

A Contribution to the Stephen Parmenius Research

One of the most outstanding present-day scholars of sixteenth century overseas discoveries, David B. Quinn remarked that in that remote period there were hardly any explorers who would have set out on their dangerous voyages inspired primarily by literary, or even poetic ambitions. However, there was one exception in the figure of Camoëns and after him a Hungarian, Stephen (István) Budai Parmenius. The difference being that the great Portuguese poet got safely home to write his masterpiece, the Hungarian Parmenius died at sea near the coast of Newfoundland, and with him — as Quinn unhesitatingly insisted — the English explorers had lost their own particular Camoëns.¹ The English scholar was primarily justified to make this statement of distinction by the contemporaries of Parmenius. Edward Hayes who survived Sir Humphrey Gilbert's illfated expedition of 1583 considered it a tremendous loss that among those who had drowned was "a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the Citie of Buda, called thereof Budaëus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."²

Unfortunately it does not serve to the credit of Hungarian scholars to have kept silent about this remarkable humanist poet. We cannot find his name in the handbook of the History of Hungarian Literature by the Academy of Sciences, nor in the *Hungarian Literary Encyclopedia* and the *Hungarian Biographical Encyclopedia*. This may be to the advantage of Parmenius because he could hardly have been granted in his own country such a splendid monograph and edition of his works as the book produced by David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire entitled, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius. The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, drowned on a voyage from Newfoundland, 1583.* (University of Toronto Press, 1972, p. 250.)

No word is enough to praise the work done in collaboration by Quinn and Cheshire. The first part of the book traces Parmenius's career — due to the scarcity of data, particularly his activity in England —, then it gives the original Latin text of his works, with English translations, accompanied with copious notes. The historical and biographical portion was done by Quinn, the edition, translation and interpretation of the text by Cheshire. Nevertheless — as it is pointed out in the Preface — the two scholars collaborated very closely, complementing each other's work with the discovery of new documents, commentaries, references. The summary of their results, mainly due to Quinn's zeal, can also be read in Hungarian.³

It may seem useful to refer to certain facts in Parmenius's career. We are told by Parmenius in a dedication in prose that he was born in Hungary suffering under Turkish rule. The same source informs us that he received excellent education first in the part of Hungary under Turkish domination, later on the unoccupied territory of the country. Subsequently he went abroad to spend three years in foreign countries. Since he had been in England late in 1581, it seems that he set out on his foreign tour in 1579 which makes Quinn come to the conclusion that he must have been born between 1555 and 1560.⁴ (This seems to be very likely, since Máté Skaricza, who in 1544 was also born and educated in Hungary occupied by the Turks, also embarked on foreign travel when he was

about 25 years of age, leaving his country in 1569 and arriving in England as the culmination of his journey.) With an extremely skillful interpretation of the few facts that Quinn unearthed, he pretends to prove that Parmenius enjoyed in London and Oxford the companionship of the intellectual élite, frequenting particularly the company of those who were interested in the discovery and conquest of the new world.⁵ Under the impact of this environment, the Hungarian young man showed particular interest in the discoveries which were to provide a new golden age and after some remorse, he even renounced to return in his native country. As early as 1582, his name became known in the literary circles with longish Latin verses which appeared in separate volumes, one of these, entitled *Paeon* is a humanistic paraphrase of the CIV psalter, another, *De navigatione*, is a eulogy in commendation of the journeys of discovery and England's mission to lead the world, quasi pave the way for a favourable reception of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's intention to launch on a second expedition. He joined this ill-fated voyage in 1583 and sent back this time, instead of an epos, only a short account in prose, shortly before he met his death on August 29th.

We owe it to Mr. Quinn that we have important informations to cover the last years spent by Parmenius in England, however, little is known of his life before his arrival there. Beyond what he himself had to say about his homeland and studies in Hungary — without mentioning any names — in the dedicatory epistle of *De navigatione*, there is only one fact mentioned by Quinn prior to 1581. He attributes great likelihood to the assumption that Stephanus Budaeus who immatriculated as a student at Heidelberg University in 1579 was identical with him.⁶ This is the only item that Quinn has taken over from a Hungarian article, and — as we shall later see — to his disadvantage, because it is not true. We are sorry to say that any contribution of Hungarian scholarship to the clarification of the Parmenius question has been futile. Quinn is indeed justified in inviting the Hungarians to do something at last.⁷

However, it is not easy to satisfy this claim, since there are hardly any sources to rely upon. Evidently this has prevented Hungarian scholars to devote more attention to Parmenius. Ever since a short article by Lajos Kropf,⁸ there have been only futile attempts to elucidate the background and education of Parmenius, without any result. Kropf was the first scholar to suggest some relationship between the author's Latin name, Parmenius and the Hungarian name of Paizs, or Pais, meaning shield, as the Graeco-Latin *parma*. This may have induced Dezső Láng to write (without any references or sources) the following: »Recent publications of charters make it evident that the Protestant Peis family left Buda, seeking refuge from the Turks at Nyitra in 1557, where the counter-reformed [sic!] Dominicans, finding the father, János Peis and his three sons, János junior, Gábor and Márton »obdurate in their heresy«, condemned them to the galleys in 1574«. Láng suggests the opinion in his article that there was a fourth son, István Peis who is identical with Parmenius, who succeeded in getting away, not sharing the fate of his father and brothers.⁹ Disregarding the fact that according to Turkish records to be mentioned below, there was no family at Buda of the name of Peis, Láng insists on impossible things: for example in 1574 there were neither Dominicans in Hungary, nor was anybody condemned at that time in Hungary to the galleys. On the other hand, exactly hundred years later, in 1674 the martial law-court of György Szelepcsényi in Pozsony (Bratislava) condemned several Protestants (of course, only clergymen) to serve on the galleys; Láng evidently mixed up the two dates, causing the mistake.¹⁰

Statements by another author, Tivadar Ács, concerning the stay of Parmenius in England (he suggests among others that he became Head Librarian of the University of Oxford!) have been disapproved as entirely baseless by Quinn.¹¹ Ács even believed

to have discovered a so far unknown Parmenius poem, addressed to the river *Thames*, he even published its translation in Hungarian, although all he did was to translate into Hungarian, *De navigatione*, the poem well-known and frequently included into English and American collections. He was evidently misled by the fact, that the poem is headed by a six-lined verse, entitled *Ad Thamesin*.¹² In another article by the same author, the Hungarian humanist is already promoted to the rank of "England's most celebrated poet", and was supposed to have been asked by Queen Elizabeth in person to write a poem on the New Foundland expedition. Ács even pretends that according to MS Fol. Hung. 1734 of the Hungarian National Library, the name of Stephanus Budaeus figures in the list of students attending foreign universities from the Danube diocese of the Calvinist church, as a student of Heidelberg in 1579.¹³

Suspecting the truth of this statement, we looked in the surviving matriculation registers of the University of Heidelberg and it turned out that no such name occurs; what is more, between 1577 and 1584 no Hungarian student had enrolled.¹⁴ However, the name of Stephanus Budaeus occurs at Wittenberg, where according to Bartholomaeides he was supposed to have immatriculated on September 29th, 1579, this having been taken over in the well-known works of Vilmos Fraknói and László Földvály too.¹⁵ On the other hand, the MS. Fol. Hung. No. 1734 of the National Library, entitled, "The list of names of those persons who were born on the territory of the Danubian Diocese and attended foreign universities between 1522—1600", is nothing else than one part of the recent manuscript of the history of the Reformed Church of the Danube-region collected by László Földvály. The list of names as given in the MS. agrees completely with that published in the monograph, naturally including the name of Budaeus as student of Wittenberg. Tivadar Ács also followed this MS when he declared that Stephanus Budaeus was a student of Heidelberg, because the pages of Földvály's notes were badly bound and the inattentive reader could by rights imagine that the statement which can be read on p. 19 refers to Heidelberg and not to Wittenberg.¹⁶ This should prove that there is no evidence whatsoever to the stay of Budaeus at Heidelberg. On the other hand, we can take it for granted that Stephen Budai had indeed studied at Wittenberg, a fact supposed — very wisely — by Quinn too.¹⁷

Theoretically it is possible that the name of Parmenius was *Paizs* = *parma*, but it would be farfetched to form *parmenius* from it. Attila Fáj, one of the reviewers of Quinn's book comes to the conclusion that the Latin *parma* can be translated as *vért* (armour) in Hungarian, so our poet's name could have just as well been *Vértesi*, eventually related to a nephew of the archbishop Bakócz of the same name.¹⁸ The trouble is, however, that no family of the name of *Paizs* or *Vértesi* can be found in the registers of Buda under Turkish rule. Owing to a scrupulous financial administration enforced by the Turks, the list of all tax-payers is available, these documents were called *defters*, even modern editions existing for the years of 1546 and 1562.¹⁹ We can find here the name of a citizen of Buda called András Paizsgyártó who in 1546 lived together with his bachelor son, Ferenc, and as evidenced by the 1546 register, only in Óbuda appears a Ferenc Paizs, together with his son Ferenc and his brothers of the names of Máté, Ambrus and Albert, — no trace being of anybody amongst them of the name of István.²⁰ It would be difficult to imagine how Paizsgyártó could be made into Parmenius and Óbuda at that time, was an independent city. Consequently, among the inhabitants of Buda there is no name which could be identified as Parmenius.

However, we had more luck in the city of Ráckeve. We find the name of an István Budai in the *defter* of 1562 who was listed at first in 1559 as a new settler.²¹ His name Budai = Budaeus probably indicated that he moved from Buda to the then flourishing

Ráckeve where he dropped his original name and was referred to as Budai to indicate his origin. In this way he could have been identical with any István whose name occurred in the 1546 *deftor* of Buda, but was missing in the 1562 one, so either with Csaplár Markó's son, or Ambrus Gonda's still bachelor son called István in 1546.²² Despite this similarity between the names of a citizen of Ráckeve and the later student of Wittenberg, we can hardly take it for granted that the citizen registered at Ráckeve in 1559 and 1562 would be identical with our adventurous poet whose name as a boy of under ten was anyway not included into the list. It is well believable, however, that in the Ráckeve list we have hit upon the name of the humanist poet's father who, if this is true, moved from Buda to Ráckeve with a small son of the same name in the late 1550s. Nevertheless it is also possible that all this is mere conjecture. Should this, on the other hand, prove true, it would contribute to a right interpretation of the roots of Parmenius's education and later culture.

It is well-known that on the territory of Turkish occupation Tolna and Ráckeve were the main economic and cultural centres of the Hungarians in the '60s. The number of the latter's Christian inhabitants surpassed that of Buda and its intellectual life was hallmarked by the activity of István Szegedi Kis and Máté Skaricza. It was Skaricza too who before going on to Kolozsvár to complete his studies was headmaster in 1564 of the school at Ráckeve, being succeeded by János Szebeni, well versed in dialectics, Greek literature and music. Returning from Transylvania, Skaricza brought with himself Tamás Kaplyani who got excellent training in Greek and poetry in Várad to be responsible for the school at Ráckeve. Thus the future globe-trotter poet had ample opportunity to acquire the rudiments of humanistic culture, including the mastery of Greek, too.²³ Then, if we consider that the road of those desirous to study, leaving the schools in occupied Hungary generally led in the '60s and '70s to Kolozsvár²⁴ — unless they went directly abroad, as so many from Tolna — to the school of the highest standard in Hungary, it is not unlikely that István Budai too, following in the footsteps of his conjectured master, proceeded towards the "metropolis Transylvaniae". This argumentation can be supported by a sentence in the dedicatory epistle of *De navigatione*, where a direct reference is made to his family background and education in Hungary: "In servitute et barbarie Turcica, Christiani tamen magno immortalis Dei beneficio parentibus, natus, aliquam etiam aetatis partem educatus, postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniae nostrae tum imprimis salvae adhuc earum reliquae florescunt, in literis adolevissem, more nostrorum hominum ad invisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui."²⁵ These lines make it quite evident that he was educated, partly in occupied Hungary and partly in some "surviving relics" of it, also, that as it was customary in those days, he mentioned with the plural form Pannoniae both the "royal" Hungary, under Hapsburg rule, and the principality of Transylvania and that he was educated everywhere by very learned men.

Nevertheless, we believe that Kolozsvár put the finishing touches on Stephen Budai's home learning because the other two famous Protestant colleges in Debrecen and Sárospatak could only have launched him on a theological career whereas we cannot trace any ambition of that kind in our poet. His Protestant faith, his antipapist attitude is evident in all his works, but without a binding obligation to serve any church. Even his paraphrase of the psalms is the work of a Protestant layman humanist, the archaic title (*Paeon*), as well as the Platonistic and Lucretian allusions all support it.²⁶ The Unitarian college of Kolozsvár which in the 1570s had an excellent staff of teachers and was famous in fostering a humanistic and tolerant spirit was best suited to shape a man of this kind.

As far as his peregrination is concerned, he gave the opinion that it enabled him to visit not only numerous cultural centres ("compluria Musarum hospitia"), but also many well organized states and churches ("sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes") which shows a *par excellence* political humanist interest and not an introduction to an ecclesiastical career. Nor is his desire to meet and make friends with famous persons typical of the latter.²⁷ It also follows from these aims that with the exception of the Wittenberg one, other university matriculation registers do not contain his name, because he did not pursue regular studies, nor did he intend to take a degree, wanting only to obtain experiences and satiate his thirst for knowledge. Finally, he found England to comply best with these requirements: "non locus, non natio, non respublica ulla nobis aequae ac tua Britannia complacuit" — he stated in his dedicatory epistle addressed to Gilbert. He was received by so much humanity in this country that "suavissimae Anglorum, amicitiae ferme aboleverint desiderium et Pannoniarum et Budae meae, quibus patriae nomen debeo".²⁸

Perhaps this young man known up to then by the name of István Budai, decided only now, in England, to assume the name of Parmenius, eventually made by himself. If this is true, then it is not a Latinized form of an original Hungarian name and we do better if we try to find some moral or symbolical significance in its meaning. It may be the Latinized form of the Greek verb, *Παρμένω* or *Παράμένω*, meaning to stay, remain faithful, persevering (the form of participle is *Παρμένιος* or *Παράμένιος*).²⁹ The Hungarian humanist meant to confirm with the creation of this name his unchanging devotion to his homeland, or else his determination to stay in England, or even both. Such a sophisticated search for the right symbol, such an intellectual game which was hard to solve, was by no means unusual in the late flowering of humanism. Naturally, we can offer no evidences to prove our supposition, nevertheless, it is evident that it is not possible — as we have seen — to link the word, *parmenius*, with any family name discovered in contemporary Buda, and certainly this name doesn't exist in any source prior to István Budai's stay in England.

It remains a debatable question how Parmenius found his way to England, being immediately connected with the best circles. In his monograph, Quinn offers several possibilities. Since the Hungarian poet enjoyed the support of the distinguished family of the Unton's, and since one of them had studied at Padova in the years prior to 1581, it seems very likely that an eventual friendship between the two helped his way to England. However, Quinn also suspects some connection with Henry Savile, who at that time had not been in England, only his brother Thomas became one of Parmenius' friends who, on February 9th, 1583 received a dedicated copy of *Paeon*.³⁰ In his paper in Hungarian, Quinn already attributes the leading role to the Savile brothers, due to the latter's intimate connection with Andreas Dudith.³¹ In 1581, Henry had been for six months a table companion of this great Hungarian humanist at Breslau (Wrocław), Thomas, had been, on the other hand, staying with Dudith during the winter of 1588—89, being also present at his deathbed.³² Friendship of the Savile brothers with Dudith who enjoyed great reputation in humanist circles could indeed have served as a starting point in the career of Parmenius in England — if it is conceivable that he had any connection with Dudith in the late 1570s. However, it may be possible to make it probably.

If we take it for granted that leaving Transylvania, Stephanus became immatriculated at the university of Wittenberg, he could not have followed any other route than through Poland (ruled in those years by Stephen Báthory, prince of Transylvania), stopping at Cracow and Breslau. Owing to the fact that in Transylvania, István Budai had had humanist patrons and not ecclesiastical ones, it is more than likely that he

had in his pocket a letter of introduction addressed to the great humanist who at that time lived retired in Breslau. Our young poet whose primary object for his travels was to meet scholarly men, was probably very pleased to make the acquaintance of the great man. Moreover, we know that Dudith, in the last decade of his life was much concerned in promoting the studies abroad of talented young Hungarians and considered the foundation of a college to that aim at Wittenberg.³³ There is nothing to contradict Quinn's suggestion that Dudith must have received with affection this young man who was educated by Transylvanian humanists and set out in 1579 for Wittenberg and later, in 1581, intervened with Henry Savile who stayed in his house to give the proper introductions to him to his friends in England.

The probability of these data, mainly based on suggestions, is much enhanced by the attitude of learned men in Hungary and Transylvania. Among the Hungarian humanists in Báthory's service who often stayed in Transylvania, Márton Berzeviczy was the first who visited England and received an audience with the Queen in 1564.³⁴ Some years later, Budai's supposed master, Máté Skaricza also went to England and was enchanted with London and Queen Elizabeth's court.³⁵ It was particularly among the Transylvanian antitrinitarians that the Queen became a mythical figure and the centre of a cult, that is, among men who had perhaps helped Parmenius to pursue his studies at home.

The well-known collective work, entitled *De falsa et vera unius Dei . . . cognitione*, as the manifesto of Polish and Hungarian antitrinitarians, published at Gyulafehérvár in 1568³⁶ was being obviously prepared by Ferenc Dávid, Blandrata and others for a new edition, dedicated this time, not to János II elected king of Hungary but to Queen Elizabeth of England.³⁷ The new edition never appeared but the Latin introduction addressed to Queen Elizabeth, written in 1570, survived.³⁸ In this the ministers of Hungary, Poland and Transylvania "in agreement with the heavenly doctrine of truth", complained about the sad predicament of their brethren, Poles, French, Swiss and Germans and were grateful to God that János II offered asylum in his country, similar to that granted by Queen Elizabeth in England. It was not only in this preface that England figured as the home of tolerance; Paleologus, one of the chief representatives of East European antitrinitarianism expressed the same opinion in a work, entitled, *Adversus Pii V. proscriptionem Elizabethae Reginae Angliae* which was completed in Moravia in 1576 and came down to us in MS.³⁹ In his dedication addressed to Elizabeth, Paleologus insisted that he had always sympathized with the English people, he always maintained his connections in England and is, therefore, in duty bound to defend the Queen against the bull of excommunication issued by Pius V. We know that Paleologus acted as a go-between to inform Dudith about Transylvanian affairs, to the very minute of his arrest. No wonder that the man who starting out from Ráckeve, reached the island after leaving Kolozsvár with the help of Dudith, had had due expectations and arrived in England fully aware of the Elizabeth cult. If we know all this, we can give the right interpretation to a line in his poem written in England, where he is referring to the Pannonians who look with great expectation to Elizabeth in their effort to be united behind well-defended boundaries.⁴⁰

Nor was unknown for him the utopistic expectation concerning the New World when he first tread on English soil. Already at Kolozsvár Paleologus had propagated the view that the Indians could not have descended from Adam, so they are void of the original sin. It was exactly at Kolozsvár that he wrote in 1574 his dialogue, *Catechesis Christiana* where one of the interlocutors is the Indian Telephus, the unspoilt, naive, "savage" whose simple morals and natural rationalism present a glaring contrast with the hypocrisy of the Europeans, in religion, particularly the irrationalism of Catholicism.⁴¹ If it is true

that István Budai had studied in the 1570s in the college of Kolozsvár, then he must obviously have known the *Catechesis*, since its author wrote particularly to the edification of the students and it may even have been performed in dialogue.

Did these proceedings in his native country not contribute to the fact that Parmenius arriving in England expected from the reign of Queen Elizabeth and from an encounter with the unspoilt natives of the New World the advent of the Golden Age? When we read his *De navigatione* written in 1582, we do not have the feeling that it is filled with swiftly adopted commonplaces and fashionable phrases in vogue in contemporary England. It is rather a well-deliberated mature poetico-political series of concepts. When Stephen Parmenius volunteered to become the propagandist of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's planned second expedition, he undertook a creative mission made up of the most promising myth of the late Renaissance and in certain features even an initiative role.

De navigatione is a characteristic expression of the crisis sentiment of the late Renaissance. The world as known then became irretrievably the victim of wars and tyranny. It was subdued by Babylon, the Persians, the Macedonians and subsequently by Rome, Parmenius said, now it is oppressed partly by the rule of the Turks, partly by the yoke of the pope and the latter, owing to the Spaniards, has spread even the continent discovered by Columbus. In a humanistic version we get here a well-known series of ideas of the Hungarian Reformation: the concept of the four empires and the two countries of Antichrist. With the material (Turks) and spiritual (Pope) Antichrist the reformers confronted the true church of Christ, to be built within the soul. Parmenius, on the other hand, offers as an alternative to Europe under the heel of both the Turks and the pope, the New World to be discovered beyond the confines of the known world. Only the uncorrupted inhabitants of the still unknown new continent, living a natural life, unhampered by laws, who had never known either Turkish or papal tyranny can provide the advent of a Saturnian golden age. Only the men of such countries should be granted the privilege of seeing that land where the power of pope and Turk cannot exist, where peace rules instead of war, where not tyranny but *aurea libertas* has the upper hand. Indeed, such a country is England, governed similar to a goddess by the virgin Astraea.

The Astraea myth had deep roots, going back as far as antiquity.⁴² Astraea returned to the Virgin's constellation from the war-infested world, being due to return with the advent of a new golden age, a new period of peace on earth. Since the safest pledge of peace is a large, strong empire, the myth was actualized in the Augustan and Constantinian period, just as well as in the medieval empire (see Dante). Yet the symbol was never more convincing than during the reign of Queen Elizabeth in England, when at the head of a rising empire, a real, or believed to be real Virgin was at the helm. Ever since the beginning of her rule, the Elizabeth-Astraea identity had been haunting. That her reign began in the wake of the rising constellation of the Virgin had been insisted upon even by the famous historian, William Camden, as early as 1574; he became later one of the patrons of Parmenius in England. In the dissemination of the myth men of not smaller stature had participated than Giordano Bruno, John Dee, Spencer and Shakespeare. Parmenius' poem anticipated in time the corresponding writings and statements of those mentioned above, so he deserves to be listed as an initiator of the cult.

The realization of the plan, the discovery of the new world and of the new race was expected from Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the leader of the planned expedition, his boats sailing down the Thames were inspected by Elizabeth-Astraea, as Pallas Athene long ago had watched Jason. It was let to the new Argonauts and their leader to civilize an uncorrupted race, ignorant of sin, settle them in cities where everybody will live content in doing adequate work. The vision of an ideal bourgeois society unfolds here with utopistic

colouring, it being considered to be England's historic mission to create it. This aim and this vista had fascinated Parmenius to that extent that he became willing to leave his native land. After describing this new society, he exclaimed that he was yearning for the happiness that — abandoning his country — he too should embark on this ship, accompanied by the Muses, and become the singer of this rising race. After using the word *patria*, he added in brackets, "pietas ignosce" — as an obvious sign that his yearning and determination also showed reluctance, although he was not at all certain to succeed, because fate had originally ordered him to write about the battles raging on the shores of the Danube.⁴³

However, as we all know, fate did not permit his return in Hungary but fulfilled his desire to see the land he yearned to find, where instead of a golden age he met with bleak and unfriendly nature to be finally devoured by the waves.

*

It must be admitted that with the exception of the Wittenberg data, we did not succeed in adding any new facts to the scanty information available about Stephen Parmenius. Nevertheless, we believe that it was essential to offer suggestions concerning his background and studies in Hungary, possible influences he absorbed, and confronting the whole with his career in England which is better known. If we have not done more, we succeeded at least in delineating the "eventual" career of a Hungarian humanist who emigrated and put down his roots in late sixteenth century England. This career contains some more general statements as far as the history of Hungarian humanism is concerned. Budai Parmenius seems to have approached Elizabethan England in a way which reminds us of the onetime stay of Janus Pannonius in Quattrocento Italy. Both had selected well, settling in a European country which at that time was in the forefront of economic, social and cultural development. Janus Pannonius adopted the country which gave birth to Renaissance culture, witnessing its first heyday, Parmenius, on the other hand, the country which saw its last flourishing period and its near end. Both assumed a new name in their newly adopted country (Janus confirmed it in his poem, while we have tried to make the same seem obvious about Parmenius); both had succeeded in entering the best intellectual circles and were well versed in the upsurge of modern ideas. Both men had looked upon it as their paramount duty to sing about the bravery of the Hungarians in opposing the overwhelming forces of the Turks, however, neither could fulfill this expectation. Instead both poets were overpowered by the promise of a better, finer, more civilized bourgeois world and became the singers of the keenest hopes of humanism.

When confronting the two poets with each other, I did not think of parallel in poetic greatness, rank but in type, character and particularly the fate and predicament of a Hungarian humanist career. Although Parmenius occupied a lesser role in the final period of humanism than Janus in its early history, nevertheless, he occupies a noble place.

Tibor Klaniczay

NOTES

¹ Quinn, D. B. and Chesire, N. M., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, Toronto, 1972, pp. 3—4, 62.

² *Ibid.* pp. 59—61.

³ *Budai Parmenius István, az első magyar utazó Észak-Amerikában* (Budai Parmenius István, the First Hungarian Traveller to North America), in: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1974, pp. 203—210.

- ⁴ Quinn—Cheshire, p. 5.
- ⁵ Here are a few names of friends who were certainly or possibly in his circle: Richard Hakluyt, editor of accounts of English discoveries; William Camden, Henry and Thomas Savile, humanist historians; John Florio, Montaigne's English translator; Sir Walter Raleigh, John Dee, Sir Philip Sidney, etc.
- ⁶ Quinn—Cheshire, p. 6.
- ⁷ Quinn, D. B., *ItK*, 1974, pp. 203—204.
- ⁸ Kropf, L., *Budai Parmenius István*, in *Századok*, 1889, pp. 150—154.
- ⁹ Láng, D., *Budai Parmenius István* in *Magyar Hírek*, 1967, Nov. 23, p. 9.
- ¹⁰ No person of the name of Peis can be found in the lawsuit of galley-slaves in 1674. Cf. Ladányi, G., *A protestáns papok ellen 1674. Szelepcsényi György esztergomi érsek elnöklete alatt Pozsonyban tartott delegatus iudicium teljes jegyzőkönyve* (Complete minutes of *delegatum iudicium* held at Pozsony under chairmanship of György Szelepcsényi, Primate of Esztergom: Impeachment of Protestant Priests in 1674.), *Sárospataki Füzetek*, 1863, pp. 542—567, 655—690, 915—933. — Rácz, K., *A pozsonyi vértörvényszék áldozatai 1674-ben* (Victims of martial lawcourt of Pozsony in 1674), *Sárospatak*, 1874.
- ¹¹ Quinn—Cheshire, p. 26.
- ¹² Ács, T., *Egy tengerbe vesztett magyar humanista költő a XVI. században* (A Hungarian humanist poet drowned in the sea in the 16th century), in: *Filológiai Közöny*, 1962, pp. 115—122.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* *Ki volt Budai Parmenius István?* (Who was István Budai Parmenius?), in: *Magyar Nemzet*, Jan. 24th, 1968, p. 3.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Toepke, G., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, II. Heidelberg, 1886.
- ¹⁵ Joannes Ladislaus Bartholomaeides, *Memoria Ungarorum qui in alma condam universitate Vitebergensi a tribus proxime concludendis seculis studia in ludis patriis coepta confirmarunt*. Pest, 1817, p. 12. — Frankl [Fraknói], V., *A hazai és külföldi iskolázása XVI. században* (Education in Hungary and abroad in the 16th century). Budapest, 1873. — Földváry, L., *Adalékok a dunamelléki ev. ref. egyházkerület történetéhez* (Contributions to the history of the reformed church in the Danube region). Budapest, 1898, I. p. 54.
- ¹⁶ The MS. was written throughout in Földváry's hand. On p. 12b can be read his signature in pencil. In this MS. confused we find the data of Wittenberg students on first 12 sheets, yet it is defective, since the names of students between 1556 and 1584 are missing. About middle of p. 12a can be seen the new title: "Learners at Heidelberga" followed to bottom of page by list of students, but from sheet 13 — beginning at middle of sentence — follow again names of Wittenberg students, down to sheet 22. We can find the name of István Budai in this section.
- ¹⁷ Quinn, *ItK*, 1974, p. 204.
- ¹⁸ *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 1974, pp. 385—388.
- ¹⁹ Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defteri* (1546—1562), Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1971.
- ²⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 8, 13, 60.
- ²¹ *Op. cit.* p. 93. — I express my thanks to Mr. Káldy-Nagy for looking for the 1559 data in the photostat copy in Defter for the same year.
- ²² *Op. cit.* pp. 9—10.
- ²³ Skaricza, *Stephani Szegedini vita*. Ed. by G. Kathona, in: *Fejezetek a török hódoltság reformáció történetéből* (Chapters from the history of the Reformation under Turkish rule), Budapest, 1974, pp. 105—107.
- ²⁴ Kathona, *op. cit.* pp. 27—29.
- ²⁵ Quinn—Cheshire, *op. cit.* p. 76.
- ²⁶ Quinn—Cheshire, *op. cit.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 76.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Cf., Bailly, *Dictionnaire grec—français*, 1910.
- ³⁰ Quinn—Cheshire, pp. 16—18.
- ³¹ Quinn, *ItK*, 1974, p. 204.
- ³² Costil, P., *André Dudúth humanist hongrois*, Paris, 1935, pp. 34, 202.
- ³³ *Ibid.* pp. 208—209.
- ³⁴ Veress, E., *Berzeviczy Márton erdélyi kancellár* (Márton Berzeviczy, Chancellor of Transylvania). Budapest, 1911, pp. 43—44.
- ³⁵ Kathona, *op. cit.* p. 113.

³⁶ *Res litteraria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum 1473-1600*, Budapest, 1971, no. 254.

³⁷ Cf., Pirnat, A., *L'Italia e gli antitrinitari transilvani*, in: *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, Firenze-Venezia, 1973, p. 434.

³⁸ Micro-film made of MS. preserved in the Unitarian Theological Library, Kolozsvár, can be found in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest.

³⁹ Růžena Dostálová-Jeništová, *Eine neu gefundene Schrift des Jakob Palaeologus*, in: *Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neueren Zeit* (Berliner Byzantinischer Arbeiten 40), Berlin, 1968, pp. 35-44.

⁴⁰ "...longeque remoti Pannonēs in tutos optant coalescere fines". (*De navigatione*, lines 335-336; Quinn-Cheshire, p. 98.)

⁴¹ *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (History of Hungarian Literature till 1600), Budapest, 1964, p. 496 (Pirnát, A.).

⁴² For *Astraea* question, see Frances A. Yates: *Quenn Elizabeth as Astraea*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1947, pp. 27-82.

⁴³ *De navigatione*, lines 147-164; Quinn-Cheshire, p. 92.

L'idéal du bonheur et la vie quotidienne dans l'Europe centrale et orientale au milieu du XVIII^e siècle

(LES RAPPORTS DE LA PROSE MINEURE)

Dans les recherches qui se concentrent sur les phénomènes spécifiques à l'Europe occidentale, l'examen des nouveaux idéaux, de la manière de vivre, de la mentalité et plus précisément l'interprétation multiple de « l'idéal du bonheur » ont acquis une place particulièrement importante. L'ensemble des problèmes comportant les questions des genres et des formes d'art, dans lesquels le sentiment de la vie, vu d'une façon moderne, pouvait se développer le plus et gagner du terrain, se voit au centre de l'intérêt de l'histoire littéraire. Comme suite d'un grand nombre d'excellents travaux se référant surtout à des phénomènes spécifiques à la France, l'intérêt de l'Europe centrale et orientale s'est tourné récemment vers ces problèmes et a tâché avec efficacité de découvrir les facteurs littéraires y relatifs.¹

Cette recherche n'est pas encore parvenue à établir un panorama complet; ce qui s'est cependant révélé comme certain, c'est que dans cette partie de l'Europe, l'ensemble des problèmes en question a manifesté des particularités spécifiquement différentes de celles caractéristiques de la moitié occidentale du continent. Vu les bases, les facteurs sociaux, ainsi que le cours du développement différents, les manières de chercher et de trouver le bonheur montrent à beaucoup d'égards des tendances et des symptômes divergents. Sont en même temps notables les traits communs ou en partie identiques qui se sont formés à l'influence d'un même motif, c'est-à-dire grâce à l'ordre d'idées des Lumières. C'est un fait avéré que, dans la conception de la vie, la pénétration progressive des Lumières françaises à partir des années cinquante du XVIII^e siècle, est devenue le promoteur des changements dont les manifestations sont conservées par des travaux littéraires jusqu'à présent insuffisamment explorés de l'époque. Ce qui complique ces problèmes, c'est que dans ce domaine, jusqu'aux années soixante-dix du XVIII^e siècle et à beaucoup d'égards même pendant la période qui suivait, les diverses formes de ce qu'on appelle les Lumières apparaissant de manières et à des degrés d'efficacité différents, n'ont