

Piroska Balogh 

The Interpretation and Research of Neo-Latin Literature in the Hungarian *historia litteraria* Tradition between 1711 and 2010

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 271–293

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

The culture of Hungary held Neo-Latin literature in a unique place, which was closely tied to the special status of the Latin language in the country. Latin was not only encouraged for cultural, scientific, or diplomatic purposes, but it also served as the language of public life until 1844. As a result, a significant part of Hungarian literature was written in Latin, even in the nineteenth century. The language of the first comprehensive works on the history of Hungarian literature—the manuals of the so-called *historia litteraria* tradition—was also Latin. In this paper, an exploration is made of how the Neo-Latin tradition appears in the handbooks on the history of Hungarian literature published since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is investigated whether authors reflect on the Latinity of a particular cultural segment in Hungary, whether they consider it as part of the national literature, and if so, in what framework and with what methodology they attempt to present and process it. The first handbook examined is the first (Latin) lexicon dedicated to Hungarian literature, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, published by Dávid Czvittinger in 1711. The latest compendium investigated is the *Magyar irodalom* (The Hungarian literature), edited by Tibor Gintli, published in 2010. Together with the volumes published in the intervening period, a three-hundred-year history of Hungarian Neo-Latin Studies is presented based on a review of nearly fifteen literary history manuals and five literary lexicons. The context of changes is reflected upon, such as the relationship with the development of academic disciplines, the relationship with the change in the concept of the nation, and the methodological context, including the interaction with positivist, and other research methodologies. In the view of the author, the historical overview of Hungarian Neo-Latin studies may be considered a paradigmatic example not only for Hungary but also for the Central and Eastern European region.

Keywords

Neo-Latin
literature
in Hungary—
historia litteraria

This paper explores the interpretation and research of Neo-Latin literature within the Hungarian literary history tradition. The analysis covers a span of almost three hundred years, starting from 1711 up until 2010. The goal is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of Neo-Latin literature within the Hungarian literary tradition and how it has contributed to the overall cultural heritage of the country. To explain this, first, an extensive overview is provided on why Neo-Latin literature played a significant role in Hungarian culture. Secondly, an analysis is carried out on how Neo-Latin culture is represented in the two main types of Hungarian literary history manuals. Lastly, a succinct summary is presented on the conclusions drawn from this analysis.

The significance of Neo-Latin literature in the history of Hungarian culture

It is an indisputable fact that Neo-Latin literature holds a unique and unparalleled place in Hungarian culture.¹ When during the tenth and eleventh centuries the leaders of the Hungarian people decided to align themselves with the alliance systems of Western Europe, they not only accepted the form of the kingdom and the Roman Church but also the introduction of Western ecclesiastical and secular culture, which was conveyed using the Latin language. Consequently, most of the first written cultural products of Hungary were formulated in Latin. During the sixteenth century, when the Reformation brought about a general revival of national languages in Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary lost its independence as a state. One part of it fell under the Ottoman Empire, and another part came under the Habsburg Empire, with only a single unit remaining independent as the Principality of Transylvania as an Ottoman vassal state. After the expulsion of the Ottomans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Kingdom of Hungary became entirely part of the Habsburg Empire.² During this period, the role of the Latin language became especially important and was a key symbol of the legal and historical framework of the once-independent Hungarian Kingdom. Latin-language laws and codified volumes established and guaranteed the privileges of the country's leading social class, the nobility. Beyond the Hungarian mother tongue (*lingua maternalis*) Latin was regarded as a "father tongue" (*lingua*

¹ There is no monographic work on the history of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary. The following studies and collections of studies covering different periods provide a more detailed orientation on the subject: *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. J. Axer and L. Szörényi, Warsaw 2013; László Havas, "La naissance de la littérature hongroise en latin (Entre la civilisation byzantine et la culture latine occidentale)", *Camoenae Hungaricae* 1 (2004), pp. 7–50; Henrik Hónich, "Which Language and which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790", in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 35–63.

² A case study illustrating the language policy of the Habsburg rulers: Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler, "Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy", in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 95–118.

paternalis) and functioned as the language of public life and the official language of the state until 1844. Furthermore, the ethnically diverse Kingdom of Hungary became even more divergent during the eighteenth century, with foreign settlements following the Ottoman expulsion: at the end of the century only about 40% of the population was native-speaking Hungarian, the remainder being native speakers of German, Romanian, Slovak, Croatian, Slovene, or Ruthenian.³ In this multilingual, multi-ethnic environment, Latin proved to be a useful and traditionally well-functioning lingua franca. Until 1844, Latin was also the language of education, which meant that knowledge of Latin was a prerequisite for admission to the world of science and culture.

Thanks to these three factors, the role of Latin in Hungarian culture has been exceptional, not only in terms of its intensity but also in terms of its longevity. There is ample evidence to support this claim. One example is the strong presence of Latin-language journalism in the Kingdom of Hungary during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The last significant Latin newspaper, *Ephemerides Posonienses*, was published weekly from 1804 until 1838.⁴ Complete works of poetry were still being written in Latin at this time, as the huge and acknowledged poetic oeuvre of Johann Chrysostom Hannulík, who was a member of several European literary societies, including the Arcadia in Rome.⁵ During the specialization of the sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all the textbooks of some new disciplines were published in Latin, as all major monographs of the first century of Hungarian aesthetics, for example.⁶

The encyclopaedic tradition of literary history handbooks

The first important Hungarian handbooks of the *historia litteraria* were published in the eighteenth century in Latin. This was done for two primary reasons: firstly,

³ About the ethnic groups and their national identities of the Hungarian Kingdom during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Robert John Weston Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford 2006, pp. 147–170.

⁴ On the context of the Latin press in Hungary see Piroska Balogh, “The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-century Hungary”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 166–189; Andrea Seidler, “The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 152–165. About *Ephemerides Posonienses* specifically see Piroska Balogh, “Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 9 (2024), no. 1, pp. 30–48.

⁵ About Hannulík and other Hungarian Neo-Latin Poets see László Szörényi, “Neulateinische lyrische Dichtung im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts und die antike Tradition”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. S. P. Revard, F. Radle, and M. A. Di Cesare, Binghamton and New York 1988, pp. 153–162.

⁶ On the crucial significance of the Latin language in the first hundred years of the history of aesthetics in Hungary see Piroska Balogh, “Aesthetics at the Royal University of Hungary (1774–1843)”, in: *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, ed. P. Balogh and G. Fórizs, Hannover 2018, pp. 133–152.

Latin was the language of scholarship at the time, and secondly, it made these works accessible to a broader audience beyond Hungary. The manuals belonged to two distinct traditions: the encyclopaedic and the narrative. The encyclopaedic tradition consisted of lexicon-type manuals that aimed to map and collect data on every Hungarian writer and their work. On the other hand, the narrative tradition consisted of chronologically arranged books that formed narratives summarizing the development of Hungarian literature from its beginnings to the time of their writing.⁷

Firstly, the major Hungarian writers' lexicons belonging to the encyclopaedic tradition will be introduced in chronological order:

- Dávid Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711
- Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudos embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe botosított írárok által esmeretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendőök alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athen or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766
- Elek Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, 3 vols., Vienna, 1775–1777
- József Szinnyi, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914
- Pál Gulyás, *Magyar írók élete és munkái – új sorozat* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers—new series], Budapest 1939–1944 (A–Dz) and 1990–2002 (E–Ö)
- *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [Hungarian Literary Lexicon], 3 vols., ed. M. Benedek, Budapest 1963–1965
- *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000

The earliest lexicon of Hungarian writers, Czvittinger's volume is decisive for the characteristics of the encyclopaedic tradition.⁸ Czvittinger's goal was to collect

⁷ About the Hungarian tradition of *historia litteraria* see Andor Tarnai, "Die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Mitteleuropa im 16.–18. Jahrhundert", *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1962), pp. 338–341; and Tarnai, *Tanulmányok a magyarországi historia litteraria történetéről* [Studies on the history of Hungarian *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Kecskeméti, Budapest 2004.

⁸ Dávid Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711. About Czvittinger see Andor Tarnai, "Egy magyarországi

and present the works of Hungarian scholars and writers. He considered anyone who was born or lived in the Kingdom of Hungary as Hungarian, regardless of their language. This territorially based identification was known as “Hungarus identity”⁹ and had been important in Hungary for centuries. On the other hand, Czvittinger wanted his collection to represent the totality of written culture, not just *belles lettres*. Thirdly, his collection was motivated by the desire to demonstrate that Hungarian written culture is very wide-ranging. He employs the apologetic topos of literary encyclopedias to refute German authors Jakob Friedrich Reinmann and Ferdinand Neuburg, who argued that there were only few educated Hungarians. However, many of the two hundred and fifty entries in Czvittinger’s lexicon do not give the titles of the books of the author in question, or sometimes refer only to their contents, without specifying the language of the book.¹⁰ For this reason, it is difficult to determine what percentage of the articles in Czvittinger’s lexicon relate to Neo-Latin literature. However, it is evident that for Czvittinger, both the Latin and Hungarian languages were an essential and organic part of Hungarian literature.

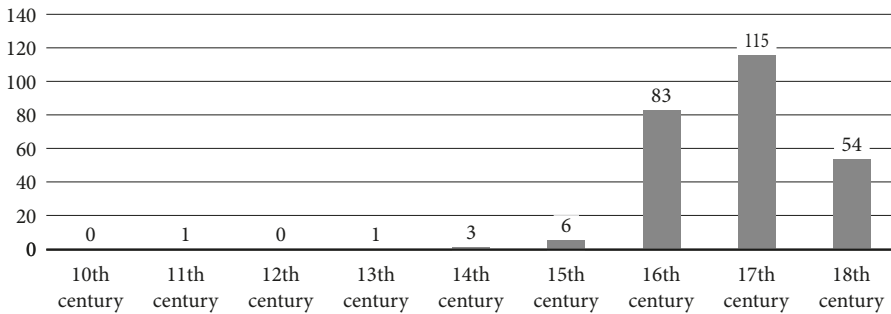
In order to determine the amount of references to Neo-Latin literature in other encyclopaedic handbooks, I selected three lexicons from different centuries that are suitable for research: the first Hungarian-language writers’ lexicon written by Péter Bod from the eighteenth century; the lexicon with the largest number of authors written by József Szinnyei at the end of the nineteenth century; and the most recent literary lexicon, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* published in 2000. My analysis aims to reveal the proportion of articles related to Neo-Latin literature in each lexicon. In articles that feature authors, an author is classified as being associated with Neo-Latin literature if they are linked to at least one Latin bibliographic item, whether it be a manuscript or a printed publication. On the other hand, in articles that discuss texts, the language of the text is the determining factor. The results of the classification are shown in the following diagrams.

tudós külföldön: Czvittinger és a Specimen” [A Hungarian scientist abroad: Czvittinger and Specimen], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993), pp. 16–38.

⁹ For the “Hungarus” intellectuals the Latin language was, among other things, a cultural context, by which they wished to represent the whole of Hungarian culture as a unity, see Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, “Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century”, in *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. I. Bartók, Budapest 2005, pp. 37–54; Ambrus Miskolczi, “‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism”, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 64–94.

¹⁰ For example: “Abstemijs Paulus, sive rectius juxta genium linguae Hungaricae, Bornemisza, quod nomen latine redditum, idem est ac Abstemijs, illudque ipsum hungaricum nomen genuinum ac proprium est, illustris pariter ac antiquissimae lateque diffusae in Hungaria Bornemiszianae prosapiae: Episcopus quondam fuit Transylvaniensis, atque Episcopatus Nitriensis Administrator, omnis eruditionis ac prudentiae laude cumulatissimus. Tandem vero ob quamplurima sua merita excellentia, ad Locumtenentis Regii, h. e. Pro-Palatini Regni Hung. munus splendidissimum. A. 1569 evectus est.” Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae*, p. 13.

The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the literary lexicon of Péter Bod (1766)



Peter Bod's literary lexicon, published in 1766,¹¹ contains a total of 590 entries, out of which 263 entries, i.e., 45% of the total entries, are related to Neo-Latin literature. According to Bod's methodology, almost half of the Hungarian writers wrote at least one Latin work. The distribution of these authors over time is also noteworthy. The number of Neo-Latin writers increased substantially with the introduction and expansion of book printing and the reduction of the temporal distance. However, after the most productive period of Neo-Latin literature during the humanist and late humanist period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the number of Neo-Latin writers is said to have decreased. As per the diagram, the number of Hungarian Neo-Latin authors rose significantly in the sixteenth century, and this upward trend continued in the following centuries as well. (For the eighteenth-century figure, it must be considered that Bod collected his data in the middle of the century.)

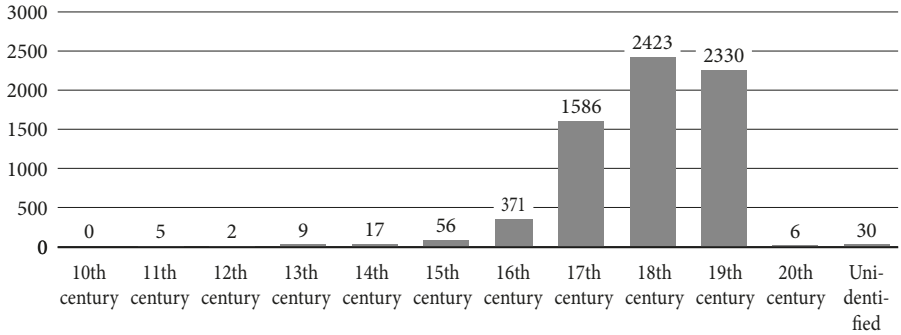
József Szinnyei's lexicon was compiled between 1891 and 1914.¹² It contains 29 553 headings for writers. Of this total, 23% (6,835 writers) have a Neo-Latin connection. This is a significant number, considering that since the Bod lexicon was published, the proportion of Neo-Latin writers has halved but still remained high. It is also surprising that eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors make up 70% of the total

¹¹ Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudos embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe bocsátott írások által esméretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendők alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athenas or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766. About Péter Bod's cultural researches see *Bod Péter, a historia litteraria művelője* [Péter Bod, a researcher of *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Tüskés, R. I. Csörsz, and B. Hegedűs, Budapest 2004.

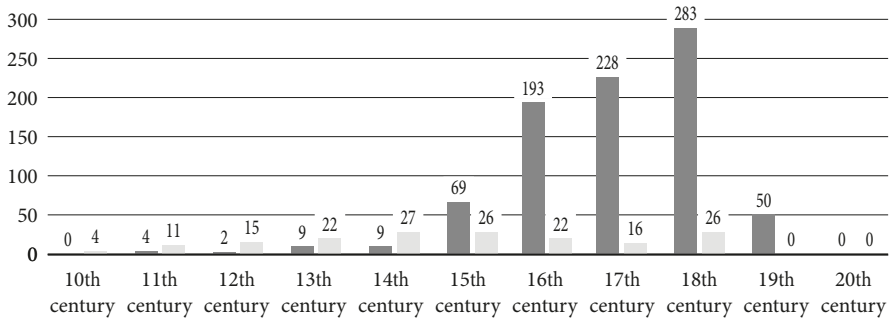
¹² József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914. About Szinnyei's bibliographic researches and volumes see *Szinnyei József halálának 100. évfordulójáról megemlékező centenáriumi emlékkönyv* [Centenary book commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of József Szinnyei], ed. É. Szőnyi, Budapest 2014.

corpus of authors related to Neo-Latin literature. The most unexpected result is the exceptionally high number of nineteenth-century Neo-Latin authors.

The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the literary lexicon of József Szinnyei (1891–1914)



The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* (2000)



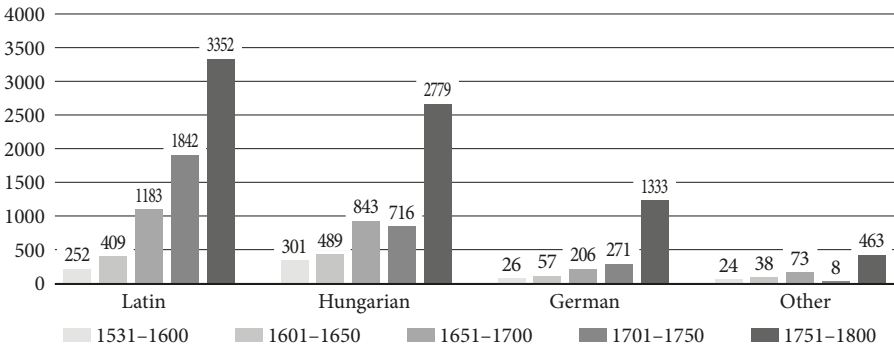
The latest Hungarian literary lexicon, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*,¹³ contains a total of 6555 articles. Out of these, 1131 articles are explanations of literary terms, which are not relevant for our study. The remaining 5424 articles describe either authors or texts such as journals. Among these, 166 texts are written in Latin, and 847 authors have written at least one Latin work. Therefore, a total of 1013 articles, which is 18% of the total, are related to Neo-Latin literature. The eighteenth century

¹³ *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000.

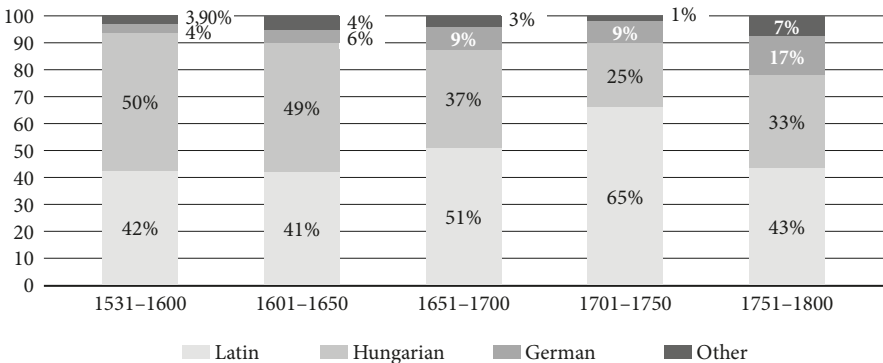
is the dominant period in these articles, but the proportion of nineteenth-century Neo-Latin references has decreased significantly compared to Szinnyei’s lexicon.

Csaba Csapodi’s research on the language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1531 and 1800¹⁴ offers an important aid and reference for the interpretation of these distribution. For his research Csapodi used the most important handbooks of Hungarian bibliography.¹⁵ The following diagrams are based on his data.

The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1531 and 1800 (based on data of Csaba Csapodi’s research)



Percentage distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom by language between 1531 and 1800 (based data of Csaba Csapodi’s research)



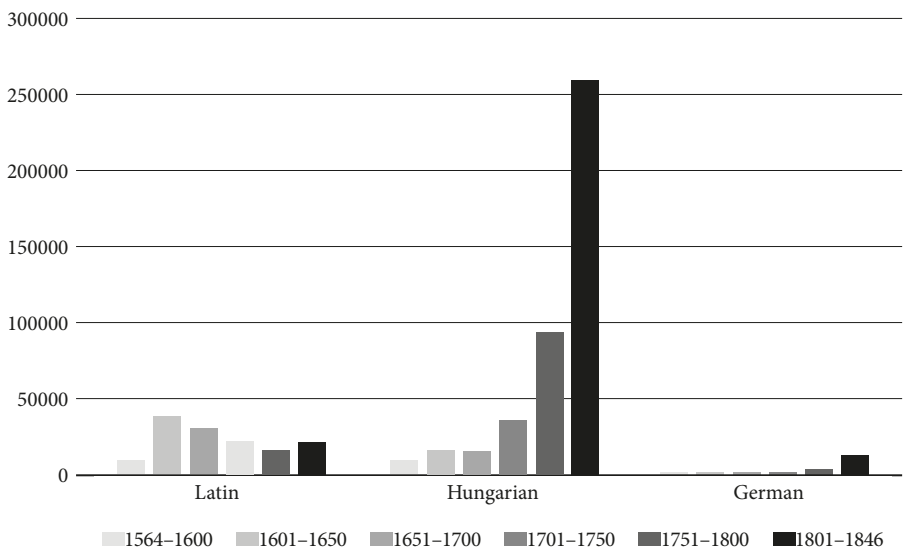
¹⁴ Csaba Csapodi, “A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig” [The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom until 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), pp. 98–104.

¹⁵ Károly Szabó, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* [The Old Hungarian Library], 2 vols., Budapest 1879–1885; Géza Petrik, *Magyarország bibliographiája 1712–1860* [Hungarian bibliography 1712–1860], 4 vols., Budapest 1888–1892 and their later supplements.

Both bibliographical diagrams are consistent with the proportions and changes indicated by the data on Neo-Latin literary oeuvres in the literary lexicons. Not only did the number of authors writing in Latin increase steadily from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, but the same steady increase (13-fold growth!) appears in a number of Latin-language publications. And the percentages show that the eighteenth-century Péter Bod was realistic in indicating that nearly 45% of the written culture in Hungary was related to Latin. The chronological distribution is also similar to that of the literary lexicons: the proportion of Latin-language printed works in the total corpus remained the same (around 42%) at the end of the eighteenth century as it was in the sixteenth century.

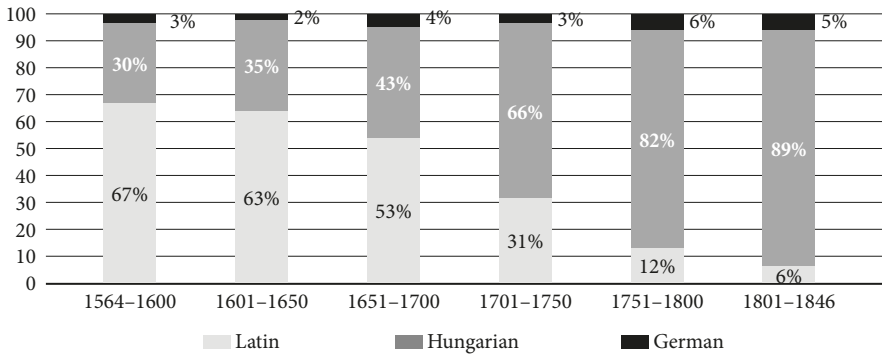
The extent to which these proportions and changes are special and different from those in Western Europe can be illustrated by Friedrich Paulsen's research.¹⁶ Paulsen, a researcher on the history of German education, examined the linguistic distribution of printed publications advertised in German fair catalogues (Messkataloge) between 1564 and 1846. The data from his research are visualised in the diagrams below.

**The language distribution of printed publications
from fair catalogues of the German book market
from 1564–1846 (based in data of
Friedrich Paulsen's research)**



¹⁶ Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, 3rd enl. ed., Berlin and Leipzig 1919, pp. 627–628.

**Percentage distribution of printed publications from fair catalogues of the German book market from 1564–1846
(based in data of Friedrich Paulsen’s research)**



According to the Paulsen diagrams, there was no significant increase in the number of Latin-language publications in the German-speaking area, and instead, there was a clear stagnation. The percentage of Latin printed publications in Germany declined sharply from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, falling to only a tenth of a percent during this period. This comparative perspective highlights, that the importance of Latinity in Hungary was very different from the trends in Western Europe, with a large and undiminished share of Latin in the written culture of Hungary. Its uniqueness was especially evident in the data from the eighteenth century.

It is equally important to understand the differences in the data of the three Hungarian literary lexicons. The lexicons written in three different centuries all show that the number of Neo-Latin texts and authors increased due to book printing from the sixteenth century. This trend continued, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were a large number of authors who also wrote in Latin. However, according to the Szinnyei’s lexicon, the nineteenth-century Neo-Latin references are surprisingly numerous, while the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* shows less of it. This difference can be explained by the changes in the three basic characteristics of the encyclopaedic tradition: the territorial definition of the community of Hungarian writers, the mapping of the entire written culture and the apologetic character. In the case of Szinnyei’s lexicon, the first two characteristics are preserved. Instead of apologetic intention, however, Szinnyei was motivated by the precision, accuracy and encyclopaedic completeness of the positivist academic approach.¹⁷ However,

¹⁷ About the positivist approach to philology and the humanities see Wolfgang Kaltenbrunner, “Literary Positivism? Scientific Theories and Methods in the Work of Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) and Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886)”, *Studium* 3 (2010), pp. 74–88 and Franz Leander Fillafer and Johannes Feichtinger, “Habsburg Positivism: The Politics of Positive Knowledge in Imperial and Post-Imperial Austria, 1804–1938”, in: *The Worlds of Positivism*, ed. J. Feichtinger, F. L. Fillafer, and J. Surman, New York 2018, pp. 191–238.

none of these features have been preserved in the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*. The ethnic principle dominates the definition of the community of Hungarian writers here instead of the territorial principle. The second characteristic, namely the mapping of written culture as a totality, also does not apply to the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*. This lexicon only lists authors who wrote fiction, *belles lettres*, and is rather selective. Lastly, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* neither has the apologetic ambition nor the positivist encyclopaedic thoroughness: it is a highly selective collection of major authors based on canonical and aesthetic criteria.

These changes are unfavourable for authors who published their works in Latin during the nineteenth century. A significant number of them were not native Hungarian speakers, and there is a large amount of non-fiction works among the Neo-Latin texts, such as legal, medical, or ecclesiastical treatises. In their own time, during the nineteenth century, Neo-Latin authors were also marginalized by their contemporaries. Despite of these three limiting factors, nineteenth-century Latin authors still account for 6% of the total Neo-Latin authors' corpus, and the proportion of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Latin authors is as high as 40%. This contrasts with the generally accepted opinion that the Golden Age of Neo-Latin literature ends with the seventeenth century: it has certainly not ended, at least in Hungary. Based on the data, it is expected that narrative literary history manuals will focus on the strong presence of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary up to the end of the nineteenth century.

The narrative tradition of literary history handbooks

As well as the encyclopaedic manuals, the first narrative manuals of Hungarian literary history were published in Latin during the eighteenth century. The most important handbooks of the narrative tradition are:

- Matthias Bél, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713
- Michael Rotarides, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medii atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literariam introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745*
- Paul Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808
- Sámuel Pápay, *A magyar literatura esmérete két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808
- Ferenc Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebb időktől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865

- *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895
- Jenő Pintér, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941
- *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sőtér, Budapest 1964–1966
- *A magyar irodalom történetei* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008
- *Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010

Matthias Bél and Michael Rotarides have proposed outlines for the elaboration of a Hungarian literary-historical narrative. Bél's book¹⁸ proposes to write the history of the Hungarian language and build a narrative of cultural history around it. This does not mean that he did not consider Neo-Latin works to be a part of Hungarian culture. As an intellectual with a Hungarus identity, Bél expressed his own identity in Latin as “lingua Slavus, natione Hungarus, eruditione Germanus.”¹⁹ He wrote his scientific books only in Latin. In addition to his draft on the history of the Hungarian language, he also wrote a German grammar for Hungarian speakers,²⁰ a Hungarian grammar for Germans,²¹ and a foreword for Pál Doleschall's Slovak grammar book.²²

Rotarides wrote a volume during his university years in Wittenberg that served as an introduction to a survey of literary history.²³ Unfortunately, he passed away before he could complete the entire work, which would have consisted of five volumes. The first volume was published in 1745 and gives a theoretical introduction

¹⁸ Matthias Bél, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713. About Matthias Bél's cultural projects see Andor Tarnai, “Mátyás Bél und die ungarische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986), pp. 165–175; István Soós, “Die ‘Notitia’ von Matthias Bel und das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)”, in: *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mengersdorf 2003*, ed. F. Rozman, Maribor 2005, pp. 47–68.

¹⁹ Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe*, New York 1976, pp. 15–16.

²⁰ Matthias Bél, *Institutiones linguae germanicae. Atque de linguae germanicae et slavicae in Hungaria ortu, propagatione et dialectis praefatus est*, Levoča 1718.

²¹ Matthias Bél, *Der Ungarische Sprachmeister, oder kurze Anweisung zu der edlen ungarischen Sprache*, Bratislava 1725.

²² Pál Doleschall, *Grammatica slavico-bohemica, in qua, praeter alia, ratio accuratae descriptionis et flexionis, quae in hac lingua magnis difficultatibus laborat, et genuinis fundamentis, in Hungaria insinuator, cum appendice*, Bratislava 1746, pp. 1–20.

²³ Michael Rotarides, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medii atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literarium introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745*. About Rotarides' literary history see Paul Kárpáti, Béla Szent-Iványi, and Andor Tarnai, “Das Stammbuch von Michael Rotarides”, in: *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung: Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. A. V. Isacenko, W. Wissmann, H. Strohbach, Berlin 1965, pp. 214–230, and Erika Brtáňová, “Rotarides's Reception and Summary of the History of Hungarian Education”, *Slovenská literatúra* 48 (2001), no. 4, pp. 310–317.

that describes the subject of the *historia litteraria* and the outline of Rotarides' work. The second volume would have discussed the history of writing, while the third would have included a historical narrative on the origins and development of science in Hungary, along with its major authors, books, and institutions. The fourth volume would have covered educational history, and the fifth would have been a writers' lexicon. It is clear from the introductory volume that Rotarides had a broad concept of literary culture. He intended to use the territorial principle to determine the Hungarian identity of authors and advocated for the literary use of the vernacular language, but only for science popularization. For him, Latin was the language of science. Therefore, his literary-historical narrative would certainly have included the works and achievements of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Wallaszky's book²⁴ followed the plan of Rotarides' third volume, which covers the origins and development of Hungarian literacy, sciences, important authors, books, and institutions arranged chronologically. Wallaszky provides a detailed account of cultural and social institutions of the time, such as schools, printing houses, and libraries. He also applied the territorial principle to the identity of works and authors. In the last chapter, he notes that due to the country's linguistic and religious diversity, he believes learning Latin as a *lingua franca* is necessary and learning German is preferable, as the introduction of native language education is not feasible.²⁵ In a footnote, Wallaszky writes about a passionate yet somewhat blinded effort in the last decades to convert state administration and public life from Latin to Hungarian, which has not found followers in the annexed parts of the Kingdom.²⁶

²⁴ Paul Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808. About Wallaszky's work see Anna Bátori, "A tudás hálózatai: Wallaszky Pál historia litterariája és a 18. századi tudástranszfer" [Networks of knowledge: the *historia litteraria* of Pál Wallaszky and the transfer of knowledge in the 18th century], *Irodalomismeret* 3 (2016), pp. 35–63.

²⁵ "Nimirum: 1.) Spectata nationum, linguarum, et Religionum varietate, Regni incolae sunt valde dissimiles. Sunt loca quidem, ubi unica viget lingua, et unica inter iuventutem Religio; sed sunt etiam, ubi unica est in usu lingua, et duae dissimiles Religiones; porro, ubi duae linguae, et unica Religio, atque denique, ubi (quod quidem rarissimum) complures linguae, ac Religiones discrepantes, inter discipulos obtinent. Libri itaque Scholarum quoquomodo impellent. 2.) Considerandum venit, latini sermonis notitiam iis, qui Hungariam eique iunctas Provincias incolunt, vehementer esse necessariam, ideo in ludis his, nonnulli adolescentes ad studium hoc praeparari debent. 3.) Germanicae linguae usus insigniter est utilis. Quare cognitio eius omnibus promiscue discipulis (successu temporis) imprimenda est." Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae*, pp. 488–489.

²⁶ "Zelus hic Linguam Hungaricam excolendi a morte Aug. Iosephi II. in primis est luculentus. In Ratione Educationis Theresianae, praescribatur prae ceteris doceri in scholis inferioribus lingua Germanica. Aug. Iosephus II. evexit eam ad dignitatem Linguae vernaculae, universalis et Diplomaticae in Hungaria. Omnes Constitutiones Regiae, Mandata et responsa ad Dicasteria Regni eadem scripta, eadem in illis acta, immo in rebus ad Ius in Foris dicendum pertinentibus iamiam inducenda fuerat. Id quod Nationi omnino placere non potuit. Post mortem eius itaque excitata, tanto magis urget usum idiomatis sui et in omnibus Institutis Litterariis culturam, Sanctione Regia et Lege Publica demandatam. Immo multi Comitatus, in Foris quoque Iuridicis eam induxerunt. In reliquis Coronae adnexis Provinciis, pro institutione extra ordinem est proposita, quibus satis fuerit, peculiarem eius Magistrum latinis in scholis conservare." Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae*, p. 567.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Latin *historia litteraria* volumes were replaced by Samuel Pápay's literary history,²⁷ which represented a significant shift in approach, not only because it was written in Hungarian. The first part of Pápay's volume deals with the origin, characteristics, and development of the Hungarian language, while the second part describes the development of literary culture based on this narrative. Pápay's definition of literature is clear: he sees it as literacy embodied in written culture. However, Pápay introduces the concept of Hungarian national literature, which he interprets as literacy written in the Hungarian language. This approach shapes his entire narrative: he aims to present only the history of Hungarian-language literacy and excludes Latin works or Latin authors. In the context of the Middle Ages, from which there are hardly any surviving Hungarian-language texts, Pápay is even ready to deviate from his own definition of literacy and prove extensively and hypothetically that during the Middle Ages the verbal part of culture was in Hungarian. Pápay concludes his book with a call for the promotion of the Hungarian language, suggesting that it should be used instead of Latin in all areas of life. His model is German literature, whose development he attributes to the fact that Germans marginalized Latin literacy.²⁸ In Pápay's narrative, Neo-Latin literature is excluded from the realm of national literature and is relegated to a kind of intellectual no-man's-land.

Ferenc Toldy's two-volume literary history from 1864–1865 is considered the first professional work of Hungarian literary history.²⁹ Toldy defines literary history as a narrative that outlines the developments and connections within a special field of written culture. According to him

the entire or universal literary history of a nation covers all branches of literary production, that is to say, works of a strictly scientific nature and in different languages; a national

²⁷ Sámuel Pápay, *A magyar irodalom története két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808. About Pápay's book see István Margócsy, "Pápay Sámuel és Literatúrája" [Sámuel Pápay and his Literatúra], *Irodalomtörténet* 62 (1980), pp. 377–404.

²⁸ "Tudgyuk, hogy ekkor az Ausztriai Birodalomban is, valamint nálunk és más Európaiaknál, a Deák Nyelv volt mind az Országálsnak, mind az Oskolai Tanításnak Nyelve, és ez némelly Európaiaknál ugyan nem sokára meghanyatlott, de állandóan tartott az majd minden Német Tartományokban szin-te a múlt 18dik Századnak közepéig; mert jól tudgyuk azt is, hogy alig van több ötven esztendejénél, miólta Német Ország a' Deáksággal alább hagyván, jobban kezdette gyarapítani nemzeti Literatúráját. Mit keresünk ennél több okot arra, hogy a múlt Századig, miért nem mehetett elő a mi nemzeti Lite-ratúránk?" (We know that at that time in the Austrian Empire, as well as in ours and in other Euro-peans, Latin was the language of both the Kingdom and the education, and that it soon declined in some European country, but continued to do so in almost all the German Provinces until almost the middle of the last eighteenth century; for it is well known that it is scarcely more than fifty years since this German Country, having abandoned Latin, began to enrich its national literature more. What more reason can we seek why, until the last century, our national literature could not progress?) Pápay, *A magyar irodalom története*, pp. 459–460. The quoted text here and in the following footnotes was translated by Piroska Balogh.

²⁹ Ferenc Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebb időktől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865. About Toldy's literary history volumes see Péter Dávidházi, *Egy nemzeti tu-domány születése. Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* [The birth of a national science: Ferenc Toldy and the history of Hungarian literature], Budapest 2004.

literary history, on the other hand, treats of works in the language of the nation in their causal context, with particular reference to those in which the characteristics of the national spirit are particularly manifest, namely, poetry and oratory, philosophy, religious studies and historiography: not neglecting, however, the literature of the exact, i.e. geometrical, natural and practical sciences. Finally, it takes account of the internal changes of language as a medium for literary works, and this is the internal history of language; and of its external vicissitudes, which is called the external history of language. Both are important, because the internal state and development of language and the quality of literary works are mutually determined, and the richness, fashion and impact of literature depend on its external state.³⁰

Toldy structures his historical narrative around the development of the Hungarian language. Within the chapters, he first discusses the given stage of language development, then continues with an overview of the fictional literary genres, and finally describes the written products of sciences. Despite discussing the Middle Ages and Humanism, Toldy does not cover Latin literary works and genres and hardly mentions the name of the most important humanist Neo-Latin poet, Janus Pannonius. Toldy also purportedly ignores Neo-Latin artistic literature of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. He only mentions Latin handbooks of classical philology and aesthetics regarding scientific literature, but not in a positive way:

Two eminent aesthetes, Michael Greguss and Lajos Schedius, explained the beautiful orally and in writing. Greguss followed Bouterwek, while Schedius, with his keen wit, created a new system, but in Latin, which did not affect life outside the walls of the university.³¹

As a result, Neo-Latin literature, both fictional and academic works, was placed almost entirely outside the scope of Hungarian literary history.

Zsolt Beöthy was the editor-in-chief of a handbook published in the late nineteenth century.³² While he created the concept and introduction, experts wrote the

³⁰ “Valamely nemzet összes vagy egyetemes irodalomtörténete kiterjed az irodalmi munkásság minden ágaira, tehát a szorosan tudományos és különböző nyelveken készített művekre is; a nemzeti irodalomtörténet ellenben a nemzet nyelvén készült műveket tárgyalja okbeli összefüggésekben, különös tekintettel azokra, mikben a nemzeti szellem sajátosságai különösen nyilatkoznak, tehát a költészet és szónoklatra, a bölcsészetre, vallástudományra és történetírásra: nem mellőzve mégis az exact, vagyis mértani, természeti, s az ezeken alapuló gyakorlati tudományok irodalmát sem. Végre figyelemmel van a nyelvnek, mint az irodalmi művek közegének, koronkénti mind belső változásaira, s ez a belső nyelvtörténet; mind külső viszonyosságaira, s ez külső nyelvtörténetnek nevezetik. Mindkettő fontos, mert a nyelv belső állapotja és fejlődése, s az irodalmi művek becse, kölcsönösen határozzák egymást, annak külső állapotjaitól pedig az irodalom gazdagsága, divata és hatása függ.” Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom*, p. 2.

³¹ “Két jeles szépész, Greguss Mihály és Schedius Lajos élő szóval és irodalmilag fejtegették a szépet, amaz Bouterwek nyomában haladva, ez éles észszel új rendszert alkotva: de latinúl, amiért az iskola falai közül ki nem hatottak az életre.” Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom*, pp. 255–256.

³² *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895. About Beöthy’s concept on national literary history see Zoltán Szénási, “A magyar nemzet tudat kis-tükre: Beöthy Zsolt irodalomtörténeti szintéziséről” [The Hungarian nation-consciousness in miniature: on Zsolt Beöthy’s synthesis of literary history], in: *Kösziklára építve: írások Dávidházi Péter*

individual chapters. These experts were influenced by contemporary programmatic publications of Neo-Latin texts. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences launched the first institutional series of scientific Neo-Latin text editions in 1857, mainly publishing historical sources under the title *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*.³³ The requirements of contextual research and encyclopaedic accuracy, emphasized by positivism,³⁴ helped some segments of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature to be reintegrated into the narrative of national literature. As a result, Beöthy's definition of national literature became less language-centered than Toldy's. Beöthy defined national literature as

the totality of intellectual works for the whole nation. It is not limited to books written in the Hungarian language, but every work of the Hungarian spirit, whether it lives on the lips of the people or is written down or published in print, whose conception, purpose, subject, or performance expresses the soul, thinking, feeling, imagination, or at least something of it, of the nation. We see no intrinsic reason to exclude from literature, or even national literature, so to speak, works in Latin that characterise Hungarian minds as Hungarian minds.³⁵

This definition made it possible, for example, to interpret Latin medieval chronicles as part of Hungarian literature:

although it was written in Latin, it was created within the walls of a cloister, isolated from the world. But the beating of the Hungarian heart resounds through the Latin robe, and the sun of patriotism shines through the monotonous life of a monk.³⁶

Beöthy's handbook includes a long chapter on Latin humanism in Hungary, which refers to eighteenth-century editions of Janus Pannonius' Latin poems. However, these concessions were only valid until the fifteenth century. The volume's concept is that "Latin poetry was buried by the national movement of the sixteenth century."³⁷ Therefore, from the seventeenth century onwards the volume does not describe Latin authors and works at all.

tiszteletére [Built on rock: writings in honour of Péter Dávidházi], ed. D. Panka, N. Pikli, and V. Rutkay, Budapest 2018, pp. 367–373.

³³ The 105 volumes of the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* (1857–1917) see online: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/product/MTHNHS/>.

³⁴ See note 17.

³⁵ "Az irodalom mai fogalmának meghatározása: az egész nemzetnek szóló szellemi alkotások összessége. A magyar irodalmat nem minden magyar nyelven írott könyv képezi; hanem a magyar szellemnek minden olyan alkotása, éljen bár csak a nép ajkán, vagy legyen írásba jegyezve avagy nyomtatásban közzétéve, amelynek fölfogása, célzata, tárgya vagy előadása által megnyilatkozik a nemzet lelke, gondolkodása, érzése, képzelete, vagy legalább valami belőle. Semmi belső okát nem látjuk, hogy az irodalom, vagy ha úgy tetszik, akár nemzeti irodalom köréből ki legyenek zárva a magyar elméket magyar elmékül jellemző deák nyelvű munkák." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 8.

³⁶ "... bár latin nyelven szól, bár egy klostornak a világtól elzárt falai közt jött létre. De a latin köntösön áthallatszik a magyar szív dobbanása, és a hazafiság napja besugározza a szerzetes élet egyformaságát." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 138.

³⁷ "A latin költészetet a 16. század nemzeti áramlata elfedte." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 100.

In the early twentieth century, the study of Neo-Latin texts in Hungarian philology gained momentum due to the influence of the comparatist approach. The publishing of Latin texts from the Hungarian humanist period began with the *Analecta nova* series,³⁸ followed by the publication of two volumes of *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*.³⁹ In 1930, László Juhász initiated the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum* series, which is still ongoing.⁴⁰ These philological initiatives played a significant role in the emergence of the Hungarian Neo-Latin literary narrative, which is covered in separate chapters of Jenő Pintér's eight-volume *A magyar irodalom története* (The history of Hungarian literature) published between 1930 and 1941.⁴¹ Pintér's volumes have distinct chapters on the "Neo-Latin literature" of the period up until the early nineteenth century. Pintér adopts a linguistically tolerant, territorial approach to the Hungarus identity, devoting separate chapters to German, Slovak, Romanian, and Serbian literature within the Hungarian Kingdom. However, these texts and authors are discussed as appendices, in short chapters, detached from the primary narrative of Hungarian literature.

In 1978, a six-volume history of Hungarian literature was published, which was given the nickname "Spinach" due to its green cover.⁴² This handbook focuses primarily on fiction, with academic and scientific literature being completely excluded from its scope. The chapters written by experts in the field represent the most important texts and authors of Neo-Latin literature.⁴³ However, the handbook only covers the history of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature until 1772, which is the end of the Baroque period, and only in the first two volumes. Like Pintér's manual, this handbook also treats Neo-Latin literature after the medieval and humanist periods as an isolated appendix.

The two recent handbooks were not created to provide a complete history of Hungarian literature. The main idea behind the handbook edited by Szegedy-Maszák in

³⁸ The full title of the series is: *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, iussu Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae ex scriptis ab Eugenio Ábel relictis cum commentariis edidit partimque auxit Stephanus Hegedűs*. The list of the volumes see at the database of *Repertorium Fontium Medii Aevi Historiae Hungaricae*, <https://rf.mgyi.abtk.hu/index.php?category=sercoll&azonosito=80>.

³⁹ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols., ed. I. Szentpétery, Budapest 1938.

⁴⁰ The volumes of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum* series are available online: *Nemzeti Klasszikus Kritikai Kiadásai* [Critical editions of classic Hungarian literature], <https://szovegtar.iti.mta.hu/hu/sorozatok/bsmraef/>. About László Juhász see Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, "Juhász László és a Bibliotheca" [László Juhász and the Bibliotheca], in: *Filológia és textológia a régi magyar irodalomban* [Philology and textology in Old Hungarian literature], ed. G. Kecskeméti and R. Tasi, Miskolc 2012, pp. 53–62.

⁴¹ Jenő Pintér, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941. About Pintér's see László Bóka, *Arcképvázlatok és tanulmányok* [Portraits and studies], Budapest 1962, pp. 147–148.

⁴² *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sötér, Budapest 1964–1966.

⁴³ About the Hungarian Neo-Latin experts of the second half of the twentieth century see László Havas, "Ricerche sulla letteratura mediolatina e neolatina in Ungheria nella seconda metà del secolo XX e alle soglie del nuovo millennio: Dai centri di ricerche ai programmi nazionali...", *Camoenae Hungaricae* 2 (2005), pp. 127–142.

2008 is that the history of Hungarian literature cannot be told in a single narrative but rather it consists of several different narratives.⁴⁴ Each chapter of the handbook focuses on a particular topic, maintaining chronological order, and is associated with a specific significant date. The chapters that discuss the period up to the seventeenth century often include observations on Latin texts. However, the last chapter that discusses a Neo-Latin book written by a Hungarian author for more than a sentence is the chapter with the date of 1743, which talks about Ferenc Faludi's poetry that was partly written in Latin. In the eighteenth-century chapters, there are only some general indications of Neo-Latin texts that are mentioned in half-sentences. In the nineteenth-century chapters, there are no such references.

The so-called "Blue Whale", a blue covered volume from 2010, serves as a textbook for university students.⁴⁵ Its aim is to provide a highly selective and canonical view of the single narrative for didactic purposes. While the volume does not have any specific chapters dedicated to Neo-Latin literature, it does contain frequent sub-chapters that refer to Latin texts up until the seventeenth century. The last Latin-language text mentioned is Bálint Kocsis Csergő's memoir from 1728, which is presented in a single sentence. In the eighteenth-century chapters, there are some references to the Latin newspapers of the period, the Latin part of the public literature, and the significance of Latin in education, however, no specific Latin texts or authors are mentioned with title or name.

Conclusion

This overview has revealed how the development of the nation-centered narrative and the limited view of literacy reduced to fiction have impacted the historiography of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary. It is highly likely that a similar pattern exists in Central and Eastern European literary historiography, despite the present absence of any similar researches and studies. This hypothesis has the potential to shed light on new perspectives in literary research and reveal important connections and implications that have been overlooked so far. The historiographical methodology and attitude outlined in the paper has resulted, that the Neo-Latin literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is considered a significant part of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature, has been excluded from literary historical narratives. This period saw 70% of the Hungarian Neo-Latin authors and 40% of the Hungarian Neo-Latin *belles lettres* writers living and writing. Moreover, even when discussing sixteenth and seventeenth-century literature, the narrative textbooks mention the Neo-Latin literature only in an appendix. Thus, a schizophrenic split between the encyclopaedic

⁴⁴ *A magyar irodalom története* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008.

⁴⁵ *Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010.

literary history manuals working with data and the handbooks based on narratives has been formed. This process was also reinforced by the fact that the series of critical editions of Neo-Latin texts focused specifically on the period of humanism and on historical source texts. It is also noteworthy that there are no Hungarian translations or critical commentaries of the here mentioned eighteenth-century Latin literary history manuals, which contradict the tradition focusing solely on the Hungarian language. These manuals are currently only available to experts who understand Latin.

Therefore, Hungary possesses a vast reservoir of cultural heritage from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, written in Neo-Latin, which remained largely undiscovered: a kind of submerged Atlantis. To bring these texts to light and reintegrate them into the literary discourse, the first step is to translate and publish them in critical academic editions. Encouragingly, progress is being made in this area, with translations and commentaries of the manuals of two important Hungarian professors of aesthetics being published in four volumes,⁴⁶ and the establishment of a research group on eighteenth-century Latin poets at the Institute of Literary Studies of the HUN-REN Research Network. This group will publish eighteenth and nineteenth-century Latin lyric poetry, not only with Hungarian translations and commentaries but also in English. However, this paper demonstrates that a significant shift in approach and methodology, as well as the extension of international collaboration, will be necessary to fully reintegrate these Neo-Latin texts into the discourse of representative narrative literary history handbooks in the future.

Bibliography

- A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895.
- A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sötér, Budapest 1964–1966.
- A magyar irodalom történetei* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008.
- Aspaas, Per Pippin, and László Kontler, “Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 95–118.

⁴⁶ Balogh, “Aesthetics at the Royal University”, pp. 150–152. The four volumes of the Hungarian translations from Latin are: *Doctrina pulcri. Schedius Lajos János széptani írásai* [Doctrina pulcri. Johann Ludwig Schedius’s writings on aesthetics], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2005; *Szerdahely György Alajos esztétikai írásai. I. Aesthetica (1778)* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. I. Aesthetica (1778)], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2012; *Szerdahely György Alajos esztétikai írásai. II. Szakészeti művek* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. II. Subdisciplinary aesthetic writings], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2024.

- Balogh, Piroska, "Aesthetics at the Royal University of Hungary (1774–1843)", in: *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, ed. P. Balogh and G. Fórizs, Hannover 2018, pp. 133–152.
- Balogh, Piroska, "Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 9 (2024), no. 1, pp. 30–48.
- Balogh, Piroska, "The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-century Hungary", in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 166–189.
- Bátori, Anna, "A tudás hálózatai: Wallaszky Pál historia litterariaja és a 18. századi tudástranszfer" [Networks of knowledge: the *historia litteraria* of Pál Wallaszky and the transfer of knowledge in the 18th century], *Irodalomismeret* 3 (2016), pp. 35–63.
- Bél, Matthias, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713.
- Bél, Matthias, *Institutiones linguae germanicae. Atque de linguae germanicae et slavicae in Hungaria ortu, propagatione et dialectis praefatus est*, Levoča 1718.
- Bél, Matthias, *Der Ungarische Sprachmeister, oder kurze Anweisung zu der edlen ungarischen Sprache*, Bratislava 1725.
- Bod Péter, *a historia litteraria művelője* [Péter Bod, a researcher of *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Tüskés, R. I. Csörsz, and B. Hegedűs, Budapest 2004.
- Bod, Péter, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudós embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe botosított írások által esméretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendőök alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athen or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766
- Bóka, László, *Arcképvázlatok és tanulmányok* [Portraits and studies], Budapest 1962.
- Brock, Peter, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe*, New York 1976.
- Brtáňová, Erika, "Rotarides's Reception and Summary of the History of Hungarian Education", *Slovenská literatúra* 48 (2001), no. 4, pp. 310–317.
- Csapodi, Csaba, "A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig" [The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom until 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), pp. 98–104.
- Czvittinger, Dávid, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711.
- Dávidházi, Péter, *Egy nemzeti tudomány születése. Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* [The birth of a national science: Ferenc Toldy and the history of Hungarian literature], Budapest 2004.

- Doctrina pulcri. Schedius Lajos János széptani írásai* [Doctrina pulcri: Johann Ludwig Schedius's writings on aesthetics], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2005.
- Doleschall, Pál, *Grammatica slavico-bohemica, in qua, praeter alia, ratio accuratae scriptionis et flexionis, quae in hac lingua magnis difficultatibus laborat, et genuinis fundamentis, in Hungaria insinuator, cum appendice*, Bratislava 1746.
- Evans, Robert John Weston, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford 2006.
- Fillafer, Franz Leander, and Johannes Feichtinger, “Habsburg Positivism: The Politics of Positive Knowledge in Imperial and Post-Imperial Austria, 1804–1938”, in: *The Worlds of Positivism*, ed. J. Feichtinger, F. L. Fillafer, and J. Surman, New York 2018, pp. 191–238.
- Gulyás, Pál, *Magyar írók élete és munkái – új sorozat* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers—new series], Budapest 1939–1944 (A–Dz) and 1990–2002 (E–Ö).
- Havas, László, “La naissance de la littérature hongroise en latin (Entre la civilisation byzantine et la culture latine occidentale)”, *Camoenae Hungaricae* 1 (2004), pp. 7–50.
- Havas, László, “Ricerche sulla letteratura mediolatina e neolatina in Ungheria nella seconda metà del secolo XX e alle soglie del nuovo millennio: Dai centri di ricerche ai programmi nazionali...”, *Camoenae Hungaricae* 2 (2005), pp. 127–142.
- Hőnich, Henrik, “Which Language and which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 35–63.
- Horányi, Elek, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, 3 vols., Vienna 1775–1777.
- Kaltenbrunner, Wolfgang, “Literary Positivism? Scientific Theories and Methods in the Work of Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) and Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886)”, *Studium* 3 (2010), pp. 74–88.
- Kárpáti, Paul, Béla Szent-Iványi, and Andor Tarnai, “Das Stammbuch von Michael Rotarides”, in: *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung: Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. A. V. Isacenko, W. Wissmann, H. Strohbach, Berlin 1965, pp. 214–230.
- Knapp, Éva, and Gábor Tüskés, “Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century”, in: *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. I. Bartók, Budapest 2005, pp. 37–54.
- Latinitas Hungarica: Lacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. J. Axer and L. Szörényi, Warsaw 2013.
- Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [Hungarian Literary Lexicon], 3 vols., ed. M. Benedek, Budapest 1963–1965.
- Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010.
- Margócsy, István, “Pápay Sámuel és Litertúrája” [Sámuel Pápay and his Literatúra], *Irodalomtörténet* 62 (1980), pp. 377–404.
- Miskolczy, Ambrus, “‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism”, in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 64–94.
- Pápay, Sámuel, *A magyar literatúra esmérete két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808.

- Paulsen, Friedrich, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, 3rd enl. ed., Berlin and Leipzig 1919.
- Petrik, Géza, *Magyarország bibliographiája 1712–1860* [Hungarian bibliography 1712–1860], 4 vols., Budapest 1888–1892.
- Pintér, Jenő, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941.
- Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes, “Juhász László és a Bibliotheca” [László Juhász and the Bibliotheca], in: *Filológia és textológia a régi magyar irodalomban* [Philology and textology in Old Hungarian literature], ed. G. Kecskeméti and R. Tasi, Miskolc 2012, pp. 53–62.
- Rotarides, Michael, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medi atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literarium introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari*, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745.
- Seidler, Andrea, “The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 152–165.
- Soós, István, “Die ‘Notitia’ von Matthias Bel und das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)”, in: *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 2003*, ed. F. Rozman, Maribor 2005, pp. 47–68.
- Szabó, Károly, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* [The Old Hungarian Library], 2 vols., Budapest 1879–1885.
- Szénási, Zoltán, “A magyar nemzet tudat kis-tükre: Beöthy Zsolt irodalomtörténeti szintéziséről” [The Hungarian nation-consciousness in miniature: on Zsolt Beöthy’s synthesis of literary history], in: *Kösziklára építve: írások Dávidházi Péter tiszteletére* [Built on rock: writings in honour of Péter Dávidházi], ed. D. Panka, N. Pikli, and V. Ruttkay, Budapest 2018, pp. 367–373.
- Szerdahely György Alajos *esztétikai írásai. I. Aesthetica (1778)* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. I. Aesthetica (1778)], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2012.
- Szerdahely György Alajos *esztétikai írásai. II. Szakesztétikai művek* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. II. Subdisciplinary aesthetic writings], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2024.
- Szinnyei József *halálának 100. évfordulójáról megemlékező centenáriumi emlékkönyv* [Centenary book commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of József Szinnyei], ed. É. Szőnyi, Budapest 2014.
- Szinnyei, József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914.
- Szörényi, László, “Neulateinische lyrische Dichtung im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts und die antike Tradition”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. S. P. Revard, F. Radle, and M. A. Di Cesare, Binghamton and New York 1988, pp. 153–162.
- Tarnai, Andor, “Egy magyarországi tudós külföldön: Czvittinger és a Specimen” [A Hungarian scientist abroad: Czvittinger and Specimen], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993), pp. 16–38.

- Tarnai, Andor, “Mátyás Bél und die ungarische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986), pp. 165–175.
- Tarnai, Andor, *Tanulmányok a magyarországi historia litteraria történetéről* [Studies on the history of Hungarian *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Kecskeméti, Budapest 2004.
- Tarnai, Andor, “Die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Mitteleuropa im 16.–18. Jahrhundert”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1962), pp. 338–341.
- Toldy, Ferenc, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebb időkől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865.
- Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000.
- Wallaszky, Paul, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808.

PIROSKA BALOGH

- 🏠 Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Culture; HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for Humanities
- ✉ balogh.piroska[at]btk.elte.hu
- 🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5075-0748>

Piroska Balogh is habilitated associate professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Cultural Studies, senior researcher of Research Group on 18th-Century Latin Poets (HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for Humanities, Institute of Literary Studies) and Doctor Scientiae of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her research interests include neohumanism, Neo-Latin poetry, history of aesthetics, the Republic of Letters, and Latin journalism. She has published widely on the above-mentioned topics and co-edited with Gergely Főríz two volumes titled *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2018) and *Angewandte anthropologische Ästhetik. Konzepte und Praktiken 1700–1900 / Applied Anthropological Aesthetics. Concepts and Practices 1700–1900* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2020). List of publications: <https://m2.mtmt.hu/api/author/10013090>.