

## At the Crossroad of Confessions

### A Latin Lutheran Manuscript Prayer Book from Seventeenth-century Prešov

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**Abstract.** The focus of my study is a mid-seventeenth-century Latin manuscript prayer book. Its most basic characteristics should attract the attention of scholars of the period since it was compiled by a Lutheran married couple from Prešov for their individual religious practice. In examining the prayer book, I was able to identify the basic source of the manuscript, which was previously unknown to researchers: the compendium of the German Lutheran author Philipp Kegel. The manuscript follows the structure of Kegel's volume and also extracts a number of texts from the German author's work, which mainly collects the writings of medieval church fathers. In addition to Kegel, I have also been able to identify a few other sources; mainly the writings of Lutheran authors from Germany (Johann Arndt, Johann Gerhardt, Johann Rist, and Johann Michael Dilherr). I give a description of the physical characteristics of the manuscript, its illustrations, the hymns that accompany the prayers, and the copying hands. I will also attempt to identify the latter more precisely. The first compilers of the manuscript were Andreas Glosius and his wife Catharina Musoniana from Prešov. I also organize the biographical data we have about their life and will correct the certainly erroneous provenance of Andreas Glosius, whose name appears in the context of several important contemporary manuscripts, including the gradual of Prešov. In the last part of my paper, I will also show how well known and popular Philipp Kegel's work was in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary. This is necessary because, although the data show that there was a very lively reception of Philipp Kegel's work in Hungary, previous scholars have only tangentially dealt with the Hungarian presence of his work.

**Keywords:** prayer book manuscript, married couple, seventeenth century Upper Hungary, Hungarian reception of Philipp Kegel

Works in the vernacular are a significant part of the religious literature of any confession, as they convey religious teachings in a form readily understandable to the targeted audience, and urge believers towards a personal experience of faith.<sup>1</sup> These

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works are typically spiritual and devotional readings, collections of meditations, and prayer books. Although Martin Luther professed that there is no need for special formulae besides the basic prayers of the church, and that everyone should pray in their own words, prayer books became over time one of the most favored types of readings and most popular forms of printed books. The focus of this paper is a manuscript that somewhat reverses the mentioned process of vernaculization.

The manuscript was first described by Ferenc Földesi in Budapest in 2014 at a conference on spirituality hosted by Pázmány Péter University entitled *Women and Religiousness in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*.<sup>2</sup> The reason that Földesi presented this manuscript at this particular conference is explained on its title page: “The volume was copied by the hands of partly Andreas Glosius, and partly his dear wife, Catharina Musoniana in 1666.”<sup>3</sup> Those who are familiar with the devotional literature of the age might be somewhat surprised, since we do not know of any other early modern prayer book from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary copied by a married couple for their shared use. Földesi described the manuscript in his presentation, including its background, and also identified part of the sources referred to in the copy. This is the point where I took over from him: he only focused on the authors referred to in the prayer book, but the manuscript has a printed source as well, from which many of the texts are compiled. This source is Philipp Kegeľ’s prayer book entitled *Duodecim Piaae Meditationes*.

Very little is known about the copyists of the manuscript, and even that scarce information is often confusing. The bulky, octavo-sized volume contains 601 leafs bound in parchment. It is now preserved in the manuscript collection of the National Széchényi Library. It has the date 1666 on the title page.<sup>4</sup> The names of the copyists are only mentioned on the title page; the collection contains no further information about them.

## Andreas Glosius

The name of the male member of the family, Andreas Glosius, appears in connection with two seventeenth-century manuscripts both related to the town of Prešov, an important place for the Lutherans in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary.

2 The titles of the presentations: [https://btk.ppke.hu/uploads/articles/614050/file/nok\\_es\\_val-lasossag.pdf](https://btk.ppke.hu/uploads/articles/614050/file/nok_es_val-lasossag.pdf). Földesi’s presentation has not been published. I am grateful for his help in writing this paper.

3 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Oct. Lat. 437, 4r. “*partim Andreae Glosii, partim Ejus charissimae Vitae Sociae, Catharinae natae Musonianae, propria manu conscriptae A[nn]o 1666.*” There are two kinds of page numbering in the manuscript: an early one, presumably from one of the early compilers, and a modern library page numbering, which I use for my references in this paper.

4 The manuscript was known, but mentioned as lost by Harsányi, “Eperjesi jogkönyv 1649-ből,” 320; Szinnyei, “Glosius András.”

Prešov was a free royal city (one of the most important ones), which meant that the local community was free to choose its religion.<sup>5</sup> The town, from 1647 onwards the official administrative center of Sáros county, was economically and demographically prosperous at the time, and multinational: Hungarians, Germans, and Slovaks lived there side by side.<sup>6</sup> Although it had multi-ethnic characteristics, the religious life of the town was homogenous, since Lutheranism until the Counter-Reformation of the 1670s had a local monopoly on faith. Each nationality had its own church and minister, with only the German community having two priests.<sup>7</sup> It is clear from the manuscript associated with Glosius that the author was also a member of the Lutheran congregation.

Glosius's name appears first in 1635 on the title page of the *Gradual of Prešov* (*Eperjesi Graduál / Graduale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*): “scripsit Andreas Glosius manu propria.” However, the name of Daniel Banzski is also written on the title page, next to Glosius's, as the author.<sup>8</sup> Kornél Bárdos was the first to attempt a clarification, putting forth several potential explanations,<sup>9</sup> but the final solution was offered by Ilona Ferenczi during preparations for publication when she thoroughly studied the manuscript's origins. Ferenczi also admitted to having had a hard time with the title page, but she finally concluded that the volume was made under the supervision of the pastor Márton Madarász, and the *scriptor* and *notator* was the Hungarian cantor Dániel Banzski. Glosius probably wrote just the title page (and perhaps one single unit) and maybe took part in the drawing of some of the more decorated initials.<sup>10</sup> Ferenczi made this assumption based on another manuscript, more reassuringly connected to the name of Glosius, entitled *Promptuarium Politicum*, written in 1649, and now preserved in Sárospatak.<sup>11</sup> The collection is

5 David, “Lutheranism in the Kingdom of Hungary,” 464–67; Murdock, “Geographies of the Protestant Reformation,” 117.

6 Marečková, *Společenská struktura Prešova v XVII. století* (with German summary). About the nationalities living alongside each other in the Kingdom of Hungary see Kowalská, “Das Reformiertentum in Ungarn zwischen Annahme und Ablehnung am Beispiel von Slowaken und Deutschen vom 16. und 19. Jahrhundert,” 92–98.

7 Kónya, “Comenius, a híres pataki rektor eperjesi kapcsolatai,” 43–44.

8 Ferenczi, *Graduale ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*, II, f1.

9 Bárdos did not exclude the possibility that Glosius actually wrote the entire manuscript, but because of one of Banzski's notes he also proposed that Glosius wrote the title page alone. However, this left the problem open for further research. Bárdos, “Az eperjesi graduál. I. Gregorián kapcsolatok,” 170.

10 Ferenczi, *Graduale ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*, I, 47–48.

11 Sárospatak Reformed College, Scientific Collections, Archives, Nr. 75. The manuscript is described in Harsányi, “Eperjesi jogkönyv 1649-ből”; P. Szabó, “A felső-magyarországi városszövetség 17. századi jogkönyvének eljárásjogi vonatkozásai.”

actually the book of laws of the town of Prešov, which comprises all the laws and rules applied in cases of inheritance, criminal law, civil law, and litigation in Prešov in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Glosius compiled the volume himself, as it clearly states in the preface of the collection.<sup>12</sup> Ferenczi thinks that the title pages of the gradual and the law book are similar in design and type of letters.<sup>13</sup> Ferenczi's opinion is, consequently, that Glosius only wrote the title page, and the complete gradual, except for some short notes, was written by the Hungarian cantor of Prešov, Dániel Banzski, whose handwriting is clearly different from the hand that wrote the *Promptuarium Politicum*.

At the time when the gradual was published, the prayer book was still unknown, thus it was not used in the comparative analyses. If I now include this source as well into the comparison, then I can reinforce Ferenczi's claims: the gradual's title page is unambiguously written in Glosius's handwriting, as proven by the title page and, on it, the *manu propria* signature of the prayer book. A difficult element when comparing the handwriting of the gradual and the prayer book is the fact that the gradual mostly contains songs written in Hungarian, and two texts in different languages can result in varying ductus even in the case of the same hand. The only Latin elements in the gradual are the titles of the songs, the names of Sundays and feasts days, and the incipits of some of the psalms, but even these short textual units prove that these were not written by Glosius, but by someone who was less well trained in Latin writing. The less skilled ductus of the letters also argues against Glosius's authorship, who had experience with Latin handwriting. Perhaps this was the very reason why he was asked to make the title page. I can also support Ferenczi's claim that Glosius also had a share in drawing some of the initials, as these display an uneven level of elaborateness. The prayer book also contains monochromatic initials that contain only ornamental, stylized floral motifs with horizontal lining in the background, which resemble those in the gradual in type, size, and proportion. However, I would not go so far as to identify these with certainty as drawn by the same hand, as this type was a very common style of book decoration in prints since the sixteenth century, and it may easily have happened that the two manuscripts imitated printed initials of the age independently of each other.<sup>14</sup>

12 "conscriptum ac oblatum per Andream Glosium Concivem Eperien[sem]." I received photocopies about the manuscript from archivist Áron Kovács, for which I am grateful. I also have to thank Gábor Kármán for the contact.

13 A photocopy of the title pages published side by side in Ferenczi, *Graduale ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*, I, 116–17.

14 V. Ecsedy, *A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és díszei: 1473–1600*, 272, 344–46, 390, 480, 522–23.

It is clear therefore that both the gradual and the prayer book can be connected to one person, Andreas Glosius; but who was he? Szinnyei's lexicon of writers mentions him as originating from Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania),<sup>15</sup> and the subsequent literature continued to refer to this claim,<sup>16</sup> which is most probably derived from a poem of Glosius's from 1662, where he signed himself *Andreas Glossius Hermanensis*.<sup>17</sup> He was thought to probably have come from Sibiu, because of the latter's German name, Hermannstadt. This identification is most certainly faulty, as the Latin origin-name for Sibiu is *Cibiniensis* from the town's Latin name, or more rarely *Hermanstadiensis* (usually together with *Transylvanus*)<sup>18</sup>: the *Hermanensis* form never appears in connection with Sibiu. However, the phrase does appear in a sixteenth-century biography of a pastor, which clearly defines the person's origin: *Gallus Klatzko Pannonius Hermanensis (quod oppidum d[icitu]r e[sse]e duob[us] milliarib[us] Epperiesino remotum)*.<sup>19</sup> The term *Hermanensis* refers therefore to one of the two *Hermány* settlements in Sáros/Šariš County (Sztankahermány or Tapolyhermány; in Glatzke's case probably Sztankahermány because of the distance). The name Glosius probably covers the German family name Gloss/Glos/Klos—we know of a Martin Glos pastor in Sáros County who was active at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup>

It seems thus that Glosius was from Upper Hungary and it can be assumed because of the gradual that he had probably lived in Prešov or its surroundings since 1635. On the title page of the *Promptuarium Politicum* he appears as *conciuis*, so he must have had civilian rights in the town, but his name is not listed in the protocols of office holders of the town of Prešov, so he was not a member of the external or internal council of the town.<sup>21</sup> For the time being, all direct information on Glosius

15 Szinnyei, "Glosius András."

16 Ferenczi, *Graduale ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*, I, 47; Harsányi, "Eperjesi jogkönyv 1649-ből," 320.

17 This poem is found in Weber, *Ianvs Bifrons sev Specvlvm Physico-Politicvm, das ist natvrlicher Regenten-Spiegel*. A mirror for princes in German and Latin. Glosius, among other authors, wrote a salutatory poem for this volume.

18 Cf. e.g. IAA 12372, IAA 12415, IAA 137. (*Inscriptiones Alborum Amicorum* database: <http://iaa.bibl.u-szeged.hu/>)

19 Prónay, *Magyar evangélikus egyháztörténeti emlékek*, 44.

20 Csepregi, *Evangélikus lelkészek Magyarországon: I. A reformáció kezdetétől a zsolnai zsinatig (1610)*, 572. He was a pastor in Ladná in 1605, in Câmpulung la Tisa (Hung. Hosszúmező) in 1620–1621, in Sol' in 1629, but his name never appears as Glosius. On the family name Glosius see also Csepregi, 574. Georgius Glosius in Ilava before 1599 (also Slovakia today). The best known Glosius in Upper Hungary was the Lutheran pastor Jan/Johannes Glosius (ca. 1670–1729), who wrote songs and prayers in Slovak, compiled song books, and his songs still appear in Lutheran song books today.

21 Protocols of office holders between 1640–1728: Štátny archív v Prešove, Magistrát Mesta Prešov, Úradné knihy, nr. 2539. I am grateful to András Péter Szabó and Gábor Kármán for the photocopies of the protocols.

comes from his own manuscripts: the gradual of Prešov, the law book of Prešov in 1649, and the compilation he made together with his wife in 1666, which is the subject of this paper.

## The manuscript

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the making of this prayer book; one can only start with the physical characteristics of the end product: it is clear that the copying took a lengthy period of time. This is partly due to the amount of text, but also because some parts were copied with different ink and a smaller letter type, often in order to save space for an extra prayer or song.

The manuscript is obviously a carefully compiled work, copied over a long time. The compilation also contains several images, bound together at the time it was prepared (the continuous and contemporary page numbering is visible on the illustrations as well). The compiler glued a cut out printer's mark on the inside of the first cover, depicting a winged Nemesis (Sophrosyne) with her attributes, reins, and bridle. The printer's mark was identified: it belongs to the Rihel family of printers from Strasburg.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript contains several types of engravings: one type depicts Jesus and the apostles, with a line of the Apostles' Creed; the second type represents biblical scenes in an ornate frame (usually with Virgin Mary in the center); the third type is also connected to biblical texts, but with a German text and different shape than the second type (they look like lengthy illustrations cut out from prayer books). The illustrations usually appear at the beginning of the chapters and have a dividing function.

The work of several hands can be distinguished in the book; there are clearly one or more eighteenth-century hands in addition to the seventeenth-century compilers.<sup>23</sup> Since there are eighteenth-century possessor notes at the beginning of the volume,<sup>24</sup> the later entries could possibly come from them. It is much more difficult

22 Deé Nagy, *Laus Libri*, 32, 168–69. The founder of the printing press was Wendelin Rihel, active between 1531 and 1555. After his death, his sons Josias and Theodosius took over the print and their father's mark. The monogram in the mark (T. R. or I. R.), the cut-out in the book comes from a print of one of the sons (Josias Rihel or his heirs, or Theodosius Rihel) from the late 16th or early 17th century. Cf. Deé Nagy, *Laus Libri*, Image CXXXII/1–CXXXIV/2. For Rihel's printer's mark see: Williams, *Printers' Marks*, 150. Rihel's understanding of Nemesis's attributes differs from the iconographic tradition, see on this: Wolkenhauer, *Zu schwer für Apoll*, 62–63.

23 These later entries are also noteworthy: Oct. Lat. 437, 105v. A caption for a portrait of Luther: "Doctor Martin Luther, 1750," three songs about the love of Jesus (273v–274v), and three songs about the persecution of the church (*Cantio contra persecutionem Ecclesiae*, their incipits: *Serva Deus verbum tuum...*; *Sit laus honor et gloria...*; *Fiant Domine oculi tui...*, 381r–382r.)

24 Josephus Eger as well as Georgius Eger, Batizfalva, 01.04.1772. Georgius Eger was a pastor in Batizfalva between 1760 and 1791.

to identify the earlier compilers; nevertheless, based on the ductus, three hands can probably be distinguished. Andreas Glosius is the writer of the title page, whose signature clearly corresponds to the handwriting on the title page of the gradual of Prešov and that of the law book of Prešov; he uses smaller letters and his handwriting is skilled. The second (and assuredly contemporary) hand—which alternates with Glosius’s handwriting, suggesting that they copied the texts in the same time period—uses somewhat larger letters and its ductus is less trained, so it can be assumed to be the hand of Catharina, the wife. Distinguishing between the two types of handwriting was difficult because their ductus is very similar and in some cases the husband wrote just the first lines of a prayer, and the wife continued the rest.<sup>25</sup> There is no pattern in the alternation of the male and female hand; sometimes they replace each other after one or two texts, while in other cases the same hand writes lengthier portions of text. The musical notation is written by the husband,<sup>26</sup> as are also the songs, typically. There is also a third seventeenth-century hand, which always only writes at the end of the chapters in smaller letters and always uses pencil-drawn lines.<sup>27</sup> Distinguishing the hands is also sometimes difficult because Glosius liked to experiment with different forms for some of the letters.<sup>28</sup> However, further research is necessary to make a final decision about the handwritings.

## Sources

After presenting the manuscript and its origins, I proceed to the sources that I have been able to identify so far from the intertexts of the manuscript. The source collection is not yet complete; understandably, I might say, when taking into account the size of the collection: in the case of a manuscript of 1200 pages, merely recording all the texts is huge work, and potential sources can be searched for almost endlessly. The compilation suggests that Glosius and his wife must be regarded mainly as copyists, and all the prayers and songs have an earlier source. As I mentioned before, the compilation was based on a prayer book written by Philipp Kegel.

25 The alternating handwriting of the husband and the wife within one prayer can be seen: from 87v to the top of 88v: the husband, from there to the top of 89r: the wife. Also: 334r—husband, 334v—the wife continues. Although the female hand is less skilled, it has written down lengthy texts, such as: 340r–381r and 387r–432v. It is characteristic of the couple that the first prayer in each chapter is usually written by the husband.

26 440v, 519r.

27 Among others: 55r, 171v, 209v, 320r, 383r, 521v–522r. It occurred to me that this could be the hand of someone from the next generation, because it also has several notes connected to school life, like the prayer of the school from Prešov: 556r–556v (*Precatio quotidiana scholae Eperiensis*).

28 Cf. 21v the letter Q, or 24r the letter X.



However, the identification of this source was quite difficult because the name of Philipp Kegel, praeceptor of the children of the Duke of Lüneburg, then a private tutor in Lübeck, did not appear at all in the collection. Kegel published the work which served as the source of the manuscript in several forms. In 1593 he published for the first time prayers translated from Latin into German, mainly from the writings of St Augustine, and to a lesser extent Thomas Kempis, St Bernard of Clarvaux, Tauler, Anselm, Jerome, and other church fathers. Then he re-published this work with completions year after year, also adding his own meditations and prayers to the intertexts (which most typically were excerpts).<sup>29</sup> In 1596 he prepared the Latin version of his compilation entitled *Thesaurus spiritualis precationum piarum*, and the final version was published in 1610 under the title *Meditationes Solidae, piae, christiane ac vere spirituales* (or in a different version: *Duodecim Meditationes*). This work is the ultimate source of our manuscript, which, although not referring to Kegel by name, also imitates his work in the title.<sup>30</sup> Kegel's work belongs to the group of Lutheran prayer books which, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, were meant to guide their readers to private piety, often using for this the works of the abovementioned Church Fathers and authors of medieval German mysticism. In addition to Kegel's compilation, such work included Martin Moller's *Meditationes Sanctorum Patrum* (1587, 1591) as well. But how far does the Prešov manuscript build on Kegel's work? It is clear at a first glance that Kegel's twelve-chapter work is the foundation of the structure of Glosius's manuscript. The index at the end proves it, but the situation is more complicated because this index differs in several instances from the actual content of the volume, therefore I also compare the index with the real content. This comparison suggests that at first Glosius divided the manuscript into equal units following the structure of Kegel's book, separating the empty pages of the units with illustrations, and the blank pages were filled with text afterwards.<sup>31</sup>

29 A detailed presentation and analysis of Kegel's work is: Koch, *Philipp Kegels Gebet- und Erbauungsbücher*. The relation of the different variants: Koch, 6–12. Kegel also borrowed 43 prayers from a contemporary Jesuit prayer book, *Bet- und Betrachtungsbuch*: Koch, 233–35.

30 (Oct. Lat. 437) *Meditationes vere spirituales [!] piae ac Christianae in quibus Precationes admodum efficaces & consolatoriae cum insertis aliquot Odis Devotissimis diversorum autorum comprehensae & ad majorem salutis aeternae promotionem singulari studio ac diligentia, partim Andreae Glosii, partim Ejus charissimae Vitae Sociae, Catharinae natae Musonianae, propria manu conscriptae A[nn]o 1666. Cf. Figure 1. (the husband's handwriting) (1610, Lipsae) *Meditationes Solidae, piae, christiane ac vere spirituales, In quibus Precationes admodum efficaces et consolatoriae comprehensae, Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad majorem eorundem salutis aeternae promotionem singulari et pio zelo collectae et concinnatae per Philippum Kegelium Cruciferum.**

31 Cf. Table 1.



**Table 1** The index and the real content of the manuscript

	Kegel, <i>Meditationes Solidae</i> (1610)	Index Meditationum (Oct. Lat. 437, 592r)	The real content of the manuscript
1	Praeparatoria ad orandum	Praeparatoriae	Praeparatoriae
2	Preces matutinas	Matutinae	Matutinae
3	Vespertinae	Vespertinae	Vespertinae
4	In templo	Templi. Festival	In Templo
5	Exhortationes ad poenitentiam	Poenitential	Preces tempore Belli, Famis, Pestis, Veris etc. (Festival)
6	De Passione domini nostri Jesu Christi	Passionales	Poenitential
7	Supplices preces	Supplicatoriae	Passionales
8	Precationes Eucharisticas	Eucharistiae	Christi Salvatoris Languentis [...] Elogium
9	In cruce	in cruce. Aegrit.	In cruce
10	Pro aegrotis & mortuis	Aeternit. Spec.	Supplicatoriae (no carving)
11	Precationes de felicitate coelestis patriae	Pro virtutibus	Eucharistiae
12	Precationes pro avertendis malis		Preces pro virtutibus contra vitia
13			Pro aegrotis & mortuis
14			Precationes de gaudio coelestis patriae
15			Meditationes specialis expetenda bona et advertenda mala...

The color of the ink and the form of the letters suggest that at the first stage the core material was written, and this was gradually and organically extended in time. In many cases, the sources of the prayers were also added later after the title. The initials of many of the prayers are incomplete or completely missing, which also suggests that the manuscript was never considered complete; the authors were permanently working on it. There is great variation in how much was taken from Kegel in the individual units: there are parts where ca. ten or twenty consecutive prayers come from his works, but in other parts (typically the morning and evening prayers) almost no prayers at all come from Kegel. The reference to the source is also taken from Kegel, so the reference appears in the same way as in the original German work (i.e. the reference is not to Kegel, but to Augustine, Kempis, etc.).<sup>32</sup> The fact of compilation is reflected, as on the title page, at the beginning of each chapter.<sup>33</sup>

32 Cf. Figure 2. (the wife's handwriting)

33 Oct. Lat. 437, 100r. "Meditationes vespertinae quae ex variis Autoribus collectae sunt."

However, it is not only Kegel's prayer book that provides the sources of the manuscript, but the names of several authors of early modern German devotional literature also appear in the work. The identification of these was helped by some—albeit laconic—source indications. Glosius copied prayers from the fundamental prayer book of the Lutherans, the collection of Johann Habermann (Avenarius). Habermann published his prayers written for the days of the week and for various events (*Christliche Gebet, für alle Not und Stände*, Wittenberg) in 1567, and published his own Latin translation of the work (*Precationes a Iohanne Avenario D. in singulos septimae dies conscriptae*, Wittenberg) in 1576.<sup>34</sup> The “Habermann” or “Habermännlein” was such a basic book of Lutheran devotional practice that for a long time it was a synonym for a Lutheran prayer book. Still, I failed to find the source of the prayer in the Prešov manuscript<sup>35</sup> in Avenarius's book, although the source indication clearly points to Habermann. Because of the wide circulation of this prayer book, there were also many “pseudo-Avenarian” prayers—probably this was the case here as well.

The next author with a prayer in the collection was another important Lutheran figure. Johann Arndt published devotional literature from the 1610s onwards (exclusively in German), and used every means to urge believers to develop a deep personal faith.<sup>36</sup> Arndt made use of various literary and theological traditions in his works. His sources were varied: medieval mystical literature, the works of sixteenth-century spiritual thinkers (mainly the works of Valentin Weigel), the ideas of Paracelsus and his followers, and Luther's traditional teachings. Some of his contemporaries even sharply criticized him for the latter. His collection of meditations—the work of his most appreciated by posterity, entitled *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (published in Magdeburg in 1610; this contains prayers too)—was translated into Latin by Melchior Breler as early as in the early seventeenth century,<sup>37</sup> so it seemed a logical starting point for research, but I did not find the Latin prayer from the manuscript. I had to move on to Arndt's prayer book, *Paradiesgärtlein voller christlichen Tugenden* (Magdeburg, 1612), which had no Latin translation prior to the date of the manuscript. Still,

34 Koch, *Johann Habermanns “Betbüchlein” im Zusammenhang seiner Theologie*, 158–59. In addition to the author's own translation, there were other renditions too: Koch, 170–71.

35 Oct. Lat. 437, 84r. *Benedictio matutina ex Avenario*. The incipit is verse 18 of Psalm 72. “Benedictus Dominus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus et benedictum nomen Maiestatis ejus in aeternum!”

36 There is a rich literature about Arndt and his writings, such as: Schmidt, “Johann Arndt”; Schneider, “Johann Arndt”; Wallmann, “Johann Arndt.” See also the recent monographs, especially the historiographical introductions: Illg, *Ein anderer Mensch werden*, 15–54; Anetsberger, *Tröstende Lehre*, 13–63.

37 Arndt, *De Vero Christianismo*.

this is where I succeeded, since it seems that the text of the Prešov manuscript<sup>38</sup> is a Latin translation of the prayer *Dancksagung für die holdselige Menschwerdung vnd Geburt vnsers Herrn Jesu Christi*.<sup>39</sup>

**Table 2** A comparison between Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* and the manuscript

J. ARNDT, <i>Paradiß Gärtlein</i> , 1615, 238.	Oct. Lat. 437. 164v–165r.
Ach du Holdseliger / freundlicher / leutseliger Gottes Sohn / Jesu Christe du getrawer Liebhaber des Menschlichen Geschlechts / dir sey / ewig Lob / Ehr vnnd Danck / für deine gebenedeyte Menschwerdung / vnd Geburt / vnd für deine grosse Liebe vnnd freundlichkeit / daß du vnser Fleisch vnd Blut an dich genommen / vnser Bruder worden bist / vnd vns alle so hoch geehret / daß wir durch dich sind Gottes Kinder / vnnd GOTTES geschlecht worden / du grosser König / HERR aller Herr / du Höhester / Mechtigsten / Gewaltigster / Reichester HERR [...]	O suavissime, dilectissime! ac misericordissime amator generis Humani, FILI DEI, Domine Jesu Christe! Tuae Sanctissimae Majestati sit aeterna Laus, gloria et gratiarum actio, pro Tua Sacro-sancta et benedicta Incarnatione, ac Nativitate, nec non pro Tua ineffabili dilectione et comitate, quod carnem et sanguinem nostrum in te assumseris, Fraterque noster factus sis. Nosque universos tanta dignitate ac Majestate ornaveris, ut mediante TE, Filii. Filiaeque DEI ac Progenies Divine Majestatis extiterimus. Tu Summe Rex Regum, Domine Dominantium, Tu, altissime, Potentissime, gloriosissime, fortissime atque opulentissime Domine! [...]

In addition to Johann Arndt's texts, there are also prayers borrowed from his disciple and friend, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), from the work *Exercitium Pietatis quotidianum quadripartitum*.<sup>40</sup> Apart from Kegel, this is from where Glosius's manuscript—to our current knowledge—takes a large number of prayers; there are ten intertexts taken from Gerhard, most often with source indications. Only in one single case could we identify a source where Glosius did not indicate Gerhard, but other unsignalled borrowings may also occur.<sup>41</sup> The manuscript uses various types of source indication (*Gerhard, Gerhardus, ex Gerharo*), and often marks the page number as well.

The title of this paper was supposed to draw attention to the fact that the manuscript contains texts from different confessions. Catholic texts do not only appear

38 Oct. Lat. 437, 164r–168r, *Devotissima Precatio De Nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Source indication: “ex Joh. Arndt.”

39 I quote the text of the prayer on the basis of the second, improved edition: Arndt, *Paradiß Gärtlein*, 238–43. Cf. Table 2.

40 Gerhard's collection had already had two Hungarian translations by that time: Zólyomi Perina, 1616 [RMNY 1100(2)], Madarász, 1652 [RMNY 2421a].

41 The folio-numbers of the intertexts and their original locus in Gerhard: 87v (I. Pars III. Caput), 95r (II. P. XV. C.), 329v (IV. P. VI. C.), 336r (IV. P. VII. C.), 438r (III. P. introductory prayer), 469v (III. P. I. C.), 471v (III. P. II. C.), 492r (IV. P. introductory prayer), 552v (III. P. XIV. C.), 573r (IV. P. V. C.).

when Kegel cites the Church Fathers. The manuscript also contains the alleged prayer of King Ferdinand III, with the title *Christi Salvatoris, Languentis, Patientis, Morientis, Elogium Antitheticum*.<sup>42</sup> The Jesuit upbringing and devotional lifestyle strongly connected to the meditational culture of both Ferdinand II and III is well known,<sup>43</sup> so it is not surprising that prayers and meditations should be mentioned in connection with Ferdinand III. However, we do not know of any published meditations of Ferdinand III, only of his manuscript prayers to Virgin Mary, copied in his hunting calendar (*Jagdkalender*).<sup>44</sup> Ferdinand's piety was legendary: during the Thirty Years' War, at the siege of Regensburg in 1634, he insisted on holding the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi with full ceremony.<sup>45</sup> At the alleged time of writing this prayer, in 1648, Ferdinand was in Prague, but only until 1 June, because the wedding that had originally been planned to take place there was actually celebrated in Linz.<sup>46</sup> So far I have only found the text in a Jesuit sermon collection from 1679;<sup>47</sup> the prayer in the Prešov manuscript corresponds to this version.

As I mentioned earlier, the collection contains not only prayers and meditations, but also various songs as well: Latin hymns of medieval origin (such as *Christe qui lux es et dies; Mittit ad virginem*, the former among evening prayers), and Latin versions of popular church songs. Most of the latter kind have German incipits as melody indication (nineteen cases), and in two cases there is a Slovak *ad notam*.<sup>48</sup> Since this study focuses mainly on the prayers and meditations, it was not my purpose to compare the Latin songs to the German originals, but at first glance it seems that there are some where not only is the melody the same, but we can speak about German-Latin translations (in one case, the manuscript itself indicates this),<sup>49</sup> and

42 Oct. Lat. 437., 277r. Full title: *Christi Salvatoris, Languentis, Patientis, Morientis, Elogium Antitheticum. Ferdinandi III. Imper[atoris]*, compositio propria Pragae A[nn]o. 1648. ante Festa.

43 Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*.

44 Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III.*, 134–35.

45 Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 30. With such a degree of Eucharistic adoration, Ferdinand III followed in the footsteps of Rudolf, the founder of the House of Habsburg. See also Coreth, 23–24.

46 Höbelt, *Ferdinand III.*, 278–80.

47 Kybler, *Wunderspiegl oder Göttliche Wunderwerck*, 240. The source indication from the Jesuit print: “Auß den Betrachtungen Keyzers Ferdinandi III.”

48 These songs, I believe, were copied by the third hand, later in time. [171v] “Ad Melod: Giž slunce z hwiezdy wysslo. Erosa sit lilium...”; [464r-466r.] “Sequitur Devota Cantio seu Psalm[us] V. K tobe Pane nadegi skladam; Alia Cantio Takliž ga predce w uskosti sweg etc.” [521v-522r] “Takliž ya predce etc.”

49 Oct. Lat. 437. 60r. “Alia ex Germ. Aus meines Hertze[n]s Grunde etc. Ex mentis hac abysso grates Tibi fero...”; [94r] “Warumb betrübst du dich mein Hertz: Ne macereris mens Mea...”; [548v] “O Welt dich muß Ich lassen. Te munde derelinquo”.

some where the German song is used merely as a melody pattern.<sup>50</sup> In addition to well-known songs, the manuscript also contains the Latin translations of Johann Rist (1607–1667), another almost-contemporary German poet, also a follower of Arndt. It seems at this time that three songs were borrowed from the German author,<sup>51</sup> and due to a source indication where the copyist also marked the page number of the source,<sup>52</sup> it is also possible to identify the exact edition that the songs come from: *Johann Risten Geistlicher Poetischer Schriften Erster Theil / In sich begreifend neue himmlische Lieder* (1657).<sup>53</sup> This is a new, bilingual collected edition of Rist's songs with parallel German and Latin texts, Latin translations made by Tobias Petermann, a rector from Pirna. We have now reached the end of the known sources of the manuscript, but the identification of all the source texts of this monumental work needs a lot more perseverance.

### Kegel's reception in Hungary

Almost nothing is known about the Hungarian reception of Philipp Kegel's works. Since the manuscript relies to such a great extent on Kegel's work, I was curious whether this was just an isolated case, or we simply lack information about the popularity of this work in Hungary. Browsing through the bibliography of Hungarian prints before 1711, we see that Philipp Kegel's prayer book was published thirteen times in Hungarian or in various languages on Hungarian territory (Hungarian, Slovak and Latin).<sup>54</sup> Although no comprehensive analysis of the Hungarian

50 Oct. Lat. 437. 324v. "Canitur sicut Auf meinen lieben Gott trau ich in Angst u[nd] Not. Spec unice meo, recumbit in Deo..."; [542v] "Canitur sicut: Ach Gott wie manches Hertze leyd begegnet mich etc. Qvam sunt beati singuli, queis in Deo datum mori..."; [543v] "Ad Melodiam. Wie nach einer wasser Quäle, ein Hirsch schreyet etc. Menstrium phando triumphat! Jubilando jubila!..."; [545r] "Canitur sicut: Hertzlich thut mich verlangen, nach einm Seel[igen] End. Ardenter ingemisco Beatus emori..."; [550v] "Canitur sicut. Hertzlich thut mich verlangen, nach einn seeliges End. Me Christus haut relinquet...".

51 Oct. Lat. 437. 178v. *Ode de incarnaone [!] et nativitate Jesu Christi*, [231r] *De securitate* (source indication: "Ode Ristii"), and one more, mentioned in the next footnote.

52 Oct. Lat. 437. 519v. [*Ode*] *considerat suavissimam consolationem* (source indication: "Risti[us] 263f.")

53 Rist, *Geistliche Poetische Schriften I.: In sich begreifend neue himlische Lieder*.

54 Debreceni [transl.], *Tizenket idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMNY 1678]; Debreceni [transl.], *Tizenket idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMNY 1730]; Debreceni [transl.], *Tizenkét idvösséges elmelkedesek* [RMNY 1755]; Deselvcis [transl.]: *Tizenkét idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMNY 1772]; Laskai [transl.], *Egy néhány ahitatos buzgo imadsagok, mellyeket Kegyelius Filep elmélkedésiböl szedegetet* [RMNY 2363(2)]; Deselvcis [transl.], *Tizenkét idvösséges elmélkedései Philep Kegeliusnak* [RMNY 2497]; Debreceni [transl.], *Tizenkét idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMNY 3441]; Plintovič [transl.]: *Filipa Kegelis Dvanáctero přemyšlování duchonich* [RMNY 3621]; Debreceni

translation has been undertaken before, several authors have dealt with these volumes because of the prefaces of the Hungarian editions. The book was translated and published by the Calvinist Péter Debreceni, and two years after its publication his translation was revised and the book re-published by Péter Deselvics. The two prefaces and the translation principles formulated in these were analyzed by István Bartók.<sup>55</sup> However, apart from the abovementioned prefaces, Hungarian literary history has not dealt with Kegel's work yet. For the purposes of this paper, it is especially interesting that a Latin translation of this work was published by Samuel Brewer in 1679.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, this edition has no preface that would explain why they considered it important to also publish in Latin a piece of work that had already appeared several times in Hungarian and Slovak. We know that Brewer took an active part in the religious life of the Lutheran community of Levoča; he printed in his typography several devotional works, and his printing practice clearly proves that he was a printer with an interest in devotional literature, so it is possible that the publication of this book was his idea.<sup>57</sup> The Hungarian edition appeared with the title *Duodecim piae meditationes, solidae, christianae, ac vere spirituales*, and included the dedicatory preface of the original Latin work, not modifying even the addressee of the original edition.<sup>58</sup> The texts of the meditations follow closely the Latin editions from Germany throughout the text, and at the end there is an appendix covering thirty-nine unnumbered pages, containing Latin songs for morning, evening, mourning, and other occasions. This appendix, as far as my research goes, is exclusively found in the Hungarian print. It is especially interesting for me that nine songs appear both in the appendix to the Levoča print and in Glosius's collection: six morning songs, a famous song attributed to Saint Bernard with the incipit *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, a penitent song with the incipit *Heu mihi quam territat*, and a Johann Rist song (*De securitate*). It might be too hasty

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[transl.], *Tizenkét idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMK I. 1137b]; Kegel, *Duodecim piae meditationes, solidae, christianae, ac vere spirituales* [RMK II. 1448]; Debreceni [transl.], *Tizenkét idvösseges elmelkedesek* [RMK I. 1339a.]; Plintovič [transl.], *Dwanact přemysslowánj duchownjch* [RMK II. 1601]; Plintovič [transl.], *Dwanáctero duchowné nábožné přemysslowánj* [RMK II. 1737].

55 Bartók, "Sokkal magyarabbúl szólhatnánk és írhatnánk", 262–63, 275–76.

56 RMK II. 1448.

57 On the printing policy of Samuel Brewer, see Pavericsik, "A löcsei Brewer-nyomda a XVII–XVIII. században: II. rész."

58 The work only appeared twice with this title on German territory: in the typography of Grosius in Leipzig, in 1618 (VD17 3:604879V) and 1635 (VD17 15:737008Y): *Duodecim Piae Meditationes, In quibus Precationes Admodum Efficaces et Consolatorae: Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad maiorem eorundem salutis aeternae promotionem singulari & pio zello colectae & concinnatae*. The dedication is addressed to Christianus Wilhelmus, Archi Episcopus Magdeburgensis

to suggest a direct connection between the print and the manuscript,<sup>59</sup> but a direct connection would not be as exciting because the manuscript of the Glosius couple and the appendix from Levoča can make known to us the Latin songs (not only from the melody indications) which were still popular in Lutheran religious practice in Upper Hungary in the 1660s and 1670s.

More data on the Hungarian reception of Kegel's prayer book is revealed from research on the history of reading, which records data about books from inheritance inventories. Based on this, we see that Kegel was a favored reading, especially for Germans from Hungary. We have quite early data from Košice,<sup>60</sup> Banská Bystrica,<sup>61</sup> and Sopron,<sup>62</sup> which prove that it was known even before the publication of the Hungarian edition. There are but a few references to the Latin work.<sup>63</sup> The book is often mentioned as having a nice binding and silver clasps<sup>64</sup> and often appears in inventories that contain a small number of books, where besides the Bible and the Habermann this was probably the family's only prayer book.

## Questions instead of answers

There are several as yet unanswered questions about the common book of prayers of Andreas Glosius and his wife. One of these is why the book was written in Latin,

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59 Although it is quite interesting that Glosius knew Rist's 1657 print. The manuscript refers to the German print itself, as it marks the page numbers as well, which suggests that Rist's bilingual edition was known not only in Prešov, but also Levoča.

60 *Adattár XV*, 13. 1622. dec. 24. inventory of the goods of Caspar Elinger: "Zwelff geistliche andachten Kegelij"; *Adattár XV*, 26–28. 1637. inventory of the goods of the widow of Johann Schirmer: "Kegelij Praecationes."

61 *Adattár XIII*, 50. Katharina Haas, 1635. marc. 21. "Gebetbuch Kegelij mit silber Beschlagen."

62 *Adattár XVIII/1*, 40. 1627. febr. 10. Jacob Hentz, "Philippj Kegelij Pet bühlein 9 vnd 12 andacht"; *Adattár XVIII/1*, 41. Mathes Hainrich, 1628. jan. 4. "12 Geistliche andachten Kegelij"; *Adattár XVIII/1*, 79. Daniel Glentzmann, 1635. aug. 30. "Dritter theil der zwölff Andachten vom hochwürdigen Philippi Kegelij"; *Adattár XVIII/1*, 83. Martin Schröllinger, 1637. april. 11. "der kegilj zwelf andacht in octau."

63 *Adattár XI*, 238–243. 6 April 1645. Excerpt from the inventory of the castle of Makovica (Zboró, Prešov region, Bardejov district). mpp Máriássy Ferenc, the inventory probably lists the books of the Rákóczi family. "Meditationes Kegelyi Deák egy, Item Kegelyi imádságos könyv Homonnainé aszonyom neve alatt, Deák Kegelyi könyv, ezüstös kapczos, Kegelii imatságos könyv magyar, Meditationes Kegelii magyar imádságos könyv" *Adattár XV*, 69–70. 1679. Inventory of the goods of the widow of Szlatinai András: "Egy Kegelyi Deákul". *Adattár XVI/3*, 204. Michael Halicius, died after 1694 (rector of the Reformed school of Orăștie), "Kegelyi, latinae". *Adattár XIX/1*, 331. Book inventory of the Franciscan library of Szokolca: "Philippi Kegelij Duodecim Meditationes in 16".

64 *Adattár XIII/2*, 37–38, 257; *Adattár XIII/3*, 50, 256.



since the language of this type of devotional literature was predominantly the vernacular everywhere in Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century, and, what is more, writing in the vernacular had even become programmatic (let us only think of the Piarists or the Puritans). Religious practice in Latin remained prevalent, of course, but was primarily linked to schools and universities, where students were forced to use Latin not only during classes but also during other events in their lives, such as praying and devotion. Johann Rist mentioned this very same viewpoint in the preface to the Latin translations of his songs.<sup>65</sup> Evidence also exists about how Johann Habermann's prayer book was used in school practice: not only during community prayers, but also for reading and translation.<sup>66</sup> Latin remained an important language of German devotional literature throughout the seventeenth century; prayer books often appeared in bilingual, Latin-German editions from the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth (as we have also seen with the authors cited by Glosius: Habermann, Kegel, and Johann Gerhard). The reason is that, for theologians who studied in Latin and, in addition to Greek and Hebrew, also studied biblical hermeneutics in Latin, this language had preserved its importance and influenced their personal piety as well.<sup>67</sup> So this is a well-known phenomenon. What is disturbing in our case is that Andreas Glosius was not a member of the clergy; he did not study theology, and also the fact that his wife also copied parts of the prayers, and in the case of female readers the use of the vernacular was almost exclusive. One curiosity of the manuscript is that it is indeed the joint work of a husband and wife. As we have seen, they often switched even within the same prayer, but the leading role both in the structure of the chapters and the copying of the prayers always belonged to the husband. This is not surprising, as it was the duty of the head of the family to support the devotional life of the people living in his household: he led the divine service at home, and took care of his family's practice of piety. We know, for example, about the case of Sigmund

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65 Rist, *Geistliche Poetische Schriften I.: In sich begreifend neüe himlische Lieder*, 7–8. “Demnach auch ferner der Wolehrenvester und Hochgelehrter Herr Mag[ister] Tobias Petermann / Mein sonders wehrter Freund / dise meine Lieder / nicht weniger [!] lieblich / als glücklich in die Latinische Sprache hat übersetzt / mit welcher Arbeit / manchem gelehrten Liebhaber der Poesie / sonderlich der Studirenden Jugend merklich wird gedienet seyn; So habe[n] wolgedachte meine Herren Verleger / Selbige Übersetzung zugleich mit / und gegen dem Teütschen über / in disem Neüen Format lassen drükken / damit Beider Sprache[n] Erfahrne / Sich derer mit ja so grossem Nutz / als Lust könten gebrauchen.”

66 Koch, *Johann Habermanns “Betbüchlein” im Zusammenhang seiner Theologie*, 184.

67 Johannes Wallmann gives the example of Philipp Jakob Spener, who wrote his book of prayers and meditations for personal use in Latin, and who admittedly favored praying in Latin over praying in German. Wallmann, “Zwischen Herzensgebet und Gebetbuch.” On the use of Latin, Wallmann, 22–25.

von Birken, who, in his letters to his wife Margaretha Magdalena von Birken, highlighted the chapters that she had to read from Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein*.<sup>68</sup>

Another important question is whether Andreas Glosius selected these texts himself, or whether he had partners in compiling and reading them in Prešov at that time. Some connection can be proved between Andreas Glosius and the Lutheran pastor of the Hungarian congregation in the city Márton Madarász,<sup>69</sup> not just because of the gradual of Prešov. Madarász translated into Hungarian Johann Gerhard's *Exercitium pietatis* in 1652,<sup>70</sup> mentioning in the preface, as proof of the work's popularity, that it was even published in Latin in the mostly Calvinist town of Leiden in 1630.<sup>71</sup> On multiple occasions when citing Gerhard in the manuscript, Glosius also indicates the page number of the meditations he copied, and these page numbers correspond to those of the Leiden edition from 1630.<sup>72</sup> Although Madarász died before the writing of the manuscript, he must have had contact with Glosius because of the gradual at least, who might have received the Leiden edition of Gerhard from Madarász himself. However, we should also take into account the fact that, after the death of the Hungarian pastor, the volume could have been preserved in the library of the congregation in Prešov, so a direct connection cannot be clearly proved. Again, another circumstance regarding the creation of the manuscript may be that, in the late 1660s, the town resounded with a debate by Abraham Eccard, the first German pastor, and Johann Sartorius, the second German pastor, who mutually accused each other of proclaiming erroneous teachings.<sup>73</sup> The dispute went so

68 Birken, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Sigmund von Birken und Margaretha Magdalena von Birken*, 10:181. "Ich bitte euch, um euer Seeligkeit willen: leset doch fleissig: die schönen Gebete des Geistreichen Herrn Arnds im Paradiesgärtlein, wider den Geitz, Hoffart, Zorn, Haß und Neid, um Genüglichkeit, demut, Sanftmut und Frieden, um Verschmähung der Welt, um Verleugnung sein selbst, um Nachfolgung Christi, um sein selbst Erkenntnis etc." (Birken, 10:181.) "Ich bitte euch noch einmahl, um Gottes, um eurer zeitlichen Wolfart und ewigen Seeligkeit willen, bittet Gott um seinen Heiligen Geist, um Demut und Sanftmut: leset in des geistigen Arnds Paradiesgärtlein das 6. 7. 8. 20. 29. 30. 33. 35. 42. 45 und die 4 ersten in der dritten Claß." (Birken, 10:183–84.) "Ist ihr ihre Wolfahrt lieb, sie erinnere sie sich allemal dieser 7 Christlichen Tugenden und stelle ihr Thun nach denselben an: so wird ihr herz ruhig werden. Sie bitte Gott um vergebung voriger Sünden, und lese in des seeligen Arnds Paradiesgärtlein die schönen Gebete um diese Tugenden." (Birken, 10:195.)

69 On the life and works of Madarász, see Varga, *RMKT XVII/9*, 579–80.

70 Gerhard, *Kegyességnek mindennapi gyakorlása* (trans. Madarász) [RMNY 2421a].

71 Gerhard, *Kegyességnek mindennapi gyakorlása* (trans. Madarász) [RMNY 2421a], A7v–A8r.

72 Gerhard, *Exercitium Pietatis Quotidianum Quadripartitum*.

73 Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften evangelischer Prediger in allen Gemeinen des Königreichs Ungarn*, 51–53. Klein mentions the title of one of Eccard's writings, which he presented at the synod: *Brevis demonstratio Ioannem Sartorium ecclesiae Epperiensis diaconum non esse verum lutheranum sed fanaticum, oblata synodo Epperiensi 1663 celebratae*.

far that eventually the Silesian-origin Eccard had to give up his office and leave the town, after the synod of 1662 in Prešov also discussed their case. The debate is preserved in an array of manuscripts in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest that contains the writings of Eccard and others, which says that Sartorius is not a true Lutheran but an erratic; a Schwenkfeldian; a puritan; and professes independent, Weigelian, and Anabaptist teachings.<sup>74</sup> This is an important analogy in the context of the Glosius manuscript because, if we look at the list of the German authors that are mentioned (Johann Gerhard, Johann Rist, Johann Michael Dilherr<sup>75</sup>), we see that they were all followers of Johann Arndt (whose text is also included into the manuscript), whose contemporaries also accused him of the same things that Eccard accused Sartorius.<sup>76</sup> Not without reason, for Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* indeed contains parts borrowed from Valentin Weigel's prayer book, who was unanimously considered a heterodox erratic in the Lutheran church.

Andreas Glosius seems to have been an important personality of mid-seventeenth century Prešov, therefore it is quite curious that we have so little data about him. He was a citizen of Prešov, but we only know one occasional poem by him. His *Promptuarium Politicum* is not merely the law book of Prešov, but an important document of the age. It seems that the manuscript from Prešov is the only bilingual version of the *Vetusta Jura* part of the so-called tavernical law (*ius tavernicale*, a collection of statutes for specific urban communities in Hungary). It was not only applied in Prešov, but should be regarded as a document that recorded the quasi-unitary legal practice of the towns of Upper Hungary, so it has major value for the history of law.<sup>77</sup> It may not be accidental that every manuscript connected to Glosius is a result of thorough collecting work. The gradual of Prešov is unmatched in Hungarian school and religious singing; the book of laws compiled by Glosius is also of utmost importance; and the manuscript prayer book is also unmatched. The compilation of this prayer book may rely also on the work for the gradual of Prešov and its results, as, although the gradual compiled first of all the Hungarian protestant songs of the age, the process of collection must have included foreign material as well.

74 Quart. Lat. 1115/I-II, 38r. "Demonstratio brevis Joh[annem] Sartorium Eperiensem, Ecclesiae Patriae Diaconum non esse verum Lutheranum, sed Enthusiasticis, Schwenckfeldianis, Puritanis vel Independentib[us], Weigelianis et Anabaptistis."

75 I did not present Dilherr's text in this paper because I did not succeed in identifying the source. Oct. Lat. 437, 7r. *De Orationis Praestantia Rev. et Excellen. D. Joh. Mich. Dilherr[us] Pastor ac P. Professor Norinbergensis ita scribit.*

76 Schneider, "Johann Arndt als Lutheraner?"

77 P. Szabó, "A felső-magyarországi városszövetség 17. századi jogkönyvének eljárásjogi vonatkozásai," 203–4.

## Abbreviations

### RMK

Szabó, Károly, ed. *Régi magyar könyvtár*. [Early Hungarian Library] Vol. 1. (*Az 1531–1711. megjelent magyar nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*) [Bibliography of Hungarian Printings Published from 1531 to 1711] 3 vols. Budapest: A M. Tud. akadémiai könyvkiadó hivatala, 1879.

Szabó, Károly, ed. *Régi magyar könyvtár*. [Early Hungarian Library] Vol. 2. (*Az 1473-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű hazai nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*) [Bibliography of non-Hungarian-language Printings Published on Hungarian territory from 1473 to 1711] 3 vols. Budapest: A M. Tud. akadémiai könyvkiadó hivatala, 1885.

Szabó, Károly, and Árpád Hellebrant, eds. *Régi magyar könyvtár*. [Early Hungarian Library] Vol. 3/1. (*Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*) [Bibliography of Non-Hungarian-language Printings by Hungarian Authors Published abroad of Hungary from 1480 to 1711] 3 vols. Budapest: A M. Tud. akadémiai könyvkiadó hivatala, 1896.

Szabó, Károly, and Árpád Hellebrant, eds. *Régi magyar könyvtár*. [Early Hungarian Library] Vol. 3/2. (*Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve*) [Bibliography of Non-Hungarian-language Printings by Hungarian Authors Published abroad of Hungary from 1480 to 1711] 3 vols. Budapest: A M. Tud. akadémiai könyvkiadó hivatala, 1898.

### RMNY

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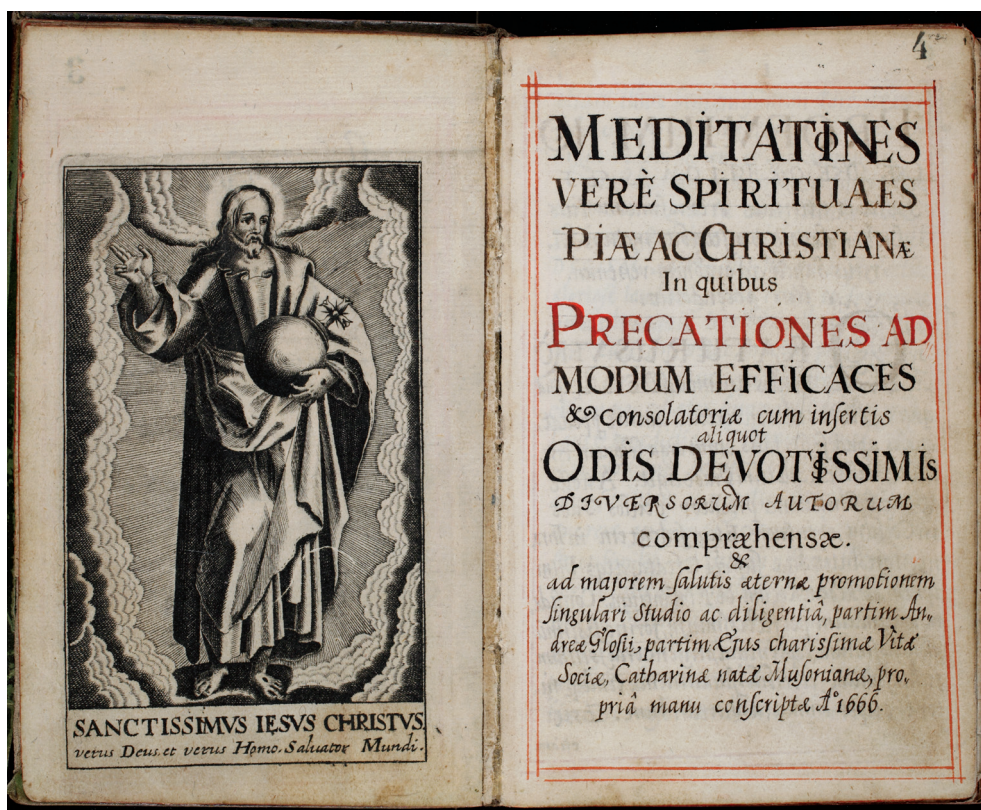


Figure 1 Titel page of the manuscript written by Andreas Glosius





Figure 2 A comparison between a page of the manuscript and a page of Kegel's *Meditationes Solidae* (1610)