# ENGLISH AND HUNGARIAN CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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In the latter half of the 16th century, contacts between England and Hungary became remarkably lively, considering the distance between the two lands. There were several factors contributing to this: religious, cultural, and political. John Kósa lists some of these,[1] giving 1550 as a date for the beginning of contacts between Humanists in the two countries. The diplomat Antonius Verantius was eager to visit England and study the science that flourished there. Later, Bacon and other Englishmen became popular among learned Hungarians,[2] even after the free exchange of ideas became hampered through the intervention of the imperial court in Vienna. The connections were particularly lively with Transylvania, and among the early students or travellers was Peter Bethlen, the nephew of Prince Gabriel Bethlen, who was accompanied on his tour of European capitals by László Cseffei and János Pálóczi Horváth. Márton Berzeviczy was at the Court of St. James as a diplomat, and later Mihály Bethlen and Pál Teleki, sons of Transylvanian leaders, also visited London.[3]

However, it was the simple scholar, often the student of divinity, who made the greatest impact on this exchange. Documents attest to the close connection of the English Protestants with the Transylvanians. Prince Gabriel Bethlen established three scholarships for theological students (1625); Michael Apafi raised the number to 18, but Hungarian and Transylvanian students had gone to English universities before these stipends.[4] There are references from Marlowe to Milton to the "hungry Hungarian" students — enough to have led to a blurring of the two concepts.[5] In his *Aropagitica* Milton writes: "Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts."[6] There is also a letter from János Thallyai, a student at Cambridge, to his private patron,[7] and Márton Szepsi Csombor, who travelled to England in 1618–1619, seems to have paid his own way.[8] Pál Medgyesi came to England on a

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scholarship from the city of Debrecen; he studied at Cambridge (1631), and later entered the service of George Rákóczi I where, among other duties, he prepared other students bound for English universities.[9] His translations from English and his religious treatises bear testimony to the effect of his Cambridge sojourn. Most of these students were to have an important role in creating contacts with Western European Protestants, and of course they served to bring Hungary into the stream of Western European thought. Another such student, János Tolnai Dali, who spent several years in England, studied contemporary Protestant theology and the works of Francis Bacon and took these ideas with him to Sárospatak. To this school he was later instrumental in inviting Comenius, and he naturally formed a part of the Humanist circle around that scholar.[10]

Sometimes the students received English patronage. While Stephen Parmenius of Buda is the most notable example, there is also a reference to "ane Hungarian poet who made verses to my Lord" being given 58 Scots shillings by the Marquis of Montrose around 1628.[11] While most of the ones who received English patronage earned it through writing the usual laudatory verses to various patrons, as English interest in Continental politics and Hungary increased, some of the information they were able to provide made its way into the various world histories and encyclopedias that were being published at the time. While much of what was written continued to perpetuate the old formulas, these are gradually supplemented by sections or even chapters that recognize new conditions. As George Gömöri has indicated,[12] most of these works continued to repeat the glowing account of the historian of King Matthias, Bonfini, spiced with exotic details whose sources cannot reliably be traced. Yet, between the 1599 edition of George Abbott's *A Briefe Description of the Whole World*, and John Barclay's *The Mirrour of Mindes* (1631), much changed. While still repeating some of the old formulas, Barclay makes an effort to describe the position of the office of Palatine,[13] and comments that Hungarians do not easily suffer harsh and absolute rule.[14] More significantly, the 6th edition of Giovanni Botero's work advertises that this is not only an expanded version of the earlier ones, but one that corrects earlier mistakes. Botero had published his *Le Relationi Universali* between 1589 and 1596; its first English translation appeared in 1601, translated by Robert Johnson. The 6th ed., and 3rd enlarged one, appeared in 1630, under the title *Relations of the most famovs kingdoms and common-wealths throrowout the world: discoursing of the situations, religions, languages, manners, customes, strengths, greatnesse and policies, enlarged with an addition of the estates of Saxony,*

*Germany, Geneva, Hungary and the East Indies* (London, Printed by Iohn Haviland, 1630, translated by Robert Johnson). Possibly reflecting on the 1626 alliance between Charles I and Gabriel Bethlen, the English edition contains a chapter on Bethlen's state of Transylvania as well as a brief history of his birth and an account of his estates in Hungary. This new chapter was written by Master Petrus Eusenius Maxai. Maksai (the Hungarian spelling of his name), was a Transylvanian scholar who had studied in England under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He gives a fairly detailed account of the geography, the population, and the politics of the country, emphasizing military advantages and fortifications. He points to Bethlen's popularity, and mentions the schools and academies he founded or supports on his various possessions or in the cities under his control. He comments on the coexistence of three nations and the freedom of four religions. Transylvania's situation as the buffer between Turks and Habsburgs is also made explicit: "But the two neighbours most to be accounted of, are the Turke and the Emperour; able friends, but too mightie enemies for the Transilvanian: But this help he hath against them both; that if one proves his enemie, hee puts himself under the protection of the other ... Againe, for these last thirtie yeares, have three severall Princes of Transilvania thought it more ease and safetie to incline themselves unto the Turkish favour, than unto the Emperours."[15] It is interesting to note that in this passage Maksai defends the Princes of Transylvania, and certainly Bethlen, against any charges of sympathy with the Turks for any but the best of political reasons.

On the whole, however, contact with Hungarian and Transylvanian students was lopsided: the Hungarians benefited from the study of English theology and institutions, while the English often regarded them as curiosities. Most references in Renaissance drama are of this kind. But Shakespeare did use the emblems of Sambucus (János Zsámboki) as a source.[16] The contributions of Stephen Parmenius of Buda to the literature of the New World, however, are significant. In the considerable literature on Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, Parmenius is mentioned regularly since his part in the expedition was already noted in Hakluyt's *Principal navigation* (1585).[17] But the best source is Parmenius himself and the edition of his works by David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire makes such an examination possible.[18] The work is "a belated tribute to a young Hungarian scholar and explorer, who was the first from his country to write about North America in the international language of the European classical Renaissance".[19] Their extensive research, reflected in the notes and

the introductory chapters, as well as in the biography of Parmenius, proves the contention that the Hungarian was regarded as an exceptional figure by his contemporaries. He had gone along on the expedition partly to write an epic of the English explorations, but unfortunately was drowned on the return voyage off Sable Island when the Delight went aground and broke up. A companion who survived, Edward Hayes, paid tribute to him with these words: "Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budaeus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue, the gests and things of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."[20]

The little that is known of Parmenius comes from his own account in the "author's preface" to *De Navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti ad deducendam in novum orben coloniam suscepta, Carmen epibatikon* and a few references in the poem itself. Quinn and Cheshire provide further information on his English years, reconstructing it from references and dedications, but much of the poet's earlier history remains unknown. Because it reflects the conditions in Hungary that made so many students seek out foreign universities, and also because it gives an idea of Parmenius himself, I will quote his account. Evidently, Sir Humphrey had required the biographical introduction, and Parmenius also feels that it is fitting he should give a reason for writing such a poem "when England is blessed with so many excellent men of letters... that I, an unknown foreigner, had to apply myself in such a way to this theme... Although I was born in the servitude and barbarism of the Turkish empire, my parents were, by the grace of God, Christians, and I was even educated for some part of the time. After that I had made some academic progress, thanks to the efforts of my erudite teachers, such as have always been the pride of my native Hungary (and are particularly so now, among her still surviving relics), I was sent away to visit the universities of the Christian world." (p. 77, ll. 7—13) Parmenius's purpose seems to have been preparation for public life, for he refers to studying the administration of many lands in the three years before his arrival in England. He is much pleased by England, and the warm reception he had received almost dispels his homesickness. (p. 77, ll. 21—27)

Parmenius was certainly in England by the autumn of 1581; he was interested in geography and entered Christ Church at Oxford where he resided with Richard Hakluyt, though he seems not to have been registered at the university. Other important contacts were Dr. Laurence Humfrey,

President of Magdalen College and Dean of Winchester, William Camden, Thomas Sackville, and the Untons. It was to Humfrey that Parmenius first wrote from Newfoundland, as he states in the letter to Hakluyt. Thinking that Hakluyt might follow, or that the message he sends through Gilbert will reach him, he had not first written, but then taking the opportunity of ships returning to England, he decided to write "almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters".[21] Since the letter to Gilbert was lost, it is fortunate that Hakluyt also received one. The historian William Camden refers to the Hungarian poet as having been recommended to him, and Parmenius and Sackville shared an interest in both geography and political systems. All in the circle were Protestant, and Parmenius himself seems to have understood "Protestant" under the term "Christian" in his comments on his life.

Finally, the Unton family were important patrons: Sir Edward Unton and his son Henry. It is possible that Stephen had met Henry in Padua, and it could have been through them that he received his introduction to Oxford. As preparations for Gilbert's enterprise took shape, Hakluyt took Parmenius with him to London and introduced him to Gilbert. It was thus that the idea of the "eulogy of England, her Queen, her social policy, and the achievement of her explorers" was born.[22] At first there did not seem to be any plans on Parmenius' part to go on the expedition himself; he would, presumably, have written the poem based on the reports of others, for he says in *De Navigatione*:

> Oh, would that I were free
> To go abroad that happy ship, leave home
> (Forgive the impious thought), and penetrate
> Those far-off seas; and that the Muses too
> Could come with me and there compose for all
> Posterity a song about the rise
> Of this new race! But Fate denies me that:
> And when I start a trumpet-call of verse
> About some glorious deed, she summons me
> To sing reluctantly of sad defeats
> In Danube lands; the Fates must keep me back
> For tasks like that. (p. 93, ll. 203–213)

The journey, however, was delayed from the fall of 1582 to June 11, 1583, and in the spring of that year it was decided that Parmenius should go along. To this end Hakluyt might have encouraged him to revise his *De Navigatione*, a poem in praise of Gilbert. The original dedication remained,

but Parmenius changed the date to March 31, 1583. The dedicatory letter, reprinted in Hakluyt's account, reminds Gilbert of the poet having been introduced to him by Hakluyt, "explaining to me, at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world". Then, getting to the point, he says, "I everywhere heard more concerning your virtues and exploits, I thought it the favorable time possible, to discharge some part of my duty, and to express somewhat of my regard toward you and your nation. This is the primary object of my poem."[23] With the later date and some revisions, the poem became more appropriate as an "Embarkation" poem. Quinn and Cheshire argue that at the same time Hakluyt might have had other engagements, and was no longer interested in the voyage, thus giving his place to Parmenius.[24] The turn of events could but not have been welcomed by Parmenius. In the words of his editors, "An expedition such as Gilbert hoped to make, one which could transform the oceanic position of England by giving her a permanent stake across the Atlantic, opened up for him the chance of writing an epic of English discovery from first-hand experience. He could go with Gilbert as a chronicler indeed, but as a poet as well, one who could distill hard experience into imperishable words."[25]

When Parmenius wrote the poems, he was living with the Untons but visiting London fairly frequently. Dedications in his published works point to his moving in fairly high circles, and it is quite probable that he met not only Sir Philip Sidney who was associated with Gilbert's venture, and who had himself been in Hungary some ten years earlier and still had correspondents who kept him informed of events there, but also Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester.[26] While the expedition was chiefly for political and economic reasons — Gilbert and Sidney hoped for the discovery of precious metals — the idea of a heroic account must have intrigued the planners. The poem on Gilbert in Latin dactylic hexameters had shown that Stephen could write this account.[27]

It is interesting for this study to note how Parmenius perceived the new world and England. The comments are those of the visiting scholar who considers England not only with admiration and awe, but also with envy, for it is much freer than his own beleaguered country. In lines 48–68 he praises the new world which Gilbert is to claim for his sovereign as one worthy to be England's prize because it is unspoiled by tyranny, where "the Moslem wail [has not] disturbed those regions". Later, he speaks of

> The hateful rule of pagan mastery [which]
> Is now conceded by Rumania [Dacia] ...[28]
> Also by citizens of Hungary
> Who, never yet subdued in war, now guard
> Her narrow boundaries against the threat
> Of conquest, as within her ancient ground
> Croatia does ...
> Russia has a burning thirst
> For war and slaughter (pp. 87—89, ll. 96—97; 100—104; 106—107).

The references are to Turkish rule in much of Central and Eastern Europe, and to Báthory's war with Russia. Later, while praising Elizabeth I, he refers again to Stephen Báthory's desire to unite the separated part of Hungary and thus oust the Turks: "...while the distant parts/ Of Hungary decide to federate/ For safety's sake within one boundary." (p. 99, ll. 304—306) Quinn and Cheshire mistakenly take this to be a reference to Báthory's desire to unite Hungary and Poland. This, however, could not have been meant by a Hungarian; Transylvania and Royal Hungary were the two parts of the ancient kingdom divided by the Turkish-controlled region. Poland, while a potentially useful ally if ruled by a strong Hungarian (Transylvanian) king, was never considered to be part of the country. In fact, the Polish alliance was generally seen in the context of a plan to unite the two parts of Hungary in order to drive the Turks from the rest; the idea of reunification was always alive among the Hungarian statesmen of the time, whether living in Habsburg-controlled Royal Hungary, or in Transylvania. As to the seeming irrelevance of this statement in a tribute to the Queen of England, the political situation at the time makes this appropriate. Reunification ideas were often planned in concert with European powers opposed to the Habsburgs, or at least supportive of the idea of a Protestant power in the area. The Protestant League hoped for the support of Elizabeth and England, and a treaty of sorts did come about under James I; Charles I actually signed a treaty with Transylvania.[29]

After the land of noble men and natural riches imagined in the poem, Parmenius must have been disappointed in Newfoundland. The letter to Hakluyt written from St. Johns harbor is factual, and while he tries to account for the geography and potential of the land, most of what he has to say is unfavorable. St. Johns was a port used by fishermen of various countries, including the English, and so while they were not exactly charting virgin territory, none of the earlier voyagers had bothered to either explore the interior or claim the land for any sovereign. Gilbert intended to claim

the land and to set up English government. "Wee arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admiral tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England," notes Parmenius with satisfaction (*Voyages*, pp. 380–381) But then he continues:

> But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse? Of fish here is incredible abundance ... The whole land is full of hilles and woods. the trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the grass here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this–soyle is fit for corne: for I have found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing like trees, of great sweetnesse. Bears also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrye, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse than ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witness it. ...In like sorte it is unknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles... The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, ...but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountains of yce, in the middest of the Sea have taught us. (pp. 381–382)

Finally, he expresses some hope that other areas might be more hospitable: "we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover." (p. 382)

Some years later Lord Baltimore would have much the same reaction, for he received Maryland from Charles I in exchange for Newfoundland, the colony he had been originally given. It is interesting to speculate what Parmenius' reaction would have been to the shores of North Carolina or Virginia, where Raleigh's equally ill-fated expedition landed.

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It was not only Hungarian visitors to England who fostered connections between the two countries from the late 16th century onwards, but also

English visitors to Hungary. There were two broad categories: the diplomat and scholar like Sir Philip Sidney and John Dee, and the adventurers who went to try their fortunes in the Turkish wars. Of these latter, Captain John Smith, the founder of the first permanent English settlement in North America, is an important representative. English interest in Hungary and Transylvania escalated with English involvement in Continental politics. In 1600, a translation of Martin Fumee's *Histoire des troubles de Hungarie* was published, to be followed by a spate of treatises on Hungary and the Turkish wars.[30] The translator identifies himself as one who travelled in Hungary and was impressed by the country's efforts against the Turks "Hungarie after many afflictions endured by her sworne enemies (the Turkes) for her vtter ruine and decay: and after as many intreaties, requests, and earnest petitions made to the Princes of Christendome, and to diuers persons of great reputation and authoritie amongst them, for the asswaging (or rather quite supressing, if possible it could be) of these her wofull and intollerable miseries: doth now at last wander abroade, and is come into our little Iland (it being as it were the uttermost confines of Europe) in ragged and mournful habits as a distressed Pilgrime."[31] In 1606 the manifesto of Stephen Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, was published in England,[32] but as early as 1566 prayers were decreed for Hungary by Queen Elizabeth.[33] Many reports about the Turkish wars appeared in the *English Mercurius*, the first English-language newspaper, and this same interest is also seen in the dramas.[34]

While the visits of Dee, Sidney, and John Smith all occurred earlier than most of the references mentioned above, these cannot be seen in isolation from the interest that was there and merely continued to build as earlier contacts were deepened or more contacts were developed. While Smith might have been motivated mostly by a desire for adventure and gain, he was not alone among the English serving in Hungary, some of whom reached fairly important positions. In his own account he mentions ten Englishman and one Scot who participated in the battle of Verestorony [now Turnu Rosu, Romania] and of whom only two others escaped death.[35] Smith's narrative was first edited and printed by Samuel Purchse in his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchase His Pilgrimage* (London, 1625) as "Travels and Adventures". It was shorter than Smith's version, with omissions where Purchase either doubted the accuracy of certain events, or simply wanted to shorten the story. Smith's desire to authenticate his travels is seen by his publication of *True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (London, 1630). The story, possibly because of the above-mentioned

interest in Hungarian matters, seems to have been fairly well-known: there was, for example, a play based on John Smith's European adventures.[36] Also, another account of the campaigns of Sigismund Báthori must have existed, for both Smith and Purchse mention a *Historie of Hungaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia* by Francisco Ferneza. In his edition of Smith's works, Philip L. Barbour explains many of the discrepancies between Purchase and Smith's versions of the same events, and even attempts to prove the identity of Ferneza. Barbour's arguments are quite plausible: Ferneza was most likely a Ferenc Vas (Franciscus Ferrenus) who had been educated in Italy and was a supporter of Báthori. He could have written the history, and Smith might have had such a work with him partly to prove his tale and to substantiate his claim to the coat-of-arms that he had received from Sigismund.[37]

Since Barbour's extensive notes incorporate most of the recent scholarship on the topic, references to these arguments will only be made in passing here. As Smith's editor so aptly points out, however, "the catchall adjective 'controversial' could have been done without had Smith's editors and commentators of the past hundred-odd years been better informed about the history of the Mediterranean world generally, and southeastern Europe specifically, and had they troubled to make inquiries in such places as Venice, Vienna, and Budapest. But sweeping denunciations of Smith's book have been more the custom than investigation into recorded history, and in consequence Smith's Elizabethan exuberance was too easily taken for sheer prevarication."[38] In 1953 Bradford Smith did include an essay by Laura Polanyi Striker in his biography, and this gave a good account of the events in Hungary during the time Smith participated in the campaigns there.[39] Other corroborations come from Franz J. Pichler of the historical archive in Graz who substantiated that Smith had met with the Jesuits in that city when there was at least one Englishman living there, and that he received a letter of recommendation to Hanns Jacob Khissel, Baron of Kaltbrunn.[40] Such an introduction was important since the Archduke Ferdinand had a policy of not employing, or even of dismissing, Protestant soldiers. Only through conversion to Catholicism, moreover, could there be advancement in the Imperial army, though occasionally the Protestant Styrian Estates and the Hungarians thwarted the directive.

The *True Travels* narrate Smith's journeys through France, Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary and Transylvania, Russia, Poland, the Ottoman dominions, and even Spain and Africa. The Hungarian adventure forms about one third: chapters 4—11 out of 28. Of the eleven dedicatory

poems prefaced to the work, four mention his exploits there.[41] Clearly, he considered this an important episode in his travels, and one of which he was quite proud.

Smith first saw action near Alsólendva [now Lendava, Yugoslavia], which he calls Olumpagh-perhaps influenced by the German name, Limbach. Here, his pyrotechnic skills and telegraphic system helped confuse the enemy and earned him a command of 250 horsemen. He next took part in a larger campaign under the Duke of Merceour who besieged Székesfehérvár (Stowlle-wesenburgh for Smith, from the German name Stuhlweissenburg), and again Smith's knowledge of fireworks helped give the imperial forces the advantage. Early in 1602 Smith was attached to Henry Volda, Earl of Meldrith, who joined Sigismond Báthory against General Basta, the Imperial commander. Smith accounts for the latter's defection to the Transylvanian prince with these words: "[having] perswaded his troops, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince against the Turk, rather than Busca against the Prince." (p. 170) As the forces advanced on Gyulafehérvár [now Alba-Iulia, Romania] the Turks offered a challenge to single combat with anyone in the opposing army. Smith took up the challenge, and it is for these that he earned the patent of nobility. Though Smith himself attributes it to his participation in three encounters, since the two earlier battles were not in Sigismund's territory, or under his command, this is less likely. Also, the arms feature three Turk's heads as would have been appropriate for a man having won honor in single combat with three men. He describes the incident in great detail, calling the city Regall. He is more consistent in this than in naming some of the other places, probably because in his patent the duels are described as happening "ad urbem Regalem," that is, on the road to the royal city. Gyulafehérvár was at the time the seat of the Prince of Transylvania, as it had earlier been the seat of the king's officer who ruled Transylvania while it was part of the Hungarian kingdom, so the designation "royal" was appropriate. The challenge and combat are described with due attention to detail, pomp and ceremony. While such single combats were no longer the fashion in the West, they were not unknown in Hungary and Transylvania.[42] For greater drama, Smith gives each adversary in his narrative a name, although this is often a title or a description rather than an actual name, for example Lord Turbashaw comes from *türk başi,* or Turkish captain. This bit of literary flourish later led his editors to doubt his word, for the names did not seem

familiar or identifiable. Smith gained a promotion for his bravery in defeating three Turkish champions, his patent of nobility, and a pension from Báthori when Gyulafehérvár was later taken:

> Prince Sigismundus, coming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners, and six and thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thankes to Almightie God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service Smith had done at Olumpagh, Stowle-Wesenburg and Regall, for which with great honour hee gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yearly for a Pension (175). Both the Latin and the English text of the patent are reproduced in the narrative, as is also the engraving of the coat-of-arms. William Segar, Garter Principal King of Arms, recorded it at the College of Arms, thus making Smith's claim to knighthood quite legitimate in England also.[43]

Yet, though a mercenary and one who gained the coveted title of gentleman through his Hungarian adventures, Smith was aware of the devastation of war. In a passage critical not only of Basta's policy of destruction which left behind it the peace of death, but even of the Emperor's indifference to the welfare of his subjects, he echoes many contemporary Hungarian accounts:

> Busca having all this time been raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade Transilvania, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy; being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of Europe, most fit by all Christians to have been supplyed and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them most concerned to support it (197).

The Emperor, having decided to make an attempt to bring Transylvania under his rule, sent Basta to devastate the land. Smith took part in some more campaigns under the command of Meldritch in the army of Mózes Székely.[44] The last encounter described is in the vicinity of Verestorony, about twelve miles south of Szeben [now Sibiu, Romania] where initial victory was turned into defeat because of the overwhelming number of the Tartar allies of the Turks. It was here that Smith was taken captive, and according to custom, sold into slavery in Turkey.[45]

Finally, we come to the consideration of Sir Philip Sidney and Hungary. He was, like others, a traveller to Europe; his connections, however, included men close to the Court and he was obviously preparing for a statesman's and diplomat's role. While he later probably met Hungarian travellers and diplomats in England, for example Parmenius as has been mentioned already, he also established some long-lasting friendships during his stay in Vienna between 1573 and 1575. He could have heard about Hungary from John Dee, his teacher and a family friend, who was in Pozsony [now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia] for the coronation of Maximillian I as King of Hungary in 1563. In his *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1562–1564), which Dee dedicated to Maximillian, he says that he has come to admire the Emperor's greatness not only from the reports of others, but also from personal experience when "in September of the previous year" he was in Pozsony in the Hungarian kingdom.[46] While such a comment does not necessarily mean that Dee knew, or even met the Emperor, it does place him in the city conclusively. The humanist scholar travelled widely in Europe and while his tolerant views on religion might have been suspect in more than one court, his scientific knowledge, embracing as it did astronomy and alchemy with its suggestion that he held the key to turning baser metals into gold, made him welcome. His contacts in scholarly circles were equally wide: his handbook on navigation and astronomy brought him in direct contact with Sir Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert, probably in the 1560s and 1570s when his house near London was something of an academy. It is not unlikely, as Szőnyi points out, that Dee also knew Budai Parmenius, who was in England in 1581 at a time that Parmenius' patron Gilbert was an almost daily visitor in Dee's house.[47] Dee was to return to the Continent in 1583 at the invitation of Olbracht Łaski, a Polish nobleman who had come to England as Báthori's ambassador sometime after 1575 when Báthori was elected King of Poland. Laski had been born in Késmárk, Hungary [now Kežmarok, Slovakia) and was both a widely respected humanist and an unscrupulous politician. Regarded as a Polish king-maker, the idea for Sidney to have been raised to the Polish throne (mentioned by Fulke-Greville) seems to have originated with him.[48] He became acquainted with Sidney on the latter's first visit to Vienna, and the friendship continued. Dee comments that it was Lord Russel and Sir Philip Sidney who accompanied Łaski to Oxford.[49]

The ties between Sidney and Hungary, or more precisely Sidney's interest in Habsburg politics, are numerous, and in many of them Dee seems to have an important role. It is more than likely, for example, that

Dee was part of the secret service ran by Walsingham, and that he, as later Sidney, were charged with providing information on Continental politics. Sidney was sent to the Continent not merely for the fashionable "grand tour," but to gather information and to make contacts — the real and original purpose of such travel. This is evident in his many side trips, first to Hungary in the fall of 1573, then, upon his return to Vienna from Italy in 1575, to Cracow, Prague, Cracow, and finally Dresden on his way home. His letters to Lord Cecil, to the Earl of Leicester, and to Walsingham pay particular attention to the situation between the Habsburgs and the Turks, as well as to the Hungarian and Polish question.

It should be noted that the political, as well as the intellectual and scholarly life of Central Europe was closely intertwined. The two great powers in the area were the Habsburgs and the Turks, with Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania attempting to gain advantages in the political power play. The Habsburgs as Holy Roman Emperors were a formidable opponent of France, and so of interest to England, who, however, were at war with the Spanish branch of the family in the Netherlands. The Austrian Habsburgs were also Kings of Bohemia and of the area in Hungary called Royal Hungary, that is, the northern and western portions. Moreover, their hold was not yet secure: they had to be elected and had not hereditary rights. They were also limited, in theory at least, by a constitution whose observance the Estates made a condition of their election. Poland, too, was an elective monarchy, and in late 1575 Stephen Báthory was elected king. Báthory was at the same time Prince of Transylvania, an independent state comprising most of eastern Hungary. The split in Hungarian national unity had come about in 1526 as a result of the defeat of the Hungarian forces by the Turks and the death of the Hungarian king, Louis II, in the battle. The Estates broke into two factions and elected two kings: Ferdinand of Habsburg and János Szapolyai. The former was able to extend his rule in western and northern Hungary and depended on the Hungarian lords who saw in the Habsburgs a powerful ally against the Turks. The latter and his successors ruled Transylvania and lands between the two regions, known as the Partium, as independent Princes though at times paying tribute to the Turks. The center of the country was under Turkish rule. To complicate matters even further, fortresses, cities and regions could change sides according to the fortunes of war or the sentiments of the lord of the region. Furthermore, Transylvanian noblemen, including the princes, owned estates in Royal Hungary and thus had interests in the part of Hungary ruled by the Habsburgs. Hungarian noblemen also had estates in Transylvania, and

travel, marriages, and all kinds of contact were common. Poland entered into the picture as some noblemen from either country had lands in any of the others. Families often sought refuge in Transylvania, Hungary, or Poland, according to circumstances.[50]

Sidney's and Dee's interest in Hungary was thus well motivated by England's interest in the political situation of Central Europe where Elizabeth sought to gain an advantage against the French (who had a long history of diplomatic relations with these regions, and who also had a contender for the Polish throne) and the Habsburgs. Religious considerations colored but did not overwhelm the political ones. However, as humanists, both Dee and his student Sidney were receptive of the intellectual atmosphere that prevailed not only in cities like Prague and Cracow, but at the courts of the Hungarian lords such as Boldizsár Batthyány whose house at Németújvár was visited by men such as Sambucus and the physician Tamás Jordán who is mentioned in the correspondence of Sidney and Languet. Jordán was a native of Kolozsvár [now Cluj-Napoca, Romania] who was practicing in Prague when Sidney met him. In his introduction to *Monas Hieroglyphica* Dee mentions a Hungarian nobleman who had helped him: this person could have been Batthyány, whose interests also included both scientific experiments and mystical philosophy.[51]

When Sidney had made the acquaintance of Hubert Languet, he also received an introduction to a distinguished society of Central European humanists. These included Andreas Wechel of Frankfurt, the writer Charles de l'Ecluse, the imperial physician Crato von Crafftheim, Hugo Blotius, the imperial librarian, Jean Aubri and Tamás Jordán — all of whom were also in close contact with Batthyány.

Having indicated something of the political and intellectual milieu into which Sidney entered when he went to Vienna with his friend Languet, it is time to turn to his own comments about Hungary. While he says relatively little, and even this has been largely ignored by English critics, an analysis proves fascinating and raises the possibility of comparison with the contemporary Hungarian poet, Bálint Balassi (1554—1594).

Sidney visited Hungary in late August or early September of 1573. Little is known of his motives for the excursion, but it was undoubtedly both the lure of adventure and the invitation, or at least the urging, of friends and contacts in Vienna. He seems to have gone on the spur of the moment, intending to stay for about three days in Pozsony. He stayed, instead, for at least three weeks, and travelled some in the region, though where is not known. He continued his journey to Italy not from Vienna, but from

Wiener Neustadt, and visited on his way out of Hungary the Fertő tó (Neusiedler See). His host in Pozsony was the Hungarian humanist George Purkircher, a native of that city.[52]

They seemed to have gotten along well, and exchanged letters even years later. The only specific information on the trip comes from Languet's letter to Sidney of September 22, 1573:

> I thank you for having written me from Bratislava[53] as a token of your friendship, and I am pleased to hear that my introduction so impressed Dr. Purkircher that he showed you the courtesies which your virtue and manners deserve. I have seen him here and thanked him for this, and have proved that I owe him more than if he had done the same for me. But I have reason to complain about you; for I did not think you had so ill an opinion of me as not to confide your plans to me. Perhaps you feared that I would prepare an ambush for you along the way. When you left here you said that you would not be gone for more than three days. But now, like a little bird that has forced its way through the bars of its cage, your delight makes you restless, flitting hither and yon, perhaps without a thought for your friends; and you scarcely guard against the dangers that so often occur on such journeys. I do admire your noble eagerness to "observe the manners and cities of many men," as the poet says, for this is the best way to develop judgement and master our feelings; but I regret that you have no one to converse with along the way about various subjects, no one to tell you about the manners and customs of the peoples you visit, to introduce you to learned men, and when necessary to serve as an interpreter. I might perhaps have found you such a travelling companion, had you wished to tell me about your plan. I write as I do because I am anxious about you, and about the glorious flowering of your character which, I hope, will eventually bring forth the delightful fruits of your many virtues. I am giving this letter to Dr. Purkircher who will meet you in Neapolis [Wiener Neustadt] (but not that Neapolis rendered notorious by the Sirens' song) so that as you ride you may meditate on how to reply to the charges of your friends. Your comrade Conningsby left here a week ago. Farewell, and come back to us (Vienna, September 22, 1573).[54]

I have quoted the entire letter, for it gives a good idea of the relationship between Languet and Sidney, and also because the references can best be interpreted in context. Thus we learn that Purkircher did not accompany Sidney on his travels, though the lack of a travelling companion did not seem to have hampered Sidney's enjoyment of the trip. Certainly with the contacts mentioned earlier, he was not a stranger, and Purkircher would have naturally given him whatever introductions he needed. That the

impressions he received were favorable is clear from his later correspondence which recalls pleasant days spent in the company of friends. The direct comments he himself makes, in the *Defense of Poesie*, in a sonnet, and in an eclogue incorporated in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, also testify to his having been well entertained.

Szőnyi argues convincingly that one such host could easily have been the nobleman Boldizsár Batthyány who was mentioned earlier. Batthyány was in close contact with the humanistic circle into which Languet had introduced Sidney on their arrival in Vienna, and was, moreover, a leading Protestant statesman. In any case, each host (and there were several according to the testimony of the *Defense*) would have received him as if that were the only stop on his visit to Hungary, and he would have been accorded a princely welcome. In a famous passage in *The Defense of Poesy* Sidney cites as a justification of poetry its ability to inspire to great deeds in these words: "In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valor, which that right soldierlike nation think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage."[55] The passage discusses the lyric, i.e. the ode, and the relevant sentence comes between comments on the ballads about Percy and Douglas and the Spartans' use of music to inspire. Thus, Sidney seems to be referring not only to verse narrative but also to something like Balassi's own poem, "In laudem confiniorum" (In Praise of the Border Forts).[56]

It is interesting that Sidney should need to justify poetry, and to be able to do it only in terms of Medieval examples in English poetry while a Hungarian genre had developed that was quite consciously cultivated for this very purpose. Whether Sidney heard such songs in the house of Batthyány,[57] or if any of these was the poem by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, "Kapitány György párviadala" [The Duel of George Kapitány], which described a duel witnessed by Bálint Balassi's father János,[58] are interesting sidelights. More pertinent is an examination of the kind of songs Sidney mentions. Viktor Julow, studying the background of Balassi's poem, mentions a poem in the same tradition by Mihály Szabadkai from 1515, "Cantio Petri Berizlo," which already contains the elements of the genre: the joy of the battle and the nobility of the goal.[59] Tinódi Lantos' "Kapitány György párviadala," emphasizes the rewards of the battle, but the Hungarian is the champion of national and Christian ideals. The ultimate patriotic and religious purpose of the conflict is never absent. Thus, in the Tinódi poem (which Balassi undoubtedly knew) Berizlo's phrases "with honor and valor" (tisztességgel, vitézséggel) have been expanded:

Jó legényök vitézök végházakban,
Vannak gyakran terekkel bajvívásban,
A körösztyén hitért gyakor harcokban
És jó hírért, névért sok országokban.[60]

Balassi echoes these sentiments in his "In laudem confiniorum" or "Katonaének" [Soldier's Song], the best of several military songs that he wrote. It is this tradition to which Sidney refers, it is such poems that he would have heard. Balassi's poem still emphasizes the joy of battle and material gain, but he glorifies the whole experience:

Vitézek mi lehet ez széles föld felett
szebb dolog a végeknél?
Holott kikeletkor az sok szép madár szól,
kivel ember ugyan él;
Mező jó illatot, az ég szép harmatot ad,
ki kedves mindennél.
Ellenség hírére vitézeknek szüve
gyakorta ott felbuzdul,
Sőt azon kívül is, csak jó kedvéből is
vitéz próbára indul,
Holott sebesedik, öl, fog, vitézkedik,
homlokán vér lecsordul.

The obvious joy of battle is not only evident in the first stanza, but also in the impromptu duels referred to in the second. In stanza five, the goals of their life, of the battles, are stated in words that echo Berizlo and Tinódi, but expand on it: these soldiers fight not only for fame and honor, but also to give an example to all, and they will risk all in this endeavor:

Az jó hírért névért s az szép tisztességért
ők mindent hátra hadnak,
Emberségről példát, vitézségről formát
mindeneknek ők adnak,
Midőn mint jó sólymok mezőn széllel járnak,
vagdalkoznak, futtatnak.

Then, in the following stanza he uses an image from the Turkish warfare that was also to strike Sidney: if the enemy seems to strong, they allow pursuit only to turn and snatch victory from seeming defeat:

Ellenséget látván, örömmel kiáltván
ők kopiákot törnek,

S ha súlyosan vagyon az dolog harcokon,
szólítatlan megtérnek,
Sok vérben fertezvén arcul reá térvén
űzőt sokszor megvernek.

Finally, the poem ends on the note of dedication to a cause which infuses all of these soldier's songs: the warriors form a glorious army whose good name is recognized by the whole world and who have God's blessing:

Ó végbelieknek, ifjú vitézeknek
dícseretes serege!
Kiknek ez világon szerte-szerént vagyon
mindeneknél jó neve,
Mint sok fát gyömölccsel sok jó szerencsékkel
áldjon Isten mezőkbe![61]

The best and fullest expression of the inspiring poem was given by another Hungarian and commander of frontier fortresses, Miklós Zrínyi, in his *A Szigeti veszedelem* ([The Peril of Sziget] 1645—46). Wherever Sidney may have visited in Hungary, later correspondence with Languet and others whom he had met in Vienna, Hungary, or Poland, attest to the friendship formed with several Hungarian leaders. Languet, in reporting of the events of 1572, writes on the 6th of June: "Bekessius,[62] the Transylvanian exile whom you knew here, having hastily collected troops in Poland and the neighboring parts of Moldavia, twenty days since invaded Transylvania. Some say that a good many of the Emperor's soldiers from the garrisons in Hungary have joined him. I fear we are putting our hands into a wasps' nest, for the Turks will not overlook this business, seeing that Transylvania is under their protection."[63] Jean Lobbet, another of the scholarly circle, professor of law at Strassbourg, later also wrote to Sidney: "The Transylvanian war is over, because he [Bekes] who was the cause of it has been defeated. The present moment the Turks are fighting in Hungary: apart from the Blaustein Castle, which they had already captured, they have conquered three or four other fortresses".[64] The mention of Kékkő (Blaustein Castle, now Madrykamen, Slovakia) is interesting, for it was the ancient seat of the Balassis. Lobbet mentions it by name, and Languet had indicated that Sidney met the elder Balassi. In writing of the Bekes episode, he comments: "The Turks, certain that Bekes undertook the campaign with the encouragement of the Austrian Emperor, have broken into the Hungarian territories and already occupied four castles: Blausteiň (Kékkő), Dyrvyn (Divény), Kerpen (Korpona) and Fonod (Fonyód)." He further no-

tes, however, that "the proprietor of Kekko and Diveny is the János Balassi, whom you know, and whose only son also, according to the news, is on Turkish hands. ... I feel sorry for the old gentlemen's unluckiness."[65] Sidney could easily have met both Bekes and János Balassi in Vienna. In fact, he might have met the poet Bálint also, for between 1572 and 1575 the elder Balassi was at court as Chief Chamberlain to the Emperor. Bálint, who had distinguished himself as one of the young noblemen who danced at the coronation of Rudolph as King of Hungary in September of 1572, was named a cup-bearer and so also had duties at Court. As commander of Zólyom, Balassi could have been one of Sidney's hosts there, or he could have entertained the English poet at one of the other castles the family held in Hungary.

While the information Languet sent about Bekes for Sidney was simply news and reportage about friends and acquaintances, for Balassi it was a crucial event. As Languet had indicated, Bálint Balassi was taken prisoner, although not by the Turks but by Stephen Báthory. Báthory not only refused to surrender the captured Balassi to the Turkish forces, he also treated him well enough to convince the prisoner to accompany Prince Báthory to Poland. This move led to suspicions at the imperial court, and Bálint's chief purpose in returning to Hungary in 1577 was to clear his father's name.[66] He entered the service of the Emperor and served in the frontier forts until his death.

Balassi's fortunes declined over the years, and once he even left Hungary for Poland, seeing little chance to regain his fortunes. He came back, however, in 1591 upon news of the death of his uncle. This uncle had largely been responsible for cheating Bálint out of his inheritance. In the fall of 1593 he joined the forces besieging Esztergom. The Turkish war heated up again, but this was to be Balassi's last campaign: a cannonball went through both his thighs on May, 1594. In this, as in other aspects of their career, Sidney and Balassi show amazing parallels. It would be interesting to compare these two men in terms of their lives and somewhat shared experiences, as well as in their works. Balassi wrote two cycles of love poems, moving religious poetry, and several patriotic songs one of which had been mentioned. He also wrote a pastoral drama, the first in Hungary in the genre. But, whatever Balassi's place in comparative literature, here we are concerned with the effect of Sidney's sojourn in Hungary.

As the correspondence with Languet proves, Sidney continued to be interested in Central Europe upon his return to England. The Turkish wars were increasingly a topic in England in the closing years of the 16th

century, and Sidney's connections made him something of an expert. He could not have put the years in Vienna and the visit to Hungary out of his mind, even if he had wanted to, and these years certainly influenced him poetically also. There is, for example, a passage in *Astrophil and Stella* that refers to Báthory's Russian campaign. In Sonnet 30, Sidney writes:

> Whether the Turkish new moone minded be
> To fill her hornes this yeere on Christian coast?
> How Poles right king means without leave of hoast
> To warme with ill-made fire cold Muscouy?[67]

Langnet had written Sidney about the war in Russia on February 6, 1580, as indeed did his other correspondents.[68] Editors of this poem give differing explanations on why Sidney called Báthory the "Poles right king." It was, from historical evidence, because Báthory had been the one elected, but also because Sidney seems to have considered him the most suitable king for that throne. This belief would certainly have been influenced by Languet, who wrote on March 31, 1578: "Everyone praises most highly the wisdom and moderation of Báthori, King of Poland. I am glad that we have in Christendom at least one king who possesses some goodness." Furthermore, Languet, and presumably Sidney also, preferred someone who was not inimical to the Protestants, and who, moreover, could counteract the great Catholic powers, the Valvois and the Habsburgs. On February 6, 1580 Languet had written about the war in Russia.

The passage from the poem, with its teasing references to the modern reader, is often dismissed as a piece of erudite name-dropping by Sidney. A.C. Hamilton, however, has shown it to be crucial in the sonnet cycle[69] and as such the poem and its references take on added meaning. The listing of international problem spots he no longer cares about suggests an abdication of his responsibilities. It echoes his dissatisfaction with the lack of duties assigned him at court, a dissatisfaction that led him into semi-retirement at Wilton, and which elicited a chiding letter from Languet on September 24, 1580 about his succumbing to the "sweet pleasures of lengthy retirement".[70] But, it also serves as an important declaration of Sidney's, for it implies that the poet's chief business is being neglected for his lady. Of course, judging from the lively correspondence about Central European politics, these did not really cease to concern Sidney. In fact, rather than being dismissed as inconsequential, the lines should convey the great love of the poet who is willing to allow even his primary concerns to take a secondary position to his love. Hamilton further argues that the sonnet is a

pivotal piece — 30th in a cycle of 100 — and as such marks a turning point not only in the relationship described in the sonnet cycle, but also in the poet's life.

Sidney's final reference to his Hungarian trip is less obvious, but poetically more interesting. It is a metaphor he uses in the poem, "Lamon Sings of Strephon and Klaius".[71] This uses an image which harkens back to the one in the soldiers' songs that was discussed above. In the poem Urania, sought by both Strephon and Klaius, pretends to flee in a game of barley-break, but then turns on her pursuers:

> But this strange race more strange conceit did yeeld;
> Who victor seem'd was to his ruine brought,
> Who seem's orethrowne was mistress of the field:
> She fled, and tooke; he followed, and was caught.
> So haue I heard, to pierce pursuing shield
> By parents train'd the Tartars wilde are taught,
> With shafts shot out from their back-turned bow.[72]

While this method of fighting is described in several works that Sidney might have been familiar with, for example Marco Polo and Mandeville, I do not think it too much to conjecture that he also, or possibly chiefly, drew on his Hungarian memories. The constant warfare with the Turks — which by this time had been going on for some fifty years — meant frequent skirmishes with their allies, the Tartars. The Hungarians themselves had adopted (or re-learned) some of the Oriental tactics. As has been demonstrated, the image was used in the soldiers' songs and in Balassi's remarkable poem also.

Sidney, of course, would not have understood the Hungarian of the poems sung in the frontier forts, such as the ones by Tinódi. He would have conversed with his Hungarian hosts in Latin or French, since these were languages all of whom knew while Sidney admitted to Languet that he had difficulty with German, another language in which the Hungarian magnates were generally fluent. But, as one who was interested in the Turkish—Habsburg wars and its military tactics, he certainly would have had a demonstration of these tactics. Balassi mentions in his poem that the warriors of the frontier forts often staged tourneys for their own amusement, and no doubt to keep their skills up, and it would have been strange if Sidney had not been treated to such a one. That Sidney was interested in military tactics is not only understandable since he, himself, was a soldier (and died, ironically, on the battlefield, like Balassi), but is also clear from

his letters. He had met Baron Lazar Schwendi, who was the commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in the 1564–66 campaign. In 1573 Sidney asked Languet to forward his letter to Schwendi, and in this he thanks the general for his help and poses some questions on the method of fighting the Turks. Gömöri argues convincingly that the aid Schwendi had given might have been letters of introduction to the Hungarian castles, since it is not improbable that Sidney and Schwendi had met before the Englishman's arrival in Vienna.[73] What is important in this context, however, is Sidney's interest in warfare, and the book he is requesting most likely is Schwendi's treatise *De bello contra Turcas gerendo*, a tract composed around 1570 and circulated in manuscript form. He was also familiar with Pietro Bizari's *Historia della guerra fatte in Vngheria dall'inuittissimo imperatore de Christiani, contro quello de Turchi* (Lyons, 1569) dealing with the campaign of 1566. The work is cited in the correspondence between Sidney and Languet on December 5 and April 15 of 1574 and June 4 and 14 of 1577.[74] The campaign was, incidentally, the one in which Miklós Zrínyi distinguished himself in the defense of Szigetvár while the imperial forces dallied near Győr. The role of the border fortresses thus had to be clear from the work. Given Sidney's active interest, it is most likely that he drew the image of the fighter turning on his steed to face the enemy and thus turn defeat into victory from real life, not from texts detailing earlier and remote events.

A full study of Sidney and Balassi still needs to be done.[75] Direct influence of one on the other, or even reciprocal influences, are not likely and would be almost impossible to prove. But, a comparison of the two poets who share not only a poetic tradition but also similarities in their backgrounds, would yield much of interest; all the more so as their lives were not only parallel in many aspects, but also intersected.

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Contacts, often of a literary and cultural nature, flourished between Hungary and England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The impact of the students who returned home after several years in England was perhaps the greatest, for they brought back not only English Protestant theology but also an admiration of English institutions and government. Such studies and exchanges were, of course, a continuation of the Medieval tradition; but, with the Renaissance new interests changed the nature of these exchanges, and the universal, religious emphasis became both more nationalistic and more comparative. While the full flowering of the political

and even scientific ideas had to wait for the period of reform in the early 19th century, the ideas themselves were kept alive in the libraries of the educated noblemen, or at schools such as Sárospatak and Debrecen. The impact of the Hungarian connections in England was much more ephemeral, and was largely forgotten in the 18th century when such contacts virtually ceased.

Travel to England from Hungary, not a rare occurrence in the 16th and 17th centuries, also seems to have had limited impact, though the interest did not cease immediately. The writings of Sir Thomas Browne, for example, contain many references to various aspects of Hungarian culture. While later contacts never quite shook the aurora of exoticism that came to surround Hungary for the English public, they undoubtedly paved the way for the revival of travels to Hungary in the 19th century, and to the interest in Hungary in general in the latter part of that century — even before the surge of sympathy that accompanied the Revolution of 1848.

More work could certainly be done, not only in identifying the early travellers, but also in assessing their impressions of Hungary. While this might not lead to dramatic, revolutionary reassessments of the cultural relations of the two countries, it would certainly lead to a better understanding of such connections, of the cultures of both countries, and of the mechanics of cultural relations. These are worthwhile goals.

## Notes

1. John Kósa, "The Early Period of Anglo-Hungarian Contact," *American Slavic and East European Review*, No. 3 (Oct. 1954), pp. 414—431.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 418—419.
3. Several studies deal with such travellers, notably: Stephen Gál, "England and Transylvania," *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1 (Summer 1939), 246; Kósa, p. 414; Alexander Fest, "Hungarian Protestants and England in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," *Danubian Review*, 1, no. 5 (1934/35), 14—17; Bertha Trócsányi, "Magyar református teológusok Angliában a XVI. es XVII. században," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 5 (1944), 115—146; Alexander Fest, "Anglo-Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) 4 (1964) 5—44; and *Utazások a régi Európában: peregrinációs levelek, útleírások és útinaplók (1580—1709)* selected, with an introd. and notes by Pál Binder (Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1976). Binder cites from the letter of Cseffei and Pálóczi Horváth.
4. Kósa, Fest.

5. László Országh, "Adalékok az angol renaissance magyarságképéhez," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 4 (1942), 37—53.
6. Kósa, p. 415.
7. Lajos Kemény, "Thallyai János cambridge-i tanuló levele," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 19 (1909), 484—485.
8. Martin Holmes, "The London of Márton Csombor," *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 5, no. 15 (Autumn 1964), 134—142; Gál, pp. 248—249.
9. Gál, pp. 250—251.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 251—253.
11. Lajos Kropf, "Egy ismeretlen magyar költő Skóciában," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 24 (1914), 19.
12. György Gömöri, "Az angolok magyarságképe a XVII. század első felében," *Filológiai Tanulmányok* 26, no. 3 (July—Sept. 1980), 355—364.
13. The Palatine was head of the Administration in the king's absence, and the second most important person in the realm after the king himself.
14. Gömöri, p. 363.
15. The two chapters are given in full in István Gál, "Maksai Péter angol nyelvű Bethlen Gábor-életrajza 1629-ből," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 80, no. 2 (1976), 223—237. The cited passage is on p. 225.
16. Lajos Dézsi, "Magyar irodalmi hatás Shakespeare költészetében," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 21 (1929), 235—242. Other studies of Hungarian references in Renaissance drama are to be found in: Lajos Bodrogi, "Shakespeare mirólunk," in *Magyar Shakespeare Tár*, ed. Zoltán Ferenczi (Budapest, F. Killián, 1908—1916?) 1 (1908), 178—209, and Fest, *op. cit.* "Mit tud a Shakespeare-korabeli angol irodalom Magyarországról?" 6 (1913), 168—182; "Adalékok a Shakespeare-korabeli irodalom magyar vonatkozásairól," 9 (1916), 282—283; and two other articles by Fest: "Magyar vonatkozások Ben Jonson műveiben," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, 37 (1913), 206—208, and "Magyar vonatkozások Marlowe drámáiban," *Irodalomtörténet*, 1 (1912), 117—119; László Országh, "Magyar tárgyú angol renaissance-drámák," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, 67 (1943), 405—411; Eugene Pivány, "Hungarians of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Literature," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 2 (1937), 83—92.
17. Carlos Slafter, *Sir Humfrey Gylbert and His Enterprise of Colonization in America...* (1903); rpt. New York, B. Franklin, 1967); David Beers Quinn, *The New Found Land, the English Contributions to the Discovery of North America* (Providence, Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1964); Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols. (1940; rpt. Nedeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1967). I mention only some of the more important works. Hungarian studies include: Kropf, "Budai Parmenius István," *Századok*, 23 (1889), 150—154; Pivány, *Hungarian—American Historical Connections from Pre-Columbian Times to the End of the American Civil War* (Budapest, Royal Hungarian University Press, 1927); Tivadar Ács, "Egy tengerbe veszett magyar humanista költő a XVI. században," *Filológiai Közlöny*, 8 (1962), 115—122, and Tibor Klaniczay, "Jegyzetek Budai Parmenius Istvánról," in *Hagyományok ébresztése* (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1976), pp. 225—241.

18. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius; the Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972). References to Parmenius' poetical works are to this edition, and are identified by page and line number within the text.
19. *Ibid.*, Preface, i.
20. Quinn, *Voyages*, p. 413.
21. "6. August 1683. Stephen Parmenius of Buda to Richard Hakluyt, Preacher," in *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (Nedeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1967), pp. 379—383.
22. Quinn and Cheshire, p. 8—22.
23. Quinn, *Voyages*, p. 349.
24. Quinn and Cheshire also examine the changes in the two versions, and give information on the earlier and later editions, pp. 42—45.
25. Quinn and Cheshire, p. 44.
26. Quinn and Cheshire, pp. 27—30. For the information on Sidney, see below.
27. The Latin poem was prefaced by the letter to which I have already referred, and a short poem on the Thames. Parmenius also published, in 1582, a Thanksgiving Hymn modelled on Psalm 104 for his safe journey from Hungary to England.
28. Parmenius uses "Dacia" since he is writing in Latin; Quinn and Cheshire translate this as "Rumania," incorrectly since this country was not in existence until the late 19th century. Dacia can refer either to Moldavia or Walacchia, but most probably to the former which came under Turkish rule in 1504. It certainly does not refer to Transylvania which was still autonomous.
29. Gál, pp. 247—248, and Fest, "Anglo-Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations, " pp. 24—27. See also the section on Sidney below.
30. Martin Fumee, *The Historie of the Trovbles of Hvngarie* (London, F. Kyngston, 1660); Sir Thomas Roe, *A Letter from the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Rovve, Extraordinary Embassadour to his Majestie at Vienna ... read in the ... House of Commons* (London, A. Roper, 1642); *Florus Hungaricus* (1664); *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini* (i.e. Zrínyi; 1664); *A True Account of the Christian Taking Barthfeld in Upper Hungary* (1684); John Sirley, *The History of the Wars of Hungary (1685); The Present State of Hungary* (1687); *Observations upon the Warre in Hungary* (1689)
31. Fumee, Translator's dedication.
32. *A Declaration of the Lords and States of the Realm of Hungaria* (1606).
33. "English Prayers for Hungary, 1566" in a Letter to the Editor of *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* by E.M. Tenison, given in 4 (1942), 36.
34. Éva Róna, "Hungary and the Beginnings of English Journalism," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 4 (1942), 54—71; "Magyar vonatkozások a XVI—XVII. századi angol irodalomban," *op. cit.*, 1 (1936), 6—49.
35. Philip L. Barbour, ed. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580—1631)*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), III, 186. Citations from Smith's narrative are from this edition, with page numbers given in the text.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 141, note 3.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 330—332; 345.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
39. Laura Polányi Striker, "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," in Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith, His Life & Legend* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1953), pp. 311—342.
40. Franz J. Pichler, "Captain John Smith in the Light of Styrian Sources," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), 332—254.
41. Given in Barbour, pp. 146—151; the authors of these four poems were: Edward Jorden, Richard Meade, M. Cartner, and Salo. Tanner.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 173, note 1. But Hungarian literature of the time is full of such accounts of duels between Turkish and Christian champions, and they receive mention in historical accounts and legal documents as well.
43. Purchase did not include the grant at arms because it had not been validated when he published his work; the record is dated August 19, 1625, when *Purchase His Pilgrimage* was already in print. Barbour, pp. 129, 176, 353.
44. Mózes Székely was an able general who was briefly Prince of Transylvania. During the tumultuous times of Sigismund Báthori, who had allied himself with the Habsburgs but who alternately abdicated and returned to rule Transylvania, Basta, the imperial general conducted several campaigns in 1601—1604, partly on Báthori's behalf. Fighting few engagements, he killed and looted with abandon. Székely rose against the Imperial forces under Basta in April of 1603 and defeated him. On May 8th, Székely assumed the title of Prince of Transylvania, but he did not have the full support of the Székely nation. Radu Serban, the voivode of Wallachia, broke into Transylvania, and Székely was defeated and killed in the battle near Brassó [now Brasov, Romania]. Smith's last engagement was part of the same campaign.
45. Chapter X. The account is somewhat confused, but does reflect the politics of the time, particularly in Transylvania where the Princes maintained a precarious independence by playing the Habsburgs off against the Turks. Sigismund Báthori was not too successful, and in case of a miscalculation, either the Imperial forces, or the Turks, would send in soldiers to force the payment of tribute or the cession of certain fortresses.
46. György Endre Szőnyi, "John Dee angol 'mágus' és Közép-Európa," *Valóság*, 22, no. 11 (Nov. 1979) 47.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 52.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
49. *Ibid.*
50. General accounts in English of Hungarian history are to be found in C.A. Macartney *A Short History of Hungary* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1962) and Dominic G. Kosáry *A History of Hungary* (Cleveland, Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, 1941). A reprint of this latter was issued in 1969 under the title *History of the Hungarian Nation* (Astor Park, Fla., Danubian Press). The best account of the history of Transylvania is to be found in *Erdély története* edited by Béla Köpeczi with László Makkai, András Mócsy, and Zoltán Szász (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1986). 3 vols. It has not yet been translated into English.

51. Szőnyi, pp. 49—50. A good study of the intellectual world of Central Europe at this time is Robert J. W. Evans *Rudolf II and his World: a Study in Intellectual History 1572—1612* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, New York, Oxford University Press, 1984).
52. James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572—1577*. Elizabethan Club series, 5. (New Haven, London, Published for the Elizabethan Club, Yale University Press, 1972), 102—104.
53. Languet, in Latin, uses *ab Posonio*. The city at the time was the Hungarian capital, and its name in German was Pressburg, in Hungarian Pozsony. Bratislava is a 20th century name.
54. Osborn, p. 103. Stewart A. Pears *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London, W. Pickering, 1845) reproduced some 17 of the 66 letters at that time known to have existed in this correspondence. This is still the definitive English edition, as William Aspenwall Bradley's 1912 edition was based on this and did not include any new letters. Pears did not think the others, chiefly ones dealing with "the Turkish wars," to have been of interest. Osborn, however, uses Pears but supplements it by various Latin editions of the correspondence, unpublished letters in various archives, and also a cache of 76 letters from the private collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps which was made public in March of 1967. These include letters from Purkircher, Crafftheim, and de l'Ecluse. Languet's *Epistolae ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum*, was published in Frankfurt in 1633, in Leyden by Elzevier in 1646, and in Edinburgh in 1776. The total number of letters is 117 from Sidney's own pen and 165 written to him (Osborn, Preface xi, xiii, xvii—xx).
55. Robert Kimbrough, ed. *Sir Philip Sidney: Selected Prose and Poetry*. 2nd ed. (Madison, Wisc., University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 130.
56. Bálint Balassi, *Összes versei és Szép magyar komédiája*, Sándor Eckhardt, ed. (Budapest, Magyar Helikon, 1961), p. 121.
57. Szőnyi, p. 52.
58. István Nemeskürty, *Balassi Bálint* (Budapest, Gondolat, 1978), pp. 31—32.
59. Viktor Julow, *Árkádia körül* (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1975), pp. 9—17.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The English would be something like the following: Good lads, brave warriors in the frontier houses,/Are often in duels with the Turks,/For the Christian faith often in battles,/And for good fame and name in many lands.
61. The English of the above stanzas is approximately the following: Warriors, what could be more beautiful in this whole wide world than the frontier forts?/Where the many lovely birds that live with man sing at dawn;/The meadow gives fragrance, the heavens shining dew that is sweet to everyone.//Hearing of the foe the warrior's heart grows excited there,/And even without that, for the sheer spirit of it, he will seek a brave encounter,/Where he wounds, kills, captures, fights bravely as blood trickles down his brow. (1—2) For their good name and fame, and for noble honor, they leave all behind, /They give to all examples of manliness and models of bravery,/When like good falcons they run with the wind on the meadow, hew and make the enemy run. (5) Seeing the enemy, they shout with joy and break spears,/And if the battle stands dangerously, without a word they turn,/Tainted by much blood, they turn about face, and often beat the pursuer. (6)

62. Gáspár Bekes was a Hungarian general used by Maximillian I in his attempt to bring Transylvania under his control. A treaty of 1571 had accepted the right of the House of Szapolya to Transylvania, but did not extend to other successors. Nevertheless, the Emperor was reluctant to go openly against the Principality, although he was not loth to allow Rueber, the commander of Kassa [now Košice, Slovakia] to interfere. For this, Bekes, who was a contender for the Transylvanian throne supported by the Habsburgs, seemed an appropriate ally. Bekes was defeated on July 10, 1575, and with this defeat similar efforts at Habsburg control ceased for a time. They accepted the status quo of an independent Transylvania which was only strengthened by the election of Báthory as king of Poland. In fact, Vienna accepted the principle of the free election of the Princes when István's nephew Sigismund Báthory came to the throne upon the former's death. Under Sigismund, of course, there were to be more problems.
63. William Aspenwall Bradley, ed. *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*. The Humanist's Library. (Boston, Marrymount, 1912) p. 108.
64. Cited in Osborn, p. 354.
65. George Gömöri,"Sir Philip Sidney magyarországi kapcsolatai és hírei Magyarországról, *Kortárs* 27 (1983 March), p. 432. This letter had not been translated into English and is omitted from both of the editions of the Languet–Sidney correspondence (Bradley, and Stewart A. Pears, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* [London, w. Pickering, 1845]).
66. Cited in Bálint Balassi, *Balassa Bálint Összes művei* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951–1955) I, 309–313.
67. Sir Philip Sidney, *The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed. 3 vols. Library of English Renaissance Literature. (1877; rpt. Freeport, N.Y., books for Libraries Press, 1970) 1, 44–45.
68. Languet was not the only correspondent to write Sidney about the Polish events. Jean Lobbet wrote six letters, Theophile de Banos three, Zacharias Ursinus one, and Andreas Paull also one. Languet wrote further also on March 17, 1578. Thus, Sidney's interest in Central Europe was well known. Of Sidney's editors, Grosart takes the phrase "Poles right king" to erroneously conclude that Báthory was Polish and thus the proper king of the country (p. 44, note). Ringler merely comments that Báthory was crowned king in 1576 after a contested election, thus inferring that coronation confers legitimacy. See William A. Ringer, ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963), 470–471.
69. A. C. Hamilton, *Sir Philip Sidney: a Study of His Life and Works* (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 93–94.
70. Bradley, p. 201; Osborn, p. 506.
71. Grosart places the poem in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1613) as one of the songs in the Second Eclogues. Ringler gives it as No. 4 in *Other Poems*, pp. 242–256, and has simply the title "Lamon." The confusion goes back to the Countess of Pembroke who inserted it in the 1593 edition of the *Arcadia* at the end of the First Eclogue, immediately after *Old Arcadia*, 13.
72. Grosart, II, 140, ll. 345–351.
73. Gömöri, pp. 429–430.

74. István Gál, "Sir Philip Sidney's Guidebook to Hungary," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) 4 (1969) 53–64 examines this work and its relevance to Sidney's interest in the military situation of Central Europe.
75. Gy. E. Szőnyi of the University of Szeged traced some of the parallels in a paper presented at the Indiana University New Perspectives on the Renaissance in Hungary Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, October 29, 1986. See his paper in this volume.