

# “MORE EMINENT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES THAN AT HOME”: THE HUMANIST LEONARD COX ON THE EDGE OF NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES\*

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**Abstract.** *The wandering humanist Leonard Cox (c. 1496 - c. 1548) influenced the history of England, Poland and Hungary and, as a result, features in their historiographies, to varying degrees. This study deals with Cox's place in Anglo-American, Polish, Slovak and Hungarian historiographies. In these sources, Cox is presented from various locally relevant points of view and in the frame of the local historiographical tradition. This study analyses the main writings focusing on the biography of Leonard Cox, as well as passing mentions of him in historiographies of other important contemporaneous figures. Its main goal is to present Cox's life and work through the writings of other authors, whose works are responsible for creating the picture we have today of this important educator and reformist.*

**Keywords:** *Leonard Cox, Humanism, Renaissance, historiography, sixteenth century.*

## Introduction

In 1899,<sup>1</sup> the first biography of the humanist Leonard Cox (c. 1496 - c. 1548) was written by the philologist and historian of the early modern English language, Frederic Ives Carpenter, a professor at the University of Chicago. His paper began the historiography of this English scholar and pedagogue which, to date, consists of around a dozen main articles which paint the contemporary picture of Cox's life and work, these main articles being elsewhere repeated in the secondary literature. Due to Cox's travels through many European countries, such as England, France, The Low Countries (?), Germany, the Czech Kingdom, Poland, Hungary, Austria (?) and Wales, he became part of their histories and thus of their (national) historiographies. As a consequence, Cox was seen from these countries' various points of view and described in the frame of the local historiographical tradition. The whole picture remained a puzzle in many pieces, and only in recent years have authors started fitting them together. The story of this historiography is no less interesting than the history itself, and by analysing and comparing these sources, new perspectives and directions for further research open up.

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<sup>1</sup> Carpenter 1899.

The main goal of this paper is to present the life and work of Leonard Cox throughout the writings, authors and national historiographies which create the modern picture of this important humanist.

### **Leonard Cox – his life and peregrinations**

Leonard Cox was a humanist and pedagogue who lived in the first half of the sixteenth century. He was born in Thame, in Oxfordshire, England (or possibly in Monmouth, in Monmouthshire, Wales) around 1496. The first years of his education were spent in England, most probably in a school in Reading.<sup>2</sup> In very early 1510s, he started his peregrinations through many countries on the continent, starting with France. He is thought to have stayed briefly in Paris to study at the Sorbonne, but it seems his stay was very short – if, indeed he was there at all. In 1514 he matriculated at the University of Tübingen. There he met the young Philipp Melanchthon who, as a teacher, led Cox to see the importance of youth education.<sup>3</sup> In 1518, they both left Tübingen: Melanchthon for Wittenberg and Cox for Krakow (Kraków). Cox's arrival in Krakow was very impressive: shortly after arriving he delivered a poem in front of the entire academic staff of the university. Celebrating the academy and its teachers – those still living and those of previous generations now long gone – Cox presented himself as a scholar, a *poeta laureatus*, a rhetor and, also, a humanist.<sup>4</sup> Within a short time, he gained the protection of important politicians and ecclesiastics of the Kingdom of Poland who resided in Krakow and sponsored the new intellectual movement. Cox developed friendships with local humanists and those from further afield, such as Erasmus.

In 1520, we find him in Levoča (Lőcse; now in Slovakia) and one year later in Košice (Kassa; now in Slovakia) in the position of schoolmaster. The reasons for his stay in Hungary in this period are mainly connected with Johannes Henckel, Valentin Eck and the Turzo (Thurzó) family.<sup>5</sup> During this time, Cox travelled many times to Krakow, where he published various works and lectured at the university. When Cox definitively returned to Krakow after he lost his Hungarian patron's support (or because of the Turkish threat), he enjoyed the best period of his academic, scientific and pedagogical life.

The date and reasons for his next move from Krakow, as in other cases, are not fully clear, but in 1530 he held the position of a schoolmaster in Reading, England. In this city – which is quite close to the University of

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<sup>2</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 73, 76-77, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter 1899, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Zins 1973, p. 158-159.

<sup>5</sup> Glomski 2007.

Oxford, where he supplicated for an MA degree during this period – Cox was supported by Hugh Faringdon, the Abbot of Reading Abbey. After twenty years of travelling, Cox found his homeland to be in a new situation, with conditions rapidly changing after King Henry VIII initiated church and school reforms. Cox sought the opportunity to participate in the educational (and, later, the ecclesiastical) reforms in England. Even though he was considered – and promoted himself as – an internationally known scholar and humanist, in his homeland he never reached the highest levels within the academic community and never achieved the kind of success, even in publishing, that he had in Poland or Hungary.<sup>6</sup> For this reason, in 1726, he was characterised by Samuel Knight as being “more eminent in Foreign Countries than at home.”<sup>7</sup> Cox died around the year 1548. One of his two sons followed his father into an academic career, achieving a post as a member of New College at the University of Oxford.<sup>8</sup>

### **The question of a “national historiography”**

The concept of “national historiography” is problematic in that it rather simplistically draws lines between “nations” and “nationalities”, between authors from different nations, and between themes that are seen as idiosyncratic concerns of these nations. Nevertheless, it is possible to see “national” or local tradition in research, in its topics, sources, writings and traditionalized information, so we may highlight the characteristics and differences between some groups of authors or papers. These groups of authors and papers we may call, for the purposes of this paper, “national historiographies.”

Three predominant historiographical traditions dealing with Cox are identified in this essay: Anglo-American, Polish and (Slovak)-Hungarian. Texts about Cox in German historiography, for example, just repeat the findings of Anglo-American historiography.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Slovak historiography, right up to the latest research on related topics, is strongly tied to traditions dating back to nineteenth-century Hungary, when Slovaks and Hungarians lived in a common state. Even now, knowledge about Leonard Cox in Slovak and Hungarian historiography is practically the same. This paper takes as its primary source material historiographic titles as a repository of information to be compared and analysed further within the context of the specified national historiographies, alongside old printings and

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<sup>6</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 91-93.

<sup>7</sup> Knight 1726, p. 230.

<sup>8</sup> Cooper 1887, p. 411-412.

<sup>9</sup> Bietenholz, Deutscher 1995, p. 353-354.

archival documents (and their later editions) from the sixteenth century. Secondary literature is also taken into account.

### **Anglo-American historiography**

The Anglo-American historiography concerning Cox's life begins with his most famous work, *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetboryke*, approximately dated to 1530.<sup>10</sup> The first published work about rhetoric written in English, it is still very popular<sup>11</sup> and serves as a specific source for studies about early modern English texts. Some biographical information on him was collected from the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Cox's first biographer (though not in the modern sense of the word) was John Leland,<sup>13</sup> writing in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was he who mentioned Cox staying in Paris and Prague (Praha) which, due to the lack of primary source material, many subsequent authors did not believe. At the end of the day, Paris is considered to have been a very probable stop in Cox's academic life.<sup>14</sup> Leland's poem represents the only appreciation of Cox's success by an (almost) contemporaneous English scholar.<sup>15</sup>

A late nineteenth-century collector of biographical information about Cox, Thomson Cooper, created, in an encyclopaedical way, the basic structure of Cox's biography.<sup>16</sup> A typical characteristic of any national historiography is the focus on domestic issues and topics. In this case, the main topics presented were information about Cox's birthplace, his stay in Reading and his *Rhetboryke*. The peregrinations of this wandering poet on the continent are not really dealt with, due to a lack of information – a problem not yet solved by authors of that period. Carpenter used some of Cox's works that were known to the western scientific community to extrapolate details of his travels. As a result, for the first time in the Anglo-American historiography, details such as Cox's stay in Košice were noted.<sup>17</sup>

This only confirms the aforementioned idea that Cox was not considered a particularly significant figure by his English colleagues, and that

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<sup>10</sup> Carpenter 1899, p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> From the late twentieth century to date, Cox's book about rhetoric has been re-published ten times, in 1971, 1977, 1978, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017. For more details, see the Bibliographical Abbreviations at the end of this study (Cox 1971; Cox 1977; Cox 1978a; Cox 1978b; Cox 2009; Melanchton 2010; Cox 2012; Cox 2014; Cox 2015; Cox 2016; Cox 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Knight 1726, p. 229-231; Wood 1813, p. 123-124; Cooper, Cooper 1858, p. 94-95; Cooper 1887, p. 411-412.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/lelandpoems/text.html>, accessed 10 January 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Juhász-Ormsby 2012, p. 508-509.

<sup>15</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 91-93.

<sup>16</sup> Cooper 1887, p. 411-412.

<sup>17</sup> Carpenter 1899, p. 9.

this sixteenth-century viewpoint prevailed well into nineteenth-century and even in twentieth-century Anglo-American historiography, with even domestic (British) historiography paying very little attention to him. However, as early as 1898, Carpenter was bemoaning this lack of information:

Cox himself was a man of minor importance, but his life came into touch with the lives of so many others of far greater importance, that it is a matter of regret that our information about him is not fuller and more exact.<sup>18</sup>

It should be noted, that Carpenter was an American – not a British – scholar. In his research, Carpenter was unable to access many British academic works about Cox – except Cooper’s and some similar short texts by his predecessors – because they simply did not exist. It is paradoxical in two ways: the first biographer (in the modern sense) of Cox was an American scholar; and for the next nine decades after he published, no further papers were written by Anglo-American researchers on this topic.<sup>19</sup> The situation was changed only over the last three decades.

However, it is interesting to note that some scholars – such as Andrew Breeze,<sup>20</sup> Stephen Ryle<sup>21</sup> and Jacqueline Glomski,<sup>22</sup> all originally from Anglo-American academic backgrounds – contributed to the Polish period of Cox’s life, primarily by drawing on Polish literature, while on the other hand Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, originally from Hungary, contributed to knowledge of the English period of Cox’s life and so to the English historiography.<sup>23</sup> Again, the question of the existence of such a thing as a “national historiography” in the world of academia becomes very important in this regard, especially during the last three decades of wider scientific globalisation. It is also an opportunity to look in a similar way on the life, actions and nationality of wandering humanists like Cox, crossing many (not only state) borders. So, if the topic is a criterion, only Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby and Thomas Murphy, both of whom published papers after the year 2000, focussed on Cox’s life in the 1530s and 1540s in England, summarising information published in editions and articles on other topics of British history during the last hundred years. This kind of

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<sup>18</sup> Carpenter 1898, p. 147.

<sup>19</sup> Compare with Murphy 2015, p. 76. There, Murphy quoted the sentence about how Cox is “more eminent abroad” from the Anthony Wood’s book (1813). With slight alteration, this sentence – “more eminent in Foreign Countries” – appears in Samuel Knight’s work (1726) and was also repeated by Carpenter and Zins. Nevertheless, and also according to Murphy’s assessment, in 2015 this sentence was still true. Because of its meaning, it represents a very important part of Cox’s biography and thus became the title of this article (Knight 1726, p. 230; Wood 1813, p. 123; Carpenter 1899, p. 11; Zins 1973, p. 154).

<sup>20</sup> Breeze 1988; Breeze, Glomski 1991.

<sup>21</sup> Ryle 1992.

<sup>22</sup> Breeze, Glomski 1991; Glomski 2002; Glomski 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Juhász-Ormsby 2012.

work had already been done some decades before (starting in the 1970s) in Poland,<sup>24</sup> and is still waiting to be done using Hungarian and Slovak historiographical and archival sources. The contributions of Juhász-Ormsby and Murphy are not only useful in collecting the pieces of the puzzle of Cox's life, but also in making a detailed reading of the works he published in England.

A specific position in this group is occupied by Breeze's paper from 1988.<sup>25</sup> Breeze undertook research in Poland, studying the Polish literature on Cox and trying to make a complete list of his works that could be found in Polish and other central European libraries. But Breeze published the results of his efforts in Wales, with a long preface regarding the question of Welsh-Polish cultural contacts in the Middle Ages, with Cox as a representative. In this publication, he also shared his observations about the poor state of knowledge about Cox in Welsh and even English books and handbooks on the "national" history of the renaissance: "Cox is in fact far better known in Poland than he is in Wales," and "it has been unfortunate for Cox's reputation in Britain that most discussion of him has been in Polish, and that most of his books (where they survive at all) can be found only with difficulty in the libraries of foreign cities."<sup>26</sup> Martin Murphy in 2015 agreed that this conclusion is still "true even now."<sup>27</sup>

Thematically, starting from the beginning, the issue often discussed in writings about Cox is the question of his birthplace, and therefore of his nationality. Unsurprisingly, this issue is typical of British historiography on Cox; there is no discussion of this in Poland, Slovakia or Hungary – Cox is considered to be an Englishman and questions about his birthplace or his life in England are not a significant concern. Cooper, Carpenter, Breeze, Juhász-Ormsby and Murphy, according to some longer unspecified tradition (e.g. the first record about Cox from Tübingen in 1514 mentions 'Thame'<sup>28</sup>) suggest that Cox was a Welshman and was born in Wales. Glomski first identified Cox as a Welshman, later as an Englishman. As there is no evidence on this fact, but a lot of texts where Cox stated his place of origin as 'Thame and called himself *Anglus* or *Britannus*, as a compromise Murphy suggested that his family moved from Monmouth to Thame while he was a child.<sup>29</sup>

A topic common for all historiographies is the shape of Cox's surname. Cox himself did not make it easy, given that in published works sometimes wrote his surname in different forms. Besides "Cox", at least eight variants

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<sup>24</sup> Zins 1973.

<sup>25</sup> Breeze 1988.

<sup>26</sup> Breeze 1988, p. 399.

<sup>27</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 73, 76-77, 90.

are known: Cockes,<sup>30</sup> Coxus,<sup>31</sup> Cokks,<sup>32</sup> Coxe,<sup>33</sup> Cokkes,<sup>34</sup> Cokken,<sup>35</sup> Kox<sup>36</sup> and Kacz.<sup>37</sup> Nowadays, Polish historians prefer “Coxe;” other scholars usually use “Cox.” It should be mentioned that in older Slovak and Hungarian papers the Polish spelling is frequently used,<sup>38</sup> but in the last few decades the English variant has come to prevail.

In the latest paper, published in 2015 by Murphy, a hypothesis, which is ultimately very probable, is proffered that Cox’s first studies at primary school in Reading were supported by Hugh Faringdon. This interesting information, as well as the idea of Faringdon’s support for Cox’s travels abroad, is based on Murphy’s analysis of texts which Cox published in England.<sup>39</sup>

Cox did not make it easy for future historians to study his academic career as student or teacher at university, or to be sure of his academic titles, due to his humanistic way of academic life, his way of gaining of academic titles, and the ways in which he taught students at the university (in Krakow) or, more often, in the student hostel besides the university.<sup>40</sup> Zins was not sure if Cox had any titles when he arrived in Krakow.<sup>41</sup> And after his return to England, Cox asked Cambridge and Oxford to approve his BA and MA titles, respectively. Regarding the Oxford request, to this day it is not known if he succeeded.

Cox’s first stay in Reading, where he held the position of teacher and a schoolmaster, came to a dramatic end. The turning point, which brought questions about the next Cox’s steps, was the death of his patron Hugh Faringdon, Abbot of Reading Abbey, in 1539. Again, as biographers, Cooper and Carpenter were able to sketch out some basic lines, but at this point they were not sure about Cox’s destiny.<sup>42</sup> They only knew about the (surprising) patent Henry VIII’s from 1541, which granted Cox the same financial and

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<sup>30</sup> Carpenter 1898, p. 146.

<sup>31</sup> Zins 1973, p. 156.

<sup>32</sup> Carpenter 1899, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Zins 1973, p. 154.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>35</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 76.

<sup>36</sup> Tutkó 1861, p. 86.

<sup>37</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup> Frankl 1873, p. 103; Fraknói 1874, p. 154; Gyulai 1893, p. 86, 94, 98, 100; Bauch 1894, p. 49, 53; Fraknói 1896, p. 558; *A Pallas nagy* 1897, p. 229; Berzeviczy 1905, p. 442.

<sup>39</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 85.

<sup>40</sup> Zins 1973, p. 169.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 155-156.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper 1887, p. 411-412; Carpenter 1899, p. 16.

material conditions that his schoolmaster's position had provided shortly before the Faringdon's death.<sup>43</sup>

Cox was in Reading from c. 1530 till c. 1539, but we still know very little about him during this period. Due to the aforementioned turbulences, he appears in the records and historiography again in 1539. Murphy uncovered what happened next by analysing Cox's published texts, as well as an agreement with Faringdon from 1539 and Henry VIII's patent, using these sources to come with a reasonable proposal about Cox's life in the period between 1539 and 1541, and about his subsequent career as a Protestant preacher and translator and editor of books at the end of his life, which makes the date of his death in 1548 more certain.<sup>44</sup>

Contrary to the anti-Reformation thoughts he clearly declared in Poland before 1530, after his return to England, Cox was willing to participate in the state Reformation established by the English king. Three stages can be seen in his (declared) attitude in the period from 1530 to 1548; thanks to his *Rhethoryke* we know he was afraid to publish Melanchthon's name and his anti-papal thoughts as well.<sup>45</sup> From 1533, he welcomed Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn and also his actions against the Pope and the monasteries.<sup>46</sup> After Henry VIII's death, during the reign of Edward VI, Cox suddenly appears within the quite small, select number of Protestant preachers with permission to preach.<sup>47</sup> In Cox's historiography, only a few opinions of his characteristics appear, one of these coming from Breeze, who notes that, generally speaking, "in political and religious matters he was of the willow rather than the oak."<sup>48</sup>

Regarding the Cox's attitude to the Reformation, one story is well known through old records. In the sixteenth century, a story was written in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* about a meeting between a wandering Protestant preacher – the scholar John Frith – and Cox in Reading. Cox is mentioned in this book because he helped to secure Frith's release from prison in Reading.<sup>49</sup> Murphy dug further into this story and, through the Frith's connection to people in Reading Abbey, posed some further questions regarding Cox, Faringdon and the situation in Reading Abbey in terms of the Reformation.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 91.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 91-93.

<sup>45</sup> Carpenter 1898, p. 147.

<sup>46</sup> Juhász-Ormsby 2012, p. 510-511.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 511-513.

<sup>48</sup> Breeze 1988, p. 409.

<sup>49</sup> Foxe 1563, p. 554; Cooper 1887, p. 411; Carpenter 1899, p. 12-13.

<sup>50</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 86.



Less biographical and more thematical is the contribution of Juhász-Ormsby, who – inspired by Glomski’s publications, especially her book about patronage in Krakow – analysed Cox’s ties with his English patrons, starting with Faringdon and Thomas Cromwell and ending with John Hales.<sup>51</sup> Thanks to Juhász-Ormsby’s (2012) methods, combined with new biographical details delivered by Murphy (2015) from his re-examination Carpenter’s work almost a century after it was written, new information concerning Cox’s life and activities has been revealed, enriching our knowledge about his time in England within Anglo-American historiography.

### **Leonard Cox in Krakow**

After Carpenter, in the “relay” of research about Cox, for a very long time the “baton” was in the hands of the Polish historians. Generally, Cox’s activities in Krakow have been studied alongside the other personalities of the Renaissance era in Poland. Summarizing and analysing information about Cox from articles written by Polish scholars of humanism in Renaissance Poland, Henryk Zins (Professor of English literature at the University of Lublin) delivered three studies about Cox, the last of these written in English, drawing upon the research published in his Polish essays.<sup>52</sup> Zins knew about Carpenter’s research and built up the prologue and epilogue of Cox’s life based on the findings in Carpenter’s two papers.

Similarly to Carpenter’s (and Murphy’s) observations about Anglo-American historiography, Zins stated that Knight was only “partially right” with his statement that Cox “became more eminent in Foreign Countries”<sup>53</sup> than in his home country, because as far as Zins had been able to determine, with the exception of one short text about Leonard Cox from Stanislaw Kot (in *Polski słownik biograficzny IV*) from 1938 and chapters about Cox in two books dealing with the history of the humanism in Poland, the same was true of Polish historiography: “in the English historiography as in the foreign studies concerning the Renaissance era, Leonard Coxe is not mentioned as a rule. In Polish literature little attention was paid to this English Erasmian.”<sup>54</sup>

However, Cox earned a specific place in the history of the University of Krakow thanks to his speech (1518) celebrating the University of Krakow and its pedagogues. Cox wrote a rather detailed description of these figures which is useful even today for research. Zins paid significant attention to this oration, asking himself who had helped Cox put together this information,

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<sup>51</sup> Juhász-Ormsby 2012.

<sup>52</sup> Zins 1973. Henryk Zins published his research first in the Polish language in two articles in 1972 (Zins 1972a; Zins 1972b).

<sup>53</sup> Knight 1726, p. 230.

<sup>54</sup> Zins 1973, p. 154-155.

given that the Englishman had only been in Krakow for a few months. From this question came an interesting observation: that despite the fact that Cox presented himself as a humanist, he glorified pedagogues – most especially the scholastic scholars.<sup>55</sup> Here again, Breeze's characterisation of Cox's nature seems to hold true. Zins research shines a light on Cox's patrons in Krakow and their characteristics, and also deals with his attitude to the Reformation, quoting from texts that make it clear that in the 1520s Cox declared negative opinions about the Reformation.<sup>56</sup>

Besides Kot's encyclopaedical text from 1938, Zins is the only scholar in Polish historiography who has published separate papers on Cox's biography. During the last three decades, starting with Breeze's paper from 1988 described above, research into the Polish episode of Cox's life has been deeply enriched by contributions from Andrew Breeze, Stephen Ryle and Jacqueline Glomski. Breeze compiled a list of Cox's publications recorded in libraries in Central Europe (mostly in Poland).<sup>57</sup> Cox's travels and his stay in Krakow also attracted the attention of Stephen Ryle, who in 1992 published the article *An English Humanist in Eastern Europe: Leonard Cox (c. 1495-c. 1550)*.<sup>58</sup> The patronage, financing and help which Cox received – similarly to his two friends, the humanists Valentin Eck and Rudolf Agricola Junior, and from (almost) the same group of Polish patron – was the main topic of Jacqueline Glomski's research. Her methodologically new approach towards rethinking Leonard Cox – his actions, his writings and the ideas he promoted in his relations with church representatives, burghers, students, scholars and fellow-humanists (along with his interactions with the policies of King Sigismund's court), all while still seeking patronage from the highest political, economic and ecclesiastical spheres in Poland and Krakow – presents a very interesting view of Cox's characteristics. Glomski's monograph *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons: Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox*, may be considered a milestone in the historiography of the Polish period of Cox's life.

### **Leonard Cox in Hungarian and Slovak historiography**

Thomson Cooper and Frederic Ives Carpenter were the pioneers of research into this topic in their time (the end of the nineteenth century), when in Central Europe no other similar papers were being published. Nevertheless, in Hungary, some evidence of Cox was still present in the literature and some mention of him was for a long time traditional in connection with specific

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 173-174.

<sup>57</sup> Breeze 1988, p. 402-408.

<sup>58</sup> Ryle 1992; Murphy 2015, p. 75.

themes and persons, also appearing in the historiography in a similar way. Unlike the Polish tradition and historiography, Slovak and Hungarian scholars had yet to deliver any academic articles focused purely on Leonard Cox.<sup>59</sup> Cox’s role in the cultural life of Hungary reflected his place in these two national historiographies (Slovak and Hungarian). At first glance, his stay in Hungary was significantly less successful or productive than his time in Poland, or even his English period. He only spent approximately five years in Hungary, during which time he did not publish any work because there were no publishers or universities in the country. He was probably not patronised by any significant Hungarian personalities, only by Johannes Henckel, who himself needed patrons. Even though he focused on the basic level of education, he also liked teaching university students. We know that during his time in Košice he travelled very often to Krakow, where he had lessons during times that he should have been concerned with the school in Košice. However, in contrast to his time teaching in Reading,<sup>60</sup> at least one of his students from the school in Košice went on to become very famous – Leonard Stöckel. While the first known record about Cox in Hungary is connected with Johannes Henckel<sup>61</sup> (in the *Chronicle of Levoča* about how Henckel came to Levoča and how, after one year, the representatives of Košice persuaded him to move there, where, as in Levoče, Henckel wanted Cox to be the schoolmaster<sup>62</sup>), the second record was about Stöckel.<sup>63</sup>

Leonard Stöckel went on to become a very important person in Hungary, influencing the shape of the Lutheran Reformation and various theological, pastoral and doctrinal issues in mid-sixteenth-century Upper Hungary. He was even more famous as a pedagogue, and was granted the title *Praeceptor Hungariae*, with reference to the Melanchthon’s title for Germany. Of course, subsequent scholars have observed the impact of Cox’s influence on him. After Stöckel’s death, a book was published glorifying him in which Cox is described as an excellent teacher who later became a courtier of Henry VIII. Today it is not known where this information comes from, but one of the goals of further research is to determine whether or not it is true; certainly, some indications suggest it might be. From the local point of

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<sup>59</sup> Holotík, Vantuch 1967, p. 153-154; Kuzmík 1976, p. 154; Valentovič 1986, p. 380. Compare with: Nagy et al. 1977, p. 31.

<sup>60</sup> Murphy 2015, p. 91-93.

<sup>61</sup> In the historiography, Cox very often appears in connection with Johannes Henckel, friend of Erasmus: Nagy 2013, p. 222, 224, 226-227; Bodnárová 2014, p. 200-202; Nagy 2017b, p. 45-46, 51.

<sup>62</sup> Hain 1910, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> About the connection with Leonard Stöckel, see: Fraknoi 1874, p. 154; *A Pallas nagy* 1897, p. 229; Witt 2008, p. 90-113; Lukáč 2016, p. 52; Guitman 2017, p. 46-47, 52, 104, 118, 174, 212; Guitman 2018, p. 99-100.

view, is useful to think about how this information came to Hungary (or whether it was created there).<sup>64</sup>

Stöckel has also become a figure of interest for scholars from further afield; perhaps the most recent study on him was Bennett K. Witt's doctoral thesis in 2008.<sup>65</sup> Witt broadly describes Cox, his life and works, on the basis of papers written in English, to illustrate the life of a man who many believe had an impact on the way Stöckel was educated and how he taught.<sup>66</sup>

Cox also had contact with Hungarian students in Krakow, including Ján (János) Sylvester<sup>67</sup> and Juraj (György) Werner.<sup>68</sup> In Bardejov (Bártfa; now in Slovakia) his friend Valentin Eck was already active.<sup>69</sup> It is also recorded that Cox knew at least some Hungarian words and he probably supported Sylvester to publish in and about the Hungarian language. Thus, Cox's impact (in a historical as well as a national sense) on Hungarian culture, language and education was quite considerable, even though we do not have any direct evidence. This is why Cox appears in academic papers in connection with important personalities in the history of Hungary/Slovakia, and also in the history of education,<sup>70</sup> the Renaissance<sup>71</sup> and the Reformation.<sup>72</sup> Sometimes his name is mentioned when scholars write about the history of Košice and Levoča.

From the nineteenth century, Protestant historiographers in Hungary started to describe Cox, along with Henckel and Eck, as Protestants and/or reformers. This custom is still alive today in papers dealing with the history of the Reformation in Upper Hungary.<sup>73</sup> However, more recent research, for example about Henckel, has proved that such conclusions are

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<sup>64</sup> Another very popular theme in the local historiography about Cox – which has been frequently mentioned in articles from the nineteenth century to the most recent, and is common to both Slovak and Hungarian historiography – is that Cox was a tutor of the young Henry VIII (of course, before he went to Central Europe).

<sup>65</sup> Witt 2008.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93-113.

<sup>67</sup> Balázs 1957, p. 154; Varjas 1978b, p. 298; Németh 1981, p. 11-12; Bartók 1998, p. 331; Csepregi 2012, p. 79, 83, 85, 89.

<sup>68</sup> Bauch 1894, p. 49, 53; Balegová 2011, p. 85, 89.

<sup>69</sup> Škoviera 2002, p. 22, 34; Guitman 2011, p. 1245.

<sup>70</sup> Frankl 1873, p. 103; Gyulai 1893, p. 86, 94, 98, 100; Berzeviczy 1905, p. 442; Békefi 1906, p. 69, 113, 128; Borzsák 1989-1990, p. 43.

<sup>71</sup> Fraknoi 1896, p. 558; Fest 1936, p. 78; Waldapfel 1946, p. 45; Varjas 1978a, p. 276; Kulcsár 1990, p. 34, 36; Korompay 2012, p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> Daniel 1998, p. 49-69; Ficeri 2016, p. 116; Csepregi 2017, p. 166-167; <http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03233/html/kokay15.htm>, accessed 18 January 2018.

<sup>73</sup> Zoványi 1891, p. 82; Ágoston 1998, p. 118; Caproş 2013, p. 59; Mešterová 2014, p. 380; [http://www.ecav.sk/files/user/damankos\\_dejiny\\_szs\\_1517-2017.pdf](http://www.ecav.sk/files/user/damankos_dejiny_szs_1517-2017.pdf), accessed 10 March 2018; <https://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/4558965/novi-ucenci-prinasaju-reformaciu.html>, accessed 12 January 2018.

inappropriate.<sup>74</sup> Just as in Slovakia and Hungary there is no research which reflects on Leonard Cox alone (only that which mentions him in connection with other figures), Zins’s conclusions from the 1970s about Cox’s anti-Lutheran sentiments in the 1520s have not been paid enough attention.

## Conclusions

The wandering humanist Leonard Cox influenced the history of England, Poland and Hungary, and for this reason he features in their historiographies. This study has presented an analysis of research in its development, examining the main publications regarding Leonard Cox and mentions of him in the secondary literature. Starting with the England-based period of Cox’s life, the first study about Cox was published only at the end of the nineteenth century by the American scholar Frederic Ives Carpenter. During his time as an adult in England, Leonard Cox’s position among the scholars of his day was not considered to be very high, and, correspondingly, mentions of him in British historiography are relatively few. This situation lasted, despite Carpenter’s research on him, for most of the next hundred years, until Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby and Martin Murphy published papers about Cox in 2012 and 2015 respectively.

In Poland, Cox has long been known to scholars of the Renaissance era, especially in connection to Krakow and its university. However, even there, academic research focussing specifically on Cox only appeared in 1970s, thanks to Henryk Zins, who explored specific themes from the Polish period of Cox’s life. After Zin’s publications, no further research on Cox was undertaken until 1988, when the non-Polish scholars Andrew Breeze, Jacqueline Glomski and Stephen Ryle<sup>75</sup> undertook further research into Cox’s published works<sup>76</sup> and his sources of patronage.<sup>77</sup> In Slovak and Hungarian historiography, where to date no papers devoted to Cox alone have been published, common historical tropes about him mainly concentrate on a few biographical anecdotes gleaned from research done in the nineteenth century. To date, commonly held notions about Cox in this region do not reflect the new information published by scholars from other countries. Yet there are many gaps in our knowledge about Cox that can be filled from archival sources, from early publications of local provenance which refer to him, and from the analysis of instances where he is mentioned in older and more recent articles which focus primarily on the history of education, the Reformation and Renaissance eras in Hungary, and the famous personalities of his time.

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<sup>74</sup> Nagy 2017a, p. 99.

<sup>75</sup> Ryle 1992.

<sup>76</sup> Breeze 1988; Breeze, Glomski 1991.

<sup>77</sup> Glomski 2002; Glomski 2007.

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## LISTA ABREVIERILOR DE PERIODICE

<b>AB</b>	- Analele Buzăului. Muzeul Județean Buzău.
<b>Academe</b>	- Academe. The American Association of University Professors. Washington.
<b>ACNLU</b>	- Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis. Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009). Leiden.
<b>ActaHASH</b>	- Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
<b>ActaMN</b>	- Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.
<b>AÉ</b>	- Archaeologiai Értesítő a Magyar régészeti, művésztörténeti és éremtani társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
<b>AI</b>	- Anale de Istorie. Institutul de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice de pe lângă CC al PCR. București.
<b>AIAC</b>	- Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca.
<b>AIIAI/AIIX</b>	- Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași (din 1990 Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași).
<b>AIIN</b>	- Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională. Cluj, Sibiu.
<b>Alba-Iulia</b>	- Alba-Iulia. Alba Iulia.
<b>AM</b>	- Arheologia Moldovei. Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași.
<b>AnB</b>	- Analele Banatului (serie nouă). Muzeul Național al Banatului. Timișoara.
<b>Antik Tanulmányok</b>	- Antik Tanulmányok. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
<b>AO</b>	- Arhivele Olteniei (serie nouă). Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane. Craiova.
<b>Apulum</b>	- Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia.
<b>ArhSom</b>	- Arhiva Someșană. Revistă istorică-culturală. Năsăud.
<b>ArhMed</b>	- Arheologia Medievală. Reșița, Cluj-Napoca.
<b>Astra Salvensis</b>	- Astra Salvensis. Cercul Salva al ASTRA. Salva.
<b>AT</b>	- Arhivele totalitarismului. Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului. Academia Română. București.
<b>AUASH</b>	- Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>AUMCS</b>	- Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Sklodowska. Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Sklodowskiej. Lublin.

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<b>AVSL</b>	- Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Sibiu.
<b>Banatica</b>	- Banatica. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Caraș-Severin. Reșița.
<b>BAR</b>	- British Archaeological Reports (International Series). Oxford.
<b>BC</b>	- Biblioteca și cercetarea. Cluj-Napoca.
<b>BCȘS</b>	- Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>BHAB</b>	- Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Timișoara.
<b>Boabe de grâu</b>	- Boabe de grâu. Revistă de cultură. București.
<b>Brukenthal</b>	- Brukenthal. Acta Musei. Muzeul Național Brukenthal. Sibiu.
<b>București</b>	- București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului București.
<b>Bylye Gody</b>	- Bylye Gody. International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research. Washington.
<b>Caietele CNSAS</b>	- Caietele CNSAS. Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității. București.
<b>CB</b>	- Călăuza bibliotecarului. Biblioteca Centrală de Stat București.
<b>CBAstra</b>	- Conferințele Bibliotecii Astra. Biblioteca Județeană Astra. Sibiu.
<b>Cărți românești</b>	- Cărți românești.
<b>CCA</b>	- Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. cIMeC. București.
<b>CEHF</b>	- Cahiers d'Études Hongroises et Finlandaises. Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3.
<b>CollMed</b>	- Collegium Mediense. Comunicări științifice. Colegiul Tehnic „Mediense” Mediaș.
<b>Colloquia</b>	- Colloquia. Journal of Central European History. Institutul de Studii Central-Europene al Facultății de Istorie și Filosofie a Universității „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca.
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<b>Contimporanul</b>	- Contimporanul. Revistă de avangardă, cu program constructivist. București.
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<b>Cumidava</b>	- Cumidava. Muzeul Județean de Istorie Brașov.

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<b>eClassica</b>	- eClassica. Centro des Estudos Clássicos. Lisabona.
<b>EF</b>	- Einband-Forschung, Informationsblatt des Arbeitskreises für die Erfassung, Erschliessung und Erhaltung Historischer Bucheinbände (AEB). Berlin.
<b>EJCE</b>	- European Journal of Contemporary Education. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava.
<b>EJST</b>	- European Journal of Science and Theology. Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Jassy.
<b>EO</b>	- Etnograficheskoye obozreniye. Institut etnologii i antropologii RAN. Moskva.
<b>EphNap</b>	- Ephemeris Napocensis. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca.
<b>EPK</b>	- Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
<b>ER</b>	- Exportgut Reformation. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen.
<b>ESTuar</b>	- ESTuar. Online. București.
<b>Familia</b>	- Familia (seria I: 1865-1906). Oradea.
<b>FI</b>	- File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie Bistrița (continuată de RB).
<b>FM</b>	- Europäische Zeitschrift für Mineralogie, Kristallographie, Petrologie, Geochemie und Lagerstättenkunde. Deutschen Mineralogischen Gesellschaft. Stuttgart.
<b>Folklore</b>	- Folklore. Centre de Documentation et le Musée Audois des Arts et Traditions populaires. Carcassonne. Montpellier.
<b>Gazeta ilustrată</b>	- Gazeta ilustrată. Literară. Politică. Economică. Socială. Cluj.
<b>GeoJournal</b>	- GeoJournal. Spatially Integrated Social Sciences and Humanities. Springer Science and Business Media (Netherlands).
<b>GT</b>	- Geographia Technica. Geographia Technica Association. Cluj University Press. Cluj-Napoca.
<b>HE</b>	- Historia Ecclesiastica. Prešovská univerzita. Prešov.
<b>HHCT</b>	- History and Historians in the Context of the Time. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava.

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- HHR** - Hungarian Historical Review. Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities. Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budapest.
- Hierasus** - Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani.
- Historica Carpatica** - Historica Carpatica. Zborník Východoslovenského múzea v Košiciach. Košice.
- HL** - Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies. Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae. Leuven.
- HQ** - The Hungarian Quarterly. The Hungarian Quarterly Society. Budapest.
- HS** - Historické štúdie. Historický ústav slovenskej akadémie vied. Bratislava.
- Hyphen** - Hyphen. A Journal of Melitensia and the Humanities. The New Lyceum (Arts), Msida, Malta.
- IJCS** - International Journal of Conservation Science. Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Jassy.
- IJHCS** - International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies. University of Gafsa.
- INT** - Istoriya nauki i tekhniki. Izdatel'stvo „Reaktiv”. Ufa.
- IV** - Istoricheskii vestnik. Moskva.
- IS** - Izvestiya Samarskogo tsentra Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. Samara.
- IYZGU** - Izvestiya Yugo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Yugo-Zapadnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet. Kursk.
- Izvestiya ANKSSR** - Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki. Seriya obshchestvennykh nauk. Alma-Ata.
- Îndrumător bisericesc** - Îndrumător bisericesc misionar și patriotic. Episcopia Aradului. Arad.
- Îndrumător pastoral** - Îndrumător pastoral. Episcopia Ortodoxă Română de Alba Iulia.
- JBS** - The Journal of Baroque Studies. International Institute for Baroque Studies at the University of Malta.
- JIA** - Journal of International Affairs. School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. New York.
- JSRI** - Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies. The Academic Society for the Research of Religions and Ideologies. Cluj-Napoca.
- Kniha** - Kniha. Matica slovenská. Martin.
- Knižničný zborník** - Knižničný zborník. Matica slovenská. Martin.
- LAR** - Literatură și artă română. Idei, simțire, formă. București.

<b>Limba română</b>	- Limba română. Institutul de Lingvistică al Academiei Române „Iorgu Iordan - Al. Rosetti”. București.
<b>Luceafărul</b>	- Luceafărul. Revistă literară (1902-1945). Budapesta.
<b>MA</b>	- Mitropolia Ardealului. Revista oficială a Arhiepiscopiei Sibiului, Arhiepiscopiei Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului, Episcopiei Alba Iuliei și Episcopiei Oradiei. Sibiu (1956-1991).
<b>Magyar Nyelvőr</b>	- Magyar Nyelvőr. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézet. Budapest.
<b>Magyarország</b>	- Magyarország. Budapest.
<b>MCA</b>	- Materiale și cercetări arheologice. București.
<b>ME</b>	- Memoria Ethnologica. Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Maramureș. Baia Mare.
<b>MH</b>	- Melita Historica. Malta Historical Society.
<b>MK</b>	- Magyar Könyvszemle. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Budapest. Irodalomtudományi Intézet Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Budapest.
<b>MKS</b>	- Magyar Könyv-Szemle. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia - Irodalomtudományi Intézet. Budapest.
<b>MLN</b>	- Modern Language Notes. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.
<b>MN</b>	- Muzeul Național. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
<b>MP</b>	- Magyar Pedagógia. A Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság. Budapest.
<b>Muzeum</b>	- Muzeum. Muzejní a vlastivedná práce. National Museum. Prague.
<b>NLWJ</b>	- The National Library of Wales Journal. The National Library of Wales. Aberystwyth.
<b>Noema</b>	- Noema. Comitetul Român de Istoria și Filosofia Științei și Tehnicii. București.
<b>NNI</b>	- Novaya i noveishaya istoriya. Rossiiskaya akademiya nauk. Moskva.
<b>NP</b>	- Novoe proshloe. Yuzhnyi federal'nyi universitet. Rostov-na-Donu.
<b>NS</b>	- Nasledie i sovremennost'. Rossiyskiy nauchno-issledovatel'skiy institut kul'turnogo i prirodnogo naslediya im. D. S. Likhacheva. Moskva.
<b>NVBU</b>	- Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriya. Politologiya. Ekonomika. Informatika. Belgorodskiy natsional'nyy issledovatel'skiy universitet. Belgorod.
<b>OK</b>	- Orvostörténeti Közleményel (Communicationes de historia artis medicinae). Budapest Semmelweis

Lista abrevierilor de periodice

	Orvostorteneti Muzeum Es Konyvtar And Magyar Orvostortenelmi Tarsasag. Budapest.
<b>Orizont</b>	- Orizont. Timișoara.
<b>ORP</b>	- Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce. Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Warszawa.
<b>PA</b>	- Patrimonium Apulense. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Alba. Alba Iulia.
<b>PB</b>	- Patrimonium Banaticum. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Timiș. Timișoara.
<b>Pediatria</b>	- Pediatria de Atención Primaria. Publicación Oficial de la Asociación Española de Pediatría de Atención Primaria.
<b>PH</b>	- Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie.
<b>Poarta Inimii</b>	- Poarta inimii. Alba Iulia.
<b>Programm Mühlbach</b>	- Programm Mühlbach. Programm des evaghelischen Untergymnasium in Mühlbach und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten. Sebeș.
<b>PS</b>	- Protestáns Szemle. Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társaság. Budapest.
<b>RA</b>	- Russkii arkhiv. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava.
<b>RAPPS</b>	- Revista de Administrație Publică și Politici Sociale. Universitatea de Vest „Vasile Goldiș” din Arad.
<b>RB</b>	- Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud. Bistrița.
<b>RE</b>	- Revista economică. Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu.
<b>REF</b>	- Revista de Etnografie și Folclor. Institutul de Etnografie și Folclor „Constantin Brăiloiu”. Academia Română. București.
<b>Revista Arheologică</b>	- Revista Arheologică. Centrul de Arheologie al Institutului Patrimoniului Cultural al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei. Chișinău.
<b>RFR</b>	- Revista Fundațiilor Regale. Revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală. București.
<b>RH</b>	- Roczniki Humanistyczne. Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Lublin.
<b>RHSEE/RESEE</b>	- Revue historique du sud-est européen. Academia Română. București, Paris (din 1963 Revue des études sud-est européennes).
<b>RI</b>	- Revista de Istorie (din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.
<b>RJMH</b>	- The Romanian Journal of Modern History. Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Jassy.

<b>RM</b>	- Revista Muzeelor. București.
<b>RMM</b>	- Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. București.
<b>RMV</b>	- Revue de médecine vétérinaire. Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire de Toulouse.
<b>România literară</b>	- România literară. Săptămânal de literatură și artă. București.
<b>Rossiiskaya istoriya</b>	- Rossiiskaya istoriya. Akademicheskii nauchno-izdatel'skiy, proizvodstvenno-poligraficheskiy i knigorasprostranitel'skiy tsentr Nauka. Moskva.
<b>RRH</b>	- Revue Roumaine d'Histoire. Academia Română. București.
<b>RT</b>	- Revista Teologică (între anii 1956 și 1991 a apărut sub denumirea de Mitropolia Ardealului). Mitropolia Ardealului. Sibiu.
<b>SA</b>	- Sovetskaya arkheologiya. Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Moskva.
<b>SAI</b>	- Studii și articole de istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice a RPR. București.
<b>Samus</b>	- Samus. Muzeul Municipal Dej.
<b>Sargetia</b>	- Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.
<b>SCA</b>	- Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie. Institutul de Antropologie „Francisc I. Rainer”. Academia Română. București.
<b>SCIA</b>	- Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică. București.
<b>SCIV(A)</b>	- Studii și cercetări de istoria veche (din 1974, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie). București.
<b>Slavyanskii al'manakh</b>	- Slavyanskii al'manakh. Institut slavyanovedeniya Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. Moskva.
<b>SMIC</b>	- Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București.
<b>SMIM</b>	- Studii și materiale de istorie modernă. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București.
<b>Sovremennik</b>	- Sovremennik. Sankt Petersburg.
<b>SPST</b>	- Sovremennye problem servisa i turizma. Russian State University of Tourism and Service. Moscow.
<b>SS</b>	- The Social Sciences. Western Social Association. Dubai.
<b>Studia</b>	- Studia. Transilvania Express. Brașov.
<b>Studii</b>	- Studii. Revistă de istorie (din 1974 Revista de istorie și din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.



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- SUP** - Studi Umanistici Piceni. Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni. Sassoferato.
- Századok** - Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat. Budapest.
- Terra Sebus** - Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeș.
- TIIAE** - Trudy Instituta Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii. Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki. Alma-Ata.
- TNK** - Trudy NII kul'tury. Ministerstvo kul'tury RSFSR. Moskva.
- TR** - Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane al Academiei Române. Cluj-Napoca.
- Transilvania** - Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania. Sibiu.
- TS** - Theologiai Szemle. A Magyarországi Egyházak Ökumenikus Tanácsa. Budapest.
- TT** - Testimonia Theologica. Evanjelická bohoslovecká fakulta Komenského univerzity v Bratislave.
- Unirea** - Unirea. Alba Iulia.
- UR** - Ungarische Revue. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Budapest.
- VAH** - Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
- Valori bibliofile** - Valori bibliofile din patrimoniul cultural național. Cercetare, valorificare. Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste. Muzeul Județean Vâlcea. Râmnicu Vâlcea.
- VChGU** - Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Chelyabinskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. Chelyabinsk.
- VE** - Vestnik Evropy. Sankt Petersburg.
- Verbum** - Verbum. Revista catolică. București.
- Vestnik Tverskogo** - Vestnik Tverskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriya. Tver.
- Vestnik VEGU** - Vestnik VEGU. Vostochnaya ekonomiko-yuridicheskaya gumanitarnaya akademiya. Akademiya VEGU. Ufa.
- VI** - Voprosy istorii. Institut russkoy istorii Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Moskva.
- Viața românească** - Viața Românească. Revistă literară și științifică. Iași.
- VMKK** - A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém.
- Vox libri** - Vox libri. Biblioteca Județeană „Ovid Densusăianu” Deva.
- VS** - Voennyi Sbornik. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava.
- VV** - Vestnik vospitaniya. Moskva.

- Zalai Múzeum** - Zalai Múzeum. Zala. Múzeumok Igazgatósága. Zalaegerszeg.
- ZfE** - Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde und Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Berlin.
- ZfhWK** - Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde. Dresdner Verein für Waffenkunde. Berlin.
- ZfTZ** - Zeitschrift für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie: Organ der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Tierzucht im Forschungsdienst (continua: Zeitschrift für Züchtung. Reihe B, Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie). Berlin, Hamburg.