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**JOHANNES FILICZKI AS A RENAISSANCE MAN: IDENTITIES
AND SELF-FASHIONING**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Vienna

May 2021

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by

Sebastian Krasnovský

(Slovakia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Sebastian Krasnovský**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

Johannes Filiczki (ca.1580–18.8.1622) was a humanist noble, teacher, and poet born in the Kingdom of Hungary. The purpose of this thesis is to examine primary and secondary sources concerning Filiczki's life and works to offer a fuller picture of his career and to explore the ways in which he was represented by later scholarship, his contemporaries and peers, and finally, by himself. This will be achieved by an in-depth analysis of sources such as poems, correspondence, disputations, and most importantly, Filiczki's *album amicorum*. Since Filiczki's career was primarily connected with his travels abroad, the thesis examines which theoretical concept of the learned travel (*peregrinatio academica*, *Kavalierstour*, *Grand Tour*) fits his case the best, and explores Filiczki's attitude towards the phenomenon. *Album amicorum*, a unique testimony of his travels, serves not only as a base for a better understanding of the social aspect of the *peregrinatio*, but provides also a new insight into Filiczki's poetics through a novel visual analysis. Finally, the thesis exploits an overlooked source, paratext of Filiczki's *opus magnum*, i.e. *Carmina*, and explores how he fashioned his image of a poet in the society.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help, support, and guidance of many people. First, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Marcell Sebők, who offered direction, ideas, and continuous support while I have been developing this research. I am also thankful to the whole department of Medieval Studies at CEU, both the program coordinators Zsófia Göde and Csilla Dobos, who keep the whole department running smoothly and ensure the well-being of the students, and the faculty members, who contributed to this research directly or indirectly through their mentorship, classes, or readings. Even though I cannot name here all I would like to thank, I must single out Professors György E. Szőnyi and Baukje van den Berg, whose guidance was crucial in the development of this thesis.

My gratitude also extends to my peers and colleagues. First among them is PhD student Anja Božič, who aside from being a wonderful and supportive friend during the whole period of my studies here also helped me a great deal in the final stages of the thesis with language checking and bibliography. I must collectively thank the members of the Latin Club for all the fun we had together, whether it was reading each other's sources, medieval drinking songs, or Early Modern anagrammatic poetry. My gratitude extends to all other great friends I have made at CEU, primarily the MEDS Gang! I cannot name everyone here, but you know who you are.

Last but not least, I must thank my family for being there for me during my whole academic journey and whose support during the hard two years marked by Covid gave me enough strength to successfully submit this thesis. Thank you.

utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
1. Biography and travels	6
2. What makes a poet? <i>Versifex</i> or <i>Poeta laureatus</i>	14
2.1 Social role of a poet: being seen as a poet.....	14
2.2 Scholarly recognition of Filiczki.....	19
2.2.1 Origin and early studies	21
2.2.2 German <i>peregrinatio</i> and <i>Primitiae Poeticae</i>	23
2.2.3 Degree	28
2.2.4 <i>Poeta laureatus</i>	29
2.2.5 Return to Hungary and career at Sárospatak school	32
3. Learned travel from the 16 th to 18 th century.....	34
3.1.1 Historical background.....	34
3.1.2 <i>Peregrinatio</i> , Kavalierstour and Grand Tour.....	38
3.1.3 Ennobling travel: Poem analysis.....	42
4. Self-fashioning through <i>album amicorum</i>	46
4.1 Stoicism and virtue	52
4.1.1 Virtue of hard work.....	54
4.1.2 Modesty and humility	55
4.2 Nationality in the album.....	57
4.3 <i>Album</i> 's influence on poetics	60
4.3.1 Emblematic way of seeing.....	60
5. Horatian poetics: <i>Miscere utile dulci</i>	69
5.1 Poetry and Rhetorics.....	72
Conclusion	77

Bibliography80

List of Figures, Tables, or Illustrations

Figure 1. Inscription of Johannes Bocatius in Filiczki's <i>Album</i> 65v, 66r.	55
Figure 2. Poem to Petrus Kosminsky, <i>Carminum liber primus</i> , 35.....	65
Figure 3. Nuptial poem to Joan Voit, <i>Carminum liber primus</i> , 66.....	66

Introduction

The turn of the 16th century marked the *floruit* of the Hungarian humanist Johannes Filiczki. At this time, Filiczki studied at various academies and universities, worked as a preceptor of his noble patrons, and travelled extensively throughout Hungary and Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, he cultivated friendships with *viri illustres*, kept an *album amicorum*, and published several collections of poems. Although his career was not long, he left remarkable vestiges in history of numerous people and several countries – vestiges worth exploring.

Filiczki's personal narrative of an intellectual travelling abroad to pursue knowledge and gain professional qualifications is almost a universal story in Central Europe, not only in the Middle Ages, but up to this day. Well-informed about the significance of the *peregrinatio academica* in the region, I could not avoid drawing parallels between Filiczki's account and my own story: enrolling at CEU, familiarizing with the foreign academic culture, meeting people from most varied backgrounds, sharing the love for letters, and strengthening the bonds of *respublica litteraria*; even if during the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic the comparison with Filiczki's experience during the outbreak of plague at the University of Siegen seemed too amplified. Nevertheless, it is this story, the story of a scholar and poet travelling abroad, which I wanted to retell from yet another, novel point of view.

Hence, my present thesis did not intend only to fill out the gaps in the narrative about Filiczki's life and provide responses to the questions set by previous scholarship. Rather, its main subject matter is that of representation and self-fashioning. This study thus exceeds a mere biography. Instead, it aims to explore the ways in which the same biographical narrative has been reiterated: numerous times and from various angles, either by the scholars, who continue to engage with Filiczki's legacy, or by his contemporaries and peers, who left us their testimonies in form of recommendations, letters, or inscriptions in the *album amicorum*.

Finally, the thesis analyzes Filicki's own works and tries to decipher the way Filiczki himself might have wanted his story to be conveyed and what he intended to communicate through his work to the contemporary audiences as well as to posterity.

Up to date, the research about Filiczki remains scattered. Researchers from Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia have focused on separate parts of his career or had access to different primary sources.¹ These sources, however, are now becoming increasingly digitized which not only allows, but also encourages further research.

The sources in question include various editions of Filiczki's poems, whether in his own collection or those of the others.² The aforementioned digitization allowed, for example, for easy access to several inaccessible manuscripts, e.g. autograph of one of the Filiczki's lesser known poems providing interesting personal information,³ or a group of three previously undescribed poems about coats-of-arms in a print convolute.⁴

¹ Here, I will list only the most up-to-date literature on the subject, however, I will engage with previous scholarship, especially that of 17th to 19th centuries, in the chapter on reception and elsewhere throughout the thesis. In Hungarian historiography the most complete account is that of József Szinnyi, *Magyar írók élete é munkái III.* (Budapest: Hornányszky Viktor Könyvkereskedése, 1894). For Czech historiography, see Jan Odložilík, "Jan Filiczki z Filic a jeho čeští přátelé," in *K dějinám československým v období humanismu: sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k 60. narozeninám 1872-1932*, ed. by Bedřich Jenšovský and Bedřich Mendl (Praha: Československá archivní společnost, 1932), 431-42; *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě II* (Praha: Academia, 1966). For Slovak historiography, see Helena Májeková, "Ján Filický." PhD Dissertation, (Filozofická fakulta UK, Bratislava, 1980); Helena Májeková, "K výskumu slovenskej humanistickej literatúry. Básnik Ján Filický" [For the research of humanist literature], in *Zborník filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského = Philologica* 38 (1988) (Bratislava: SPN, 1990), 139-51; Helena Májeková, "Ján Filický a jeho miesto v humanistickej literatúre" [Ján Filický and his place in the humanistic literature], in *Auriga: zprávy Jednoty klasických filológů* 33, no. 1-4, (1991): 19-29; Jozef Minárik, *Renesančná a humanistická literatúra; Svetová, česká, slovenská* [Renaissance and humanist literature; world, Czech, Slovak] (Bratislava: SPN, 1985).

² Johannes Filiczki, *Xenia natalitia*. (Prague, 1604); *Carminum liber primus. Carminum liber secundus sive Miscella epigrammata* (Basel, 1614) (further referred to as *Carmina*); "Poemata varia" in *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum: Nunc primum in hac Germania exhibitae*, edited by Johannes Philippus Pareus, 465-530. (Frankfurt, 1619). Accessible online: <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=mVUgyO9-ZfMC&rdid=book-mVUgyO9-ZfMC&rdot=1>. Johann Fürst of Nassau-Siegen, *Luctus Illustris Nassovicae Scholae Sigenensis Super Obit Illustris Et Generosissimi Domini, Domini Johannis, senioris, Comitis Nassoviae*, (Herborn, 1607), 50, 79. Accessible online: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-12960>. Szenci Molnár, Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai, edited by Lajos Dézsi (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1898), Irományai, XL, 442.

³ Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1906, 116r. Accesible online: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1906/0233

⁴ János Filiczki and Hieronymus Treutler, *Aurea Bulla et miscellanea*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 819, f. 250r-v. Accessible online: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN_9929765263503681.

Yet a different type of source are two philologico-theological disputations that Filiczki wrote as a part of his university studies. The first one was published in Siegen in 1608 and it is an argument against the infallibility of the Catholic church, almost like a personal confession of faith of a Calvinist.⁵ The other disputation is less of a direct confrontation with the Catholicism and more of a philological study about the usage of particles in sacred and secular literature and how this influences the interpretations of a certain quote of Saint Augustine.⁶ These sources provide some interesting biographical information.

Aside from poems, there are a few letters that were preserved and provide some insight into Filiczki's world. Currently, three letters are known to be preserved – 1605 letter from Prague to Hungary discussing the political situation in the region,⁷ 1608 letter from Siegen to Albert Molnár Szenci, in which he informs about his studies and travels,⁸ and finally a 1609 letter from Marburg to Johannes Piscator.⁹

A remarkably interesting primary source and a one I have dealt primarily with in this thesis is Filiczki's *album amicorum*. *Album amicorum* or *Stammbuch* is a book for collecting autographs and inscriptions. Such books have been traditionally exchanged between friends, classmates and colleagues, but at the same time could function as letters of recommendation, a form of academic credentials, or a status symbol. The *alba* are extremely valuable. They do not only contain the biographical data which allow us to reconstruct the social networks they

⁵ Johannes Filiczky, *Disputatio Theologica, Sex Praecipuas de Ecclesia quaestiones* (Siegen, 1608). Accessible online: <https://lhwei.gbv.de/DB=2/LNG=EN/CLK?IKT=12&TRM=877962715>.

⁶ Johannes Filiczky, *Disputatio XII: De Potestate Particularum: Sicut, Ita, Ut; Et Similium, tam in Sacris, quam profanis Literis: in qua etiam dissertitur de germana sententia dicti Augustini: Non Est consequens, ut quod in Deo est, ita sit ubique, ut Deus / Quam ... Praeside ... Dn. Rodolpho Goclenio Sen. ... examinandam proponit In Collegio Gocleniano Johannes Filiczki De Filefalva.*

⁷ This has been published *in extenso* and discussed by Kálmán Benda. Kálmán Benda, "Filiczki János levele 1605-ből," *Irodalomtörténeti Dolgozatok* 99 (1973): 83-90.

⁸ Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Levelezése, CLXIX, 279.

⁹ Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Briefwechsel von Johannes und Philipp Ludwig Piscator. Signatur: Chart. A 130, Bl. 155r-156v. Unfortunately, I could not access this letter.

were part of. In addition to that, they represent an intersection of private and public, which makes them an ideal type of research source.

Moreover, the creation of an *album* is an almost collaborative project. While it might seem that the inscriber is the only agent, his choice of words and devices did not reflect only his own persona, but also his/hers disposition towards the owner of the *album*. The inscriptions are, thus, precious testimonies of the specific nature of the relationship between the inscriber and the owner as well as the specific character of the *album*.

Filiczki's *album* is now a part of the manuscript collection of the Library of the National Museum in Prague. It is contained within a print of *Emblemata* by Andrea Alciato with additional blank pages for inscriptions, amounting to nearly 160 autographs from years 1600 to 1616. The first author to write a study on this album was Marta Vaculínová.¹⁰ Her work is exceptional in regard to the biographical data and prosopography of the subscribers, however, owing to the limitations of the publication, no deeper analysis of the entries' style and phrasing is provided in her article. In this thesis, I will conduct a partial content analysis of the *album* and expand upon previous attempts at visual analysis of the *album*.

The first chapter will be biographical and describe the current knowledge of Filiczki's career in prosopographical terms. It should serve as a solid basis for the rest of the discussion. The second chapter will explore the perception and presentation of Filiczki's career by previous scholarship from the 17th up to the 21st century. In the third chapter I will offer a deep analysis of the notion of *peregrinatio academica* during the Renaissance and Filiczki's own

¹⁰ Marta Vaculínová, "Památník Jana Filického v Knihovně Národního muzea a některé nově nalezené básně" [*Album amicorum* of Johannes Filiczki in the Library of the National museum and some newly discovered poems], *Sambucus IX* (2013), 96–103.; Marta Vaculínová, "Jan Filický z Filice a jeho památník v rukopisné sbírce Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze" [Jan Filický from Filice and his *album amicorum* in the manuscript collection of the Library of the Prague's National Museum], in *Knihy 2013. Zborník o problémoch a dejinách knižnej kultúry. Dejiny knižnej kultúry Spiša*. (Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica - Odbor Národná bibliografia, 2013), 304–20.

understanding of this concept, especially in connection with his noble status. Using Filicki's *album amicorum* as the base, the fourth chapter will look at the collective self-fashioning of Filiczki and his contemporaries. This will illustrate the main characteristics of an *album amicorum* and demonstrate the influence of specific practices of self-representation on both the inscriptions in the album and Filiczki's poetry. The last chapter will explore how Filiczki wanted to present his story in the collection of poems he edited and published.

All translations in the thesis are mine unless indicated otherwise.

1. Biography and travels

Johannes Filiczki [fi.liʦs.ki(:)] de Filefalva (ca.1580 – August 8, 1622) was a Hungarian noble, teacher, and poet born in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Szepes County (Spiš, Zips, Szepesség). In national historiographies his name is often “naturalized” to fit the modern vernacular of the writer, and hence information on him can be found under names of Filiczki János (filefalvi), Ján Filický z Filic or Jan Filický z Filic.

Filiczki was born around 1580, an estimate agreed upon by all researchers based on data on his career achievements and relations with patrons. Although his nobiliary particle indicates family origins in Filefalva or Filice (today part of Gánovce, Slovakia), he comes from village of Farkasfalva (Vlková) in the same region.¹¹ He studied at the local *gymnasia* of Lőcse (Levoča) and Késmárk (Kežmarok) as is known from his *album amicorum* and from his later poems, in which he gives thanks to his teachers and patrons. Perhaps the most influential of these patrons was the noble István I. Thököly. Thököly supported him not only through his gymnasial studies in Szepes County but helped him at the start of his career journey abroad, when he employed Filiczki as a companion and tutor of his younger son Miklós Thököly to study at the *gymnasium* of Zgorzelec (Zhořelec, Görlitz), a town on the borders of modern-day Germany and Poland. Filiczki departed from Szepes on March 2, 1602 and is presumed to start his studies in Zgorzelec in April of that year.¹² Somewhere during this stay he received from a classmate and compatriot Jan Kraus (Crausius) from Stará Ľubovňa (Lubloviensis Scepusius)

¹¹ Indeed, he sometimes styles his subscriptions as *Farkasfalvanus*.

¹² This *gymnasium* was a frequent destination of students from Szepes and Czech lands. Martin Holý, *Zrození renesančního kavalíra: výchova a vzdělávání šlechty z českých zemí na prahu novověku (1500-1620)* [Birth of a Renaissance Gentleman: Education and Instruction of the Czech Nobility in Early Modern Times], (Praha: Historický ústav, 2010), 203-15.

the print of Andrea Alciati's *Emblems*, which he later used as an *album amicorum*.¹³ A year later, presumably in July 1603, he started preparing to go on his journey to Prague as can be deduced from the number of entries from his classmates in the *album*.¹⁴ He arrived in Prague at the end of the year – sometime in October, but there is no reliable evidence of his presence there, before the *album* confirms it in January 1604.¹⁵

It is not certain where in Prague has Filiczki studied: a part of the historiography suggested that he was studying at the arts faculty of the Prague University.¹⁶ Others argued that he could be attending the private school of Adam Huber of Ryzenpach.¹⁷ Filiczki himself, mentions in the preface to his disputation later in 1608 that he was visiting some lectures at the Jesuit college, although Filiczki's name cannot be found in the index of students.¹⁸ Moreover, there is also a brief reference to this period of his life directly in the body of the disputations.¹⁹ Filiczki specifies that he was taking lessons in catechism and uses this opportunity to praise the Protestant and Calvinist education through the mouth of his enemy: "I have heard myself from Prague Jesuits in the explanation of catechism that our faithful, and not only the adults, but the youngest boys as well, are so well versed in catechism that they could do a job of many Catholic parish priests and monks."²⁰

¹³ I will talk more closely about the *album* in the coming chapters. Similar to the contemporary *alba*, it was a memory book to be shared with friends and colleagues who would contribute to the owner's album. These entries then functioned both as a personal memorabilia, but also fulfilled several social functions by showing the owner's personal connections and social status.

¹⁴ He would often wait to collect the inscriptions into the *album* before continuing. Vaculínová, "Jan Filický", 308.

¹⁵ Vaculínová, "Jan Filický," 308; Májeková agrees he was already there at the time. Helena Májeková, "Ján Filický." (PhD Dissertation, Filozofická fakulta UK, Bratislava, 1980), 8.

¹⁶ Májeková, "Ján Filický," 9.

¹⁷ Jan Odložilík, "Jan Filiczki z Filic a jeho čeští přátelé," in *K dějinám československým v období humanismu : sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k 60. narozeninám 1872-1932*, ed. Bedřich Jenšovský and Bedřich Mendl (Praha: Československá archivní společnost, 1932), 431-42.

¹⁸ Vaculínová, "Jan Filický," 308.

¹⁹ Vaculínová does not mention this episode.

²⁰ Filiczki, *Disputatio Theologica*, 20, f. 9v, XXVI, 13th note. "Ipse audivi ex Jesuitis Pragensibus in Catechismi explanatione; nostrorum hominum non modo adultos, verum etiam minimos pueros optime in Catechismo institutos esse, ut possint multis etiam Parochis [et] Monachis Catholicorum negotium facessere."

Consequently, my hypothesis is that Filiczki was not studying liberal arts, as he had a strong background in those from Hungary and Zgorzelec, but was preparing himself already for studies of theology, choosing selected lessons accordingly, living a busy social life, and arranging his first collection of poems.

The first collection of poems, published in 1604, was titled *Xenia natalitia*, in English probably best translated as *Birthday Gifts*. As the full title suggests, it doubled down as a New Year gift, so we can infer that it was published early in the year.²¹ The collection contains thirteen poems, dedicated primarily to Hungarian patrons, benefactors, and other supporters, such as teachers.

The aforementioned busy social life is, on the one hand, scholars' conjecture coming from the fact that Prague at the time was the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and naturally it garnered a lot of intellectual activity. On the other hand, there are Filiczki's direct testimonies. In one of the few letters of his that were preserved, he vividly describes the situation in the imperial city, writing the letter "among clinging glasses."²² He also received (and presumably gave) a lot of inscriptions in his *album amicorum*, attesting that he met with such figures as Johannes Bocatius, Jan Jessenius, and even the imperial mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler.²³ Filiczki kept in contact with local Czech (Prague) poets as well, the most important among which was Heinrich Klinger, one of Filiczki's teachers, or the famous Paulus a Gisbice.²⁴ Most importantly, he got acquainted with Přeč of Hodějová (*ab Hoddiegova*), who became his main patron for several years.

²¹ Filiczki, *Xenia natalitia*. "Magnificis, generosis, ... viris ... Dnis. Mecaenatibus ac patronis suis, .. strenae loco in recens ineuntis anni, M. DC. IV. felix auspicium."

²² Kálmán Benda, "Filiczki János levele," "inter strepitum poculorum et catervam potatorum".

²³ *Filiczki's Album*, 66r (Bocatius), 127r (Kepler).

²⁴ *Filiczki's Album*, 57r; Filiczki, *Carminum liber II*, 88; Vaculínová, "Ján Filický," 309.

It is not clear when exactly Filiczki obtained a new job as a preceptor, i.e. tutor and teacher, of the noble family of Hodějová. It must have been between 1604 and 1605, although the situation is intricate. In March 1605, there is the last Prague entry in *album amicorum*.²⁵ From April we have the aforementioned letter where he states that he is “either soon visit the homeland or go to some other college.” Among modern scholarship Májeková argues that he must have been employed by Hodějová family by that time, tending to younger sons of Hodějová family who were in Prague (namely Bohuslav, Adam, and Smil), while the older sons (Bernard and Jan Jiří) were in Herborn.²⁶ It seems that the situation developed quickly, because soon after the letter, there is a *propemtikon*, i.e. a farewell poem, from Filiczki’s teacher Heinrich Klinger.²⁷ On 14th June 1605, Filiczki was already matriculated in Herborn. It must be added that on the way he stopped in Nürnberg, where he visited his teacher and supporter, Georgius Remus.²⁸ Vaculínová speculates that he might have visited Conrad Rittershusius in nearby Altdorf as well, but as she mentions, there is no direct evidence of them knowing each other personally.²⁹

There are not many *album* entries from the period of his Herborn stay, but this period and the social circles he frequented in are documented well-enough by his later book of poems. Worth singling out is an inscription from Georgius Erastus, Filiczki’s *commensalis*, somebody who he shared accommodation with. As Czech scholarship emphasized, he had a lot of acquaintances among Czech protestants and the Unity of Brethren.³⁰ The entries in the *album* are from September to November of 1605. After that, we have a new set of entries from Prague,

²⁵ *Filiczki’s Album*, 112v.

²⁶ Májeková, “Ján Filický,” 9.

²⁷ Published by Filiczki in *Carminum liber II*, 88.

²⁸ *Filiczki’s Album* 220r; Also alluded to in the preface letter in *Carminum liber II*, 86.

²⁹ Vaculínová, “Ján Filický,” 310; Lotichius speculates the same; there is a letter by Georgius Remus to Rittershusius, in which Filiczki sends his regards, but no evidence of direct correspondence between them. Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Levelezése, CX, 205.

³⁰ *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě II*. Praha: Academia, 1966, 144; Vaculínová, “Ján Filický,” 310.

where Filiczki returned for a brief period from March to June of 1606 and spent time with his patrons and people from the university community.³¹ The reason for this trip might have been the outbreak of the plague in Herborn.

The Herborn academy had temporarily moved to Siegen to escape the plague and Filiczki and his pupils could continue their studies. In this period Filiczki contributed with a Latin elegy and short poems in Hungarian and Slovak to a Festschrift written on occasion of the death of the Johannes of Nassau, the patron of the school.³² In April Filiczki made a short trip to nearby Marburg, where he met his compatriots, but came back and finished his studies at the Herbon academy later that year.

In October 1608, Filiczki obtained farewell *album* entries from his teachers and lead his pupils to the University of Marburg where they were matriculated.³³ Here he lived with his students, Albert Molnár Szenci and Johann Philip Treutler in the house of Cunigunda Ferinaria, widow of Conrad Vietor van Aken.³⁴ We also learn another name of his friends he lived with, Melchior a Sedlitzki.³⁵ In 1610 Filiczki held a theological disputation *On the meaning of particles "sicut, ita, ut" etc.*, where he refutes the omnipresence of God relying on Augustine's testimony.³⁶ From this disputation we could learn several names of his patrons and that he studied under the guidance of Rudolph Goclenius, a remarkable scholastic philosopher. It seems that in the same year he intended to publish a book of collected poems: he prepared the preface, letters to his patrons to be printed alongside the poems, he even presented them to his Marburg colleagues (as his first biographer Johannes Lotichius notes), but for some reason the

³¹ "in collegio carolino Pragae" *Filiczki's Album*, 118r.

³² *Luctus Illustris Nassovicae Scholae*...

³³ *Rukověť*, 144

³⁴ Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Naplója, 50.

³⁵ *Filiczki's Album*, 165r, 1609.

³⁶ Filiczki, *De potestate particularum*.

collection did not see the light of the day.³⁷ Around this time another one of persons he shared accommodation preserved his name, Thomas a Dord (?), in the *album*.³⁸

Filiczki and his companions then stayed in Marburg until the spring of 1611 and afterwards departed for Heidelberg, where they matriculated on April 2.³⁹ The whole company, or at least Filiczki, lived in the house of Christopher Jungnitz together with Albert Molnár, and unknown nobles Thuri and Pitter.⁴⁰ In this town, Filiczki waited to collect entries into the *album* from colleagues and friends until the autumn next year. By October time, the group was ready to move to Basel.⁴¹ They travelled through Strasburg and ended up matriculating at the university of Basel in October 1612.⁴²

The academic journey of both Filiczki and noblemen of Hodějová, their so-called *peregrinatio academica* or *Kavalierstour*, was slowly coming to an end.⁴³ In Basel Filiczki again socialized with a lot of teachers, poets and other intellectual elites, as his *album* testifies. In this town, he did not wait until departure to get their subscriptions, but was collecting them already from November 1612. A year later, in 1613, the nobles had obtained their degrees. It is not clear if Filiczki did as well. It was not uncommon to study at a university without ever obtaining a degree – a phenomenon continuing from the Middle Ages that was still at true in

³⁷ This is apparent from letters in *Carmina*, lib. II, 85-87 and from allusions in poems like *Carmina*, lib I., *Auctor ad suum libellum*. This is also the reason for erroneous information in Johannes Lotichius's encyclopedia, where he refers to the "poetic firstlings" of Filiczki. This misinformation then spread into older literature, like e.g. Szinnyei.

³⁸ *Filiczki's Album*, 285r, 1611.

³⁹ Vaculínová, "Ján Filický," 313.

⁴⁰ Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Levelezése, CCXXXIX, 378. "Remanebunt hic tres: dominus Filiczki, dominus Thuri et dominus Pitter. Nunc omnes utimur una eademque mensa, puta excellentissimi viri domini Christophori Jungnitz, utitur eadem mensa etiam dominus Filiczki cum suis dominis generosis; post discessum etiam nostrum utuntur eadem mensa."

⁴¹ One of the most extraordinary inscriptions in the album is by Christopher Jungnitz, professor of mathematics in Heidelberg (the very same who provided Filiczki with accomodation), who instead of the most common distich and a subscription contributed eleven stanzas long poem about departure of Filiczki and his friends to Basel.

⁴² Vaculínová, "Ján Filický," 314.

⁴³ These two terms are distinct, but deeply intertwined and are sometimes considered under the umbrella term of "learned travel" or "noble education," which is also the reason why I discussed them together here. I deal with the nature of travels of Filiczki and his companions in the third chapter.

the early modern era.⁴⁴ Lotichius wrote that “Filiczki progressed so much [in his studies of theology] that he ardently worked towards the degree and the highest honors in metaphysics of that most dignified faculty (that are attributed in academies).”⁴⁵ Májeková interprets this as a testimony against Filiczki’s degree.⁴⁶

Moving on from the problem of degrees, later that year, on the November 2, 1613, the mother of nobles of Hodějová has died. This prompted the nobles to return home. Filiczki decided to stay in Basel a little longer. At this time, he found the publisher for the collection he could not publish earlier, printer Johannes Schröter. Vaculínová suggests that he was recommended to him by Johannes Grasser, a poet laureate and a friend who wrote an encomium for Filiczki.⁴⁷ The book itself, titled *Poems* (called in scholarship *Carmina* or *Carminum libri duo*), came out in 1614. It consisted of two books and contained selected poems from 1603 up to that point, an *opus magnum* in a way. The first book contained mostly occasional poetry, while the other one focused on epigrams.

After the successful publication, Filiczki spent another two years travelling in the imperium, visiting acquaintances in places like Strassburg, Augsburg, Leipzig, Marburg, Frankfurt etc. There is an indication in the *album* that Filiczki was on his way back to Hungary already in 1615.⁴⁸ In 1616 Filiczki received last entries into his *album* while travelling through Prague.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, „Mobility,“ in *A History of the University in Europe, vol. II. Universities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 417.

⁴⁵ Johannes Petrus Lotichius, *Bibliotheca poeticae pars quarta et ultima*, (Frankfurt: Luca Jennisius, 1628), 146. In qua quidem divina scientia eo eruditionis perrexit, ut ad gradum, & honores summos Metaphysicae illius facultatis gravissimae (quales quidem in Academiis conferuntur) haud segniter aspirare visus est.

⁴⁶ Májeková, „Ján Filický“, 12; I am not convinced of her conclusions here. It seems, indeed, that Filiczki’s possible title of *poeta laureatus* can be better explained if he obtained an academic degree earlier.

⁴⁷ Vaculínová, “Jan Filický”, 314.

⁴⁸ These are the words of Timotheus Potaratius: “Johanni Filiczki Hungariam repetenti et Francofurti nostro iter facienti.” *Filiczki’s Album*, 144r.

⁴⁹ *Filiczki’s Album*, from Elias Berger 241r, probably also Přeck a Hodějová (without month) 41v.

In 1617, Filiczki already worked as a teacher at the important school of Sárospatak.⁵⁰ He was a temporary co-rector alongside Johannes Boros Zemcinus in 1618.⁵¹ In 1622, Filiczki became a full-time rector himself⁵² and remained an active poet meanwhile. There is a recently rediscovered poem from this period, dedicated to one of his friends from Heidelberg, Jan Gruter.⁵³ Another poem, an elegy to the wife of Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, can be dated as *terminus post quem* May 1622.⁵⁴ This might have been his last poem, since on 18th August 1622, Filiczki died of a plague that affected Sárospatak. The date is known from the *album amicorum* of his friend István Miskolc Csulyaki, who added the exact date to Filiczki's subscription from an earlier occasion.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *Rukověť*, 144; Májeková, „Ján Filický,“ 12, Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi).

⁵¹ János Szombathi, *Magyar Prot. Egyháztörténelmi Emlékek I. Historia Scholae Seu Collegii Ref. Sarospatakiensis*. (Sárospatak: Tiszáninneri Helv. Hitv. Egyházkerület, 1860). Accessible online: <https://onb.digital/result/1072AE9F>.

⁵² Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi); Májeková, „Ján Filiczky,“ 13; János Soltész, „A sárospataki főiskola tanárainak életrajza (Szombathi János után) I-XXIII,“ *Sárospataki Füzetek* 8, 1864.

⁵³ Gábor Kecskeméti, „Filiczky János (csaknem) ismeretlen köszöntőverse” [A (not so) unknown poem of Johannes Filiczki], in *Bibliotheca et Universitas* (2011), 149-56.

⁵⁴ Published later in 1624, see Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi).

⁵⁵ *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum (IAA)*, nr. 9112, 9113; Vaculínová, „Jan Filický,“ 307.

2. What makes a poet? *Versifex* or *Poeta laureatus*

2.1 Social role of a poet: being seen as a poet

It is hard to determine what constitutes the literary or the poetical, at least in terms of engaging with the term critically.⁵⁶ It seems even trickier to properly define the *poet*, as the *poet* is often defined secondarily as the maker, the *poiētēs*, of poetry, creating a vicious circle.

In addition, one must be mindful of changes of the notion over the centuries. The *poet* is a fusion of a person concerned with writing poetry and knowing its craft on the one hand, and of the lofty ideal demanding certain moral and human qualities on the other hand. *Poiētēs* is the maker, and not only a composer of a poems, but a person bestowed with divine power of creation like Amphion, who built the city of Thebes with the power of his song, or Arion and Orpheus, who could command nature and beasts. On the other hand, a poet was a professional, a master of his craft, like Homer or Virgil, who commanded great knowledge, but were still considered humans.⁵⁷

These two aspects are of course connected, but not identical; and this is reflected in the Latin language itself, which at least since times of Quintilian can distinguish a “poet” (*poeta*, *vates*), a persona infused with divinity and possessing a mastery of the craft, from a “versifier” or “verse-maker” (*versificator*), a mere human being with at best moderate skills.⁵⁸

This distinction, less important during the Middle Ages, gained weight in the Renaissance, as writing poetry became a regular part of education in liberal arts. Poetry figured

⁵⁶ For a closer debate about what constitutes the literary or the poetical, see Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Michigan, 2008); Peter Widdowson, *Literature* (London: Routledge, 1999); Vincent B. Leitch et al., *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2018); Vernon Hall et al., “Renaissance Poetics,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, edited by Roland Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) 1158-63.

⁵⁷ For various aspects of a poet in Antiquity see Princeton, *Poet*, 1048-51.

⁵⁸ Cornelius is more of a versifier than an esteemed poet... Cornelius autem Severus, etiam si est versificator quam poëta melior..., Quint. 10, 1, 89.

prominently even in curricula of the 16th and 17th century schools, i.e. in Filiczki's time, aiming for the proficiency in verse writing of all the pupils.⁵⁹ It is obvious that not everyone who wrote poetry, e.g. a gratulatory verse for a patron's birthday or a distich into friend's *album amicorum*, was a poet. Society and the poets themselves carefully cultivated the image and the status of a poet and they frequently praised, critiqued, or derided poems of others; a gatekeeping mechanism trying to dissuade other aspiring poets.

Example of such a peer critique in Renaissance is a satire by Petrus Montanus, which "calls out all versifiers, who wrongly assume the name of a poet, while they are barely even versifiers".⁶⁰ The satire ends slightly paradoxically, with the author's claim that distinguishing a real poet is really hard even for learned men.⁶¹ As Kivistö writes, the difference between good poets and bad poets was a frequent topic of satire and was taken up by numerous authors.⁶²

Filiczki himself does not write much against his fellow poets – in his satires he mostly criticises drunkenness, inebriety and Catholicism. Nevertheless, he was compelled to defend his poetry and his status of a poet by vituperating his critic, the lawyer Andreas Hercinius, in an epigram. When Hercinius complains that Filiczki uses the conjunction *quin* without subjunctive, Filiczki counterattacked by criticising Hercinius' metre. "*But you write your hexameter in five or seven feet; / that I deem a great mistake, as it is indeed.*" In the last distich Filiczki rejects Hercinius' suggestions once again, using *quin* with indicative and complaining that Latin subjunctive is there to help put together disjointed sentences, not to oppress writers

⁵⁹ David George Halsted, "*Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus and his Circle*," (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1991).

⁶⁰ Petrus Montanus, *Satyrae. I. De poetis. De discrimine inter divinum poetam et versificatorem*. (Strasbourg: apud Christian Egenolff, 1529). Accessible online: <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/692121>.

⁶¹ Petrus Montanus, *Satyrae*, s.p.

⁶² Sari Kivistö, "Verse Satire," in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, edited by Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 148–62.

with linguistic prescriptivism.⁶³ The qualities of Filiczki's poetry were more often defended by others than by Filiczki himself, which inspired this chapter to consider his poetic career almost entirely from an external perspective. Simultaneously, it should give a sufficient account on the early scholarship on Filiczki.

Literary critics would like to have an established definition of the *poetry* or the *poet*. In contrast to them, historians can always return to the pragmatic definition of poetry: Poetry is what is recognized as poetry by the contemporaries. This is true for the concept of *poet* as well. The poet as an individual was actively participating in a society; he was liable to the society's expectations – phenomena more approachable to the subject of history. Although it can be discussed to what extent poet actively creates or shapes his own image and career as a poet in the society, from this perspective, he relies on society's recognition, i.e. on the recognition of patrons, church, peers, communities within the society, or local and regional networks. Personal ambitions also cannot be disregarded when examining this process.

On these grounds, this chapter discusses Filiczki's poetic journey purely from the external perspective, by a recognition of his peers and posterity. The written evidence we have for this is of the most formal kind, expressed directly by being called a poet in poems, prefaces, *album amicorum* or biographies by contemporaries and later scholars.

For Filiczki's contemporaries, his other characteristics were often considered more important than his poetry. In the university setting of the students of theology, this seemed to be the country of origin, fitting a multinational environment.⁶⁴ Oftentimes it was Filiczki's post as a *praeceptor* or *ephorus* of young nobles from Hodějová that was more important.⁶⁵ In

⁶³. Ad Andraeam Hercinium, J.C. subornatum. Quod mihi QUIN conjunctivo non juncta marito est / Non istud vitii labe carere putas. / At tu quinque Epicus pedibus semptemque recursas: / Turpe mihi vitium hoc esse videtur; et est. / Haud premit, haud ille ut perdat, sed lapsa reformat: / pectora salvanti quin damus ergo jugo?

⁶⁴ See Filiczki's *Disputatio Theologica; Disputatio XII: De Potestate Particularum: Sicut, Ita, Ut*.

⁶⁵ "Sub ductu Ephori et praefecti vestri, ornatissimi juxta ac doctissimi viri Dn. Johannis Filiczki." Philipp Heinrich von Hoen. *Disputationes* (Herborn, 1608).

Filiczki's own book *Carmina* he is naturally projected as a poet most frequently; the opinions of his friends and supporters served as an explicit confirmation of his status and Filiczki would publish it in his book to stress his gravitas. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

The highest praise for any humanist was to be compared and deemed equal to a writer of Antiquity; they were the shining examples and models of writing. In Filiczki's case, this happened to be Ovid. Iohannes Pincier, a medic and a teacher at the Herborn university, wrote him these verses: "*If anybody born in the city of ancient Quirites was to read these / poems born from the spirit of Hungarian soil, / he would say that the teacher who has suffered your exile, oh cruel Cupid, has returned from the Thracian barrows. / He would say both ashes and his talent were brought up to exiles near Danube and to the Danubians.*"⁶⁶ The teacher who has suffered exile because of love can only be Ovid, chosen apparently because of the regional connection.

This poem seems to be the origin of the *topos* of Filiczki being called Ovid, despite Szinnyei's claim that Lotichius started this. This is simply not true and Lotichius, whose writings will be subjected to our scrutiny in a few paragraphs, does not mention it anywhere.⁶⁷ This *topos* was later transferred to Hungarian literary tradition by János Füsüs Pataki. Füsüs quotes Filiczki's verses in his historical-political book *Királyoknak tüköre*.⁶⁸ He praises him as Christian poet when discussing the "true nobility",⁶⁹ and as a "poet and a second Ovid of our age" when he refers to his verse about the struggle of the true faith.⁷⁰

Less public, but more personal space to show appreciation for another man's work, was Filiczki's *album amicorum*. Poets would often write original poetry to a fellow poet's *album* or they could show mutual supports to each other in a different way, as e.g. Pavol z Jizbice, a

⁶⁶ προσφωνησις, see Pincier's inscription in Filiczki's *Carmina*.

⁶⁷ Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi).

⁶⁸ János Pataki Füsüs, *Királyoknak tüköre*, (Bártfa: Jakob Klosae, 1626). Régi Magyar Könyvtár, I. 549.

⁶⁹ "keresztény poéta" Füsüs, *Királyoknak tüköre*, 27.

⁷⁰ "mi időnkben lévő második Ovidius Poétának panászolkodása szerént" Füsüs, *Királyoknak tüköre*, 31.

Czech poet, did, when he wrote the following quote from Florus into Filiczki's *album*: "Consuls and proconsuls are elected each year, but a king and a poet are (only) born once in many years."⁷¹

Filiczki's poems from the *Deliciae poetarum Hungarorum* were also popular among Hungarian nobles and scholars of the following centuries and used by them in quotes for their own inscriptions into *alba amicorum*, probably because of the short format and interesting wordplay. They show very well the impact Filiczki had as a poet even for the posterity. Some of the entries invoke Filiczki's status of a poet directly, introducing his poems with "Inquit Poeta Ioh. Filicz." while others are satisfied using his verses without referring to their author. These include e.g. people like János Pósalaki, a town clerk of Debrecen in the 17th century.⁷² As a side note, even Péter Bod, composer of a literary history of Hungary, written in Hungarian, used one Filiczki's poems for an inscription into a friend's *album*.⁷³

In the previous lines, the reader had a chance to see that Filiczki was considered a poet by a variety of people; contemporaries and posterity, professors and friends alike, across various media. Finally, there is another rather important group of people that acquired considerable influence in deciding who is a poet. Since their accounts tend to be more intricate and can help resolve certain questions about Filiczki's career as a poet, it is most suitable to discuss them only after exploring the attitudes of all the other groups that shaped Filiczki's image of a poet. This last group consists of the literary historians.

⁷¹ "Consules fiunt quotannis et novi proconsules; solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur."

⁷² Unfortunately, I was unable to acquire more information on other inscribers using Filiczki's verses. Two more names to list, though, are Gergely Kenesei and Andreas Richter. *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum*, nr. 617, 15038, 10941, 14537.

⁷³ *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum*, nr. 14357.

2.2 Scholarly recognition of Filiczki

The first biography and literary history of Filiczki was written by his contemporary, Johann Peter Lotichius (1598–1669), a German poet and a medical doctor.⁷⁴ Lotichius included Filiczki in his monumental encyclopaedic *vitae* of poets titled *Bibliotheca poetica*, encompassing 169 male and four female poets since Antiquity until his own time.⁷⁵ The first part describes the lives of Greek and Thracian poets and the second one portrays the poets of the provinces of Italia and Hispania (including ancient and modern writers). The third part of the *Bibliotheca* focuses on German and Belgian Neo-Latin poets. Five Hungarian poets share the fourth volume with French, English, Danish, Polish, Czech and other poets.⁷⁶

This work was not written as a literary history of the humanist poetry in the modern sense. Lotichius does not reveal the criteria for selection of the poets included; however, the editors of his work reveal his preference for his compatriots and friends.⁷⁷ Lotichius did not seem to know Filiczki personally, but he studied in the same universities of Marburg and Basel only few years after Filiczki, and they might have shared some acquaintances. Among these was definitely Johann Jakob Grasser, a *poeta laureatus caesareus*, who seems to have crowned both of them *poetae laureati*.⁷⁸ Another reason for including Filiczki seems to be the book

⁷⁴ Sabine Hock, “Lotichius, Johann Peter, Artikel aus der Frankfurter Biographie (1994/96),” in *Frankfurter Personenlexikon* (Onlineausgabe): <http://frankfurter-personenlexikon.de/node/3113>.

Wilhelm Stricker, “Lotichius, Johann Peter,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), Band 19, (Duncker & Humblot: Leipzig, 1884), S. 268 f.: https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Lotichius,_Johannes_Peter.

⁷⁵ Johann Peter Lotichius, *Bibliotheca poetica. Pars 1-4* (Francofurti: Sumptibus Lucae Jennisii - Pars 1: ... Thraciae et Graeciae... - 1625. 44 S. - Pars 2: ... Italiae, et Hispaniae... - 1625. S. 47 - 102 - Pars 3: ... Germaniae et Belgii... - 1626. [29], 224 S.: Ill.; - Pars 4: ... diversarum nationum... Acc.... Hortulus Smirtzicianus bipartitus... - 1628 [20], 229, [1]), S. 8o. <http://mateo.uni-mannheim.de/camenaref/lotichius.html>.

⁷⁶ These five Hungarian poets are Ianus Pannonius (Csezmiczei János), Iohannes Sambuccus (Zsámboki János), Iohannes Sommerus, Georgius Thurius (Túri György) and Iohannes Filiczki.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, see editors’ introduction. On a later point, however, Lotichius did write critical assessments of poetry, such as *Super poetis Latinis, nov-antiquis, censura, sive promulsis critica* (Francofurti: Schleich, 1645). Nevertheless, in this work, he mostly discussed Roman elegy and some German Neo-Latin poets and did not mention Filiczki’s work.

⁷⁸ See subchapter 2.2.5.

Deliciae poetarum Hungarorum, published by Johann Philip Pareus in 1619, which included a reprint of Filiczki's *Carmina*. Four out of five Hungarian poets from Lotichius' *Bibliotheca* are featured in the *Deliciae*; the one left out was Iohannes Sambucus.⁷⁹

While the preference for German poets in Lotichius' project can be explained as a national or personal bias, this was apparently not the reason for his inclusion of Hungarians. This should be viewed instead as the project of asserting the strength of the *respublica litteraria*, the fictional community of learned people spanning across time and space. While the connections between the members of the Republic of Letters were upheld by a variety of means (travel, epistolary network, *alba amicorum*, dedicatory poems and many others), in the late 16th and early 17th century the "illustrated albums and collected biographies of savants became immensely popular," as Almási argues; precisely to reinforce the universality of the Republic of Letters.⁸⁰

Lotichius' biography is an important source of information as it is a first attempt at the complete account of Filiczki's life. Lotichius' universalist and encyclopaedic approach contributed to the preservation of Filiczki's legacy and shaped later biographic entries on him.

Due to the lack of information and ambiguous wording Lotichius left later scholars uncertain about the issues, such as number of publications, achieved academic grades or acquisition of the title of the poet laureate. Subsequent scholars, predominantly Hungarians, have copied large parts of Lotichius' account and filled out the gaps to the best of their abilities. Certain topics, however, are still contented or inconclusive. In the following subchapter I will take a look at how Lotichius himself treats Filiczki's life in his writing and what are the

⁷⁹ See note 76.

⁸⁰ Gábor Almási, "Humanist Networks and the Ethos of the Republic of Letters," in *The Uses of Humanism. Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584) Andreas Dudith (1533-1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 69-98; Sándor Attila Tóth, "A protestáns neolatin költészet gyökerei: Filiczki János (1580-1622) latin nyelvű életrajzairól és (latin-görög) költészetéről," in *A reformáció és a katolikus megújulás latin nyelvű irodalma* (MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2019), 155.

problematic points of his account.⁸¹ At the end of his account, Lotichius reveals that he used information from Filiczki's poems and prefaces of, but there is a lot of personal details that are not to be found in the aforementioned works.⁸²

2.2.1 Origin and early studies

The biography starts with a dedicatory poem by Lotichius: *You shower your fatherland and compatriots with elegiac distichs, oh Filefalva, with praise by no means empty. / We have read, oh Poet, the monuments of educated noble youth. Pray tell, what poems will you then write once of ripe old age?*⁸³ One can see the emphasis on the foreign origin of Filiczki and his patriotic feelings, befitting the universalist goal of the encyclopaedia. At the same time the poem recognises Filiczki's qualities as a poet that allow him to make a good name for himself and (simultaneously) for his country.

The dedicatory poem is followed by the biography itself. Lotichius refers to Filiczki as "Ioannes Filitzkius de Filefalva, Ungarus," which conveys the fundamental information of status and country of origin. Filiczki is described as "a noble-born, who seems to have surpassed his inborn nobility with his talent of poetry."⁸⁴

This leaves us with a question of Filiczki's exact social status. Was Lotichius emphasising his poetry because Filiczki originated from an insignificant noble family or was it in line with Filiczki's thinking, i.e. proclaiming importance of earning the nobility through

⁸¹ Tóth, "A protestáns neolatin költészet," 151-63.

⁸² Ex poematibus et praefationibus Ioan. Filitzkii.

⁸³ Commendas patriam non vana laude, tuosque / Impariter scriptis, o FILEFALVA, modis. / Legimus ingenuae, Vates, monumenta iuventae, / Quanta senex olim carmina, quaeso, dabis? Here, "commendare" has double sense; it means to both "to praise" and "to recommend." The latter can be interpreted as if treating Filiczki as a sort of a "representative" of Hungarians abroad, persuing good reputation for himself as well as Hungary.

⁸⁴ [N]obili genere pronatus natalium splendorem carminis dignitate velut superavit.

hard work and piety? Truth is, there is little information on Filiczki's family. Filiczki himself came from the village of Farkasfalva (Vlková); however, his surname and predicate "de Filefalva" are associated with another village, Filefalva (Filice). Members of this family, although described as "impoverished" in the scholarship, seemed to have played an important part in the regional government at the time, serving as public officials – judges of the local court of the so called Sedes X lanceatorum, i.e. County of Ten Lance-bearers (Stolica desiatich spišských kopijníkov, Szepesi Tíz-Landsások Széke).⁸⁵ The first person to emphasise Filiczki's poverty is Jakub Melzer in his book *Biographien berühmter Zipser*, which describes our author as born "to noble, but extremely poor parents."⁸⁶ Szinnyei does it in more subtle way; he speaks of "poor noble parents."⁸⁷ Nevertheless, given that Filiczki had access to all education opportunities he desired (even if through friendships or patronage), he was "poor" only in relative terms to his patrons (like Thökölys or barons of Hodějová), because his family did not have a large estate.

The next part of the biography refers to Filiczki's education. Lotichius claims that Filiczki has been educated in the liberal arts and piety from an early age. Owing to Turkish oppression and civil wars in the Kingdom of Hungary, he quickly moved to Prague to the study in the local gymnasium. This passage was repeated by all subsequent historiographers up to the 19th century. The first ones to notice the error were the local, i.e. Czech, scholars in the 20th century, who made it clear Filiczki had first studied at the Zgorzelec (Zhořelec, Görlitz) gymnasium and only then moved to Prague.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Božena Malovcová, "Kopijnické obce v okolí Popradu v novoveku," in *Historia mea vita. Zborník štúdií vydaný pri príležitosti životného jubilea Vladimíra Segeša*, edited by Imrich Purdek (Bratislava: Vojenský historický ústav, 2020), 145.

⁸⁶ "[W]urde [...] von adeligen, aber sehr armen Eltern geboren." Melzer, *Biographien Berühmter Zipser* (Kaschau/Košice: Ellingersche Buchhandlung, 1833), 60.

⁸⁷ Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi), 478.

⁸⁸ Jan Odložilík, "Jan Filiczki z Filic a jeho čeští přátelé," in *K dějinám československým v období humanismu: sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k 60. narozeninám 1872-1932*, edited by Bedřich Jenšovský and Bedřich Mendl (Praha: Československá archivní společnost, 1932), 431-42.

Lotichius then interpolates a longer passage from the preface of Filiczki's *Carmina* about the importance of poetry, an argument supported primarily by historical examples from Classical Antiquity or the Bible. Lotichius introduced only minimal changes, primarily attempting to elevate Filiczki's status as a divine poet. I will discuss this in its own chapter.

2.2.2 German *peregrinatio* and *Primitiae Poeticae*

Lotichius then returns to Filiczki's life. He describes how in Prague, Filiczki "received the young nobles from Hodějov as students."⁸⁹ When they were of age and appropriate education, he moved with them first to Herborn, then to Marburg. In Marburg "he published his first *Poems*, which were received with great approval from the *University*."⁹⁰ In the collection, Lotichius continues, Filiczki recorded recommendations from many great men, including those of Rudolphus Goclenius the Elder, Hermann Kirchner, Caspar Sturmius, Iohannes Pincier and others. The encomiastic epigram by Goclenius is relayed in its entirety. The same book was also supposed to contain recommendations from the professors at the universities of Heidelberg and Basel, from which Lotichius concludes that Filiczki also studied in those cities. Finally, the nature of his friendship with Georgius Remus and Conradus Rittershusius (as represented in the *Carmina*) makes Lotichius believe that Filiczki had visited the academy in Altdorf.⁹¹

Lotichius makes it clear in this passage that he is trying to draw a conclusion from his sources and that some of the information is inferred. The fact that he claims that Filiczki's first book of poetry was *Poetica* and that it was published in Marburg, casts doubt on his assertion

⁸⁹ "Ea igitur spe et literarum musicarum amore plenus, acceptis, ut videtur Pragae, in fidem suam illustribus discipulis, generosis adolescentibus, Baronibus ab Hoddiegova, etc." Lotichius, *Bibliotheca poeticae pars quarta*, 145.

⁹⁰ "[U]bi primitias suas *Poeticas* cum almae *Universitatis* applause publicavit." Lotichius, *Bibliotheca poeticae*, 145-146.

⁹¹ Lotichius, *Bibliotheca poeticae*, 146.

from the first chapter that Filiczki published no book between *Xenia natalitia* in Prague and *Carmina* in Basel.

The earliest scholarship follows Lotichius' inaccurate conclusions very closely. It is impossible to infer the number of the books published by Filiczki from David Czwittinger or Alexius Horányi, as they basically copy Lotichius's account.⁹² Péter Bod and Daniel Melzer do not mention concrete books and gloss over the German period. They both quote *in extenso* Goclenius' encomium to showcase Filiczki's good name, but Bod mentions by its title only the later reprint of *Deliciae poetarum Hungarorum* and Melzer denotes Goclenius' poem as part of "the foreword to one of Filiczki's poetical works."⁹³

The first to claim that there was another book published in Marburg is József Danielik. He reports of the book "*Primitiae poeticae*, published in Marburg, *in octavo*, contain[ing] poems with different themes, e.g. nuptial, funeral verses, Greek and Latin epigrams."⁹⁴ He does not relay the exact date of publication, but he puts it first in the list of works. Moreover, it is clearly distinguished from the next point on the list, *Poemata varia*, published in Basel in 1614 (the correct title for this work is *Carmina*; title *Poemata varia* is taken from the *Deliciae* reprint from 1619). József Szinnyei agrees with Danielik's conclusions, considers it a separate publication and even claims that the *Deliciae poetarum Hungarorum* contains poems from *Primitiae poeticae* and not from *Carmina*.⁹⁵ The reason for this assumption seems to be another mistake of his, namely, his dating of *Carmina* into 1604 instead of 1614. From this, it would

⁹² David Czwittinger, *Specimen Hungariae literatae* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Typis et sumptibus Jod. Guil. Kohlesii, 1711); Alexius Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum* (Vienna: Anton Loew, 1775).

⁹³ "Goclenius, sagte in der Vorrede die er zu einem der poetischen Werke Filiczky's geschrieben hat [...]."

⁹⁴ "Primitiae poeticae, kijött Marburgban 8dr. Tartalma különféle tárgyak, p. lakodalmi, halotti versek, görög és latin epigrammok." See József Danielik, *Magyar írók: életrajz gyűjtemény* (Pest: Szent István Társulat, 1858).

⁹⁵ Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*, Filiczki János (filefalvi): "Munkái: 1. Xenia Natalitia. (Prága, 1604). 2. Carminum libri duo (Basiliae, 1604). 3. Primitiae Poeticae. Marburg, év nélkül. (Latin és görök költemények.) 4. Poemata varia. (Basiliae, 1614), Pareus János Fülöp, *Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum* (Francofurti, 1619), 465–530. 1. újra lenyomatta, a Primitiae poeticae című gyűjteménnyel együtt."

follow that *Deliciae* would include poems from the latest collection, which Szinneyi thought to be *Primitiae*.

The first one to look closely at this problem seems to be János Soltész, continuing the work of János Szombathi.⁹⁶ He argues that the existence of *Primitiae* might explain some of the missing poems in *Deliciae*, which would infer that the poems from *Primitiae* were fully reprinted in *Carmina* together with few new ones, while *Deliciae* took from the older edition. This theory can be, however, explained simply as an editorial choice of leaving out few poems from *Carmina*.

As a proof of his theory, Soltész János considers a particular verse from Filiczki's work (poem), contained in a historical work by János Pataki Füsüs, *Mirror for the Kings* (Királyoknak tüköre): "*Candida nunc iocus est, ludibriumque fides.*"⁹⁷ This verse cannot be found in this exact form in any of Filiczki's other works. It seems to me, however, that the quotation is adjusted to fit the text as a proverb or gnomic statement and that the original form is the "*sanctaque cur iocus est, ludibriumque fides?*" that can be found both in *Carmina* and *Deliciae*.⁹⁸ Similarity guarantees that the verse is not attributed incorrectly and is indeed Filiczki's. The possibility that it was published in this form somewhere else cannot be entirely ruled out; perhaps it served as a dedicatory verse to another author's collection or a quote, adjusted for an inscription in an *album amicorum*.

In my opinion, this verse is not a very convincing evidence of the existence of *Primitiae*, and I will offer several other arguments against it in the following lines.

There are other omissions from the first book *Carminum liber primus*, but it must be noted that these are very rare. One example of a poem, which is included in *Carmina*, but not

⁹⁶ János Soltész, "A sárospataki főiskola tanárainak életrajza (Szombathi János után) 1-XXIII," *Sárospataki Füzetek* 8 (1864), 881-82.; János Szombathi, Magyar prot. egyháztörténelmi Emlekek. *Historia scholae seu collegii ref. Sarospatakiensis*. Accessible online: <https://onb.digital/result/1072AE9F>

⁹⁷ Füsüs, *Királyoknak tüköre*, 31.

⁹⁸ Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*, 70; Filiczki, *Deliciae*, 519.

Deliciae is the poem from an *album amicorum* of a Polish noble Petrus Kosminsky.⁹⁹ It is one of the few graphically complex poems, using a different typeset and set within a picture of a pedestal/base of a statue. It seems that it was omitted because of its difficult legibility and uncertainty of how to approach the text layout, or because a poem dedicated to a relatively unknown Polish noble did not fit into the collection. I would argue that the omissions were primarily governed by the need to keep the book short. This is, in my opinion, also the reason that the whole second book of *Carmina*, also referred to as *Miscella epigrammata*, is completely omitted from *Deliciae* edition.

Another reason to doubt the existence of *Primitiae* is the nature of the Lotichius' account. It has been shown that his information was not perfect and one should not rely too much on him. In addition, he does not even call the book by its title, i.e. *Primitiae poeticae*, but merely "his [i.e. Filiczki's] first *Poetica*." The emphasis is, thus, on the latter part of the phrase and the title *Primitiae poeticae* is a pure invention.¹⁰⁰ On these grounds, the title can be translated not only as *Poetics*, as "*ars poetica*", but simply as *Poems*, as if "τὰ poetica." This makes it merely a rhetorical variation of *Carmina*, the title of the Basel edition. In addition, the theory is less and less credible, since all dedicatory poems mentioned in Lotichius' version of *Poetica* are the same as those of *Carmina* and some come from Heidelbergian and Basileian professors (without any evidence of Filiczki knowing them before studying there).

As a side note, it must be added that Jakob Melzer, who is the first to recognise the *Xenia natalitia* collection (Prague, 1604) at all, refers to it as *Firstlings* (*Erstlingen*), indicating that *primitiae* was just a common rhetorical term for first work. He makes no mention of Marburg *Primitiae* either.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Filiczki, "Philothesia," in *Carmina*, 35.

¹⁰⁰ "[U]bi primitias suas *Poeticas* ... publicavit." Lotichius, *Bibliothecae poeticae*, 145-46. Hungarian scholars translate the title as *Zsengék* (lit. *Primitiae* or *Firstlings*).

¹⁰¹ "Die Erstlingen seiner poetischen Muse gab er noch als Prager Student heraus [...]" Melzer, *Biographien berühmter Zipser*, 60.

In modern scholarship, this problem is not discussed *expressis verbis* and the general consensus seems to be that *Primitiae poeticae* did not exist. Sándor Attila Tóth does not try to offer a solution to the problem, he only notes that the first book of *Carmina* contains all chapters (divided by genres) of (*Primitiae*) *Poeticae* mentioned by Lotichius.¹⁰²

Czech and Slovak scholarship seems to believe that there was no *Primitiae poeticae*.¹⁰³ Májegová and Vaculínová claim that the book was planned to be published in Marburg, since Filiczki wrote the prefaces and received or wrote letters accompanying the *Carmina* roughly at this time. The publication was not successful though, and the book was printed only later under the title *Carminum liber primus* as a part of the *Carmina* collection in Basel.

This theory explains the time gap between the prefaces and the publication and offers a fitting interpretation of Filiczki's own dedicatory poem to *Carmina*, titled *Auctor ad suum libellum*. In the end of the epigram he claims that a slow and steady pace brings more success in career and life and that one who had finished the work well, has (also) done it fast enough.¹⁰⁴ Even researchers acquainted with Hungarian scholarship, such as Zoltán Cseh, do not discuss the problem and make no mention of *Primitiae*, either because they do not believe in its existence or do not want to engage in the debate.¹⁰⁵

I have offered a solution to a problem that is seemingly resolved but its origins and development have never been expressly described in scholarship. All in all, the evidence does not seem convincing enough to corroborate the existence of *Primitiae poeticae*. The fact that this theory about it is based on scholars' interpretation of Lotichius' second-hand account

¹⁰² Tóth, "A Protestáns Neolatin Költészet Gyökerei," 158.

¹⁰³ See Odložilík, Májegová, Vaculínová.

¹⁰⁴ [S]ic tarda e certo cito nata cucurbita pino / Messe sed haec una, pluribus illa viret. / Sic Phoebus genitus Phaethon, sic Icarus olim / Stultitiae poenas morte dedere suae. / Festina lente: parit et cunctatio Palmam. / Sat cito perficit, qui bene finit opus.

¹⁰⁵ Zoltán Cseh: "Szöveggyűjtemény a közép-európai humanista költészet tanításához (Oktatási segédlet)," in *Chrestomatia stredoeurópskej humanistickej poézie (učebný text)* (Bratislava: Združenie Alberta Szenci Molnára - Szenci Molnár Albert Egyesület), 148.

(which is full of ambiguities) and in a complete absence of any other record of the print (no mentions beside Lotichius, no surviving exemplar or bibliographical record) suggest strongly that there was no Filiczki's book published in Marburg.

2.2.3 Degree

After Lotichius praises Filiczki's book (which we have just established to be *Carmina*) and even quotes some of the dedicatory poems to show Filiczki's renown, he concentrates on other aspects of his career. By this point, he stated that Filiczki has published a marvellous collection of poems and inferred, on bases of dedicatory poems, that Filiczki has studied in Basel and possibly Altdorf. As his information mostly derives from *Carmina*, he does not know more about Filiczki's travels.

Lotichius knows, however, that besides poetry, Filiczki had "devoted his mind to the mysteries of the saint theology" and "he has progressed in the studies of this divine discipline so far, that he seemed to ardently aspire to obtaining the degrees and honours of the highest Faculty of Theology (which are awarded in Academies)."¹⁰⁶ Lotichius thought or had heard that Filiczki tried to obtain the academic degree.

Strangely, this point is not discussed in later scholarship at all. Czwithinger and Horányi offer no new information again. Others do not engage in the discussion at all, probably assuming that Lotichius did not have accurate information. Májeková is the only one to address the issue and even she is content by downplaying Lotichius' account as a proof that Filiczki did not obtain the degree and that there is no further evidence or testimonies for that.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ "Caeterum, is praeter humaniorum literarum, *Poetices* imprimis, studia, haud superficialiter degustatus, aetate provector adiecitporro animum ad cognoscenda *SS. Theologiae* mysteria. In qua quidem divina scientia eo eruditionis perrexit, ut ad gradum, et honores summos *Metaphysicae* illius facultatis gravissimae (quales quidem in *Academiis* conferuntur) haud segniter aspirare visus sit." Lotichius, *Bibliothecae poeticae*, 146.

¹⁰⁷ Májeková, "Ján Filický," 12.

Filiczki's *album amicorum* has not yet been considered as a source that could solve this problem. A pattern, however, emerges when the inscriptions dedicated to Filiczki are examined. Filiczki's status of a student is mentioned five times. There are three instances between years 1609 and 1611, when Filiczki is addressed as *theologiae studiosus* or *theologiae candidatus*. and two instances between 1613 and 1615, when he is addressed as *theologus*.¹⁰⁸

Only other instance in sources when Filiczki is called a *theologus* can be dated around 1613 or 1614, when he was, as we will argue in a moment, crowned *poet laureate* by Johann Jakob Grasser and was addressed by him as a *theologus*.¹⁰⁹ Although holding a degree was not a prerequisite for being laureated, it was, in my opinion, a definite advantage when aspiring for such a title.

2.2.4 *Poeta laureatus*

This connection brings to the question if Filiczki was a *poeta laureatus*. Lotichius does not bring it up; it is the later scholarship that is key to solving this problem. Once again, the Czech and Slovak scholarship is at odds with the Hungarian tradition. The latter does not discuss the issue at all, but apparently the fame of Filiczki as a *poeta laureatus* has, indeed, survived in the Hungarian scholarship. The first scholar to title him in this way is Péter Bod in *Magyar Athenas* in 1766.¹¹⁰ Danielik, Szombathi and Soltész follow his lead. It is not clear where the information comes from, as they do not quote any exact source.

Our best lead to the source of this tradition is the work of Ravius Textor *Officina sive theatrum historicum et poeticum* (1617).¹¹¹ The book, an encyclopedia of history and poetry, features as a preface two speeches by *poeta laureatus caesareus* Johann Jacob Grasser (1579-

¹⁰⁸ Filiczki, *Album: studiosus* 218r, 180r, *candidatus* 239r, *theologus* 245r, 182r

¹⁰⁹ Ravius Textor, *Officina sive theatrum historicum et poeticum* (Basel: Typis Leonhardi Ostenii, 1617).

¹¹⁰ Péter Bod, "Borostyán koszorus Poétává-is tétetett vólt." *Magyar Athenas* (1766), 85.

¹¹¹ Ravius Textor, *Officina*.

1627).¹¹² Grasser, clergyman and an esteemed member of the learned community, was also crowned a *poet laureate* in Padua in 1608 and has displayed it on whenever possible. His privilege included laureating new poets – Grasser “certainly laureated twenty-eight, possibly even thirty-one, poets”.¹¹³

In the featured speech Grasser discusses in great length the importance of poetry, lack of respect of the common folk for the name of the *poet laureate*, and adds a relatively concise contemporary definition of a worthy poet, distinct from a pure verse-writer.¹¹⁴ A true poet should, in his words, know the peculiarities of words and arguments; he should command the lofty art of invention and recognise the elegance, gravity and the beauty of eloquence. He should be a humanist, philologist, antiquarian, polyhistor, philosopher and politician. Moreover, primarily, he should be a theologian, well-mannered and virtuous.¹¹⁵ The insignia should not be worn by any fools or drunkards. He then closes the speech, invoking his privilege in laureating new poets and announces that he “is not ashamed to introduce few laurel crowns, with which he crowned those, whose virtue and education has earned these rare honours.”¹¹⁶ First of these new poets is Filiczki, a “Theologian, who has published the most elegant collection of poems.”¹¹⁷

Flood assumes that Filiczki’s laureation took place around 1613, when he arrived in Basel with his students. Given that the *Carmina* (which is bound to be the book mentioned in the dedication) was published in 1614, the later date seems more probable.

¹¹² John Flood, “Johann Jakob Grasser,” in *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 707.

¹¹³ John Flood, “Introduction,” in *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, ccxxvii.

¹¹⁴ Ravisius Textor, *Officina*, β3r.

¹¹⁵ Filiczki’s chances for being laureated would improve in case of earning the degree.

¹¹⁶ Nec me pudet vobis Laureas aliquot exhibere, quibus illos coronavi, quorum Virtus et Erudition rarissimos hos honores meruerunt. Ravisius Textor, *Officina* f. β3v.

¹¹⁷ Nobilissimo et Eruditissimo viro, Domino Ioanni Filiczki de Filefalva, Ungaro, Theologo, qui elegantissimorum poematum librum edidit.

However, the fact that Filiczki seems to not have used the title of *poeta laureatus* (unlike Grasser) gives us a reason to doubt this. One of the few poems that postdate the laureation is the funerary poem for Zsuzsanna Károlyi, the wife of Gabriel Bethlen. She died 13 May 1622 and Filiczki contributed a poem of three distiches to the collection titled *Δακρυα in exequias [...] Dominae Susannae Carolyi etc.*¹¹⁸ He signed himself as „from Iohannes Filiczki, a learned poet [*P.D.*], and a first rector of the renowned school of Sárospatak“.¹¹⁹

If Filiczki really was a poet laureate, why did he not use the title? Surely, it was one of the highest honours one could reach as a poet. It seems, though, that in this case the title of the *poet laureate* was not appropriate or suitable – the title of the rector, who acts on behalf of the school and represents the whole school carried more weight. This seems to be the case because in rare cases, Filiczki uses his title. An autograph of Filiczki’s poem celebrating the new edition of Cicero’s collected works prepared by Ianus Gruterus, a librarian at the University of Heidelberg, carries also his signature.¹²⁰ The first one to discover the poem was Gábor Kecskeméti, who discusses at length the circumstance of its publication, the nature of the relationship of Gruterus and Filiczki, and extensively quotes the poem.¹²¹ Kecskeméti does not comment on the *poet laureate* signature, since he could not access the manuscript with the autograph deposited in the Vatican library.¹²² Now, the manuscript is published online and one can clearly observe that Filiczki signed himself as “Johannes Filiczky de Filefalva, P.L.” A comparison with the hand of the entries in István Miskolci Csulyak’s *album amicorum*

¹¹⁸ *Exequiarvm Caeremonialium Serenissimae Principis ac Dominae Dnae Susannae Caroli ... II.* Fejérvár, 1624.

¹¹⁹ Ioanne Filiczki P.D. ex Illustris Schola Sárospatak Rectore Primario.

¹²⁰ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Opera omnia quae exstant ex sola fere Codd Mss. fide emendata: Tomus primus quo omnes eius libri oratorii continentur, studio atque industria Jani GULIELMII, Jani GRUTERI* (Hamburg: Ex bibliopolio Frobeniano, 1618).

¹²¹ Gábor Kecskeméti, “Filiczky János (csaknem) ismeretlen közzöntőverse” [A (not so) unknown poem of Johannes Filiczki], in *Bibliotheca et Universitas* (2011), 149-56.

¹²² Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1906, 116r.

confirms that this is an autograph.¹²³ The abbreviation cannot be interpreted as anything else but *poeta laureatus*; a title of great prominence, which could not be assumed arbitrarily. The fact that Filiczki defines himself as a poet here, thus representing himself as a member of the *respublica litterarum* of other famous men writing their *euphemiae* to Gruterus, is also very telling. At least in this virtual (but very real) space where he was in a company of his fellow *litterati*, he was not primarily a “Hungarus”, “praeceptor”, “dominus”, but a “poet”.

2.2.5 Return to Hungary and career at Sárospatak school

After Filiczki’s studies of theology, Lotichius’ account concludes and the scholarship is left with little to work with in regard to the following events in Filiczki’s life. Once Filiczki’s students left Basel, he was travelling throughout the Holy Roman Empire at least for a year. Vaculínová has tried to reconstruct these journeys according to the data in *album amicorum*.¹²⁴ Similarly, little is known about the brief period Filiczki taught and led the school of Sárospatak. The scarce report on this period comes only from scholars such as Szombathi and Soltész, whose conclusions about Filiczki’s activities were also mentioned earlier.¹²⁵

Nevertheless, maintaining that a status of a poet is determined by his recognition and legacy, Filiczki’s career at Sárospatak seems of utmost importance. After all, the Sárospatak school and its teachers preserved Filiczki’s legacy. Filiczki’s contemporaries, e.g. János Pataki Füsüs, built his fame as a Hungarian Ovid.¹²⁶ People read and re-used his poems for their *alba amicorum* throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.¹²⁷ Moreover, the influences of Horatian style and Calvinist sensibility marking Filiczki’s poetry are thanks to the tradition of the school

¹²³ *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum*, nr. 9112, 9113.

¹²⁴ Her work is incorporated the biography of Filiczki in the first chapter. Vaculínová, “Památník.”

¹²⁵ Szombathi, *Magyar prot. egyháztörténelmi Emlekek*; Soltész, *A sárospataki főiskola tanárainak*.

¹²⁶ Füsüs, *Királyoknak tüköre*.

¹²⁷ *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum*, nr. 617, 15038, 10941, 14537.

palpable even in the poetry of the 18th and 19th century, in works of figures such as Ferenc Nagy Vályi (1756-1820) or László Ungvárnémeti Tóth (1788-1820).¹²⁸

Last but not least, the literary historians mentioned in this chapter, such as Czwitinger, Bod, Melzer or Soltész, carefully considered available sources and tried to tackle the problematic issues such as the number of Filiczki's publications, his degree and honours. Their examples underline the significance of the humanist poetry, its history and reception, and moreover, demonstrate that Filiczki was, indeed, **the poet**.

¹²⁸ Tóth, „A Protestáns Neolatin Költészet Gyökerei“, 163.

3. Learned travel from the 16th to 18th century

3.1.1 Historical background

Filiczki has spent most of his adult life travelling from school to school in the company of fellow nobles. These travels and studies he undertook had arguably profound effect on him and his poetry, to the extent that Májeková uses the metaphor of journey for Filiczki's whole career of a poet.¹²⁹ While Májeková was more interested in Filiczki's poetics than in larger analytical concepts of learned travel, the phenomenon of learned travel has a long-standing tradition and Filiczki's career can be analysed within the established concepts of *peregrinatio academica* and *Grand Tour/Kavalierstour*. In this chapter, I would like to compare Filiczki's case with that of the established patterns of contemporary academic travel, and to see whether the distinctions are meaningful for a better understanding of the intellectual milieu of the time.

The more general term of *peregrinatio academica* describes the journey one undertook for the purpose of study, often abroad, and mostly to obtain higher learning.¹³⁰ While the practice itself is an older one, and in the context of medieval Europe goes as far as to the 10th century, it became more defined in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the demand for university study was gradually increasing.¹³¹ This earlier *peregrinatio* changed in the 15th to 17th centuries as a result of two main factors – humanism and (Protestant) Reformations, working hand in hand.

Both Renaissance and Reformation reinforced the importance of learned travel by emphasizing several aspects of it: the need for education as a mean of understanding the

¹²⁹ Májeková, "Ján Filický," passim.

¹³⁰ Simone Giese. „Peregrinatio academica“ in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online* (J.B. Metzlerische Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 2005-2012).

¹³¹ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe, vol. II. Universities in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), "Mobility," 417.

scriptures and being individually responsible for one own's salvation, the newly explored notion of childhood and specific need to transfer into full adulthood and becoming a member of the community, and the need for education as a mean of obtaining credentials and knowledge for active post-graduate life.

Concepts of Renaissance *ad fontes*, return to the sources, and Reformation's *sola scriptura*, by scripture alone, are based on the same principle of returning to the original texts and approaching them individually and, even though the word may seem too strong, creatively. This approach places a new emphasis on education, as it was important for one's salvation. „The Reformers in the first half of the 16th century aimed at being mainly religious pedagogues, able to provide people with a sound Christian education based on the Word of God...“.¹³² They advocated for the use of classical languages, dreaming of a world where everybody would be able to read the Bible in the original. This is also an important factor for humanists coming from countries speaking other than Romance-languages and how this ideal functioned as a way to explore the classical heritage, vital for the poet of Filiczki's like.

This harmony of the Renaissance and Reformation also shows in the universities, one of the major institutions of higher education. Although humanists and early modern non-university based thinkers and scientists liked to portrait universities as backwards and „conservative homes of outmoded knowledge“, this was not the case and exactly at this time they „may have had greater influence on society [...] than in any era before or since“.¹³³ Humanism gradually pervaded the universities: first those in Italy, than those in the transalpine Europe. The philological skills of humanists, and even more importantly the critical and analytical tendency of humanism, enabled debates that would not be possible otherwise. In

¹³² Mihai Androne, “The influence of the protestant reformation on education,” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 137 (2014): 81.

¹³³ Paul F. Grendler, “The universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1.

Italian universities, the humanities did not earn the same level of prestige as other disciplines and humanities professors „had limited direct impact“, as Grendler says. The humanistic approach was instead applied in other disciplines, foremost in medicine and law, which were the strong areas of Italian schools.¹³⁴ German universities at the same time, did not lead the way in scientific discoveries. However, they were more focused on arts and theology, and one of their specialties was that they sustained the Reformation in its beginnings (or were founded after the beginnings of the Reformation from the 1520s). After all, the Reformation itself „began as a common academic exercise, a proposed disputation“ and could even be described as a „young faculty uprising“, where Luther and his academic followers engaged in a quasi academic discussion with the foundations of Christianity.¹³⁵

This special emphasis on arts and theology in German universities is important for the humanism in Hungary. Even though some ideas and stimuli towards humanism have come from the Italian milieu, particularly in the beginning through the court culture and Italian universities, for urban Upper Hungarian elites and for Johannes Filiczki though, more influential was the spread of Reformation thanks to the German priests and teachers and through the practice of travelling abroad to Protestant schools.¹³⁶

To return back to the *peregrinatio* itself, we must ask how this new interest in learning and universities has manifested. The mobility of students was constantly on the rise from 1500 and peaked at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.¹³⁷ A new genre of book has appeared, bearing titles such as *Ars apodemica*, *Methodus de peregrinatione* or *Viatorium*.¹³⁸ There are several famous Hungarian examples of such literature, such as Mihály

¹³⁴ Grendler, „Universities,” 12.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁶ For the background of development of humanism in the East Central Europe see Almasi, *Uses of Humanism*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 24-29, 38-41

¹³⁷ De Ridder-Symoens, „Mobility,” 417.

¹³⁸ *The Art of Travel* or *The Way of Travel, Manual of Itinerary*. The former term comes from Ancient Greek ἀπό, *away*, and δῆμος, *country*, illustrating the frequently international character of such travel. See Justin

Forgách's oration composed under the influence of Justus Lipsius' instructions, Márton Szepsi Csombor's *Europica varietas*, or slightly later David Frölich's *Bibliothecae sive Cynosurae peregrinantium*.¹³⁹ The latter was a comprehensive work containing not only the practical aspects of travel (geography, chronology, weather prediction, first aid, and places to be visited in a city, according to a "data-sheet" composed by Chytraeus), but also contained moral lessons for the travelers and in the prefaces the virtues of learned travel were extolled, alluding to the travels of Ulysses.¹⁴⁰

This was true for the whole genre of apademic literature. While there were books with similar goal in the past, they were focused on the practical elements of the travel; now they „were mostly concerned with the cultural and intellectual advantages of educational travel (the *Bildungsreise*).“¹⁴¹

As educational travel became more common, it also became more formal and institutionalized. Certain standard itineraries, based on earlier medieval traditions, have been established for young students seeking enlightenment, e.g. the *iter italicum* at the Italian universities of Bologna, Padua, Pavia, Siena or Pisa, customary for Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians, Spaniards and Portuguese.¹⁴²

The new humanistic ideas and ideals, however, were received differently within certain circles and prompted new developments. As a result of humanistic concept of a fully realised learned man and an active member of the society, training in humanism became identified with

Stagl's detailed overview of the handbooks, the concepts and theories of early modern travel. Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹³⁹ For Forgách and Csombor see Ibid. The title is translated as *Library or the Polestar of Travellers*.

¹⁴⁰ *Felix multorum mores qui vidit et urbes! / Hic poterit Patriae commoda ferre suae.* (Fortunate who has seen morals and cities of many! He will make his fatherland flourish.) This was a commonly used distich, as Frölich tells in the preface to the second book, to catch the sentiment of this fashion and it was also frequently used in itineraries and *alba amicorum*.

¹⁴¹ De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility, 417.

¹⁴² Ibid, 417-419.

training for a profession.¹⁴³ This led to a creation of new learned elite, which was not anymore leading a contemplative life after the university, but an active life, *vita activa*. „A key factor that led to the rise of this learned elite was the recruitment of educated men into the expanding bureaucracies of Renaissance republics and monarchies.“¹⁴⁴ Scholarly and humanistic values and knowledge then could become „components in the formation of an individual’s social identity.“¹⁴⁵

This resulted in a new process, gentrification and „ennoblement“ of the university. While in the Middle Ages there was a higher amount of *pauperes*, poor students studying more for knowledge, rarely for the career in the church, in the 16th century the students from the bourgeoisie, gentry and gradually even the nobles, came to represent the majority of the student body. Universities then „accommodated themselves to this new kind of student, repelling competition from the lower classes by reducing material and financial aid to them and by introducing an elitist atmosphere“.¹⁴⁶

3.1.2 *Peregrinatio*, Kavalierstour and Grand Tour

This process happened all over Europe, but in the westernmost parts it devolved, as Justine Stagl puts it, to a *Grand Tour*. She argues that since the middle of the 17th century the humanistic the phenomenon of *peregrinatio* was taken up by younger nobles who “wanted to gain some experience of the world, represent the splendour of their family and establish some useful connections abroad. Such young men were supervised by private tutors...”.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ De Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” 417.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Kirwan, “Introduction. Scholarly Self-Fashioning and the Cultural History of the Universities,” in *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University* (Burlington, Vt. : Ashgate, 2013), 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴⁶ De Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” 432.

¹⁴⁷ Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800*, 73, 82-85.

Some researchers suggest that the notion of the Grand Tour is not exclusively Western, but that there was a similar practice in the Central and Eastern Central Europe as well. Symoens writes: „The enthusiasts for the Grand Tour also included Dutch patricians and Polish, Hungarian and Czech nobles. All in all, the European elites followed this fashion, Protestants more than Catholics, and English and German-speakers and Slavs much more than the French, Italians or Spanish.“¹⁴⁸

Although Symoens describes the continental learned travel as a form of Grand Tour, some scholars prefer to use the German term *Kavalierstour*. It is not a contemporary term; it is a product of the 19th century scholarship.¹⁴⁹ The most recent and accepted definition distinguishing the Grand Tour and the *Kavalierstour* seems to be that of Mathis Leibetsederm. Both terms, as he says, described “the dominant, non-professional forms of travel among the European nobility between 1550 and 1750” which represented a culmination and completion of the young noble’s home tutoring, but there were some crucial differences.¹⁵⁰ Leibetsederm continues to explain that although in the 17th century the term of Grand Tour was accepted in England, the Netherlands, and German (known as *grootte tour* or *große Tour* in the respective countries), it later fell out of use on the continent and is understood more broadly within the Anglo-Saxon scholarship.¹⁵¹ The German research on the topic of learned travel have created two terms – *Bildungsreise*, which is understood as a primarily bourgeoisie phenomenon, and *Kavalierstour*, an aristocratic version. Leibetsederm, however, maintains that it is probably correct to see the “noble-patrician cavalier’s tour, the students’ peregrinatio academica and the

¹⁴⁸ De Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” 433.

¹⁴⁹ Holý, *Zrození renesančního kavalíra*, 347.

¹⁵⁰ Mathis Leibetsederm, “Educational Journey, Grand Tour,” in *European History Online*.

¹⁵¹ It is used more frequently to refer to the travels to Italy (which are rarely denoted as *Kavalierstour*), but in principle Grand Tour could have happened anywhere on the continent.

professorial-scholarly trip as parallel, class-based forms of travel” that has developed into the “European tour of educated classes” later in the 18th century.¹⁵²

In context of the Czech lands, especially relevant as Filiczki experienced a major part of his travels with Czech nobles, one must mention the comprehensive work on the education of nobility by Martin Holý.¹⁵³ Holý considers *Kavalierstour* closely connected with the phenomenon of *peregrinatio academica*. Although the goals of the *Kavalierstour* were broader than obtaining academic degrees and they included obtaining skills like horse riding, fencing, learning foreign languages (more so than in the context of the university study), or experiencing the atmosphere at different noble courts, Holý disagrees with some of the previous Czech scholarship that *Kavalierstour* was fundamentally different from *peregrinatio* and its goals were incompatible with education of a scholar.¹⁵⁴ He claims that *Kavalierstour* was influenced by and at the same time was influencing the *peregrinatio academica* of other social strata, bourgeoisie or commoners.

Hungarian scholarship uses the term *Kavalierstour* less precisely. It must be said that while there is extensive research on learned travel, it is more or less understood as a part of *peregrinatio academica* and its specific Hungarian context, also called *peregrinatio Hungarica*.¹⁵⁵ Bálint Ugrý, for example, understands *Kavalierstour* as a several-year long study

¹⁵² Leibetsederm, “Educational Journey, Grand Tour.”

¹⁵³ Martin Holý, “Zrození renesančního kavalíra,” 350.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. Holý is discussing the work of Petr Mat’ a, *Svět české aristokracie* [World of Czech Aristocracy], (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2004).

¹⁵⁵ Thanks to the importance of learned travel to Hungary, there is a lot of scholarship. It is not possible to make a comprehensive list here, but here are some examples on the general trends within this phenomenon and some works engaging with both terms. Péter Meusburger and Ferenc Próbald, “Scientific and Cultural Relations between Heidelberg University and Hungary over Five Centuries,” in *Geographies of the University*; Gábor Almási, “Touring Europe: Comparing East Central European Academic Peregrination in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century,” in *A Divided Hungary in Europe*, ed. by G. Almási et al. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 17-34; Fata, Márta et al., *Peregrinatio Hungarica: Studenten Aus Ungarn an Deutschen Und Österreichischen Hochschulen Vom 16. Bis Zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Contubernium: Tübinger Beiträge Yur Universitäts - Und Wissenschaftsgeschichte) Bd. 64. Steiner. Róbert Oláh, *Adalékok Miskolci Csulyak István albumának értékeléséhez*. Miskolci, Csulyak István; Nicolaus, Reusner (szerk.) Miskolci Csulyak István peregrinációs albuma, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerületi és Kollégiumi Nagykönyvtár; Hernád Kiadó (2018), 43.; Gábor Kármán, *Identitás és határok: 17. századi magyar utazók nyugaton és keleten* [Identities and borders: 17th century Hungarian travellers in West and East], *Korall* 26 (2006), 74–75; Katalin Toma, *Nádasdy István*

at the Western European universities, a special kind of *peregrination academica* that also has “additional goals in mind besides university learning”, including education in networking and diplomacy by spending time at the local noble courts, or experiencing new emerging institutions of learning like botanic gardens, anatomy theatres or cabinets of curiosities.¹⁵⁶ The consensus seems to be here that no sharp distinctions should be made, but they can be argued for in more specific contexts.

I would argue that Johannes Filiczki fits the narrower definition of the *Kavalierstour* tour. He was of noble origin himself, preceptor to Hungarian and Czech nobles with whom he travelled extensively among the lines of established patterns. As the tradition of *Kavalierstour* became established over time, certain traditional routes and stops could be identified, just like in the case of the related Grand Tour. When following patterns of students and nobles from the area of Hungary, Symoens explicitly identifies two favourite circuits – Altdorf, Strasburg, Basle and Heidelberg, Herborn, Bremen – and claims that it was „followed by students from central and eastern Europe, especially the Protestant nobility“.¹⁵⁷ Filiczki has spent some time at four out of these six stations; not always enrolling at the local schools, but at least connecting and networking with local intelligentsia for some time, as attested by *album amicorum*.¹⁵⁸

európai tanulmányútja: a Kavalierstour alkalmazása a magyar főúri nevelés gyakorlatában = Idővel paloták...: magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században, ed. G. Etényi Nóra, Horn Ildikó, (Budapest: Balassi, 2005), 192–94; Bálint Ugrý, A megismerés és az információszerezés új útjain http://communicatio.hu/jelkep/2014/3/ugry_balint.htm

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ De Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” 435.

¹⁵⁸ Although I have mentioned some of the colleagues and friends, with whom Filiczki shared accommodation at times, in the biography, it is unclear whether he relied only on patrons or perhaps financed his travels partly himself. This would warrant a further prosopographical research on his patrons (not just barons a Hodějová) and a deeper scrutiny of sources like other *alba amicorum* or e.g. István Csulyak’s travel journal *Diarium apodemicum*. Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományaim edited by Lajos Dézsi (Bupest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1898).

3.1.3 Ennobling travel: Poem analysis

Another strong argument in favour of this hypothesis is that Filiczki was aware of and possibly subscribed to the contemporary fashion of learned **noble** travel. While there are many implicit messages in his *Carmina*, mostly within the genre of propemptics (say-goodbye poems to fellow travellers and friends), there is an excellent poem in the first book of poems, *Xenia natalitia*.¹⁵⁹ This encomium dedicated to one of the patron's sons, young noble István Thököly, rests exactly on his praise as a well-travelled student, who in this way earns his nobility and benefits his fatherland.

The poem, as it was mentioned, was dedicated to the “noble young-man, distinguished by birth, piety and various disciplines”¹⁶⁰ and bears a subtitle that does not let us hesitate about its didactic, edifying and apademic intentions: “A true noble is not born, but made. Humble and plebeian people stay at home, the noble ones imitate the sky and enjoy the travel. The gods offer their prizes in exchange for prayer and hard work etc.”¹⁶¹

The poem starts describing that although noble origins are a great thing, the noble descent is unstable, perishes “like a fleeting shadow” and that “that praise is true though, which is obtained by valour and skill, which cannot be taken away by the cruellest fate.” This might seem slightly paradoxical, but the prerequisite of “valour” and the notion of fighting and earning the nobility (coming later in the poem) reveals the special nature of this type of learned travel.

Then the true encomium begins, and István is praised on the ground of his work ethic and the intention of becoming a true scholar, learning among the professional scholars.

That is why you are smart, István, and you deserve to be praised,

¹⁵⁹ Filiczki, *Xenia natalitia* (Prague, 1604). All quotations from the poem are from here.

¹⁶⁰ Ad generosum virum-iuvenem, ut summo nobilitatis genere, sic pietate & disciplinarum virtute clarissimum.

¹⁶¹ Verus nobilis non nascitur, sed fit. Humiles & plebeiae animae domi resident; Nobiliores coelum imitantur et gaudent motu. Dii bona sua precibus et labore vendunt &c.

as you use your own talents to reach the heavenly stars.

This cause pushed you to work in Apollo's domain,

This cause ordered you to visit men learned in science and arts.¹⁶²

Then, his travels are enumerated, hinting at his studies in Sárospatak (river Bodrog), Görlitz (Lusatian Neisse) and Heidelberg (Neckar), and he is likened to Ulysses, justified, as it was said earlier, in eschewing the Christian humility by classical examples.

Should I mention Bodrog or Neisse, from which you have quenched your thirst?

Should I sing praises of the glassy meanders of Neckar?

Perhaps not even the wise Ulysses traversed so much land or

Had known as many languages,

Yet the sunset and sunrise wonder at him.

Why wouldn't I sing praise of your deeds?¹⁶³

The strongest attitude is then revealed in deriding those who have not undergone such 'noble and aristocratic quest' and have stayed at home.

I judge those who have never left the pitiful hearth of their birthhouse,

Have never learned other language than mother tongue,

Never learned ways of other peoples,

To be caricatures of men.¹⁶⁴

The virtue of learned travel, however, is not achieved only through the imitation of classical examples, but directly by imitating the nature of the heavens which are constantly in motion – microcosm mirroring the macrocosm, a well-known Renaissance trope.

The stars go round the axis of heavens, the heavens themselves spin,

¹⁶² Ergo sapis, Stephane, & laudari iure mereris: /dum propriis coeli tendis ad astra bonis. /Haec sudare in agro Clario te caussa coegit: / haec arte insignes iussit adire viros.

¹⁶³ Quid memorem Bodrog, aut Nissum: quibus ora rigastis / quid vitrei Nicri curva fluenta canam? /quid terras procul hinc alio sub Sole repostas: /quid referam linguae munera plura tuae? / Callidus haud Ithacus tantum telluris obivit: / haud tantos vocis noverat ille sonos? / Et tamen hunc obitus Solis, miratur & ortus: /cur tua non meritis laudibus acta veham?

¹⁶⁴ Multorum mores, linguae cognoscere multas, / ingenii certe est nobilioris opus. / Gryllorum similes hos auguror esse: paternae / qui nunquam foculum deseruere domus. / Quique suae praeter matris commercia linguae, / ullius populi non didicere modos.

The Sun revolves the earth constantly forever.

Why human, who received their better part from them,

Should always sit inert like a snail in a shell!¹⁶⁵

The rest of the poem returns to applauding hard work and toil, which is supposed to work in unison with God's providence, taking the classical proverb of *audentes fortuna iuvat* and bringing it closer to the Calvinist understanding of divine providence and predestination:

The best things in life are obtained through prayer and hard work;

The divine providence gives us no good without these.¹⁶⁶

To return to our point about the specifically *Kavalierstour* context of this poem, we see the fusion between themes of nobility and traditional themes of apodemic literature. The importance of the noble descent, while proclamatory downplayed to emphasise the scholarly virtues, is defined and has its own merits. The medieval, one might say traditional idea of nobility, is built through epithets of the "true nobility", which is obtained by "valor and skill"¹⁶⁷ and "bold [lit. manly] virtue"¹⁶⁸. The image is reinforced with a similar metaphor in the end, where the scholarly success and hard labour enables the young noble to obtain the "crown of hard work ... in the citadel of heavens"¹⁶⁹, invoking the military nature of such endeavour. This dimension is absent from similar poems in the same collection admiring and encouraging scholarly pursuit or work ethic (dedicated to other scholars or written in general).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ *Astra moventur in arce poli: polus ipse movetur:/ Titan perpetuas itque reditque vias./ Cur homo, qui partem potiore accepit ab illis,/ in cochlea deses torpeat usque sua!*

¹⁶⁶ *Optima sed votis & sedulitate, parantur:/ His sine nil nobis dant pia fata boni.*

¹⁶⁷ *[Q]uae Marte vel arte paratur.*

¹⁶⁸ *mascula virtus*

¹⁶⁹ *Corollam namque Laboris Honos iam tibi in arce legit.*

¹⁷⁰ A good example is the poem *Manus causa sapientiae* dedicated to Thököly's other preceptor, István Miskolci Csulyaki, recorded first in the *album amicorum* (IAA, nr. 9112) and subsequently published in the *Xenia natalitia* collection, which focuses on the importance of work ethic and the constant practice of the art from a philosophical perspective of Anaxagoras' teachings.

The poem was nevertheless didactic and intended for a young noble, István Thököly, not Filiczki himself, and we cannot say with absolute certainty that it is egosyntonic. It has its own goals, so to say, which were to please Filiczki's student and his family, Filiczki's patron.

It shows, however, that the ideal of nobility was consciously and programmatically connected with the phenomenon and fashion of *peregrinatio academica* even in the Hungarian context and it was distinct from the rest of the didactic poetry of the author. Given the other factors, that Filiczki was a noble himself, and he experienced his whole domestic and foreign journey with young nobles, the Thökölys and later the brothers of Hodějová, I would argue that Filiczki's travels are best understood as a part of *Kavalierstour*. In this way, I agree with Martin Holý's thesis that even a participant of *Kavalierstour* could have ended up as a scholar, teacher or poet, just as happened to Filiczki, and that *Kavalierstour* and *peregrinatio academica* are best understood as deeply intertwined, but still distinct.

4. Self-fashioning through *album amicorum*

One of the most interesting sources when it comes to Filiczki's life is his *album amicorum*. *Album amicorum*, literally "a list of friends," is a type of a commonplace book into which "excellent men and friends sign[ed] their names, often accompanied by a pithy saying, not rarely even by a symbol, emblem or other image, to serve as a testimony of their high regards and estimation of the owner [of the book], a memory of their shared experiences, a recommendation of life and studies, or a proof of good will."¹⁷¹

Album amicorum or in German *Stammbuch* was also referred to by a variety of other contemporary names, for instance *philotheca*, *liber mnemonicus* or *memorialis*, *liber gentilicius*, *gazophylacium* or *musaeum litterarium*, *theatrum eruditorum* and even more poetic labels.¹⁷² *Philotheca*, "repository of friends," is merely a Greek variation denoting the same phenomenon. Other names can be characterized as descriptive and tell a lot about their expected or intended usage as well as about their users. *Liber mnemonicus* relays the important function of remembrance and memory; *liber gentilicius* illustrates popularity among the nobles and indicates the link with the books of genealogies and proofs of noble origin, and finally, the lofty *musaea* and *theatra* reflect the erudite aesthetic ambition of the intellectuals who embraced these books very soon.

The practice of keeping *alba amicorum* started during Reformation period when it became fashionable to collect autographs from well-known reformers. This practice then spread to large areas of Europe, but it did not become a universal fashion and remained strongly

¹⁷¹ Michael Lilenthal, *De philothecis varioque earundem usu et abusu: schediasma critico-literarium*. (Regiomonti: Apud Martinum Hallervordium, 1712). Accesible online: <https://onb.digital/result/1097D021>

¹⁷² Lilenthal, *De philothecis*, 1-6.

connected with the Reformation and, like in Filiczki's case, with intellectuals with academic background.¹⁷³

In the educational environment, the *alba amicorum* attained several important practical functions. Entries from famous and respected men could serve as letters of recommendation for students participating in the *peregrinatio*; either as an evidence of having acquired the necessary education to enrol to the university or a proof of conduct to obtain accommodation in a new town. The social aspect of their usage prompted users to represent themselves with and within their *alba*.

In this manner, these documents did not function as private journals. Rather, they were shared and reviewed by a wider audience, friends, colleagues, teachers etc. In this regard they can be likened to letters, another type of a semi-public document. While letters offered space for people to address each other privately and personally, they were also regularly read out loud in public, they circulated among the sender's or addressee's friends, and were frequently published already during the lifetime of the involved figures. They belonged to an established genre of literary writing and followed specific writing requirements in respect to their form and style.¹⁷⁴ The ways of self-representation employed in the correspondence is certainly a productive field of research for numerous scholars, such as e.g. Kenneth Austin.

Filiczki's *album amicorum* might not appear as a particularly apt source to investigate his self-fashioning practices. Unlike in cases of well-preserved correspondence suitable for this kind of studies, the entries in Filiczki's *album* are written and dedicated to him exclusively by

¹⁷³ See e.g. Wolfgang Klose, *Wittenberger Gelehrtenstammbuch* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1999); Christiane Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis der Frühen Neuzeit: Gestaltung und Nutzung des Album amicorum am Beispiel eines Hofbeamten und Dichters, eines Politikers und eines Goldschmieds (etwa 1550 bis 1650)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002); June Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum & the London of Shakespeare's Time*, (London, England: The British Library, 2011).

¹⁷⁴ Austin Kenneth, "Academic exchanges: Letters, the Reformation and Scholarly Self-Fashioning," in *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*, ed. by Richard Kirwan (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2013), 41-42.

others and they contain only a few personal comments.¹⁷⁵ How can they reveal something about Filiczki?

As Kenneth Austin illustrated on the example of letters, the “two forms of representation [i.e. *self*-representation and representation by others] are interwoven, making this distinction frequently difficult to sustain in real life.”¹⁷⁶ Thus, on one hand, some album entries based on a close personal relationship. Just as in conversation or letter-writing, they reflect familiarity with the recipient’s tastes, ambitions and social needs. Naturally, the inscribers would shape their entries with the aim of finding the balance between their own representational needs and those of the owner.

On the other hand, social practices connected with the *album* created an environment in which it was expected or polite to contribute to one’s *album* even without strong personal relationship. Students would ask their teachers for an inscription or vice versa; a humble teacher would request an inscription from a prominent student visiting the local school. The aesthetic demands, so to say, of the genre of the *alba amicorum*, created specific standards and required formulaic entries, which represented and addressed a certain ‘type.’ Given that both parties, the inscriber and the owner of the album, belonged to the same community, one can speak of “collective self-fashioning.”¹⁷⁷ The analysis of the *album* can be thus imagined somewhere in the middle of the axis between self-fashioning and collective self-fashioning. Analyses of *alba*

¹⁷⁵ This is not necessarily true for all *alba*, some owners were more eager to write comments and scribbles, commissioning new artwork to old entries, etc. Filiczki’s album is quite sober, he sometimes makes a personal comment about someone passing away or makes a reminder of their religion.

¹⁷⁶ Austin Kenneth, “Academic exchanges: Letters, the Reformation and Scholarly Self-Fashioning,” in *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*, edited by Richard Kirwan (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2013), 39–59.

¹⁷⁷ About ‘type’ see *Ibid.*, 42. On collective identity of Early Modern academia see Walter Rüegg, “Themes,” in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, edited by Hilde De Ridder Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3-42.

usually utilise similar methods, although without explicitly subscribing to them, but there are also more general attempts.¹⁷⁸

Filiczki's album

Filiczki's *album* is relatively under-researched. The manuscript, which is actually an interleaved print of Andreas Alciati's *Emblemata*, was preserved in the Library of the National Museum in Prague. As it was not properly documented as an *album* until quite recently, it evaded attention of Hungarian or Slovak scholars.¹⁷⁹ Ryantová mentions the *album* in her aforementioned work, but the only scholar to engage with Filiczki's *album* prior to that, is Marta Vaculínová, who contributed two larger studies.¹⁸⁰ In the first article (which she calls preliminary), she discusses some of the original poems in the *album*. In the other, later and more comprehensive article, she describes the history of the manuscript, maps out Filiczki's travels, identifies most of the inscribers and makes an attempt at a basic analysis of the language and content of the inscriptions.

Taking a step further, this chapter will offer an even more in-depth analysis of the content and the meaning of those inscriptions that concern Filiczki's own career and development as a poet. An important part of the analysis will be the exploration of how the inscriptions are used together with the emblems to build meaning upon each other, thus expanding or complementing each other by employing the emblematic way of seeing, which

¹⁷⁸ For instance in Central European context. See Christiane Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis der Frühen Neuzeit. Gestaltung und Nutzung des Album amicorum am Beispiel eines Hofbeamten und Dichters, eines Politikers und eines Goldschmieds (etwa 1550 bis 1650)*. (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002; Marie Ryantová, *Památníky nebo štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum. Kulturně historický fenomén raného novověku* (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2008).

¹⁷⁹ These are the new supplements published in last years. Michal Dragoun, *Soupis středověkých rukopisů Knihovny Národního muzea. Doplnky ke katalogům F. M. Bartoše, J. Vašici a J. Vajse* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2011); Michal Dragoun and Jindřich Marek, *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea. Sbírký Adolfa Patery a Čenka Zibrta* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2012).

¹⁸⁰ Ryantová, *Památníky nebo štambuchy*; Vaculínová, "Památník Jana Filického v Knihovně Národního muzea a některé nově nalezené básně," in *Sambuccus IX* (2013), 96-103; Vaculínová, "Jan Filický z Filic a jeho památník v rukopisné sbírce Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze," in *Kniha 2013. Zborník o problémoch a dejinách knižnej kultúry. Dejiny knižnej kultúry Spiša*, (Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica 2013), 304-20.

can be summed up as a “programmatically synthesis of the verbal and visual, as well as the naturalistic and conventional.”¹⁸¹ This approach, described in theoretical terms by Görgy E. Szőnyi, is especially suited for the analysis of this *album* owing to its origins in a book of emblems. While there were partial attempts at such analysis before, here I would like to test the potential and the limits of this approach, with a different theoretical framework than previous scholarship.

History of the album

Filiczki’s album preserved at the National Museum is fully digitised and accessible online, although there seem to be a problem with foliation of the pages. It is apparent that the way the book is digitised does not always correspond with its actual physical layout, as there is a mistake in digitization around the first third of the MS, where one folio is scanned twice and the numbering is confused.¹⁸² This generates a slightly cumbersome user-experience and I have mostly circumvented it thanks to the fact that images also show parts of the opposite page but I cannot rule out a possible omission of some information.

Vaculínová describes the *album* as part of the interleaved print of Alciati’s *Emblemata*.¹⁸³ The front fifth part of Alciati’s book is missing and the first emblem in the manuscript is the emblem 62 on page 81. It is highly probable the lost part contained even more inscriptions; judging by other published inscriptions and the practice of reciprocity of inscriptions between owners. It is also possible that the front part explained precisely how the

¹⁸¹ György Endre Szőnyi, “The ‘Emblematic’ as a Way of Thinking and Seeing in Renaissance Culture.” Online materials of the University of Szeged, 10-11. Accessible online: http://ebook.szeged-english.hu/essays/Iconology/Iconology_Emblematology_Szonyi.pdf

¹⁸² *Filiczki’s Album amicorum*. Knihovna Národního muzea, IX G 15.
<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=KNM> -
NMP IX G 15 2G99Y99-en

¹⁸³ I disagree with this phrasing. I will describe how they form a whole and cannot be accurately understood when separated from each other later in this chapter. Vaculínová, “Jan Filický z Filic a jeho památník,” 306.

book came into Filiczki's possession. At the beginning of the 20th century it was rebound in a simple black hard cardboard binding.¹⁸⁴

Originally, the Alciati's book belonged to Johannes Kraus from Lubló (Stará Ľubovňa) in Hungary. Kraus and Filiczki were friends and it is most likely that Filiczki received the *album* as a gift, probably in the first half of 1603.¹⁸⁵ This can be inferred from a number of the still existent entries in the book, dedicated to Kraus. Vaculínová rejects the theory that the front part of *album* is missing because of Kraus taking out the inscriptions dedicated to himself, with the argumentation that there are still some of them left in the *album*. Vaculínová considers all the entries from 1602 and earlier, which are not explicitly dedicated to Filiczki, as intended for Kraus. This would amount to seven entries from a time period between 1601 and 28.9.1602.¹⁸⁶

Inscriptions dedicated to Filiczki originate from the period between 1600 and 1616 and account for roughly 160 entries. The overlapping dating of both friends' entries is caused by the fact that Filiczki brought some inscriptions with him on loose leaves and later bound them in.¹⁸⁷

Monolingual inscriptions are primarily in Latin (around 150 inscriptions), ancient Greek (5), German (3) and Czech (1). Many of the entries are bilingual or plurilingual, the secondary language being most often ancient Greek (10), French (6), Hebrew (4), Czech and Italian (3), Hungarian and Spanish (2), and finally English and German (1).

Apart from Latin, Filiczki was most engaged with Ancient Greek. In Prague, he collected several mottoes in Greek from "a certain Greek, Johannes," breaking the pattern of

¹⁸⁴ Vaculínová, "Jan Filický," 306.

¹⁸⁵ Craus edited a collection of funerary poems on occasion of death of children of Matthias Bobrowiczki, a tax collector in Kežmarok, and Filiczki contributed his own poem. https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN769178219&PHYSID=PHYS_0009&DMDID= Later, Filiczki published this poem with small changes in *Xenia natalitia*, s.p. Filiczki also dedicated two poems to Kraus in *Carmina, Carm I*, 9, *Carm II* 101.

¹⁸⁶ *Filiczki's Album*, 61r, 77r, 85v, 87r, 89r, 154v, 255r; I find this debatable at least in one case (89r), but without physically examining the document (to see how was the folio attached) it is impossible to tell.

¹⁸⁷ *Filiczki's Album*, 198r, 284r, 284v.

obtaining entries only from close friends and colleagues. Apparently, the prestige of the language was enough and Johannes contributed six proverbs in ancient Greek supplemented by Latin translations in smaller script.¹⁸⁸

In addition to the Greeks of Prague, Greek was often used in biblical quotes from priests and professors of theology, less commonly even in other scholars' inscriptions.¹⁸⁹ The same groups of contributors used Hebrew, yet this was done mostly alongside ancient Greek or Latin versions of the biblical quotes.

Other vernacular languages were mostly used mostly by nobles, predominantly from Basel, where the variety of different languages seems to have been higher.¹⁹⁰

As for the content of the inscriptions, we can first mark out a number of quotations in the entries. The most popular classical authors referred to were Seneca (in eight entries), Cicero (in three entries) and Horace (in two entries). Aristophanes, Aristoteles, comici Graeci, Cornelius Celsus, Fabius, Epiktetos, Euagrius, Iuencus, Iulius Capitolinus, Ovidius, Persius, Plautus, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Silius Italicus, Tacitus and Tertullian are all quoted once. The Neo-Latin authors referred to were Calvin, Fernelius, Filippo Beroaldo, Gerog Summer, Iustus Lipsius, and Zwingli; each of them was quoted once. Among biblical quotations we can find Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah and Jerome (each of these sources is referred to two times in the *album*), and Matthias, John, Mark, Genesis, Job, John Chrysostom, St. Gregory and St. Bernard (each of them once).

4.1 Stoicism and virtue

¹⁸⁸ "Scripsit haec Graecus quidam Johannes, Pragae," *Filiczki's Album*, 120v, 121r.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. *Filiczki's Album*, 73r, 216r

¹⁹⁰ These findings are in line with Vaculínová's observations. See "Jan Filický," 317-318.

The stunning prevalence of the quotes from Seneca and a great deal of proverbs and popular saying about virtue and about blind fortune would require a closer look. It seems that the Christian Neo-Stoic background, that shapes these entries and one can easily see that Filiczki explored similar themes in his own poems.¹⁹¹ Most illustrative examples of such inscriptions are, for instance: “*Virtue begets honours,*”¹⁹² “*Bearing and believing,*”¹⁹³ “*Through the temple of virtue to the temple of honours,*”¹⁹⁴ or “*Virtue makes noble.*”¹⁹⁵ Another very telling example is “*Only the blossom of virtue is eternal.*”¹⁹⁶

Seneca’s quotes were sometimes creatively conferred together with passages from the Bible, for instance Johannes Buxtorf, a professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel did, connected (what he thought was) Seneca’s quote “*Poverty feels the lack of many things, but greed the lack of everything*” to a free translation of a Bible passage in Hebrew “In my Lord I shall not be needy”.¹⁹⁷

Stoicism and the importance of hard work – a feature very common in Filiczki’s academic environment full of social climbers – was the inspiration of the inscriptions such as “*Through difficulties to honours,*”¹⁹⁸ “*There is no easy way from Earth to stars,*”¹⁹⁹ “*The expectation of rewards makes the effort easier,*”²⁰⁰ or more specifically suited to academic environment, “*The knowledge does not lie in a soft bed, but is born in toil and hardship*”²⁰¹.

¹⁹¹ Starting with the *Xenia natalitia* in a poem “*Sine virtute nemo beatus esse potest,*” poem to István Thököly analyzed in the third chapter, *Carminum liber primus I*, 39, and many others.

¹⁹² *Filiczki’s Album*, 17v.

¹⁹³ *Filiczki’s Album*, 72r

¹⁹⁴ *Filiczki’s Album*, 91r

¹⁹⁵ *Filiczki’s Album*, 172r,

¹⁹⁶ *Filiczki’s Album*, 142r

¹⁹⁷ *Filiczki’s Album*, 194v. Nowadays, this quote is attributed to Publilius Syrus.

¹⁹⁸ “Per angusta ad angusta.” This phrase appears in the *album* several times, e.g. *Filiczki’s Album*, 8v, 91r.

¹⁹⁹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 190r. The quote derives from Seneca.

²⁰⁰ *Filiczki’s Album*, 144r.

²⁰¹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 17r.

4.1.1 Virtue of hard work

One of the most interesting features of the inscriptions is the expectation of rewards for hard work, especially connected to the education, which was most prominently pronounced in entries by the Hungarians. In addition to exhortations to piety, this is the most frequent sentiment expressed in their inscriptions.

The oldest entries from the time when Filiczki was embarking on his journey illustrate the attitude of the Hungarians and their understanding of *peregrinatio academica* as a career opportunity. When Filiczki was preparing to cross the borders to Czech lands, Martinus Sorbacus Boscovinus dedicated to “the pleasant young man” the following lines: “*The letters will reward you, young man, with great honours / since you sweat over your studies. / You are seeking suitable manners in far away regions; / Divines help your pursuit and bless you with favourable winds!*”²⁰²

Later in Prague, legates of two Hungarian cities, Eperjes (Prešov) and Kisszeben (Sabinov), inscribed their names in the album. These may have been the very same legates mentioned in Filiczki’s letter to Hungary.²⁰³ Eperjes legate Maximilianus Fabinus writes: “*Learn liberal arts: Land everywhere cherishes the learned. / It never happens, that one who studies well, stays poor.*”²⁰⁴ The Kisszeben legate limits himself to an encouragement to hard, yet promising work: “*We bear the hardships led by the hope of the end results.*”²⁰⁵ Johannes Bocatius, famous *poet laureate*, also signed Filiczki’s *album* in Prague, expanding this theme

²⁰² *Filiczki’s Album*, 284r.

²⁰³ Kálmán Benda, “Filiczki János levele.” During this period, the envoys of five royal towns from the eastern Upper Hungary sought audience at the emperor Rudolf, demanding their religious freedom and the return of the Košice cathedral. In the meantime, the revolution of Bocskai erupted and complicated the situation. Filiczki describes in the letter that legates of Košice has returned home, but those of other cities have stayed, hoping to still negotiate some favors from the emperor.

²⁰⁴ *Disce bonas artes: alit omnis terra peritus / umquam nec fiet, qui bene discit, inops.* *Filiczki’s Album*, 235v.

²⁰⁵ *Spe finis dura feramus.* *Filiczki’s Album*, 237r.

even further: “--- what I want is not for mortals. / Glory follows sweat, virtue and dignity. / No rewards, no honours, await slackers.”²⁰⁶

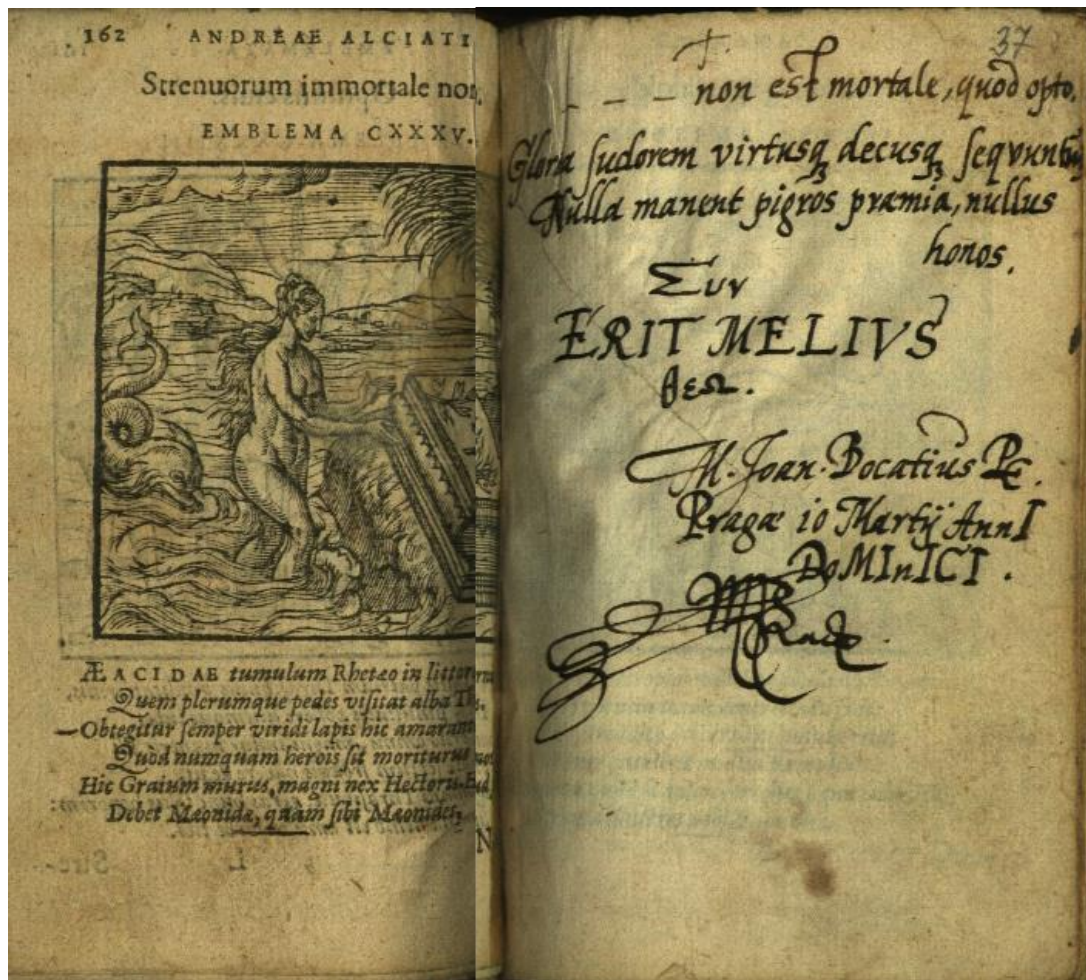


Figure 1. Inscription of Johannes Bocatius in Filiczki's *Album* 65v, 66r.

4.1.2 Modesty and humility

The eager ambition of such inscriptions, however, could not slip past the Christian values of modest humility and it provoked several anti-ambition and anti-court inscriptions. A quote from Plautus teaches that “it is important to get ahead through virtue, not thanks to

²⁰⁶ The omission represents empty beats, an unfinished poem. “[N]on est mortale quod opto. / Gloria sudorem virtusque decusque sequuntur. / Nulla manent pigros præmia, nullus honos. *Filiczki's Album*, 66r.

sycophants or promoters; who does the right thing, has enough of them.”²⁰⁷ Nicolaus Braun commends the virtue of temperance,²⁰⁸ Paulus a Melno reminds that virtues are tried and tested in life: “Purity amongst pleasures, humility amongst riches, truth in discussion, and piety in deeds.”²⁰⁹ Life is to be lived “neither too avidly, neither too timidly.”²¹⁰ One of the most obvious examples conveying the tensions between the sober academic background and courtly success, is a quote (although not attributed as such) from Seneca’s *Thyestes*: “*Whoever powerful likes to stand on top of the slippery court, let him: I am satisfied with my tranquil peace in anonymity, where I enjoy the sweet leisure.*”²¹¹

Virtue, nobility, and letters

Another recurring theme of the inscriptions in Filiczki’s album is that of the nobility. Nobility, for Filiczki, was something to be corroborated by piety, morals and, very importantly, studies.²¹² This sentiment is also reflected in the inscriptions, particularly in those that were dedicated to him by the nobility. Catherin Le Doux, professor of French and Italian at the university of Marburg, inscribed in the *album* three short mottoes in three languages, addressing Filiczki as “a young noble, noble by birth, by true virtue and piety, and by studies.”²¹³ Matthias Martinius appraised him as “a noble by birth and studies.”²¹⁴ Adamus Seenuss from Carinthia similarly addressed his inscription to “the most noble and most learned lord Johannes Filiczki.”²¹⁵ A dedication by Wolfgang Mayer is especially excessive: “to lord Johannes Filiczki, most illustrious both by birth and by his virtues.”²¹⁶

²⁰⁷ *Filiczki’s Album*, 4r.

²⁰⁸ *Filiczki’s Album*, 29r.

²⁰⁹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 265r.

²¹⁰ *Filiczki’s Album*, 165r.

²¹¹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 21v.

²¹² See my analysis of the poem to István Thököly.

²¹³ *Filiczki’s Album*, 142r.

²¹⁴ *Filiczki’s Album*, 99v.

²¹⁵ *Filiczki’s Album*, 206r.

²¹⁶ *Filiczki’s Album*, 245r.

A Silesian noble Casparus a Nostitz contributed this elegiac couplet: “*There are two things through which one can become noble: letters and war. / The lesser glory comes from war, the greater from arts.*”²¹⁷ This idea could be also captured in a more condensed form, as, for instance, a short line “virtue makes noble,” that the noble Italian Theodoro di Werder added next to his subscription.²¹⁸ In such dedications, Filiczki is almost always addressed as a lord (*dominus*).²¹⁹

Nevertheless, more frequently than nobility and abstract virtue, the dedications in the album praise the qualities of piety and education. At the beginning of his journey, Filiczki was often described as a talented young man, e.g., “pleasant and well-educated young man”²²⁰ or “talented and well-educated young man.”²²¹ The addresses to him as a young man cease around 1608, during the time of his visit at Siegen University.²²² Since then dedications celebrating him as “the most honourable and well-learned,”²²³ “well-learned and most pious,”²²⁴ “distinguished through virtues and learning”²²⁵ become the norm.

4.2 Nationality in the album

Given the complicated legacy of the Kingdom of Hungary, there has been a debate as to what was Filiczki’s national identity and what language did he use most frequently.²²⁶

²¹⁷ *Filiczki’s Album*, 178r.

²¹⁸ *Filiczki’s Album*, 172r.

²¹⁹ Exception e.g. *Filiczki’s Album*, 284r, 284v.

²²⁰ “suavi et erudito iuveni,” *Filiczki’s Album*, 284r.

²²¹ “ingenuo ac docto iuveni,” *Filiczki’s Album*, 198r.

²²² “humanissimo et praestantissimo iuveni viro,” i.e. most learned and excellent young man. *Filiczki’s Album*, 299v.

²²³ *Filiczki’s Album*, 5r.

²²⁴ *Filiczki’s Album*, 304v.

²²⁵ *Filiczki’s Album*, 218r.

²²⁶ However, owing to the limitations and the specific focus of this thesis, I did not engage with the question of Filiczki’s perceived nationality and the chapter on Filiczki’s reception has primarily focused on his recognition as a poet. At this point, I will nevertheless address this topic, insofar as it concerns the dedications to him, inscribed in his album by other authors.

Filiczki was born in a plurilingual environment and could probably speak Hungarian and Slovak from childhood; later he wrote poems in both languages, although the bulk of his poetry is in Latin.²²⁷ In letters, he could spontaneously pass from Latin to Hungarian.²²⁸ Since he was always part of a German speaking environment (Upper Hungary, Czech Lands, Holy Roman Empire, Switzerland), he most probably also spoke German. In his poetry, he wrote long praises of his fatherland,²²⁹ and Lotichius commends his patriotism in the introductory epigram.²³⁰ Some epigrams have been interpreted, although primarily by Czech and Slovak research, as expressing Slavic or Slovak national feeling, like the epigram *Ad Sphettium*, which praises the valour of Slavs in the history, or the epigram *In varie se vestientem*, which criticises a man who shuns the fashion of his own nation.²³¹

The main interest of this chapter, however, are the ways in which other scholars addressed Filiczki in their contributions to his *album*. Since Filiczki presumably spoke his own dialect of Slovak with the Czechs and the Poles (less likely with other Slavs), it is certainly significant, whether members of these nations addressed him differently, than, for instance, Germans, French or other foreign nations.²³² The attitude of non-Slavic speaking Hungarians could also bring some revelations.

²²⁷ He used other languages in rare cases; he dedicated Psalms translated into Hungarian to his friend Albert Molnár Szenci and Psalter - *Szent David királynak és prophetanak száz eötvén soltari; a' franciai noták szerént magyar versekre fordítottak Molnar Albert által*. Varadon [1652–1660] Szenci K. Abraham.; He also contributed short poems both in Hungarian and in Slovak in Johann, Fürst of Nassau-Siegen. *Luctus Illustris Nassovicae Scholae Sigenensis Super Obit Illustris Et Generosissimi Domini, Domini Johannis, senioris, Comitiss Nassoviae*. Herborn, 1607, 50, 79.

²²⁸ Kálmán Benda, “Filiczki János levele”, 86.

²²⁹ Filiczki, *Xenia natalitia*, poem *De crudelitate turcorum*.

²³⁰ Lotichius, “*Bibliothecae poeticae*”, 142.

²³¹ Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*, 129; *Carminum liber primus*, 131. For the debate, see Imrich Sedlák, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry I.* (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2009), 72; Minárik, *Renesančná a humanistická literatúra*, 136; Marta Kerul'ová, “Literárne ponímanie kultúrnej alterity v slovenskom humanizme” [Literary views of cultural otherness in Slovak humanism], in *Brnenské texty k slovakistice. Slovensko mimo Slovensko = Slovensko mimo Slovenska*, (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2008), 73-82.

²³² The main reason for this assumption is simply the fact that he spoke a Slavic language, worked as a teacher of Czech noble family, and spent quite some time among Czechs, Poles and Silesians. Moreover, as mentioned, he also published some short poems in Czech, creating even macaronic poetry, e.g. in *Carminum liber*

In his *album*, Filiczki is addressed by two terms denoting origin: *Scepusius* (meaning “from Szepes County”) or *Hungarus* (“Hungarian”). Hypothetically, the first title, *Scepusius* should be more popular with Slavs, in order to differentiate him from non-Slavic speaking Hungarians. However, when we actually take a look at the inscriptions specifying Filiczki’s nationality, the hypothesis turns out invalid.

There are nine entries in the album, which refer to Filiczki’s nationality. He is addressed as *Hungarus* six times; five times by Germans, often university teachers, and once by a Czech.²³³ The epithet *Scepusius* is used three times total, once by a Hungarian from Oradea, once by a Silesian, and once by a Czech.²³⁴ Owing to the lack of information, it is hard to draw conclusions from this. Of course, not every inscriber felt the need to address Filiczki in a “nation-specific” manner. The most acceptable explanation for some of the contributors’ usage of the term *Scepusius* seem to be a closer familiarity with the region and not necessarily the language of the inscriber or owner.

Another explanation might be a close personal connection between the owner and the inscriber, as in the case of the Czech noble Georgius Erastus, who lived at the same place as Filiczki at the time of his stay in Herborn. A more intimate familiarity could also mean that the inscriber knew more about Filiczki and his Hungarian patriotism (as referred to by e.g. Lotichius).²³⁵ Nevertheless, this observation cannot be deemed universal either. Another Hungarian, Filiczki’s close friend, Albert Molnár Szenci, with whom they shared an accommodation in Marburg, kept a regular correspondence and dedicated poems to each other, does not address Filiczki either as *Hungarus* or *Scepusius*.

secundus 112. He also received some inscriptions in Czech in his album and did not translate them into Latin, as in *Filiczki’s Album*, 174r.

²³³ *Filiczki’s Album*, 110r, 116r, 136r, 180r, 195r by Germans, 277r by a Czech inscriber.

²³⁴ *Filiczki’s Album*, 5r, 111r, 300r respectively.

²³⁵ Even with this understanding, the local patriotism of the Szepes people cannot be equated to Slovak national sentiments.

4.3 *Album*'s influence on poetics

4.3.1 Emblematic way of seeing

As mentioned, Vaculínová already touched upon the issue of some of the inscriptions “being connected” to Alciati’s emblems in the very same manuscript. In my opinion, the linkage between this very manuscript and Filiczki’s album has not yet been emphasized enough by to date scholarship. Here, I would like to take a step in this direction and give these observations a proper theoretical background, which would thus open a new venue for thinking about Filiczki’s poetry.

The definition of “the emblem” and “the emblematic way of seeing” developed by Görgy E. Szőnyi are followed in this chapter. According to his study,

“[t]he emblem is a tripartite genre that organically synthesises picture and words with the purpose of mixing naturalistic pictorial representation (hypoicons, *vraisemblable*), conventional symbols, topoi, rhetorical modules and other invented and traditional elements, shared and accepted by an interpretive community. The point of the emblematic way of seeing is the programmatic synthesis of the verbal and the visual, as well as naturalistic and the conventional.²³⁶

The tripartite structure of the emblem, i.e. *inscriptio – pictura – subscriptio*, was established by the *de facto* inventor of the genre, Andrea Alciati, whose *Emblemata* was first published in 1531.²³⁷ This is the very same book that our *album amicorum* was used as. The purpose of this representation “was to artistically please as well as to instruct, bringing a moral, religious, cosmic or philosophical truth to light sometimes by means of developing a riddle or enigma.”²³⁸

²³⁶ Szőnyi, “The 'Emblematic' as a Way of Thinking,” 10. Szőnyi offers a comprehensive history of emblematic seeing, which is not a Renaissance invention, but has its origins in Classical and Medieval tradition.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

I argue that Alciati's book influenced Filiczki's *album* in more cases than noted by Vaculínová. Moreover, it has also shaped Filiczki's poetry by inspiring its readiness for emblematic representation and the emphasis on the interplay between the text and its title.

Alba amicorum were often decorated with images and coats-of-arms. Filiczki's *album* contains a minimum of pictures; only two coats-of-arms, one of them even dedicated to the previous owner Johannes Kraus.²³⁹ This creates a rather austere impression and marks it as an *album* of a scholar; in contrast to the burgers' and nobles' *alba*, which were often lavishly decorated.²⁴⁰

The emblems would make the *album* more representative, while fitting the aesthetics appropriate for a sombre scholar and a pious poet. The pictorial representation of the emblems would in this case serve as a visual stimulus for the inscriptions and vice versa; the inscriptions would actualise the emblems and bring them closer to the reader. The process of choosing a place for an inscription is hard to outline with exact terms. It was probably collaborative, as the *album* was passed around among friends and colleagues, who would not only interact with the emblems, but sometimes also reacted to the inscriptions written by others.²⁴¹ Were the emblems on a loose piece of paper, Filiczki could have chosen where exactly to put the inscription, but since the book could not be constantly bound and rebound, it is probable that the inscribers would either find a suitable spot for their contribution by themselves, or adjust their inscription to a place they were offered.

Vaculínová notes several cases where the inscriptions expand upon the emblems. The first such poem is from Heinrich Klinger von Tennicht or Henricus Clingerius, a prominent

²³⁹ *Filiczki's Album*, 154v, 163r.

²⁴⁰ Vaculínová, "Jan Filický," 317.

²⁴¹ Similarly, for instance, Mikuláš Pelargus (112r) and Theodor Vietor (114v). A discussion about their inscriptions follows in this chapter further on.

authority among Prague poets and also Filiczki's teacher of poetry.²⁴² This poem, located on 152r, is on the opposite leaf to an emblem of a fir tree. The inscription builds on the motive of fir tree (*abies*), playfully connecting the tall nature of the tree with the high morals and virtue. Moreover, Klinger's nobiliary particle is *de Abietova* and the fir tree was in his coat-of-arms.

In another inscription, Nicholas Pelargus contributes some strong anti-Catholic distiches, inspired, as Vaculínová correctly noted, by the emblem of the Hussites on the opposite leaf.²⁴³ Furthermore, Antonius Fayus quotes Job 14.5 "you have set the limits that man cannot exceed" opposite the emblem on goals and limits.²⁴⁴ Elizabeth (Alžběta z Kaménka) inscribed a long passage from Genesis in five languages opposite the emblem *In pudoris statuam* which refers to the story of Penelope. In both cases, the chastity and purity of the woman plays an important part in the narrative.²⁴⁵ Sometimes the connection is not unambiguous; for instance, Vaculínová speculates that the inscription from Filiczki's student Přeck might be deliberately placed opposite the leaf of emblem *Vis amoris*, the power of love. Especially if we concede that the inscription did not have to be directly opposite an emblem, which it is connected to, her conjecture seems entirely valid. Moreover, the next two emblems are about love, too, however, they refer specifically to love of education and virtue, ἀντέρως, a concept to which Filiczki added a definition on the side: *amor contrarius Cupidinis*.²⁴⁶

Especially from the angle of this thesis, the last emblematic usage mentioned by Májeková is also the most interesting; again, it involves a tree, in this case laurel. Caspar Sturmius, professor of theology at the university of Marburg, writes the following distich: "*Hence the Apollo's chorus pledges the crown to you, Filiczki, for your excellence and your*

²⁴² "[P]urima censurae nostrae subiecta dedisti." Filiczki, *Carminum liber secundus*, 88. This is also mentioned by Vaculínová, "Památník", 106-08.

²⁴³ *Filiczki's Album*, 112v.

²⁴⁴ *Filiczki's Album* 95v; emblem *Terminus*, Job 14.5: *Constituisti terminus qui praeteriri non poterunt*.

²⁴⁵ *Filiczki's Album* 145v, 146v, 147r.

²⁴⁶ These seem to be understood as a cycle, as there are no free pages for inscriptions between them. *Filiczki's Album*, 41v-43v.

Muse.”²⁴⁷ Vaculínová translates *spondet* as “(he) promises,” however, I believe that the correct translation would actually be “to pledge or to bestow,” especially given that Sturmius wrote this in 1615, a year or two after Filiczki’s coronation as a *poet laureate*. His inscription is in fact a congratulation for this great personal success.

This kind of emblematic principle can be found also in other inscriptions in the *album*. In three cases we encounter inscriptions dedicated to the previous owner Kraus,²⁴⁸ but in eleven other cases in inscriptions for Filiczki. The aforementioned quote from Seneca’s *Thyestes* against courtly ambitions is placed opposite of the emblem *In aulicos*.²⁴⁹ The exhortation to moderateness and temperance is linked to the emblem *In garrulum et gulosum* (Against blabbermouths and gluttons).²⁵⁰ An inscription claiming supremacy of religion over astrology is placed opposite the emblem of the story of Prometheus with a title *Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos*, as if expressing a warning against dabbling in arcane mysteries of the heavens.²⁵¹ Opposite the emblem *In momentaneam felicitatem*, there are three verses warning about the fickleness of fate and teaching that pleasure is always temporary and shorter than pain.²⁵² Previously mentioned inscription by Johannes Bocatius about the fruits of hard work are linked to the emblem on eternal fame.²⁵³ A quote from Augustine, explaining that the life is but a battle with temptations and vices accompanies the emblem on the twelve labours of Hercules.²⁵⁴ The emblem *Clementia principis*, which uses an example of wasps to symbolize good rule refers to the anecdote on the wise rule of Antoninus Pius.²⁵⁵ In another inscription, Theodorus Vietor

²⁴⁷ “Hinc tibi virtutique tuae Musaeque coronam /spondet Apollinei turba, Philizke, chori.” *Filiczki’s Album*, 160v.

²⁴⁸ *Filiczki’s Album*, 60v-61r, 76v-77r, 85v-86r.

²⁴⁹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 21v-22r.

²⁵⁰ *Filiczki’s Album*, 28v-29r.

²⁵¹ *Filiczki’s Album*, 36v-37r.

²⁵² *Filiczki’s Album*, 54v-55r.

²⁵³ *Filiczki’s Album*, 65v-66r.

²⁵⁴ Emblem title: “Duodecim certamina Herculis”; Augustine quote: “...nec potest [homo] vincere, nisi certaverit; nec potest certare nisi in inimicum et tentationes habuerit.” *Filiczki’s Album*, 67v-68r.

²⁵⁵ *Filiczki’s Album*, 82v-83r.

mocks anti-Catholic sentiments expressed in the same *album* by Nicholas Pelargus.²⁵⁶ Vietor uses the emblem of a crow devouring a scorpion (and dying as a result) to criticise Pelargus' zeal as counterproductive.²⁵⁷

Christophorus Staudius reiterates the emblem's message *Eloquentia fortitudine praestantior* (Pen is mightier than the sword) in another famous quote *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae* (Yield, arms, to the toga; to the style, you laurels).²⁵⁸ A quote from Jerome exhorting to moral excellence touches upon the emblem's message about the need to remove ignorance.²⁵⁹ Although it is not certain, the short saying "The expectation of a reward eases the labours" does not appear to expand directly on the opposite emblem, in this case about filial piety; but on the story of Aeneas, who in the same sentiment managed to endure the struggle and long voyage.²⁶⁰

A good transition from the *album* to Filiczki's poetry collections, is an inscription he left for his friend István Miscołci Csulyak, preceptor of István Thököly.²⁶¹ The epigram on the importance of hard work to attain knowledge, *Manus caussa sapientiae*, which was later also published in *Xenia natalitia*, is accompanied by a beautiful illustration of a hand (representing the work) holding the book (knowledge). In this manner, this emblem, consisting three parts, appears complete. If we accept Vaculínová's opinion that Filiczki has drawn the picture himself, we can see the influence of the emblematic way of seeing on his poetry.²⁶² Even if the

²⁵⁶ *Filiczki's Album*, Pelargus 112v, Vietor 114v.

²⁵⁷ *Filiczki's Album*, 114v and 116r.

²⁵⁸ 1 *Filiczki's Album*, 22v and 124r.

²⁵⁹ *Filiczki's Album*, 136v and 136r. The title of this emblem is "De submovenda ignorantia." The inscription plays on the double meaning of "studia," which in its first sense means "efforts," but is most frequently used as "studies."

²⁶⁰ *Filiczki's Album*, 142v and 144r.

²⁶¹ The poem on *peregrinatio* of István was discussed in the third chapter. The inscription can be found at *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum* nr. 9112.

²⁶² Vaculinova, "Památník," 105.

illustration was commissioned later by Csulyak, the readiness with which his epigrams can be adapted into emblems is remarkable.

Speculations aside, there are other instances in which Filiczki explored the visual element of poetry even further. Another inscription, published in Filiczki's *Carmina*, is noteworthy because of its specific disposition.²⁶³ The poem itself praises a union of nobility and intellectual virtues and promises eternal memory of friendship to a Polish noble Petrus Kosminsky. What is more interesting; the poem is inscribed within a picture of an altar, definitely a play on the verse "This altar will be your guarantee of a faithful friend."²⁶⁴ The illustration is not very intricate; it is more likely that Filiczki drew a similar design in *album* of Petrus Kosminsky.

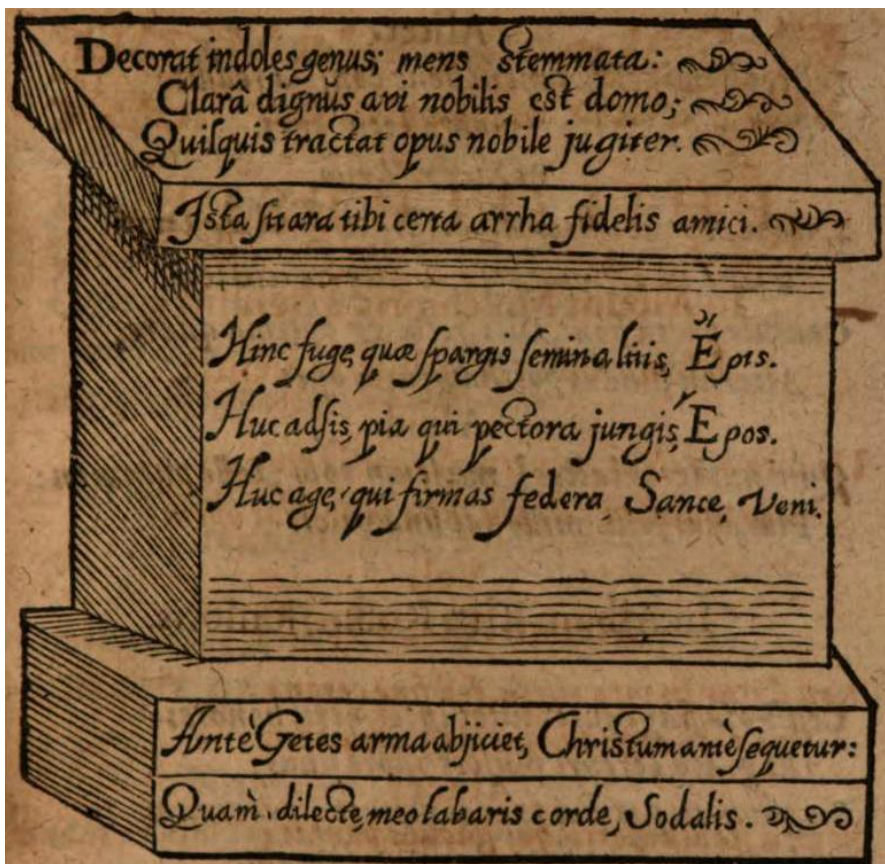


Figure 2. Poem to Petrus Kosminsky, *Carminum liber primus*, 35.

²⁶³ Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*, 35.

²⁶⁴ *Ista sic ara tibi certa arrha fidelis amici.*

Similarly, an image of a wedding ring is used in a nuptial poem to Joan Voit published in *Carmina*.²⁶⁵ The ring bears an inscription: “As there is no end to this jewel, let there be no end to love.” The poem itself is printed in standard fashion; the verses appear as the background of the ring, but it is completed with an inscription running circularly inside the ring. The design is masterful and employs the emblematic principle on new, even mannerist, level.

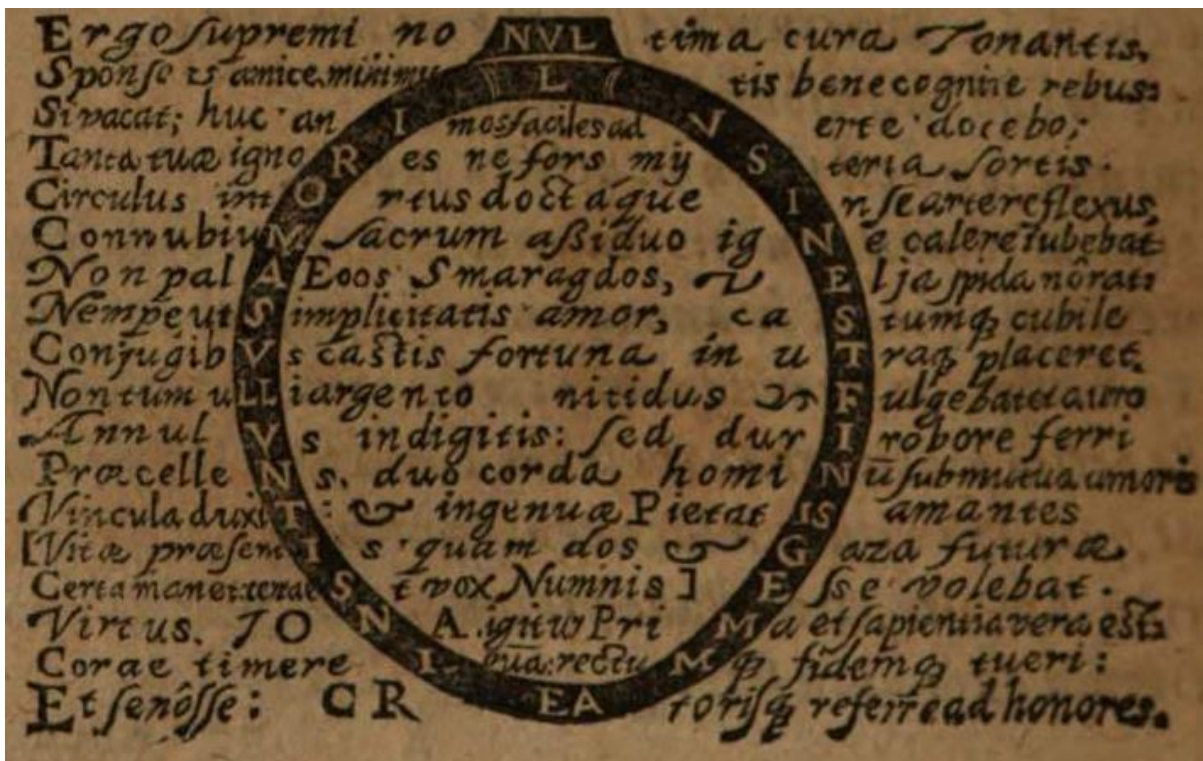


Figure 3. Nuptial poem to Joan Voit, *Carminum liber primus*, 66.

The last type of poems where Filiczki largely leans on the emblematic way of seeing are the poems describing the coats-of-arms of his patrons. The connections between heraldry and emblems, both systems with a visual (shield) and verbal (blazon) component, has been noted in the literature before.²⁶⁶ Its presence also in Filiczki’s poetry must therefore certainly be emphasized when speaking of his connecting of the text and the images.

²⁶⁵ Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*, 66.

²⁶⁶ Szönyi, “The ‘Emblematic’ as a Way of Thinking,” 17-19.

There are three such poems; dedicated to Thököly family, Hodějovští family and the Žerotín family. The only coat-of-arms poem properly accompanied by the picture is the one to Baros of Hodějová in *Carmina*. The poem to Thököly in *Xenia natalitia* is without a picture, but there is blank space on the page, indicating that the owner of the book might commission an illustration. The third poem dedicated to Žerotín family does not seem to have been published. Together with the versions of the other two poems it is located in a print convolute of various genealogical works in the University of Pennsylvania Libraries.²⁶⁷ Although this has been indeed noted by Vaculínová, she only offered a transcript and estimated that the poems were copied from a manuscript, not from a printed book.²⁶⁸

Three poems are handwritten and attributed to Filiczki. One wonders whether they were written directly by Filiczki, but if we compare the hands, it is obviously not the case.²⁶⁹ The small variation between the manuscript and the printed version of the poem for Thököly family on one side, and a great deal of variation between the version of the poem for Hodějová family on the other side, indicates that the poems were written down before *Carmina* was published. The manuscript version of the poem for barons of Hodějová can be described as clumsy at times, since the flow of the metre is sometimes broken by the disjointed word phrases. Moreover, it lacks certain qualities of *ekphrasis* and bears some other imperfections, for instance, it forgets to mention the colour of the shield of the family. This is remedied in the print version which can be thus deemed as a later product.

²⁶⁷János Filiczki and Hieronymus Treutler *Aurea Bulla et miscellanea*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 819, f. 250r-v. There is no information on the provenance of the book; when I contacted the libraries, the only information they could give me was that they obtained the MS in 1952 from an antiquarian dealer Helmuth Domizlaff of Munich.

²⁶⁸ Vaculinova, "Památník," 113.

²⁶⁹ One can examine and compare Filiczki's hand in Csulyak's *album* (*Inscriptiones alborum amicorum*, nr. 9112,9113), in his own *album* (as in *Filiczki's Album*, 302v) and in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1906, 116r.

All three poems represent a moral emblem on the virtues of the noble families that have earned their nobility through valour or defence of faith. Thökölys' lynx is holding a sword, indicating that he his nobility through fight. Žerotín's lion stands on a rock and frightens the lyrical persona, however Calliope joins in and explains that that is simply the nature of lions, implying that the family can disregard its adversaries and protect the faith. In the poem for Hodějovští, the blue shield is reminiscent of the naval battles and the golden fish represents the spoils of war – the well-earned reward.

It is apparent that the visual element in Filiczki's poetry is more prominent than has been hitherto discussed in modern scholarship. Scholars have recognized that Filiczki used the inscriptions to his epigrams in creative ways, resembling the approach of an emblem, and the vivid imagery of the epigrams was indeed acknowledged. Nevertheless, I believe my detailed analysis of such examples might encourage further insight of this topic and attract also the research from other fields, such as art history and heraldic. Although these features of Filiczki's cannot be attributed to the influence of Alciati's work alone, his *album* paints an undisputable proof and testimony of the importance and popularity of the emblematic way of seeing in similar representational fashions.

5. Horatian poetics: *Miscere utile dulci*

After closely examining the career of Filiczki, and after seeing how he was presented as a poet purely by others (in literature), in collaboration with his peers (*album*), it is time to undertake an analysis of Filiczki's own self-fashioning as a poet. The analysis will be based on a close examination of not only the poems, but the more neglected paratext, i.e. prefaces and other material accompanying the main text, of *Carmina*.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the focus of poetics was on the mixture of “useful and sweet” and it followed the rhetoric trifecta of “teaching, delighting and moving” the recipient.²⁷⁰ Although there existed a notion of poetic inspiration or *furor poeticus*, it was bound to capturing the noble and the beautiful in life in order to fulfil a certain moral and instructional societal role.²⁷¹ In the second half of the century, however, Aristotle's *Poetics* have been rediscovered and reintroduced to the literary community. At the time of Filiczki's *floruit*, i.e. the turn of the sixteenth century, the focus was shifting from the societal responsibility of the poet more to the “creative act” itself and the freedom of the poet, “the divine inspiration”, “the awe and the extraordinary”. Poetry could be an end goal itself.²⁷²

Filiczki was quite conservative in some aspects of his poetry, namely his poetic persona and his defense of poetry and the role of a poet in society; he relies on the Horatian poetics of the first half of the sixteenth century.

²⁷⁰ The former of the two phrases comes from Horace's didactic poem on writing verse, *Ars poetica*, verse 343, and it will be referenced multiple times in this chapter. The latter comes from Cicero's *De Oratore* and these three qualities of oratory permeated the theory of rhetoric in the Latin West.

²⁷¹ Said about Gerolamo Fracastoro in Jozef Minárik, *Renesančná a humanistická literatúra: svetová, česká, slovenská* [Renaissance and humanist literature: global, Czech, Slovak] (Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1985), 19.; Vernon Hall, Osborne Bennet Hardison, Arthur F. Kinney, “Renaissance Poetics,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1158–63.

²⁷² Minárik, *Renesančná a humanistická literatúra*, 19.

Filiczki's use of language, strikingly manneristic at times, suggests that his stance is not caused by ignorance of new developments but reflects a deliberate artistic choice. This has been interpreted by some as a result of his strict Calvinist morals.²⁷³ I argue, however, that this alone is not sufficient as an explanation, and that his education and aspirations for a career in education contributed a great deal to his image of a poet, especially in his greatest work, *Carminum libri duo* (1614).

It took a long time for Filiczki to publish his collection of poems in Basel in 1614. The collection was in preparation for several years, as it can be seen from the preface and from the letters included in the second part of the book, written in 1610. Allusions in the dedicatory poem of the first book attest to the same: "*Make haste slowly: even delay can earn the prize. / He was quick to finish, whoever finished the work right.*"²⁷⁴ The work was Filiczki's *opus magnum* and a quintessence of his career up until that point, containing poems from the entire duration of his studies and career as a tutor and preceptor. It was an important career move. Filiczki had to give thanks to his patrons and supporters and, what might be even more important in this case, show his credentials for further employment, possibly at other places.

Filiczki worked as a tutor for Miklós Thököly, the son of his first patron, already from 1602, when they left together to study abroad in Görlitz *gymnasium*. They parted ways when Filiczki left for Prague a year later in 1603 and found new patrons in the family of nobles from Hodějová (*ab Hoddiegova, Hodějovští z Hodějova*). He then spent ten years travelling with the young nobles Přeck, Smil, Bohuslav and Adam as their preceptor or *ephorus*. In October 1612, the whole group came to Basel to finish their studies, which they did sometime in the following year. Then, the mother of the brothers from Hodějová died on November 22, 1613 and they are

²⁷³ Májeková, *Ján Filický*; Májeková, "K výskumu slovenskej humanistickej literatúry: Básnik Ján Filický," 139-51; Minárik, *Renesančná a humanistická literatúra*, 132-36.

²⁷⁴ *Festina lente: parit et cunctatio palmam. / Sat cito perfecit, qui bene finit opus.* Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*, s.p.

thought to have returned home on account of the family tragedy and having already earned their laurels.

We know from his *album amicorum* that after the publication, Filiczki parted ways with his friends in Basel in early 1614 and travelled through several university cities all over Germany. In February he stopped at Strasbourg, Freiburg in Breisgau, Nürnberg and in the end of the month he made his way to Augsburg. Then there is a year gap in the *album* entries with no information of his travels. In March 1615, Filiczki resurfaced in Leipzig and continued his extensive travels—from Leipzig through Prague to Marburg and Wittenberg, back to Leipzig, then to Kassel, returning to Marburg, and stopping for two months in Frankfurt. We know that in Frankfurt he was already heading home to Hungary.²⁷⁵ Finally, there are two entries in his *album* that suggest, according to Vaculínová, that he stopped at Prague before heading to Sárospatak, saying goodbye to Přeck of Hodějov. ²⁷⁶

It is not known who was supporting him at the time, he might have been relying on savings or friends to get by. Even if nobles from Hodějov. paid him some stipend, Filiczki was looking for a new work position, using his collection of poems (and for sure also his album) as a kind of “business card.” Filiczki anticipated that he would be doing this while he was preparing the book for printing. With his degree in theology, he had two choices: to become a priest or to become a teacher. The choices he had made in choosing the preface, the dedicatory poems, his own poems—these all are a result of him stylising him as a “conservative teacher-poet.” The motto of “mixing the useful and the sweet,” *miscere utile dulci*, serves as the best shorthand for understanding this book and Filiczki’s poetic persona.

²⁷⁵ Marta Vaculínová, “Jan Filický,” 315.

²⁷⁶ Vaculínová, “Jan Filický,” 315.

5.1 Poetry and Rhetorics

The preface in the form of a fictitious letter to the young nobles of Hodějov is an elaborate piece, elucidating the attitude of the poet towards society, and it also says something about the expectations of society from him. In fact, one might better describe it as a dispute or an oration, showcasing the close connection between rhetoric and poetry in the Northern Humanism of his time.²⁷⁷ Trunz describes the reliance of early modern Germany poetics on educational institutions²⁷⁸ Barner also writes about the importance of rhetoric in the seventeenth-century German literature.²⁷⁹ Poets had to be rhetors as well, capable of writing and delivering a public speech. Poetry had not only a moral function, as in encouraging piety through aesthetic experience, but it also served to make for a persuasive public speaker, enriching one’s vocabulary and teaching careful choice of words.

A good example of these practices would be the teaching of poetry in the Breslau *Gymnasium* in the first half of the seventeenth century. Students had to learn to write verse as it “would be easier for students, having learned to write good poetry, to move into prose than vice versa.”²⁸⁰ One of the exercises in composition was to re-compose a poem from its prose version provided by the teachers. This ensured that everybody knew how to write “at least tolerable verse.”²⁸¹

Filiczki in the preface starts his defence of poetry in the same vein. Virtue, the highest value of the contemporary Christian Neo-Stoic philosophy, could only be achieved through

²⁷⁷ Hall et al., “Renaissance Poetics,” 1161–63; David George Halsted, *Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus and his Circle* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1991), 123–66.

²⁷⁸ Erich Trunz, *Der deutsche Spthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1931); Halsted, *Poetry and Politics*, 79.

²⁷⁹ Wilfried Barner, *Barockrhetoric. Untersuchungen zu ihren geschichtlichen Grundlagen* (Tbingen 1970).

²⁸⁰ Halsted, *Poetry and Politics*, 146.

²⁸¹ Halsted, *Poetry and Politics*, 146.

“praying and work,” which could not happen “without frequent exercise and acquaintance with Latin.” The style one would develop this way, Filiczki continues, still had to be accommodated to the “imitation of the most excellent authors.”²⁸² These approved authors had to be read and their words taken in and processed, barring, of course, the exceptions. According to Filiczki, some of the “better poets” should be included here. “For it can be hardly expressed how much they help to expand one’s vocabulary and how much they add to the honey-sweet composition, using only the best phrases.”²⁸³

After emphasising the role of imperators and kings in supporting poetry, Filiczki offers testimonies of the ancients. Plato, he says, called poetry the “parent and leader of the wisdom.” Even more important for the present discussion is Strabo’s assertion that poetry introduces us to the ways of the life from the youngest age, that it teaches morals and how to deal with emotions and finally that “it connects the duties with pleasure.”²⁸⁴ In the end of the preface, Filiczki once more asserts the union of the the “useful and the sweet,” exhorting the young nobles to “hold poetry in high regard, even more since it brings together the usefulness and the pleasure.”²⁸⁵

The preface was an important part of the collection and it provided a key to understand the poet’s philosophy—it should give an overview of the spirit of the collection, and show the reader the social circles that the writer is moving in and that his peers approve of his work. The preface was much more important for the contemporaries than it is for literary historians. Májeková, for example, describes it in a single paragraph, while Johannes Petrus Lotichius,

²⁸² “Deus bona sua precibus et labore vendit. Quia vero haec sine crebro Latinae linguae exercitio cognitiove minus commode acquiri possunt: stylus optimus dicendi effector et magister, conformandus est ad probatissimorum Auctorum imitationem.” Johannes Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus* (Basel: Typis Schroterianis, 1614), n.p.

²⁸³ “Vix enim dici potest, quam multum illi faciant ad uberrimam sermonis copiam comparandam, atque ad mellificium ex lectissimis quibusque flosculis componendum.” Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*.

²⁸⁴ “[...] res gerendas cum iucunditate praecipiat.” Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*.

²⁸⁵ “Vos vero [...] tanto honestius [...] de hisce studiis sentietis, quanto maiorem utilitatem cum summa voluptate habent coniunctam.” Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*.

poet laureate and writer on the theory of poetry, takes over a large part of this preface into the entry on Filiczki in his encyclopedia of poets, recognising the role it played in understanding the poet's work.²⁸⁶ In stark contrast to Filiczki, who uses the terms *poesis* and *poetic* as neutrally as possible, giving the impression of studies or a craft, Lotichius uses florid language in praising the poet, talks about “climbing the Mount Helicon,” “poetic talent,” and “making a poetic talent a part of oneself.”²⁸⁷

Lotichius, of course, published his text in slightly different circumstances. He wanted to persuade his audience that Filiczki was a great poet and one that everybody should know about, but he chose to stress the poetical inspiration, and its divine mystery. Filiczki, although he was trying to do the same, i.e., to promote himself, chose a different path. There is only one instance in the preface which contains something akin to “poetic talent,” but it is in a part where the ancestors of the young nobles are praised as *maecenates* for resurrecting the literature—“the poetic talent has awoken.”²⁸⁸ That part, as I have found out, was taken almost word to word from the preface to *Farrago symbolica sententiosa* by Georgius Carolides a Carlsberg, also a client of nobles of Hodějová and Filiczki's friend.²⁸⁹ Since the phrase is only mechanically varied, its information value is much lower. It shows the existence of the *topos* and the outside expectations to conform to this ideal, but not the extent to which Filiczki subscribed to it.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Lotichius, *Bibliothecae poeticae*, 142-47.

²⁸⁷ “Helicon superari,” “poetica facultas,” “poeticam facultatem unice intra praecordia sua et viscera recepit.”

²⁸⁸ “poetica ingenia excitata sunt”

²⁸⁹ Filiczki also refers to him in a note after the text. Georg Carolides von Carlsberg, *Farrago symbolica sententiosa* (Prague: Adam, 1597). None of their communication is preserved, however, Carolides did ask Albert Molnár Szenci to relay a letter to Filiczki. Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Levelezése, CCXIV, 341.

²⁹⁰ “[...] majores tamen Udalrici, Iani, Vilhelmi, quorum consiliis patria nostra Bohemia floruit; caesares et reges potentissimi acquirerunt, studia litteraria emerserunt, poetica ingenia excitata sunt.” Carolides, *Farrago symbolica*, s.p.; Filiczki has “Habetis Uldaricos, Johannes, Wilhelmos, quorum consiliis salutaribus patria vestra Bohemia floruit; caesares et reges potentissimi acquirerunt; poetica ingenia excitata sunt.”

In another part of the collection, the dedicatory poems of colleagues and friends (the so-called *euphemiai*) are also stressing the mix of utility and pleasure. The first poem written by Caspar Sturmius revolves around this notion: “He holds every vote, who joins the useful and sweet, and learned enough is the pious Muse. You join the useful and sweet, reject the profane, write with love about the sweet sacred.”²⁹¹ The poem continues, repeating the motif once more. Another professor, Hermann Kirchner, uses the same trope, praising Filiczki’s poetry for its piousness, true faith, and good morals, as well as its educational ideal: “Such is this poem that by reading it, the adults will refresh themselves and the youngsters will change for better, for the useful is mixed with sweetness.”²⁹²

Virtually all poems advertise the edifying nature of the work. This might not seem surprising, since those who recommended the poems were teachers themselves. The phrase itself also comes from Horace, but it must be considered significant for its obvious importance in the education system and poetics of the time. Filiczki rarely ventures out of the position of a teacher. It is not that he would not mention divine inspiration at all, in the form of the muses, Camoenae or Gratiae. In fact, he does, oftentimes when he proposes verses from his earlier years, which relied more on tropes and conventions of occasional poetry. The lyrical subject is strangely remote and impersonal, as has been noted before.²⁹³ It is usually the addressee of the poem who is divinely inspired, never the lyrical subject. When Filiczki becomes more present in the text, for example, when he writes to close friends in propemptics, he never engages with the topic of the poetic inspiration, the *furor poeticus*, what is more, he frequently stresses the opposite.

²⁹¹ Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*.

²⁹² Filiczki, *Carminum liber primus*.

²⁹³ Májeková, *Ján Filický*, passim.

When he writes a letter of appreciation to his teacher Georgius Remus, he says: “If my work is anything close to the nature of the Muses, it is your merit; you gave wings to me, crawling in the dust, you gave me my talent.”²⁹⁴ If this was the only place to find such a sentiment, it could be seen as a mere topos of humility. This understanding of the role of the poet, however, is depicted almost consistently (with few mentioned and explained outliers) within the corpus of his work. It is the reading and frequent exercise of classics, the man-hours, that makes a poet. When we compare Filiczki’s and Lotichius’s image of a poet, the former is much more conservative and didactic, even if both were Calvinists. It is also consistent with other features of his *Carminum libri duo* discussed here, in line with Filiczki’s educational background and in line with his career choices, both contemporary and planned. This allows for a better read of the collection as whole in regard to poetics, and how these poetics were connected with the author’s current social circumstances.

²⁹⁴ “Si quid tamen ad Musarum Genium sapiet, id tibi velim totum acceptum referri: qui et alas mihi humi repenti et ingenium addidisti.” Filiczki, *Carminum liber secundus*.

Conclusion

The main topics of this thesis deal with life and works of an eminent and creative humanist, Johannes Filicki. In addition to the discussion of the prosopographical problems exposed by the previous scholarship, one of the main objectives was to offer a reinterpreted, fuller picture of Filiczki's life. Moreover, it offers an entry point into the part of research on his career that is still underdeveloped and draws attention to the various interconnections between Filiczki's travels, poetical career, and *album amicorum*, which have importantly shaped Filiczki's image of a poet and a humanist.

In the first chapter, I examined the current state of scholarship regarding biographical and prosopographical information about Filiczki's life; these findings then served as foundation for the discussions of more detailed issues in the following chapters. The thoroughgoing reading of the otherwise scattered literature offered the most up-to-date and accurate account of Filiczki's life and career, which is presented on a significantly more detailed scale than previous studies. This allows for a future comparative research, which could yield a more accurate image of the routes and itineraries of *peregrinatio* and *Kavalierstour* and possible differences between them. The most important findings, in my opinion, are the names of Filiczki's *commensales*, mentioned in scholarship on Filiczki for the first time here.

In the second chapter, I offered a scrutiny of the earlier scholarship, primarily of 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and explored the ways in which Filiczki's career was represented in the historiography. This included a discussion of Filiczki's legacy and influence of his poetical tradition in Hungary in the 18th and 19th centuries. Two main arguments emerge in this chapter, which prominently appear the further discussions of the thesis: the question about Filiczki's

degree and his title of *poeta laureatus*. Here, too, I tried to engage as large variety of sources as possible and aimed to portray a fuller picture of the issues discussed that was available in the literature up to date. I offered strong arguments in favour of Filiczki obtaining a degree in theology before coming to Basel. I have also examined the controversial question of Filiczki's possible laureation, have described the historiographical tradition of this question, and definitely shown that Filiczki was a *poet laureate* on the basis of conferring all types of sources – historiography, contemporary literature, and *album amicorum*.

In the third chapter I tried to locate Filiczki's career in the contemporary system of the learned travel. I explored which of the terms of *peregrinatio academica*, *Kavalierstour* and *Grand Tour*, is best suited as a theoretical concept to describe Filiczki's travels. I could not offer a definite solution to the question as I feel it needs a broader, comparative research, but I believe that the concept of *Kavalierstour* is more different from *peregrinatio* than the current scholarship suggests. In addition, through an analysis of a poem to István Thököly I illustrated Filiczki's programmatic support of the notion of the learned travel as an ennobling and virtuous practice.

In the fourth chapter, I took a closer look at the *album amicorum*. My analysis did it not treat it only as a tool of social interaction and a source of prosopographical information. Rather, I provided a new theoretical framework that also appreciated it as an artistic object. Furthermore, I demonstrated the ways in which the *album* exerted special influence on Filiczki's poetics through its employment of the emblematic way of seeing. The emblematic relationship of the Alciati's emblems and the inscriptions in Filiczki's *album* can be observed also within Filiczki's poetry, and can be, at least partially, attributed to the owner's perusal of the *album*. This observation offers a fresh interpretational focus of Filiczki's poetry, namely the vivid imagery of the epigrams.

Finally, the last chapter completes gradual passage from objective to subjective point of view. Here, I engaged in-depth with Filiczki's *Carmina* and I explored the collections' paratext. On these grounds, I traced the ways in which Filiczki aimed to fashion his image of a poet in his social circle and his future legacy. My analysis established that in *Carmina*, Filiczki's poetics are conservative and didactic, thus proving out to be heavily influenced by the Calvinist and Stoic philosophies prevalent in the educational environment of the time.

The research I have undertaken here, while providing various solutions to the issues previously unsure, had to contend with obvious limitations and leaves much to be expanded upon in still. My study focuses on an individual *persona*; however, a larger comparative examination in regard to the concepts of *peregrinatio* and *Kavalierstour* in Hungary still awaits. Similarly, the interaction between Alciati's *Emblemata* and *alba* remains to be explored and a question arises whether the emblematic way of seeing can be used to better understand poetry other than emblems too.

This thesis thus offers a promising starting point for a wider and more comprehensive characterization of the topics discussed. On this stage, however, I believe my analysis to have fulfilled the goals set and opened numerous new avenues for future research, not only with regard to mere reconstruction of historical facts but concerning also the literary value of the sources employed.

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