationis cum Hungaris, factae 23 Junii anno 1606. Nec non conditiones pacis Turcicae*. [Example of the Reconciliation with Hungarians on 23d June 1606, Without Including Conditions Figuring in the Peace Treaty with the Turks] (Sárospatak: 1655) *RMK* Vol.2, p. 791 (no. *RMK* 3.23)

¹⁶⁶ *Le Temple des Muses* ... Dessinés et gravés par P. Picard. (Amsterdam: 1733) (no. 0.238)

¹⁶⁷ See the chapter called "The Outward Picture of the Library" and Endre ZSINDELY's study cited there.

¹⁶⁸ The library has only the German translation from 1738 to 1747, in 7 volumes (no. 0.962)

¹⁶⁹ RA/A. II. 895.

So he had kept the work of Vergil¹⁷⁰ for months until he acquired the missing fourth volume (March 12, 1776). About the extent of Rapin de Thoyras' history¹⁷¹ he is not clear; when Ráday writes that he thinks it consists of sixteen volumes – Nagy hopes that only later additions had expanded it so much; he promises to get them (October 1, 1763).¹⁷² In the final analysis, both were right; the thirteen volumes of the first edition increased with the additions to sixteen volumes in the 1749 edition. In the spring of 1762, he purchased the *Antiquité expliquée* of Montfaucon,¹⁷³ printed on large full-sized paper, negotiating its price from 140 ft to 100 ft. Even though it was not complete, because two addenda volumes got lost, Nagy wrote, "It will be a jewel of Your Lordship's library" (April 23, 1762).

At the Knorr auction they called a complete copy at 150 ft; the acquisition of the two missing volumes was still not recommended by Nagy because "this edition is not even a shadow of Your Lordship's edition, because it is on small paper, not on full sized pages as the one Your Lordship has." It did not sell at the auction, but two months later it appeared in a new catalogue together with the other leftovers (October 26, 1762).¹⁷⁴

Sometimes it happened that the catalogue erroneously marked a work as incomplete. Sámuel Nagy looked it over and stated that it was complete. Because of this error in the catalogue, Ráday was going to give up on Clericus' *Bibliotheca*¹⁷⁵ but Nagy was able to say that the volumes "have no missing parts" and the beautiful English binding increased their value; the antique dealer believed they were worth 40 ft. (February 15, 1763).¹⁷⁶ It was much more difficult to replace the missing pages of a book or to identify the lacuna itself. When possible they simply returned the incomplete work, if they were able to find it somewhere else. That is what Nagy did with *Rerum Silesiacarum Scriptoribus*¹⁷⁷ that were missing two or three pages. This book had come from János Drodzik, the Lutheran agent, so they gave it back to him. He found another copy at Bernhardi's in good condition, for which he had to pay 10 ft more (August 24, 1762). On the other hand, Sámuel Nagy continued looking for missing pages when there was no hope of finding another copy. For example, he received the last half-sized pages of the *Théâtre Française*¹⁷⁸ from Bernhardi, but its pagination was different from Ráday's copy, i.e. 571-572 instead of 577-578. He inquired in many places and found that in every copy these pages followed so he wrote to Ráday to have them bound after the other pages (April 27, 1762). Nagy had not examined carefully the *Cérémonies religieuses*,¹⁷⁹ considered it complete, but Ráday determined that in the first volume certain sections were mentioned that were to follow, but were missing in the later volume. Nagy doubted if they would eventually be printed and looked for them in other copies. When it turned out that they were missing from the copy in the library of Count Czobor, too, he decided to check the copy in the imperial library. If they were not there either, then – he agreed with Ráday – the promised pages had not been printed. If the Ráday copy was the one wanting, then they will

¹⁷⁰ VERGILIUS, Maro Publius. *Opera*. Vols. 1-4. (The Hague: 1767-1775) (no. 0.3476)

¹⁷¹ RAPIN DE THOYRAS, Paul, *Histoire d'Angleterre*. 2 ed. (The Hague: 1733) (no. 0.5603)

¹⁷² RA/A. II. 718.

¹⁷³ MONTFAUCON, Bernhard, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figure*. Parts 1-5, in 13 volumes. (Paris: 1719) (no. 0.59)

¹⁷⁴ RA/A. II. 423.

¹⁷⁵ The library has two volumes in fancy bindings of Johannes LE CLERC or CLERICUS: *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*. Vols. 1-29. (Amsterdam: 1714-1730) (no. 0.256) and *Bibliothèque choisie ...* 2. ed. Vols. 1-28. (Amsterdam: 1704-1718) (no. 0.255). This remark can be applied to either, but perhaps to both.

¹⁷⁶ RA/A. II. 751.

¹⁷⁷ SOMMERSBERG, Friedberg Wilhelm de, *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. [Authors Writing About Silesian Matters] Vols. 1-3. (Leipzig: 1729-1732) (no. 0.2859)

¹⁷⁸ *Théâtre français, ou recueil des meilleures pièces de théâtre*. Vols. 1-12. (Paris: 1737) (no. 0.2581)

¹⁷⁹ Concerning this work see footnote 55 of this chapter.

return the book to the seller, János Drozdik (October 26, 1762).¹⁸⁰ All these searches, all this care did not go in vain, because only through such efforts could a library in this age acquire a carefully built up collection of such quality. The excellence of Ráday's book collecting is mostly characterized by this attention to detail. His agents respected his striving for perfection and would take extra care because they knew that "His Lordship does not like incomplete books."

This circumspect thoroughness in the purchase of books was evident in the acquisition of missing parts of books or letters, the return of incomplete copies, the ascertainment of the titles and value of works, the interest in certain editions, and the acquisition of different editions. I already touched upon these characteristics of a collector of high culture and his love of books. They point to his pursuing specific goals and are evident in the activities in Vienna. Ráday could not identify either the title or the price of Boursault's work from Herinnes' catalogue. Sámuel Nagy looked after it and soon sent to Pécel the exact title with the price: *Pièces de théâtre, avec une lettre d'un théologien, consulté par l'auteur, pour savoir, si la comédie peut être permise, ou doit être absolument défendue*, Paris 1701 (June 2, 1762).¹⁸¹ Nagy was supposed to buy Batteux's *Beaux arts réduits à un même principe*¹⁸² from Bernhardi, but it was not available. According to Bernhardi this work was really the first edition and compilation of *Cours des belles lettres*. Ráday had already bought this latter book; so Nagy thought he needed to inquire if he should send the first edition also (March 27, 1761). We do not know Ráday's answer, but the extant copy indicates that he wanted to have a complete edition. The correspondence of the collector and agents clearly shows how he kept track of various editions. One example, out of many: they followed attentively the compilations of Hamberger¹⁸³ and Busching,¹⁸⁴ i.e. the edition of individual volumes. In addition, Nagy when he sent the first volume on December 3, 1766, indicated that the booksellers were awaiting the issuance of the second volume for Easter.

Finally, in connection with the acquisition of certain editions we have to note how the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot and D'Alembert, the most significant representatives of the spirit of the eighteenth century, became a part of Ráday's library. The first news of the acquisition of the *Encyclopédie* comes from Sámuel Nagy from Vienna on February 28, 1764:¹⁸⁵ "I let you know that the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* following the Paris edition (1. ed. Paris 1751-1752.), will be issued in Yverdon, in Switzerland, in thirty-four volumes, in quarto, the engravers will add six volumes. It will be enlarged by one third, corrected and checked by the best known Swiss scholars, among which we find the Bernoullis,¹⁸⁶ Haller,¹⁸⁷ Gessner,¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ RA/A II. 723.

¹⁸¹ RA/A II. 694.

¹⁸² The first edition of Charles BATTEUX's *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* appeared in 1746; later he republished it in an enlarged edition, with the title *Cours des belles lettres, ou principe de la littérature*; the 1755 Göttingen–Leyden edition that Ráday owned included in its first volume *Les beaux arts ... etc.*, in the 2nd to the 4th volumes the three parts of *Cours des belles lettres*. (no. 0.265). According to Batteux, it is the obligation of art to imitate nature in the best possible way. His influence was considerable both at home and abroad. In Germany, Sulzer, Gottsched, Schlegel often discussed his principles in their treatises. Miklós Révai translated some of his works into Hungarian.

¹⁸³ HAMBERGER, Georg Christoph, *Kurze Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schriftstellern vor dem 16. Jahrhundert*. (Lemgo: 1766-1767) (no. 0.2222)

¹⁸⁴ BUSCHING, Anton, *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie*. Vols. 1-18. (Hamburg-Halle: 1767-1784) (no. 0.673)

¹⁸⁵ RA/A. II. 810.

¹⁸⁶ Daniel Bernoulli (1700-1782), was professor of anatomy and botany, later physics. He did considerable research in general mechanics, hydrodynamics and acoustics. His nephew, Johann, was an astronomer in Berlin (1744-1807).

¹⁸⁷ Albrecht Haller, (1708-1777), German physician, physiologist, botanist, and poet, is the founder of modern experimental psychology. After his stint in Göttingen, he returned to Bern, where he had previously worked; he also engaged in scientific and political activities. He was active in all areas of science, and was truly a polyhistor.

Tissot,¹⁸⁹ Bertrand,¹⁹⁰ Osterwald,¹⁹¹ Bonet,¹⁹² Felice,¹⁹³ etc. and the whole academy of Lausanne and the Oeconomica society of Bern. It will be a large, worthy work in quarto on beautiful paper. The printed volumes in prepayment are 6 Dutch forints, those of the engravers' 12 ft. They are promising to finish the whole project in five, at most six years. According to the Leiden papers, the prepayment is already under way." The issuance of the first volume was delayed by years – Sámuel Nagy indicated that he would send them only at the start of the 70s. Later there were no problems, the volumes were being printed continually, so the whole set of the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire universel raisonné* became a part of the library. Even today the whole set of 42 volumes exists undamaged, with six supplementary volumes and four volumes of engravings (nos.: 0.2905, 0.2906 and 0.2907). Through these letters, where Sámuel Nagy reports on the new edition of the *Encyclopédie*, we see not only the interests and knowledge of a Hungarian, living in the imperial city in the second half of the eighteenth century, and deeply inspired by the intellectual life of the Enlightenment, but we also realize the importance of his services for the library as he provides information about new editions of fundamental works of the age. Also at the same time, he calls attention to the necessity of acquiring the latest and most up-to-date editions. The details in respect of sending individual volumes are again proof of the will to acquire all parts of serial works and large editions. At the time of the sending of the first two volumes, there was a little mix-up (they arrived in the summer of 1771) because two copies of the first volume were sent to Pécel, the second remained in Vienna. Therefore, Nagy asked Ráday to return the one that was "damaged". He will send the second as soon as he receives the returned volume, he writes, but he wants to check the first volume to see "if the pages had not been misplaced" (July 30, 1771).¹⁹⁴ Finally, in the middle of October he had in hand this incomplete volume, when he had already sent the second with the fourth copy of the *Journal Encyclopédique* (September 27, 1771 and October 18, 1771).¹⁹⁵

Among the acquisitions of Sámuel Nagy in Vienna we have to emphasize as more interesting, and from our point of view as more valuable: (i) the *Bibliotheca* of Solger¹⁹⁶ and the *Dictionnaire du théâtre*¹⁹⁷ from Bernhardi; (ii) Leibniz's *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium* [Authors on Brunswick Matters]¹⁹⁸ and

¹⁸⁸ Salomon Gessner (1730-1788), German poet and painter. He started to write under the influence of Wieland and Kleist; he became well known through his works such as *Daphnis*, *Idyllen*, *Tod Abels*, and *Der erste Schiffer*. In the Hungarian literature he influences especially Kazinczy.

¹⁸⁹ A famous physician of his time, university professor in the latter part of the 1770s in Lausanne. He was invited to Italy around 1780. See Mihály Blazsek's letters to Gedeon Ráday. SEGESVÁRY, *loc. cit.*, 1954.

¹⁹⁰ Elias Bertrand (around 1712-1780), the French preacher of Bern and secretary of the Oeconomica Societas. He went to Poland in 1765, returned around 1770 and spent the rest of his life in Yverdon.

¹⁹¹ Probably the son of Johann Friedrich Osterwald, the famous Swiss Reformed minister and theologian.

¹⁹² Jacob Andreas Bonet, the last member of his family, a doctor of law and medicine. He worked in Geneva as a well known physician in the second half of the 18th century.

¹⁹³ The editor of the Yverdon edition of the *Encyclopédie*.

¹⁹⁴ RA/A. II. 985 and RA/A. II. 980.

¹⁹⁵ Respectively in RA/A. II. 983 and RA/A II. 985.

¹⁹⁶ SOLGER, Adam Rudolph, *Bibliotheca sive supelles librorum impressorum*. [Books, or the List of Their Publishers] Vols. 1-3. (Nuremberg: 1760-1762) cost 5 ft (no. 0.4634). He mentions it in his letter of May 23, 1766 (RA/A. II. 895).

¹⁹⁷ *Dictionnaire du théâtre de Paris*. Vols. 1-7. (Paris: 1756) (no. 0.342) mentioned in the letter of November 6, 1761.

¹⁹⁸ LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm, *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*. [Authors on Brunswick Matters] Vols. 1-3. (Hannover: 1707-1711) (no. 0.2923)

Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* [Universal Catalogue of Books]¹⁹⁹ which he purchased in Herinnes' shop; (iii) as well as the collection of poems called *Delitiae poeta Italiae*²⁰⁰ bought from Jahn. From a certain Christensen, whose name is only mentioned once in a letter, he purchased the work of "some Jesuit named Pray *Annales Hunno-Avaricaeum rerum* [Annals of Hun-Avar History].²⁰¹ In many occurrences, he does not identify the bookseller from whom he bought the books – such as Voltaire's "little book about the girl from Aurelianum,"²⁰² a Bible published in Venice in 1475²⁰³ and another in Zurich in 1543 (no. I. 107). In the same vein, we do not know where he bought the works of interest related to Hungarian history such as Severini's *Conspectus Historiae Hungaricae*,²⁰⁴ his *De Pannonia*²⁰⁵ and the collection of the letters of Abelard translated into Hungarian by Mihály Czirjék.²⁰⁶

The tempo of the process of acquisition slowed during the late 1770s, due mainly to Ráday's financial difficulties; at the same time he turned his attention more and more to the problems of the newly awakening literary and scientific life in his country. The collecting in Vienna, in spite of the fact that after 1780 Sámuel Nagy had reduced his participation in it – did not entirely cease. Because Ráday's son as a member of the Protestant delegation was in Vienna, he took care of some purchases; István Szentesi, the tutor of his grandson also relayed news – even Daniel Cornides fulfilled some commissions from Pécel when he resided in the imperial city. In addition, Ráday maintained regular contact with the Viennese booksellers Artaria as well as with Ernest Klopstock.

Gedeon Ráday junior only spent time occasionally on book acquisitions while in Vienna, because he was not especially interested, he lacked the passion for collecting. He wanted to please his old, eccentric father with news about and purchase of recent publications – pamphlets, mostly those preaching religious tolerance or those attacking the Catholic church. During the month of March 1782 (March 12) he mentions and recommends among others, the newly issued pamphlets of Eybel,²⁰⁷ *Was ist der Papst?* [What Is the Pope?], *Was ist ein Bischof?* [What Is a Bishop?] and *Sieben Capitel vom Kloster-Leben* [Seven Chapters from the Life of a Monastery] as well as Anton Geisau's *Narratio historica juris*.²⁰⁸ Gedeon senior replies: "About the books, you mention in your letter, I would be pleased if you bought them, the titles arouse one's desire to read them."²⁰⁹ It cannot now be determined if Ráday Gedeon junior was the one who acquired the

¹⁹⁹ GESSNER, Conrad *Bibliotheca universalis, sive catalogus omnium scriptorum*. [Universal Catalogue of Books, or Catalogue of All Authors] (Zurich: 1548) (no. I. 163)

²⁰⁰ *Delitiae Italorum poetarum ...* collectore Ranutio Ghero. (Francfort: 1608) cost 1 ft 8 kr (no. 0.4068)

²⁰¹ PRAY, György, *Annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarum et Hungarorum*. [Annals of Hun–Avar History] (Vienna: 1761) (no. 0.2840). In his letter dated November 6, 1761.

²⁰² *La Pucelle d'Orléans*. (N. p. 1762). It is not in the library today (letter dated March 20, 1764)

²⁰³ Its cost was 10 ft (no. I. 125) (letter dated April 23, 1762)

²⁰⁴ SEVERINI, János, *Conspectus historiae Hungaricae*. [A Synopsis of Hungarian History] (Leipzig: 1769) (no. 2-22311 Hung.) In his letter dated October 5, 1771 (RA/A II. 984).

²⁰⁵ SEVERINI János, *Pannonia veterum monumentis illustrata cum Dacia Tibissina ...* [The Ancient Monuments of Pannonia, Including Dacia, with Illustrations] (Leipzig: 1770) (no.: 0.5221. Hung.)

²⁰⁶ CZIRJÉK Mihály, *Érzékeny levelek, franciából fordítva*. [Emotional Letters Translated from the French] (Vienna: 1785). He promises to acquire them in his letter dated August 10, 1784.

²⁰⁷ EYBEL, Johann Valentin (1741-1805), Catholic church lawyer, contemporary of Fabronius, a supporter of Josephinism, university professor. The vast majority of his works were put on the Index; in 1779 he had to leave his chair because of his radical views and he accepted state administrative service. *FGG*, Vol. 2, pp. 482-483.

²⁰⁸ All were published in Vienna in 1782.

²⁰⁹ VAS, Margit, *op. cit.* p. 16.

extant copies in the collection.²¹⁰ István Szentesi, the grandson's tutor, was also active; he reported not only about the industriousness of the "young Pál" but also of better, cheaper books. In one of his letters, he writes, "newly arrived in Vienna a bookseller from Carlsruhe who sells the best German poets and other German authors very inexpensively, as can be seen in the attached small extract."²¹¹

I mentioned that Ráday during the 70s and 80s was in contact with the Artaria Co. of Vienna,²¹² the publishers of Mozart's works.²¹³ This company did not have clients in Hungary and they were not familiar with the situation there; therefore, they asked in one of their letters if the books sent to Pest would have to pass through censorship, because there are banned books among them, which they could send through a good friend avoiding the censors (December 3, 1777). Five letters of the Artaria Co. have survived in the archives of the Ráday family, and they shed only a dim light on these details of the library's history. The first letter, dated October 27, 1777, indicates that the relationship of the company and the collector was not old; Ráday had only recently made purchases in their shop. In this letter, they recommend their old and new books and thank Ráday for his order. They inquire if they should send the package by stagecoach or carriage. We hear of the next purchase in January 1778 (January 20). They gave Sámuel Nagy those books that Ráday had chosen from the list they sent in the beginning of December (December 3, 1777). Ráday bought Bojardo's *Orlando Innamorato*,²¹⁴ Dante's *Divina Commedia*,²¹⁵ Luigi Pulci's *Il morante maggiore*²¹⁶ and Niccolo Carteromaco's *Ricciardetto*²¹⁷ as well as the publications *Lo scherno degli dei* and *Recueil des habillemens des différens nations anciens et modernes*,²¹⁸ and paid altogether 89 ft 12 kr to Artaria after having inquired from Weingand & Köpff about the price of the books in Paris. We read in a letter of Artaria, "It pleases us to know that Your Lordship knows the Paris prices of these works, and therefore can judge how inexpensive we are" (October 22, 1777). It seems, that Ráday was not satisfied with the copy of *Recueil des habillemens*, and wanted to return it to the company. Peter Cappi tobacco manufacturer was recommended as someone who would forward the book to Vienna as well as the remaining 39 ft 12 kr that he owed (June 5, 1778). Regarding the work, *Les chefs d'oeuvres du Théâtre*²¹⁹ which Ráday wanted to buy from Lówe before, they informed him that they had not yet received it, they only had the first volume, which

²¹⁰ Today we find in the collection *Was ist ein Bischof?* (no. 0.5702), *Was ist der Pabst?* in the translation of Szerentsi Nagy, (Pozsony: 1782) (no. 0.5388) and, finally, GEISAU's work. (no. 0.5701). Besides these, Ráday also owned from among EYBEL's works: *Was ist ein Pfarrer?* [What Is a Minister?] (Vienna: 1782) (no. 0.5877) and *Was enthalten die Urkunden ... von der Ohrenbeichte?* [What Is Contained in the Evidences About Confessions?] (Vienna: 1784) (no. 0.5886)

²¹¹ PRUZSINSZKY-HAMAR, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²¹² Matthias Artaria was, in addition to Haslinger, Vienna's biggest music editor in the second half of the 18th century – and he was also a book merchant. He founded his business in 1770. CLOETHER, *op. cit.* P. 93, and *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens ...* Vol. 1. p. 87.

²¹³ CLOETHER, pp. 97-98.

²¹⁴ BOJARDO, Matthaëus M., *Orlando innamorato*. Vols. 1-4. (Paris: 1768). This was included in the catalogue that had been produced a little after the death of Gedeon Ráday, but today only the 1611 Venice edition is found in the library.

²¹⁵ DANTE, Alighieri, *La divina commedia*. Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1768) cost 10 ft (no. 0.2480)

²¹⁶ PULCI, Luigi, *Il morgante maggiore*. Vols. 1-3. (London-Paris: 1768) cost 10 ft (no. 0.2482)

²¹⁷ CARTEROMACO, Niccolo, *Ricciardetto*. (Paris: 1767) cost 9 ft (no. 0.2481)

²¹⁸ These works, even if included in bibliographies, were probably under the author's name; so we cannot identify them. The first one cost 3 ft, the latter 50 ft.

²¹⁹ A similarly titled work couldn't be found in the old catalogues of the library – Graesse mentions one, called *Chefs d'oeuvres des théâtres étrangers*, which was published in Paris in 1822-23, but makes no reference to an earlier edition.

Ráday already owned. About *La bibliographie Parisienne*²²⁰ and *Dictionnaire portatif*²²¹ which were not listed in their catalog, they reported that they did not have them in their warehouse (January 20, 1778). From the later years, one letter survived, dated June 28, 1781, in which Artaria informs Ráday of sending a book list to “increase his rich and famous library.” This fact is sufficient to prove that Ráday maintained contact with this Viennese company as late as the early 80s.

In order to get a complete picture of the collecting activity in Vienna and the acquisitions during the decade after 1775, we turn to the letters of Ernest Klopstock. He was a Viennese bookseller who also engaged in editorial activities. It seems he could not keep pace with the large bookshops – Trattner, Bernhardt, Bader – but he wanted to create a market for himself in Hungary. He wanted to open a store in Pest in 1775 (April 11, 1775) but was unsuccessful. So he was forced to send back the books to Pozsony, where he must have had a depository, because good business sense dictated that he not let such an important capital lie unused. He visited the fairs in Pest on a regular basis, as we can see from his printed catalogue’s appendix. Aside from Ráday, Gábor Prónay²²² was also a Hungarian client who bought one or two works from him in 1775 (April 11, 1775). Klopstock aimed at increasing his business by publishing, in German, books on Hungary or Hungarian affairs. One of his projects called for publishing a book called “Realnachrichten von Ungarn für die Deutschen” that would have contained a presentation of Hungarian products, and other interesting data about Hungary. Since this project did not come to fruition – he could not find a suitable author – he thought to conceive the *Mausoleum regum Hungariae* [Mausoleum of Hungary’s Kings]²²³ by Ferenc Nádasdy in a renewed format, but according to the bibliographies, this attempt was also unsuccessful. At the beginning of February 1777, – when he was recuperating from a long illness, – he was working on the publication of the *Almanach von Ungarn*.²²⁴ He sent this manuscript to the printer around the same time, so that it would be ready the following year. In 1780, he published a *Ritter-Orden Almanach*, a few copies of which he sent to Weingand & Köpff to be sold, we learn from his letter of March 8.

Klopstock contacted Gedeon Ráday for the first time on April 11, 1775, expressing his regret of not having met him while in Pest; because he had heard that he “owned the choicest library in Hungary.” At the same time, he recommends the books listed on the appended list, which he would be able to send immediately. Ráday checked a few books among the eighteen listed²²⁵ but he also ordered several others, which were not on the list, so for example the works he later obtained from Artaria, Bojardo’s *Orlando* and Pulci’s *Il morgante maggiore*. Klopstock delivered the books ordered from the list; concerning the Bojardo and Pulci editions, he informed his client that they were not published in Paris, but in London by Prault, in 4° by the very publisher who was bringing out the classic Italian authors one after the other (July 23, 1775). Klopstock was mistaken in this, because Prault also published in Paris, and the Prault

²²⁰ Ráday obtained later *La Bibliographie Parisienne*. Vols. 1-6. (Paris: 1772) (no. 0.4471)

²²¹ LERIS, Antoine de, *Dictionnaire portatif des théâtres*. (Paris: 1754) (no. 0.5855)

²²² One of the founders of the famous collection of Acsa. NAGY, Iván, 492-493.

²²³ NÁDASDY, Ferenc, *Mausoleum potentissimorum regum Hungariae*. [Mausoleum of Hungary’s Most Powerful Kings] First edition in Nuremberg in 1664, then in Pottendorf in 1667. In the 18th century it was published in Buda by the Landerer Press in 1757. Its translation into Hungarian by Horányi came out also at Landerer’s in 1779.

²²⁴ *Almanach von Ungarn auf das Jahr 1778*. (Wien–Pressburg: 1778). The publication of this work was erroneously attributed by several people to János Korabinszky, the bookseller, publisher, and cartographer afflicted by ill fortune (PETRIK, Vol. 1, p. 52, and SZINNYEI, Vol. 6, col. 981). Klopstock’s letter of February 11, 1777 to Ráday clearly proves that he published the *Almanach von Ungarn*: “Among other important losses which such a long illness caused, is that I was prevented from printing the *Almanach von Ungarn*, whose text I have ready but it had to be delayed for next year.”

²²⁵ HOMER, *Ilias* Edidit Samuel Clarke. Vols. 1-2. (London: 1754) (no. 0.817) and *Odyseea*. Edidit Samuel Clarke. Vols. 1-2. (London: 1740) (no. 0.820), each in one volume. The two together cost 32 ft. *Oratores graeci*. [Greek Public Speakers] Vols. 1-10. (Leipzig) cost 6 ft. It does not figure in the catalogue of the library. REAL, Gaspar de, *La science du gouvernement*. Vols. 1-8. (Paris: 1762-1765), cost 46 ft (no. 0.2330); GALLEUS, Servatius. *Sybillina oracula*. [Sybillin Oracles] (Amsterdam: 1689); cost 12 ft (no. 0.719) POLLUX, Julius. *Onomasticon*. [Use of Words in Discourses] Vols. 1-2. (Amsterdam: 1706); cost 18 ft (no. 0.921)

publication obtained from Artaria a few years later, the *Divina Commedia*, was issued in Paris. Ráday made several purchases from Klopstock during 1776, Sámuel Nagy paid for the books delivered at the beginning of the summer on July 30 (July 30, 1775).²²⁶ In August, Klopstock again promised to bring Pulci and Bojardo to the next book fair, the former in three volumes in 8° and beautifully bound, the latter in four volumes (August 9, 1776). If the bookseller brought the books to the Pest book fair, Ráday did not buy them, because he carried on a correspondence about acquiring them during the summer of 1777 and he finally bought those years later from Artaria. During the Pest book fair of September 1776, Klopstock brought with him the five-volume edition of Aristotle's work that had been printed in Venice in 1552 in the print shop of the Giunta;²²⁸ the famous work of Lavater *Physiognomische Fragmente*,²²⁷ and the *Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel.²²⁸ The two latter are in the Ráday library now, so it can be assumed that Ráday bought them from Klopstock.

The relationship between the collector of Pécel and the Viennese merchant continued through 1777-1778. In the spring of 1777 (April 18, 1777) Klopstock recommended six valuable and expensive²²⁹ books for purchase; on June 1 he signaled his departure for the Medárd Day Fair in Pest and promised to report on every commission in person. Ráday bought fourteen works from him at this occasion for 61 ft 4 kr. Among them was one work of his father's good friend Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptorum* [Pantheon of Egyptians]²³⁰ and the Hebrew Bible, which he had published,²³¹ others worth of mentioning are Winkelmann's *Ancient Art history*,²³² six volumes of the periodical *Anzeigen aus sämtlichen K.K. Erbländer*²³³ and Marmontel's book about the Incas.²³⁴ Klopstock brought for his Hungarian client (August 15, 1777), during the September Fair, *Bibliothèque du Théâtre*²³⁵ and a few missing copies of *Lettres de quelques juifs*.²³⁶

In this period, Klopstock also continued to search for the continuation of *Bibliographie Parisienne*,²³⁷ because Ráday had thought that after the fourth volume, ending in a table of contents, other volumes would be published. Klopstock made inquiries in Paris, and learned that with the publication of the fourth volume the work had been completed (August 15, 1777). Between 1778-1780, the merchant offered books several times to Ráday, however we have no indication in the exchange of letters of purchases, nor have bills

²²⁶ RA/A II. 1142.

²²⁷ LAVATER, Johann Caspar, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*. Vols. 1-4. (Leipzig: 1775-1778) (no. 0.4800). Lavater became popular because of this work in which he tried to prove that the features of the face and its shape led to infallible conclusions about the character of the individual.

²²⁸ SCHEDEL, Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*. [Book of Chronicles] (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493) (no. I. 177)

²²⁹ Their price varied between 30 and 400 ft.

²³⁰ (Francfort: 1750-1752) its cost was 2 ft 30 kr (no. 0.366)

²³¹ (Berlin: 1699) at a cost of 4 ft (no. 0.1739). The library also has the 1712 edition.

²³² WINKELMANN, Johann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Vols. 1-2. (Vienna: 1776) for 9 ft 15 kr (no. 0.2823)

²³³ Vienna, from 1771 until June 1776; the six volumes cost 20 ft 30 kr (no. 0.4767. Hung.)

²³⁴ MARMONTEL, Jean Fr., *Les Incas, ou la destruction de l'empire du Pérou*. Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1777) for 8 ft 30 kr (no. 0.5414)

²³⁵ *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois, depuis son origine*. Vols. 1-3. (Dresden: 1768) (no. 0.3402)

²³⁶ *Lettres de quelques juifs portugais, allemands et polonais à Monsieur de Voltaire*. Vols. 1-3. (Paris: 1776) (no. 0.3392)

²³⁷ Parts 1-4, in two volumes. (Paris: 1772) (no. 0.4471)

survived. But it is certain that in the summer of 1779, Ráday bought several books for him, because in November (November 11) Klopstock was asking for payment of half of the bill of 143 ft (71 ft 30 kr) which had been promised by the Fair on Lipót Day (November 15). Klopstock says in his request that since he only has a small capital, therefore he cannot do without the money even for a short time, he needs all his financial resources. He had chosen Peter Nader, a Viennese merchant who was staying in Pest, as a trustworthy transmitter – the latter was due to return to Vienna in a short while. Ráday indicated in his letter at the end of November (November 26)²³⁸ that he was sending the money to Sámuel Nagy's address. Since this money had not arrived by December 16, Klopstock writes again, asking his client to send the sum with the next stagecoach, because he had less income than expected, and the lack of liquidity had grave consequences for his business. He must have received the money by the second half of December, because in the letter he wrote on the last day of the year, he is again recommending books to Ráday; but he was more cautious with the payment. He told his client that he wanted a down payment right away, but that Ráday could pay the rest at his convenience. Of the recommended books, Ráday must have bought a few²³⁹ because Klopstock reminded him on March 8, 1780 not to forget to send to Sámuel Nagy the amount due at the time of the Joseph Day Fair. In the months that followed, Ráday had Klopstock look for the first edition of *Die römische Octavia*;²⁴⁰ they also discussed one of the works of Montfaucon, but no traces of purchases have survived from this period.

After November 1780, the relationship between Ráday and Klopstock must have ended, because there is no indication in the documents of any further contacts. The letters of this merchant, between 1775-1780, bring a new aspect to the history of the library, because they give the impression of a modern bookseller's correspondence with his client. Klopstock stuck to the formalities of the period and always wrote with respect due to his illustrious client; sometimes he tried to educate the old collector. Ráday neglected to include the publication data for the books he desired; as a result, there was much misunderstanding in the fulfillment of orders. So Klopstock reminded him to include the place, time of publication, and name of publisher, so he could send the right edition for the completion of the collection (July 23, 1775).

Cornides made very few book purchases. We are only aware of some cases where he acquired brand new publications from booksellers because they were not available anywhere else. He informed Ráday that the poem by Denis greeting Pope Pius VI in Vienna had been published²⁴¹ and was available for 7 kr. He also signaled that the *Concordia* [Concordance]²⁴² of Anianus Eliphius Trattner was already selling for 15 kr. Ráday bought both in April 1782 (April 10 and 19). In addition, around the same time he had Cornides buy one edition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* [Of God's Civic Community]²⁴³ and other classical authors. In the summer of 1784 (August 18) he reports on the small dissertation of his good friend József Benczur that had come out in Francfort; he bought it for 12 kr from a bookseller.²⁴⁴ At the same time

²³⁸ Klopstock makes reference to it in his letter of December 16.

²³⁹ In the library we find these from among them: BAYER, Théofil, *Museum sinicum*. [Chienese Museum] Vols. 1-2. (St. Petersburg: 1730) (no. Philol. d. 183.); MABILLON, Jean, *Librorum de re diplomatica supplementum*. [Supplement to Books on Diplomatic Affairs] (Paris: 1704). (no. 0.1365) and WALTHER, Johann Ludolph, *Lexicon diplomaticum*. [Diplomatic Lexicon] (Ulm: 1756) (no. Hist. b. 15)

²⁴⁰ Ulrich von BRAUNSCHWEIG'S 1711 edition of this work in Nuremberg, in 6 volumes, exists in the holdings of the library (no. 0.996).

²⁴¹ DENIS, Johann, *Pius VI. Pont. Max. Josephi II. Aug. Hospes*. [The Pope Pius VI. Guest of Emperor Joseph II.] (Vienna: 1782). It is not in the library today.

²⁴² ELIPHIUS, Anianus, *Concordia iuris canonici cum edictis caesareo-regiis recentius emanatis in materia dispensationum super impedimentis matrimonii, ad V. Hungariae Clerum*. (Vienna: 1781) (no. 0.5874 Hung.)

²⁴³ The library has 5 copies of *De civitate Dei*; the edition discussed here must be the one published in Venice in 1745 in which the notes of József Teleki are extant; thus, it has to be the copy given by Cornides to Ráday.

he could hardly obtain a copy each for Ráday, for Teleki and for himself of *Francisci Principis Rakoczi Responsum ad supplicationem sex comitatum, contra relegationem patrum Societatis Jesu e Regno Hungariae* [The Answer of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi to Six Counties Protesting Against the Expulsion of the Jesuits from the Hungarian Kingdom], that had been printed in Vienna, without indicating neither the place nor the name of the press.²⁴⁵ According to Cornides, this reprint was taken from a manuscript in the imperial library. The problems touched upon by Cornides show how difficult it was to acquire such rarities on the book market and show how Rákóczi's name and remembrance of his War of Independence wielded a magic power for the Hungarians in Vienna of the 1780s.

Cornides was also involved in the efforts to buy libraries or individual works off the market. On April 19, 1782, he tells of the lists of the books of Abbot Eusebius Della Lena together with their prices, and asks Ráday to respond immediately if he wants any of them. In his postscript he mentions, that Teleki's lawyer, who bought *Descriptio soluta et rhythmica regum, banorum caeterorumque heroum Slavinorum, seu Illyricorum*²⁴⁶ at the auction at the beginning of the month, would be willing to sell it at the price he had paid for it (2 kr) because he could not use it. From the books of Della Lena, Ráday only bought the *Opera* of Vergil²⁴⁷ for 22 golds, with the proviso that the work be in the good condition described by Cornides (letter without date). One of the teachers of the Theresianum and the young Joscariini, the tutor of the Venitian ambassador's son, brought him for sale the *Epistola* by Leonardus Aretinus, printed in folio, in 1472.²⁴⁸ The book was in very good condition, but he wanted 2 ½ ft for it. Cornides asked for instructions both for the *Descriptio* and the *Epistola*, especially about the latter, which was a rarity, but its owner wanted too high a price for it (April 10, 1782).

After the survey of the purchases at auction and from booksellers, we will conclude the discussion of the Viennese acquisitions with the data concerning subscriptions and forwarding of periodicals and journals. We have seen that Sámuel Szilágyi had the 60 volumes of *Acta Eruditorum* sent to the Pécel Library before 1744; we know little about his activities of subscribing to current reviews or newspapers. Doubtless, we have periodicals in the library from this period, even from the nine years between the activities of Szilágyi and István Nagy.²⁴⁹ Ráday bought in the course of later years only all volumes of the *Acta Eruditorum* up to 1757; those of *Relationes de libris novis*, edited in Göttingen, from the years 1752-1755 (no. 0.4345), as well as the various volumes of the *Staats-Schriften*, which appeared sporadically between 1741-1745 and 1749-1753.²⁵⁰

We have from the time of the activities of István Nagy the first data about subscriptions to "novellas." The number of newspapers sent to Pécel through Kerepes was not high, since he only paid 6 ft altogether

²⁴⁴ *De dominio eminenti apostolici regis Hungariae et juribus cum eo connexis*. [Of the Reign of Hungary's Eminent Apostolic Kings and of the Relevant Rights] (Francfort–Leipzig: 1784); it is not in the library's collection anymore.

²⁴⁵ Ráday's copy of *Responsum* is still in the library (no. 0.432)

²⁴⁶ CACICS, Andreas, *Descriptio soluta et rhythmica regum, banorum, caeterorumque heroum Slavinorum seu Illyricorum*. [Fluid and Rhythmic Enumeration of the Kings, Governors, and Other Heroes of Slavonia and Illyria] Translated into Latin by Imre Pavich. (Buda: 1764) (no. 0.5123)

²⁴⁷ Five editions of Vergil's works are in the original collection, the above mentioned is, perhaps, the one published in Venice in 1476 (no. I. 195), its very first edition.

²⁴⁸ The 1495 Venice edition of Leonardus' *Epistola* [Letters] can be found today in the library.

²⁴⁹ In May 1761 István Nagy paid the semiannual subscription for the "novellas" (14 ft).

²⁵⁰ *Sammlung einiger Staats-Schriften, welche nach Ableben Kayser Carl des VI zum Vorschein gekommen*. Vols. 1-4. 1741-1743 (no. 0.5007); *Historische Sammlung Staats-Schriften ... unter Kayser Carl dem VII*. Vols. 1-2. (Francfort: 1744-1745) (no. 0.5005); *Neue Sammlung von Staats-Schriften ... nach Ableben Kayser Carl des Siebenden*. (Francfort: 1745) (no. 0.5006), and *Vollständige Sammlung von Actis publicis und Staats-Schriften ... unter Kayser Franz*. Vols. 1-8. (Francfort: 1749-1753) (no. 0.5008)

for the second half of the year in July 1757 (June 15, 1754). The following year he should have been paying for the *Relationes* of Göttingen and the *Staats-Schriften*, but no subscriptions were accepted by the merchants because no other volumes appeared other than those already in the library (December 27, 1754). He was more successful with the *Acta Eruditorum*, because he was able to get the volumes that appeared in 1757 and 1759.²⁵¹ He was also able to get one or two copies of the *Zuverlässige Nachrichten* (December 19, 1757) and sent them to Pécel. The periodical of Leipzig could have only been obtained once in a while – Ráday had not subscribed to it – and so today we only find the volumes up to 1755 which had been bought from Dániel Perliczy. István Nagy made the payment of 14 ft for the subscription in January 1761 (January 13); he was agent in Pozsony at the time, and Sámuel Nagy had not yet taken charge of Viennese matters.

Sámuel Nagy reported on January 1, 1762 for the first time that he had subscribed to the newspapers for the next year. At that time, we also hear of newspapers of Vienna and Regensburg, and a year later, in the winter of 1762, of newspapers in Leipzig (December 17, 1762). In 1769, he also mentions those of Hamburg (November 13, 1769). The subscription for the newspapers from Regensburg was 12 ft, for those from Vienna 16 ft, and the scientific novellas from Leipzig were relatively cheap, only 10 ft.²⁵² The Göttingen newspaper Ráday would have very much liked to have was not available from the merchants,²⁵³ but the one from Erlangen can be subscribed to, he consoles Ráday (November 13, 1769). It is clear from the letters of Sámuel Nagy that according to the customs of the era, periodicals and scientific reviews were obtained from the merchants, while the newspapers, such as the Viennese or those from Regensburg, were prepaid at the post office and the latter was responsible for forwarding them (November 18, 1763).

Of course, the ordering and sending of periodicals or newspapers did not always go smoothly. For example, Ráday forgot to renew subscriptions for the second half of 1762, so Nagy, though belatedly, ordered the missing issues. Because of the delay in receiving the subscription, the merchant refused to take the order, so they had to turn to someone else (August 24, 1762). Due to the delay, the July and August copies of the Regensburg newspaper were not sent, so they tried to get them in September and October, but were not successful because no copies had been left over. The merchant used the money destined for the second half of the year, for next year's subscription (November 7, 1762 and December 17, 1762).²⁵⁴ In this same period, summer and fall of 1762, several newspapers got lost. Sámuel Nagy reports repeatedly that they were sent from Vienna together with those ordered by others; they were, therefore, surely lost at the post office of Buda or Kerepes, that is why Ráday did not receive them (September 28, 1762).²⁵⁵ Because the situation had not changed for weeks, responding to Nagy's strong objections, they were sent for a month sealed with wax and an official seal (October 29, 1762). This did not help either, so Nagy reorganized the freight in December 1762. His letters clearly show the difficulties: "Your Lordship had written that I should change the expeditor, but because the problem was that he did not know which post-day to use, so he tried until he found the right one. I did not want to either confuse him or make ourselves unhappy. I think he is a fine man, and he is going to send them according to our wishes. However, the question is – because two newspapers have to be sent from here together, one from Regensburg, one from Vienna, either one or the other will be late, and will have to wait for the other. Which would Your Lordship prefer to receive immediately – from Regensburg or from Vienna? The Viennese paper can be sent on Wednesday, but the Regensburg paper only gets here on Thursday. Therefore, they cannot arrive at the same time, but only on Monday or Tuesday. However, if we have the Viennese newspaper wait for the arrival of the Regensburg paper, so that it is only sent on Thursday, then the Viennese will go a little late, but the Regensburg paper

²⁵¹ Today the volumes of 1757 and 1758 are missing.

²⁵² See his previously cited letters concerning subscription to periodicals as well as the one dated September 18, 1763.

²⁵³ It is most likely that István Nagy could not fulfill the commission either.

²⁵⁴ RA/A II. 713 and II. 730.

²⁵⁵ RA/A II. 716.

can be had a whole post delivery earlier. The Viennese paper of Saturday and the Regensburg paper arriving on Sunday pose the same problem. Therefore, would Your Lordship be kind enough to tell me, which one he wants first, because it is impossible for one of them not to be late either here or in Pest. Your Lordship should at least let me know, if ordinarily you receive the newspaper on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, or Friday; because it seems there has been a change on these days; the expeditor will send them from here so Your Lordship can have them at the earliest" (December 17, 1762).²⁵⁶ It sometimes also happened that some copies of the newspapers were one or two weeks late, as in the spring of 1767 the novellas of Leipzig; Sámuel Nagy tried to send them later, but judging from past experience he advised Ráday to subscribe only bi-annually, because the late copies could create a chaotic situation (March 20, 1767). At the end of the 60s, the novellas arrived more and more irregularly to Pécel, especially those from Leipzig, and in 1771, the post office refused to send them completely. Sámuel Nagy then started discussions with a certain Grafer, who maintained correspondence with publishers, and subscribed with him (December 13, 1771),²⁵⁷ but he could not replace the missing copies.²⁵⁸ After 1771, we could not find any data about newspaper subscriptions – only a few items in the bills and receipts here and there refer to them.

However, we learn regularly, from the beginning of the 60s to the end of the 80s, about subscription and forwarding of the *Journal Encyclopédique*, the beacon of the French Enlightenment. Bernhardi obtained the first volumes for Ráday, in the months when the latter had no agent in Vienna. We know from the only surviving letter of the merchant (July 17, 1760) that he had ordered from Rousseau the journal that appeared twice a month starting in 1756. The issues published in the first half of 1760 had already been sent, and the others he would receive continually, directly from Bouillon, the place of publication. He highly recommended to Ráday to subscribe to this periodical, containing political and literary news as well as historical pieces from the whole of Europe, for only 20 ft a year. Ráday accepted the offer and ordered this renowned novella, which Sámuel Nagy continued to send to him to Pécel regularly.²⁵⁹ The price of the subscription, according to Nagy, who looked into the books of Bernhardi, was 18 ft – so it seemed to him that the merchant had misstated the price of subscription, or the publisher had later lowered it.²⁶⁰ Between 1773-1781, Ráday had subscribed to Wieland's paper, the *Deutsche Mercur*²⁶¹ and, between 1776-1781 to the *Deutsches Museum*.²⁶² Starting in 1787, he also subscribes to the *Magyar Kurir*, edited by Sándor Szatsvay, published in Vienna.²⁶³ Due to the combined efforts of the agents and merchants of Vienna and Pozsony, the collection of the library was enriched by the famous newspapers and scientific periodicals of the time during this whole period. Special emphasis was laid upon the acquisition of Hungarian newspapers and periodicals that were started in the last decades of the century.

²⁵⁶ RA/A II. 730.

²⁵⁷ RA/A II. 927.

²⁵⁸ "The majority of the specified issues have been missing since a rather long time; I do not think that they are available," – he already writes in his letter of July 30, 1771.

²⁵⁹ The Viennese agent checked the price of the journal, because Count Miklós Forgách maintained that it only cost 17 ft a year; Sámuel Nagy's letter to Ráday dated January 20, 1764 (RA/A II. 808).

²⁶⁰ It appeared in Liège in 1756-1759 and in Bouillon from 1760 on. The issues from between the years of 1756-1788, with a few copies missing, are in the library, bound in 256 volumes (no. 0.76).

²⁶¹ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, 1773-1789, and *Neuer Teutsche Merkur*, 1790-1810, edited by Christoph Martin Wieland, the famous German poet, appeared in 9 volumes a year. The library has the years 1773-1782 (no. 0.5148).

²⁶² *Deutsches Museum*, published in Leipzig. The library has the years 1776-1781 in 17 parts, bound in 6 volumes. (no. 0.684).

²⁶³ Szatsvay's receipt for 6 rh ft for the subscription is dated March 23, 1789. (RA 228. fasc.)

d) Forwarding and Shipping

Finally after the survey of the library's acquisitions from Vienna, we have to deal with the role of the imperial city in forwarding books, acquired abroad, to Hungary and, in general, the sending of the purchased books from Vienna to Pest. It seems appropriate for us to group them around the circle of agents, as we did previously for book purchases.

One of Sámuel Szilágyi's early letters, written on October 2, 1734, which is also significant from the point of view of the library's history, reports about a book delivery from abroad that arrived in Vienna. In spite of the year and a half hiatus that had elapsed from the homecoming of Gedeon Ráday from Francfort-on-the-Oder – as I have already pointed out when I discussed the activities of Szászky-Tomka – it is certain that the books in question were those that Ráday had bought during his study trip, and which were forwarded by Szilágyi to Pozsony. The delivery was held up at Viennese customs, but the agent assured his friend that he could take care of getting the necessary permission through the good offices of a counselor that he knew. He reminds Ráday that he had freed 25 tons of books from review. To cover all costs, he asked for the immediate forwarding of 70 tallers to him. In the middle of the 40s, when he was buying books for Ráday on several occasions, Szilágyi sent them to Pest or Pécel with acquaintances and friends. On one occasion he even named the postman: the works he bought on September 26, 1746, he entrusted to Colonel Sámuel Teleki, a member of the Teleki family that was related to the Rádays.²⁶⁴ Thus, the picture we have traced in respect of the consignments from Transylvania and Pozsony did not change when it came to the books arriving to Pécel from Vienna – to forward the works bought by the agents, they made use of acquaintances and friends. Only during the time of István Nagy, and especially Sámuel Nagy, was it necessary to make use of Danubian boatmen for shipping the large quantities of books purchased.

During the time of István Nagy, Gellért Mauss, the bookseller from Pest, who often traveled to Vienna on business and was experienced in the book trade, brought back smaller packages to his business partner in Pécel, or transmitted messages and orders between the collector and his agents. In addition, Nagy used Pál Szathmári, lieutenant of the guards,²⁶⁵ in February 1759 (February 6, 1759.) as a postman. For larger shipments to Ludány, István Nagy as well as Sámuel Nagy contracted with the merchants of Komárom. The latter mentions a Jókai²⁶⁶ with whom he had sent books in two "packages" (letter without date). Such methods of shipment of course took a long time; Nagy mentioned in more than one letter that he was sorry that the merchant from Komárom, to whom he had confided money and books, still had not gotten them to Ráday (for example his letter of March 29, 1757).

The greatest difficulty for shipment on the Danube was customs at Pozsony. Ráday's agent, not trusting the cleverness of the merchant to circumvent the officials, redeemed the customs papers for the shipment. His words are very characteristic of the economic policy of the Court, that allowed only printed matter bought from Austrian merchants to enter Hungary without a tariff. "I will put on them stickers from merchants and have the books carried with them, because it is to be feared that they could be confiscated. I will specify and write on the packages that the books are from local merchants, and if they ask for them in Pozsony, these could be shown. Because of all of this, Mr. Jókay says that if possible, they will avoid the Pozsony inspection, but to be on the safe side, I will acquire the stickers to proceed legally so we will not be financially harmed. It is going by covered boat, so the books will not get wet and should be in Pest in 10-12 days" (letter without a date).

²⁶⁴ 1710-1783. Not the same as the famous Transylvanian chancellor and book collector, Sámuel, who was the brother of Ráday's brother-in-law, but the cousin of these two brothers. NAGY, Iván, Vol.11, p. 88.

²⁶⁵ He came from a family in the County of Borsod (NAGY, Iván, Vol. 6, 269) whose members played an important role in the life of the Reformed Church in the 18th century. His uncle György Szathmár Király was the head warden of the western Tisza synod; he participated as a candidate against Sámuel Nagy in the 1762-1763 agent election.

²⁶⁶ Certainly a member of the ásvai Jókay family, perhaps Sámuel. KEMPELEN, Vol. 5, p. 66.

Sámuel Türi sent Ráday the books purchased by a man called Henter;²⁶⁷ he loaded on the boat of Csépan²⁶⁸ “an honorable man from Komárom,” some furnishings – chairs and mirrors – for the newly built sections of the manor house in Pécel, and a bundle of books as well (December 6, 1760). Sámuel Nagy – who handled the problems of the students going to study abroad at the Chancery – kept in constant touch with the students commissioned to search for books and their patron. He forwarded their letters to Pécel, and intervened to solve difficulties with Viennese customs. The books he bought at auctions or from merchants he sent to Pest by his trusted people or the boatmen of Komárom. Due to the increased volume of purchases in the years between 1760 and 1770, he utilized mostly the river route. The relatively low cost and security of these shipments allowed him to send gigantic crates of books to their destination. Over the years Nagy used József Teleki, the nephew of the husband of Ester Ráday, Countess Teleki (December 13, 1765; October 16, 1767), János Kuti, “trustworthy nobleman from the county of Szatmár,”²⁶⁹ Imre Laczkovics, the subprefect of the County of Pest,²⁷⁰ who went to Vienna to represent the County in greeting the “Prince locumtenens,” to carry books back to Hungary. Nagy gave the latter the volumes of Lucianus and the catalogue of Herinnes so he could take them to Ráday (December 31, 1766). In addition, there were among the postmen, a certain Mr. Repetzki,²⁷¹ Mihály Bessenyei, the uncle of György Bessenyei who gave new life to Hungarian literary life²⁷² and whom he mentions often at the beginning of the 70s (November 9, 1711; June 16, 1772, and May 13, 1772),²⁷³ Pál Darvas, a relative of Ráday (April 3, 1772),²⁷⁴ as well as the gentlemen named Lázár, Pongráz, and Dálnoki.²⁷⁵ From among the merchants, we find the name of Maixner, merchant in Pest, who had taken a package of books in the spring of 1761 (May 8, 1761); then Ernest Klopstock who often took books from Vienna to Ráday (March 12, 1776; August 16, 1778); Caith, the Greek merchant (January 19, 1784), and Ferenc Panda²⁷⁶ who Sámuel Nagy suggests (April 15, 1766; November 12, 1771) should be rewarded by one or two “máriás” (old Hungarian silver coins).

The merchants from Komárom shipped the books by boat to their city, and from there by carriage or boat to Pest. Poroszlai (October 25, 1763),²⁷⁷ Szokolai (October 6, 1763), József Tahi (August 21, 1761), and Újvári., were paid four “máriás” for shipping, and two were paid to their workers (September 22, 1761). Most often we find the names of the “excellent trustworthy merchant” Bodai and his son-in-law Csépan, but only in the letters written during the year 1762 (August 3, 1762; August 6 and August 24; November 16; October 29, 1762).²⁷⁸

²⁶⁷ VAS, Margit, *op. cit.*, p. 19 (the letter referred to can no longer be found in the Ráday archives).

²⁶⁸ Iván NAGY and KEMPELEN know of several families of this name, they are all from the Counties of Borsod and Heves.

²⁶⁹ Most likely the descendant of János Kuthy, whose wife Ilona Kajali, was a relative of Gedeon Ráday's mother (NAGY, Iván, Vol. 6, p. 519); he mentions him in his letter of February 25, 1766.

²⁷⁰ NAGY Iván, Vol. 8, p. 7.

²⁷¹ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 9, p. 680; we hear about him in the letter of January 5, 1769.

²⁷² KEMPELEN, Vol. 2, p. 174.

²⁷³ RA/A II. 991.

²⁷⁴ NAGY Iván, Vol. 3, p. 244.

²⁷⁵ They cannot be identified with certainty. They are mentioned in the letters dated October 19, 1771 (RA/A II. 985); August 1, 1775 (RA/A II. 114); July 30, 1771 (RA/A II. 980).

²⁷⁶ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 9, p. 106.

²⁷⁷ RA/A II. 802.

²⁷⁸ RA/A II. 724.

The books were always packed in “Verschlag,” i.e. good strong crates; once in a while, they were sewn into sacks (November 12, 1771),²⁷⁹ but always protected from water. Sámuel Nagy did not like to have the books at his house for longer periods of time, because he was afraid that in winter with a fire going, they could suffer damage in his little room (November 16, 1762).²⁸⁰ However, most often they were housed there for lengthy periods, sometimes for years, because of misunderstandings, binding process, or the lack of transportation or even forgetfulness. Even the most reliable transportation, the boat, became impossible at the time of the big autumn and spring floods. At the beginning of August 1762, he explains the delay of the books by saying “the big flood made it impossible for the boats to dock at good places, so the books had to wait” (August 3, 1762). It also happened that the book shipment was lost as in January 1784, when the package entrusted to the Greek merchant Caith did not get to Ráday, nor was it found (January 19, 1784; January 31; February 9). However, the biggest hurdle for the shipments remained the censorship in Pozsony. Without mercy, the Jesuit censors confiscated the Protestant theological works, even translations of the Bible, not to mention the works presenting the new ideas of “damaging spirit.” Of special importance for the books sent to the Pécel library was this activity of the censors – because it is clearly demonstrated that the collection of the Ráday library were deeply influenced by Protestant thinking, a “valueless” literature, as well as the astonishing results of scientific research and the works that preached the ideas of the Enlightenment. Sámuel Nagy often made reference to this in his letters, and his lines characterize well the situation: “The review of books in Pozsony goes on so strictly, that not one of our worthwhile books can escape it, as I could experience in past weeks. Here, even though one would hope for a relaxation in the severity of review, it always remains the same. I have filed a complaint about it three months ago, but I can see no use of them. Even the Hungarian Bibles and some German books of sermons, which were not questioned up till now are confiscated” (June 17, 1768; July 1, 1768). It seems, therefore, clear that if these forbidden books arrived in Pécel, and influenced Hungarian culture, it is thanks only to the skillful action of the agents and boatmen.

²⁷⁹ RA/A II. 986.

²⁸⁰ RA/A II. 724.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIBRARY IN THE AGE OF GEDEON RÁDAY PART THREE

Growth of the Library's Holdings: Acquisitions in Other Foreign Cities

We begin the analysis of the growth of the holdings of the Ráday Library¹ from acquisitions abroad, i.e. on the book markets other than those of Hungary and Austria by summarizing data from the student years of Gedeon Ráday. In this connection let us remember his travels first to Berlin, where the strong personality of Daniel Ernest Jablonski made a lasting impression on him; then his university life in Francfort-on-the-Oder, a university where the French *esprit* was more important than the Swiss and Dutch Protestant theological traditions and where his interest was channeled towards the new ideas of the age and the sciences which were in full development.

During the first phase of Ráday's collecting activity, the most significant letter was the one his father Pál addressed to his son on August 8, 1731, who then was staying in Francfort-on-the-Oder. The section that is of interest to us reads: "As I have already instructed you, I am warning you to be frugal with your money, do not spend it on trivia, even as far as books are concerned, do not buy anything now that is not absolutely necessary for your studies. There will be plenty of time, by the grace of God, to buy books after your graduation. I do not know if you have taken the catalogue with you, that you marked, or did you leave your notes here?" These lines prove how young Gedeon had already developed an inclination during his years in Pozsony for book collecting; he had compiled lists, catalogues of books of interest to him, and he had every intention to look for them and buy them for himself in Francfort-on-the-Oder. That is why his father cautions to spend thriftily; not as if Pál Ráday would have been against spending on books, but the exceedingly difficult financial situation of the family prompted him to warn his son to be frugal, taking into account that studying abroad was expensive. In addition, the parents married their daughter Ester to László Teleki around this time. Gedeon's study abroad was planned for three years; during the third year, when the family's financial difficulties were over, he could buy the books he wanted to bring home.²

Pál Ráday's letter shows, besides his paternal love, that his directions put their stamp on the first steps of Gedeon's collecting and he always checked the list of books bought by his son.³ So the two eras of

¹ Details regarding the materials purchased abroad that had been transmitted through the offices of Viennese merchants, discussed in the first chapter, will not be included here.

² Pál Ráday's letter to Gedeon from Pécel dated March 24, 1732. The section referred to says: "Leave the purchase of the books for three years from now, so I can become financially secure because now we have to take care of the costs of your sister's wedding."

³ "Your Lord father orders you to send the list of your books, so his Grace can know which books need to be ordered." (Klára Kajali's letter to her son, without date.) Gedeon did not know what list he should send: "Your Grace writes that I should send the list of books, but since I do not know if it is the purchased books or those that need to be purchased, be kind enough to inform me" (Gedeon Ráday's letter to his mother, Francfort-on-the-Oder, March 10, 1733). It would be overstating on the basis of these comments by Klára Kajali to think of father and son as confrontational in collecting and purchasing books. We would be closer to the truth if we consider it natural that the collector father instructed the son in his first independent steps.

the library are not sharply different, there is no definite dividing line, because Gedeon had started his collecting not after his father's death but during the latter's life and under his direction.

Few data survived about the acquisitions of his years of study. Gedeon must have participated in auctions during the years he spent in Berlin and he must have acquired many works. He did not send home a list of them, but judging from a few titles⁴ he scribbled in a notebook, we can conclude what kind of books he was looking for. These titles indicate first of all books that helped in his legal studies, and, second, they reflect his interest in political science, books that increased his knowledge of Hungarian geography and history. It is clear from his letter written to his father on June 1, 1733,⁵ as well as the messages of Szilágyi and Szászky-Tomka regarding book freight, that the young Gedeon Ráday must have purchased a relatively large number of works during his university years.

During later years, when collecting activity for the library at Pécel was in full swing in the Hungarian and Viennese book markets – the majority of foreign acquisitions were taken care of by young Protestant people studying abroad – exactly as it happened in Pál Ráday's time. They were all sponsored by Ráday and usually worked for him before their travels. In the relationship which bound them to their patron, financially as well as intellectually, we have to discern the survival of the institution of family ties albeit in limited form, during this late period of disintegrating Hungarian feudalism.

The data regarding Ráday's book collecting that took place abroad we will connect, after the review of his purchases during his student years, to specific cities and to the young people who were studying there, his agents. It seems more suitable to our purpose not to separate the sections dealing with auctions and details about purchases made at booksellers', as we had done previously, we will sum them up together as parts of activities in one market.

a) Basel

One of the main places of Ráday's collecting activity was Basel. This large Protestant university town attracted many Hungarian students and significant personalities of the century's church and intellectual life in Hungary came from among them. Ráday sponsored students who spent various amounts of time in this city, and became there agents in the book market on behalf of Ráday.

The first news on acquisitions came from the period that Sámuel Nagy spent in Basel. I have already pointed out, in connection with the biography of this most successful buyer for the library, that he left his post as tutor to the younger Gedeon and commenced his travel abroad at the end of January 1760. He settled in the famous Swiss university town, where he attended lectures together with József Teleki, the nephew of Ráday. The characteristics we saw in his Viennese acquisitions also apply here. As his role in the imperial city was that of the most meaningful buyer from the point of view of the Pécel library, he also was the most important agent among the traveling students. He enrolled at the university on March 1, 1760 but on the fifth of the same month he already reported about an auction to be held at the occasion of the academy's jubilee;⁶ its catalogue was just being printed.⁷ He later sent it to Ráday in Pécel; but he received the

⁴ The listed works: BEHAMB, Johann Ferdinand, *Notitia Hungariae antiquo moderna Bernegeriana*. [Information on ancient and modern Hungary] (Strasburg :1676 ; *RMK* Vol. 3, p. 2773); VANEL, P., *Histoire des troubles de Hongrie*. (Amsterdam: 1722) (no. 0.3938 Hung.); GROTIUS, Hugo, *In Vitrairio parvus, sive institutiones juris naturae et gentium*. [Comments on the Younger Vitriarius, or the Institutions of Natural Law and of the Law of Nations] (Nuremberg–Leipzig: 1726) (no. 0.4342); VITRIARIUS, Philipp, *Institutiones juris publici Romano-Germanici*. [The Institutions in Roman-German Public Law] (Nuremberg–Leipzig; 1727) (no. 0.3525); *Corpus Juris portabile* (I could not identify the work); HOFFMANN, Christian, Gottfried, *Praecognita generalia jurisprudentiae*. [General Presuppositions of Jurisprudence] (Leipzig: 1723) (no. 0.3681)

⁵ Klára Kajali counselled her son to leave the books he had gotten during his study years in Berlin at the Jablonskis' and when they can find a way of shipping them home, they will do so. Thus these lines of Klára Kajali prove that the shipment sent by Szilágyi and also Szászky-Tomka consisted of the books collected during Ráday's student years.

⁶ The University of Basel was founded on April 4, 1460, and celebrated its 300th year anniversary in the spring of 1760.

instructions about which books to bid only after the auction had taken place. They still had hope to get the ones to be found on the list attached to the letter because they were to be sold, not at auction, but by estimates (May 17, 1760).⁸ From these Sámuel Nagy bought one, even though Ráday's reply was late: "I could not stand not buying Sueur's *Histoire de l'Église et de l'Empire*⁹ for Your Lordship in quarto, 7 volumes, Amsterdam, it is very handsome and in good condition. Its price is 7 ft and 48 kr. Perhaps it will please Your Lordship" (July 5, 1760).¹⁰ He also copied titles from Burckhard's books which were coming to auction at the end of May and hoped his patron would get a taste from them.¹¹ In July he reports that everyone is waiting for the auction of the books of Ostewald's son,¹² the French preacher, whose French books were praised (July 5, 1760).¹³ From his last letter from Basel which he wrote on the way home, we learn that he had copied some titles from the upcoming auction's catalogue.¹⁴ He sent the list to Ráday, so if some works were needed among them, he could commission someone in time to purchase them (July 19, 1760).

Besides watching for auctions, Sámuel Nagy also maintained contact with Basel booksellers. He does not mention them by name, but in his letter of July 19 he talks about books from Schaffhausen or St. Gallen which he wanted to buy from a bookseller. The bookseller was sly, so Nagy thinks he only said that books printed in Basel were from Schaffhausen, or other times from St. Gallen, to increase their price by charging freight. From the hand written catalogue of these books he copied several works and sent the list to Pécel.¹⁵ Ráday marked with a red pencil those he wanted in Nagy's list. From these notes and those of Sámuel Nagy we can determine without doubt that the Basel acquisitions present in the holdings of the Ráday library are from Zwingli: the explanations of the Gospels and biblical letters;¹⁶ his *Commentary* (Commentaries),¹⁷ his study about providence¹⁸ and the explanation of the letter of Jacob;¹⁹ the work of

⁷ RA/A. II. 648.

⁸ RA/A.II. 654.

⁹ SUEUR, Jean le, *Histoire de l'Église et de l'Empire*. (Amsterdam: 1730) (no. 0.406). Its binding is identical to Pictet's similar work (PICTET, Benedict, *Histoire de l'Église et du monde*. Vols. 1-3. (Amsterdam: 1732), so the latter must also be bought by Nagy in Basel.

¹⁰ RA/A. II. 656.

¹¹ RA/Doc. 228 fasc

¹² Johann Friedrich Osterwald (1663-1747), preacher in Neuchâtel, a theologian who opposed orthodox Calvinism as well as the Enlightenment. Swiss Calvinism considers him as its second reformer. *RGG* Vol. 4, p. 829-830.

¹³ RA/A. II. 656.

¹⁴ RA/Doc. 228 fasc.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* This note is a valuable document because prices are also listed for all 78 works. Therefore, it is an important addition to the history of Swiss book trade in the 18th century.

¹⁶ *Annotationes in evangelicam historiam*. [Annotations in Evangelical History] Published by Leo JUDA. (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer 1539); price 35 kr (no. I. 83)

¹⁷ *Commentarius de vera et falso religione*. [Commentary on True and False Religion] (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1530) cost 12 kr (no. I. 19)

¹⁸ *De providentia Dei*. [Of Divine Providence] (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1530) cost 8 kr (no. I 25)

¹⁹ *Expositio brevis et luculenta in epistolam beati Jacobi*. [A Lucid and Short Explanation of the Blessed Jacob's Letter] (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1533 cost 3 kr (no.: I. 20)

Rathramnus *De corpore et sanguine Domini* [Of the Lord's Body and Blood] ;²⁰ the correspondence of Oecolampadius and Zwingli;²¹ Heidegger's *Historia papatus* [History of the Papacy], and the discussion of the similarly entitled work of Guicciardini.²² The vast majority of these acquisitions came from the most famous press of the Reformation, the shop of Christoph Froschauer in Basel. Their extremely reasonable price can also be explained by this fact. The work of Basnage, *Histoire de l'Église*,²³ wanted by Ráday as well as the work mentioned as "Rei Musicae authors," Nagy was unable to procure (July 5, 1760).²⁴

Not only did Nagy search for books in Basel, but he was also interested in other university towns, their auctions and possibilities. In his very first letter, written in the spring of 1760 (March 5, 1760),²⁵ he notes that there will be a big auction in Strasbourg of the books of Böcler,²⁶ a professor of medicine, which will last for two months – May and June. From the catalogue he made a list of the titles which would be of interest to Ráday, and he offered to have a good friend to buy those that Ráday wanted.

Nagy spent a few days in Ulm on his way to Basel from Vienna; he described his experiences and impressions in his letters from Basel. In this town on the banks of the Danube, he met a scholar named Miller, a rector, who had published in "very nice form" the classical authors; but because a bookseller from Berlin paid the cost, Berlin was stated as the place of publication in the books (his above letter). At another time, he listed the volumes already published by Miller, showing their prices as well: 1. Plautus, 3 volumes, 5 ft 30 kr; 2. Vergil, 1 ft 30 kr; 3. Horace 45 kr; 4. Ovid, 4 volumes, 4 ft; 5. Juvenal, 45 kr; 6. Phaedrus, 45 kr; 7. Cicero, 8 volumes, 6 ft 30 kr; 8. Curtius, 1 ft 30 kr; 9. Nepos, 1 ft. 10; Livy 3 volumes, 3 ft; 11. Justinus, 1 ft; 12. Horus, 1 ft; 13. Sallust, 1 ft; 14. Caesar, 1 ft 30 kr; 15. Velleius Paterculus, 1 ft; 16. Plinii Epistolae 1 ft 30 kr; 17. Valerius Maximus. He evaluated the detailed notes of Miller from an almost modern point of view and indicated that the basis for the conversion of the prices into Hungarian currency during his stay in Basel was 1 Dutch gold for 5 forints (May 17, 1760).²⁷

For the shipping of the books, Nagy at first wanted to use a certain Käymüller,²⁸ a furrier in Basel; this traveling tradesman often went as far as Pozsony. He recommended a Viennese moneychanger, Scheidling, for transmitting the money owed for the books, who would be able to get the paid sums to Basel. When he was already getting ready to leave for home, he called his Lord's attention to these two men for the shipping of the books to be acquired and the transmission of the money (July 13, 1760). In the summer of 1760, at the end of June and in July he sent the books meant for Pécel to Bader, one of Ráday's book shippers who also had a business in Regensburg. Bader signalled on June 25, 1760 that a crate arrived from Basel from Sámuel Nagy, for the shipment of which he had paid 1 ft 45 kr. Because Nagy had sent the message that Ráday would decide, the merchant was asking for instructions, should he send it to Pozsony or Pest? However, beforehand, he would need the list of the books contained therein, so that he could get the needed permission at the censors' in Regensburg. He directed the shipment of the books,

²⁰ RATHRAMNUS, Bertramus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. [Of the Lord's Body and Blood] (Genf: Michael Sylvius, 1541) cost 6 kr (no. I. 45)

²¹ OECOLAMPADIUS, Johannes – ZWINGLI, Ulrich, *Epistolarum libri IV*. [Four Books of Correspondence] Ed. Theodor Bibliander. (Basel: Thomas Platterus and Balthasar Lasius, 1536) cost 2 ft 24 kr (no. I.150)

²² HEIDEGGER, Johann Henrich, *Historia papatus*. [The History of Papacy]. Accedit GUICCIARDINI, Francesco, *Historia papatus*. [The History of Papacy] (Amsterdam: 1684) cost 1 ft 12 kr (no. 0.1102)

²³ BASNAGE, Jacques, *Histoire des Églises réformées*.

²⁴ RA/A. II. 656.

²⁵ RA/A. II. 648.

²⁶ Johann Heinrich Böcler; *ADB*, Vol. 1, p. 1165.

²⁷ RA/A. II. 654.

²⁸ In order to avoid any confusion he even added that the cattle merchant "Käymüller auf dem Fischmarkt" would be the transmitter.

including Sueur's 7 volume work, together with the books of his fellow student József Teleki, around the middle of July. Their freight to Vienna was taken care of by István Nagy. Sámuel Nagy's short stay in Basel already demonstrated his conscientiousness and thoroughness, which were to become the characteristics of his activities in Vienna. Further data about other cities indicate the widening circle of collection, and provide a picture of the continuous enlargement of these activities reaching even to Leipzig.

The role of Basel in the history of the library at Pécel did not end yet. Mihály Szathmári Paksi,²⁹ a student in mathematics of Johann Bernoulli, investigated the book market of this university town around 1768 as commissioned by his patron;³⁰ a good decade later, Basel came to the forefront due to the activities of Mihály Blasek who also was a student there. Blasek was born in 1753. He was a student in Debrecen, and graduated from the school of theology in that town. During the 70s, he was a tutor in the Ráday family, and went to Basel in the last months of 1780. There he tried to be of service to his patron as well as continuing his studies; he reported about the state of the book market and was ready to carry out his orders. In the fall of 1781, he went from Switzerland to Utrecht, Holland, but none of his letters from there has survived in the Ráday family's archives. He did not stay long in Utrecht, because already at the beginning of 1782 the Trans-Tisza diocese called him home, to serve among the Moravian brothers as a theologian of Slovak ancestry. The Moravians welcomed Hungarian ministers with open arms. The Edict of Toleration of Joseph II promulgated in 1781 made the revitalization of the Czech-Moravian congregations possible. Therefore, the Protestant Czechs and Moravians were starting to reorganize their churches, but the lack of preachers was a great difficulty. During the re-catholization process of the past 150 years under the Hapsburgs, church life was non-existent and, consequently, the training of ministers stopped. Therefore, they turned to the Hungarian Reformed churches for help, remembering the old relationships with them, and asked for preachers. The four dioceses came to their rescue most willingly, of course; but among the young ministers, only those could be considered who spoke Czech or Slovak, or at least German. The church leaders chose Mihály Blasek among others; he answered the call, came home, was tested by the "consistorium superintendentiale" on July 16, 1782 in Debrecen and was consecrated as minister. He was sent, finally, to Moravia. By August 26, he had arrived in Nusslau, so he was the first Hungarian minister who went to Moravia after the Edict of Toleration was promulgated. In June of 1784, he went to Jimranover where he worked until his death on October 10, 1827. His literary work is considerable; it mirrors his desire to give his parishioners in their own language, such as hymnals, catechisms and meditations. He translated György Szikszay's *Keresztyén tanítások és imák* [Christian Teachings and Prayers], and published the Berlin hymnal in Czech.³¹

Four of his letters written from Basel exist in the Ráday archives. In these, he indicated the sending of merchants' catalogues and a few books. His activities did not bear much fruit because the Swiss book market in this period, compared to those in other countries, was still undeveloped, and Blasek was in no way equal to Sámuel Nagy in his skill and thoroughness. He was at first surprised at Ráday's request for catalogues and book purchases: "I humbly ask for Your Lordship's pardon, that I cannot provide him with the sending of Mr. Weingand's books, or better or more catalogues. If I had known that Your Lordship was interested in the miserable Swiss booksellers' catalogues, then I would have acquired them from Zurich, as well as Bern or other possible locations. Therefore, now I can only please Your Lordship with the ones from Basel; I also wish to inform Your Lordship that many of them had their prices considerably lowered, and some are sold out. Nevertheless, this spring some students are planning to go home, I hope to be able to please Your Lordship with better catalogues" (February 23, 1781). He also sent home, attached to the package addressed to the company of Weingand and Köpff by the booksellers in Basel, the *Reformations*

²⁹ Mihály Szathmári Paksi (1745-1773) professor the grandson of Ráday's agent already mentioned, enrolled at the University of Basel on November 20, 1767, and in Utrecht on July 15, 1770. ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, P. 575.

³⁰ He writes in his letter of January 17, 1768 to Ráday: "If Your Lordship would like me to purchase one of the books, I would gladly do it. Here there are armies of outstanding jurists. In particular Rodolf Iselius ... the inner counsel of the house of Bado-Durlaeun, wants to put up his library which he had collected with extreme care, for auction, because his only son (as he jokingly is wont to say) became an apostate, i.e. merchant." On April 14 he reports that "the already mentioned scholar's list has not yet been published; I will try my best to get the catalogue in time for Your Lordship."

³¹ SEGESVÁRY, *loc. cit.*, 1954.

Ordnung [Reformed Church Order] (published in Basel around 1781), as well as a sample of the planned extensive collection by the Zurich school rector, Simler.³²

Blasek watched with interest the noisy life around him, so different from the stagnant, rustic country life in Hungary; a bourgeois society blossoming in new circumstances. He paints an interesting, colorful picture for Ráday about the Swiss book market, intellectual life, scholars and works in progress. “Kindly forgive me for not sending more and better catalogues now; I trust to be able to provide more through the good offices of honorable academic gentlemen who are planning to go home from Helvetia. What concerns the local auctions, they, as far as I have experienced them, or heard about, cannot be compared to the auctions in Holland or Germany as far as quantity or quality is concerned. They are so particular with the catalogues, which are printed and made public only three to four weeks prior to the auction. I cannot see how I could communicate with Your Lordship in such a short time. Auctions are most often held in Switzerland in Tigurum [Zurich] and Schaffhaus. Tigurum has the most Hungarians living there, and since in Schaffhaus there are no students, the Hon. Kirchoffer,³³ the co-rector, is the Hungarians’ representative. Sometimes, fairly rare books are also handled here; for example, the other day I gave a commission for the history of Imre G. Thököly, but since I could not be present, the Reverend Sárkány³⁴ took it; there is as well Cornelii Agrippae *Arcana Philosophia* [Arcane Philosophy], they wanted 15 duplons for it, but probably could not sell at that price. Of the current auctioneers here in Basel I could only name two, i.e. Rev. Grynaeus,³⁵ in whose catalogue, aside from pleasant German works, all the works of Samuel Werenfels will appear in a short while, translated by him, in Latin. It is currently under preparation in Trajectum [Utrecht]. The other well-known auctioneer at present is Isak Iselin,³⁶ the notary of the city, held in high esteem due to his monthly review, under the title, *Ephemeriden der Menschheit*, in which all sorts of statistics, economics, the reviews of the most important books, the current state of schools etc. are discussed with attractive and knowledgeable explanations. He started it in the year 1776; I was so fortunate that I have read the whole work from the very beginning to the current month of February due to the kind permission of Professor Buxtorf³⁷ and I must confess that I learned a lot. Though few industrious and famous scholars live

³² See Blasek’s letter, without a date, written in the first week of 1781, to Ráday: “The other day I had the good fortune to meet up in Tigurum with several fine and scholarly gentlemen, namely Messrs. Gessner, Lavater, and Hess to whom I personally paid my respects and I can boast that they welcomed me everywhere. Also I heard about a school Inspector Simler who is highly thought of here, who intends to publish his letter collection related to more recent ecclesiastic history; I visited him and he told me of his plan, and gave me two copies of it. He also assured me that though he would start now with England, but will continue with exchanges between reformers from Poland, Hungary, and other countries in time – as an example he published a letter from Jana Graja to Heinrich Bullinger, but it would have been cumbersome to include it here. I only wanted to let Your Lordship know about the project, because he clearly states the prerequisites in it; I will include the letter, when the recently published secular documents under the title *Reformations Ordnung*, and authorized by the Chief Council for publication, a collection of moral regulations, for your pleasure.” SIMLER, Johann Jakob (1716-1788) brought out handwritten collection under the title *Abschriften wichtiger Dokumente für die Reformationsgeschichte* in 196 volumes, 62 volumes of tables of contents, which is presently available in the Zurich Zentralbibliothek. *RGG* Vol. 5, 496.

³³ The father of Melchior Kirchoffer, born January 3, 1775 in Schaffhausen, one of the most prolific Swiss historians. *RTH*, Vol. 10, p. 496.

³⁴ József Sárkány, Reformed preacher, studied at Swiss academies from June 1780 to June 1782. SZINNEY, Vol. 12, col. 194.

³⁵ Simon Grynaeus, from a Swabian background, founded a renowned family of theologians, and acquired citizenship in Basel. He was a member of the reformers’ generation (1493-1541). The last member of the family is the Simon Grynaeus (1725-1799) mentioned by Blasek, whose name became known because of his translations of the Bible and the translation of French and English deist works into German. *RTH* Vol. 7, p. 221.

³⁶ Isaak Iselin (1728-1782) philosophic writer, lived in Basel; from 1754 he was a member of the Great Council, from 1756 its secretary. He founded the society called “Gesellschaft der Guten und Gemeinnütigen,” which promoted the ideas of Pestalozzi and Basedow. His main work, *Geschichte der Menschheit*, Vols. 1-2, published in 1764, reached its 5th edition in 1786 already. In his philosophy, he is a forerunner of Herder; in contrast to Rousseau, he believed in the complete perfectibility of man. The *Ephemeriden der Menschheit* appeared in 7 volumes from 1776-1782. *Brockhaus*, Vol. 11, 228.

here in Basel, local citizens can be found in all parts of Europe; as Mr. Euler³⁸ is thriving in Petersburg, and his soon successor Mr. Fus,³⁹ the son of a local smith. Chalcographus Mr. Mechel⁴⁰ is currently a permanent resident of Vienna; Mr. Bernoulli⁴¹ is an astronomer in Berlin; the most famous painter just died in London, a citizen named Luttenburger is replacing him.⁴² In Paris, Court de Gébelin⁴³ with his famous study on the *Monde primitif*, as well as his other meritorious works, became well known and won the most important prize from the Learned Society. But the internal or ecclesiastic situation in Tigurium or Geneva is so inclined toward socinarianism, that they are not ashamed to claim it publicly, so here in Basel along with the strict observant orthodoxy they tend to lean toward other extremes, i.e. pietism (as they call it) which is nothing but zinzendorfianism. They practise it publicly, and the most important people, even some among the ministers, hold meetings publicly; in separate occasions they try to present themselves as if they had some special holiness. What is more, they would have left the orthodox church, but about six or seven years ago there was a leading archimandrite by the name of Fucker⁴⁴ who wisely warned them not to go their separate ways, but that they would do better to practise their faith diligently within the church" (March 6, 1781).

Thus, Blasek acted in Switzerland as the agent of Ráday and took care of orders. To the above quoted letter, he attached his receipt of the subscription for the latest work of Johann Bernoulli, the nephew of the great physicist and the well-known astronomer in Berlin. He also took care of the shipment of the issues coming from Berlin, where they had been published, directly to Pest. After Ráday had received the sample copy from the work of Simler, and he had liked it, he gave instructions that Blasek should subscribe to the forthcoming volumes. Blasek fulfilled the instructions and sent the receipt of the subscription to Pécel on August 15, which today is no longer attached to his letter.

On the commission of his patron, he also searched for the works of Albertus Regis.⁴⁵ After his return from Bern and Lausanne, he reported about the results of his enquiries: "I inquired about Albertus Regis from the ministers in Bern, but not even the name was familiar to them. Then Reverend Koche⁴⁶ sent a message to me in Lausanne that in a very small collection he had found it, and judged it favorably. But in the meantime I got to know some students in Lausanne, as they had few controversies about doctrines, so ordinarily they did not present theses [at the end of their studies], except when one of the theological

³⁷ Well known family of theologians in Basel, many members of which became famous Hebrew experts. The Buxtorf mentioned here is not found in lexicons.

³⁸ Leonhard Euler (1707-1783) born in Basel, mathematician and physicist. He was professor of physics in St. Petersburg from 1730, and higher mathematics from 1733. Called to Berlin in 1741 by Frederick the Great, in 1744 became the president of the mathematics department of the Academy. In 1766 he returned to St. Petersburg. *Brockhaus*, Vol. 5, pp. 729--730.

³⁹ Paul Heinrich Fuss, professor of mathematics at the University of St. Petersburg. He is mentioned in connection with his grandson in *ADB*, Vol. 8, p. 252.

⁴⁰ Christian Mechel (1737-1818) engraver, member of the Painters' Academy of Florence. He opened an art shop and drawing school in his hometown of Basel; on the invitation of Joseph II he went to Vienna to help with the installation of the Belvedere Galleries. In 1787 he returned to Basel, but in 1789 he left again to visit Rome, the eternal city. *ADB*, Vol. 21, p. 153.

⁴¹ Johann Bernoulli (1744-1807), royal astronomer in Berlin, a less significant member of the famous Basel family of mathematicians and physicists. His most important work is *Receuil pour les astronomes*. Vol. 1-3. (Berlin: 1771-1779).

⁴² No data about him are available in the literature.

⁴³ The works of Antoine Court de Gébelin are mentioned in the catalogues of major libraries; the exact title of his above cited work is: *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne*. Vols. 1-3. (Paris: 1773-1782).

⁴⁴ Biographical and theological lexicons do not mention him.

⁴⁵ Biographical and theological lexicons do not mention him.

⁴⁶ I found no data on him in the literature.

professorships became vacant. Though the professors do not prepare theses, but for argument's sake, they choose one from Alberti Regis *Exercitationibus*, and the candidate has to defend it. He himself was a professor in Lausanne although unknown among Germans but held in high esteem between the French. I gave an acquaintance the commission to buy his work and hope to have the volume in a couple of days" (August 15, 1781).

With Blasek's move to Utrecht, collecting in Basel ended; with his return home shortly after, his activities for the library ceased. We no longer find concrete data about the acquisitions in the letters of the students studying abroad. We, however, must mention Pál Teleki,⁴⁷ Ráday's nephew, his companion, István Halmágyi⁴⁸ and finally Ábrahám Komjáti⁴⁹. Their letters witness their willingness to serve the collecting fervor of Ráday, be it in Utrecht, Göttingen, or Hanover. They sent reports about libraries, and books or catalogues to please him.

b) Leipzig

The other significant center of Ráday's collecting process, aside from Basel, was Leipzig where Abraham Christoph Thiele⁵⁰ was in charge of his commissions. We get to know Thiele from his letters not as a book merchant, but as a clever agent, although with limited resources, who took care of German and foreign collectors' orders regarding acquisition of books, paintings, or medals.⁵¹ For Ráday he delivered not only books but also valuable paintings – among them a Lucas Cranach painting – and medallions as well (May 13, 1786). His extensive network, especially in Germany, was very useful in carrying out his task; if he could not go himself to a town for an auction, he always found a contact to which he could entrust the purchase of books. He constantly endeavored to widen his clientele, and to include Hungarian collectors.⁵²

Thiele's activities are first of all tied to auctions in Saxony. Between 1784-1791, he received various orders from the collector at Pécel. He sent Ráday several Leipzig, Dresden, and Gotha auction catalogues, as witnessed by his surviving letters (for example February 7, 1791) but most often he only mailed those sections in which Ráday was interested and which were valuable; he took out the unnecessary pages of the voluminous catalogues, so he could reduce the cost of mailing. He even copied himself the more important works from the catalogue. During 1783, Thiele bought books at the Krebs⁵³ and Richter⁵⁴ auctions, altogether 16 works,⁵⁵ for 39 tallers, 19 groschen,⁵⁶ with the postage 40 tallers altogether.

⁴⁷ NAGY Iván, Vol. 9, 92. His letter to Ráday from Göttingen is dated September 20, 1752.

⁴⁸ Perhaps one mentioned by KEMPELEN, Vol. 4, p. 465.

⁴⁹ Ábrahám Komjáti (1743-1827), rector–professor in Miskolc, later archdeacon in Alsóborsod. He went abroad in 1775; visited Berlin, Paris, Brussels, and London, and received his doctorate in Utrecht in 1782. His letter to Ráday from Utrecht is dated April 13, 1784.

⁵⁰ In the letters he is mentioned as secretary, because he was the secretary of the Schönborn family. BÁRTFAI SZABÓ, László, *A sárvár-felsővidéki gr. Széchényi család története* [The History of the Count Széchényi Family of Sárvár-Felsővidék]. (Budapest: 1911-1926), Vol. 2, p. 385. The lexicons do not contain data about him; the family was known in Leipzig and Saxony because of one or two of its outstanding members. Karl Christoph Thiele, a painter in the Meissen porcelain factory, lived at this time; Ráday's agent must have been a close relative. MEUSEL, Johann Georg. *Das Gelehrte Deutschland*. (Lemgo: 1783-1784) Vol. 4., P. 19.

⁵¹ ZSINDELY, Endre, *op. cit.* 1956.

⁵² Thiele tried to use Ráday to organize his circle of clients in Hungary. In 1791 – in opposition to feudal ideas and following capitalist concepts – he offered that if Ráday would send the catalogue from Thiele to other Hungarian collectors, he would credit him the 12 gr. mailing charge (February 7, 1791). Besides Ráday, Thiele was in contact with Sámuel Teleki, Gábor Prónay, Ferenc Széchényi and, maybe, with Sámuel Bruckenthal also.

⁵³ Thiele is probably writing of the books of Johann Ludvig Krebs (1713-1780), a student of Bach, who was organist in Zwickau, Zeitz, and finally Altenburg. His books must have been auctioned off in Leipzig or Altenburg. *Brockhaus*, Vol. 10, 568.

In the spring of 1784, the library of Károly András Bél,⁵⁷ the son of Mátyás Bél, was auctioned off. The library consisted of several thousand volumes, among which there were a good number of manuscripts of Mátyás Bél.⁵⁸ At this auction, Thiele bought 10 works for Ráday; among them, one Aldina⁵⁹ and a pamphlet entitled *Pietistische Intriguen*⁶⁰ are worthy of mention. In addition, he purchased nine manuscripts⁶¹

⁵⁴ The books of the Richter auction must have belonged to a member of the Richter family of Dresden. This family produced during the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century many famous scholars and artists for their country. The printed catalogue can be found in the library under no. 0.5337.

⁵⁵ From the listed works indicated in the letter of April 30, 1783, or mentioned in the letter of May 3, only a few remain; and it is not certain that they are acquisitions from Leipzig. So we have to assume that the shipment of these books had not arrived in Pécel. According to a later indication, on the other hand, the volume containing the engravings of Kupetzki which is still in the Ráday collection came from this auction.

⁵⁶ One taller = 1 ½ Rhenish forint = 30 garas = 90 kr.

⁵⁷ Károly András Bél (1717-1782), university professor, court counselor, was president of the academy and royal library and member of the Academy of Sciences of Roveredo and Göttingen's Historical Society. He edited the German Language *Acta Eruditorum* from 1751-1781. SZINNYEI, Vol. 1, col. 777-780.

⁵⁸ The catalogue of the library was published as *Catalogus librorum Caroli Andreae Belii*. [Catalogue of Károly András Bél's Books] (Leipzig: 1784); the manuscripts of Mátyás Bél are on pages 565-569.

⁵⁹ Strozzi, Titus Vespanianus – Strozzi, Hercules, *Poemata*. [Poems] (Venice: Aldus and Asulanus, 1513) cost 12 gr.

⁶⁰ I could not find in the collection this smaller tract attacking the pietists. The accounts about the Bél books and manuscripts is attached to Thiele's letter of March 4, 1784.

⁶¹

From BÉL, Károly András:

a) *Compendium geographiae Hungariae*. [Compendium of Hungarian Geography] (Pozsony 1741). (SZINNEYEI does not know of it.) Contemporary copy with the author's corrections; the list does not contain the price (no. RA/MC, K. 1. 1)

b) *Adparatus ad historiam criticam ducum et regum Hungariae*. [Preparatory Notes to a Critical History of Hungary's Kings and Dukes]. In part autograph, cost 2 tallers, 13 gr. (no. RA/MC, K. K. 57)

From BÉL, Mátyás:

a) *Hunniaca*. I. *Historica*; II. *Geographica*. [Of the Huns; History; Geography] The first part of the work is an autograph; at the end of the fourth chapter there is a remark of Bél: "Finished on January 1729, month of March. Read and corrected"; the second half is a contemporaneous copy. This manuscript together with the following one cost 7 tallers. (no. RA/MC, K. 55)

b) *Hungariae antiquae periodus Scythica*. [Ancient Hungary's Scythian Period] 18th century copy (no. RA/MC, K. 56)

c) *De vinis Hungariae*. [Of Hungarian Wines] Contemporaneous copy with hand written addenda by the author; cost was 2 tallers. (No. RA/MC, K. 8)

d) *De metallis Hungariae fragmenta*. [Fragments Concerning Metals in Hungary] Contemporaneous copy; cost 2 tallers (No. RA/MC, K.7)

e) *De re vestiaria Hungarorum*. [Of Hungarian Costumes] Partially autograph; copied sections are with corrections of János Szászky-Tomka; cost 2 tallers. (no. RA/MC, K. 11)

f) *De rustica Hungariae*. [Of Rural Hungarian] Partially autograph; copied sections with Szászky-Tomka's corrections; cost 8 gr. (no. RA/MC, K.10)

g) *De fluviis Hungariae*. [Of Hungarian Rivers] Contemporaneous copy with Szászky-Tomka's corrections; cost 2 gr. (no. RA/MC, K.9)

h) *Epistolarium familiarium Matthiae Belii collectio, ab anno 1735*. [Family Correspondence of Mátyás Bél from the Year 1735 On] Contemporaneous copy but also contains Bél's handwritten letters; cost 3 tallers, 8 gr. (no. RA/MC, K. 398)

by the two Béls – father and son – as well as the handwritten copy of *Tractatus politico-juridicus in paragraphum* by Mihály Pancratius,⁶² later Transylvanian Lutheran bishop, published in 1668 in Kassa.⁶³

Ráday had serious problems with the manuscripts. The Leipzig shipment going to Vienna, the very crate containing the materials bought at the Bél auction, was late by months, and when it finally arrived in Pécel, Ráday looked in vain for the manuscripts. Thiele excused himself by saying that his people's forgetfulness was to blame, and promised to send them with the next shipment. Ráday suspected that Thiele wanted to have the originals copied, and so, sending the copies, he would swindle the collector, and double his profit. From the letters of Thiele, it was apparent that he was greedy, so the suspicions of Ráday were understandable. He wrote with indignation to Cornides: "I was afraid that instead of the originals, they would send me copies, because they certainly had enough time to do that. That is why I wrote to Mr. Thiele, that I am very familiar with Mr. Mátyás Bél's handwriting, so I would not be pleased if they wanted to satisfy me with a copy" (August 28, 1748).⁶⁴ He even justifies why he wants the manuscripts so much: "... the Pretium Affectionis, which I have in the Hungarian manuscripts, will complement them" (August 13, 1784). Cornides also assumed that the Leipzig agent, looking for additional profit, had retained the manuscripts and condemned this unethical business practice: "Indeed, it is not a nice trait of character of Mr. Thiele, that he kept the acquired manuscripts and perhaps traded others at a higher price; and instead of them, sent Your Lordship as replacement the Rotterdam edition of the *Dictionnaire of Bayle* from 1702; a work which was not only expensively acquired for 29 thaler, but which your Grace could do without, since you own the Dutch enlarged edition from 1740. Not to mention the fact that the handwriting bears a "praetium affectionis" [emotional price], it cannot be replaced by printed books; due to such tricks, Mr. Thiele has lost his credit worthiness and deserves a strong admonition" (August 18, 1784). The suspicion turned out to be groundless, because Ráday received the original manuscripts listed in the catalogue, which are only partially autographs, but either Bél himself or his successor, Szászky-Tomka made corrections in them; with one or two exceptions they are contemporary copies. The *Dictionnaire of Bayle*, Rotterdam edition, was not sent mistakenly by Thiele as a replacement of the manuscript. The rather expensive work in the end stayed with Ráday, and both editions are in the library's collection.⁶⁵

During the spring of 1784, we hear also of the Marck auction⁶⁶ in Leipzig and of one in Halle. At the former, Thiele bought 16 works – among them those of Bullinger,⁶⁷ Beverland,⁶⁸ Vossius,⁶⁹ and one Aldina⁷⁰ – for Ráday for 13 taller 20 groschen; at the latter, he bought 2 works for 4 taller 23 groschen.⁷¹ At the

⁶² Mihály Pancratius (1631/32-1690). SZINNYEI, Vol. 10, col. 250-253.

⁶³ *RMK* Vol. 2, p. 1134; cost 1 taller 2gr. (no. R/Kt.1 248)

⁶⁴ *MTAK*. 4 r., section 156.

⁶⁵ The 1702 Rotterdam edition is under no. 0.1870; the 1740 Amsterdam edition under no. 0.137.

⁶⁶ I have not been able to locate a book collector or scholar of similar name in the lexicons, who died in the second half of the eighteenth century in Leipzig.

⁶⁷ BULLINGER, Heinrich, *De origine erroris*. [Of the Origin of Errors] (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1539) cost 12 gr. (no. I. 62)

⁶⁸ BEVERLAND, Adrian, *De stolatae virginitatis jure*. [The Law Concerning Stolen Virginitas] (Leyden: 1680) (no.: 0.3003); *De fornicatione cavendo admonitio*. [Admonition Against Fornication] (London: 1698) (no. 0.2958); *Peccatum originale*. [The Original Sin] (Eleutheropolis: 1678) (no. 0.5813). The three works together cost 2 tallers 22 gr. In Thiele's letter about the auction he says that he was able to get Beverland's works unexpectedly cheap, they are rare and he had heard that on the average 3-4 tallers were asked for one copy.

⁶⁹ VOSSIUS, Gerhard Johann, *Aristarchus, sive de arte grammatica libri VIII*. (Amsterdam: 1662) cost 1 taller 11 gr. (no. 0.1732)

⁷⁰ Thiele mentions the *Grammatici veteres* work, which contained two Aldina: Nicolaus PEROTTI and Marcus Terentius VARRO's Latin grammar. With his partner Asulanus, Aldus printed it in 1513; cost 3 tallers 7 gr. (no. I. 164)

⁷¹ Accounts for the first auction were attached to Thiele's letter of May 7, for the second they were joined to the package of Bél's books.

end of the year, the Crusius auction⁷² took place in Dresden, starting on December 6. Ráday had almost forgotten about this one and sent his list of wanted books very late to Thiele.⁷³ This list was copied from the catalogue. The last days of the auction, they were still able to acquire a few works, which altogether cost 23 taller 23 groschen 6 kr.⁷⁴

During 1785, the agent in Leipzig writes only about one auction; he sent to Ráday the Franck⁷⁵ collection's catalogue listing 23 thousand works (June 12, 1785). Unfortunately, there is no trace of what books made it to the Pécel collection out of this mighty number. Perhaps the Polz auction⁷⁶ took place in this year also, which he mentions in a letter of the spring of 1786 (May 13, 1786). From the point of view of acquisitions for the Ráday library made by Thiele, 1786 was the peak year. In the spring of this year, he bought or had his agents buy books at four major auctions. Among these, the Körner⁷⁷ and Clodius⁷⁸ auctions took place in Leipzig; Thiele had bought works costing altogether 12 taller 6 groschen. From the Fritsch⁷⁹ auction in Dresden several valuable works came into Ráday's collection; an attractive history of Amadis de Gaule,⁸⁰ the 16th century edition of Darius Phrygius' *De bello Trojano* [Of the Trojan War],⁸¹ the works of Giordano Bruno,⁸² the collection of plays of Gottsched,⁸³ and Tarducci's fascinating book particularly interesting for Hungarians.⁸⁴ The cost of all these works came to 19 taller 10 groschen and 6 kr. The accounts about the Stroth auction⁸⁵ which took place in Gotha, mentioned mostly literary, bibliographic,

⁷² Christian Gotthold Crusius was the chief librarian of the Dresden library.

⁷³ See Ráday's notes concerning the books to be bought at the December 6 auction in RA 228 fasc.

⁷⁴ Detailed accounts disappeared, but Thiele mentions the total in a larger bill

⁷⁵ Most likely the books of Johann Georg Frank (1705-1784), Lutheran theologian, the superintendent in Hohenstadt, were auctioned at this time. Frank was interested in biblical chronology, and established a new astronomical-chronological system. *ADB*, Vol. 7, p. 253.

⁷⁶ I was not able to determine who Polz, the owner of the library, could have been. Probably, the books or warehouse of one of the members of the great book merchant and publisher family of Leipzig were put up for auction.

⁷⁷ Christian Gottfried Körner (1756-1831), lived in Dresden, where he was a high official of the state. His wife was the daughter of an engraver from Leipzig. Korner probably sold the books left to him by the family when they moved to Dresden. *Brockhaus*, Vol. 10, pp. 478-429.

⁷⁸ Christian August Clodius (1738-1784), German philosopher and poet. He was professor of philosophy in Leipzig from 1760 on, and from 1782 he held the chair of rhetoric and poetry. His stilted poems were ridiculed by Goethe during his student years in Leipzig and wrote about them extensively in his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.

⁷⁹ At this auction certainly the books of one of the members of the well-known bookseller and publisher family were sold.

⁸⁰ AMADIS DE GAULE, Vols. 1-12. (Paris: 1546-1556) cost 2 taller 16 gr. (no. I. 134)

⁸¹ PHRYGIUS, Dares, *De bello Troiano*. [Of Trojan War] No indication of place, print or year; cost 4 gr. (no. I. 54)

⁸² GIORDANO, Bruno, *Arotisanus, seu rationes articularum physicorum*. [Arotisanus, or the Reasons of Physical Subjects] (Wittenberg: 1588) cost 14 gr. (no. 0.2952. Ant.)

⁸³ GOTTSCHED, Johann Christoph, *Die deutsche Schaubühne*. Vols. 1-3. (Leipzig: 1746) cost 1 taller 2 gr. (no. 0.1588)

⁸⁴ TARDUCCI, Achille, *Il turco vincibile in Ungaria*. [The Turcs Can Be Defeated in Hungary] (Ferrara: 1597) cost 1 taller 6 gr. (no. 0.5399 Ant. Hung.)

⁸⁵ Friedrich Andreas Stroth (1750-1785), one of the most significant pedagoges of the Enlightenment. From 1774 rector of the gymnasium in Gotha. *ADB*, Vol. 36, p. 624.

or lexicon type works, of which Schmid's literary bibliography⁸⁶ and Keil's theological bibliography,⁸⁷ as well as Meinecke's *Synopsis*⁸⁸ are worth to mention. The ten books bought at the Stroth auction which made it to Pécel cost 16 taller and 1 groschen (May 13, 1786). There is a trace of the auction of Johann Konrad Walther⁸⁹ books in Dresden in the archives, a list copied from the catalogue by Ráday. Thus, we are not aware of the time when this auction took place, nor if anything was bought there by Thiele. We can read about a last auction in the letter of the winter of 1791 (February 7, 1791); it started on March 234, and Ráday's agent sent its catalogue to Pécel. In all the above cases, Thiele always received 3 groschen for every taller he had spent on books (May 3, 1783 and May 13, 1786).

Although we have just a few data at our disposal, we can affirm that Ráday made purchases in Leipzig not only at auctions but also from booksellers. His agent often reported about fulfilling his requests (May 7, 1784). This activity of course was minor compared to the auctions, through which Thiele included Ráday, the collector of Pécel, in the life of the book markets of the great Saxon cities. The shipment of books was sent through Vienna. Thiele directed individual shipment to Peter Ochs,⁹⁰ moneychanger, one of the notable money men of the imperial city, who after taking care of the Viennese customs sent them on to Pest to the company of Weingand & Köpff. This route proved to be good overall, but often one shipment or another from Leipzig was late, due to the lack of a suitable forwarder or the difficult customs officials. In these cases, Ráday would write to Cornides in Vienna to ask him to check what was going on with his books. He was most concerned about a shipment from Leipzig in the summer of 1784, when he was also expecting the Bél manuscripts and the crate arrived only after a lengthy delay. Because it was not properly sealed, Ráday wrote to his friend right away, asking him to go to see Ochs and find out what happened.⁹¹ Cornides reports about his conversation with the moneychanger on August 18: "Following Your Lordship's kind request, I went to see Mr. Peter Ochs immediately, in order to get pertinent news about the book shipment sent by Mr. Thiele. I read for him respective sections of Your Lordship's letter, relating to the crate coming from Leipzig. Mr. Ochs responded that the package that Mr. Thiele had sent was very well packed and kept, but the package was opened and weighted, the "Maut" [customs] fee paid, the package repacked and sealed with lead. This happens with every package, added Mr. Ochs that goes to Hungary, so if the package was not done right and the cover not well fastened, than this was the fault of the customs officials, not of Mr. Thiele said Mr. Ochs. Mr. Ochs assured me that nothing was added or taken out: so if in the package Your Lordship finds books that were not ordered, or if some are missing that Your Lordship was expecting, and then Your Lordship has to, added Mr. Ochs, turn to no one else but Mr. Thiele, who would be responsible." Cornides' lines here and previously, show that he did not consider Thiele to be an honorable man of good will. The picture he paints also characterizes problems related to international trade at the end of the 18th century.

⁸⁶ SCHMID, Christian Heinrich, *Anweisung der fornehmsten Bücher in allen Theilen der Dichtkunst*. (Leipzig: 1781) cost 20 gr. (no. 0.5853)

⁸⁷ KEIL, Carl A. G., *Systematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen theologischen Schriften und Bücher*. (Stendal: 1783) cost 10 gr. (no. 0.5851)

⁸⁸ MEINECKE, Johannes H. Fr., *Synopsis eruditionis universae*. [Synopsis of Universal Knowledge] (Leipzig–Dessau: 1783) cost 5 gr. (no. 0.5801)

⁸⁹ I did not find such a name in the lexicons.

⁹⁰ The biographical lexicons do not give any information concerning this person, but there are references here and there to a company named Ochs und Geymüller. Ochs served as a transmitter between Ráday and the Protestants at other times. See my article in the 1954 volume of *Református Egyház* already quoted.

⁹¹ Ráday's letters to Cornides, see *MTAK* 4 r., section 156.

c) Francfort-on-the-Oder

In 1782, Ráday heard that the huge Stosch⁹² collection would come up for auction in Francfort-on-the-Oder. Therefore, he turned to Johann Causse,⁹³ the minister there, whose ancestor had been his teacher. In December 1782 (December 24), Causse responded in an informal and friendly letter, saying that he had forwarded the request regarding the Stoschius auction to the university professor Schultze⁹⁵ because he did not consider it right that he himself should be the intermediary since his sister was the widow of the deceased. However, Schultze, due his numerous official duties could not handle the case – writes Causse – although he had already acquired books for Ráday. He attached the list of the books to be auctioned to his letter. This extensive list, which even today is joined to the letter, contains 34 works that, with the exception of one or two classics, like Martial and Pindar, are all theological; they cost altogether 50 taller 3 groschen 6 kr.

It seems that Ráday also asked the minister from Francfort-on-the-Oder to get in touch with some book merchants who could fulfil his orders, which could be sent to him via Vienna. Causse mentions Otto, Raitsch, Rudelius and Strauss as those who would be willing at any time. He assumed the responsibility of shipping the books to Vienna that is to Pest and he even promised to add a few of his own works, together with a lengthy letter. However, the shipment was delayed, and Ráday was concerned in the spring of 1783 about its fate. He wrote to István Szerencsi Nagy in Pozsony, who knew Causse from his student years in Francfort-on-the-Oder, and asked him to inquire from their mutual friend about the reason for the delay. Szerencsi Nagy tried to reassure Ráday (March 1, 1783) by saying that the shipment must have gone through Leipzig, and therefore would take longer. He knew from experience⁹⁶ that the shortest and cheapest route to Vienna from Francfort-on-the-Oder led through Breslau not Leipzig. In June, however, he also became worried, because could not understand what might have become of the Francfort-on-the-Oder shipment. He wrote to not only Causse, but also another Hungarian who was living there, but did not receive any news (June 4, 1783). Finally, in November, Sámuel Nagy wrote from Vienna that a crate full of books had arrived (November 13 and November 18, 1783) from a merchant named Bremer. He did not know for whom it was meant, so he asked for a speedy reply from Ráday: “I think they might be meant for Your Lordship, but suspicion is not certainty” and he did not wish to pay the Viennese tax – although he paid already the 9 ft shipment cost – until he did not know with certainty to whom they belong.

⁹² Eberhard Heinrich Daniel Stosch (1716--1781), Reformed preacher. He graduated from the Joachimstahl Gymnasium in Berlin; from 1733 to 1736 he attended the University of Francfort-on-the-Oder. From 1749 on he was professor at this university and from 1755 on the minister of the Reformed congregation there. In 1755 he married Maria Causse, the daughter of a French preacher, the sister of one of his colleagues. *ADB*, Vol. 36, p. 462. The printed catalogue of his books is still in the library (no.0.5320).

⁹³ I could nowhere find his biographical data.

⁹⁵ Perhaps Benjamin Wilhelm Daniel Schultze (1715-1790), teacher at the Joachimicum Gymnasium in Berlin, is the person mentioned here. *ADB*, Vol. 36, p. 761.

⁹⁶ He recounts in his letter that when he returned home, his studies completed in Francfort-on-the-Oder, the shipment of his books from there to Breslau cost 8 gr per metric centner, from Breslau to Vienna 2 ft so altogether the freight of the 12 centners of books cost 12 ft

CHAPTER SIX

THE LIBRARY IN THE AGE OF GEDEON RÁDAY PART FOUR

Growth of the Library's Holdings: Donations

During the period of growth of the Pécel library in the time of Gedeon Ráday – equally at the time of Pál – contemporary authors as well as friends and admirers gave their own or other works to the library. The significance of these works is not in their number, which is small compared to the purchased volumes, but that a considerable number of the works of the great writers and outstanding scholars of the Enlightenment came into the collection as a donation, thus expressing the esteem and affection in which the authors held Gedeon Ráday. Here I am only referring to the statements, which figure in the biographical part of the book about the activities of Ráday in the areas of culture and literature as well as in the struggles led by the Protestants in the second half of the eighteenth century. The esteem in which Ráday was held by personalities from Péter Bod to Kazinczy and Batsányi, is well known; such important men of the era with whom he was in contact, approached him and, being familiar with his passion for books, presented him with their own works or other good books. It is also natural that some close friends of the family and sponsored students dedicated works to his wife, Katalin Szentpétery, especially Hungarian works, because the latter were kept in her room.

In enumerating the donors, I will not try to give a complete list, but rather based on the extant documents, I would like to present in a many-colored canvas the numerous donors, devoted Ráday.

Among those famous in literary and scholarly life, Kazinczy tried to please the beloved old man with his very first little work – *Magyar ország geographica, az az földi állapotjának leírása* [The geography of Hungary, that is, the Description of Its Actual State].¹ He also sent him all his other works together with the outcoming issues of *Orpheus*.² Batsányi informed him that *Jámbor Szándék egy Magyar Tudós Társaság iránt* [A Simple Initiative for the Creation of a Hungarian Learned Society]³ was published in Vienna, and he wanted to be first in sending it to him.⁴ It was also Batsányi, who let Ráday know that the first two volumes of Dávid Szabó's poems had left the press. "The author is sending a copy to Your Lordship herewith."⁵ József Péczeli sent Young's translation⁶ in 1787.⁷ In 1789 he sent a little work, the *Mindenes*

¹ (Kassa: 1775) (no. 0.5389)

² He announces the first shipment on February 23, 1790 (in a hitherto unpublished letter to Ráday).

³ BESSENYEI, György, *Egy magyar társaság iránt való jámbor szándék*. [A Simple Initiative for the Creation of a Hungarian Learned Society] (Vienna: 1790). It cannot be found in the library today.

⁴ Letter to Ráday dated June 9, 1790, in *ITK* 1907, p. 210.

⁵ BARÓTI SZABÓ, Dávid, *Költeményes munkái* [His Poetic Works] Vols. 1--2. (Kassa: 1784). Batsányi's letter dated July 4, 1789 (*ITK* 1907, p. 206). Ráday's copy has been lost.

⁶ YOUNG, Edward, *Étszakája és egyéb munkái* [Nights and Other Works] Vols. 1-2. (Győr: 1787) (no.0.3369).

⁷ Ráday's letter to Péczeli, from Pest, dated October 1, 1787, in *MTAK* 4. r. no. 148.

Gyűjtemény [Collection for Everybody] (September 18, 1786),⁸ in 1791 the copies of the first volume of the *Otestamentumi Ekklesiája Historia* [Ecclesiastic History of the Old Testament] (April 27, 1791).⁹ Two months later he sent the second volume of the latter work, presenting it to Ráday as “the devout Moses of our religion and church” (June 3, 1791). Ráday had previously ordered these books, and did not want to accept the *Mindenek Gyűjtemény* and the Maissonnet history as gifts – as he finally paid for them to the publisher Weber.¹⁰ Therefore Péczeli wrote in his response that “I would consider it an honor if Your Lordship accepted my small gift; but if you insist on paying Mr. Weber, then I would ask that Your Lordship pay one forint for each, for the one printed on Dutch paper as for the other” (June 3, 1791). István Hatvani, professor in Debrecen,¹¹ sent as a present his *Introductio* [Introduction]¹² to Heineccus study entitled *Philosophia rationalis et moralis* [Rational and Moral Philosophy],¹³ as well as the latter study itself (March 12, 1763).¹⁴ Daniel Cornides, the famous scholar, who periodically served as his agent, in July 1770 sent Ráday an etching showing Bálint Frank along with a rare Hungarian work for Katalin Szentpétery: “For the Hungarian library of her Ladyship, my generous benefactress, I have received a book which has the following title: *Itinerarium Catholicum, azaz: Nevezetes vetélkedés az felől: Ha az Evangélicusok tudományjae uy; vagy az mostani Római valláson való Páristáké? És: Az Páristák Ecclesiájaje, vagy Evangélicusoké igaz, és Világh végéigh állandó?* [Itinerarium Catholicum, i.e. the Known Argument About: Is the Knowledge of Evangelicals New, or Is the Knowledge of the Present Roman Catholics? And: Is the Papistst’s Church or that of the Evangelicals the True and Perduring Until the End of Time?] etc. printed in 1616 in 8°. The dedication is meant for all inhabitants of Hungary and Transylvania, and the author calls himself Theocritus Presbyter, Clavius. The book itself seems to me very thoroughly written” (Nagyszeben, July 3, 1770).¹⁵ Sámuel Zilai, professor in Marosvásárhely, conveyed to Pécel (letter without date and another dated August 7, 1791), the poems and orations of Kovásznai, published by him in Utrecht as well as Zrínyi’s *Ne bántsá a magyart* [Do not Harm the Hungarian], published in Marosvásárhely at the inspiration of the “saintly old man” of literature, as expression of his gratitude for the help given by Ráday to their literary efforts (May 10, 1760).

József Szentpéteri Hodor, minister in Vágás, sent a Balassa manuscript to Ráday, thinking it would find a fitting place there: “Here I am sending the Bálint Balassa manuscript: that it is his work becomes obvious on p. 124 where it is written that here ends Bálint Balassa’s *Filemle* [Nightingale], etc. If he is really the author, I can congratulate myself because of this find” (May 10, 1760). Sámuel Meskó¹⁶ “bought a few good Hungarian books” for his friend, which he promises to send at the next available opportunity, as he writes in his letter of November 21, 1743.¹⁷ His lines prove that even at the beginning of the 40s, Ráday was

⁸ It is not in the library anymore.

⁹ *Az ó testmentumi ekklesiájának históriája a sz. Írás szerent* [The Story of Old Testament Church According to the Holy Scripture]. Transl. from Louis Maissonnet’s work by PÉCZELI, József (Komárom: 1791). It’s not in the library today.

¹⁰ The order and payment are together with Ráday’s letters to Péczeli 1790–91, in *MTAK* 4. r. no. 148.

¹¹ His activities in the fields of theology, medicine, natural science, even literature, are considerable. SZINNYEI, Vol. 4, col. 503-508.

¹² *Introductio ad principia philosophiae*. [Introduction to the Principles of Philosophy] (Debrecen: 1757) (no. 0.4376)

¹³ HEINECCIUS, Johann Gottlieb, *Elementa philosophiae rationalis et moralis*. [Elements of a Rational and Moral Philosophy] (Debrecen: 1761) (no. 0.4230)

¹⁴ RA/A. II. 754.

¹⁵ The work of Péter Alvinczy, printed in Debrecen in 1616; *RMK* Vol.1, p. 46 (no. RMK I. 1.19)

¹⁶ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 7, p. 437.

¹⁷ There are several works in the library in which one can find Professor Sámuel Meskó’s handwritten notes, for example the Bible of György Rákóczi, famous for its binding.

already known for his passion. Sámuel Nagy, the Viennese agent, traveled to Pécel to pack and mail his things before going to Basel. He writes his farewell letter from this beloved place to his student, the son of Gedeon Ráday, who was in Ludány with the family. He asks that his books be well stored and writes: "I also put there for Your Lordship a small dissertation of the Lutheran rector Torkos called *De juditio ferri candentis et aquae ferventis* [Opinion About Heated Iron and Glowing Water].¹⁸ It will fit well with the other little dissertations of this scholarly man in Your Lordship's library. To increase the number of her Ladyship's books, there is a Hungarian eulogy, which was delivered over the late superior judge, József Esterházy in Pozsony, it was also printed there,¹⁹ and another which was delivered at the laying of the foundation of the Nagyvárad cathedral.²⁰ Since they were given on auspicious occasions, perhaps they could be included among other funeral orations" (December 7, 1759). The faithful Nagy, almost considered a family member, looked for ways more than once to please Ráday with gifts of books in later years as well. So, a few months after his return from Basel, he gave Ráday the latest published work of Péter Bod, which he brought back from Basel where the work had been published (May 9, 1761).²¹ János Mihályfalvi, the agent active from 1775 in Pozsony, sent two works in Hungarian about agriculture to the aging Ráday: "The author will esteem it very highly if Your Lordship's judgment also considers the books worthy of reading" (April 9, 1783). Finally, I have to mention András Nagy who knew well the younger Ráday from Losonc. This young engraver engraved in copper, in Vienna, Szászky-Tomka's map of Hungary and printed it with Hungarian place names. He wanted to please father and son with a copy to each, Sámuel Nagy reported in February 1762.²²

All these data are proof to what degree writers, scholars, professors, students – the laborers of the Hungarian intellectual Enlightenment – esteemed Ráday, and were not only personally involved with him, but turned to him also as their critic, to "the saintly old man" whose judgment they accepted as their intellectual yardstick.

¹⁸ TORKOS, József, *De ferri candentis ordalio ... aevo medio apud Hungaros*. [Opinion About the Ordeal By Heated Iron and Glowing Water... in the Hungarian Middle Ages] (Győr: 1746). It is not in the library anymore.

¹⁹ *Végnélkül való nagyság, melyet Eszterházy József életében magának szerzett*. [The Endless Greatness that József Eszterházy Achieved in his Lifetime]. (Pozsony: 1748) (no. 3-4522)

²⁰ The construction of the cathedral in Nagyvárad was begun in 1752. So the speech referred to must have been delivered at that time. The description of the work is not detailed enough to allow identification.

²¹ *Az Isten vitézkedő anyaszentegyháza állapotjának ... rövid históriája*. [The Short History of the Status of the Valiant Church of God] (Basel: 1760) (no. 0.3527).

²² SZINNYEI, Vol. 9, p. 530. He mentions András Nagy, engraver, but he knows only of the 1799 map done in Győr (RA/A.II. 685).

CHAPTER SEVEN

GEDEON RÁDAY'S CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM AND ANALYSIS OF HIS LIBRARY'S HOLDINGS

1. The Classification System

The cataloguers of the eighteenth century divided the printed material in 5 to 6 main sections, many of them, especially the French, were under the influence of Garnier and Boilleau. Among them the name of Gabriel Martin has to be mentioned; he listed five groups: theology, law, arts and crafts, literature, and history. His system was adopted by the Royal Library and the present Bibliothèque Nationale. L'Abbé Girard also stayed with the same five groupings and he justified it by saying (i) that people have a spiritual need to cling to the supernatural, to believe in the supernatural power – that is why there is theology; (ii) man's living conditions on the other hand prove to him that he needs to lean on his fellow men and community, nomology [the system of norms] includes this mutual need; (iii) man also needs to lengthen his life by living among his descendants – history serves this purpose; the first discoveries awake in him a desire for research – the natural sciences, philosophy, summarize its results; (iv) acquired knowledge needs to be used, handed these down – its means are language and speech, its science philology; and, finally, (v) man's goal is happiness which can best be realized by arts and crafts – this is the sum of technology. Johann Michael Francke attempted to use a completely new technique when cataloguing the Bünau Library. In the first volume he grouped the sources of the religious and profane sciences, followed by publications referring to the history of sciences; and he continued further in this fashion, always separating the knowledge of the profane and of the religious.

From the Hungarian point of view, the classification of Michael Denis, the director of the Imperial Library in Vienna, is especially important. Denis discussed his system in his work published in 1774, *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde*. He divided knowledge into 7 main groups; godly knowledge, legal knowledge, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, history, and philology. At the end of each main group there was a subsection which led to the next – for example, in theology, the last subsection was comprised of the works about the synods, which also were tied to the study of law. Denis' conception greatly influenced the Hungarian classification system, as well as the collectors. Ferenc Széchényi had not only been an enthusiastic student of his in the Terezianum, but he also accepted his system and used it, and he had Denis write the prologue to the printed catalogue of his library.

Gedeon Ráday's system resembled the system of the Viennese scholar in some ways, but in others differed from it. It was written down in 1792-93, after the death of Ráday, but used his detailed system which listed the following categories:

Literary History; Bibliography	Geographers
Classical Greek authors	Historians
	Byzantine writers
<i>Latin Authors</i>	Philology
The Golden Age	Recent elegant prose writers
The Silver Age	Recent Latin poets
The Copper Age	German poets
The Iron Age	French poets
	Italian poets
<i>Collections</i>	Spanish poets
Greek poets	Polish poets
Latin poets	Philosophy
Agnostic Greek and Latin poets	Pedagogy
Religious Greek and Latin poets	Mathematics and Military arts
Greek orators	History
Letter writers	Subsidiary sciences of history:
Grammarians	numismatics, diplomacy, heraldry
Jurisconsults	Travel, geographic and statistical works
Writers on rural and agrarian matters	Geographic maps
Philosophers, mathematicians and astronomers	Jurisprudence
Writers on military matters	Medicine
Writers on musical matters	Natural History
Medical doctors	Economics
Apologists, mythological and ethical	Theology and Church History
	The Bible

This system is significant from several points of view and points to later developments in classification systems. The very first group – literary history, bibliography – is already remarkable. In the classification systems of the century we never find general works, histories of knowledge or bibliographies at the very beginning of the classification. Ráday put these at the beginning of his classification, so he acted in the same manner as Melvil Dewey when he created the decimal system. His concept stems naturally from his great interest in books and at the same time shows his systematizing, intellectual mind. The most detailed part of his system is that of literature. This is understandable, since Ráday's activities revolved around literary pursuits. He separated the collection of poets, not an unusual step in that era. Sámuel Teleki also kept the classical authors and poets separated. Ráday divided the literature in two parts: the classical and modern authors. It is worth mentioning that he subdivided among the Latins, the writers of the Golden Age, the Silver Age, etc., the moderns according to their nationality. He put into a separate category the poets of the Renaissance and humanism who wrote in Latin, but in the new spirit of the Enlightenment. We can observe the same care in the various collections, where he sometimes separates one or two pieces, exactly delineating works belonging to different themes.

As far as the rest is concerned, Ráday listed pedagogy as an independent category, and he included church history with theology, in contrast to the other systems of the era, thus giving this discipline its natural place. Ráday established his system based on a thorough examination of linkages between classification categories; for example, he separated the auxiliary sciences from history, the maps from geography, and the bibles from theology. The various interconnected sections serve as intermediaries among themselves. The grouping together of mathematics and military science mirrors the subjective interest of the collector: it did not make use of the knowledge of the period, so these two branches of sciences were combined into one section. Finally, we have to remember the grouping of economics, natural sciences and geographic-statistical works. This category reminds us of the often mentioned influence of political science on Ráday. The fact that he treats them as an independent category shows his great interest in the new sciences – descriptive statistics and economics – and any discipline of the new era, born in the previous century or going through revival in his lifetime.

2. Analysis of the Holdings

The quality of the library's holdings is first of all determined by the education of the collector and his orientation in the process of collection. So we have to start the analysis of the Pécel library's holdings by pointing out a few important characteristics of Gedeon Ráday's collecting activity and summarizing statements made here and there in the preceding chapters.

We find in Gedeon Ráday, as well as his father, a great affection for Hungarian books and a feeling of responsibility towards Hungarian culture, which are reflected in the materials of the Pécel library from the start. The great number of works of Hungarian literature in the rather small library of Pál Ráday is very apparent. In Gedeon's collection the part of the newly acquired Hungarian publications seems small in comparison with the enormous number of foreign additions. This fact does not mean a lessening of interest on the part of the son vis-à-vis the literature in the national tongue, but the widening of the fields covered and the sad difference in the possibility of acquisitions between local and foreign markets. Doubtless other collectors, too, especially Ferenc Széchenyi, put great emphasis on the acquisition of Hungarian books and Hungarian subjects. Due to their larger resources they could more easily do that; however, the Rádays occupy the first place on this list, because they preceded by half a century – and a half a century which was most significant in historical development – all the other Hungarian founders of libraries. After 1780 it was no longer a unique phenomenon to collect Hungarian language literature, as was the case between 1710 and 1760; due to the writers and the work of those that initiated the literary and philological renewal, the nation began to awake, and its sons became more and more self-confident.

Ráday's library held many interesting pieces of printed Hungarian works, starting with Sylvester's *Újtestamentum* [New Testament] of 1541; especially valuable first editions, which he shared with authors and linguists. Thus he made numerous new editions possible, giving momentum to the nascent literary criticism. He not only collected the Hungarian literature of the previous centuries, but also the products of the new era of Enlightenment. In the last decades of the century, he made Pécel one of the centers and movers of literary activities and publication of books and periodicals, both as a writer and a patron. So it is natural that the copies of *Magyar Museum* and *Orpheus* along with the published works of Kazinczy, Batsányi, Baróti, Révai or Kovásznai Tóth were acquired immediately after publication for his library. Thus, Ráday aimed consciously to include the products of the Hungarian literary revival in his collection. This characteristic in building his collection was, of course, based on his love of country. He did not participate in politics, did not state his position in writing, but in his heart he heeded the teachings of his kuruc father. The opinions of his contemporaries also attest to this characteristic of Ráday's personality; they considered him a good patriot.

Besides his aspiration for acquiring Hungarian books, we need to emphasize the Protestant nobleman's, Ráday's interest in the works of new philosophers, the works of the great writers of the Enlightenment. Ráday, thus, showed interest in the new ideas because his intellectual approach facilitated his understanding of the nascent modern world. Being a Protestant of the Reformed faith, especially being grounded in seventeenth century puritanism, allowed him to a certain extent to more easily understand the

ideals of the French Enlightenment, since the Reformation had played an important role in the formation of the philosophy and civil society of the new era. At the same time his religious conviction turned him away from the movement of Holbach, Helvétius and other atheist thinkers. From among their books, there is only one book of Helvétius in his library. It is also true that his ideas and his social position prevented him from comprehending the central social content of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, the influence of French culture received in Francfort-on-the-Oder, the impressions of his student years, played a great part in shaping his interest in the cultural trends of his lifetime.

From among the classics of the literature of the Enlightenment, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot's works are almost in their entirety in the collection of Pécel, and as we saw in the first chapters, Ráday acquired the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia* or Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. He subscribed also to the *Journal encyclopédique*. It is illustrative of how Ráday was known as one who collected works of French culture, a letter in which the writer wanted to remain anonymous and recommends the newly published "forbidden, but good books" [verbotene, sonst aber gute Bücher], and makes reference to previous business dealings with the collector. Among Ráday's acquisitions the prohibited books played a great role, they were made up only partly of works of the Enlightenment; there were among them Protestant publications prohibited by the Catholic church, or those that attacked the papacy in the spirit of gallicanism and josephinism.² We have to deduce from all these factors that Ráday's approach witnessed openness towards new ideas, and his collecting activity was characterized by his endeavor for encyclopaedic completeness.

Finally, we need to discuss, as the third characteristic of Ráday's collecting activities, his affection for literature, as a result of which different literary collections became part of the library. Ráday himself was first of all a man of letters, whose passion for collecting came from this instinct. He not only loved literature, but wrote himself, truly a "poeta doctus." But in order to become a "poeta doctus," the literary critic and leader of a generation, he needed to consult not only the classics, but also the authors and poets, the poetry and drama of his own era. That is why the "collection of poets" has become one of the most valuable parts of his library. Without doubt, by the acquisition of these works and his making them available to intellectuals and writers, he did the greatest service to the younger generation and the cultural education of a whole nation.

In the analysis of the holdings of individual areas their importance from the point of view of the history of knowledge, on the one hand, on the other hand, the impact of the works in question on human enrichment and achievement, must be kept in view. These two points of view coincide in most cases, since in the history of a subject matter, those works that show the road ahead, those that show the production of new results, are at the same time serving general human progress, and the improvement of society. In cases of a work or of a scientific trend in which the two criteria become separated, we have to stress this dual aspect, to make certain that its negative role in general development is not forgotten, even if we attribute great significance to it from the particular point of view of the given scientific activity.

Literature was the subject that encompassed the most numerous works in the library at Pécel. In the section of ancient literary works we find among the dramatists, poets, orators, and story writers, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer in countless editions; the poetry known under the name of Dares Phrygius which inspired all tales of Troy in the Middle Ages; the immortal Greek poets, Sappho, Anacreon, Pindar, and the troubadours of the Golden Age, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. Beside them there are the authors of Greek and Roman tragedies and comedies with plays that even today provide true *catharsis*, i.e. Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, or Plautus and Terence. Books containing orators' works also lined the white-golden shelves, such as Demosthenes, Lysias, Isocrates, Athonios, Cicero, and Aelianos Claudius, – names that proclaimed the free spirit of the Greek cities and of the Roman forum, in a country – Hungary – suppressed and tormented by foreigners. Finally, we must mention the story-tellers dear to children of every era, Aesop and Phaedrus. Thus we close the shelves that spread the breath of ancient culture; though if we continue to leaf through the yellow pages of the catalogue, we notice how many well-known names and noted works are left out of this picture presented with only a few strokes. The works of the ancient classics were produced almost without exception by the presses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most with explanations, often in collections.

² See works of Johann von Hontheim (Febronius), Eybel, and Rautenstrauch, mentioned before, and the anonymously published tracts.

The more recent world literature goes back only to the fifteenth century – it starts to develop in the fresh air of the Renaissance. The writers, liberated from the limits imposed on expression in the Middle Ages, turn back to nature and man, and mine the riches of Antiquity. This literary renewal drew its inspiration from the art of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The epoch-making works of all three, the *Divina Commedia*, the sonnets, and the *Decameron* were in the library at Pécel, not only in one edition, or only in the original language, but also in translations. The poetry and writing of the first generation, of the humanists, were also particularly well represented with the works Konrad Celtis, Paulus Crousensis, Melius Eobanus Hessus, as well as Rudolph Walter, Jacopo Sannazaro, the two Strozzi or Sebastian Brant. The development of national literatures can be closely followed in the holdings of Ráday's library, all the way to the classics of his own era. The closer we get to the second half of the eighteenth century, the more we see the picture of the contemporary, but especially French and German literature; Ráday was interested in every literary creation of the period. Therefore, we see many small pieces of contemporary writing, French and German, in the original holdings. Plays, poems, satires that we consider today without value, do paint a detailed picture of the literary life of the era, the intensity of individual trends and ambitions, and their realization.

German literature was represented in the library from Wolfram von Eschenbach to Goethe, representing the awakening at the time of the Enlightenment of national poetry and drama through the works of Klopstock, Gessner, Gellert, Gottsched, Kleist, Koetzebue, and Lessing, from sentimentalism to romanticism, from the *Messiah* to Lessing's criticisms. Besides these works, the German translations of other world famous pieces of national literatures were added to the collection of German works; it can be assumed that both Ráday and his generation considered translating foreign works into Hungarian of great significance for the renewal of the Hungarian language.

The person, who took into his hands the beautifully bound books in Pécel, could immerse himself in the French literary arts first through the classic prose and drama of Fénelon, Rabelais, Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, and Cyrano de Bergerac. If this person felt like it, he might have read the poems of Villon or the psalms of Clément Marot; he also might have admired the spirit of the Enlightenment in the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot beaming the 'esprit' of the century. The largest part of the French holdings is made up of dramas; glancing at the shelves one can see countless of them. Ráday, who was always concerned with the nascent Hungarian theater, must have collected them purposefully. Our contemporary literary research should pay attention to the effects on the new trends in Hungarian drama of the works of Baculard d'Arnaud, Destouches, de la Motte, Campistron, Boursault, Crébillon, Du Belloy and, finally, the most significant Marivaux. Batteux represents the beginnings of artistic criticism, among others. Ráday collected regularly the memoir literature in vogue, not only literature of the great names, but the much more characteristic *Mémoires de Cécile*, etc., writings which represented sentimentalism. He also acquired the most outstanding of the customary eighteenth century works in letter form, so for example the famous letters of Madame de Sévigné.

In Ráday's library English literature was represented by Defoe's Robinson, Fielding, Pope, and Swift in translation; Italian literature in addition to the great trio of the Renaissance, by Tasso, Vittoria Colonna, Angelo Politiano, Metastasio, and Goldoni; Spanish literature by Calderon, Lope de Vega and Cervantes' *Don Quijote*; Polish literature by a few originals and several translations.

In closing the analysis of the literary holdings we have also to remark that Ráday considered valuable and therefore collected so called folk books containing stories, folk songs, poems or adventure stories, and the ironic and pamphlet literature that seemed to multiply like mushrooms in this period.³ He liked and acquired various well-known selected collections such as *Bibliothek der Romane*, *Bibliothèque de Campagne*, or *Damen-Bibliothek*. All these characteristics indicate that Ráday, besides the acquisition of the classics of Antiquity and individual national literatures, was most interested in knowing and buying the literature of his own times. Thus, he provided serious service to national education; and the library at Pécel became one of the transmitters of foreign, literary trends and influences that came to expression in the Enlightenment. The forms introduced from the west, the ideas and literary movements, became decisive factors in Hungary at the end of the eighteenth century. It is clear that these factors played an important role in the struggle for national independence and social progress because the latter started through efforts in the cultural sphere, through renewal of the language and of Hungarian literary endeavors.

³ See for example, *Sammlung von Minnesingern; Lieder der Deutschen mit Melodien; or Der Schlendrian; Der Hipochondrist; La femme docteur; Arlequin janséniste*.

The books belonging to the section on philology are mostly dictionaries or lexicons, and among them, the majority is Hebrew, Greek or Latin, or works dealing with the ancients. The cultural circumstances of the age made this natural, as the study of individual languages came into being only in the second half of the eighteenth century. From among the representatives of classical, humanistic philology, we need to mention Juan Louis Vives, Johannes Metzler, and Theodor Gaza; then Henri Estienne's work called *Thesaurus graecae linguae*. From among those who commented on Latin authors, the books of Casaubon and many classical works published by him; from the Dutch school of text criticism Vossius' writings are present in the holdings of the library. Later philologists extant on the shelves of the Pécel library are Charles Dufresne du Cange, Sam Pitisco, and Christoph Cellarius.

Searching for the works of philosophers, we can discover in the Ráday library practically all representatives of the movements of Antiquity published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the names of the greatest: Empedocles, Plato, Aristotle, and Epictetus come into view. From the ranks of their followers, I will point out only a few: Theophrastos and Andronicos Rhodios, later the leaders of the peripatetic school; Aristippos, the hedonist; Porphyrios, Jamblichos, and Proclus, from among the neo-platonists; Libanius, the sophist, and the Romans, Seneca and Apuleius. The writers of the scholastics are almost entirely absent from Ráday's collection, only one, the greatest, Thomas Aquinas, is represented by his *Opera omnia* among the ornate bounded volumes. From among the philosophers in the age of the Renaissance and humanism who looked back to Plato, we can put our hands on Bessarion, the humanist cardinal, and Marsilius Ficinus, professor of the Florence academy. We can also see the works of Cornelius Agrippa of Nettleheim and Julius Caesar Scaliger, and one or two writings of Giordano Bruno, who all stood at the cradle of European civilization.

Among the philosophical movements of his epoch, Ráday stood closest to those belonging to the idealist-rationalist school. The holdings offer an almost uninterrupted line of development of this trend. We move from the works of René Descartes, the philosopher believed that human awareness is the only source of certainty, through the writings of Leibniz to Christian Wolff the philosopher of the eighteenth century with the greatest influence in Germany, the most outstanding propagator of the Leibniz school, whom Voltaire called "Praeceptor generis humani." The popularity of Wolff, the creator of German philosophical education and terminology, can also be seen in the fact that almost twenty works of his were on the shelves in the library of the Hungarian collector. The Leibniz-Wolff school was also represented by Thomas Abbt and Jacob Brucker. From among the philosophers who were independent of this philosophical trend, we need mention first Christian Thomasius. His philosophy stressed the requirements of a sane mind, rejected dogmatism and hierarchies. Several works on the shelves at Pécel reflected this trend. About Ralph Cudworth's *Systema intellectualis*, translated into Latin by Mosheim – although he lived in the seventeenth century his influence was felt in the eighteenth – we read as well in connection with acquisitions. Besides rationalism, the other great movement of the new age was empiricism. We find the greatest among them in Ráday's collection: the works of Bacon and Locke along with those of Hobbes. We have to name Gassendi, who in his works attacked Descartes most vehemently and called attention to the atomic concept of Democritus and Epicure. We have already mentioned the great writers of the French *Siècle de la Lumière*, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, Helvétius; their writings constituted the most valuable part of the library's French holdings. Finally, it is necessary to mention, that the works of Moses Mendelssohn, friend of Lessing and his fellow fighter, are also found in relatively large number in the library at Pécel.

Gedeon Ráday, just as his father Pál, considered the developing natural sciences still a part of philosophy. Therefore, he listed the works of Newton, Bonnet, or Tschirnhaus among philosophical works. All the important works of Newton, one of the founders of the modern worldview, are in the library. This fact again evidences Ráday's lively interest in the newly developing natural sciences.

On the subject of pedagogy, the works of Basedow, the famous educator, deserve mention. In general, the great number of philanthropic works and brochures is quite remarkable; these items imply that Ráday observed the functioning of the new schools and his point of view was the same as Basedow's.

In general, the philosophical and pedagogical works in the library more or less represent the major trends and thinkers of his era, but Spinoza's writings are missing from among the philosophers. It was mostly due to Ráday's religious point of view and his education, that he preferred the metaphysical-rationalistic orientation, and was not eager to include in his collection empiricist writers leaning towards materialism or even sensualism, such as Condillac.

With regard to mathematics we meet with names already mentioned – Descartes, Leibniz, Hobbes, Newton, and Christian Wolff – since philosophers frequently dealt with philosophy and mathematics, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From among the ancients, we find Archimedes and Apollon of Perga; then the great Florentine mathematician, Geronymo Cardano, and the outstanding humanistic pedagogue Johann Sturm; among the thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we see Leonard Euler, Athanasius Kircher, and Isaac Barrow. Ráday did separate neither astronomy nor architecture from mathematics. Works dealing with the former include the Arab Albohazen Haly and Nicolaus Copernicus whose theories signaled the end of the Middle Ages, whereas concerning the latter Angermann needs to be singled out along with his work entitled *Architecture Moderne*, published in Paris in 1728.

As the classification discussed in the preceding section showed, Ráday combined military sciences with mathematics. Therefore, in order to follow his system, we have to discuss the military works of the library at this point. Their number was around twenty in the Pécel collection; among them Bernard Foret de Bélidor, French military engineer's works are worthy of mention. Bélidor was one of the outstanding developers of modern military technologies, the creator of the mines to be posed on the battlefield; he wrote excellent military and civil engineering works.

The largest category of Ráday's library was made up of history besides literature. This collection consisted of mainly historical works of which the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries produced many; from today's standpoint, it does not represent much value, it only furnishes documentation for the study of history. Of particular interest for research are the annals, chronicles, histories, memoirs, various *Sammlungs* and the special type Testaments, as for example *Testament politique de Colbert* [Colbert's Political Testament] (The Hague: 1694) and the pamphlets. We start the overview of the books in the category of history with the ancients: from among the Greek and Roman historians, we see Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Plutarch, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, and Cassiodorus. We can also include Josephus Flavius who wrote the history of the Jews. Ráday owned a work of Ismael Abulfeda, an Arab, and one of Gregorius Abulpharagius, a Jacobite; he had the works of the Christian church historians Eusebius and Rufinus. From the later periods, we need to signal the works of the generation of the Renaissance, such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the later Pius II, Tommaso Campanella, Niccolo Machivelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Laetus Pomponius, Polydorus Vergilius and Paulus Jovius, with special mention of the great chronicle of Hartmann Schedel. We also see the source materials of seventeenth and eighteenth century historical literature, such as Muratori's *Scriptores rerum italicarum* [Authors on Italian Matters], Graeve's *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanorum* [Thesaurus of Roman Antiquities], and Fabricius' work dealing with ancient history. The works of Pufendorf and of the famous statesman, Hugo Grotius, who criticized the practices of his age, the books of Marsigli, who had traveled in Hungary, Leibniz, Mencke and the Swiss Aegidius Tschudi, the Dane Ludvig Holberg, can all be found in the Pécel collection. From among the French historical works, we find Rapin de Thoyras, La Bruyère, Philip de Comines, Fontenelle, Voltaire, as well as those favoring the *ancien régime* such as the book of Count Boulainvilliers. It is interesting to note the treatises of Kobierzicky and of Kojalovitz on Polish and Lithuanian history, along with the *Jahrbuch der russischen Regenten* (Riga: 1771) edited by Lomonosov and translated into German. We can also discover the courtly spirit of feudal absolutism in Dux de la Callières and Balthasar Gracian as well as the voluminous historical memoir-literature, for example the memoirs of Brantôme or Rabutin. Thus, the historical literature of the Ráday library was varied and multi-colored; it contained, along with the ancient authors, the historical works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The collector was aiming at completeness concerning this period, although he was not entirely successful in this endeavor. We can also discern his efforts to obtain the works of authors who evidence a critical spirit and based their writings on facts.

In the collection at Pécel, as in the other contemporary libraries, there were numerous travelogues and geographic works. These belonged to the most popular books in this century; the *Voyages*, the *Reisebeschreibungen* occupied a large portion of educated men's bookshelves. Horizons were getting wider, and the reports from unknown places, the description of foreign lands satisfied the thirst for information about them. It would be lengthy to list even the more interesting books of Gedeon Ráday on this subject. It is fascinating that he acquired besides these the works of pioneers of science of descriptive geography such as Anton Friedrich Büsching or Johann Christoph Gatterer and other scientific geographers such as La Condamine, engaged in measurement of geographic degrees in Peru, or Cellarius, famous for his work on grammar. The fact that statistical works were listed with geography sheds light on the fact that we should not be thinking of statistics in the modern sense, but of geographical treatises dealing with the state of individual nations, or peoples, describing the conditions in which they live. Thus, these works are not

separate from geography and listing them together is completely justified. We can find among them some readings that are interesting even today, for example the little pamphlet, published in Amsterdam in 1774, called *Le Bourgeois politique impartial d'Amsterdam*.

The geography section in Ráday's catalogue is followed by jurisprudence. The meaning of this we have to clear up before beginning the overview of this category. For the people of past centuries jurisprudence meant not only legal studies, but, in the widest possible interpretation, the science of statecraft, to which belonged aside from law, economics and sociology. Ráday had already separated out the field of economics from this circle, made a separate grouping along with other subjects related to economics, but the characteristic of jurisprudence did not change. At the beginning of the section of jurisprudence, we meet with some conspicuous lacuna, as the holdings of the Pécel library do not have the works of the great Roman jurists. This fact is especially remarkable, since until now, Ráday's library had ancient classics in great numbers in every subject; the collector's familiarity with them was an integral part of his education. On the other hand, we can find the so-called post-glossers, using the glossed works of ancient authors, such as Bartolus de Saxoferratis and Cynus da Pistoria along with the humanist Alciati, as well as representatives of the trend of the so-called *usus modernus pandectorum*, Hermann Conring and Benedikt Carpzow. They accepted the validity of Roman law in Germany only after the examination of each given case. The works of the natural law school's two famous members – Grotius and Pufendorf – were also on the shelves in Pécel, together with those of the pioneers of international law, Emerich Felix Wattel, and l'abbé de Saint-Pierre, and *Il principe* of Machiavelli. Utopianism was represented by Morus, cameralists by Justi. We can also find the writings of Christian Thomasius, the pioneer of the Enlightenment, who was the first to demolish the authority of Roman law and to work out the criminal aspects of natural law; Sonnenfels, the Girondist, Thomas Payne, Thomas Hobbes, who justified absolutism on the basis of natural law, and Rousseau's *Contrat social*, a seminal work. From among the great French jurists, the names of Bodin, Montesquieu and Necker catch our eyes in golden letters from the backs of French bound books and next to them, we can discover Voltaire's *Traité de la Tolérance*. Achenwall, Heineccius, Christian Gottfried Hoffmann, Ráday's professor in Francfort-on-the-Oder, Georg Adam Struve, the two Cocceius and the influential Viennese Martini represented German jurists of the 17th and 18th centuries. Besides these authors, the great legal and jurisdictional collections, for example the *Codex Theodosianus*, are completing this section. In addition, there are books on the legal systems of individual nations, and summaries of special law compendia, such as that of the various orders of knights.

The holdings in the field of medicine are varied and vivid. Ráday, even though he was not knowledgeable in this area, liked to acquire works pertaining to this subject. In his library, the ancients were represented by Hippocrates, Nicander, and Galenus; the Byzantine physicians by Oraibasios; the Arabs by Avicenna and Haly; the Middle Ages by Savonarola, a follower of the Arab school, and the greatest doctor of the centuries preceding the Renaissance, Arnold of Villanova. The first promoters of medicine based on scientific experimentation and research were Paracelsus, who refused the dogma of authority and Andreas Vesalius, who established the new science of anatomy. Works of both of them were on the beautiful gold and white shelves. From among the books on medicine of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, we discover the small work of Benedictus, purchased at the Mannagetta auction, and one or two works of Marcello Malpighi, the discoverer of the capillary circulation of blood. The library was endowed most richly with medical books from the eighteenth century. Among them the works of Friedrich Hoffmann of Halle, Hermann Boerhaave, professor in Leyden, who followed the eclectic method, Albrecht Haller, the founder of modern psychology, Giovanni Baptista Morgagni, the founder of pathological anatomy, and, finally, Gerhard van Swieten, the enlightened and powerful member of the old Viennese school have to be mentioned. The section on medicine bears witness again that Ráday chose critically and tried to acquire the best in every field.

In the grouping of natural history – *historia naturalis* – Ráday included many works, first of all on physics that did not belong there. From the books on natural history, I will mention the two best-known names, Buffon and Linné; from the books on physics, we need to name Otto von Guericke, the great German physicist, Robert Boyle, l'Abbé de Nollet, Athanasius Kircher, the inventor of the *laterna magica* and the posthumous little volume on physics by Descartes.

In the section on economics, we find all sorts of works handling subjects in this field. Among them there are Chomel's *Dictionnaire oeconomique*, or Justi's *Staatswirtschaft*, and next to them, Duhamel du Monceau and Reaumur's books. We will list only a few of the extremely interesting titles of many of the small

publications: *Der vollkommene Fischer*; *Éléments du commerce*; *Allgemeine Haushaltungs- und Landwissensschaft*, etc.

After the literary and historical works, the books on theology took up the largest portion in the Pécel. These lent to Gedeon Ráday's library its strongly Protestant coloring, mirroring the Reformed faith of the collector that he brought with him from the family home, a faith that became even stronger in the midst of persecutions and difficulties. The theological works along with the literary ones were also the most read in the library. In these decades, just as in the time of Pál Ráday, people the collector knew, preachers and students, as well as friends and acquaintances who belonged to the lesser Protestant nobility, read them. We have to group the theological collection of the library into four sections in order to get a better overview of the holdings:

1. The works of the church fathers and religious writers of the first centuries in numerous editions of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

2. The works of the theologians of the Middle Ages, among them Leo the Great, Hrabanus Maurus, Nicholas de Lyra's *Postillas*, the volumes of Abelard, the representatives of early scholasticism, and the greatest of all, Thomas Aquinas.

3. Then we need to enumerate the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which opened a new era, of which many can be found in first edition on the library's shelves. Beside the works of the humanist Erasmus, the first reformers Wyclif and Hus, then the great reformers' generation, Calvin, Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Theodore de Bèze, and Thomas Cartwright are represented by contemporaneous editions; from among the Counter Reformation's outstanding men only a few pamphlets represent the spirit of Bellarmin, the Jesuit cardinal, who greatly influenced Pázmány.

4. The theological literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – but only the Protestant – is fully represented. We only point to the trend setters; the works, small and large, of Cocceius, the outstanding teacher of federalist theology; Jean le Clerc, the follower of Arminius; François Turretini, Friedrich Spanheim and Campegius Vitringa, defenders of strict Calvinist orthodoxy; Martin Clemnitz, representative of the Melancthonian orientation in Lutheran theology; the Orientalist Leusden; Samuel Werenfels, the theologian who stressed practical behavior and rationality instead of pure orthodoxy, or Johann Franz Buddeus, who leaned towards pietism, and Philipp Jakob Spener, the originator of the pietist movement. Additional colors were added to this picture by the writings of the Huguenot Isaac de Beausobre, a fiery preacher and sharp minded apologetic. Church histories which satisfied Ráday's historical and theological interests were from Mosheim, Offerhaus, La Sueur, Lenfant, and Lampe. Finally, we need to include the literature of the second half of the eighteenth century, an ever increasing flow composed of febronianist and josephist pamphlets, brochures, or longer studies – naming only Febronius himself, and then Eybel, Rautenstrauch, and Riegger.

The analysis of the theological holdings shows that nearly every shade of Calvinist thinking was represented in Gedeon Ráday's library; on the contrary, the Lutheran orthodoxy, following the Reformers' generation, barely; pietism was also very poorly represented and the works reflecting the spirit of Roman Catholicism are almost entirely missing from the shelves. In contrast to these negative characteristics, Ráday had acquired the holy book of Jewry, the *Mischna*, the *Zend-Avesta*, the compilation of the teachings of Zoroaster, and even the greatest medieval Jewish thinker's, Moses Maimonides' works.

It is apparent from the analysis of the catalogue which was produced after the death of Ráday, that it includes only the foreign language works, the Hungarian books which were in a separate place are not listed. So only works in Latin or German on Hungarian literature figure in it. So far, we have not discussed these, as we are combining them with the Hungarian language works in order to paint an overall picture of the holdings of the Pécel library in the area of Hungarian literature.

We have stressed Ráday's love of literature before. Here we only wish to point out that, although he was very keen on acquiring classical poetry, the writings of the humanists and, especially, the recently produced literature of other nations, he was even more interested in acquiring Hungarian literature of past centuries, and the new literature of his country being born before his very eyes. For him the greatest joy was to read these works. We can see at first glance what his main interest in such literary matters was. The number of historical cantos and stories in the old Hungarian material of the library is very striking. In collecting and reading these works Ráday far exceeded the intentions of the contemporary book collectors and lovers of literature. He collected popular literature, normally sold at fairs, which was the reading matter of

the masses, with the same affection that would be due to Gyöngyösi or some other recognized poet's works. Thus, he made room in his library for the tales and poems of the people, which until then were considered without merit that other collectors neglected and did not consider worthy of their libraries.

The works of Miklós Bogáthi Fazakas, Mátyás Csáktornyai, Mihály Cserényi, Ambrus Göröcsönyi, Péter Ilosvai, Pál Istvánffy, Mátyás Nagybánkai, Gáspár Ráskai, István and János Temesvári and András Valkai, and especially the very valuable *Concionale* of Heltai, are even today valuable items in Ráday's library. From among the works of Gyöngyösi⁴ Ráday owned many; he also acquired the first edition of his beloved Zrínyi's *Syrena* but, at the same time, the poems of Balassi and Rimai are conspicuously absent from the holdings. I am convinced that Ráday must have owned them next to Gyöngyösi and Zrínyi, but possibly during his lifetime already, or in the first decades of the nineteenth century, they must have been lost. Besides the older works, we find most of the flowers of eighteenth century Hungarian literature in original editions; first of all, the works produced in the last four decades by Bessenyei and the "guard-writers", or Kazinczy, Batsányi, Baróti Szabó and other significant authors who were published before the 1790s.

From among the linguistic works, we want to mention János Farkas' *Ungarische Grammatik*, György Kalmár's Latin, Pál Veszelin's (of Kismarja) Hebrew, as well as Sincai Gheorghe's Romanian grammars. Among the few Hungarian philosophical works, Apáczai Csere's and György Mártonfalvi's writings, adopting the logic of Ramus so popular in Hungarian Reformed circles, should be mentioned; from among the official philosophy of the Catholic church the three volumes of János Kéry, bishop of Vác, in which he summarized the main theses of Thomism. We need to refer in the field of pedagogy, to the work of Francke, the great pietist teacher, whose book *Teachings* was translated into Hungarian by György Bárány. In mathematics, physics, and astronomy, the works of János Ónádi, Károly Hadaly, Sajnovics and Martinovics as well as Kempelen's *Mechanismus* was worthy of mention.

In addition to the chronicles of Heltai, Székely Benczédi, Pál Lisznyai Kovács, Farkas and János Bethlen, the already mentioned histories to be found in Pál Ráday's library must be highlighted – Istvánffy, Otrokócsi and Parschitius. The great historical source materials, produced in the eighteenth century, such as the collection of Schwandtner and the products of the Catholic historical school – Pray, Katona, Kaprinai, Palma, Wagner, etc. – as well as József Benkő and Daniel Cornides' works need also to be mentioned.

The first Hungarian authors in the field of literary studies in the eighteenth century as well as representatives of the critical–historical school yet accomplished only the first steps, they wrote lexicons of authors with shorter or longer biographies. From among these lexicons, we find in the Ráday library the works of Dávid Czvittinger, János Seivert, György Haner, Péter Bod, and Elek Horányi. Most of the books containing Hungarian feudal rights were already present in Pál Ráday's library and his son Gedeon added especially studies which appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century – for example one by József Benczur – which emphasized the rights of the ruler as against the church and the clergy. We also find *Syntagma juris* by János Decsi Csímor, or the thesis printed by the professor of law in Pest, Lukács Perthold, who had been demoted from his chair.⁵

Quite a few works of Hungarian doctors are lined up on the shelves of the Pécel library, such as the *Pax Corporis* of Páriz Pápai, as well as the dissertations of Sámuel Dombi, György Kovács, Sámuel Köleséri the younger, Dániel Moller, Sámuel Lischoviny, János Jessenius, and Sámuel Rácz, professor in Buda. Nadányi's *Florus Hungaricus*, József Benkő's *Transsilvania* and other treatises represented botany; economics, in its turn, by Tessedik's and Nagyváthy's works, whose authors belong to the generation of the Enlightenment engaged in the furthering of bourgeois development in Hungary.

⁴ From among the works of Gyöngyösi published in the eighteenth century there are some very valuable ones in the library, so the *Murányi Vénusz* [The Venus of Murány] printed in 1730 in Buda by the Nottenstein Press of which the only other, but truncated, copy is in the National Széchényi Library. MKSz 1938, p. 318.

⁵ Maria Theresia removed Perthold from his chair at the Pest College (founded in 1757) – and closed the school itself – because Perthold in his distributed legal theses mentioned coronation as an integral part of the legality of monarchial rule. SCHERMANN, Egyed, *Adalékok az állami könyvcenzúra történetéhez Mária Terézia haláláig* [Additions to the History of State Censorship of Books up to the Death of Maria Theresia]. (Budapest:1928), 53-54.

Theological works comprised the bulk of the Hungarian holdings in the collection of Pécel. The reason for this was not only the interest and personal orientation of the collector, but also the fact that until the middle of the seventeenth century, books published in Hungary were mostly Protestant theological works. We can even include among them the majority of writings that appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century. At the same time, it has to be pointed out that when discussing the Hungarian holdings of the library, the observation we made in connection with the analysis of theological works published abroad, namely that Ráday did not collect Catholic theological works, is no longer true. There are numerous works in the collection by theologians of the church that dominated Hungary. I want to mention from among the authors in theology: Szegedi, Dévai, Bornemisza, Melius, Tamás Félegyházi, and András Károlyi who represent the generation of Hungarian reformers; of the polemicists, Péter Alvinczi and István Matkó; the outstanding religious figures of the seventeenth century in Transylvania, Pál Keresztúri, István Geleji Katona, Pál Medgyesi, István Selyei Balog (a former prisoner of the Tatars), as well as the writers of devotional literature like Jakab Csuzi Cseh, István Diószegi and Kata Petróczi. A specially valuable part of the collection was the long series of Hungarian Bibles from the Vizsolyi Bible to the New Testament of János Sylvester, to the editions of the second half of the eighteenth century; then, all the important canon collections and the innumerable funeral orations. Ráday possessed only one or two of Lutheran and Unitarian theological treatises, but Catholic theology was well represented with Péter Pázmány, György Káldi, Miklós Telegdi, András Illyés, the convert Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris, Mátyás Sámbar, Márton Szentiványi, István Tarnai and many others.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE RÁDAYS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBRARY

The Rádays who established the Pécel library at the cost of great sacrifices and many troubles did not belong to the ultra rich nobility. Their financial means were that of the well-off landed gentry, but the productivity of the estate, due to modernization and business ties with foreign wine and grain merchants, reached a level far exceeding the one customary in that era.¹

Pál Ráday's inheritance was comprised of only 80-120 serf lots, 30 uncultivated lots, 6 noble settlements, 40 villages, or parts of villages and their extensions; because of his marriage, the same sized estates of the Kajalis were joined to his holdings. He cultivated these according to the then current practices and the so-called rented estates. But "from the very start he aimed at raising the productivity of his manorial lands, thus being way ahead of other contemporary landed gentry. So much so, that in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the counties of Pest and Nógrád, but even all over the country, only a few reached the establishment of similar proportions of allodiums [estates held in absolute ownership] that he had. This was closely connected to his goal of shifting the focus of his cultivation from the overpopulated and less fertile Felvidék [Upper Hungary] to the less densely populated, but more fertile Alföld (the Great Hungarian Plain). By the time of his death he had achieved intensive cultivation on his lands, where a quarter of a century before there were only bare, uncultivated tracts, so the accumulation of capital had also begun."² His yearly income was approximately 200 quintal wheat (20,000 kgs), 100-120 ft money, and his profit from the mills, farming leases, vineyards, and manors must have doubled his income. To all this, we need to add the many payments in kind, which in the practices of the day were due to the landowner.³

After the death of Klára Kajali in 1742, the three siblings, Ester, Gedeon, and Pál, divided the estate into three; due to the early death of Pál in 1746, his part of the inheritance came back to Ester and Gedeon. The sister of Gedeon Ráday, the wife of László Teleki. Ráday Ester, was paid in species in exchange for several tracts of the estate that belonged to her; so Gedeon Ráday kept most of the estate that his father had left. The Ráday family's estate reached its greatest extension in his lifetime. One document compiled in the early 1740s, before partition, shows they owned 7800 acres of land in tillage and vineyards; together with the farmsteads the holdings came to 23,000 acres. Subtracting from this Ester Ráday's inheritance which was attached to the lands of the Telekis, there still remained a good sized estate for Gedeon Ráday. Then, the dowry of Katalin Szentpétery, the estates in Gömör, were added. Thus Ráday possessed a much larger estate than his predecessors. Naturally, the estate he owned was significant only in comparison with other landed gentry; it was dwarfed by the several hundred thousand acres of the great landowners.⁴ Ráday's interest as scholar, author, and collector, took him into a different direction, and he did not involve himself in the management of his estates. The handling and care of the lands in seven counties, in 75 localities,

¹ For Pál Ráday's estate management see the introduction to *Ráday Pál iratai, op.cit.*; NÉMETH, Balázs, *loc. cit.*, and, more recently, BALÁZS, László, "A Ráday család és könyvtára." [The Ráday Family and Its Library]. *RGyE*, Vol. 6, 1989, pp. 135-143.

² NÉMETH, *loc.cit.*, pp. 2-3.

³ *Ráday Pál iratai, op.cit.*

⁴ For example, the neighboring priory in Garamszentbenedek held 40,000 acres; Prince Grassalkovich's estate in Gödöllő was 132,000 acres.

sometimes 200 km away, rested in the hands of Ferenc Fatavics, the faithful *bonorum* director who served the Rádays for several decades. Fatavics developed even further the allodiums started by Pál Ráday; under his leadership, several farmsteads in the Alföld were established and in Pécel, after ten years of work, a large-scale manorial center was built. At his suggestion, a drive to increase production began in the 50s, as the young Gedeon Ráday wanted to transform his family estate into a large enterprise. The intensity of this process is demonstrated by the fact that already in 1741 about half, and by 1765 almost all of the estate used the three–turn system. In the first two-thirds of the century, Pál Ráday and Gedeon Ráday put special emphasis on wine production – until Maria Theresia introduced customs regulations – as the Prussian king and the princes of Dresden enjoyed Hungarian wines just as Count Potemkin in Moscow liked them. The river freighters delivered the valuable cargo even to Constantinople and Cherson. From all these sources, the manorial and rented estates and payments in kind, at the beginning of the 1770s the family's yearly income was slightly more than 15,000 ft divided between Gedeon Ráday and his son. The Rádays then “within the limited extent of their holdings, tried to succeed with intensive cultivation methods in the Alföld, which were unique. Unlike the great landowners, they lived continuously on their estate, and managed their own affairs. Thus, they were starting to use more profitable processes of production, trying them out in practice, and then adopt those agrotechnical methods, which worked best on their lands. While the absent owners, the great lords, were only interested in squeezing money out of the serfs and the land, which they squandered abroad, mostly in Vienna, the Rádays became one with their estates and from their income, they built towers of culture, such as the library at Pécel.”⁵

With the death of Gedeon Ráday in 1792, the period of management of the Ráday estates in the style of the well-off landed gentry, ended. His son Gedeon Ráday became estranged from his roots and, in the manner of the aristocrats, did not bring any sacrifices for national culture. By the beginning of the 1800s the dismemberment of the estate had started, and in five to six decades only a small fraction of it was still in the family's possession.

After having surveyed the economic situation of the Rádays, we have to compare their financial capabilities with the burden caused by the development of the library – the acquisitions, the cost of bindings – in order to have a clear picture of the great sacrifices they brought for the library in Pécel.

The library of Pál Ráday was not yet of a significant size. The process of acquisition and binding of books did not mean a particularly heavy burden for him, although when we compare the price of binding a Bible in Pozsony, 25 ft with the yearly income of 240-250 ft, then we understand what a great sacrifice it was for a member of the landed gentry to collect books. Unfortunately, we have no written accounts of the expenses made by Pál Ráday, but from the time of Gedeon Ráday, we do have many of them. It is still not possible to add up the cost of how much the collector of Pécel spent during six decades on the growth of the library.

As the preceding chapters illustrated, the acquisitions of Gedeon Ráday were tremendous and financially most burdensome for the family's budget. We can truly measure his love of books and the degree of his greatness in his sacrifices for national culture when we consider the family quarrels and the multiple interest loans that Gedeon Ráday had to deal with. The circumstances of the founding of the Pécel library were entirely different from those of Teleki, Széchényi or Festetics, and the various church libraries. The eighteenth century in Hungary is the century of great book collectors. Among the great libraries, significant from the point of view of national culture, we only find one collection by the well-off landed gentry which was equal to the others in its value, and the role of which in Hungarian culture and education was among the most illustrious – the library of Gedeon Ráday. In this way we shall comprehend how much more effort Ráday had to put forth than the other collectors who had incomes of hundreds of thousands or millions.

As an example, let us compare the gentry gentleman Gedeon Ráday's income with that of the great landowner Count Ferenc Széchényi. We then understand why Ráday had to struggle constantly with financial difficulties and why his debts rose from year to year. Both of them, Ráday and Széchényi, were passionate collectors and both of them put together a well-known, and from the point of view of national culture a most valuable collection. Széchényi's library was doubtless more endowed than that of Ráday, more valuable its manuscript collection – but the quality of the Pécel holdings was not inferior in any way to that of Széchényi's at Cenk, in some instances it even outpaced it. The difference in the two collections does

⁵ NÉMETH, *loc cit.*, 15.

in no way express the difference in the financial status of the two collectors. Gedeon Ráday's income in one year, which he shared with his son, at the beginning of 1770, was 15,000 ft. This sum can be considered high measured against his estate, and could only have been achieved by the intensive cultivation that the Rádays and Fatavincs had introduced. Between 1760-1775, at the period of the greatest acquisitions he spent yearly approximately 2-3 thousand ft on books. At the same time, Ferenc Széchényi's annual income was 250-300 thousand ft.⁶ Széchényi's estate management was very productive as well – from his own point of view – in 50 years he had tripled his inheritance. From a summary of his expenses, it appears that from 1775 through 1812 he spent 3,826,699 ft on new land tracts, investments, political and family expenses. Of this sum, 160,000 ft 22 kr were paid for purchase of books, medals, manuscripts, and the printing of catalogues.⁷ Thus, it becomes apparent that even though the sum spent on Ráday's library was considerably lower than the 160,000 ft that Széchényi gave out for his collection during 37 years, measured against their annual incomes Ráday assumed a much greater commitment than Széchényi. After all, he spent one fifth of his part of the annual income of 15,000 ft. Combined with the cost of the extensive construction in Pécel, it is no wonder that he had to borrow large sums of money, so the family's indebtedness grew enormously during his lifetime.

When Gedeon Ráday took over the management of the estate, the family had 28,000 ft on hand. He spent this large amount in a few years, and starting from the second half of the fifties, he was entangled in a web of loans. At this point, it was more the cost of construction at Pécel than the cost of book purchases that depleted his resources. If we examine the acquisitions for the library according to collection territories and time periods, we understand that the purchases before 1760 and the materials acquired from Transylvania, Pozsony, and the Felvidék [north of Hungary] did not use up sums large enough to force him into debt. Péter Bod was right when he wrote: "Your Grace has written about 100 ft that he wants to send for the purchase of Hungarian books. There would have to be many Hungarian books to spend this much money" (April 16, 1755). On the other hand, the books bought in Vienna from the beginning of the 1760s through the 80s, absorbed a huge amount of money. The growth of acquisitions on the Viennese book market, as well as the substantial sums paid to the company of Weingand and Köpff and the much lesser sums that he paid for smaller foreign acquisitions, added to the final figure.

Thus, Ráday was forced to borrow money because of the considerable cost of book purchases and the construction at Pécel, and by the middle of the 70s, he had a respectable amount of debt. He was not able to get rid of his debts during his lifetime – he borrowed from one to pay the other. Thus, the financial burden on the family estate steadily increased, especially because of the wasteful lifestyle of his daughter-in-law, Zsuzsanna Fáy. In 1801, the debt of the family reached 181,000 ft⁸

Sámuel Teleki was one of Ráday's important creditors. In the spring of 1768, he offered through the offices of István Nagy, 15,000 ft as a loan to his relative in Pécel. He indicated that he could do without this money and wanted to invest it. He asked 5 per cent interest, even though he could get 6 per cent in Transylvania, but he was willing to give it for less. He only asked that Ráday keep it confidential, because he did not want to increase the number of people who envied him.⁹ Ráday accepted his offer; and by January 1769 (January 19), István Nagy was urging his lord to make the semiannual payment of interest to Sámuel Teleki. Thus, we see that the third non-ecclesiastic, aristocratic collector of the era – besides

⁶ In 1804, 232,098 ft; in 1814, 352,686 ft 25 kr. BÄRTFAI SZABÓ, László. *A sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchényi család története* [The History of the Count Széchényi Family of Sárvár-Felsővidék] (Budapest: 1911-1926), Vol. 2, pp. 542 and 553.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 546-552. At the same time, Count György Festetics, the founder of the library at Keszthely and of the Georgicon, had many more financial resources at his disposal. According to the estimates that have survived, his yearly income in 1807 was 416,382 ft; another source in 1812 shows that he increased his worth by purchases to 4,003,506 ft. At this time – the beginning of the 19th century – the archbishop of Esztergom had 100,000 ft annual income, the archbishop of Kalocsa had 40,000 ft. SZÁNTÓ, Imre. *A parasztság kisajátítása és mozgalmái a dunántúli Festetics birtokon, 1711-1850*. [The Expropriation and the Movements of the Peasantry on the Transdanubian Estate of the Festetics, 1711-1850]. (Budapest: 1954), p.135.

⁸ RA/Doc. fasc. 72.

⁹ István Nagy's letter to Ráday, May 17, 1768.

Széchényi and Festetics – helped Ráday out with a sum that was equal to the latter's yearly income. This fact makes it superfluous to compare their respective financial statuses in any way.

Among the creditors of the Pécel library, we find the most faithful and most successful agent of its golden age, Sámuel Nagy. Besides being an agent, Nagy was also engaged in business and purveying activities and lived very frugally. Therefore, it is understandable that during the three decades of his life that we are familiar with, he always had money, which he could loan to Ráday and others at a good rate of interest.¹⁰ Already at the beginning of the year 1761, we can read about a loan of 500 ft to Ráday. This sum over the years decreased or increased, but it was never quite settled. Between the years 1768-1773, Ráday, on the average, owed 1,000 ft to Nagy. In the later years there also figured various sums in the account statements as Nagy's payment over the amount that Ráday had sent. Ráday always paid in installments, but his debt increased by several hundreds after a new auction. In September 1772, Sámuel Nagy's loan increased to 8,000 ft because in May of that year Ráday needed 8,000 ft to pay his other debts. Nagy, very wisely, wrote: "I think it is better to secure a small amount than to borrow a lot, because it is easier to pay the smaller amounts" (April 3, 1772), and he offered 2,000 ft right away. With this addition, his master held 8000 ft of his money and Nagy was willing to bring it up to 10,000 ft. For the whole sum of 10,000, he was willing to charge only 5 per cent interest, instead of 6 per cent. (September 4, 1772). Ráday did not accept his offer and his debt to Nagy did not change for years. Until 1777, the time of the settlement of the debt, Ráday paid, according to Viennese custom, 6 per cent, i. e. 480 fl yearly, to Nagy.¹¹ This sum was usually sent to Vienna in the fall, as was the interest on his other debts, because he sold his wine and wheat at that time. Ráday settled his debts with Nagy in January 1777 – from this time on there is no mention of the 480 ft "interesse." Ráday acquired the necessary funds by mortgaging his estate in Harta to Imre Laczkovics for 8,000 ft for 15 years, starting on January 1, 1777.¹² In May 1783 again, Ráday secured a loan of 1,000 ft from Sámuel Nagy; who in addition settled the promissory note of 4,000 ft that Ráday gave to István Nagy in 1766, thus the collector once again had 5,000 ft of debt with Sámuel Nagy (March 11, 1766).

On the basis of his letters, we get to know Sámuel Nagy as a good businessman, who always stated very clearly as to how much interest he was charging. We even have instances when he was willing to extend credit to Ráday if he paid 6 per cent, and Ráday accepted it, even though he could have gotten a loan at 5 per cent from someone else (May 13, 1772). We also have to recognize that he always wanted to help Ráday out. When he could not, he got the required funds for him from someone else.

He was always embarrassed when he had to ask for money from his Lord when the purchase exceeded the sum at his disposal: "I am very sorry and it is against my habit to inconvenience you, but my expenses have also multiplied, so my needs force me to overstep my customary modesty," he writes in January 1777, when he requests payment of the debt of 152 ft 34 kr due since October (January 7, 1777). The relationship between the collector and his agent, who in financial terms were debtor and creditor, was unclouded, even though Ráday was not accurate in his bookkeeping. He tended to reply to his agent on financial matters with a bohemian lack of organization. He often created unpleasant situations for Sámuel Nagy, because he failed to answer letters concerning offers or financial statements; sometimes he even caused him considerable financial loss. For example, during the summer of 1772, the sum of 1,000 ft was left unused, because Ráday did not respond for several months to say if he needed the money or not (December 29, 1772). So it is understandable that Nagy's tone sometimes, especially in the period of 1772-73, becomes a little annoyed and hurt: "Let us conclude these matters,"¹³ because I have to suspend

¹⁰ We don't know to whom else he gave loans, but it is certain that he did. In his account statement of 1765, for example, he writes that the "supererogatum" of 500 ft which Ráday owed him, he would be ready to loan him. If Ráday did not want it, he asked him to lend it to someone else (his letter of June 12, 1765). In 1769, two persons asked him for a loan at 6 per cent interest, so he is requesting Ráday's immediate reply, if he needs money, because he had to reply to the two others within fourteen days (his letter of April 17, 1769). We also have data, that his son Gedeon owed him money as well, because in the spring of 1771, the old Ráday asked Nagy to separate his debts from those of his son's (Ráday's letter to Sámuel Nagy, April 26, 1771).

¹¹ For example, in his letters dated June 5, 1774 and October 24, 1776, Nagy acknowledges receipt of the "interesse."

¹² RA 21. fasc. After the expiration of the loan agreement, the younger Ráday prolonged it for another period.

¹³ This concerned the debt of 8,000 ft already mentioned.

the carrying out of my many responsibilities, until we take care of them” (December 29, 1772). In March of 1773, he is totally determined to clear up the misunderstanding about the settlement of the accounts. From his letters, we get the impression that Ráday might have accused him of cheating. Here his voice becomes very sharp: “There is no reason to have recourse to a judge” (March 13, 1773).¹⁴ Sometimes Nagy became quite inconsiderate. He was afraid that the sickly, old Ráday would die and he could say his loan of 8.000 ft goodbye or could only get it by a costly, lengthy suit. So he urged the settlement of the debt, citing as reason “we are mortal” (September 4, 1772) and “it is better to avoid confusion or misunderstandings” (September 24, 1772; April 13, 1773).¹⁵ This unpleasantness was soon ironed out and Nagy continued as the most faithful procurer of loans in Vienna for Ráday.

Ráday had obtained loans from, besides Teleki and the two Nagy, Countess Windischgrätz,¹⁶ József Jablántzy,¹⁷ secretary to the Court, from the widow Péterffy,¹⁸ from one of the Wallaszkay,¹⁹ Zsuzsa Kántor,²⁰ István Huszár,²¹ Pál Gerhart,²² János Podmaniczky,²³ Anna Beniczky,²⁴ Boldizsár Pongrácz,²⁵ several times from the Viennese Lutheran agent, János Drozdik,²⁶ and the Convent of the Piarists in Pest.²⁷

All these factors point to the fact that Gedeon Ráday was ready for great sacrifices when it came to books; he was willing to oppose his family in order to increase his library's holdings. His wife, Katalin Szentpétery, often wanted to reduce the amounts that were spent on books because she feared bankruptcy. István Nagy's remark that I have already quoted also refers to this, when promising the catalogue of Szászky-Tomka, he writes, “if the Honorable Lady were to forbid it, I would already have Your Lordship's order.” During the last decade and a half of his lifetime, his daughter-in-law, Zsuzsánna Fáy

¹⁴ RA/Doc. A. II. 995.

¹⁵ RA/Doc. A. II. 996.

¹⁶ Ráday borrowed 4,000 ft from Lady Windischgrätz (born Kevenhüller) at 5 per cent interest. The annual sum of 200 ft he paid regularly, but in 1785 the creditor asked for her money back; so after much running around in Vienna, Nagy was able to secure another loan in January 1786 with which Lady Windischgrätz could be repaid. The situation was rendered more difficult by the decree of Joseph II, which required a 10 per cent charge for capital going to Hungary and Transylvania, treated as foreign countries (Sámuel Nagy's letters dated March 12, July 8, August 10, 1785, and the one of January 27, 1786).

¹⁷ Nagy secured a loan of 2,000 ft for Ráday from him, with an interest of 6 per cent. They were still paying the interest in 1786 (Nagy's letters dated March 14 and March 30, 1784; March 3, and March 31 of 1786).

¹⁸ One thousand ft; receipt of payment of interest May 12, 1765. RA/Doc. Receipts. Fasc. 83-87. For receipts of all the following loans see this same location.

¹⁹ One thousand ft; receipt of October 18, 1765.

²⁰ Six thousand ft; receipt of December 19, 1761.

²¹ He obtained it in 1755; 4,000 ft receipt dated September 24, 1758.

²² Three thousand ft; receipts dated September 29, 1759 and October 5, 1763.

²³ Five thousand five hundred ft; receipt of April 11, 1753.

²⁴ Three thousand ft; receipts dated September 14, 1755, January 12, 1757.

²⁵ One thousand ft; receipts dated May 28, 1765; February 24, 1767.

²⁶ In 1764 he borrowed 500 ft, in 1767 300 ft from Drozdik. One part of these sums covered the value of the books sent by the agent, which Ráday could not pay for (Sámuel Nagy's letters to Ráday dated January 17, 1764; July 24, 1767; RA/Doc. A. II. 917).

²⁷ In one instance 2,000 ft; receipt of June 23, 1766. There were other instances besides this one.

often quarreled with him because of books: “When his daughter-in-law blamed him for the book purchases, he would pick his most expensive porcelain objects and smash them on the floor in agony.”²⁸

In order to complete the picture drawn above, I want to indicate here the value of different currencies of the time. Thus, we shall see a clear picture of the difficulties of book collecting for the Rádays and, at the same time, their love of books and their readiness for sacrifice.

²⁸ VAS, Margit, *op. cit.* p. 32.

CHAPTER NINE

THE PHYSICAL ASPECT OF THE LIBRARY



External View of the Ráday Manor

The most significant decorative element of a chateau in the Baroque style is its spacious library. The large library of the Rádays in the chateau in Pécel, built in the Grassalkovich, late Baroque style, was no exception with its frescoes and decorated bindings of its books. This external framework was in sharp contrast with the inner character of the library. The major traits of the book holdings collected by Ráday and, most of all, his goals and intentions point not towards the Baroque, but reflect the spirit of the eighteenth century, its widening horizons. They direct our attention to the Enlightenment and a more comprehensive education, i.e. culture. The dichotomy is only resolved in the dialectic of the personality of the collector,

Gedeon Ráday, who shaped the character of the library. He stood at the dividing line between two worlds because in his outlook he already represents the new, but he clings partially also to the old.

As we attempt to formulate a complete picture of the history of the library, we need to present its aesthetic profile, its library gallery, its frescoes, the shelves and, finally, the bindings¹ which contributed to the strong impression that the famous library left in the memories of contemporaries.

At first, Pál Ráday kept the books he had collected at his manor house in Ludány; then, while in the second half of the 1730s² he was engaged in building in Pécel, he kept part of the collection there. He stored the acquisitions of his son Gedeon made during his study tour abroad in Pécel as well and the purchases of the 40 and 50s, mostly Viennese and Transylvanian, were also brought here. During the construction which was started by Gedeon Ráday after 1755, we often read about the “old library” of the Pál Ráday building, but we know nothing about its location or size. In later decades, we hear about some books in Ludány, even in Pest, in the first part of the nineteenth century. From 1762-63, the Ráday library was definitely housed in the library of the chateau and in some smaller rooms in Pécel.

This famous library gallery came into existence during the big construction project between 1755 and 1766 which Gedeon Ráday had begun. The more modest residence that had been founded by his father now was being transformed into a magnificent chateau by János Mayerhoffer, the son of one of the most famous architects of the time, András Mayerhoffer. By 1759 the library's hall must have been completed, because one of the letters by Ferenc Kossuth,³ the estate manager at Pécel, indicates that the stonemasons were no longer working in the library, but in the two adjoining rooms. Thus, the library was not for use for some time because of these construction works. Two years later Sámuel Szilágyi asked his friend in Pécel, “whether the library is finished?” (December 20, 1761) because he wanted to borrow some books, but it was impossible to get them from holdings that had been stored.

The library, relatively not too large, is in the left corner, at the end of the eastern wing of the chateau. The square ground plan has sides of 9.4m; the two main windows face the front, one of the doors led at the time to Ráday's study in the eastern wing, the other door led to the little library in the main building. Its arches were supported by four red marble pillars, with gilt Rococo capitals, the archivolts decorated with grey-white-gold cartouches. The ceiling was divided into three large and six smaller sections; Ráday looked for the right person to paint them in 1763 when the library was finished. At first he looked in Besztercebánya where Sámuel Kutzelnik, a stonemason,⁴ recommended the local painter, János Ferenc Kietsch. Kietsch called on Ráday because he had heard that he was looking for a “history painter (Historien-Maler) and that he wanted to decorate the library with frescoes.”⁵ He was not keen on doing it, because he only worked “in oil, in the Dutch fashion,” and not “on lime or the walls.” Ráday did not discuss the project with him any further, because in the very same year, he gave the assignment to Mátyás Schervitz⁶ in whom he found the

¹ For the construction, the frescoes and book shelves see ZSINDELY, Endre “A péceli Ráday kastély.” *Műv. Ért.* 1956, No. 4. I have taken over the descriptions and definitions without much alteration from his work. For information on bookbinding, I refer Sz. KOROKNAY, Éva, “Beszámoló a Ráday Könyvtár kötéstábláinak vizsgálatáról.” [Report Concerning the Examination of the Ráday Library's Bindings] *RGyE*, Vol. 6, 1989, pp. 354-360.

² Pál Ráday received Pécel as a dowry of his wife Klára Kajali. She was the daughter of Pál Kajali, county official in Nógrád. Neither the census of 1692 nor that of 1707 makes mention of a mansion at Pécel; from an agreement in 1735, on the other hand, it becomes clear that Pál Ráday had a residence (“residential curia”) and other buildings built on the Pécel estate, thus laying the foundation of the later manor estate.

³ Kossuth's letter to Sámuel Nagy, dated March 1759. RA/Doc. fasc. 111.

⁴ He was born in Besztercebánya; he enrolled at the Viennese academy in 1752. GARAS, Klára, *Magyarországi festészet a 18. században* [Painting in Hungary in the 18th Century]. (Budapest: 1955), p. 266.

⁵ Kietsch's letter to Ráday, without date.

⁶ 1701-1771. He received citizenship in Buda in 1741, where he executed several commissions of the church and aristocracy between the years 1741 and 1760. Besides decorations, he also painted frescoes and altarpieces. The only painting with which he is credited is the St. Elizabeth altarpiece in the Capucine church and, the final works of his life which he completed at the age of 62, the frescoes of the Pécel library. GARAS, *op. cit.* 67 and 247.

right man for the painting of the frescoes. The contract⁷ entered into in 1763 in Buda proves that the frescoes of the library in Pécel date from 1763, not 1782. The latest research has proven that in contrast to the unverifiable data of Kazinczy (which was generally accepted), they are not Johann Nepomuk Schöpf's work but Mátyás Schervitz's, and are the first, not the last, frescoes of the library.

It is clear from the contract between Ráday and Schervitz that the painter agreed to do the ceiling of the library that was made up of nine fields "according to Your Grace's plans." The books that are illustrated on the frescoes, such as the *Acta Eruditorium* were all in the holdings of the library, a further indication of Ráday's ideas.⁹ The paintings referring to the contents of the library picture the encyclopedia of knowledge, with allegorical figures which demonstrate the classical education of the designer. In the center of the ceiling Pallas Athene's figure sitting on clouds symbolizes the victory of knowledge. She is surrounded by amorettes placed on different structures holding in their hands the books containing all the knowledge of the world; one of them has the list of Hungarian historians. The major figure, Pallas Athene, is surrounded in the eight fields by the representations of individual fields of knowledge from grammar to theology. In the hands of the numerous amorettes or lined up on the ground, we see the most important books on the subject. The frescoes were done in the monumental style of the Baroque, but due to limited space the structure was poor. The bright colors have survived to our day. Only here and there do we suspect traces of restoration.

The Pécel collection was not only housed in the library itself, but in four–five other rooms as well. Kazinczy describes the six rooms of the library thus: from Ráday's study, "where he spent most of his life,"¹⁰ the door opened unto the library which was in the eastern and southern corner, four red marble columns supported its arches. In addition, two more rooms were occupied toward the gate. The poets were housed in the fourth room, next to his study facing the courtyard; the Hungarian books in his wife's room. What could not be shelved in the six rooms was kept in Pest and Ludány.¹¹ Kazinczy's report is doubtlessly accurate; in the documentation there are indications that Ráday dealt with poetry separately, and it was also widely known that the Hungarian books were kept in Katalin Szentpétery's room.¹² But even if we did not have an exact picture about the places where Ráday kept his books, we would have to surmise that he used besides the library itself other facilities to store his holdings. The great number of acquisitions in the sixties and seventies could not fit solely into the library itself.

Besides the main building's ground floor, two more rooms served to house books. The small library was next to the room with the marble columns and frescoes. Its ceiling and walls are also decorated by frescoes which were probably painted before 1776.¹³ One can suppose that they are also Schervitz's work; besides the style, coloring, and the fact that the painter from Buda was active in Pécel even years later, almost until his death,¹⁴ speaks for this interpretation. On the ceiling we see Arion, the poet, with his lyre, sitting on the back of a dolphin as he escapes from the sea. Above the doors and the window, the scenes of a well-known mythological story – Orpheus in the underworld – decorate the walls. The etchings of

⁷ RA/Doc. fasc. 49.

⁹ It is not likely that the painter of Buda would have been familiar with the scientific literature and reviews of the period.

¹⁰ KAZINCZY, Ferenc, *Magyar Pantheon*. (Budapest: 1889), 27.

¹¹ KAZINCZY, Ferenc, *Pályám emlékezete* [Memories of my Career]. (Budapest: n.d.), 203.

¹² See, for example, the letters already quoted of Péter Bod, Sámuel Nagy or Cornides. It was customary in this period to keep Hungarian books in the room of the women; people considered these books as belonging to the women. We find this custom with the Telekis as well as the Rádays. But it would be erroneous to draw the conclusion that Klára Kajali, in whose room the Hungarian books were housed at the time of Pál Ráday, or later, his daughter-in-law Katalin Szentpétery, collected the Hungarian books. The information examined in the letters contradicts this assumption. But it is true that after the death of Klára Kajali, at the time of the division of the estate in 1742, Mrs. László Teleki, Eszter Ráday, inherited the Hungarian books of her mother's room, and the two sons, Gedeon and Pál Ráday, got the foreign language books (RA/Doc. fasc. 47, Documents relating to Pécel, #196).

¹³ Ráday furnished the small library at this time. For the data referring to this, evidence will be cited later.

¹⁴ Letter of Mrs. Gedeon Ráday to her son, dated September 21, 1770.

Bernard Picart, the French engraver working in Amsterdam served as models for the frescoes.¹⁵ Ráday must have liked them so much, that he wanted to have the large reception hall of the chateau to be decorated with Picart's engravings as well.

Regarding the furnishing, the shelves, the documents show much data. The number of the shelves of the library and the smaller rooms, are accurately listed in the notes which were compiled at the time of the sale of the library and its shipment to Pest in 1864: "6 hardwood bookcases taken apart, 8 softwood bookcases with drawers, one hardwood secretary with drawers, one softwood frame (narrow), one softwood unpainted case (ordinary), one walnut wood covered narrow bookcase, 2 glass case cabinets, painted white (in the large room on the first floor)."¹⁶ From these items today we only have four large bookcases of equal size in the Baroque style in the part of the library that has been declared a historical monument. Two of them have fronts decorated with Rococo carvings, the third has only one side decorated and the fourth is plain.¹⁷ The rest of the bookcases of today were made at the end of the 19th century as copies of the old.¹⁸ There is left also a small glass case in Rococo style, with double doors in front and a row of pigeon holes on both sides.¹⁹ The cases and the glass case were all white with gilt decorations – the original coloring can be found under the evenly grey paint that was applied later.²⁰

In the correspondence between Ráday and his agents we can discover many interesting details about the origins of the furnishings of the library, the offers and the different attempts at securing the items. Sámuel Szilágyi, the Viennese agent and purchaser, already in 1740 describes in minute detail his own shelves, even draws them and highly recommends them as the most modern system (December 10, 1740). At this point, it was not yet essential to buy the shelves because, most probably, the materials inherited from Pál Ráday could be shelved in the existing bookcases and there was no mention yet of the library gallery. So Gedeon Ráday did not follow up on the recommendations. On the other hand, the purchase of shelves appropriate for the ornate room and the whole Baroque style of the chateau became urgent in the spring of 1762-63. This project also was assumed by Sámuel Nagy; already in 1762 he recommended ornate furnishings to Ráday which were to be auctioned from an inheritance, one desk with shelves on both sides, a smaller bookcase, two three-cornered pyramids with ornate carvings for corners, with the name of the library's owner on the inside; and finally a few larger bookcases made up of four parts.²¹ The drawing attached to the letter illustrates the fashionable furnishings of an eighteenth century library. It even includes the measurements of the furniture. In comparing the currently used shelves with the drawing, we can be certain that they are not the ones recommended by Sámuel Nagy.

In 1766-1767 Ráday had the bookcases for the small library made by the Pozsony cabinet maker, Henrik Rakovitz. He met the cabinet maker in 1764 at the time of the session of Parliament, and he ordered the parquet floor for the reception hall and a few adjoining rooms.²² During the spring of 1766, Rakovitz visited Pécel – according to István Nagy's report (June 7, 1766) – and received the commission to make the

¹⁵ The picture of Arion is in *Temple des Muses*. (Amsterdam: 1732) following page 100; Orpheus in the underworld is from OVID, *Metamorphoses*. (Amsterdam: 1732) p. 326.

¹⁶ "List of items for importation to Count Ráday's Péczel chateau. Péczel February 19, 1864." RA/Doc. concerning the Ráday Library, fasc. 134.

¹⁷ The length of a shelf is 4.60 m, the width 80 cm, the height 3.10 m.

¹⁸ PRUZSINSZKY–HAMAR, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁹ The width of the case is 2.55 m, its height is 2.56 m, and its depth 38 cm.

²⁰ The bookshelves and bookcases in Pécel that are mentioned were restored in 1986-87; thus they regained their original white color and gilding.

²¹ The walnut shelves were painted green; Sámuel Nagy objected to this, because "such strong coloring damages the bottom of the books, and when one dusts the shelves and books, the flying dust becomes very harmful to one's chest" (his letter of March 11, 1762).

²² István Nagy's letter dated May 17 1768.

shelves for the small library. István Nagy who was in Pozsony during these years, kept in touch with him and reported the progress to Ráday. Rakovitz sent the plans only at the end of 1766 to Ráday, even though the latter had requested them by the summer (July 27, 1766). During the following year's summer months he worked on the shelves and expected to finish them by fall. In the meantime, the question arose, as explained by István Nagy, whether Rakovitz would do it for the agreed upon price of "100 ft to do one of the shelves, because the work of woodcarving will be less than foreseen on the sketch, so he thinks that the woodcarver also will ask a lower price" (July 18, 1766). As it seemed that the bookcases would not be ready even by September, Nagy suspected the cabinet maker, that "like all other craftsmen, Rakovitz had lied" (September 15, 1767). Finally, on September 30, he stated that he was bargaining with the shippers who wanted 25 ft to take the shelves and the hardwood parquet flooring. Nagy had to accept this price (September 30, 1767). At the beginning of 1768 Rakovitz made another bookcase for Ráday (January 19, 1768) for which he asked 60 ft. Thus the bookcases built in Pozsony came to 360 ft. altogether according to István Nagy's statements. For the first three, they paid 100 ft each, for the fourth 60 ft.²³ These rather high prices indicate bookcases of considerable size; the identical prices make us assume that the three were alike. Therefore, we can also assume that the three same sized bookcases and the fourth, a more simple work, that are still in use today, must have come from Rakovitz's workshop.

In the history of private libraries, we have to place special emphasis on the bindings of the books, since for collectors of every age the aesthetic aspect is of the same importance as are the contents. At the time of the Baroque, the collector had the privilege to increase his collection with elegant and beautifully bound tomes to be placed in the library to add to the beauty and brilliance of the chateau. Due to the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment a person who loved books and literature felt obliged to match the contents of a good book with an appropriate binding. In the case of Pál Ráday, but especially in that of Gedeon Ráday, we see this process unfolding. When I discussed the acquisitions of Gedeon, I pointed out repeatedly that he did not buy badly bound or damaged books and his agents were aware of his criteria. If he was forced to buy such because he could not get them otherwise, or if he received the works "in rude" [not bound] from the merchants, then he would have them immediately bound by the bookbinders who worked for him. The data about the bookbinding activities of the Rádays will now complete the picture, but we will leave the professional analysis, the survey of individual masters' treasury of formats, of their techniques and comparisons among them to the specialists of bookbinding.

Data about the bookbinding activities during the time of Pál Ráday are sparse, but they do prove that he had his books bound.²⁴ The leather bindings in most of his collection let us surmise that they were done in the same workshop of Besztercebánya and Losonc, where in later years his son also had work done. There is also a notation on the calendar on July 30, 1721 which indicates that Pál Ráday had books bound in Pozsony also; he had paid 25 ft for the very unique binding of Théodore de Bèze's New Testament (no. 0.1989. Ant.) in Latin and Greek which must have come from the master in Pozsony.

During the decades of Gedeon Ráday's collection of books – as we have seen – the acquisitions came partly from merchants, partly from auctions. For the most part these items, especially those bought at an auction, were already bound; there are handsome and valuable bindings, Hungarian and foreign, in the holdings. Ráday had the unbound or poorly bound books bound, if possible, through his agents at the place of purchase, or if the books arrived in poor condition, he sent them for binding to Pest or to the Felvidék [Upper Hungary]. So the bindings can be grouped into two classes: first, the products of the bookbinding of past centuries, among which there are many worthwhile pieces waiting to be analyzed, especially masterpieces of Hungarian bookbinding;²⁵ and, second: the gilt ribbed bindings of the eighteenth century which gave the library its outward appearance.

Gedeon Ráday had books bound in Vienna, Pozsony, Pest, Besztercebánya, and – perhaps – in Losonc. About work on bindings in Vienna we already hear in 1736, when Szászky-Tomka forwarded money

²³ April 6, 1768. Rakovitz requested expediting the payment of the remaining 198 ft (November 2, 1768) what he acknowledges on January 5, 1769.

²⁴ Ferenc Fatavics, for example, reports from Pozsony the sending of books that had been received from the bookseller on January 1, 1725.

²⁵ For example, some bindings of the bookbinding workshop of György Rákóczi.

to the Viennese bookbinder (January 12, 1736). We find more detailed accounts in Sámuel Szilágyi's letters, who already in 1745, when he made some purchases there, probably had some books bound.²⁶ In the fall of 1746, he gave to the bookbinder *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* [Byzantine History], the works of Hasius and Ariosto and *La Révolution d'Hongrie* which he had just bought for 2 ft 42 krajcars. The first was without binding – perhaps all of them – and he had them bound in French bindings. His care was demonstrated by the fact that he had the thinner volumes of the Byzantine history bound together. The work was of the size of large folio, he tried to bring down the cost *in genere* [for the whole work]: “23 volumes for 40 ft, although the bookbinder did not want to go below 2 ft a book.”²⁸ At the same time he paid 1 ft 30 kr for the binding of Hasius, and for Ariosto and *La Révolution d'Hongrie* together 2 ft 42 kr.²⁹ After Szilágyi left for Transylvania, István Nagy and Sámuel Türi were active in Vienna from 1755 to 1759, and as of the end of 1760 to 1792, Sámuel Nagy. There are no concrete data about bookbinding for this long period with the exception of one or two indirect references or the mention in statements of the sums paid to bookbinders. It seems likely that during the 50s only rarely did Ráday have books bound in Vienna; acquisitions that arrived from the imperial city he would give to the bookbinders himself. On the other hand, during the three decades of the activities of Sámuel Nagy, according to remarks in his letters, the process of having books bound in Vienna was very much in evidence indeed.

We hear first about bookbinders in Pozsony during the middle of the 30s; Szászky-Tomka took care of binding orders several times during 1735 and 1736, work to be executed either with the French method or the English method. He apologized more than once about the carelessness of the bookbinder, because he could not send the books to Pécel on time (September 15, 1735 and January 12, 1736). According to his letter of January 17, 1736, he had Ferenc Spajzer work for him.³⁰ He gave him Bél's *Notitia* (no. 0.134.) to be bound very quickly in the “English fashion.” On the basis of style it can be determined that other bindings in Ráday's library also originated from Spajzer's workshop,³¹ but there are no surviving archival references to it. Sándor König³² worked for Ráday in Pozsony from 1735 to 1738; I have found several bills from him among the library documents³³ referring to binding of only five books for the sum of 6 ft 55 kr. It is possible that König was the bookbinder that Szászky-Tomka mentioned, but there is no proof for this.

For more than twenty years, between 1740-1760, there was no bookbinding activity in Pozsony. The basis for this statement is not only the lack of documentary data, but also the fact that Ráday did not have an agent there until the end of 1759 when István Nagy arrived there. The acquisitions in Transylvania and Vienna must have been bound in Besztercebánya, Losonc, or Pest. After 1760, until the death of Ráday, he always had a trustworthy person in the localities where the parliamentary sessions were held. Thus there are some data about bookbinding from this period. During the 60s, István Nagy often reports (June 7, 1766, August 22, 1766) about a bookbinder who worked for them. He not only ordered Weissmann's work³⁴

²⁶ Ráday's letter to Szilágyi dated January 12, 1745.

²⁸ Sámuel Szilágyi's letters dated September 26, 1746 and October 22, 1746.

²⁹ September 26, 1746. The *Commentarius* of Herberstein mentioned here is the 1751 Basel edition; the other edition (1770) in the library has the binding of Mátyás Prinz.

³⁰ The first known member of the Spajzer family of Pozsony which had calendar priveleges. ROMHÁNYI, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³¹ Their codes are: 0.132; 0.147; 0.2830; RMK I. p.382; RMK I. p. 818. The stylistic studies for the works of Spajzer and some later ones as well were conducted, by Éva Koroknay, the department head of the Industrial Arts Museum. I express here my gratitude for her assistance.

³² His name was not known in the literature until now.

³³ The dates are: October 11, 1735; June 22, 1736; October 22, 1736; November 22, 1736; November 22, 1738. The first three of the bills were meant for Gedeon Ráday, the last two for Pál Ráday. The former are identical in the amounts and descriptions, so it can be assumed that the bookbinder had sent his bills three times within a year to Pécel, until they were finally paid.

³⁴ See note 49 in Chapter Three concerning the Pozsony acquisitions.

but had it bound by him, and Nagy himself planned to take it to Pécel (September 24, 1765). It seems likely that the bookbinder whom Nagy mentioned in his letters was Friedrich Karl Geissler.³⁵ The latter's bill of August 8 shows the cost of 16 ft 24 kr for the binding of four works in the French style.³⁶ As we have seen in the chapter on the Pozsony acquisitions, Ráday made numerous purchases from Anton Lőwe. One letter from Lőwe refers to having had some books bound which he had bought in loose leaf format (May 10, 1773). Finally, the last reference to the bookbinding process in Pozsony appears a decade later in the letters of Sámuel Gyarmathi (April 18, 1784 and January 6, 1784) where he indicates having paid 7 ft 17 kr to a bookbinder named Wilfing.³⁷

Accounts of bookbinders from Pest appear in the last two decades of Ráday's life. Nevertheless it is likely that such craftsmen had worked for him previously, but there is no data about such activity in the documents. The bill of János Fischer³⁸ without date or place, shows that he had bound twenty-four books for 43 ft 39 kr. This job must have been completed between 1776-1780 as demonstrated by the works mentioned on the list and the information about the acquisitions. However, we can attribute a much greater number of bindings of the Ráday holdings to his workshop.³⁹ Jakob Müller⁴⁰ executed a considerable number of bookbindings for Ráday between 1778-1779. He must have done already much work for him before 1778, but we only have a thin, folio sized notebook which contains detailed accounts from the period after that date.⁴¹ The majority of these are in Ráday's handwriting. The works are grouped according to size and choice of either French or English bindings. The list contains 217 books; Müller received 169 ft 9 kr, according to the indication as payment for his work. The Rádays who were at home in several counties, i.e. Nógrád, Hont, Pest, had many ties to the central part of the Felvidék [Upper Hungary], and Besztercebánya in Zólyom county.⁴² Therefore, it is not surprising that Ráday came in contact with Mátyás Prinz,⁴³ the bookbinder in Besztercebánya. He had him bind thirteen works, partially those sent by Péter Bod from Transylvania in 1754. The bill listed almost entirely old Hungarian books and was for 16 ft 55 kr (September 17, 1754). It is, however, certain that this data only signals the beginning of his work for the Pécel library; under no circumstances could it be considered a one time event. From the letters of Sámuel Nagy (April 27 and May 25, 1764) we also learn that Ráday had books bound during the 60s in Besztercebánya. One piece of evidence points to the fact that Ráday had Mátyás Pruny⁴⁴ work for him in Ludány and Sámuel Türi's note infers that Ráday had binding work done in Losonc as well: "Because I do

³⁵ His name is not known in the specialized literature.

³⁶ According to the bill, he received these works from Ráday on August 6, 1766.

³⁷ His name had not been known in the literature before this occurrence.

³⁸ This bookbinder who was also engaged in the book trade hailed from "Bilgram" (Pilgram, Czechoslovakia); he was granted citizenship in Pest on December 17, 1776. He died in 1792. A census mentions his widow in the Új Világ Street. His son was also a bookbinder who probably took over his father's business. See ILLYEFALVI, Lajos – PALLÓS, Jenő. *Pest és Buda polgárjogot nyert lakosai* [The Inhabitants of Pest and Buda Who Obtained Citizenship]. (Budapest: 1944), p. 144; NÉMETHY, *loc. cit.*, p. 61 and ROMHÁNYI, *op. cit.* p. 84.

³⁹ Éva Koroknay has determined about 19 works on the basis of style the bindings of which are identical to those on Fischer's list.

⁴⁰ He received citizenship in Pest on June 15, 1752 as he was from Győr. ILLYEFALVI – PALLÓS, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 216. NÉMETHY, *loc. cit.* p. 61.

⁴¹ Its title: "What I completed for the Honorable Lord Ráday, the book belonging to Jacob Müller from 1778."

⁴² Some parts of the Ráday estates were near Besztercebánya, since some were on the edge of Nógrád county. Ráday was in contact with the wine merchant Zacharides from Besztercebánya (see his letters and bills sent to Ráday). Gedeon Ráday negotiated with S. Kutzelnki several times during the construction of the chateau. Kutzelnki was a stonemason, János Kietsch a painter from Besztercebánya. ZSINDELY, *op. cit.* 1957.

⁴³ I could not find his name in the reference books.

⁴⁴ Pruny's letter to Ráday dated January 17, 1785. His name has been unknown until now.

not much like the gilding work of the Losonc bookbinder, I do not know how the bookbinder in Pest works” he writes, and offers to have the books bought in Vienna bound there (September 3, 1756). Finally, we have to mention József Baumgartner,⁴⁵ bookbinder, who sent a receipt for 37 ft 39 kr for binding 94 works during 1765.⁴⁶ His activities could not be included in the picture drawn so far, because we do not know in which part of the country or in which town he was active.

Naturally, the process of bookbinding did not always go without a hitch; the bookbinders had to be watched, often they would bind books without paying attention to order or precision, worked just helter-skelter. For example, Montucla’s *Mathesis Historia*⁴⁷ had its last pages bound in the tables and Sámuel Nagy had to send the missing pages.⁴⁸ The sequence of the letters had to be considered also, because of careless printing they would be mixed up. The French, for example, “would print on any blank pages ... the short articles, prefaces and conclusions” (February 9, 1762). No wonder that the bookbinder would sometimes become confused. On the matter of bookbinding, the quality of the work of a bookbinder was also important, since both Ráday and his agents had a refined sense of beauty. They wanted to render the appearance of the library as magnificent as possible. Their opinions did not always coincide, so there were arguments between the collector and the agent. We have seen that Türi did not like the work of the bookbinder in Losonc; in the spring of 1764 Sámuel Nagy favored the Viennese bookbinders against the bindings of Besztercebánya. Nagy informed Ráday in his letter of April 27 that he had agreed with Bader to exchange the two copies of Brockes⁴⁹ in Vienna for the *Bibliothèque de campagne*⁵⁰ but by the time he received Ráday’s permission, the bookbinder “wanting to prove himself” had already very handsomely bound them. Nagy thought that the copy in Pest with the Besztercebánya binding – the work of Prinz – could only be worse than the Viennese. He wanted to send the volumes together with the other books to Pécel, so Bader could be given the Pest copy (April 27, 1764).⁵¹ Ráday insisted on keeping the work with the Prinz binding, and managed to convince Nagy who confessed that “the binding of the current books is not any better than the bindings of Beszterce” – so the exchange took place with Bader (May 25, 1764).

⁴⁵ Unknown until now.

⁴⁶ From Baumgartner’s receipt we can see how much he charged for the various bindings. Folio maior: 1ft 15 kr; regular folio: 1 ft 3 kr; median 4°: 42 kr; regular 4°: 36 kr, regal 8°: 27 kr, for the 12° he charged 15 kr.

⁴⁷ MONTUCLA, Jean Étrenne, *Histoire des mathématiques*. [History of Mathematics] Vols. 1-2. (Paris: 1758) (no. 0.388)

⁴⁸ Without date. RA/Doc. A. II. 908.

⁴⁹ BROCKES, Berthold Heinrich, *Irdische Vergnügen in Gott*. [Earthly Joy in God] Vols. 1-10. (Hamburg: 1736-1748) (no. 0.2206)

⁵⁰ *Bibliothèque de campagne, ou amusements de l’esprit et du coeur*. (Genève:1761) (no. 0.4079).

⁵¹ RA/Doc. A. II. 817.

Ráday loved his books, his library dearly and tried to complete his collection with the greatest care. At the same time he was anxious to provide visual pleasure as well. It is characteristic of his sense of aesthetics and his love of books that he did not sully them with long notes in the margins, did not have an ex libris made, did not write his name in the books with beautiful bindings. He only put his initials very modestly on the upper left hand corner at the inside of the book cover.

CHAPTER TEN

THE LIBRARY'S LOANS

As indicated in the introduction, the eighteenth century is the most dynamic period in the history of Hungarian libraries. In its last decades we find numerous large private libraries all over the country which made a valuable contribution to the education of the people. But only one among them became a cultural center, the focus of national literary life and – which was coterminous with it – of the national awakening: Gedeon Ráday's library at Pécel. The generation of the Enlightenment endeavoring to renew the language was well aware of this; Ferenc Kazinczy expressed this feeling when he left instructions to his survivors to use the etching of the Pécel chateau as a symbol in front of his biography.¹ The intentions of book collectors began to change slowly since the first half of the century under the influence of bourgeois development and the enlightened ideas that preceded it. They started to regard the library not as a personal pleasure but as a means of raising the educational level of the nation. A conscious national feeling was slowly born and being felt in the linguistic and cultural spheres and this appeared at first in the history of the nascent libraries. The owners of private collections came to realize that they should serve the goals of national culture by means of their libraries. The most significant step in this direction was taken by Ferenc Széchényi who provided with his library and other collections the basis for the establishment of the National Museum. Not much later, Teleki's library was opened as well for research, but only for a short time, because his heirs did not remain faithful to his last will and testament.

From this chapter discussing the loans of the library, i.e. the use of its materials for the improvement of people's education, it becomes clear that the Rádays preceded the other great collectors of the period by almost a century. Pál Ráday had lent his books regularly to his acquaintances already between 1720 and 1730. Gedeon Ráday not only widened the circle of people to whom he lent materials, but starting from the 1760s he served the cause of knowledge and literary life by even giving away some valuable books to those who expressed an interest. Thus, the library demonstrates tangible, measurable results in the promotion of Hungarian culture in the eighteenth century.

Two lists have survived that show the loans made by Pál Ráday,² which are of great significance because Hungarian library history has no other such documents from this period; therefore, I consider it necessary to reproduce both of them word by word:

¹ Gábor Kazinczy wanted to fulfill this wish and asked for a drawing of the chateau from a descendant of Gedeon Ráday living in the reform era. Gábor Kazinczy to Gedeon Ráday. Bánfalva, July 20, 1814. RA/Doc. fasc. 213.

² RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

I. "My books that others have:

Confessio Augustana, Mr. Czékus, in County Gömör,³

Historia Bucelini, Sigmond Kandó,⁴

Description of our Faith, Mrs. Szemere,⁵

Hungarian Catechesis by Félegyházi, Mr. János Vattai,⁶

Apologia reformatae ecclesiae, Mrs. Mihály Rédei,⁷

The secrets of the Jesuits, Mr. Rajczay,⁸

Lexicon Hübner, Mr. Szeleczy,⁹

Artes jesuiticae, Mr. Jóseff Rédei,¹⁰

Hungarian Bonfinius, Mr. Radvánszky,¹¹

The History of Abdias, Mr. Miskolczi."¹²

³ An extended, ancient family of the Felvidék [Upper Hungary] whose estates lay in the counties of Abauj, Borsod, Gömör and Szabolcs. They were either very good friends or relatives of the Rádays. KEMPELEN, Vol. 3, pp. 192-196. This is the only source for stating that the Ráday library also owned a Lutheran creed.

⁴ Zsigmond Kandó comes from a noble family of Pest county; he was Pál Ráday's secretary during the War of Independence. The ancient but mortgaged estate, Egerfarmos, was returned as a gift to him and his brother István in 1730. KEMPELEN, Vol. 5, pp. 345-347. The work can also be found in Ráday's catalogue; its author and title: BUCELINUS, Gabriel, *Nucleus historiae universalis ad annum 1610*. [Nucleus of Universal History Until 1610]

⁵ The Mrs. Szemere, Klára Ilosvay, mentioned here, was the wife of László Szemere, once brigadier of Rákóczi. Her son László Szemere married Zsuzsa Darvas and so became related to the Rádays. This Szemere is often mentioned in the correspondence of Gedeon Ráday and Sámuel Nagy. NAGY Iván, Vol. 10, p. 602. The book lent to him is most likely the following: *Confessio et expositio fidei christianae: azaz a keresztyéni igaz hitről való vallástétel*. [Confession and Exposition of the True Christian Faith] (Kolozsvár: 1679).

⁶ The Vattay family lived in Pest and Nógrád counties. The wife of this person was several times mentioned in the correspondence of Pál Ráday and Ádám Mányoki. ZSINDELY, Endre, *op. cit.*, 1954, No. 1; NAGY, Iván, Vol. 12, p. 90. The borrowed work: FÉLEGYHÁZI, Tamás, *Az keresztyéni igaz hitnek részéről való tanítás* [The Teaching of the True Christian Faith]. (Debrecen: 1583).

⁷ It is certain that she is Baroness Teréz Bánffy, the wife of Mihály who comes from the Transylvanian branch of the family. She must have been very young at this time, because her husband died only in 1791; the Mihály of the previous generation had died before marrying. NAGY Iván, Vol. 9, p. 744. She received the loan of (JEWE) JUELLUS, John, *Apologia ecclesiae reformatae* [Defense of the Reformed Church]. (Debrecen: 1704).

⁸ Neither Iván NAGY nor KEMPELEN lists a Rajczay family; he did not belong to the outstanding Protestant personalities of the period. The book's exact title: *Jezsuita páterek titkai* [The Secrets of the Jesuit Fathers]. (Várad: 1657).

⁹ Márton Szeleczy, who as major had participated in the defense of the fortification of Szatmár and was Rákóczi's prisoner in 1705. In 1717 he became the first subprefect of Pest county, then at the Royal Court assistant Lord Chief Justice; in 1727 received the title of Baron. NAGY Iván, Vol. 10, p. 578. He borrowed Johann Hübner's famous *Staats-Zeitung und Conversations-Lexicon* from Ráday.

¹⁰ József Rédey died around 1758, his wife was Kata Bíró. We know nothing else about him. In any case it is known that Pál Ráday had close ties to the Rédeys. The borrowed book was: ALETOPHILUS, *Artes jesuiticae* [Jesuit Methods]. (Strassburg: 1717).

¹¹ János Radvánszky (1666-1739), subprefect in Zólyom, joined Rákóczi. He became the Prince's faithful follower and private counsellor, as well as treasurer of the federated estates. His friendship with Ráday probably dates from this period. NAGY Iván, Vol. 9, 566. A *magyar Bonfinius* was the translation of BONFINIUS work by Gáspár Heltai: *Chronica a magyarok dolgairól* [Chronicle of Hungarian Matters]. (Kolozsvár: 1575).

II. "My books that are somewhere else:

1. *Historia diplomatica*, the preacher at Péczel,¹³
2. *Historia Turselini*
3. *Orbis politicus Hornii* } Mr. Sigmond Kandó,¹⁴
4. *Confessio Augustana*, Mr. Czékus,
5. *Tractus Magjialis*, Mr. Pelargus,¹⁵
6. *Apologia Reformatae ecclesiae*, Mrs. Mihály Rédei."

The names listed on both lists indicate that the collector must have made these notes in a relatively short time frame. All these individuals came from the same social class; either they were relatives of the Rádays or good friends from the "kuruc" and Protestant gentry. Even though in the time of Pál Ráday the library was not yet providing services of equal importance to those of later years, we must not underestimate these smaller loans when the printed word spread the light of the enduring word, – to use a current expression, – to a wide reading public. Later he was to lend books to the standard-bearers of Hungarian Enlightenment, the great and small promoters of a re nascent literary life, giving them access to Hungarian books of past centuries and to foreign literature. A great number of the readers had participated in Rákóczi's War of Independence and now were able to dip into the materials of the library to find justification for new forms of the fight against the Hapsburgs, and of the Protestant resistance. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that beside the person of Pál Ráday, the library also became a connecting link among the persecuted Protestants and the patriots who participated in the war and stayed home afterwards.

The data about Gedeon Ráday's era are grouped in such a way that we first list the services rendered to outstanding personalities of the Enlightenment, as far as this is possible; then, we sketch the picture of the role the library played in the education of wider strata of society.

The relationship between Ráday and Kazinczy is well known. Kazinczy looked to Ráday as his ideal, the country's "saintly old man" and he accepted his guidance without reservation: "So much more gladly [do I write to you], and I really regret it" – he writes to Ráday about the delay in writing his letter – "because I hold the honorable person of Your Lordship in great esteem; not only am I most keen to accept your suggestions in everything, but I am ready to follow them as if they had been given as commands" (June 5, 1790). He would send his work in progress first to Ráday, not only about poetry or the *Magyar Museum* and *Orpheus*, but about quite personal matters as well, such as his differences with Batsányi. Given such a close relationship, it cannot be imagined that Ráday would not loan Kazinczy works from his library, especially since it contained excellent collections from the very period in which Kazinczy was interested, i.e. classical and recent European poetry, of which he possessed a rich collection.

¹² János Miskolczi Szígyártó, Reformed pastor. He was minister in Losonc from 1718 on, 1730 he became archdeacon. In the 1722-23 session of parliament he filled the position of Reformed preacher. He probably got into a more close relationship with Ráday in Losonc. He was one of those who delivered the eulogy of Pál Ráday: *Halhatatlan áldott emlékezetnek ... oszlopa*. [Pillar of Eternally Blessed Memory]. Zoványi–LADÁNYI, p 408. The borrowed book was: CSUZI CSEH, Jakab, *Edom ostora, avagy Abdiás próféta* [Edom's whip or the Prophet Abdias]. (Debrecen: 1682).

¹³ OKOLICSÁNYI, Pál, *Historia diplomatica de statu religionis evangelicae in Hungaria* [Diplomatic History of the Status of the Evangelical Religions in Hungary]. (Francfort: 1710; *RMK*, Vol. 3, p. 472; (no. *RMK* 4.17). We do not know who the pastor was in Pécel at this time.

¹⁴ TURSELLINUS, Horatius, *Epitome historiarum*. [Abridgement of History] (Nagyszombat: 1723). The book must have stayed in the borrower's possession, because it is not listed among the original works. Kandó also had Georg Horn's *Orbitus politicus* [The Political Orbit], which is also missing.

¹⁵ We know of two György Pelargus. The father was magistrate in Losonc, the son assistant notary and state's attorney. NAGY Iván, Vol. 9, 202. On the basis of the note it is not possible to identify the borrowed work.

However, relevant data are very scarce. The only reference we have concerns Kazinczy requesting the fourth part of the *Magyar Museum* along with the Tytirus¹⁶ at the beginning of 1790.

Batsányi asked for Ráday's help in 1788 for the translation of Ossian. In June he requests that Ráday copy from Priscos rhetor¹⁷ the quotation that he mentions in a notation, because he could not get his hands on this work in the whole city of Kassa.¹⁸ In September he begs that the fourth volume of Ossian be sent to him; he had looked for it in Pest also, but could not find it anywhere.¹⁹ On one occasion²⁰ he reminded Ráday to send the second edition of the Murányi Vénusz (Kolozsvár 1702) to Mr. Görög, with whom they spent time together in Vienna and who was working in Alberti's printing shop. Görög would take great care in printing the work. Miklós Révai also solicited Ráday's help in the preparation of the publication of his collection in 1782. His request was relayed to Ráday by the young Gedeon Ráday.²¹ Ráday senior expressed his joy over the fact that his son had made the acquaintance of the reverend father, and declared himself to be ready to assist Révai in the publication of the works of "every old Hungarian poet," and requested that if "he would not mind informing him about the titles included in his collection, I will also send you those which I possess, and once I know your objectives, I will help in every possible way. Our older poets do not deserve so much to be included as poets (making a few exceptions) in a collection, but as parts of our literary history."²² This correspondence seems to have been interrupted because Sámuel Gyarmathi²³ informed Ráday about the planned work of Révai on 13th of January 1784, as if Ráday had not heard of it previously. He writes that Révai wants to ask for the help of Ráday in compiling biographies of individual poets. As a consequence, in the ensuing years there was a lively correspondence between Ráday and Révai concerning several book loans. "I humbly request of Your Lordship" – Révai writes on December 24, 1786, – "since Your Lordship graciously offered to help my cause from the great riches of your library, not to find it a burden to send to me, because I truly need them, the following:

1. Kemény János and Murányi Vénusz of István Gyöngyösi.
2. If it were possible to get more detail about the birth, life, education and positions of Gyöngyösi. I humbly beg for additional information on this topic.
3. I would like to receive similar information about Péter Benitzki."²⁴

Finally, Révai asked Ráday if it were possible for him to send these books and information to István Szerencsi Nagy in Győr, who would forward them to him: "I, as I am gratitude bound, will manifest my thankfulness for these special favors publicly" – he concludes in his letter.

¹⁶ He must have requested the work of TYRTAIOSZ whose collected works, published by Christian Adolph Klotz in Bremen in 1764, were in Ráday's library (no. 0.4335). Kazinczy's letter to Ráday dated February 23, 1790.

¹⁷ Ráday owned the 1745-1746 Pozsony edition of Ossian's works by Máttyás Bél (no. 0.4873).

¹⁸ His letter to Ráday dated June 23, 1788; published in *ITK* 1907, p. 87.

¹⁹ The 1768 and 1784 German editions of Ossian's poetry are in the original collection of the library today. His letter to Ráday dated September 1, 1788: *ITK* 1907, p. 89.

²⁰ His letter to Ráday, n.d; *ibid.*, 82

²¹ Letter to Ráday dated March 16, 1782; in VAS, Margit, *op. cit.*, 18.

²² *ibid.*, 18-19.

²³ NAGY, Ottó, *Gyarmathi Sámuel élete és munkássága*. [Sámuel Gyarmathi's Life and Work] (Kolozsvár: 1944).

²⁴ The letter was published by Benedek Csaplár in Révai's biography.

Ráday lent books in 1792 to Gergely Édes²⁵ whose development he directed and whom he freed from the shackles of Leonine poetry. His most important reason was, as he wrote in March 1792,²⁶ to help him to get access to valuable works in order to turn him against this hated poetry. He offered also to send appropriate books to Borbála Molnár.²⁷ Édes expressed his gratitude in his two letters at the beginning of 1792: "I have received all the books indicated and the letter as from Isak Altmann, the Jew; all this paper would not suffice to express all my thankfulness for your kindness."²⁸ Those books were a grammar or textbook on Hungarian literature as well as the *Heliconi virágok* [Flowers of Helicon] published by Kazinczy and Gessner's *Idylls*. We do not know for certain if Ráday lent a Sophocles to Pálóczi Horváth along with an appropriate dictionary; the letter written by Horváth on December 29, 1789 seems to refer to this: "I am happily translating Sophocles for reasons beyond those of Count Széchényi; may it please Your Lordship to put it into my hands – but together with a good dictionary, because forgetfulness reduces my childhood knowledge greatly. Sometimes besides the Greek there is some Latin too – it is difficult to match the authors' true spirit" (December 29, 1789). One of the letters written by János Földi to Kazinczy refers to the fact that Ráday also lent him books: "I have sent my letter to His Lordship, Baron Ráday. I asked him for some works and encouraged him to sort out the mixed up notes of our Hungarian poets. He offered himself to provide something."²⁹

Many representatives of contemporary sciences also turned to Ráday for books and advice. Elek Horányi had received books from the library at Pécel, which he used in writing the *Memoria Hungarorum*. According to one surviving note,³⁰ at one time he borrowed 24 books from Ráday; more than three fourth of them were short dissertations of Hungarian authors. The return of the books borrowed by Horányi is also signalled by István Nagy: "When I get to Óvár, I will pick up Your Lordships's books from Mr. Horányi" (June 7, 1766). János Szászky-Tomka, the head of the lyceum of Pozsony who for a while was Ráday's Pozsony agent, was most complimentary of the book collections of the Rádays, father and son. He asked to borrow books from him and recommended that Ráday publish the catalogue of his library to let scholars know of its many treasures: "I do not know what catalogue of your books I should request. I have learned from a friend that your blessed father was most fond of literature having collected or published writings on Hungarian affairs, books written in Hungarian, and how much he sought them out in our region. Therefore, I want from your library information about written works of those who are familiar in Hungarian matters and those who wrote about various subjects in Hungarian. So that if any were omitted either from Czvitinger's *Literary History* or Schmeitzel's library of Hungarian writers, they could be supplied from your catalogue, Illustrious Lord. You would accomplish a most appreciated action for the learned world if you brought your treasury of books to the attention of the public" (July 25, 1737). This quotation is exceedingly important from the point of view of the history of the library. Not only because it mirrors contemporaries' opinion about the library at Pécel, but because it also points out that in 1737 already, i.e., before the influence of the Enlightenment, the library was open to those, the borrowers, who wished to use it; this characteristic dating from the time of Pál Ráday, was well known among the people who were interested in knowledge and the sciences. Six years later Szászky-Tomka asked for manuscripts from Ráday: "There is a friend who is striving to establish an accurate diplomatic history. For the completion of this project, there are many literary documents at hand; nevertheless, there are some missing for filling the very important gap of the time of Rákóczi, from the year 1703 up to the year 1712. I believe they are available among the important manuscripts of your blessed parent, His Illustrious Lordship, because he was one of those who restored the evangelical church for the common man in Hungary" (February 26, 1743). He wanted at least Ráday's permission so that, the rector in Losonc, could copy them. Szászky-Tomka must be referring to the work of

²⁵ 1763-1847. Preacher and poet. SZINNYEI, Vol. 2, col. 1197.

²⁶ Published by ABAFI in *Figyelő*, 1878, p. 364.

²⁷ 1760-1825. Poet. SZINNYEI, Vol. 9, col. 176.

²⁸ Both published by ABAFI in *Figyelő*, 1878, pp. 352 and 364. The quotation is from the latter page.

²⁹ János Földi's letter to Kazinczy dated October 2, 1788. *Ferenc Kazinczy's correspondence*. Vol.1, p. 215.

³⁰ RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

János Ribini,³¹ professor in Pozsony – *Memorabilia Augustanae confessionis in regno Hungariae*, in two volumes, published in Pozsony between 1785 and 1789, which appeared quite a bit later, but its author had already started to collect the materials for it. In Ribini's work we indeed do find the 1706 petition of the northwestern counties to Rákóczi on behalf of the Jesuits and the summary of the contents of the response.³² Both are among the documents of Pál Ráday. Ribini, concerning the 1720s makes reference several times to documents of church politics extant in Pál Ráday's library.³³ From among the historians, Károly György Rummy, following the advice of Kazinczy, worked for several weeks in the archives of the Rádays. He collected materials for a multivolume work of historical sources, but wished to publish, first of all, documents from the time of the War of Independence. Finally, because of the censorship, he only dared to publish two, namely the agreement on religious matters at the parliamentary session in Szécheny and Rákóczi's court rules. Thus, we can safely state that in the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries Ráday's library was the most important collection of historical source materials.

From Transylvania, Sámuel Szilágyi, Péter Bod, Sándor Kovásznai Tóth, and Sámuel Zilai borrowed books from Ráday. It seems most likely that Szilágyi began to be interested in historical studies after he moved to Transylvania. On May 7, 1749, he writes: "In patriotic affairs, I wish to become investigative from now on, so I will keep nothing from Your Lordship, whatever I acquire." In 1763 (April 10) he requested the manuscript of the history of Szamosközi from his childhood friend – he must have seen it at Ráday's – and any other manuscript that dealt with the history of Hungary. From among his book loans we know that he received one of the works of Kollár from Pécel, whom he defended against certain attacks, saying that "he also is a patriot" (August 18, 1764). In April 1767 (April 20) he expressed his thanks for further volumes of Farkas Bethlen's history. Péter Bod wrote repeatedly during the 50s and 60s about various books he needed. Only partially did he want them from Ráday's collection; in several instances he would have liked to purchase or acquire them from merchants. He needed the second and third volumes of Schwandtner's collection³⁴ which Ráday sent him in the spring of 1755 (January 21, 1766). "It pleased him" that the merchant had included catalogues with the books which he had to send to several places – in this manner he also could familiarize himself with the book market. In September 1756, he asked for the works of Mátyás Bél (September 20). Therefore, his book entitled *Az Isten vitézkedő anyaszentegyházának története* [The History of the Valiant Church of God], published in 1760, must have been based at least in part on the works he had borrowed from Ráday, or that Ráday had obtained for him. After 1760 he was more engaged in Hungarian history than church history as his letter to Ráday demonstrates: "I would like materials relating to Hungary's history from Your Lordship because, next to the word of God, I take greatest joy in studying the matters of our country's history" (January 21, 1766). In the same letter he expressed his thanks for the third volume of Pray's *Annales*; in respect of this work, he was of the opinion that the first volume was much more worthwhile than the subsequent ones.

Ráday must have made the acquaintance of Kovásznai Tóth and Sámuel Zilai at Teleki's house. There was much discussion in the letters written to him about the works of Gyöngyösi, especially the new editions of the *Murányi Vénusz* and the *History of János Kemény*. Ráday had thought about having the works of Gyöngyösi republished even before having met Kovásznai Tóth and Zilai. He had already discussed this topic with Szerencsi Nagy in 1787 (August 20, 1787). The latter reported that he had discussed the matter with the printer Streibig according to the instructions of Ráday. "He is most willing and happy to print it; Your Lordship should send good original copies to him or to me by trustworthy means; I much desire to have Your Grace's preface be put in front." Szerentsei Nagy assumed the responsibility of supervising the process and the correction of texts as well. This edition did not materialize, so Ráday looked for others who would organize the material for printing. Zilai's offer came at the right time for him in October 1787 – when

³¹ 1722-1788. Principal of a school in Sopron, later minister at Lőcse and Pozsony. SZINNYEI, Vol. 9, cols. 957-958.

³² RIBINI János, *Memorabilia Augustanae confessionis in regno Hungariae* [Memorabilia Concerning the Lutheran Confession in the Hungarian Kingdom] (Pozsony: 1785-1789, Vol. 2, pp. 168 and sqq.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 295.

³⁴ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ... [Authors on Ancient Hungarian Matters]* Publ. by János György Schwandtner. Vols. 1-3. (Vienna: 1746-1748).

the two met face to face – and his letter of November 28, in which he repeated his offer that he and Sándor Kovásznai Tóth together would publish the works of Gyöngyösi in Marosvásárhely using the new letters of the printer known by them (November 28, 1787). Zilai had already had some experience in printing because he prepared the new edition of the poems of Janus Pannonius in Utrecht setting the pages with his own hands.³⁵ First of all, Ráday let them know which of Gyöngyösi's works he was familiar with and which printed copies or manuscripts he owned. Zilai was very happy to hear from Pécel, and replied: "Your Lordship, I could not immediately share the joy I felt about your offer of these rarities, because they were all so desirable, I could not decide between them" (January 23, 1788). But only a part of the wanted editions and manuscripts were available from Ráday; therefore, even though the start of the process had to be delayed because of this, he sent nothing to Marosvásárhely, but tried to search for the first editions. During this period he asked his grandson, Pál, who was staying in Eperjes, to acquire from the nearby Lócse, the oldest editions of Gyöngyösi's works.³⁶ Meanwhile, Kovásznai and his friends were getting impatient, they would have liked to start but they could not begin before having the first edition at hand. "Aside from Charicia from Lócse from 1700, we have nothing at hand. We have been waiting, Honorable Sir, to receive the prepared material from Your Lordship because we cannot work without them. Therefore, I humbly suggest that Your Lordship urge the delivery of those books and manuscripts which are absolutely necessary for the cure of Gyöngyösi's wounds, so we can begin."³⁷ During the summer of 1789 two packages arrived from Pécel in Marosvásárhely, but there were still some necessary editions missing,³⁸ such as the first Kassa edition of the *Murányi Vénusz* in 1644. They received this edition during the spring of 1790. Kovásznai was most grateful: "If I get anywhere in better explaining Gyöngyösi's poems that will be mostly due to Your Lordship. I am very thankful and humbly thank you. Because no one helped me as much in this work, even though I have turned to many. Oh, how much different this is from the Kassa edition and my corrupted Buda text! I could hardly wait to see, due to Your Lordship's grace, the old edition, because the Buda edition is in many places in such bad repair, that I would not have dared to start it, if I had not received the Kassa edition. I am still searching for the Kolozsvár edition, if I could just find it. I have truly inquired about it in many places, but have not been able to find even its trace. Neither did I see anywhere the old edition of the *Murányi Vénusz*, so much had disappeared due to the tribulations of our nation."³⁹ This long citation points to the significance of the acquisition of certain editions and underlines the correctness of Ráday's acquisitions policy. Kovásznai's work was interrupted in 1792 due to his death; the fate of the new edition of the works of Gyöngyösi was sealed. Sámuel Zilai, on the other hand, besides helping Kovásznai in the preparation of Gyöngyösi's poems for publication, had the *Syrena* of Miklós Zrínyi reprinted in 1790, with the title: *Ne bántsd a magyart*. Already in the beginning of the year 1789 Ráday had sent him this work, because he liked much better the poetry of the tragic poet-general, and he wanted the two scholars to come to like it also. But Kovásznai would not change his mind about Gyöngyösi, and still considered him the more worthy.⁴⁰ Zilai having received the copy from Pécel, had the work of Ráday's beloved poet reprinted in Marosvásárhely.

We also find many examples not only of the help afforded to the literary and scholarly elite who borrowed needed source materials, but also of rectors, ministers, professors and a wide circle of the more educated gentry, meeting their various needs. Not many data referring to these loans survive. Proof of the loans among friends and acquaintances only survives if the library's owner is careful and notes the books

³⁵ Sámuel Zilai's letters to Sámuel Teleki in *OL. Teleki család marosvásárhelyi levéltára, Teleki Sámuel osztály*, [National Archives. The archives of the Teleki family of Marosvásárhely, Sámuel Teleki's section] nos. 2166-2177.

³⁶ See in Chapter Three the section devoted to acquisitions from Pozsony and the Felvidék [Upper Hungary].

³⁷ Zilai's letter to Ráday dated March 18, 1789.

³⁸ "The rest of the works of Gyöngyösi be it in print or manuscript (as the Florentina), let me kindly have." Kovásznai's letter to Ráday dated July 8, 1789.

³⁹ Zilai's letter to Ráday dated April 25, 1790 as well as Kovásznai's letter to Ráday dated May 2, 1790. The citation is from the second letter.

⁴⁰ Zilai's letter to Ráday dated January 21, 1789.

lent – and Ráday did not belong to this group – but the invaluable and important service that his library rendered to national education and culture can still be measured.

The first data about such a loan is rather early: Gábor Goschetz⁴¹ writes in his letter of June 19, 1743 from Pest that he returned the recently received novellas. Dávid Sárkány, the scholarly professor in the school at Sárospatak,⁴² asked the younger Ráday in 1743 for the volumes of *Europa secretarius*⁴³ that had appeared after 1749, because he was unable to find one (November 24, 1743). Sárkány was one of the men who delivered a eulogy at Pál Ráday's funeral. Sámuel Meskó, from Nógrád county, asked for the work of Nádudvari⁴⁴ and the Hungarian Kegelius⁴⁵ from his friend (February 23, 1744). Péter Sebők,⁴⁶ who had received help from Ráday during his student years, was now minister at Ragály. In the spring of 1744 he writes: "I am writing to Your Lordship with great reluctance, that I am experiencing difficulties in reconciling the ecclesiastic matters in Hungary with those abroad. I cannot get a Hungarian chronicle anywhere. I know Your Lordship owns several; the one you can do the best without, kindly send to me in Latin or Hungarian. Mr. Ferentz Ragályi will hand it over to me. I am indebted to you forever, etc. I will not forget this among all the other kindnesses" (March 20, 1744).⁴⁷ Mihály Tóth Pápai, whom we have met already as one of the agents, also used the materials of the Pécel library. He asked Ráday to have certain sections of the work of Boyle⁴⁸ to be copied for him and to be bought for him in Vienna Raymundus Lullus' *Speculum alchimia*⁴⁹ and other old editions (April 2, 1753).⁵⁰ Concerning acquisitions József Csapó was also named already; he asked that Ráday return a work of Gerhard Noodt, which he had left with him. At the same time he mentions that he would be very pleased if his friend from Pécel were to send him a few works in which he was interested.⁵¹ Sámuel Dobai Székely⁵² who corresponded with Ráday especially about medals, pressed for the work of József Teleki, *Essai sur la foiblesse des esprits forts*, which was published in 1760⁵³ that was then delivered by András Bárczay.⁵⁴ István Nagy, the agent, had attached a little note of the rector in Pozsony to one of his letters (February 17, 1770?). The note asked whether the book named on the paper was available in manuscript or printed form. At the end of the 80s József Milesz,

⁴¹ He was a lawyer in Pest.

⁴² ZOVÁNYI–LADÁNYI, p. 251.

⁴³ I could not identify this work with certainty.

⁴⁴ I believe it likely that Meskó asked for one of the works of Péter Nádudvari; on Nádudvari see SZINNYEI, Vol. 9, cols. 518-520.

⁴⁵ KEGEL, Philip, *Tizenkét idvességés elmélkedések* [Twelve Spiritual Meditations]. There were several editions of this work. Ráday owned the ones by Péter Debreczeni and István Deselvich.

⁴⁶ I could not find any information about him.

⁴⁷ RA/Doc. A. II. 543.

⁴⁸ BOYLE, Robert, *Opera omnia*. [Works] (Geneva: 1677) (no. 0.3720)

⁴⁹ The title is incorrect; the bibliographies do not list such a work by Lullus.

⁵⁰ PRUZSINSZKY–HAMAR, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵¹ "If I had the opportunity to meet with Your Lordship, having heard of your rare collection, I would be most pleased," he writes in connection with works similar to the one by Noodt, in his letter dated August 26, 1757. RA/Doc. A. II. 604.

⁵² He was a soldier and was mostly interested in numismatics. SZINNYEI, Vol. 12, col. 603.

⁵³ Leyden: 1760; Amsterdam : 1762.

⁵⁴ VAS, Margit, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

a highly educated college professor in Kecskemét, later Debrecen,⁵⁵ asked for a loan of the books of his forefather Mátyás Miliesz.⁵⁶ He also begged Ráday to send him any biographical data that he had about Mátyás Miliesz (November 4, 1785).

There were instances when books that Ráday had lent were not returned and so were lost. Zilai's letter of January 23, 1788 indicates that Ráday once owned the manuscript of Gyöngyösi's *A tiszta élet géniusza* [The Genius of a Clean Life]. He sent it to Szilágyi in Transylvania. After the death of this good friend, the valuable manuscript came into the possession of Count Ádám Székely.⁵⁷ According to the last will and testament of Szilágyi, Székely should have donated the books and manuscripts to the college at Kolozsvár or Marosvásárhely. However, he only let go the books and kept the manuscripts for himself. So Zilai and his friends were not able to match it up with the printed copy (January 23, 1788) and Ráday never got it back. Lajos Erdődi's little work entitled *Magyar Sans-Souci* was also lost "either by way of loaning it, and I do not remember to whom I had given it, or by an even more unseemly way of embezzlement" – Ráday wrote to Kazinczy.⁵⁸ In March 1780 (March 23), he inquires from his son about the works lent⁵⁹ to Countess Révay⁶⁰ and Ferenc Szemere.⁶¹ Another time, he reports that someone was reluctant to return the borrowed books and even became belligerent. So losing his temper, Ráday slapped him. Consequently, the other party filed a suit against him.⁶²

⁵⁵ SZINNYEI, Vol. 8, col. 1397.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 1392.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, col. 570. For the Szilágyi–Székely Library, see KONCZ, József, A marosvásárhelyi helv. hitv. főtanodai könyvtár ismertetése [Description of the Library of the College of Helvetian Confession in Marosvásárhely]. MKSz, 1879, pp. 222-223.

⁵⁸ Ráday's letter to Kazinczy dated February 28, 1786. *Ferenc Kazinczy's correspondence, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 91.

⁵⁹ Countess Révay borrowed 4 books; Szemere borrowed, among others, BÁRÓTY'S *Erkölcsei meséi* [Moral Stories] and *Erkölcsei levelei* [Moral letters].

⁶⁰ It is not possible to determine the identity of Countess Révay referred to above.

⁶¹ KEMPELEN, Vol. 10, p. 117.

⁶² Gedeon Ráday's letter to his son dated June 29, 1785.

All these data demonstrate the openness of the Pécel library all through the eighteenth century, but, at the same time, indicate only in a limited way, the services the Rádays' library provided during the period from 1720 through 1792 to Hungarian education and cultural life.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EPILOGUE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY AFTER THE DEATH OF GEDEON RÁDAY

At the death of Gedeon Ráday, the library “lost its supporter and fosterer” – as a contemporary chronicler stated.¹ The descendants of the great collector were not faithful guardians of their father’s and grandfather’s inheritance. For Gedeon, the absent landowner² his father’s reputation as a rebel was not convenient, nor was the “kuruc” tradition of his family. He ended the role of Pécel as one of the centers of national culture during the second half of the eighteenth century. His wife, Zsuzsanna Fáy, embittered her father-in-law’s last years by opposing the collection of books and the sacrifices he was making for the newly awakened cultural life in Hungary. Among the members of the family who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century, there were two who served the cause of Hungarian theater, like Pál,³ or proved to be good patriots during the Reform era and the fiery days of the 1848 revolt against the Hapsburgs, like Gedeon.⁴ The latter was representative of Kossuth’s party from the county of Pest at the 1848 parliamentary session. However, none of the family members had a feel for literature, for books, for the library.

Habent sua fata libelli – the fate of the Ráday collection in Pécel was that, after the death of its collector, it remained for over half a century forgotten in the depth of the Pécel chateau’s library and small rooms. During the time of Gedeon the second, we still hear of purchases and bindings, – a few bills of the Killian brothers for bookbinding and a few receipts have survived – but this growth is negligible. The library, cut off from the world, outside the mainstream of Hungarian culture, could no longer enrich the culture of succeeding generations. Once in a great while, some researchers got access to it, to the treasures of books and manuscripts, – such as Károly Romy⁵ whom Kazinczy had recommended to the owner of the collection. Occasionally members of the family or acquaintances⁶ of János Dobos,⁷ preacher in Pécel who during

¹ RÖSLER, Johann Christoph, Die gräflich-Rádaysche Bibliothek zu Pécel, bey Pesth. [The Count Ráday’s Library at Pécel close to Pest]. *Ungarische Miscellen*, 1805, Vol. 2, p. 79.

² 1745-1801. Septemvir, Guardian of the Crown, and general superintendent of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church.

³ 1768-1827. President of the regional High Court in Eperjes, and also general superintendent of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church.

⁴ 1806-1873. In 1848-49 he was Lord lieutenant and major of the Hussars; before 1848 and after, General Intendant of the National Theater.

⁵ SZINNYEI, Vol. 11, cols. 1392-1399.

⁶ For their receipts, see RA/Doc. fasc. 228

⁷ 1845-52, minister at Pécel, caretaker of the library; in 1848 Reformed preacher of parliament. ZOVÁNYI-LADÁNYI, pp. 153 and 108.

a couple of years was caretaker of the collection, would borrow some items. So did for example János Kollár, a Lutheran minister in Pest and a well known Slovak poet;⁸ Ignác Stáhly,⁹ physician and university professor, or Pál Sebestyén, Circuit judge.¹⁰ Quite often, the borrowed books were not returned, so the holdings instead of growing, diminished.¹¹ *Tabellarische Übersicht*¹² which was compiled at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, showed 4873 works in 10,302 volumes; the list produced by János Dobos only shows 4526 works in 9567 volumes. The loss, therefore, was 347 works in 735 volumes. In respect of subject matters, the greatest reduction happened in newer prose (100 works, 135 volumes) and in theological works (59 works, 208 volumes).¹³

Gedeon Ráday left behind serious debts, which were only increased by the costly life style of his descendants. Paralleling the general economic difficulties, the family's financial situation became ever more serious. Therefore, they considered the sale of the library shortly after the death of the great collector. His son, Gedeon Ráday, asked the Emperor Francis I for permission to sell the library abroad to foreign merchants. Chancellor Károly Pálffy granted this permission on August 3, 1798,¹⁴ with the proviso that he presents the catalogue of books and manuscripts of the library. In his response, Ráday expressed his thanks for the permission and stated that he wanted to have the library's catalogue printed as soon as possible.¹⁵ When this had been done, he would present it and send a copy to the Imperial Library. He further stated that he did not intend to sell any manuscripts even remotely connected with Hungary; he would not even include them in the catalogue, but keep them for himself. These plans did not materialize; the library's catalogue did not go to press. There are no traces of any negotiations about the sale to foreigners before the death of Gedeon Ráday II.

The family did not drop the idea of the sale of the library, but until the death of Gedeon Ráday, the collector's son, no further steps were taken in this direction – perhaps his filial respect would not have allowed the master of Pécel to have foreigners own his father's famous collection. After his death, on July 10, 1801, his wife and sons started to search for buyers and the word got around that the Pécel library was for sale. Count Ferenc Széchényi in August 1802 refers to this in his letter to the widow asking for notification about the auction. "I have learned from a good friend about the sale by auction of His deceased Excellency's library; if this is true, I would be most grateful to hear about the date of the auction as well as to receive a catalogue, so I could place my order in time for the desired books."¹⁶ We do not know how Zsuzsanna Fáy answered this letter. We do not hear anything further about Széchényi's intention to acquire books from Pécel. The reason for this must be that the family did not want to break up the collection at auction, but wanted to sell the whole library to make sure that the less valuable pieces would be sold as well.

⁸ SZINNYEI, Vol. 6, cols. 747-752.

⁹ Honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, cols. 1387-1388.

¹⁰ He donated his books, at the end of the century, to the Reformed Theological Academy's Ráday Library in Budapest

¹¹ The case of János SYLVESTER'S *Újtestamentum* [New Testament] published in 1541 (*RMK*, Vol. 1, p. 15; *RMNy*, Vol. 1, p. 49) is typical of the disappearance of more valuable books. Today it is in the holdings of the Reformed Congregation of Kecskemét. According to the inscription by Miklós Jankovics found in the book, in 1842 it was still in the library of the Ráday family in Pécel. In the ensuing years it was lost without a trace and finally landed in Kecskemét as a gift of Septemvir István Nagy.

¹² *Tabellarische Übersicht der Graeflich Rádayschen Bibliothek* [Systematic Survey of the Count Ráday Library] by Friedrich Hanak. RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

¹³ PRUZSINSZKY-HAMAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43. The number of more recent prose works was diminished by loans to the family, relatives and acquaintances; fortunately, in this case valuable parts of the collections were not affected.

¹⁴ RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

¹⁵ Dated in Pest, August 22, 1798. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ August 17, RA/Doc. 194. Fasc.

Therefore, they invited the book merchant, Friedrich Hanak¹⁷ from Pest to come to Pécel, where he surveyed the holdings, compiled the already mentioned *Tabellarische Übersicht*, and, finally, determined the price it would fetch under current circumstances. According to Hanak 4873 works – in 10,302 volumes – were worth 134,045 ft. Probably because of this high estimate there were no buyers for the collection. The library continued in its isolation in Pécel.

The family tried in many places to find a suitable buyer. Through the actor, Clement Remie,¹⁸ they offered it to the University of Bonn. Remie received the response from the university on March 6, 1819,¹⁹ stating that it was willing to pursue the idea and get a price of the library's value, but wanted first a catalogue. It is likely that the affair shattered at this point, since the library did not have a printed catalogue.

In 1825, a fire almost destroyed the estate of Gedeon Ráday. It had broken out in the village and the shingle roof of the chateau ignited. The great room and other rooms on the second floor suffered considerable damage; but the library, which was located on the ground floor, escaped destruction.

From the beginning of the 1830s, the subject of the sale of the library came up every year. Then Gedeon Ráday, the great-grandson, would have been willing to sell it for 80,000 ft. He was ready to break up the collection with only the proviso that the buyer take with the more expensive and valuable books some of less value as he wrote to István Fatavics, the lawyer,²⁰ manager of the family's affairs²¹ and the price should be determined on these conditions. During the 30s, Friedrich Hanak offered his assistance in his letter to Fatavics, because an excellent opportunity presented itself for the sale of the library. This was due to the fact that the Brockhaus company of Leipzig began, starting in the year 1836, the *Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland* series along with its supplement the *Bibliographische Anzeiger*. Hanak had been asked to become their correspondent in Hungary. He thought immediately that he would send a detailed report about the library of the Rádays. With the wide circulation of this report – meant for the collectors of England, France, Holland, even North America – it was likely that the whole collection could be sold. Two items would be necessary for this: that he receives a copy of the list, which he had compiled, and the address of the person to whom interested parties could write.²² There are no additional data about this attempt. In the passing years amidst the struggle for independence and in the atmosphere of the Reform era, nationalistic sympathies gave a different direction to the fate of the library.

We have already seen that Gedeon Ráday's son wished to keep the manuscripts dealing with Hungarian matters, he did not want to sell them. His grandson – the fourth in chronological order – went even farther. He wanted to keep not only the "Hungarian manuscripts" but also "the books having to do with the history of Hungary," – he wrote to Fatavics. Neither of them considered what a great loss it would be for Hungarian culture, Hungarian education, if the highly valuable collection's other parts were to leave the country. The patriotic members of the country gentry, who represented the national aspirations in parliament, would not accept Gedeon Ráday's solution. At the general meeting of the county of Pest in 1835, they passed a resolution that the Ráday family's library in Pécel had to be purchased for the nation. They also voted between 400,000 and 500,000 ft for the construction of a National Theater, the increase of the holdings of the National Museum, and the acquisition of the Miklós Jankovics collection. The family was very hopeful at this turn of events and tried to have other counties, Nógrád, Zólyom, Esztergom, pass similar

¹⁷ I did not uncover any data about him in the specialized literature.

¹⁸ The bibliographies contain no information about his life.

¹⁹ RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

²⁰ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 4, p. 125. His first name is wrongly given by Iván Nagy as Ferenc Fatavics, after his grandfather.

²¹ Pécel, June 23, 1831. RA/Doc. fasc. 213.

²² RA/Doc. fasc. 228.

resolutions, including them in the instructions of their representatives to the Parliament. “If not now, we will never sell our library” – Gedeon Ráday wrote at this time.²³

One of the representatives of Pest county, Simon Dubraviczky²⁴ presented the proposal of the county at the meeting of the regional deputies, the same meeting at which the subject of the Military Academy (*Ludovika*) and the Museum was discussed. The proposal was accepted and it was decided that they would suggest to the national assembly the purchase of the library, for the good of the country, at the determined price of 53,618 ft.²⁵ Kossuth wrote about the meeting on the subject of the purchase of the library in the *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* [Parliamentary Reports] on January 30. I need to quote his words because they represent the general tone of the discussions: “Finally, the library of the Counts of Ráday is estimated at 53,618 ft, not counting the holdings about Hungarian history and the collection of Hungarian manuscripts (mostly from Rákóczi’s period) which were offered free of charge. It seemed even more necessary to buy it, because the Russian Court and Prince Nicholas is also bidding for it.²⁶ We can be justified in fearing, that while Rome debates, Saguntum gets lost; as it was the case with the Viczay collection²⁷ which left our country forever because of our delays. Therefore, about the purchase of the library Szirmay declared that where liberal opinion was to be supported, it would have been shameful to wait for the electors’ agreement, but because it was a question of money, he could not make an offer they would have to pay for without their knowledge. Then Pfansmid remarked that such liberalism that is not ready to sacrifice for the good and glory of the nation, is not worth very much.”²⁸

Based on the decision of the regional meeting, the national parliamentary session also took up the subject of the Pécel library. Lengthy exchanges of messages took place between the Lower and Upper Houses about the finances for the establishment of the *Ludovika* and the National Museum; the purchase of the Ráday library for the enrichment of the holdings of the National Museum was also included. The Estates of the Realm were anxious to secure a relatively greater sum as yearly income²⁹ for the Museum; thus it would be in a position to acquire additional collections: “The growth of the financial means of the Museum is all the more desirable because Count Rádays’ valuable family library of 4873 works made up different categories (not counting the Hungarian works and manuscripts) is for sale. It contains manuscripts of the most significant periods of Hungarian history. Its purchase cannot be passed up, since foreigners want to buy the library. We are anxious not to have this cultural treasure be completely lost for Hungarian historical science” – they wrote in their message.³⁰ In their reply, the members of the Upper House oppose the purchase of the library because, first of all, they thought it would be necessary to

²³ Gedeon Ráday’s letter to an unknown friend; Pécel, November 27, 1835. RA/Doc. fasc. 213.

²⁴ NAGY, Iván, Vol. 3, p. 409.

²⁵ Simon Dubraviczky’s letter to Gedeon Ráday. Pozsony, January 10, 1836. RA/Doc. fasc. 213.

²⁶ The archives do not contain any trace of these debates.

²⁷ Dr. Mihály Viczay (1756-1831) was interested in archeology and numismatics. He devoted most of his life to the collection of medals and antiquities. His museum at Hédervár was the country’s most beautiful private collection of great value. In 1826 11,432 Greek and 13,411 Roman coins and medals were counted in his treasure, of which 1243 were gold medals. The collection was known even abroad and foreign scholars visited and reported about it.

²⁸ Issue dated January 30, 1836. The lack of funds which was the greatest hurdle for the purchases of the library was already evident at this first attempt.

²⁹ They recommend that “to cover the needs of the Institution, especially to increase its holdings yearly”– the monetary income of the foundation, 12,000 pengő forint annually, should be assigned to the Museum instead of the *Ludovika*. *Izenet a Karoknak és Rendeknek a Ludoviceum Magyar Katonai Intézet, a Nemzeti Múzeum és concurrentiális fundus állapotjáról tett hivatalos tudósítás következtében* [Message of the Estates of the Realm concerning the Ludoviceum Hungarian Military Institute, the National Museum, and the Joint Report on the State of the Foundation Concerning Them] Item 493, February 17, 1836, session 424. *Az 1832-36 évi magyar országgyűlés írásai* [The Minutes of the Hungarian Parliament’s sessions in the years 1832-1836]. (Pozsony: 1836), Vol. 7, p. 236.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

check if the National Museum did not already own the materials that were in the Ráday library; in addition, they also mentioned as a counter argument, that because of the lack of a suitable building, there was no appropriate space for a new, larger collection.³¹ During further exchanges of messages the Lower House wanted to decide at least in general the purchase of the library, advancing the argument that the increased income of the institution would cover the purchase price.³² The Upper House, however, thought that the Palatine – after having examined the inventory of the Pécel library – should be free to decide whether to purchase it or not. Thus the bill passed authorized the Palatine, József, to “acquire, if he thinks it appropriate for the Museum, the library of the Count Ráday family for a convenient price covered from the Museum’s budget.”³³

The members of the next parliamentary session on May 2, 1840, also dealt with the collections to be acquired, first of all with the Pécel library. In the proposal supported by both houses and submitted to the Palatine, they urged the survey of the holdings of the library and their value from the national point of view, as they did not want to delay any longer the decision concerning its acquisition. This proposal demonstrates ever more clearly their intention to safeguard the memories of the national past: “Wherefore in the establishment of the National Museum the Estates of the Realm wish to provide foremost for the rarities, books and manuscripts which could serve as historical memories and for the enlightenment of our country, nation and people on the subject of the development of past vicissitudes, personal as well as public life’s customs, ethics and laws, to safeguard them from damage caused by clumsy hands and the passing of time, and to keep them to assist the research of scholars. The collection of books and manuscripts of the Count Ráday family had already attracted the attention of the past session of Parliament; His Imperial and Royal Prince, our country’s Palatine promised that he would facilitate the acquisition of the collection. Thus the Estates of the Realm wish to humbly request His Imperial and Royal Grace to make the required inquiries into the value of the holdings of this collection for the nation, as well as the manuscripts Márton Kovacsics left behind, and other collections in the country whose acquisition would contribute to the realization of the objectives of the National Museum. His Grace is humbly requested to inform the Estates of the Realm of the results.”³⁴ The Palatine sent his answer to the Estates already on May 4³⁵ and promised to fulfill their wishes as soon as it becomes possible. For the time being it would not be possible to compare the holdings of the two libraries because of the destructive floods of 1838, all holdings of the Museum were packed up, and moved to a safer location. Therefore, the process of cataloguing was interrupted. This work will only resume when the new building of the Museum is completed and all collections are placed in their new home – we read further in the answer of the Palatine – when all the preliminary actions were accomplished. After the comparison of the holdings, he will immediately give the necessary instructions for the purchase.

In the parliamentary session of 1843-44, the question of the acquisition of the Pécel library came up again. The Palatine mentioned in his official report about the finances of the country that it would be very worthwhile to purchase it for the National Museum – but the regular income of the institution would not suffice. The destruction caused by the floods of 1838 and the spiraling costs of construction exhausted completely the available financial resources. The funds available were needed for the furnishing of the new building – so the Ráday’s library could only be bought for the nation from another fund designated for this purpose by the Estates.³⁶

³¹ Item nr. 571, March 24, 1836, session 444. *Ibid.*, 97.

³² Item nr. 574, March 28, 1836, session 446. *Ibid.*, 105.

³³ Item nr. 704, April 27, 1836, session 463. *Ibid.*, 560.

³⁴ OL. Ladula XX. No. 19. fasc. H nr. 64

³⁵ Nr. 401, session 145. *1839. esztendei Magyarország közgyűlésének írásai* [The Minutes of the Parliament of Hungary in the Year 1839]. (Pozsony: 1840), Vol. 4, pp. 145-146.

³⁶ Nr. 177. July 25, 1844, session 181. *1843-1844. esztendei magyarországi közgyűlések írásai* [The Minutes of the Parliament of Hungary of in the Years 1843-44]. (Pozsony: 1844), Vol. 2, p. 237.

The purchase of the Pécel library was taken off the agenda; the parliament did not discuss it any further. The county of Pest, however, included, even in 1847, in the instruction to its representatives in the parliament the urgency of the acquisition of the library.³⁷ The National War of Independence against the Hapsburgs created, of course, its own problems of vital importance, diverting attention from this collection; the struggles and victories, hopes and difficulties did not leave enough time to deal with the question of the library.

During the War of Independence and the sad decades following the defeat, the library at Pécel sank into oblivion. Even though according to János Dobos, two German book merchants – Armbruster and Butts, – were still expressing a keen interest in the famous collection. “They both marveled at the hidden treasures and rarities, although they could have only been interested from an antiquarian’s point of view in the over 2000 volumes of Hungarian materials; they considered of more value the fashionable Amadis de Gaul with its frivolous engravings, though incomplete, as the complete copy of Farkas Bethlen.”³⁸

In 1857 – three years before the great change that was to take place in the life of the library – Duke Albrecht, the representative of Hapsburg despotism, suggested to the Emperor Francis Joseph the purchase of the Pécel library for the National Museum. On the basis of the research carried out by Árpád Károlyi it has come to light that in preparation for the Emperor’s trip to Hungary, a ministerial meeting was held in Vienna on March 20, 1857, with the Emperor presiding, in which Albrecht, Hungary’s governing regent also participated. At this meeting, Albrecht presented a great number of proposals to alleviate the bitter mood in the country, part of which represented the satisfaction of old demands, among them the purchase of the Ráday family’s library for 30,000 ft for the National Museum, “because this museum is dearly beloved in Hungary.”³⁹ From all these proposals, not one was realized; but from the point of view of the library’s history the information is important. It clearly indicates how much its acquisition was still a prime concern of those Hungarians who cared about their national cultural heritage.

The library with its more than 10,000 volumes left its solitude in Pécel in the summer of 1862. Pál Török, the bishop of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church was able finally to establish the Reformed Theological Seminary in Pest in 1855. A movement for establishing a common Protestant College

³⁷ Kossuth Lajos az utolsó rendi országgyűlésen, 1847/48 [Lajos Kossuth at the Last Parliamentary Session of the Estates, 1847/48] Ed. István Barta. (Budapest: 1951), p. 194.

³⁸ DOBOS, János, “A gróf Ráday-család péceli könyvtárának rövid ismertetése” [A Short Description of the Library of the Count Ráday family of Pécel]. *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap*, 1860. No. 3, pp. 780-783.

³⁹ KÁROLYI, Árpád, “Magyar nemzeti múzeum és a Ráday-könyvtár” [The Hungarian National Museum and the Ráday Library]. *MKSz*, 1920/21, pp. 152-154.

in Pest started at the very end of the 1830s.⁴⁰ The modest means of the college did not allow it to have its own library, so Pál Török – when he heard that the Ráday family wanted to sell its famous collection – issued a circular letter and started a countrywide fund raising drive so that he could obtain this highly valuable collection for the Seminary. The family, hearing of his intent, offered half of the 40,000 ft purchase price as a gift. Thus, the required 20,000 ft was collected from donations of churches and individuals by the fall of 1861. The Reformed Church thus acquired the library. In the summer of 1862, the movers delivered the books, which were packed into crates, to the building of the parish of Calvin Square, i. e. to the recent extension built for the library in the Oroszlán street, today named after Pál Török. From this location it was transferred, much expanded,⁴¹ in 1912 to the building of the Theological Seminary in Ráday utca, where it was assembled in the great store room on the ground floor partially on the original book shelves from Pécel.⁴²

Nowadays the Ráday library forms part of the Ráday Collection of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church. It is located in the building of the Theological Academy, in the same wing on the ground floor where it was installed in 1912. After 1949, when László Pap, professor of theology, later dean of the Academy, was its director, the library became more and more a part of Hungarian cultural life. The basic collection of Pál Ráday and Gedeon Ráday is set up separately from the rest on the shelves of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ We find András Fáy and Lajos Kossuth among the initiators and promoters of the movement. For the history of the Seminary, see the volume that was published for its centennial: *A Budapesti Református Teológiai Akadémia története, 1855-1955* [The History of the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest]. (Budapest: 1955).

⁴¹ Its growth was mainly due to individual donations.

⁴² For the history of the Ráday Library after 1862, see PRUZSINSZKY–HAMAR, *op. cit.*, as well as SZÓTS, Farkas, *A budapesti ev. ref. teológiai Akadémia múltja és jelene* [The Past and Present of the Evangelical Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest]. (Budapest: 1896).

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