

ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	XLIV.	2008.	p. 151–158.
--	-------	-------	-------------

## REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP ON THE *ADMONITIONS* OF KING SAINT STEPHEN OF HUNGARY

BY ELŐD NEMERKÉNYI

*In memory of Zoltán J. Kosztoľnyik*

*Abstract.* The purpose of the following discussion is to demonstrate that the philological study of the *fortuna* of the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary provides important contributions to the characteristic stages of the development of Latinist scholarship from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance until today. The *Admonitions*, a mirror of princes composed in the eleventh century and attributed to the first Christian king of Hungary, has attracted pious and scholarly attention for a millennium – including the hagiographic tradition of medieval Hungary and the legal tradition of the *Corpus iuris Hungarici*. Based on its late manuscript tradition, hypercritical scholars suggested that the *Admonitions* was a humanist forgery or at least an interpolated and stylistically polished text. From the Renaissance on, philologists and editors have addressed various issues of textual criticism such as the problem of dating and authorship, grammatical features (orthography, morphology, and syntax), stylistic devices (vocabulary, prose rhyme and rhythm), and textual parallels (Biblical, Classical, and Carolingian Latin). The way scholars have studied the Latinity of the *Admonitions* against the standards of Classical, Medieval, and Humanistic Latin for centuries reveals a great deal about their own approaches to their Latinist trade in particular – and therefore about Neo-Latin studies in general.

The purpose of the following discussion is to demonstrate that the philological study of the *fortuna* of the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary provides important contributions to the characteristic stages of the development of Latinist scholarship from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance until today. The editorial statement in the opening issue of the new Hungarian journal devoted to Neo-Latin studies, *Camoenae Hungaricae*, declares the following about the *Admonitions*: “its approach and reception had a substantial influence on the Humanism and later periods, that is, Neo-Latin history, law, and literature.”<sup>1</sup> The modern translations of this work also attest to its appeal even beyond Hungarian scholarship.<sup>2</sup> Since the relevant modern research done by Hungarian

<sup>1</sup> L. Szörényi, *Candido lectori salutem. Camoenae Hungaricae* 1 (2004) 3.

<sup>2</sup> E. Jordan, *Les Exhortations de saint Etienne. Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31 (1938) 130–138; J.M. Bak – J.R. Sweeney, *De institutione morum ad Emericum ducem: To Prince Imre concerning Instruction in Virtuous Conduct. New Hungarian Quarterly* 29 (1988) 98–105; D. Tessore, ed., *Stefano d’Ungheria: Esortazioni al figlio – Leggi e decreti. Rome* 2001, 37–69.

medievalists has recently been summarized,<sup>3</sup> what follows is a review of scholarship with regard to the pious and scholarly attention dedicated to the work for about a millennium – with special reference to the manuscript tradition (and its influence on the legal tradition), the editions, the problems of dating and authorship, as well as some aspects of the philological studies.

The *Admonitions* is a mirror of princes composed in the early eleventh century and attributed to the first Christian king of Hungary. Its most important witnesses are two late medieval manuscripts: the Thuróczi codex from the late fifteenth century (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 407, fols. 73r–79v) and the Ilosvay codex from about 1544–1567 (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Fol. Lat. 4023, fols. 9r–11v). The latter manuscript was copied and dated by István Ilosvay, provost of Eger, in 1544: *Per manus Stephani de Ilosva, praepositi ac vicarii ecclesie Agriensis, Anno domini 1544*.<sup>4</sup> The closing words of the *Admonitions* are the following: *Explicit liber primus*. According to the traditional view, this *explicit* meant that the work served as an introduction to the laws of King Stephen. Ever since the sixteenth century, therefore, the *Corpus iuris Hungarici* treated the *Admonitions* as Book One of the royal laws: *Sancti Stephani primi regis Hungariae decretorum liber primus ad sanctum Emericum ducem* – treating the actual Book One of the laws as Book Two: *Sancti Stephani regis decretorum liber secundus*.<sup>5</sup> The study on the *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium* by the bishop of Transylvania, Ignác Batthyány, discusses the *Admonitions* and the laws under this heading: *Libri duo S. Stephani Regis, unus de observanda Catholica Fide, ad Filium Emericum, alter decreta eiusdem Regis recapitulans ex Codice M.S. Bibliothecae Windobonensis*. Batthyány's heading refers to the complete *Admonitions* by simply recalling the title of its Chapter One *De obse-*

---

<sup>3</sup> K. Szóvák, *Libellus de institutione morum*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, reprint ed., II. Budapest 1999, 792–794. See also J. Szűcs, *König Stephan in der Sicht der modernen ungarischen Geschichtsforschung*. *Südost-Forschungen* 31 (1972) 17–40; L. Veszprémy, *Megjegyzések Szent István «Intelmei»-hez* (Notes on the «Admonitions» of Saint Stephen). In: *Várak, templomok, ispotályok: Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Castles, churches, hospitals: studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages), ed. T. Neumann. Budapest–Piliscsaba 2004, 311–325.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Bartoniek, *Codices manu scripti Latini*, I. *Codices Latini medii aevi*. Budapest 1940, 367–368; Cs. Csapodi – K. Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Ariadne: A középkori magyarországi irodalom kéziratának lelőhelykatalógusa* (Ariadne: inventory of the manuscripts of the literature of medieval Hungary). Budapest 1995, 26, 118; E. Ladányi, *Umstände der Entstehung des Ilosvay-Kodex: Untersuchungen aus dem Bereich der Handschriften der Sigismund-Gesetze*. *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae: Sectio Historica* 23 (1983) 253–262.

<sup>5</sup> D. Márkus, ed., *Corpus iuris Hungarici: Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526* (*Corpus iuris Hungarici: inventory of Hungarian laws 1000–1526*). Budapest 1899, 2, 18.

*ruanda catholica fide*.<sup>6</sup> However, the so-called Admont codex, copied in the twelfth century and thus the oldest manuscript containing King Stephen's laws (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 433), does not contain the *Admonitions*. The compiler of this codex was certainly right in its omission because the work is in fact not a legal text but a mirror of princes.<sup>7</sup> The Hungarian medievalist Jenő Szűcs offered the following explanation of the treatment of the *Admonitions* as Book One of the law codes: "since it spoke in the name of Stephen, it was in reverent ignorance regarded as our «first decretum» and placed at the head of the traditional *Corpus Iuris Hungarici* ever since the sixteenth century. Actually both this procedure and the more modern, hypercritical, interpretation have a common root: the lack of a key to understanding the concepts and structure of eleventh-century thinking."<sup>8</sup>

The *editio princeps* of the *Admonitions* appeared in an appendix compiled by the humanist Iohannes Sambucus to the second edition of the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* of Antonio Bonfini – Frankfurt, 1581. At about the same time, the bishop of Pécs, Miklós Telegdi donated the Ilosvay codex to the bishop of Vác, Zakariás Mossóczy, who edited the *Admonitions* along with the royal laws in Nagyszombat in 1584 – this text is reprinted in the 1628 Vienna edition of the *Corpus iuris Hungarici*.<sup>9</sup> The major editions of the work include the text in the Bollandists' *Acta sanctorum* where the title is *Monita, quibus Stephanus filium Emericum instruxit, ut regnum recte pieque administraret*. It is indicative of the classical erudition of the Bollandists that they connected the following passage from Chapter Six of the *Admonitions* to Book One of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and suggested that the term *Eneades* referred to the founding fathers of Rome like Romulus: *Inde enim primis Romanum crevit imperium, Romanique reges sublimati fuerunt et gloriosi, quod multi nobiles et sapientes ex diuersis illo confluebant partibus. Roma uero usque hodie esset ancilla, nisi Eneades fe-*

<sup>6</sup> I. Batthyány, *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium*, II. Claudiopolis 1827, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Gy. Györffy – E. Bartoniek, ed., *Szent István törvényeinek XII. századi kézírata az Admonti kódexben* (Hasonmás kiadás) (The twelfth-century manuscript of the laws of Saint Stephen in the Admont codex: facsimile edition). Budapest 1988. See J. von Sawicki, *Zur Textkritik und Entstehungsgeschichte der Gesetze König Stefans des Heiligen*. *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 9 (1929) 395–425; M. Jánosi, *A Szent István törvényeit tartalmazó kódexek* (The codices containing the laws of Saint Stephen). *Magyar Könyvszemle* 94 (1978) 225–254; K. Szovák, *Egy kódex két tanulsága* (Two lessons of a codex). In: *Genesisia: Tanulmányok Bollók János emlékére* (Genesisia: studies in memory of János Bollók), ed. L. Horváth – K. Laczkó – Gy. Mayer – L. Takács. Budapest 2004, 145–167.

<sup>8</sup> J. Szűcs, *King Stephen's Exhortations and his State*. *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29 (1988) 89–97.

<sup>9</sup> See B. Iványi, *Mossóczy Zakariás és a magyar Corpus Juris keletkezése* (Zakariás Mossóczy and the formation of the Hungarian Corpus Juris). Budapest 1926, 35–37; J. Fitz, *Repertorium*. In: *Libellus sancti Stephani Regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*. Budapest 1930, 27.

*cissent illam liberam.*<sup>10</sup> (One has to record here in parentheses that it was exactly this passage that prompted Antal Ullein-Reviczky to declare in his article on “The Latin genius in Hungary” in the *Italian Review* of 1942: “Therefore, we should look at the rich literature of Hungary as an aspect of the specifically Hungarian intellectual life, not only as a distant reflection of the general European development.”)<sup>11</sup> Further editions included the texts printed in Katona’s *Historia critica*<sup>12</sup> as well as Migne’s *Patrologia Latina* – the latter adapts the Bollandists’ identification of the term *Eneades* with the founding fathers of Rome like Romulus on the basis of Book One of Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the critical editions were provided by Levente Závodszy<sup>14</sup> and later by József Balogh in the collection of *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* in 1938.<sup>15</sup>

From the Renaissance on, philologists and editors have addressed various issues of textual criticism such as the problem of dating and authorship, grammatical features (orthography, morphology, and syntax), stylistic devices (vocabulary, prose rhyme and rhythm), and textual parallels (Biblical, Classical, and Carolingian Latin). Based on its late medieval manuscript tradition, hypercritical scholars suggested that the *Admonitions* was a humanist forgery or at least an interpolated and stylistically polished text.<sup>16</sup> However, the *Admonitions* already occurs in and exerts influence on the hagiographic writings of medieval Hungary.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the question of authorship, the hagiographic accounts

<sup>10</sup> *J. Pinius – J. Stillingus – J. Limpenus – J. Veldius*, ed., *Acta sanctorum Septembris*, I. Antwerp 1746, 543–546.

<sup>11</sup> *A. Ullein-Reviczky*, A latin géniusz Magyarországon (The Latin genius in Hungary). *Olasz Szemle* 1 (1942) 329–341.

<sup>12</sup> *I. Katona*, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et exterorum scriptorum concinnata*, I. Complectens res gestas S. Stephani, Petri, Samuelis Abae. Pest 1779, 363–382.

<sup>13</sup> *Monita ad filium*. In: *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. *J.-P. Migne*, CLI. Paris 1853, 1233–1244.

<sup>14</sup> *L. Závodszy*, A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai (The sources of the laws and conciliar decrees at the time of Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislav, and Coloman). Budapest 1904, 131–140.

<sup>15</sup> *Libellus de institutione morum*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. *J. Balogh*, II. Budapest 1938, 611–627.

<sup>16</sup> See *J. C. Engel*, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs*, I. Vienna 1813, 132–133; *M. Florianus*, ed., *Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici*, I. Pécs 1881, 220–232; *L. Havas*, *Die Geschichtskonzeption Antonio Bonfinis*. *ACD* 37 (2001) 87–107; *L. Takács*, *Ex ancilla domina: The 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. In: *Companion to the History of the Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. *I. Bartók*. Budapest 2005, 55–58.

<sup>17</sup> See *J. Bollók*, *Szent Imre alakja középkori krónikáinkban* (The image of Saint Emeric in the chronicles of medieval Hungary). In: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. *E. Fügedi*. Budapest 1986, 61–75; *K. Szovák*, *The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary* (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislav). In:

represent the pious tradition about King Stephen's inspiration. The *Legenda maior* of King Stephen, composed around 1083, mentions the royal *Admonitions* this way: *Ipse quoque paterne dilectionis ardore conpunctus libellum de institutione morum constituit, in quo fideliter et amicabiliter uerbis eum admonitionis spiritualis alloquitur instruens...* The legend of Saint Stephen by Bishop Hartvic and the legend of Prince Saint Emeric contain almost literally the same passage.<sup>18</sup> Chapter Nine of the *Admonitions*, however, cast doubt on the commission by Saint Stephen: *Tu autem fili mi, quotienscumque ad templum dei curris, ut deum adores cum Salomone, filio regis et ipse semper rex dicas...* Since Salomon was the son of King Andrew I (1046–1060), some concluded that the work was not addressed to Prince Emeric by his father, King Stephen, but to Salomon by his father, King Andrew. It is more feasible, however, that the royal commissioner was King Stephen, since King Andrew might have named his sons Salomon and David on the models from the Old Testament as transmitted through the authority of the *Admonitions* itself.<sup>19</sup> Others ventured to provide an even later date of composition, suggesting as a *terminus post quem* the year 1083 when the canonization of King Stephen, Prince Emeric, and Bishop Gerard took place. This later dating is based on the genitive case *sancti* in the opening words of the *Admonitions*: *In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Incipit decretum sancti regis Stephani.*<sup>20</sup> Most scholars, however, suggested as a *terminus ante quem* the year 1031 when Prince Emeric died. Within this time frame, three major candidates emerged as possible authors. The first candidate was Bishop Gerard of Csanád, instructor of Prince Emeric; the Bollandists' *Acta sanctorum* pondered three options regarding the authorship: *S. Stephano – S. Gerardo Csanadensi – recentiore auctore*. In the footsteps of the Bollandists, it was the late Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik who favored

---

Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe, ed. *A.J. Duggan*. London 1993, 241–264; *Gy. Kristó*, A Szent Gellért-legenda és Szent István Intelmei (The legend of Saint Gerard and the Admonitions of Saint Stephen). *Vigilia* 64 (1999) 844–847.

<sup>18</sup> *Legenda maior sancti Stephani Regis*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. *E. Bartoniek*, II. Budapest 1938, 391; *Hartvic*, *Legenda sancti Stephani Regis*. *Ibid.*, 428; *Legenda sancti Emerici ducis*. *Ibid.*, 449–450.

<sup>19</sup> *Libellus de institutione morum*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. *J. Balogh*, II. Budapest 1938, 626. See *Gy. Bónis*, *István király* (King Stephen). Budapest 1956, 135–139; *P. Váczy*, *A korai magyar történet néhány kérdéséről* (On some questions of early Hungarian history). *Századok* 92 (1958) 344–345; *Gy. Bónis*, *Válasz Váczy Péter «Néhány kérdésére»* (Reply to «Some questions» by Péter Váczy). *Századok* 93 (1959) 529–530; *G. Klaniczay*, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge 2002, 128.

<sup>20</sup> *Libellus de institutione morum*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. *J. Balogh*, II. Budapest 1938, 619. See *K. Guoth*, *Megoldandó kérdések az Intelmekben* (Unsolved problems in the Admonitions). *Századok* 77 (1943) 1–40.

Bishop Gerard's authorship.<sup>21</sup> The second candidate was Archbishop Anastasius of Esztergom, leading person in the royal court.<sup>22</sup> The third candidate was Thangmar of Hildesheim, Benedictine monk and master of the cathedral school of Hildesheim.<sup>23</sup> At present, the scholarly consensus does not suggest more than what József Balogh established in a moderate fashion at the time of preparing his critical edition of the text: the work can be credited simply to an anonymous author.<sup>24</sup>

Philologists have for long examined the language of the *Admonitions* and concluded that it displays the disciplined Latinity of the Carolingian renaissance, along with the stylistic devices of prose rhyme and rhythm. Ede Mészáros, for instance, provided specific observations about the *verborum simili sonitu*.<sup>25</sup> Among the numerous problems in the work, several scholars have dedicated special attention to the literary and historical context of Chapter Six what features the following celebrated sentence: *Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est*.<sup>26</sup> Further avenues of investigation include the

---

<sup>21</sup> C. De Smedt – I. De Backer – F. Van Ortrøy – I. Van Den Gheyn – H. Delehay – A. Poncet, ed., *Acta sanctorum Novembris*, II.1. Brussels 1894, 480. See I. Batthyány, *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium*, II. Claudiopolis 1827, 53; W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, II. Berlin 1894, 209; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II. Von der Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Kampfes zwischen Kirche und Staat. Munich 1923, 82–83; Z.J. Kosztonyik, *Hungarian Cultural Policy in the Life and Writings of Gerard of Csanád*, Ph.D. diss. New York University 1969, 166–176.

<sup>22</sup> See Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work). Budapest 1977, 370–372.

<sup>23</sup> See J.L. Csóka, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV. században* (The formation of the Latin historiographic literature in Hungary from the eleventh to the fourteenth century). Budapest 1967, 9–96.

<sup>24</sup> See J. Balogh, *Mit tudunk a szentistváni Intelmek szerzőjéről?* (What is known about the author of the *Admonitions* of Saint Stephen?). *Magyar Nyelv* 27 (1931) 158–165; *The Political Testament of St. Stephen, King of Hungary*. *Hungarian Quarterly* 4 (1938) 389–398.

<sup>25</sup> See J. Huszti, *A Szent István korabeli latinság* (Latinity at the time of Saint Stephen). Budapest 1939, 14–16; E. Mészáros, *De cultu litterarum et de lingua Latina Hungariae medii aevi*. Rome 1940, 6–7; J. Horváth, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature of Hungary in the Árpád age). Budapest 1954, 116–131.

<sup>26</sup> *Libellus de institutione morum*. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. J. Balogh, II. Budapest 1938, 625. See C. Lancz, *Santo Stefano re apostolico*. *Studi e Documenti Italo-Ungheresi della R. Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma* 2 (1937) 17–21; J. Balogh, «... unius linguae uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est»: *Riflessioni sugli Ammonimenti di Santo Stefano, primo re d'Ungheria*. *Corvina* 7 (1944) 46–54; J.M. Bak, «Linguistic Pluralism» in Medieval Hungary. In: *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M.A. Meyer. London – Rio Grande, OH 1993, 269–279; A. Kubinyi, *Zur Frage der Toleranz im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn*. In: *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Patschovsky – H. Zimmermann. Sigmaringen 1998, 187–206; J. Gerics, *The Presence of Early Political Sciences in*

role of the Byzantine influence on the work<sup>27</sup> as well as the search for various textual parallels, most recently between the *Admonitions* and Gallus Anonymus.<sup>28</sup> Currently, the most productive philologist treating the work is László Havas.<sup>29</sup> His studies have indeed served as preparations for his new critical edition of the *Admonitions* with a full consideration of the extant manuscripts in its *apparatus criticus*.<sup>30</sup> This new critical edition will no doubt help to recognize that the study of Medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages shall contribute to the study of the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary.<sup>31</sup>

---

the Age of Stephen. In: Saint Stephen and his Country – A Newborn Kingdom in Central Europe: Hungary, ed. A. Zsoldos. Budapest 2001, 111–118.

<sup>27</sup> See I. Kapiánffy, Hungarobyzantina: Bizánc és a görögség középkori magyarországi forrásokban (Hungarobyzantina: Byzantium and the Greeks in the sources of medieval Hungary). Budapest 2003, 17–37; L. Havas, La Hongrie de Saint Étienne entre l’Occident et l’Orient. Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 41 (2001) 175–192; La naissance de la littérature hongroise en latin (Entre la civilisation byzantine et la culture latine occidentale). Camoenae Hungaricae 1 (2004) 7–50.

<sup>28</sup> See D. Bagi, Gallus Anonymus és Magyarország: A Geszta magyar adatai, forrásai, mintái, valamint a szerző történetészleléte a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű történetírásának tükrében (Gallus Anonymus and Hungary: the Hungarian data, sources, models of the Gesta, and the author’s view of history in the mirror of the early twelfth-century Latin historiography of the Latin East Central Europe). Budapest 2005, 211–217.

<sup>29</sup> L. Havas, À propos des sources de la première théorie d’état en Hongrie (L’*Admonition* de Saint Étienne à son fils, Émeric). ACD 33 (1997) 175–187; L’influence de l’historiographie latine classique sur le commencement de la littérature latine en Hongrie. In: L’eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento, ed. S. Graciotti – A. Di Francesco. Rome 2001, 83–103; Éléments païens et chrétiens dans la littérature latine au début du royaume hongrois. In: Corpus rei publicae: Studia historico-philologica collecta. Debrecen 2002, 350–366; Renovatio Imperii – Corona Hungariae Regia (Idea Europae Unitae in opusculo Sancti Stephani, quod «*Libellus de institutione morum sive admonitio spiritualis*» inscribitur. In: Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina, ed. L. Havas – I. Tegvey. Debrecen 2006, 49–60; Corona Augusti – corona regia (*Per aspera ad astra*). In: Hercules Latinus, ed. L. Havas – I. Tegvey. Debrecen 2006, 97–108; La tradizione testuale degli *Ammonimenti* di Santo Stefano di Ungheria e il *Tractatus de potestate* del principe Ferenc Rákóczi II. Camoenae Hungaricae 3 (2006) 147–160.

<sup>30</sup> L. Havas, ed., Sancti Stephani regis primi Hungariae Libellus de institutione morum. Debrecen 2004 – reviewed by J. Vekérdi, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 109 (2005) 614–616; E. Nemerkenyi, Budapesti Könyvszemle 18 (2006) 275–277.

<sup>31</sup> See E. Nemerkenyi, The Parts and the Whole: The Classical Parallels of the *Institutio* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary. ACD 34–35 (1998–1999) 81–90; Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Problems and Perspectives. In: Tradita et Inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike, ed. M. Baumbach. Heidelberg 2000, 37–58; The Medieval Rome Idea in the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary. ACD 36 (2000) 187–201; The Representation of the Bishops in the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary. ACD 37 (2001) 79–86; Biblical Latin and the *Admonitions* of King Stephen of Hungary. ACD 38–39 (2002–2003) 281–288; Latin Classics in Medieval Libraries: Hungary in the Eleventh Century. Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 43 (2003) 243–256; The Religious Ruler in the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary. In: Monotheistic

In conclusion, this review of the manuscript tradition (and its influence on the legal tradition), the editions, the problems of dating and authorship, as well as some aspects of the philological studies demonstrates that the way scholars have studied the Latinity of the *Admonitions* against the standards of Classical, Medieval, and Humanistic Latin for centuries reveals a great deal about their own approaches to their Latinist trade in particular – and therefore about Neo-Latin studies in general. It is in this spirit that the late Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik has to be acknowledged here – to whose memory this review of scholarship on the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary is respectfully dedicated.<sup>32</sup>

---

Kingship: The Medieval Variants, ed. *A. Al-Azmeh – J.M. Bak*. Budapest 2004, 231–47; Cicero in Medieval Hungary. *Filologia Mediolatina* 13 (2006) 187–197; Az Ottó-kori reneszánsz (The Ottonian renaissance). In: *A Magyar Őstörténeti Munkaközösség Egyesület jubileumi konferenciája* (Jubilee conference of the Early Hungarian History Society), ed. *A. Szigeti*. Budapest 2007, 133–136.

<sup>32</sup> This paper is part of the postdoctoral research project on *The Formation of Latin Literacy in Medieval Hungary* – see *E. Nemerényi*, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century*. Debrecen – Budapest 2004; *The Formation of Latin Literacy in Medieval Hungary*. *Mittelaltersches Jahrbuch* 41 (2006) 417–421. The paper was presented in the session on *Neo-Latin Literature in Hungary* at the *Varietas gentium – Communis Latinitas: 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies* at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary, 2006. The author wishes to acknowledge the support of Eötvös Collegium at the University of Budapest and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund Postdoctoral Fellowship.