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Tartalom / Content

Tanulmányok / Studies

- A magyarországi protestáns lelkészek elleni 1674. évi per és a bécsi udvar
The Viennese Court and the 1674 trial against Protestant clergymen in Hungary
Béla Vilmos Mihalik 7
- Mártírok, hitehagyók, emigránsok: A gályarabpercek evangélikus vádlottjai
Martyrs, apostates, emigrants: The Lutheran defendants in the galley-slave trials
Zoltán Csepregi 33
- A pozsonyi véstörvényszék hatása Erdélyben. Hírek és menekültek
The Impact of the Extraordinary Court of Pressburg in Transylvania. News and refugees.
Judit Balogh..... 45
- A rejtett társadalmi hálózat információs értéke
A magyarországi lutheránusok helyzete Johann Joachim d'Orville (1633-1688), Hessen-Kassel rezidensének a regensburgi állandó birodalmi gyűlésen készült jelentéseiben leírtak szerint.
The information value of a hidden social network
The situation of the Lutherans in Hungary as described in the reports of Johann Joachim d'Orville (1633–1688) resident of Hesse-Kassel at the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg
Nóra G. Etényi 73
- A Franekerben elhunyt magyarországi és erdélyi hallgatók teljes jegyzéke
A Survey of all Students from Hungary and Transylvania who died in Franeker in the Early Modern Period
Ferenc Postma..... 97

A katedráról / From the pulpit

- Megsemmisült arcok
Gondolatok Harsányi Zsolt Karácsony a gályán című novellájáról
Annihilated Faces
Reflections on Zsolt Harsányi's short story "Karácsony a gályán"
[Christmas on the Galley]
Anett Csilla Lovas 119

E számunk szerzői / The authors of this issue 128

A MAGYARORSZÁGI PROTESTÁNS LEKÉSZEK
ELLENI 1674. ÉVI PER ÉS A BÉCSI UDVAR

THE VIENNESE COURT AND THE 1674 TRIAL AGAINST
PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN IN HUNGARY

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

A tanulmány az 1674-es gályarabper előzményeit tárja fel, különös figyelmet szentelve az 1673 februárjában Kassán kidolgozott protestánsellenes kamarai és egyházi javaslatcsomagnak, valamint annak bécsi recepciójának. A szerző új források bevonásával rekonstruálja a per politikai és vallási előkészítését, rámutatva, hogy a prédikátorok elűzésének terve nem pusztán egyházi kezdeményezés volt, hanem széles körű városi, szerzetesi és kamarai támogatást élvezett. A bécsi udvar kezdeti mérsékelt reakcióját követően 1673 végére a protestánsokkal szembeni fellépés szorosan összekapcsolódott a Habsburg-ellenes felkelés politikai kezelésével.

A per közvetlen előzményei a Benczédi László kutatásai révén jól ismert 1673-as kassai tárgyalások mellett az év végén tartott bécsi konferenciában csúcsoodtak ki, amely megnyitotta az utat a pozsonyi rendkívüli bírósági eljárás előtt. A kormányzati források elemzéséből kiderül, hogy a vallási türelmetlenség és a politikai centralizáció miként fonódott össze a protestáns gyülekezetek és lelkészeik elleni eljárásokban.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the background to the galley trial of 1674 with a particular focus on the anti-Protestant chamber and church proposal package, which was drawn up in Kassa in February 1673, and its reception in Vienna. Using new sources, the author reconstructs the political and religious preparations for the trial and shows that the plan to expel the preachers was not a purely ecclesiastical initiative, but found broad support in the city, among the monks and in the chambers. After an initially moderate reaction from the Viennese court, the action against the Protestants at the end of 1673 was closely linked to the political control of the anti-Habsburg uprising.

The immediate background of the trial culminated in the Vienna Conference at the end of 1673, which paved the way for the extraordinary trial in Bratislava, and in the negotiations of 1673 in Kassa, which are well known through the research of László Benczédi. The analysis of the state sources shows how religious intolerance and political centralisation were interwoven in the proceedings against the Protestant congregations and their pastors.

Kulcsszavak: bécsi udvar, bujdosók, ellenreformáció, gályarabper, protestáns vallásgyakorlat, Szepesi Kamara, Wesselényi-mozgalom

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Keywords: counter-Reformation, court of Vienna, Protestant religious practice, refugees, slaver's lawsuit, Szepesi Chamber, Wesselényi movement

Introduction

"I know the sad stories of the preachers who were condemned to galley-slavery, and whose memory lives on in this congregation. Many such tragic events can be recalled in our memories," these were the words of remembrance Pope John Paul II shared with the congregation during his historic visit to Debrecen.¹ The town is often referred to as "Calvinist Rome" in Hungary, because of its prominent role in Hungarian Protestant history and culture. That is why the Pope's visit was so meaningful, and also that after his address, he laid a wreath at the memorial column of the Hungarian Protestant clergymen sentenced to galley-slavery. The trial of 1674 against the Protestant clergymen has indeed occupied a prominent place in the Hungarian Protestant remembrance culture. This is hardly surprising: the trial was an important milestone in Hungarian history at the end of the 17th century. The Peace of Vasvár, which ended the Austro-Turkish War of 1663–64, caused outrage and unrest among the Hungarian aristocracy, but also among the wider society. The conspiring aristocrats (Ferenc Wesselényi, Palatine of Hungary, Ferenc Nádasdy, Lord Chief Justice, Péter Zrínyi, Ban of Croatia, Fran Krsto Frankopan and Francis I Rákóczi) were Catholics, and the Catholic archpriests were aware of their movement – some of them (for example, György Lippay, the Archbishop of Esztergom) even supported it. The increasingly anti-Habsburg movement became a conspiracy, and although Wesselényi died in 1667, his fellow aristocrats rebelled against the Habsburg rule in 1670. However, the uprising had barely begun, and it had already failed – in 1671 the three overlords (Nádasdy, Zrínyi, Frankopan) were executed. The elected Transylvanian prince, Francis I Rákóczi, was saved only by his mother, Zsófia Báthory's connections in Vienna and the huge ransom paid to the Habsburg court.²

For the Habsburg court, it seemed that the time had come to abolish the dual system of the Hungarian estates and the monarch and to implement a centralizing policy. Johann Caspar von Ampringen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was appointed governor of the Kingdom of Hungary from Vienna, a new tax policy was introduced and the confiscation of

¹ The full text of the Pope's speech is available on the official website of The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Hungary: <https://katolikus.hu/dokumentumtar/ii-janos-pal-papa-debrecenben> (Last Accessed: September 2, 2024)

² Regarding the Wesselényi conspiracy, a fundamental work to this day: PAULER, Gyula: *Wesselényi Ferencz nádor és társainak összeesküvése 1664–1671*, 2 volumes, Budapest, 1876.

important noble estates, especially in Upper Hungary, was started, while the country was occupied by the imperial troops. The nobles who were prosecuted and deprived of their estates, the Hungarian soldiers who were dismissed from the military outposts, and other groups of society also fled to Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire. From 1672 onwards, the fugitive and later *kuruc* movements that emerged from among the refugee population posed a constant threat to the Habsburg rule for nearly four decades.³ In the shadow of a threatening new Ottoman invasion from the end of the 1670s, and the kuruc attack led by Thököly, the Viennese Court was finally forced to come to an agreement with the Hungarian estates at the Diet of Sopron in 1681.⁴ The ten years from the fall of the Wesselényi conspiracy to the Diet of Sopron (1671–1681) are considered by Hungarian Protestant memory as the decade of mourning (*Trauerdekade*): peaking in the mass trial of Protestant preachers in 1674.

A vast amount of literature has been written about the trial, its antecedents and its aftermath over the past century and a half. Among the most important studies, I would like to highlight only four that are of particular importance regarding the context of the trial. The first, and still the most influential, is a study by László Benczédi published in 1975. Based on documents found in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Benczédi explored the negotiations between the Upper Hungary Chamber and the Catholic Church leaders in Košice in early 1673. It was in these negotiations that the intention to expel the Protestant clergy from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary was formulated. The resulting “Košice model” became the forerunner of the great trial in the fall of 1673 that continued into 1674. Benczédi interpreted the Košice draft in the context of the ongoing debate between the political factions of the Viennese Court. At the Viennese Court, two major trends were competing against each other. One political group called for a reform of tax policy in order to exploit the economic resources of the Kingdom of Hungary for the benefit of the Habsburg court. The other party wanted to make a breakthrough in ecclesiastical polity, to break the Protestant church and nobility in Hungary with a comprehensive counter-reformation policy. The events in Košice and the emerging plans helped to strengthen the latter party.⁵

Similarly, Katalin Péter’s study is fundamental and inescapable, showing that individual lawsuits against Protestants had already been launched

³ BENCZÉDI, László: *Rendiség, abszolútizmus és centralizáció a XVII. század végi Magyarországon, 1664–1685*, Budapest, 1980, (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 91.)

⁴ PÁLFFY, Géza: A szakítások és kiegyezések évszázada: a Magyar Királyság 17. századi története új megvilágításban, *Történelmi Szemle* 57, 2015, 1. sz., 51–65.

⁵ BENCZÉDI, László: A prédikátorperек történeti háttere I–II, *Theológiai Szemle*, Új folyam 18., 1975, 1st publication: 7–8. sz., 199–206.; 2nd publication: 9–10. sz., 264–267.

in the early 1670s. These lawsuits against individual clergymen became a collective action against multiple people through several stages, culminating in the trial of 1674. At the same time, Katalin Péter also pointed out that the trial of the galley-slave pastors was only one of many, which actually gained historic significance through the perseverance and heroic stance of the pastors.⁶

Katalin S. Varga found the original record of the trial in the Esztergom Primate Archives. She shared the record of the trial in a primary source publication, and in her preface to the volume she thoroughly explored the main accusations that appeared already in the first trials also mentioned by Katalin Péter and were used by the Viennese Court and the Catholic high clergy against the Protestant pastors.⁷ S. Varga has thoroughly investigated the two main charges using new, unknown, or unused sources, typically from the government. One of the basic charges was sedition, an umbrella term for the anti-Habsburg conspiracy of Hungarian aristocrats, the Wesselényi movement and the Protestant clergy. The other main accusation was Turkism (*turcismus*), which, in Hungarian terms, meant collaboration with the Ottoman conquerors. She examined how these two main charges were intertwined and gradually extended to the Protestant clergy as a whole by 1674.

Georg B. Michels, an excellent scholar of 17th-century Russian history, came across the history of the anti-Habsburg uprising in Hungary, while exploring the question of popular politics and popular violence, and he compared this with similar events in Russia.⁸ The micro-historical approach of the investigation turned more and more towards the years preceding the trial, especially towards the 1672 anti-Habsburg uprising of the “fugitives” in Upper Hungary. The core of the fugitives were the Protestant nobles of Upper Hungary who fled to Transylvania and the Ottoman territories to escape Habsburg retaliation after the fall of the Wesselényi conspiracy. This social stratum therefore already had a really close relationship with the Protestant clergy. For this reason, Michels explored the first lawsuit and investigation against Protestant pastors in Sabinov (Kisszeben), a town in present-day Slovakia. His reason for focusing on this event

⁶ PÉTER, Katalin: A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok és tanítók ellen indított per 1674-ben, in PÉTER, Katalin: *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból*, Budapest, 1995, A Ráday Gyűjtemény Tanulmányai 8., 200–210.

⁷ S. VARGA, Katalin: *Vitetnek ítélőszékre... Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, Pozsony, 2002, 11–38. Katalin S. Varga provided a thorough comparative analysis of the texts of the court record in a separate volume, embedding them in a broad context: S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve. Textus és értelmezés*, Budapest, 2008, (*Historia Litteraria* 24.)

⁸ MICHELS, Georg B.: Rituals of Violence: Retaliatory acts by Russian and Hungarian Rebels, *Russian History* 35, 2008, 3–4. sz., 383–394.

was to determine the extent to which the charges brought against the pastors were true. However, perhaps one of the most important contributions of his research was the inclusion of the case of the free royal towns and the relevant sources in his investigation. Namely, the issue of the action against the free royal towns with a Lutheran majority, and especially the punishments imposed on the towns of Upper Hungary, was closely intertwined with the preparation of the trial against the clergy.⁹ Michels' latest book examines the decade following the Peace of Vasvár established between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire in 1664.¹⁰ According to his research, the Ottoman influence in the Hungarian borderlands, the aggressive economic and ecclesiastical polity of the Habsburgs, and the constant threat of another Ottoman campaign pushed Hungarian society and the nobility in such a direction that the incorporation into the Ottoman Empire became a real alternative. This would have indeed exhausted the concept of *turcismus*, which was interpreted as a crime in the Hungarian jurisprudence of the time, and which was indeed used by the Hungarian Catholic high priesthood and the Viennese Court in the trial of Protestant preachers.

In recent decades, newer research has been essentially based on Benczédi's findings, which viewed the Košice negotiations of early February 1673 as the immediate antecedents of the trial. However, an important question remains unanswered in terms of the chronology: What happened from February 12, 1673 – the Košice meeting of Ferenc Lénárd Szegedy, Bishop of Eger, Ottó Ferdinánd Theophil Volkra, the senior administrator of the Szepes Chamber, and Zsigmond Holló, the Chamber Councilor – until September 1673, when György Szelepcsényi, Archbishop of Esztergom, initiated the first mass lawsuit against 33 preachers? How did the Košice proposal stay on the political agenda for half a year and how was it received at the Viennese Court? We will seek to involve new sources to further develop the findings of previous research.

Conspiracy, rebellion, revenge

On August 1, 1664, the imperial troops led by Raimundo Montecuccoli, together with European auxiliaries, won a brilliant victory over the Ottomans at Szentgotthárd. However, a few days after the victory, the Habsburg envoy made peace with the Turks. The Peace of Vasvár, which ended the war, was already considered a “bad peace” by contemporaries, and later, based on the stance of 19th century Hungarian historiography, the adjective “shameful” was anchored to it in public opinion, which has last until

⁹ MICHELS, Georg B.: Az 1674. évi prédikátorper történetéhez, *Történelmi Szemle* 55, 2013, 1. sz., 55–78.

¹⁰ MICHELS, Georg B.: *The Habsburg Empire under Siege. Ottoman Expansion and Hungarian Revolt in the Age of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü (1661–76)*, Montreal, 2021.

today.¹¹ It was not only the “secrecy” of the Viennese Court about peace, but also the points of the peace agreement that gave rise to bitterness. The biggest problem was the uncertainty of borders, which the Ottomans took advantage of in the following years to extend their taxation to increasingly larger areas.¹²

The conspiracy was led by the three highest ranked dignitaries among the nobility dissatisfied with the Habsburg-government: Ferenc Wesselényi, Palatine of Hungary; Ferenc Nádasdy, Lord Chief Justice; and Péter Zrínyi, Ban of Croatia. Although all three were Catholic aristocrats, they were joined by the Protestant nobility in the summer of 1666. However, the movement alone was insufficient to take action against Vienna, so foreign allies had to be sought.¹³ The aristocratic leaders tended to be French-oriented, towards Louis XIV, whose Viennese resident, the knight Jacques Brethel de Grémonville, they were closely associated with.¹⁴ On the other hand, a pro-Ottoman tendency was stronger among the Protestant nobility who joined the movement. French foreign policy offered no real alternative, and as a result, the commitment to the Ottomans grew. This was not at odds with Hungarian political reality, since the Principality of Transylvania, although loosely dependent, was still an Ottoman vassal, and the Transylvanian princes represented the wider Hungarian interests against the Habsburgs many times during the 17th century, even with armed force.¹⁵ Ferenc Wesselényi, Palatine of Hungary, came into contact with the Sublime Porte through the Constantinople envoy of the Prince of Transylvania, Michael I Apafi.¹⁶ This policy of rapprochement with the Ottomans and opposition to the Habsburgs did not cease even after the death of Palatine of Hungary Wesselényi in 1667.

In addition to the French and Turkish orientations, a third foreign policy trend should be mentioned as well, which has surfaced in recent research. Péter Tusor has uncovered the secret nuncio’s report to Pope Alexander VII of November 1665, which described the discussion between nuncio Giulio Spinola and György Szelepcsényi, Archbishop of Kalocsa

¹¹ R. VÁRKONYI, Ágnes: A vasvári béke jelentősége a magyar történelemben, in TÓTH, Ferenc – ZÁGORHIDI CZIGÁNY, Balázs (eds.): *A szentgotthárdi csata és a vasvári béke. Oszmán terjeszkedés – európai összefogás*, Budapest, 2018, 339–368.

¹² MICHELS, G. B.: *The Habsburg Empire*, op. cit., 40–50.

¹³ BENCZÉDI, L.: *Rendiség*, op. cit., 17–19.

¹⁴ BÉRENGER, Jean: Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a Wesselényi-összeesküvés idején (1664–1668), *Történelmi Szemle* 10, 1967, 3. sz., 275–291. Reassessment and clarification of the French relations and negotiations with Grémonville: TUSOR, Péter: Forráskritikai megjegyzések a Wesselényi-összeesküvés történetéhez, *Századok* 155, 2021, 1233–1277.

¹⁵ BENCZÉDI, L.: *Rendiség*, op. cit., 19–21.

¹⁶ VARGA, J. János: A török orientáció változatai Magyarországon. Wesselényi – Apafi – Thököly, 1663–1683, *Történelmi Szemle* 49, 2007, 2. sz., 292–294.

and Hungarian Royal Chancellor. The Hungarian clergy, headed by Archbishop György Lippay of Esztergom, also oriented themselves towards France initially, but by the end of 1665, they had leaned more towards the Holy See.¹⁷ For the high priests to think along these lines, one of the reasons was that by the fall of 1665, Leopold I was the last surviving male member of the Austrian line of the Habsburg dynasty, but still unmarried and in frail health.¹⁸ Thus, both the Catholic high clergy and the Protestant nobility were involved in the conspiracy initiated by the Catholic aristocrats. For a brief historical moment, the two sides rose above the denominational barriers that separated them and put the interests of the estates (“the national interests”) first.¹⁹ Although the Catholic clergy later gradually withdrew from the conspiracy of the estates, their participation and collaboration had a number of consequences that influenced the political changes after 1670.

This was partly due to the internal political momentum of the Viennese Court, not just to events in Hungary. In the 1660s, a new political center gradually emerged around the talented Johann Paul Hocher, Austrian court chancellor and one of the most influential members of the Secret Council. Basically, politicians interested in changing the direction of economic policy emerged in his entourage. The “Hungarians” in Hocher’s political party included Count Johann Rottal, who was the Hungarian affairs official in Vienna, and Count Lipót Kollonich, originally from a Croatian noble family, who had just won the title of Bishop of Nyitra. The aim of this new political party, which took form by the early 1670s, was to create a more efficient governance system with a Vienna center. In order to achieve their goals, the representatives of the old Viennese leadership – the first man of the Privy Council, Prince Johann Weikhard von Auersperg, and his successor, Prince Wenzel Lobkowitz, as well as the President of the Court Chamber, Count Ludwig Sinzendorf – were gradually marginalized. Already in parallel with the Wesselényi conspiracy, Hocher and his circle sought to eliminate the institutions of the estates in the governance of Hungary.²⁰ This circle called for a change in economic policy after the political change in 1670 and wanted to achieve better exploitation of the Hungarian economy through new tax laws. After the downfall of the con-

¹⁷ TUSOR, Péter: “Et a pensare al successore in caso.” Szelepchény György és a rendi szervezkedés. (Egy nunciusi jelentés forrásértéke), *Levéltári Közlemények* 92, 2021, 43–49. Regarding the French relations of Lippay: TUSOR, Péter: “Pous les intérêts d’un si grand roi?” Lippay György esztergomi érsek és a “Wesselényi-összeesküvés”, *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 22, 2021, 4. sz., 7–42.

¹⁸ TUSOR, P.: *Szelepchény*, op. cit., 52–53.

¹⁹ TUSOR, P.: *Szelepchény*, op. cit., 98–99.

²⁰ R. VÁRKONYI, Ágnes: A Wesselényi-szervezkedés történetéhez, 1664–1671, in FODOR, Pál – PÁLFFY, Géza – TÓTH, István György (eds.): *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*, Budapest, 2002, 445–448, 452.

spiracy, the tax decree of March 21, 1671 would have drastically increased the amount of the tax imposed, under the pretext of the need to supply the imperial army occupying the Kingdom of Hungary. The country, which was already suffering the Ottoman conquest and taxation, would have accounted for 40% of the total revenue of the entire Habsburg Monarchy, according to the plans of the Viennese Court.²¹

On the other hand, a group with a focus on ecclesiastical polity was formed, whose members were mainly Hungarian high priests but were very divided. One of its leading figures was György Szelepcsényi, who, as we have seen above, was still negotiating with the Vienna nuncio at the end of 1665 about a solution to the situation in Hungary. Szelepcsényi was elected Archbishop of Esztergom in 1666, making him the Primate of Hungary and the head of the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy. Primates were in a constricted political situation in the 17th century: they represented the interests of the Hungarian estates in Vienna and those of the Viennese Court in Hungary. At the Viennese Court in 1670, Szelepcsényi's involvement in the Wesselényi conspiracy was the main reason why the Court was able to force him to give up on some of the interests of the estates. In return, they strengthened his position in Hungary and gave him a free hand in violent counter-reformation.²² Szelepcsényi did not only use this political dynamism, reminiscent of a seesaw, to his own advantage, but also to clear the name of other Hungarian high priests in Vienna who were accused of taking part in the conspiracy. Thus, Ferenc Lénárd Szegedy, Bishop of Eger, and István Sennyey, Bishop of Veszprém were both rescued by the Primate-Archbishop and would later actively support Szelepcsényi's counter-reformation efforts.²³

The skillful political maneuvering of the Archbishop of Esztergom contributed to the fact that after the failure of the armed rebellion of 1670, which broke out as a result of the Wesselényi conspiracy, and the beheading of the three Catholic aristocrats leading the conspiracy (Ferenc Nádasdy, Péter Zrínyi and Fran Krsto Frankopan), the Hungarian high clergy did not only save themselves, but also directed the revenge of the Viennese Court against the Protestant estates. Of course, this also required Vienna's need for the political support of the compromised Hungarian Catholic bishops regarding the centralizing measures. The inevitable alliance between the Hungarian Catholic episcopate and the Viennese Court, as well as its anti-Protestant edge were ideologically founded by the work of the Bishop of Warsaw and Provost of Szepes, György Bársony, the *Veritas toti mundo declarata*. Although the leaders of the Wesselényi conspiracy were all members of the Catholic aristocracy, Bishop Bársony tried to

²¹ BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorpercek*, op. cit., I., 203.

²² BENCZÉDI, László: Szelepcsényi érsek ügye és a lipóti abszolutizmus megalapozása 1670 őszén, *Történelmi Szemle* 18, 1975, 2–3. sz., 501.

²³ PAULER, Gy.: *Wesselényi Ferencz nádor*, op. cit., Vol. 2, 156–159.

limit the accusations of treason and the application of the rights forfeiture theory (*Verwirkungstheorie*) to Protestants. The *Veritas* reduced the ideological basis of the Viennese centralizing efforts, i.e. that the Hungarians had forfeited their political rights by conspiring, to a narrower, Catholic interpretation: the Protestants had forfeited their rights to their religious practice as guaranteed by earlier laws and peace treaties.²⁴

The violent counter-reformation that unfolded in 1670–1672 made use of a variety of means. One of its main elements was the dismantling of the Protestant church infrastructure: the confiscation of churches, parsonages and schools. They also tried to strengthen the economic background of the church. The lands and revenues belonging to Protestant churches and parishes were acquired by the Catholic Church, and the massive confiscation of property against the Protestant nobility meant that the former support base disappeared as well.²⁵ The third phase was the action against the pastors. This, as already indicated above, manifested itself mainly in individual lawsuits between 1670 and 1672.²⁶ One of the most symbolic cases of this was the treason trial against István Czeglédy, the Reformed pastor of Košice. The Catholic lords who led the conspiracy had not even raised their flags, when on January 15, 1670, Leopold I ordered an investigation against Czeglédy. On March 6, 1670, the Hungarian Chamber sent a specific list of questions to Košice targeting the clergymen who had contacts, or '*correspondentia*', with the Turks, the first two of which specifically concerned Czeglédy. The first question raised the issue of whether he had actually prayed in public for the Ottoman victory in the Kingdom of Candia (Crete), and the second asked whether he had actually edited or commissioned the printing of a lampoon of the emperor. The other questions concerned whether anyone was prepared to accept Ottoman rule and

²⁴ BENCZÉDI, L.: *Rendiség*, op. cit., 53.

²⁵ MIHALIK, Béla Vilmos: Katolikus megújulás az egri egyházmegyében (1649–1699), in SZABÓ, Irén (ed.): *Katolikus megújulás Északkelet-Magyarországon*, Sárospatak, 2014, (Folia Collecta II.), 47–48. The denominational situation in Upper-Hungary was already quite tense before 1670, after the previously Reformed Transylvanian princely family, the widowed princess Zsófia Báthory and her son Francis I Rákóczi converted to Catholicism. In 1663, they settled Jesuits in Sárospatak, a Reformed cultural and religious center. In 1669, Zsófia Báthory withdrew her patronage from the Reformed College of Sárospatak and the local clergy, but she had to reinstate her support under pressure from the Protestant nobility. PÉTER, Katalin: A jezsuiták működésének első szakasza Sárospatakon, in PÉTER, Katalin: *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból*, Budapest, 1995, (A Ráday Gyűjtemény tanulmányai 8.) 186–199.

²⁶ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 203, 206.

turn against the emperor, and the imperial military.²⁷ The fact that proceedings were initiated against Czeglédy and other anonymous Protestant clergymen even before the rebellion of the conspiracy of the Catholic lords shows that there was a willingness in Vienna from the very beginning to look for the instigators of the rebellion among Protestant clergymen.

Czeglédy did not survive the prosecution and died in 1671 on his way to the extraordinary court of Pressburg (Bratislava), during Holy Saturday. The case of Miklós Drábik, a pastor from Lehotka, was a special one: the 83-year-old preacher, who fled to Hungary from Bohemia after 1628, was arrested for his prophecies during the reprisals following the Wesselényi conspiracy. In 1657, he became known throughout Europe for his visions of the fall and ultimate ruin of the Habsburg dynasty.²⁸ Leopold I personally followed Drábik's trial, which began in 1671, and did not allow him to be executed until the broken old man converted to Catholicism.²⁹ The public mood is well illustrated by the fact that after Drábik was executed on July 16, 1671, unfounded rumors spread that he had been mutilated prior his death, his tongue was cut out and that he was burnt alive.³⁰

When it came to church occupations or even the expulsion of pastors, the greatest resistance was shown by local community leaders. This was particularly true in free royal towns where the town leaders and council members belonged to the local Protestant, typically Lutheran, elite. Action against them gave the Court an excuse to assert its influence over the towns. The means of this was the chamber system, that is, the Hungarian Chamber in Lower Hungary, based in Bratislava, and the Szepes Chamber in Upper Hungary, based in Košice. Although the Hungarian Chamber administration was legally independent, it was in fact strongly tied to the Court Chamber in Vienna, a dependence that was further strengthened in the 1670s, especially after the influential Lipót Kollonich became president of the Hungarian Chamber in 1672. From the early 1670s, chamber commissioners were sent to oversee the election of new town councils, and this way they could make sure that at least half of the judges, notaries and senators were elected from among Catholics in an increasing number of free royal towns.³¹

The confiscation of property alienated the nobility, the taxation alienated the peasantry, and interference in urban affairs alienated the bourgeoisie from the Habsburgs. The provisioning of the imperial army of occupation and the excesses of the soldiers, as well as the raging coun-

²⁷ MIHALIK, Béla Vilmos: *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták. Katolikus megújulás az egri egyházmegyében (1670–1699)*, Budapest, 2017, 177.

²⁸ PÉTER, Katalin: Drábik Miklós, a lehotkai próféta, *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 7, 2006, 2. sz., 7–16.

²⁹ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 203.

³⁰ MICHELS, G. B.: *The Habsburg Empire*, op. cit., 243.

³¹ MIHALIK, B. V.: *Katolikus megújulás*, op. cit., 48.

ter-reformation, affected broad sections of society. Soldiers who had been dismissed or had escaped from the military outposts also joined those who had fled to Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire. Thus was the camp of the fugitives formed, which soon felt strong enough in militarily terms to rise up and oppose the imperial troops occupying Upper Hungary.

In the fall of 1672, the pendulum of religious dissent, which had swung to extremes in the wake of the violent wave of counter-reformation after 1670, swung back with the attack of the fugitives sweeping through the ranks of the Catholic clergy, both monks and parish priests. There are plenty of examples of how Catholic priests were tortured by various means and some even murdered. The estates of the Catholic nobles were burned and plundered, and no one was safe—be they gentry, aristocracy, or even urban bourgeoisie.³² Already the first attack in August targeted the Minorite monastery in Nagyszöllős, which was robbed and the two monks captured there castrated.³³ The attack of the fugitives was also intertwined with symbolic manifestations of ritual violence. This meant that altars, holy images, pictures of Mary and statues were desecrated, the wafer was scattered and trampled on, in other words, actions were taken against symbols that were clearly associated with the Catholic denomination.³⁴ But the rebels' campaign ended as quickly as suddenly and successfully it started. On October 26, 1672, the imperial troops led by General Wolf Friedrich Cobb dispersed the fugitives at Győrke.³⁵ The fall uprising of 1672 brought a complete victory for the Catholic party at the Viennese Court, which was pushing for counter-reformation, although it was based on a great deal of controversy. Namely, the previous tax policy was blamed for the outbreak of the rebellion, while the new wave of counter-reformation was justified by blaming the Protestant clergy for the uprising.³⁶

The momentary unity of the estates, which basically transcended denominations and had existed in the few years following the Peace of Vasvár, completely disintegrated by the early 1670s. Although there were many social and economic reasons for the anti-Habsburg uprising and the 1672 campaign of the fugitives, the Kingdom of Hungary had essentially drifted into a religious civil war by the early 1670s. The Hungarian Catholic episcopate, partly to prove its loyalty to the Habsburgs and partly to

³² Numerous specific examples of attacks on the Catholic clergy: MICHELS, Georg B.: The Counter-Reformation and the 1672 Kuruc Revolt, in MILLER, Jaroslav – KONTLER, László (eds.): *Friars, Nobles and Burghers – Sermons, Images and Prints. Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe*. In Memoriam István György Tóth, Budapest, 2010, 112–122.

³³ PAULER, Gyula: A bujdosók támadása 1672-ben I., *Századok* 3, 1869, 11.

³⁴ MIHALIK, Béla Vilmos: Sacred Urban Spaces in Seventeenth-Century Upper-Hungary, *Hungarian Historical Review* 1. 2012, 1–2. sz., 34–36.

³⁵ PAULER, Gy.: A bujdosók, op. cit. III. *Századok* 3, 1869, 172–173.

³⁶ BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorpercek*, op. cit., II. 266.

strengthen its own position, decided that the time had come to take action against the Protestant denominations.

The Košice model

By the 1670s, Košice had undoubtedly become the administrative, cultural and religious center of Upper Hungary. It was the seat of the Szepes Chamber, the most important governmental body of the region, the chief captains of Upper Hungary, and from 1649 until the end of the century, the bishops of Eger. Despite the town's established Lutheran bourgeoisie, a Reformed congregation evolved by the mid-17th century; as for the Catholic denomination, a Jesuit primary school was founded in 1650, and from 1660 an academy joined as well, while five years later the Catholic seminary, the *Kisdianum*, opened its doors. Alongside the Jesuits, Franciscans also settled in Košice, further strengthening the presence of the Catholic Church.³⁷ This is where the representatives of the Chamber and the Catholic Church met in early 1673 to discuss the situation and the possibilities of eliminating the Protestant Church, primarily in Upper Hungary, but also in the whole Kingdom of Hungary.

It is no wonder that when the Jesuit Father Bálint Balogh, the former vice-regent of the seminary in Košice, was carried away from Tarcal by the rebels on December 8, 1672, it caused a great uproar in Košice.³⁸ In response, the chamber and church leaders in Košice arrested first the Reformed and then the Lutheran pastor of Košice, expecting that this would be sufficient grounds for negotiating with the fugitives.³⁹ Eventually, the kidnapped Catholic priests were freed by General Cobb at Diósgyőr, where the fugitives retreated and left the priests behind. Jesuit Father Bálint Balogh was released on February 6, and arrived in Košice three days later, at noon on February 9.⁴⁰

This latter date is also important because it suggests that Bálint Balogh's arrival in Košice was the trigger for the events that took place the following days. Two days later, on February 11, 1673, the Szepes Chamber summoned Ferenc Lénárd Szegedy, Bishop of Eger, to a hearing – as the invitation put it – on matters that should be written about to higher places.⁴¹ According to the dates (February 14 and 15) of the drafts sent to

³⁷ MIHALIK, B. V.: *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták* op. cit. throughout.

³⁸ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereinafter: ÖNB), Handschriftensammlung, Cod. 12.224., *Litterae Annuae* (LA) 1672., fol. 92r–v. In addition to Bálint Balogh, other priests were also captured, namely János Munkácsy, the parish priest of Héce.

³⁹ BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorperek*, op. cit., I., 200.

⁴⁰ ÖNB, Handschriftensammlung, Cod. 12.224, LA 1673., fol. 169v–170r.; Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Ab 86/I. *Diarium Cassoviensis*, fol. 4v. February 9, 1673

⁴¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (hereinafter: MNL OL), E 244, Szepesi Kamarai Levéltár, Repraesentationes, informationes et instantiae, fasc. 31.,

the Viennese Court, noted by the Szepes Chamber, the Bishop of Eger and the Bishopric of Eger, the trial must have take place on February 12 and 13. This proposal package essentially consisted of action against the Protestant clergy on various grounds. There was a maximum and a minimum plan: to drive the preachers out of the whole country, or at least out of the free royal cities. They believed this would help to overcome the remaining resistance of Protestant communities that had already been deprived of their churches, schools and ecclesiastical infrastructure, and thus open up the possibility of their Catholicization. Among the free royal towns, Košice stood out as the primary town in Upper Hungary, which set as an example for other towns.⁴²

They tried to support this from two aspects, one theoretical and one practical. The theoretical background was provided by the already mentioned pamphlet of Bishop Bársony, the *Veritas toti mundo declarata*. Bársony rejected the treaties guaranteeing the freedom of Protestant religious practice (the Treaties of Vienna and Linz) and their enactment by Parliament, but considered Article 4 of the Law of 1525, the law on the burning of Lutherans, to be effective.⁴³ The same reasoning, and a reversion to the anti-Protestant laws, was echoed in the Košice proposals of February 1673.

The practical justification was provided by the arrests of Reformed and Lutheran pastors in Košice. Although the ecclesiastical and chamber proposals in Košice highlighted the effect of this, i.e. the Catholicization of the Protestant population of the town, they also sought to support this with certificates. The Franciscans and Jesuits of Košice, as well as the Bishopric of Eger, attached a brief statement on the number of converts to the proposal, thus confirming its importance and expected effectiveness.⁴⁴

Newly revealed sources in Vienna, however, outline an even broader coalition in Košice behind the submission of these proposals. In addition to the proposal of the Bishop and Bishopric of Eger, as well as the leaders of the Chamber, there was a short draft reasoning for the expulsion of the Protestant pastors and its benefits submitted by the Franciscans, the Jesuits, and even the Catholic leaders of Košice, headed by Judge János Fodor.⁴⁵

February 1673, fol. 238., February 11, 1673.

⁴² BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorperek*, op. cit., I., 200–201.

⁴³ ESZE, Tamás: Bársony György „Veritas”-a, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 75, 1971, 6. sz., 667–693.; BÄHLCKE, Joachim: „Veritas toti mundo declarata”. Der publizistische Diskurs um Religionsfreiheit, Verfassungsordnung und Kirchenrecht in Ungarn im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts – eine Fallstudie, in BÄHLCKE, Joachim – LAMBRECHT, Karen – MANER, Hans-Christian (eds.): *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag, Leipzig, 2006, 553–574.

⁴⁴ BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorperek*, op. cit., 200.

⁴⁵ Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (hereinafter ÖStA, HHStA), Ungarische Akten, fasc. 432., konv. A., fol. 86–87. A ferencesek kelteze-

In other words, besides the leaders of the Chamber, the bishop and the bishopric, the leaders of the town and the monastic orders of Košice also supported the expulsion of the preachers with all their power.

The direct impact of these proposals on the Viennese Court and their reception there is not known. We know that Benczédi does quote the letter of Bishop Lipót Kollonics, president of the Chamber, in which he tried to reassure the Chamber councilors that all necessary steps would be taken at the Court, and that the emperor would confirm the earlier arrest of the clergymen of Košice. Also, on February 20, 1673, the monarch did confirm and approve the arrest of the preachers.⁴⁶ However, this was intended to allay the concerns of the Szepes Chamber expressed earlier, at the end of January and beginning of February, so it was not a response to the drafts of February 14–15.⁴⁷ This is essentially where Benczédi finished his investigation, leaving open the question of what would happen in the months to come.

But it was then that the evolving situation became really exciting. Namely, although we do not know Vienna's direct reaction or response to the February proposals, but they were eventually successfully kept on the agenda in Košice. And this was in connection with the question of punishing the free royal towns. On the same day that Father Balogh Bálint was freed from the captivity of the fugitives, a conference was held in Vienna on the rebellion of the town of Eperjes. The wealthy Lutheran free royal town opened its doors to anti-Habsburg fugitives in 1672, and then resisted the advancing imperial troops for a long time.⁴⁸ Following a proposal made at the meeting, Leopold I approved the restitution of not only

tlen folyamodványa; fol. 88–89. A kassai városvezetők folyamodványa; fol. 232–233. Vid László, kassai rektor keltezetlen folyamodványa. Benczédi did not use these submissions for his foundational study, as these documents were mixed up with the documents entitled “1671 A kassai dómnak a protestánsok kezéből való kivétele”, which Árpád Károlyi had kept separately in a collection of documents related to Protestant church history. However, based on the dates of the Jesuit László Vid's work in Košice (he became rector in November 1672) and the operation of János Fodor's court (from 1672), these documents could not have been created in 1671.

⁴⁶ MNL OL, E 41, Magyar Kamarai Levéltár, Litterae ad camerae exaratae, 1673, nr. 44., Vienna, February 19, 1673. The Hungarian Chamber also forwarded Kollonics's confirmation to Košice: MNL OL, E 250, Szepesi Kamarai Levéltár, Litterae Camerae Posoniensis et aliorum, fasc. 44., nr. 84. February 20, 1673

⁴⁷ The report on the concerns of the Szepes Chamber was forwarded by the Hungarian Chamber from Bratislava to Kollonics in Vienna on February 16: MNL OL, E 15, Magyar Kamarai Levéltár, Expeditiones camerales, 1673. február, nr. 63., February 16, 1673.

⁴⁸ ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (hereinafter: FHKA), Hoffinanz Ungarn (HFU), r.Nr. 242., February 1673, fol. 12–35., February 6, 1673.

the main church, but also of the Minorite church in Eperjes to the Catholic Church, and a resolution was made to take the building of the Lutheran Academy of Eperjes too.

However, the court conference's proposal already at that time called for a broader investigation among the towns of Upper Hungary, and mentioned Bártfa, Késmárk and Kisszeben. The latter was singled out as an example of where, during the advance of the fugitives, churches were forcibly recaptured by Protestants and the Sacrament of the Altar was trampled on. And indeed, the monarch did order an investigation of the towns.⁴⁹ At that time, only a few of the thirty-one questions in the survey were related to the Reformed pastors. However, the sin of Eperjes was extended to other towns in Upper Hungary via this gesture. The investigators were in constant contact with the administrator of the Szepes Chamber, Count Ottó Teofil Ferdinánd Volkra, and submitted their final report on March 24, 1673.⁵⁰

However, Count Volkra had already sent his opinion to the Hungarian Chamber on March 4.⁵¹ Volkra actually put a complex proposal package on the table. The document touched on a whole range of urban privileges, but I will now only look at the points that are more significant from a denominational point of view. He proposed to remove Protestants from judgeships, senatorships and other urban offices to be replaced by Catholics. Related to this, he proposed that the town houses and properties seized by the royal treasury be sold at a favorable price to Catholics. This may have been necessary because it would have made it easier to increase the number of eligible Catholic citizens who could be elected to town offices. In the third point, he also suggested changing the existing electoral system in order to achieve an appropriate election result. Namely, whereas before the citizens were free to choose from the candidates for the main offices (judge, notary), Volkra proposed that the Senate and the elected municipality should nominate 3 people each for the Chamber. From these, the Chamber would select the appropriate person, who would be installed by the Chamber's delegate. This would have excluded the Protestant-majority bourgeoisie from the electoral process and delegated the nomination to the already partially Catholicized municipal councils. If the Szepes Chamber could not reach a decision on the appointment, it would have to be referred to the Hungarian Chamber. Some of the former officials should be confirmed as "acting agents" for the decision-making process. The other officials and members of the Senate must resign by Christmas

⁴⁹ On February 13, the Hungarian Chamber forwarded the monarch's decree to the Szepes Chamber, asking them to start the investigation and to send their findings: MNL OL, E 15, February 1673, nr. 18., February 13, 1673.

⁵⁰ MICHELS, G. B.: *Az 1674. évi prédikátorper*, op. cit., 62–63.

⁵¹ ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r. Nr. 243, 1673. június, 1673. június 27., fol. 474r–476v., 1673. március 4.

so that the newly elected body can be up and running in the New Year. In order to increase the number of Catholics, the administrator of the Szepes Chamber proposed in the fourth point that no other persons than those of the Catholic denomination should be admitted as citizens of the town henceforth. To a similar end, in point 14 Volkra proposed the introduction of a new tax. This would have had each Protestant household pay one forint per year, from which Catholic residents would have been exempt. The points concerning Protestant religious practice and pastors clearly reflect the principles of the proposal developed in mid-February together with the bishop and church leaders of Košice. The chamber administrator took the opportunity to include action against preachers in the chamber's agenda and proposals, now linked to the procedures against specific towns. He linked the punishment of the towns to the punishment of preachers. Volkra proposed that the clergy, as organizers of secret meetings and instigators of rebellion, should be driven out of both towns and their suburbs and their churches handed over to the Catholics.

The Viennese Court handed Volkra's proposals to the Hungarian Chamber for its opinion, and also to the newly established *Gubernium*, headed by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Johann Kaspar Ampringen, in March 1673. However, the comments received did not fully support Volkra's proposal.⁵² The Hungarian Chamber would not have restricted the right of citizenship completely, but rather suggested that towns should submit the names of those to be admitted to the Szepes Chamber in advance, so that the Chamber could exclude candidates who were obviously "heretical and seditious". The *Gubernium* agreed to the amendment of the Hungarian Chamber, so that Lutherans would not be completely excluded from the possibility of obtaining citizenship, only significantly restricted. The Hungarian Chamber and the *Gubernium* also agreed that a tax on Protestants could lead to the depopulation of the towns, and the proposal was fully rejected. However, neither the Hungarian Chamber nor Governor Ampringen gave their preliminary comments on the points aimed at expelling the clergy and confiscating the churches in their opinions sent to the Court Chamber.

The draft of the Szepes Chamber administrator Count Volkra, together with the opinions of the Hungarian Chamber and the *Gubernium*, was discussed on May 20, 1673, by the conference of the dicasteries in Vienna.⁵³ The meeting was attended by Raimondo Montecuccoli, President of the Imperial Military Council, Hungarian Chancellor Tamás Pálffy, Count Hohenfeld and Austrian Chancellor Johann Paul Hoher. In its submis-

⁵² ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r. Nr. 243, 1673. június, 1673. június 27., 460r–v; 472r–473v., 1673. március 13. The opinion of the Hungarian Chamber; fol. 463r – 464v; 467r–468v. April 14, 1673, The opinion of the Gubernium.

⁵³ ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r. Nr. 243, 1673. június, 1673. június 27., fol. 453r–457v, 479r–482v. May 20, 1673, Proposal of the Court Conference to Leopold I.

sion to the Emperor Leopold I, the Conference took a much more cautious position regarding religious proposals. They agreed with the proposal of the *Gubernium* and the Hungarian Chamber, advising that a ratio of three to one should be followed in admitting new citizens, i.e. one new Lutheran citizen could be allowed for every three Catholic citizens. Similarly, the conference rejected the idea of a special tax on Protestants. The meeting also took a softer stance on the issue of Protestant religious practice and pastors. Referring to examples from the Empire and France, they believed it was still better to tolerate an erroneous religion than to push subjects into atheism (*viel ehender eine falsche irrige religion zu gedulden als den atheismum bey diesen verzweifelten leubten einzuführen*). For this reason, it was proposed, contrary to the February and March proposals drafted in Košice, that Protestant worship be temporarily tolerated in the suburban areas. It was also suggested that towns should be assessed separately because their sins were of different degrees. Separate investigations were deemed necessary for the blasphemy offenses in Kisszeben and Bártfa.

Montecuccoli, the “host” of the conference, wrote down a short record of the meeting.⁵⁴ It reveals that it was probably the Austrian Chancellor Hocher who suggested that Protestant religious practice should be tolerated to some extent. The monarch accepted the proposal of the conference at an audience in the presence of his most senior councilors. On May 26, Leopold I ordered that where the clergy had not yet been persecuted and Protestant worship had not yet been suspended, it should temporarily remain unchanged, and that Protestants should be allowed free exercise of religion in the suburbs.⁵⁵ In other words, the extreme idea of the complete abolition of the Protestant clergy, at least in the free royal towns, which was proposed by the Chamber and church leaders in Košice, was not supported by the Viennese Court in May 1673, based on the recommendations of the Hungarian Chamber and the *Gubernium*, and even allowed religious practice in the suburbs, albeit within limited limits!

However, parallel with the Vienna Conference, on May 16, 1673, the Hungarian Chamber received a royal document that initiated an investigation against a pastor accused of *turcismus*.⁵⁶ The Bishop of Eger did not let go off the action against the pastors either. On June 7, 1673, the Imperial Military Council informed General Cobb that the removal of the preachers requested by the Bishop of Eger was a matter for the *Gubernium*, not

⁵⁴ ÖStA, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten, Akten, fasz. 173., fol. 85–86.

⁵⁵ The draft decree of the emperor was dated May 26: ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r.Nr. 243., 1673. május, fol. 343r–345v, 350r–354v.

⁵⁶ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 206. The document has disappeared, so unfortunately it is not possible to identify the location, nor the pastor or whether it was against one or more preachers.

the Military Council.⁵⁷ However, there is only one known transcript written by the *Gubernium* to the Hungarian Chamber in July, reminding them of the points of the Imperial Decree of May 26, asking them to act on any of them if they had not started to do so, and requesting that a report be sent to the *Gubernium*.⁵⁸

All this doesn't clarify, what shift occurred in the summer of 1673 that led Archbishop György Szelepcsényi to believe that the time was right for a more vigorous action against the clergy. It could also be that this was the self-initiated action of the archbishop as the royal governor overseeing the administration of justice, presenting the Court with a *fait accompli*. This is contradicted by the fact that, according to the information of the canon of Szepes, it was the Governor of Ampringen who visited the county of Liptó to summon the clergymen to his own court as the initiators and instigators of the recent rebellions. An unspecified petition has been submitted to the Gubernator and Szelepcsényi. That is, Szelepcsényi would have started the action against the clergy in close cooperation with the *Gubernium*.⁵⁹

However, when the proceedings beginning on September 25, 1673, reached the mining towns of Lower Hungary, the Court intervened once again. Following reports from Selmecbánya and Besztercebánya in October and November, the expulsion of the clergymen of the Lower Hungary mining towns and their summoning to Bratislava was temporarily suspended by the Emperor on the advice of the Court Chamber. But this was purely for political-economic reasons. The Court started to fear that the miners and the population might move to Transylvania, or, in a worse scenario, that the valuable mining towns would fall into the hands of the rebels and thus the Turks, resulting in a huge loss. However, the Court's intervention came relatively late, and the documents received from the mining chamber were accompanied by *reversalis* certificates (letters of obligation) issued by the leaders of the surrounding villages and settlements, stating that they would not accept Reformed pastors, or by Reformed pastors themselves, declaring that they would suspend their profession and leave the territory of the imperial manor. These letters of obligation already show a partial similarity with the documents that were later forced on Protestant clergymen during the infamous galley-slave trial a few months later. The chamber was also shocked to learn from reports that the local military leader, Colonel Collalto, had taken the initiative to expel the Reformed pastors. The Imperial Military Council questioned the officer, but all they could report in their reply to the Court Chamber was that the Colonel had acted

⁵⁷ SZABÓ, István: Protestáns egyháztörténeti adattár az 1670–1681. évekből a bécsi hadiléváltárból III., *Egyháztörténet* 2., 1959, 3–4. sz., 301.

⁵⁸ MNL OL, E 39, Magyar Kamarai Levéltár, Insinuata regii gubernii Hungarici Ampringeniani, 1673. július, nr. 1., July 11, 1673.

⁵⁹ MNL OL, E 254, fasc. 61., 1673. szeptember, nr. 79., Szepes, September 20, 1673, Letter of György Lencsovcics, canon of Szepes to István Kolosváry, canon of Eger.

without the knowledge and permission of the Military Council on this sensitive religious issue.⁶⁰

Furthermore, on November 26, 1673, on the order of Archbishop Szelepcsényi, a new investigation was started into the occupation and plundering of the churches of Eperjes in the fall of 1672 and the resistance of the people of Eperjes in general.⁶¹ The affairs of the Lower and Upper Hungary towns and the action against their pastors thus gradually began to converge. In November 1673, the representatives of the central government authorities met again in Vienna for a conference. The four-day conference (November 14–16, 20) covered a wide range of issues. These included the case of the Lőcse preachers and their fellows, the expulsion of the pastors of the mining towns, and the issue of punishing the towns of Bártfa, Kisszeben, Késmárk and Lőcse.⁶² For in Lőcse, the exiled pastors gathered and continued their ministry under the protection of the town. The conference was informed by the Hungarian Chancellery that in their public sermons from the pulpit they urged the people of Lőcse to resist and rise up. On the issue of punishing the towns, they referred back to the decisions of the May conference, which seems to indicate that they were not very satisfied with the investigations, if any, that were conducted at that time. In the case of the pastors of the mining towns, Lipót Kollonics as president of the Hungarian Chamber and Bishop of Nyitra Tamás Pálffy, as Hungarian Chancellor, underlined that the preachers should be summoned to Bratislava as rebels, that is, not for religious reasons, but for political ones. At the two-day audience in Vienna (November 26–27, 1673), the emperor ordered that the preachers from Lőcse and their companions, as well as the pastors of the mining towns, should be summoned to Bratislava and tried there. Similarly, from each of the free royal towns mentioned, three or four representatives should be summoned who have the greatest knowledge (*so die meiste wissenschaftt haben*).⁶³

In my opinion, through this conference at the end of November, the Court gave free rein to the preachers' trials. While a few weeks earlier they had tried to mitigate the effects in the case of the mining towns, or while in the late spring of 1673 they had been even more lenient in the case of the Upper Hungarian towns, here they had clearly opted for a trial before the extraordinary court of Pressburg (Bratislava). It is very important to note

⁶⁰ ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r.Nr. 245., October 1673, fol. 98–108. October 12, 1673; fol. 119–126. October 14, 1673; fol. 249–250. October 24, 1673; November 1673, fol. 3–14. November 6, 1673; Szabó, op. cit., 307–308.

⁶¹ MNL OL, E 148, Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Neoregistrata acta, fasc. 1744., nr. 54.

⁶² ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r.Nr. 245., 1673. november, fol. 175–292., November 29, 1673. The importance of the November conference has already been pointed out by Katalin S. Varga: S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es*, op. cit., 65–66.

⁶³ ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, r.Nr. 245., 1673. november, fol. 269r–277v, 291r–292r.

that, under the influence of Kollonics and Pálffy, it was already emphasized here that the trials were politically motivated, charging the accused with sedition rather than being driven by religious motives. This became a recurring element in the galley-slave trial of 1674. This is hardly a coincidence, since Kollonics and Pálffy were the two heads of the national dicasteries, and they were among the judges conducting the preacher trials in Bratislava.⁶⁴ Historians dealing with the galley trial have invariably pointed out that the royal decree of January 6, 1674 addressed to the Archbishop Szelepcsényi, ordering proceedings against the preachers and their companions from Lőcse and Késmárk, as well as the citizens of Sopron, is known only from the minutes.⁶⁵ However, on January 4, two days earlier, the Hungarian Chamber sent the points discussed at the November conference, and issued on November 29, to the Szepes Chamber.⁶⁶ The phrase “*Praedicans Leutschoviensis, una cum complicibus suis, nota infidelitatis infectis, ad inquisitionem huc Posonium citandus*” contained in this is clearly reflected in the wording of the January 6 decree copied in the minutes: “*Leuchouienses et Késmarkienses praedicantes, veluti non postremi foedae illius rebellionis auctores cum complicibus ac aliis sibi similibus (...) citandi sint*”.⁶⁷ On the basis of all this, it is my opinion that the galley trial against the clergy was decided at the Vienna audience of November 26–27, 1673.

The “Košice model” was a response to the 1672 attack by the fugitives, in which a comprehensive plan of violent counter-reformation against Protestants was outlined. Although the Viennese Court did not react to the draft in the spring of 1673, the leaders of the Szepes Chamber kept it on the agenda via the issue of the towns that had sided with the uprising. The final step, however, was taken by Archbishop of Esztergom György Szelepcsényi with the first lawsuit against the 33 pastors. Finally, in November 1674, the Viennese Court basically gave the go-ahead for action against the Protestant clergy.

The trial and the fate of the preachers

The fact that the imperial decree was directed only against the pastors of individual towns, and not against the entire clergy, is probably due to the awareness of the Viennese Court that such a decree could have caused a political storm. The Lutheran orders of the empire, the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, headed by the electorate of Brandenburg, protested against the

⁶⁴ S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es*, op. cit., 40–41. Judges beside Pálffy and Kollonics: Archbishop György Szelepcsényi, viceroy; Archbishop of Kalocsa György Széchényi, Bishop of Veszprém István Sennyey, Bishop of Pécs János Gubasóczy, Lord Chief Justice Ádám Forgách, Pál Esterházy, Miklós Pálffy, László Károlyi.

⁶⁵ S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es*, op. cit., 149–150.

⁶⁶ MNL OL E 250, fasc. 46., nr. 8., January 04, 1674.

⁶⁷ S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es*, op. cit., 149.

insults to Protestants in Hungary already as early as 1672.⁶⁸ However, this did not stop the Bratislava court from initiating a mass trial in 1674, targeting essentially the entire Protestant clergy and schoolmasters in Hungary.

On January 19, 1674, the Hungarian Chamber sent to the Szepes Chamber a decree summoning the pastors of Késmárk, Lőcse and the thirteen town pastors of Szepes to Bratislava for March 5. At the same time, the Hungarian Chamber ordered the opening of an investigation against the towns of Lőcse, Bártfa, Kisszeben, and Késmárk.⁶⁹ The accusations were the same as the already known list of charges, which was expanded after 1670: participation in and incitement to rebellion, blasphemy and sacrilege, and association with the Turks. A little over seven hundred people were summoned, of whom more than three hundred eventually appeared in person in Bratislava. As Katalin Péter has pointed out, the trial did not become famous because of the large number of summonses and was essentially no different from the majority of insurrection trials before 1674. What made the proceedings in Bratislava in the spring of 1674 extraordinary was the resistance and perseverance of the clergymen who had been summoned and appeared at the trial.⁷⁰

There are several indications of a bias in the compilation of testimonies during the procedure. The testimonies from Pápa, recorded by the Bishopric of Csorna were so extremely falsified that the recording of the testimonies had to be repeated after the proceedings that were initiated by the witnesses. The question of the falsification of the Veszprém testimonies was also raised; here two of the accused, as well as soldiers of the Veszprém fortress, protested against the manipulation of testimonies.⁷¹ The analysis of the minutes points in this direction as well: for example, the translation of the Hungarian testimonies into Latin expanded the information contained therein. Katalin S. Varga also pointed out that the recording of the testimonies against Protestant clergymen had been continuous from the early 1670s, and that these earlier testimonies were used in the great trial in a targeted way.⁷²

At the beginning of the trial, the tribunal had already announced the possibility of the death penalty, from which there were three ways to escape:

⁶⁸ BAHLCKE, Joachim: *Ungarischer Episkopat und österreichische Monarchie. Von einer Partnerschaft zur Konfrontation (1686–1790)*, Stuttgart, 2005, 217.

⁶⁹ MNL OL E 250, fasc. 46., nr. 15., January 19, 1674.

⁷⁰ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 206–207.

⁷¹ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 200–201. For a thorough comparison of the testimonies of the witnesses and the minutes taken in Veszprém, as well as the testimonies of the Veszprém witnesses included in the Bratislava minutes, see: F. TÓTH, Péter: „Igen elkezdítetek kergetésünket”. *Az 1674-es gályarabper veszprémi jegyzőkönyve*, Veszprém, 2018. (*A Veszprém Megyei Levéltár kiadványai* 41.) 18–23.

⁷² S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es*, op. cit., 88–98.

by becoming a Catholic, by emigrating from the country or by resigning their ministry. On April 4, 1674, the summoned pastors were called to the Archbishop's Palace in Bratislava. Those who wished to remain in Hungary and leaving their office had to gather to the right of the door, while those who wished to emigrate had to stand to the left. Only those who choose death were to remain in the doorway. The preachers present all moved together: remaining in the doorway, expecting the death sentence. The tribunal was forced into a situation of necessity by the unexpected opposition and was forced to declare capital punishment and the forfeiture of property, although it was obvious that it could not be enforced. Leopold I could not, of course, sign so many death sentences, so orders were sent from Vienna to imprison four clergymen and exile the rest. The court, however, refused to accept this, and insisted on trying to have the summoned pastors sign letters of obligation, or choose the exile. After a long, unsuccessful trial, the possibility of galley-slavery was finally raised at the suggestion of Lipót Kollonich, although the death sentence passed earlier was never suspended.⁷³

Over the following months, an increasing number of prisoners were broken and persuaded to sign the letters of obligation, after many were transferred to various prisons around the country. By the beginning of 1675, forty-two prisoners remained scattered in the fortresses of Berencs, Komárom and Lipótvár. They were driven to Naples in the spring of 1675. On the way there, three escaped and seven died. The thirty-two surviving prisoners were sold as galley-slaves in Buccari and Naples.⁷⁴

Conclusions

In the Protestant countries of Europe, the fate of the Hungarian pastors caused a huge uproar. In Switzerland, donations were collected to bail out the preachers at the Viceroy of Naples, but in the end, Dutch diplomacy was more successful. The Dutch envoy in Vienna, Hamel Bruyninx, managed to persuade the Dutch government to take diplomatic action. At the Viennese Court, however, the release of prisoners was still conditional on the signing of letters of obligation. The Dutch envoy eventually did this on behalf of the prisoners, and also paid the ransom of 100 thalers per person using the donations collected in Switzerland.

As a result of the Franco-Dutch War, a large Dutch fleet was operating in the Mediterranean under the command of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter, which was stationed off the coast of Naples at the end of 1675. De Ruyter himself wrote several letters to the Viceroy of Naples, Fernando Fajardo, Marquis of Los Velez, asking him to help free the Hungarian galley-slaves. This took place on February 11, 1676, when the twenty-six surviving Hun-

⁷³ PÉTER, K.: *A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok*, op. cit., 207–209.

⁷⁴ BUCSAY, Mihály: *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1985, 115–116.

garian prisoners were transferred to the Dutch admiral's ship. In addition, five survivors of the group sold at Buccari on the seacoast were freed in May 1676, thanks to the intervention of John George II, Prince-Elector of Saxony⁷⁵

The thirty-one freed galley-slave preachers found new homes in Switzerland, in Protestant German provinces, in the Netherlands and in England. However, their initial positive reception was overshadowed in the host countries by the fact that the freed galley-slave preachers, such as the Lutheran György Lányi, attacked – even in writing – the exiled preachers who had fled Hungary by signing the letter of obligation.⁷⁶ However, the shock of the “decade of mourning” (when Protestant clergy was persecuted from 1671–1681) also had a major impact on Protestant church history writing. On the Reformed side, Bálint Kocsi Csergő presented the story of the galley-slaves in his *Narratio brevis*, which was later included in the great church history of the Reformed Church written by Pál Debreceni Ember, entitled *Historia ecclesiae reformatae in Hungaria et Transylvania*. As for the Lutherans, it was János Burius, Sr., who collected church historical data in his *Micae historico-chronologicae Evangelico-Pannonicae*, primarily about events of the decade of mourning.⁷⁷ A comprehensive Lutheran church history was not written until the 18th century, although Dániel Krmann's *Hungaria evangelica* remained in manuscript after all.⁷⁸

The attempt at counter-reformation – as László Benczédi pointed out in 1975 – remained fruitless. The preachers who had persevered to the end were still agonizing on the galleys when, in the course of 1675–1676, reports from representatives of the chambers, the military and the Catholic Church started to arrive from more and more parts of the Kingdom of Hungary about the return of Protestant pastors and schoolmasters and the resumption of congregational life.⁷⁹ Moreover, almost already during the great trial, the Viennese Court realized that it would have to make concessions in order to reduce social tensions. In order to reduce the military potential of the fugitives and to lure back the soldiers who had joined to the rebels, the court and the authorities were forced to make concessions, especially regarding the Protestant religious practice among the soldiers in the frontier fortresses. It was mainly the Military Council and the *Guber-*

⁷⁵ BITSKEY, István and PUSZTAI, Gábor (eds.): *Michiel Ruyter és Magyarország*, Budapest, 2008,

⁷⁶ KOWALSKÁ, Eva; GÜNTHER, Klesch, LÁNI und die anderen. Zur Typologie der ungarischen Exulanten des 17. Jahrhunderts, *Acta Comeniana* 20–21 (2007) 49–64.

⁷⁷ MAKKAI, László (ed.): *Galeria omnium sanctorum. A magyarországi gályarab prédikátorok emlékezete*, Budapest, 1976, 23–28.

⁷⁸ ZSILINSZKY, Mihály: *Kermann Dániel evangélikus püspök élete és művei, 1663–1740*, Budapest, 1899, 83–94.

⁷⁹ BENCZÉDI, L.: *A prédikátorpercek*, op. cit., II. 266–267.

nium that were inclined to reconciliation and the settlement of religious issues, without, of course, prejudice to the Catholic results achieved so far. The royal decree sent to General Paris von Spankau on April 26, 1674, allowed the presence of a Reformed and a Lutheran pastor in certain places, such as Szendrő, Ónod, Putnok, Nagykálló and Szatmár, partly because of the hope that this would help retaining the Protestant soldiers. The concessions granted to the Upper-Hungarian outposts were soon followed by others. On January 13, 1675, the Protestants serving in the Pápa, Veszprém, Vázsony, Tihany, Léva and Fülek fortresses were granted a letter of religious protection. In theory, however, this did not mean that preachers were allowed to operate or churches to be restored, yet in reality that is what happened. Thus, the main principle that evolved was that the pastors in the outposts should not go out under any circumstances to the nearby villages to serve the orphaned congregations there.⁸⁰

Of course, this was not nearly enough to resolve the social and denominational conflicts. From the late 1670s, the military successes of the emerging Imre Thököly and his *kuruc* movement, followed by the threat of a new Ottoman attack and campaign, forced the Viennese Court to retreat. The attempt of the Habsburg court to establish a central government failed with the Diet of Sopron in 1681, and the Hungarian estates were restored, the most symbolic step of which was the election of a new palatine in the person of Pál Esterházy. The religious laws passed by the Diet (Articles 25–26) were an attempt to reach an inter-denominational compromise, based in part on the territorial concessions made to military outposts from 1674.

Article 25 allowed the free exercise of religion, but with the important stipulation that the rights of the landlords were to be preserved. This meant that if the landlord objected, it was not possible to renew the Protestant religious practice in the settlement. The personal consequences of the preacher trials were also eliminated by this article, as it allowed the return and practicing of their profession for the pastors and schoolmasters who had been exiled or forced to sign a letter of obligation. Article 26 dealt mainly with churches. As a general principle, Protestant denominations were allowed to keep the churches that had been built by their followers but never consecrated according to the Roman Catholic rite. However, this meant that medieval churches of Catholic origin or churches built by Protestants but occupied during the Counter-Reformation of the 1670s and consecrated according to Catholic rites were not covered by the article. The law also made a strict territorial division: while in Lower Hungary it designated the places for the practice of Protestant religion for each county, in the counties of Upper Hungary and the counties that had just been liberated from Ottoman rule, it essentially left the status quo in place.

⁸⁰ MIHALIK, B. V.: *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, op. cit., 199–200.

In the free royal towns and in the mining towns, following the example of Bratislava, Lutherans were allowed to build a church, a school and a rectory in the suburbs at their own expense, in the designated places. Everyone was dissatisfied with the law already at the time of its birth: Catholics found it too lenient, Protestants scorned the too restricted concessions it granted. Moreover, the Viennese Court, especially after the fall of Imre Thököly (1685), interpreted the laws in an increasingly restrictive way, as expressed in the famous royal decree of 1691, the *Explanatio Leopoldina*.⁸¹

Although the violent counter-reformation subsided, the only possibility for Protestant religious practice was the limited allowances offered by the Sopron Articles of Religion and the royal decrees reinterpreting them, until the Edict of Tolerance of Emperor Joseph II. Because of the perseverance of the clergy and the consequences of the “decade of mourning” between 1671–1681, the galley-slave trial became a strong historical “memorial” of Protestant identity in Hungary.

⁸¹ MIHALIK, Béla Vilmos: Az 1681. évi vallásügyi cikkelyek alkalmazása a gyakorlatban. A Draskovich-Erdődy és a Csáky-féle királyi vallásügyi bizottságok működése, in Csorba, Dávid (ed.): *Vértelen ellenreformáció*, Budapest, 2020, 55–68.

MÁRTÍROK, HITEHAGYÓK, EMIGRÁNSOK: A GÁLYARABPEREK EVANGÉLIKUS VÁDLOTTJAI

MARTYRS, APOSTATES, EMIGRANTS: THE LUTHERAN
DEFENDANTS IN THE GALLEY-SLAVE TRIALS

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

A gályarabperек által kiváltott evangélikus emigrációról fennmaradt források nagy népmozgásra utalnak. A menekültek ellátása és integrálása jelentős erőforrásokat kötött le, jelenlétük meghatározó volt a nyilvános kommunikációban, és a sikeresen integrálódott szakemberek tartós szociális hálózatokat építettek ki. A magyarországi emigránsok igen hatásosan kommunikáltak és sikeresen játszották el a hangos kisebbség szerepét. Az emigráció kedvelt műfaja a prozopográfiai szempontból igen jelentős forrásértékkel bíró alkalmi nyomtatvány, a másik gyakori megnyilatkozási forma pedig a vitairat. Az emigránsok többsége ugyan 1681 után hazatért Magyarországra, de néhány év alatt sokan gyökeret vertek, egzisztenciát teremtettek maguknak idegen földön. A külföldön sikeresen integrálódott magyarországi teológusoknak jutott a patrónusi és hídszerep, hogy ösztöndíjakkal és kapcsolatrendszerrel támogassák a következő peregrinusgenerációkat. A Németországban maradt emigránsok közvetítőként kulcsszerepet játszottak a könyvek forgalmában és az új eszmei irányzatok magyarországi befogadásában.

ABSTRACT

The surviving sources on the evangelical emigration triggered by the galley trials indicate a large population movement. The care and integration of refugees tied up considerable resources, their presence dominated public communications, and successfully integrated professionals built up enduring social networks. The emigrants in Hungary communicated very effectively and successfully played the role of a vocal minority. The popular genre of emigration is the occasional print, which is a very important source of prozopography, and the other common form of expression is the discussion paper. Most of the emigrants returned to Hungary after 1681, but within a few years many of them had put down roots and established a livelihood in a foreign land. The Hungarian theologians who had successfully integrated abroad were given the role of patron and bridge to support the next generation of Peregrinus with scholarships and contacts. The émigrés who remained in Germany played a key role as intermediaries in the circulation of books and the reception of new ideas in Hungary.

Kulcsszavak: emigráció, peregrináció, emlékkönyv, alkalmi nyomtatvány, vitairat

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Keywords: emigration, peregrination, commemorative book, occasional publication, discussion paper

1 Diverging Paths

In the so-called galley-slave trials (Trnava, 1672; Bratislava, 1673; Spišské Podhradie, 1674; and finally the extraordinary court of Pressburg (Bratislava) where 600 Protestant preachers were tried in a monumental trial in 1674) the accused, after all of them had been found guilty of the capital crime of treason, could be exempted from the death penalty in three ways, by signing on of three letters of obligation: converting to Catholicism, leaving the country or resigning their pastoral position.¹ The majority of those who showed up for the trial signed one of the letters of obligation, while a minority (who would later become confessors, martyrs, and galley-slaves) refused to sign anything. These four options, the signing of the three letters of obligations and the rejection thereof, marked the four different paths, fates and identities of the preachers on trial.

The divergence of their paths soon generated heated debates among convicted preachers about what are right or wrong decisions in a confessional situation. After all, in the eyes of many, not only conversion was regarded as apostasy, but emigration and resignation were also seen as a breach of the pastoral oath. Both mass martyrdom (as a quantitative challenge) and the contradictory theological interpretations of suffering (as a qualitative challenge) required a sophisticated approach to the problem. Georg Láni (1646–1701), a Lutheran schoolmaster, and István Szőnyi Nagy (1632–1709), a Reformed pastor, both authors of several works, were not spared the written attacks of their contemporaries.

Láni himself was condemned to galley-slavery, but he managed to escape on his way to Naples and found a new home as an exile in Leipzig. Láni makes a fundamental distinction between the two types of martyrdom, the bloody (*cruentum*) and the bloodless (*incruentum*), shifting the emphasis from the external circumstances of the ordeal to the internal motives of the confessor. Although he was condemned to death, his successful escape allowed him to count himself among the bloodless martyrs, without questioning his own constancy (*constantia*). Above all, Láni's way of thinking characterized the self-perception of the emigrants, who were the most numerous group among the persecuted Lutherans.²

¹ S. VARGA, Katalin: *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve: textus és értelmezés, Historia litteraria 24*, Budapest, Universitas, 2008, 61–71. The study was funded by the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office under the call for proposals K-145896.

² KOWALSKÁ, Eva: GÜNTHER, Klesch, LÁNI und die anderen: Zur Typologie der ungarischen Exulanten des 17. Jahrhunderts, *Acta Comeniana 20–21 [44–45]*,

Szönyi's concept of martyrdom is not unlike that of Láni, but it goes even further away from the idea of martyrdom. Szönyi simply identifies martyrs (emphasizing the original Greek meaning of the word) with witnesses of truth. The crown of the martyrs is not their passive suffering and death, but their active deeds: their perseverance, their patience (*patientia*), and their confession of faith (*confessio*). This approach is well established both in Szönyi's personal experience (he was never threatened with the death penalty) and in Calvinist dogmatics.³

The modern historiography of early modern population movements—migration, emigration, exile, diaspora, deportation, and state-driven population policies—often recalls the theological debates of the 17th century in its search for interpretative and typological frameworks, as well as in its attempts to grasp the identity-shaping force of these phenomena.⁴ In doing so, scholars—sometimes consciously, sometimes without fully acknowledging it—tend to keep in mind the patterns and parallels of modern exoduses, expulsions, migrations, and population exchanges, whether transatlantic, global, or merely regional.⁵ Within this typology, the emigration associated with the galley-slave trials falls into the category of legally enforced, confession-based expulsion—distinct, for instance, from the violent deportation of the so-called *Ländlers*⁶ or the refugee movements

2007, 49–64; TÓTH, Zsombor: *Persecutio decennalis (1671–1681). The Lutheran Contribution to the Emergence of a Protestant Martyrology in Early Modern Hungarian Culture: The Case of Georgius Lani*, in SELDERHUIS, Herman J. (ed.): *Luther in Calvinism: Image and Reception of Martin Luther in the History and Theology of Calvinism (Refo500 Academic Studies 42.)*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017, 335–353.

³ TÓTH, Zsombor: *A hosszú reformáció jegyében: Vallási perzekúció és tanúságtétel a református irodalmi hagyományban a gyászévtizedtől 1800-ig (Humanizmus és reformáció 41.)*, Budapest, BTK, ITI, 2023, 180–190.

⁴ Early example of such typology: WINTER, Eduard: *Die tschechische und slowakische Emigration in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1955.

⁵ SCHUNKA, Alexander – OLSHAUSEN, Eckart (eds.): *Migrationserfahrungen – Migrationsstrukturen*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2010. (*Stuttgarter Beiträge zur historischen Migrationsforschung 7.*); ERTL, Thomas (ed.): *Erzwungene Exile: Umsiedlung und Vertreibung in der Vormoderne (500 bis 1850)*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 2017; FATA, Márta: *Mobilität und Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit (Einführungen in die Geschichtswissenschaft. Frühe Neuzeit 1.)*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020.

⁶ STEINER, Stephan: *Reisen ohne Wiederkehr: Die Deportation von Protestanten aus Kärnten 1734–1736 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 46.)*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 2007.; STEINER, Stephan: *Rückkehr unerwünscht: Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext*, Vienna, Böhlau Wien, 2014.

of religious minorities such as the Mennonites or Hutterites.⁷ The most important identity-shaping elements of the Lutheran emigration of the 1670s were religion, confession of faith, and even pronounced confession in a confrontational situation.⁸

2 The quantitative extent of Lutheran emigration

How many people were involved in the Lutheran emigration triggered by the galley-slave trials? If we count only those who, in the aforementioned letter of obligation, committed themselves to leaving Hungary, we find exactly 80 individuals (including some who, despite their commitment, ultimately remained in the country). However, the image preserved in foreign sources suggests a much larger migration: Providing for and integrating the refugees required significant resources⁹; their presence played a key role in public discourse, and those professionals¹⁰ who were successfully inte-

⁷ Cf. BAHLCKE, Joachim (ed.): *Glaubensflüchtlinge: Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsmigration in Europa (Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 4.)*, Berlin, Münster, LIT-Verl., 2008.

⁸ Cf. BAHLCKE, Joachim – BENDEL, Rainer (eds.): *Migration und kirchliche Praxis: das religiöse Leben frühneuzeitlicher Glaubensflüchtlinge in alltagsgeschichtlicher Perspektive (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands 40.)*, Cologne, Böhlau, 2008; JÜRGENS, Henning P. – WELLER, Thomas (eds.): *Religion und Mobilität: zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2010. (*Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Supplement 81.*); SPOHNHOLZ, Jesse – WAITE, Gary K. (eds.): *Exile and religious identity, 1500–1800 (Religious cultures in the early modern world 18.)*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

⁹ Cf. ZSINDELY, Endre: A magyar gályarab prédikátorok történetének zürichi dokumentumai, *Theologiai Szemle* 19, 1976, 7–8, 196–199; FATA, Márta: Glaubensflüchtlinge aus Ungarn in Württemberg im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Forschungsaufriß mit einer Dokumentation der Exulanten, in ERDÉLYI, Gabriella – TUSOR, Péter (eds.): *Mindennapi választások: Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára*, Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007, 519–547; METASCH, Frank: *Exulanten in Dresden: Einwanderung und Integration von Glaubensflüchtlingen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Schriften zur sächsischen Geschichte und Volkskunde 34.)*, Leipzig, Leipziger Univ.-Verl., 2011.

¹⁰ Cf. SCHUNKA, Alexander: *Gäste, die bleiben: Zuwanderer in Kursachsen und der Oberlausitz im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert (Pluralisierung & Autorität 7.)*, Hamburg, Münster, LIT-Verl., 2006.; MAHLING, Lubina: *Verflechtungsraum Lausitz. Böhmisches-ungarische Exulanten und Lausitzer Sorben: Begegnungen und Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert (Kleine Reihe des Sorbischen Instituts Bautzen 31.)*, Budyšin, Serbski institut, 2019.

grated built lasting social networks. The explanation for this contradictory phenomenon is twofold:

1) Only a small proportion of the ecclesiastical intellectuals who left the country appear in the galley-trial record,
 – because students who do not return after finishing their university studies due to the expected persecution do not appear at all,
 – and the teachers in the affected schools were also summoned to Bratislava only in exceptional cases;¹¹

– but there were also some pastors who were forced abroad by the authorities before the trial began, so it was unnecessary to summon them.

2) The other explanation is social psychological: the emigrants in Hungary communicated very effectively¹² and successfully played the role of the vocal minority: they appeared to be more numerous than they were actually.

In his monumental memoir *Micae*, the eyewitness Johannes Burius (1636–1688) mentions a total of 314 persons by name, setting up different categories for the confessors and renegades, those who fled to Transylvania, those who stayed at home, and those who emigrated to German-speaking lands.¹³ Burius's lists contain about one and a half times more names of Lutheran theologians than the trial records, and his data are often more accurate, as he reports on personal acquaintances, and he is less likely to misuse names and places of service than the scribes of the official files. The other such close witness is Job Trusius (1622–1687), who in his epic mourning poem "Statua," wishes to commemorate those who died abroad and thus never returned home. Trusius (counting himself) names 65 fellow sufferers who buried their family members in foreign soil or never saw their homeland again.¹⁴

I take further quantitative data on denominational emigration from

¹¹ Notable exceptions: Bálint Kocsi Csergő, galley-slave and memoir author, rector of Pápa (*1647), Georg Láni, rector of Korpona, mentioned above, Johannes Simonides, memoir author and rector of Breznóbánya (1648–1708, he also managed to escape like Láni), and Michael Pavlovitz, rector of Turócszentmárton (1647–1675), martyred as a galley-slave.

¹² Cf. OTTO, Karl F. Jr. – CLARK, Jonathan P. (eds.): *Bibliographia Kleschiana: The writings of a baroque family*. Columbia, S.C., Camden House, 1996.

¹³ Several copies of Burius's Latin work are available in Hungarian and Slovakian manuscript repositories, and its most important parts were also published in print: BURIUS, Johannes: *Micae historiae Evangelicorum in Hungaria ab anno 1673. ad 1688. annum. Ex autographo Posoniensi edidit Paulus Lichner*, Posonii, Wigand, 1864.

¹⁴ [TRUSIUS, Hiobus:] *Statua, in Perennem Mnemosynen Virorum, ex Hungaria per diversas mundi plagas, pro Nomine Christi, & Veritate Evangelii Cum suis suspirando exulantium, & intra LXXIII. ad LXXXVI. inclusive. Sedecimi aerae Christianae seculi, vitam miseram & tristem cum placida beataque morte commu-*

the following three groups of sources: school enrollments (MTA-ELTE University History Research Group databases¹⁵), occasional forms published abroad (the *RMK III*. bibliographical volumes¹⁶), and album entries (the online database of the *Inscriptiones Alborum Amicorum* in Szeged¹⁷). Via the combined use of these, the centers of Lutheran emigration in Germany and Silesia can be identified.

3 Exile centers in German-speaking regions

The quantitative study clearly ranks Wittenberg, the main center of Hungarian peregrination in the 17th century, as the primary destination of this emigration. In the tables below, data from two relatively “peaceful years” (1669 and 1680) serve as bookends to the period between 1674 and 1679, which marked a significant rise in emigration. When measured against these “peaceful years,” the volume of data available from the three source groups between 1674 and 1679 at least doubles—and in some cases, increases exponentially. The “cumulative indicator,” calculated from the total data in the table, helps in ranking the centers.

	Wittenberg						cumulative indicator: 286		
	1669	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1674–79
Szögi 2011	8	14	19	20	14	13	20	9	100
RMK III	18	15	13	22	44	24	29	19	147
IAA	0	15	0	11	2	0	11	0	39

tantium, cum annexa Paraenetica Paraclési, erecta Operá H. T. R. H. P. C. L., RMK III. 3453, Lipsiae, Literis Johannis Georgii, 1687.

¹⁵ SZÖGI, László: *Magyarországi diákok lengyelországi és baltikumi egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526–1788* (Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban 9.), Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Levéltára, 2003.; SZÖGI, László: *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526–1700* (Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban 17.), Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Levéltára, 2011.; SZÖGI, László: *A breszlai (1530–1693) és a görlitzi (1586–1685) akadémiai gimnáziumok magyarországi hallgatói*, *Gerundium* 11, 2020, 3–4, 169–196.

¹⁶ SZABÓ, Károly – HELLEBRANT, Árpád: *Régi magyar könyvtár III*. Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1898. BORSA, Gedeon – DÖRNYEI, Sándor – SZÁLKA, Irma (eds.): *Pótlások, kiegészítések, javítások*. 1–5. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1990–1996.

¹⁷ LATZKOVITS, Miklós et al.: *Inscriptiones Alborum Amicorum (IAA)*, Szeged, Szegedi Tudományegyetem Klebelsberg Kuno Könyvtára, 2003–2021. DOI: 10.14232/iaa.

Wittenberg being ranked as first can be explained by its prestige in the tradition of peregrination: the choice of university was strongly influenced by family traditions and the map of ideologies established in the minds of students. On the other hand, it was also hospitable and had a good infrastructure:¹⁸ the campus was a good place for exiles to spend shorter or longer periods of time, even enrolling in the university as adults. A debated issue in this research is to what extent was there an institutionalized organization of the Hungarian student body in the second half of the 17th century (i.e. between the dissolution of the Hungarian coetus and the establishment of the Hungarian library: 1613–1725), but the institutions that served the university (such as the printing presses) were certainly available to the emigrants.

Other Lutheran universities traditionally attended by Hungarian students at this time also showed a similar pattern, although to a significantly lesser extent than Wittenberg: Altdorf, Jena, Königsberg, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Tübingen. Of these, Leipzig stands out, taking second place in the ranking. As a town of trade fairs and printing houses, that is, a transportation and communication hub, Leipzig offered the emigrants first-class opportunities:

	Leipzig						cumulative indicator: 131		
	1669	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1674–79
Szögi 2011	4	7	11	14	14	6	7	2	69
RMK III	0	0	9	8	8	12	6	3	43
IAA	0	11	4	4	0	0	0	0	19

Leaving the academic world behind, we now turn to towns which, due to their so-called academic high schools, had become destinations of student mobility earlier, and of emigration in the so-called “decade of mourning.” Because of their geographical proximity and linguistic and cultural similarities, Silesia and Lusatia were traditional destinations for travelers, young craftsmen, students, job-seekers or refugees from Northern Hungary. Geographical proximity, easier contact with those who had stayed at home, was also an important consideration for the Lutheran emigrants of the 1670s, many of whom did not even try to move on, but tried taking root there or to move from town to town within the province. Naturally, Wrocław as a large town has the most data to offer. Moreover, the first

¹⁸ Cf. MONGE, Mathilde – MUCHNIK, Natalia (eds.): *Early modern diasporas: a European history*, London–New York, Routledge, 2022.

set of data on schooling could theoretically be doubled, since we have the list of students of only one of the two prestigious schools of Wrocław—Elisabethgymnasium and Maria Magdalengymnasium. Also, there were probably a similar number of Hungarian students enrolled in the academic gymnasium of the town's main church, the Elisabethkirche.

	Wrocław						cumulative indicator: 112		
	1669	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1674–79
Szögi 2020	5	20	15	17	10	7	10	4	83
RMK III	0	1	0	2	4	2	2	1	11
IAA	0	0	1	2	0	9	6	0	18

Compared to Wrocław, we have far fewer data from Görlitz in Lusatia, partly due to its small-town character and the greater geographical distance. Nevertheless, the trend—the vibrancy of the years following 1674—is striking here as well.

	Görlitz						cumulative indicator: 26		
	1669	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1674–79
Szögi 2020	0	11	5	2	2	3	0	0	23
RMK III	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
IAA	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2

Lastly, it is worth mentioning Brzeg in Lower Silesia, which also had an academic gymnasium; however, with the *matricula* lost, its student body remains unknown, and the table is consequently missing one data set. In terms of printed materials and album entries, however, Brzeg produces exactly the same aggregated number as Wrocław does above. Brzeg was primarily an ecclesiastical center, the seat of one of the bishops of the Legnica-Brzeg provincial church, and in the early 17th century, being the closest, it was the most favored ordination site for Hungarian pastoral candidates. The parents of several emigrants had been ordained as pastors here—a circumstance that may have carried emotional weight in their choice.

	Brzeg						cumulative indicator: 29		
	1669	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1674–79
RMK III	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	6
IAA	0	0	8	15	0	0	0	0	23

4 Sources, genres, ideological debates

The systematic exploration of early modern denominational emigration began with the aforementioned *RMK III* bibliography. Volume III of *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* (in contrast to the first two volumes) was already deliberately exploiting the most important collection of books and documents related to this emigration, the so-called Hungarian Library, *Bibliotheca Nationis Hungaricae*, in Wittenberg-Halle. The library was founded in 1725 in Wittenberg by one of the key figures of the emigration, Georg Cassai Michaelis (1640–1725), and after the merger of the universities of Wittenberg and Halle in the 19th century, it was transferred to Halle, where it is still kept as a major special collection of the Halle University Library.¹⁹ The cataloging of the printed materials allowed for the literary-historical overviews of Béla Pukánszky (1895–1950)²⁰ and the Hungarica research of the last century.

One of the favored genres of the emigration is the occasional printed work, which holds considerable source value from a prosopographical perspective. Birthdays and name days, weddings and funerals, greeting and farewell poems all belong to this category, and they practically invite digital humanists to apply network analysis and data visualization.²¹

¹⁹ GÁBORNÉ [KLEMENT], Ildikó et al. (eds.): *Bibliotheca Nationis Hungariae. Die Ungarische Nationalbibliothek in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle. Der Katalog aus dem Jahr 1755. Textausgabe der Handschrift der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek Budapest: Catalogus Librorum, Dissertationum, et Manuscriptorum Variorum ad Rem Hungaricam praecipue facientium ex Bibliotheca, quae Vitebergae est, Hungarorum congestus ab Adamo Latsny Turotzensi. Vitebergae Saxonum die XV. Nov. A.R.S. M.DCC.LV*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 2005.

²⁰ PUKÁNSZKY, Béla: A magyarországi protestáns exuláns irodalom a XVII. században, *Protestáns Szemle* 34, 1925, 144–154; PUKÁNSZKY, Béla: *A magyarországi német irodalom története: A legrégebbi időktől 1848-ig*, Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő, Attraktor, 2002. (*Historia incognita* 1.) Cf. also: TEKUS, Ottó: Az exulánsok, *Lelkipásztor* 50, 1975, 6, 350–352.

²¹ NAGY, Andor: Érvényesülési stratégiák a brassói száz szász tisztviselők körében: Kapcsolatháló-elemzés és családrekonstrukció az alkalmi nyomtatványok segítségével (1650–1750), Dissertation, Eger, Eszterházy Károly Egyetem, 2019. Similar dissertation based on the IAA database: MARKÓ, Anita: Az irodalmi in-

Another frequent form of expression among exiles was the polemical tract. Much like in twentieth-century political emigrations, where two emigrants were said to found three parties, Lutheran theologians engaged in sharp ideological debates over the causes of their exile, its higher meaning, and the message it might convey to posterity. According to Andreas Günther (1638–1709), persecution and banishment were God’s just punishment upon their generation. In contrast, Georg Láni and Daniel Klesch (1624–1697) rejected this view, attributing their suffering not to God but to the devil. They refused self-conceit and encouraged their fellow exiles to remain steadfast in their confession of faith.²² Such encouragement was much needed, as many could not endure the wandering life or the separation from loved ones, and returned to their homeland — only to face even more bitter trials upon their arrival.

I have just mentioned Cassai (adjunct professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Wittenberg, dean in 1712) as a key figure, and an examination of his correspondence and album amicorum preserved in the Hungarian Library of Wittenberg-Halle supports this assessment. In Cassai’s estate we find letters from Georg Láni, the galley-slave Thomas Steller (1640–1715), Tobias Masnicius (1640–1697), who had successfully escaped from the galleys, and Michael Liefmann (1619–1702), a bishop who had emigrated from Košice.²³ Masnicius’ letters are consistently signed with the initials ToMas, which is deciphered by a subsequent annotation in the recipient’s (Cassai’s) handwriting: “Tobias Masnicius.” The initials may be a self-critical reference to the apostle Doubting Thomas, since Masnicius did not persevere in following his fellow confessions into the galleys, but like Láni, took the opportunity to escape.

In the student album of Cassai²⁴, we find the entries of 28 Hungarian exiled preachers, including five former galley-slaves liberated in Naples. In their signatures, the self-designation *exul* or *exul Christi* stands out as a key element of identity. In the case of Masnicius, this gesture of attention was mutual: though not on the same day, they both wrote in each other’s

tézmény kezdetei Magyarországon: értelmiségi társaságok a középkorban és a kora újkorban, Dissertation, Budapest, ELTE, 2020.

²² KOWALSKÁ, Eva: Das umstrittene Exil: Andreas Günther vs. Daniel Klesch. in KRIEGLER, Wynfrid – SEIDLER, Andrea – TANCER, Jozef (eds.): *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur in der Zips*, Bremen, edition lumière, 2007, 51–62; KOWALSKÁ, Eva: Confessional Exile from Hungary in 17th Century Europe: The Problem of Mental Borders. in ELLIS, Steven G. – KLUSÁKOVÁ, Luďa (eds.): *Imagining Frontiers. Contesting Identities*, Pisa, Edizioni Plus, 2007, 229–242.

²³ See the manuscript with call number Ung. Ms. 9 at the University and State Library of Saxony-Anhalt.

²⁴ Ibid. Ung. Ms. 12. The IAA has not yet processed it.

album during the same year, 1676.²⁵ Masnicius's entry, in addition to containing a chronogram, is also a concrete poem forming a ship. With some poetic exaggeration, he summarizes his tribulations in the words *terra mari poloque versatus*, and describes himself—ambiguously—as *redivivus ab Neapoli*, “reborn by Naples.” There is no doubt that Masnicius had indeed traveled by ship (crossing the Adriatic), and he owed his freedom to Neapolitan merchants. Yet even in this entry we can already detect a soon-to-be widespread trend: the effort to meet the expectations of readers who, spoiled by the illustrations in pamphlets, had come to expect galley images everywhere.

5 Conclusion: the cultural significance of 17th century denominational emigration

Although most of the exiles returned to Hungary after 1681, when the resolution of the Diet of Sopron annulled all punishments and obligations imposed on preachers, many of them had, within just a few years, taken root and established a livelihood in foreign lands.²⁶ In 2014, I had the opportunity to browse through all the German *Pfarrerbuch* volumes—biographical dictionaries of Protestant ministers—within a few weeks, or at least those equipped with indexes of personal and place names (amounting to about five linear meters in the better German libraries). From these, I gathered large numbers of ministerial dynasties that could be traced back to a single 17th-century Hungarian exile: the Bornagius, Faschkó, and Führenstein families in Alsace; the Roxers in Anhalt and Thuringia; the Serpilius family in Regensburg; and the Pilarik, Seelmann, Weissbeck, and Wislicenus families in Saxony. Those Hungarian theologians who had successfully integrated abroad often assumed the role of patrons and mediators, supporting new generations of peregrine students through scholarships and professional networks—seeking to give something back to their homeland from the intellectual riches they had once accumulated during their education. Research in recent decades has shown that exiles who remained in Germany played a key mediating role in the circulation of books

²⁵ Masnicius's entry: Ung. Ms. 12: 136v. Cassai's: IAA nr. 2161. URL: http://iaa.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php?page=browse&entry_id=2161 Last Accessed: 17-04-2025

²⁶ KOWALSKÁ, Eva: *Konfessionelle Exulanten aus Ungarn: Akzeptanz und Wirken im Alten Reich*, in Deventer, Jörg (ed.): *Konfessionelle Formierungsprozesse im frühneuzeitlichen Ostmitteleuropa: Vorträge und Studien (Berichte und Beiträge des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas 2006/2.)*, Leipzig, Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, 2006, 297–313.

and in the reception of new intellectual currents in Hungary.²⁷ A tangible legacy of this phenomenon is the Hungarian Library of Wittenberg-Halle.

²⁷ KOWALSKÁ, Eva: Exil als Zufluchtsort oder Vermittlungsstelle? Ungarische Exulanten im Alten Reich während des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts, in BÄHLCKE, Joachim (ed.): *Glaubensflüchtlinge: Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsmigration in Europa (Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 4.)*, Berlin, Münster, LIT-Verl., 2008. 257–276.; KOWALSKÁ, Eva – GERSTMEIER, Markus: *Evangelische Exulanten aus dem Königreich Ungarn und der frühe Pietismus: Migration, Krisenbewältigung und religiöser Wissenstransfer zwischen ungarischen und deutschen Zentren des Luthertums im 17. Jahrhundert*, in FATA, Márta – SCHINDLING, Anton (ed.): *Luther und die Evangelisch-Lutherischen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen-Augsburgisches Bekenntnis, Bildung, Sprache und Nation vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918 (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 167.)*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2017, 277–318.

A POZSONYI VÉSZTÖRVÉNYSZÉK HATÁSA ERDÉLYBEN. HÍREK ÉS MENEKÜLTEK

THE IMPACT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY COURT OF PRESSBURG IN
TRANSYLVANIA. NEWS AND REFUGEES.¹

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

A tanulmány eddig a kutatás által nem vizsgált kérdést feszeget. Azt igyekszik feltárni, hogy az Erdélyi Fejedelemség református elitjének levelezésében, egyéb egodokumentumaiban hogyan jelenik meg az 1671-ben kezdődött magyarországi protestánsüldözés. Emellett arra is választ keres, hogy milyen módokon próbált Erdély református nemessége segítséget nyújtani az üldözött magyarországi protestánsoknak. A kutatás eddigi eredményei alapján az erdélyi reformátusoknak naprakész ismereteik voltak a történekről és több módon is igyekeztek segíteni. Egyrészt üldözött menekülteket fogadtak be, másrészt felhívták a nemzetközi közvélemény figyelmét az eseményekre és némelyek a katonai segítség adását is támogatták.

ABSTRACT

The study deals with a question that has not yet been addressed in research. It attempts to investigate how the persecution of Protestants in Hungary, which began in 1671, appears in the correspondence and other documents of the Reformed elite of the Principality of Transylvania. It also aims to answer the question of how the Reformed nobility of Transylvania tried to help the persecuted Protestants in Hungary. The results of previous research indicate that the Transylvanian Reformed were aware of what was happening and tried to help in various ways. On the one hand, they took in persecuted refugees; on the other, they drew international attention to the events and in some cases even supported the provision of military aid.

Kulcsszavak: vésztörvényszék, gályarabok, Erdély, református elit, levelezés

Keywords: emergency justice, galley slaves, Transylvania, Reformed elite, correspondence

The so-called “decade of mourning” (*gyászévtized*), a period of intense Protestant persecution in the Kingdom of Hungary, began in 1671 fol-

¹ This study was supported by the HUN-REN-ELTE Research Group on Noble Emigration and Memory (1541–1756): Source Exploration and Critical Edition.

lowing the suppression of the Wesselényi conspiracy.² Although the chief organizers of the conspiracy were in fact high-ranking Catholic nobles—among them Palatine István Wesselényi, Ban of Croatia Péter Zrínyi, Croatian magnate Fran Krsto Frankopan, and Prince-elect of Transylvania Francis I Rákóczi—the event, along with the significant number of Protestant lesser nobles involved (mostly from the circles of István Thököly), gave the Catholic Habsburg ruler an opportunity to accelerate the ongoing process of re-Catholicization, which had previously definitely relied on more subtle means. In the second half of the 17th century, it was established that the stability of an increasingly deliberate system of absolutist governance could be further reinforced by religious uniformity, and thus a systematic assault was launched against Protestant denominations. In early 1671, just before the onset of the persecutions, the Bishop of Várad published an agenda-setting anti-Protestant treatise. In his “*Veritas toti mundo declarata*,” printed in Košice, Bishop of Várad György Bársony argued that, despite the legal guarantees then in force, the ruler was under no obligation to tolerate Protestants. The ideology was that the Wesselényi uprising had invalidated such obligations, since it was the Protestants who had rebelled against the king.³ Thus, it was the Protestant estates that had broken their alliance with the monarch, making their subsequent persecution not only legitimate but a sacred duty of the Apostolic King. This ideological groundwork was significant, as the peace treaties concluded during the century between the princes of Transylvania and the Hungarian kings repeatedly affirmed the right to Protestant religious freedom—a right that could be revoked only on well-founded grounds.⁴ Throughout the century, Péter Pázmány and the Jesuit order had made sustained efforts to restore the Catholic faith among the nobility, which resulted in notable success, particularly in the western regions of the country.⁵ In the northern and eastern territories, however, Protestants continued to live in large numbers, and the garrisons along the frontier⁶ were still predominantly Protestant. The reprisals following the Wesselényi conspiracy now seemed to offer a favorable opportunity for the violent transformation of the system. The first court session convened in Pressburg (Bratislava) on January 3, 1671,

² The research trips essential to this study were made possible with the support of the Kálmán Újszászy Institute for Reformed Heritage Research at the Sárospatak Reformed Theological University.

³ PAYR, Sándor: *A magyar protestáns gályarabok*. Budapest, 1927, 9.

⁴ The pro-Protestant sections of the Treaty of Vienna concluded by István Bocskai, the Peace of Nikolsburg concluded by Gábor Bethlen and the Peace of Linz concluded by George I. Rákóczi.

⁵ TUSOR, Péter: *Katolikus konfesszionalizáció a kora újkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 2008, 50–65.

⁶ BENDA, Kálmán: A végvári harcok ideológiája, in *Történelmi Szemle*, 1963/6, 15–18.

presided over by Johann von Rottal.⁷ At this stage, the proceedings focused not primarily on the clergy, but on Protestant nobles implicated in the conspiracy. It was this court that sentenced Ferenc Bónis, a Protestant nobleman committed to Wesselényi, to death⁸, and posthumously ordered the confiscation of the property of István Vitnyédy, a lawyer, notary, and parliamentary delegate from Sopron.⁹ It was also around this time that Mikuláš Drabík, a Czech-Moravian pastor and associate of the famed Czech educator and visionary Jan Amos Comenius, was also executed in Bratislava.¹⁰ Drabík, who was brutally tortured before his execution, was 82 years old at the time.¹¹

The news of the extraordinary court and the persecution of Protestants reached Transylvania swiftly, causing considerable internal turmoil among members of the Protestant elite. The confessional structure of Transylvanian society had undergone significant changes over the course of the 17th century. In particular, the denominational composition of the elite had shifted, largely due to the deliberate confessional policies pursued by Gábor Báthory, Gábor Bethlen, and George I Rákóczi. By the time of Prince Michael I Apafi's rule, however, the situation had become more complex than it had been in previous decades. While both Gábor Bethlen and George I Rákóczi had consistently supported the Reformed Church and its elite throughout their reigns—including financially—this began to change under Prince Michael I Apafi, especially after the first half of his rule. Namely, during the rule of George II Rákóczi, several Catholic families rose to prominence. This was partly due to their distinguished service in the prince's numerous military campaigns and partly due to the influence of his wife, Zsófia Báthory, who outwardly converted to Calvinism but remained closely tied to the Catholic Church and lent her support

⁷ BARTA M., János: *Rottal János levelezése Csáky Istvánnal és Ferencsel*, MTA, BTK, 2017.

⁸ W. SALGÓ, Ágnes (ed.): *A Wesselényi-összeesküvés. Beszámoló a perről és a kivégzésekről*, Budapest., Helikon, OSZK, 2005. (Facsimile and translation of *Aussführliche und warhafftige Beschreibung* with studies.)

⁹ FABO, András: *Vitnyédy István levelei 1652–1664, Adalékul a XVII. század politikai és erkölcsstörténetéhez*, Pest, Eggenberger, 1871, Vol. 3, 3. (15.), 7–21. (*Magyar Történelmi Tár*, 1.5) URL: http://real-j.mtak.hu/4072/1/MagyarTortenelmiTar_1871_15_2_03.pdf (Last accessed: 15-04-2025); KÁROLYI, Bálint: Adalékok egy soproni ügyvéd műveltségéhez: Vitnyédy István és könyvtára, *Magyar könyvszemle* Vol. 136, no. 3, 2020, 183–202.; SÁRKÖZI, Gergely: Vitnyédy István és az evangélikus oktatásügy, *Credo*, 2006, Vol. 12, no. 1–2, 3–16.

¹⁰ PÉTER, Katalin: Drabik Miklós, a lehotkai próféta, in *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 2006/2, URL: https://epa.oszk.hu/03300/03307/00014/egyhaztorteneti_szemle_2006_02_002.htm (Last accessed: 01-05-2025)

¹¹ KVACSALA, János: Egy álprófeta a XVII-ik században, *Századok*, 1889, 746.

to these families. Additionally, the prince's confidant, János Kemény, also maintained close ties with prominent Catholic figures, including the Mikes family of Zabola and István Petki of Királyhalma. These dynamics led to Mihály Mikes of Zabola becoming chancellor of Transylvania—filling one of the highest and most influential positions. Despite these shifts, George II Rákóczi remained loyal to his faith and, like his father and Gábor Bethlen, offered substantial support to the Reformed Church. The devastation wrought between 1658 and 1660, however, made continued princely patronage increasingly difficult, forcing the Transylvanian Reformed Church and its institutions to rely more heavily on the financial support of the Protestant nobility. Even so, the Reformed elite itself enjoyed unconditional assurance of the prince only during the first two decades of the Apafi era. Because from the mid-1670s onward, leading members of this Protestant nobility—such as Dénes Bánffy, János Bethlen, Miklós Bethlen, and Pál Béli¹²—became targets of treason trials¹³, Catholic magnates succeeded in capturing key positions within the political elite by the 1680s.¹⁴

During the Decade of Mourning, leading Reformed aristocrats such as Dénes Bánffy of Losonc, János Bethlen and his son Miklós, as well as Pál Béli of Uzon, still retained full political power. The robust Transylvanian Reformed elite¹⁵ envisioned by Gábor Bethlen—bound together not only by shared interests but also by a dense web of family ties—had been consolidated during the rule of Prince George I Rákóczi, and this consolidation continued under the early reign of George II Rákóczi. By the second half of the 1650s, however, several Catholic families had risen to significant power and influence in the highest circles of Transylvanian politics. Among them was Mihály Mikes of Zabola, who attained the chancellorship—the highest office after the prince himself—and István Petki of Királyhalma, who served as chief captain of the Csíkszék district and played a prominent role

¹² BALOGH, Judit: Béli Pál, a református székely főember, in CSORBA, Dávid – SZATMÁRI, Emília (eds.): „...Tanácsaid hűség és igazság”: *Tisztelgő írások Dienes Dénes professzor úr 65. születésnapjára*, Budapest, Sárospatak: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Egyház és Társadalom Kutatóintézet, Reformáció Öröksége Műhely, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Kar Egyháztörténeti Kutatóintézet, Tiszáninneni Református Egyházkerület, 2021, 337–348 (*Reformáció Öröksége Könyvek* 2676-9824; 7/1-2)

¹³ BALOGH, Judit: Hűtlenségi perek az Erdélyi Fejedelemségben, *Miskolci Jogi Szemle: A Miskolci Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Karának Folyóirata* (1788-0386), 16 5 (2021/3 special edition), 2021, pp 42–54.

¹⁴ BALOGH, Judit: Református elitcsoporthozásának kísérlete a Székelyföldön Apafi Mihály korában, in HORVÁTH, Emőke – SARNYAI, Csaba Máté – VASSÁNYI, Miklós (eds.): *Egyházi és vallási reformtörekvések régen és ma*, Budapest, Kairosz Kiadó, 2020, 123–154.

¹⁵ BALOGH, Judit: Bethlen Gábor egyházpolitikája. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*: 24/4. 29-45. (2023)

in the military campaigns of the 1650s. He was also one of the four nobles to receive Polish citizenship (*indigenatus*).¹⁶ He also raised several orphans from Catholic noble families on his estate, including István Apor, who by the end of the seventeenth century would become one of the wealthiest Szekler nobles and a key figure in the Catholic elite.¹⁷ In addition, Petki arranged for the daughters of several leading Catholic Szekler families to be appointed to the court of Princess Zsófia Báthory.

The strengthening of the Catholic elite toward the end of the Rákóczi era did not go unnoticed by János Bethlen, who was appointed chancellor by Ákos Barcsai and retained this position under Prince Michael I Apafi until 1677.¹⁸ Bethlen, who had converted from Unitarianism to the Reformed faith in childhood under the influence of his guardian, supported the Transylvanian Reformed Church with the fervor of a convert.¹⁹ He recognized that under Prince George II Rákóczi, the Catholic elite had become increasingly organized, thereby strengthening the institutional framework of the so-called Transylvanian Roman-Catholic Status, which had been recognized in law since 1615. The newly compiled legal code—the *Approbatae Constitutiones Regni Transsylvaniae et Partium Hungariae eidem adnexarum*—included provisions that affirmed the Catholic community’s right to self-governance on par with the other recognized denominations. The prince sanctioned the resolutions of joint assemblies of the Diet and of the Catholic church—known as status assemblies—provided they were also approved by a majority of the Diet. Among these resolutions was the 1572 law, issued under the rule of István Báthory and often ignored in practice, which reaffirmed the status of Roman Catholicism as an “established religion” and authorized Catholics to administer their educational and foundation affairs at independent assemblies. From that point on, clergy and laypeople were, in principle, to dispute and act upon together on matters affecting the entire Catholic diocese of Transylvania. Over the course of the seventeenth century, these joint—or status—assemblies became increasingly institutionalized. These bodies were dominated by lay members of the Transylvanian Catholic elite, who not only drafted proposals to be submitted to the Diet and regularly voiced their grievances concerning denominational inequalities but also established foundations, founded and maintained schools, and, under George II Rákóczi, even suc-

¹⁶ TT XVIII. 73. Gyulafehérvár, November 24, 1653, II. Rákóczi György Kemény Jánosnak.; TT XVIII. 75. Gyulafehérvár, November 26, 1653, II. Gerge Rákóczi to János Kemény.; EOE XI: 31.

¹⁷ BÍRÓ, Vencel: *Altorja gróf Apor István és kora*, Kolozsvár, 1935.

¹⁸ TRÓCSÁNYI, Zsolt: *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540–1690, Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, III. Hatóság- és hivataltörténet 6.*, Budapest, 1980.

¹⁹ Bethlen János, a politikus és a történetíró: Erdély története Szalárdi és Cserei között, in *Ex Occidente...: A XVI. századi magyar irodalom európai kapcsolatai*, Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 1999, 103–118.

ceeded in reclaiming a number of properties. Thanks to the intercession of the Status, the Franciscan monastery at Mikháza was spared from closure.²⁰

Even though the Reformed princes actively supported the Reformed Church over the other established religions—namely Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Unitarianism—Bethlen János still considered it important to counterbalance the legally increasingly assertive Catholic elite. After the failed Polish campaign led by Prince George II Rákóczi and the ensuing Ottoman punitive expedition and civil war, Bethlen sought closer ties with the Reformed elite of Szeklerland that showed a significant military power, and who also maintained good relations with Prince Ákos Barcsai.²¹ This alliance was further reinforced by the marriage of his son, Miklós Bethlen, to Ilona Kun, the daughter of a Szekler noble.²²

During the 1660s and 1670s, the first two decades of the rule of Prince Michael I Apafi, the political elite was dominated by Reformed magnates who actively supported their own church within Transylvania and were in close contact with fellow Reformed communities in the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as with broader Calvinist networks across Europe. The most important offices at this time were held by János Bethlen of Bethlen, who served both as chancellor and chief captain of Udvarhelyszék; Pál Béli of Uzon, who held the position of *főkirálybíró* (chief royal judge) of Háromszék and for a time served as captain-general of the country; and Dénes Bánffy of Losonc, who simultaneously held the captaincies of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Szamosújvár (Gherla), as well as the post of lord-lieutenant of Kolozs County. Alongside them, Mihály Teleki, captain of Kővár, gradually rose in prominence within the Reformed elite, although his true influence only emerged after the deaths of the other leading magnates. All four were members of the princely council.²³ Of the four, two were converts. As mentioned earlier, János Bethlen converted to the Reformed faith from the Unitarian under the influence of his guardian after his father's death. The same was true for Pál Béli, whose conversion followed a similar path. Béli lost his father, Kelemen Béli—a Catholic—while still a child. Unlike János Bethlen, whose mother remarried, Béli was placed under the guardianship of a distant Reformed relative, along with his two brothers and three sisters. This relative was Zsigmond Kékedy, who had entered the Transylvanian princely court under Prince Gabriel Bethlen, but

²⁰ SAS, Péter: Az Erdélyi Római Katolikus Státus, in *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 2002/3, URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130729040503/http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/saspeter-erdely.htm>, Last accessed: 17-03-25

²¹ Barcsai Ákos maintained close ties with Tamás Basa of Zabola, the Reformed captain general of Háromszék, as well as with Judge Royal György Lázár of Gyalakuta, along with their respective circles.

²² V. WINDISCH, Éva: Bethlen Miklós élete leírása magától, in *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei*, Budapest, 1980. 624–625.

²³ Bánffy Dénes 1664-1674. Bethlen János 1658-1678. Béli Pál 1672-1678.

whose career peaked only during the reign of George I Rákóczi.²⁴ A native of Zemplén County²⁵ with maternal ancestry among the Szeklers of Csík, the Reformed Kékedy quickly earned the trust of George I Rákóczi, who appointed him lord-lieutenant of Inner Szolnok County already in 1632 and princely councilor in 1636. It was most likely due to the influence of the powerful Zsigmond Kékedy that the young Szekler noble Pál Béldi from Háromszék became a student at the Reformed College of Sárospatak.²⁶ Béldi's ties to Sárospatak endured: later, as a high-ranking official in Háromszék, he became one of the college's most important patrons, particularly after the institution was expelled from the town by Zsófia Báthory and resettled in Gyulafehérvár, Transylvania.²⁷ János Bethlen was only two years old when his father died. When he was seven, his widowed mother remarried Ferenc Macskási, a deputy commander at the princely court who later became lord-lieutenant²⁸ of Fehér County.²⁹ In a 1636 document, his signature appears alongside his title as chief captain of Szamosújvár.³⁰ Under the influence of his Reformed stepfather and guardian, János Bethlen converted from Unitarianism to Calvinism. Macskási sent the boy to the most prestigious educational institution in Transylvania at the time, the *Collegium Academicum* founded by Prince Gabriel Bethlen. There, he studied under Pál Keresztúri Bíró, a disciple of Comenius and one of the leading educators of the era.³¹ The third major nobleman to play a central role during this period, Dénes Bánffy, was born into a Reformed family. His commitment to his denomination remained strong throughout his life. Like Béldi, he was sent to study at the Reformed College of Sárospatak by his family. When the young Dénes Bánffy enrolled at Sárospatak in 1643, his father, Mihály Bánffy, had already passed away. Dénes had two half-siblings from his father's second marriage, and his upbringing was overseen by his mother, Judit Kapy. It is reasonable to assume that Prince George I Rákóczi, himself a Reformed ruler, sought to influence the education of these orphans and may have played a role in ensuring that Dénes Bánffy enrolled at the Reformed College of Sárospatak, a town under the control of

²⁴ TRÓCSÁNYI, Zsolt: *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690*, Budapest, 1980. 30.

²⁵ On his mother's side, he came from the Andrassy family, who had Krasznahorka as the center of their estate, but originally lived in Csíkszék. LÁZÁR, Miklós: *Erdély főispánjai*, 167.

²⁶ HÖRCSIK, Richárd: *A sárospataki református kollégium diákjai. 1617-1777*, Sárospatak, 1998. 41, 164.

²⁷ Ibid. "Patronus Scholae in exilio" as it is written in the register next to his name.

²⁸ JANKOVICS, József: Bethlen János, a politikus és történetíró, in *Bethlen János, Erdély története 1629-1673*, P. Vásárhelyi, Judit (trans.), Jankovics, József (afterword and notes), Budapest, 1993, 103–104.

²⁹ EOE. 9. 580.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ DIENES, Dénes: *Keresztúri Bíró Pál (1594?-1655)*, Sárospatak, 2001, 69.

the Rákóczi family and Zsuzsanna Lorántffy.³² Mihály Teleki, like Bánffy, was born into a Reformed family. His lineage stemmed from the lower nobility of Partium. His father, János Teleki, had served as a soldier at the forts of Borosjenő and Várad.³³ The young Mihály Teleki enrolled at the Reformed College of Várad, which—partly under the influence of Puritanism—had become one of the most prestigious educational institutions of the time by the 1640s, that is, exactly when Teleki was a student there.

Among the four noblemen, János Bethlen—born in 1613—was the eldest, while Mihály Teleki, born around 1634, was the youngest. Most of János Bethlen's college years coincided with the reign of Gabriel Bethlen, whereas the education of the other three young men took place under the watchful eye of Prince George I Rákóczi. All four of them provided substantial financial support to their churches and were deeply interested in the situation of Hungarian Protestants beyond Transylvania's borders.

Among them, János Bethlen was the most open to engagement with European Protestant communities. Although he himself had not been able to study at foreign academies³⁴ in his youth—something he regretted throughout his life—he sent his son on an unusually long educational journey through Europe, one that extended far beyond what was customary among the Transylvanian elite. This journey was only partly about formal studies. Building and maintaining European Protestant networks played just as central a role in the itinerary of Miklós Bethlen as academic pursuits did. During his journey, he not only strengthened but also rebuilt his father's existing international connections, naturally mainly in the Protestant

³² HÖRCSIK, Richárd: *A sárospataki református kollégium diákjai. 1617–1777*, Sárospatak, 1998. 167.

³³ IVÁNYI, Béla: *A római szent birodalmi széki gróf Teleki-család gyömrői levéltára*. Szeged, 1931. 53.

³⁴ According to József Jankovics, “Bethlen Miklós characterized him as ‘a man of respectable learning by Transylvanian standards,’ who, even in old age, lamented his *domidoctus* state, that is, not having attended foreign universities, and so being excluded from the life of the domestic educated elite. He lamented that he had never been permitted—as a noble *peregrinus*—to ‘greet the Muses beyond the borders of Transylvania,’ nor to meet, as prescribed by custom, the great minds of Europe’s political, scholarly, or artistic life; he could not gather nor bring home the fruits of European intellectual life, to enrich the garden of his homeland with their seeds. And yet, it was precisely this breadth of perspective, this network of connections and firsthand experience gained at European courts, that he would have most sorely needed throughout his life and political activity. Learning from his own example, he later sent both of his sons—born of his first wife—to universities and royal courts in Germany, the Netherlands, and England, a practice still exceedingly rare in his time.” Jankovics, József: Bethlen Miklós a politikus és történétíró, in JANKOVICS, József (ed.): *Ex Occidente... A 17. századi magyar irodalom európai kapcsolatai*, Régi Magyar Könyvtár, Tanulmányok 3, Budapest, 1999, 105.

parts of Europe he visited. The peregrinatio began in May 1661 and initially followed the usual route of Protestant students: Heidelberg, Utrecht, and finally Leiden. In these university towns, his focus was no doubt on academic study—even if he later maintained relationships with some of his professors, which facilitated the exchange and acquisition of information. At Heidelberg, however, he also spent considerable time at the princely court. One of his chief patrons and mentors there was the elderly Joachim Camerarius, a princely councilor, jurist, and diplomat³⁵, whose father, Ludwig Camerarius, had previously maintained important connections with Gabriel Bethlen and George I Rákóczi.³⁶ In his autobiography, Bethlen recounts that he was frequently invited to dine at the table of Prince-Elector Charles I Louis³⁷, who received him warmly.³⁸ It is therefore certain that already in Heidelberg, the young Bethlen was actively cultivating Protestant networks. Although he met many famous professors—especially in Leiden—he did not pursue any particular discipline in depth and did not engage in formal academic disputation. He did, however, devote himself enthusiastically to the studying of languages, including French and English, which later proved valuable in his diplomatic career as well.³⁹ After Leiden, he visited several towns in the Dutch Republic and then crossed the channel to England, where he both travelled and strengthened his network of Protestant contacts—sometimes renewing older acquaintances. One such acquaintance from his time at the Academy of Gyulaférvár was Pál Jászberényi P.⁴⁰, who had been Bethlen's *praeceptor* and later served as the trusted adviser and tutor of Prince George II Rákóczi. After the destruction of the Gyulaférvár academy and the death of George II Rákóczi, Jászberényi left Transylvania and settled in England. He initially lived in Durham, where—thanks to the support of John Cosin—he became a canon. He travelled frequently to London and preached several times at the

³⁵ “There was indeed at that time in Heidelberg a certain venerable gentleman by the name of Joachimus Camerarius, who had once served as secretary and counselor to Fridericus V, King of Bohemia, and to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. He was a most benevolent instructor to me, likewise a counselor to the *Electore* himself, and being a man of great learning and vast experience—both seen and heard—he was held in high esteem and honor before all men.” in *Bethlen Miklós élete leírása magától*, 573.

³⁶ KÁRMÁN, Gábor: Gábor Bethlen's Diplomats at the Protestant Courts of Europe, in *Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 4, 2013., 801.

³⁷ FUCHS, Peter: Karl I. Ludwig, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 11, 1977, 246–249, URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118560182.html>, Last accessed: 23-05-22.

³⁸ V. WINDISCH, Éva: *Bethlen Miklós élete*, op. cit., 572–573.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 578–580.

⁴⁰ More about him: GÖMÖRI, György: Jászberényi P. Pál ismeretlen levele Isaac Basire-hoz, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 2002, Vol. 106, Issue 3-4, 412.

royal court. He also maintained good relations with Isaac Basire⁴¹ and Jean (John) Durel⁴², the minister of the French Episcopal Chapel in London.⁴³ When Miklós Bethlen visited London, Jászberényi not only welcomed him warmly but also introduced him to new acquaintances and helped him gain access to King Charles II. Since the episcopal-leaning Transylvanian Reformed Church was met with sympathy by some members of the similarly episcopal Anglican Church, both Basire and Durel supported not only Jászberényi but also Miklós Bethlen.⁴⁴ Bethlen continued his correspondence with Jászberényi even later on.⁴⁵ It was during this time that the young Transylvanian noble also became acquainted with John William Curtius⁴⁶, a German-born diplomat and representative of the House of Stuart during the Thirty Years' War and the exile of Charles II.⁴⁷ Curtius later served as a resident ambassador of the English crown in the Holy Roman Empire and was chief magistrate of two districts in the Palatinate.⁴⁸ In his memoirs, Bethlen wrote the following about him: "I also became

⁴¹ DARNELL, W. (ed): *The correspondence of Isaac Basire*, 1831.; MONOK, István – VISKOLCZ, Noémi: Isaac Basire könyvei a nagyenyedi református kollégium könyvtárában (1679–1680), in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 108 (3), 1992, 256–264.; Kármán, Gábor: Isaac Basire Erdélyben, in KUNT, Gergely – NAGY, Gábor – SZ. HALÁSZ, Dorottya (eds.): *Háborúk, alkotások, életutak: Tanulmányok a 17. század közepének európai történelméről*, Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2019, 20–42.

⁴² "DURELL, John (1663–1683)", *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835*, CCEd Person ID 13958, URL: <https://www.storiadigitale.it/clergy-church-england-database-1540-1835/> Last Accessed: 13-05-2020.; GRIBBEN, Crawford: *John Owen and English Puritanism*, Oxford University Press, 2017, 242.

⁴³ RANDALL, Elizabeth: A special case? London's French Protestants, in Kelly, Debra – Cornick, Martyn (eds.): *A history of the French in London: Liberty, equality, opportunity*, London, 2013, 25–26.

⁴⁴ GÖMÖRI, György: Jászberényi P. Pál ismeretlen levele Isaac Basire-hoz, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 2002, Vol. 106, Issue 3–4, 413.

⁴⁵ *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1657–1698)*, *Régi magyar prózai emlékek*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1987, 137. Collected, edited, with an introductory essay and notes by József Jankovics. Hungarian language notes by Gáborné Nényei, translated by Péter Kulcsár.

⁴⁶ GROSSKOPF, Gertrud: Wilhelm Curtius (1599–1678): Lebensspuren eines kurpfälzischen Adelligen aus Bensheim im Dienst der englischen Krone, in Historischer Verein für Hessen, *Archive für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Vol. Neue Folge 45, 1987.

⁴⁷ The National Archives (ex-Public Records Office), London, SP/81/56-73, SP/104/56 & 170

⁴⁸ GROSSKOPF, Gertrud: Wilhelm Curtius (1599–1678): Lebensspuren eines kurpfälzischen Adelligen aus Bensheim im Dienst der englischen Krone, in Historischer

acquainted with an old German gentleman named Wilhelm Curtius, who had once been a councilor to King Frederick V of Bohemia—a man of great learning, whom God gave me here as a father... He even wrote to the preacher of Prince Turenne in Paris on my behalf and sent the letter.”⁴⁹ Through Curtius, Bethlen established contact with the renowned Huguenot Henri de La Tour d’Auvergne de Turenne, commonly known as “Marshal Turenne”, who was the grandson of William of Orange and Marshal of France.⁵⁰

Even this minor detail clearly illustrates how Miklós Bethlen’s Protestant European network of connections was formed. After his journey to England, he continued on to France: “I visited, with a letter from Vilhelmus Curtius, the preacher of the prince Marshal Turenne, who—with his lord, lady, kinsmen, and among others the marquis de Ruvigny,⁵¹ the general procurator of the *gallica reformata ecclesiae* who customarily resided in Paris—was a most courteous, intelligent, devout, and zealous man, and showed me great kindness.”⁵² Thus, it is evident that Bethlen’s French journey was already a diplomatic mission, which he carried out with the help of his existing—moreover Protestant—network of contacts: “Prince Turenne, who was overseeing the preparation and dispatch of this army, would have seen to it that I be placed in it with a proper rank, for he was the *maréchal de France*, the most senior of them all. This Turenne informed the king of me, and shortly thereafter conveyed, in the king’s name, that His Majesty extended his favor to me, and instructed me to go to one named de Lionne, a secretary of state, handing me a sealed note addressed to him. He was one of the four great secretaries of state. Hearing this, I went and presented the note. Upon reading it, he received me with great courtesy, conversed with me at length, especially concerning the affairs of Transylvania, Turkey, and Wallachia, and then dismissed me, instructing me to return on the third day, or whenever he or Turenne should summon me again—he even made note of my lodgings. Some days later—I cannot recall exactly how many—Turenne asked me whether I might carry a letter from the king to the prince of Transylvania, saying I must make haste, for it would greatly benefit both Transylvania and the prince. I replied that I would gladly do so. He had me to go once more to de Lionne, who again spoke with me, among other things about the delivery of the letter, and

Verein für Hessen, *Archive für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Vol. Neue Folge 45, 1987, 61–116.

⁴⁹ V. WINDISCH, Éva: *Bethlen Miklós élete*, op. cit., 587.

⁵⁰ BÉRENGER, Jean: Turenne, Fayard, Paris, 1987, 54–67.

⁵¹ MURTAGH, Harman: Massue de Ruvigny, Henri de, earl of Galway, and marquis of Ruvigny in the French nobility, in MATTHEW, H. C. G. – HARRISON, Brian (eds.): *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 37. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, 242–246.

⁵² *Ibid.* 592.

gave me a sealed note addressed to a certain Monsieur Colbert, *surintendant de la maison du roi*, a man of very high office and one of the king's most trusted ministers."⁵³ Thus, by the end of his peregrination, while still a young man, Miklós Bethlen had become a key figure in Transylvanian diplomacy. Not only did he meet several leading personalities of contemporary French politics, but he also conveyed a letter from the French court—specifically from Louis XIV himself—to Michael Apafi, Prince of Transylvania. These episodes vividly demonstrate the strength of the European Protestant network already at that time, a network that Miklós Bethlen and his father, János, sought to make full use of. It may be assumed that this journey, undertaken in Bethlen's early twenties, was planned by his father and supported by him through his old acquaintances. Miklós Bethlen, however, showed great aptitude in expanding that circle of acquaintances. The Bethlens—both János and Miklós—incorporated into this network members of the Protestant nobility of northeastern Hungary, who were organizing around István Thököly as part of the Wesselényi conspiracy. One of them, Ambrus Ketzer, received a letter from Miklós Bethlen dated May 27, 1665, sent from Bethlenszentmiklós, in which he wrote: "We place our trust in the envoys of the German, French, English, and Dutch."⁵⁴ In other words, even before the onset of the "decade of mourning," they had begun to establish the connections they would later seek to mobilize in aid of the persecuted Hungarian Protestants. In his letters from this period, alongside Ketzer Ambrus, Miklós Bethlen would frequently mention István Vitnyédy and István Petróczi—figures who would later become leaders of the Protestant movement.⁵⁵ At around the same time, he also helped maintain contact between the Transylvanian Reformed Church and the former professor of the Gyulafehérvár Academy, Isaac Basire, who was then still living in England—thus strengthening the English Protestant connection as well.⁵⁶ On March 19, 1666, he wrote to Mihály Teleki: "News comes to me ever more frequently from the German, Belgian, French, Italian, and Polish realms..."⁵⁷ In a letter to his father, Chancellor of Transylvania János Bethlen, Miklós also commented on his ties to Palatine Wesselényi and the Palatine's wife.⁵⁸ Unlike much of the Transylvanian elite, the Bethlens generally considered the European context and they were often the ones

⁵³ Ibid. 593.

⁵⁴ *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1657–1698), Régi magyar prózai emlékek*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1987, 125. Collected, edited, with an introductory essay and notes by József Jankovics. Hungarian language notes by Gáborné Nényei, translated by Péter Kulcsár.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 126.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 128–129.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 129.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 132–133.

informing the Transylvanian nobility about international affairs.⁵⁹ This may explain why, even before the verdicts were pronounced in the conspiracy trials, Prince Apafi tasked them—in the fall of 1670—with informing the Protestant prince-electors of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁰ Miklós Bethlen reported that he had placed his hopes in the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William⁶¹, “the great prince-elector,” and intended to send him a letter of appeal. But Prince Apafi, fearing the potential consequences of international entanglements, ultimately hesitated, as did Mihály Teleki. From this point onward, however, both Miklós and János Bethlen advocated for appealing to the international Protestant community: “I advise that we write everything clearly to the Palatine Elector.”⁶² The “Palatine Elector,” that is, the Elector of the Palatinate, had always served as an important point of reference for the Reformed princes of Transylvania; it is no coincidence that Elector Karl Ludwig I was among those whose support Chancellor János Bethlen and his son counted on. Even at this stage, they proposed to Prince Apafi that a letter be sent to Harsányi Nagy Jakab, who at the time served as a counselor at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg. Harsányi Nagy had previously been the Puritan-minded rector of the Reformed College in Várad⁶³, and later became a chancery scribe and diplomat.⁶⁴ Miklós Bethlen’s correspondence reveals the emergence of a strategy through which the Reformed elite of Transylvania, led by the likewise Reformed Prince Michael I Apafi, not only sought to provide all possible assistance to persecuted Protestants in Hungary but also attempted to draw the attention of international public opinion to their plight.

Transylvania’s elite remained continuously informed about the uprising connected to the Wesselényi conspiracy and the Habsburg retaliation that followed, just as Bethlen János and his associates kept up-to-date with news of the movement itself from the mid-1660s. These developments were also shared at sessions of the Transylvanian Diet.⁶⁵ In the 1671 ses-

⁵⁹ Ibid. 140.

⁶⁰ Letter from Miklós Bethlen to Dénes Bánffy and Mihály Teleki on October 13, 1670. *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1657–1698), Régi magyar prózai emlékek*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1987, 230–231. Collected, edited, with an introductory essay and notes by József Jankovics. Hungarian language notes by Gáborné Nényei, translated by Péter Kulcsár.

⁶¹ LUH, Jürgen: *Der Große Kurfürst: Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg – Sein Leben neu betrachtet*, Siedler, München 2020.

⁶² *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, op. cit., 231.

⁶³ HERPEI, János: A váradi kollégium és a Rákócziak, in Keserű, Bálint (ed.): *Apáczai és kortársai: Herepei János cikkei, Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 2*, Budapest–Szeged, 1966, 52–63.

⁶⁴ KÁRMÁN, Gábor: *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe: The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy, The History of Oriental Studies 2*, Brill, Boston, 2015.

⁶⁵ *EOE*. 15. 17.

sion, several members raised the idea that the princely council should maintain closer ties with the Protestant princes of Europe.⁶⁶ As a result, already during the days when the Habsburg government was preparing to execute those condemned for their role in the Wesselényi conspiracy—including the only Protestant among them, Ferenc Bónis—Prince Michael I Apafi drafted a circular letter addressed to European Protestant rulers regarding the persecution of Protestants in Hungary.⁶⁷ According to the autobiography of Miklós Bethlen, however, the letters were ultimately never sent, following prolonged hesitation.⁶⁸ Helping the fugitives who had remained together since the time of the Wesselényi conspiracy was seen by Mihály Teleki, captain of Kővár, as a direct continuation of the customary actions taken by previous Transylvanian princes when the interests of Hungarian Protestants were harmed.⁶⁹ Dénes Bánffy, captain of Kolozsvár, along with János and Miklós Bethlen, preferred a more cautious approach when it came to military action. Thus, the Transylvanian estates not only followed developments in Hungary with keen interest, but also drafted various plans of action in response to the new circumstances. All factions agreed that from 1670–1671 onward, the Habsburg government’s attitude toward Protestants had fundamentally changed.

On October 22, 1671, Miklós Bethlen wrote to Mihály Teleki: “Upon returning from the assembly, my father ordered me to reply to the letter recently received from Mr. Jakab Harsányi and, at the same time, to write on behalf of His Highness to the Elector of Brandenburg, and to send it through Your Grace to the Court, for both His Highness and the Lords are in favor of establishing relations with them, should a good path be opened.”⁷⁰

In addition to urging international support, Bethlen also advocated in another letter for the principality to welcome and settle those fleeing persecution—if necessary, in great numbers: “What persecution our poor brethren may be facing out there, Your Grace surely knows better than I. Five days ago, I spoke much about this with His Lordship⁷¹. We should strive to enrich our poor homeland with them and grant them the many desolate lands, if they are exiled from their homes for the sake of truth; but as I do not trust either the Prince or the envious Saxons to initiate this publicly, we agreed with His Lordship that we should take the lead ourselves. And if there come godly men of our faith... let us provide for a certain number of them. May your Lordship grant room for fifty households in

⁶⁶ *EOE*. 15.

⁶⁷ *EOE*. 15. 33.

⁶⁸ V. WINDISCH, Éva: *Bethlen Miklós élete*, op. cit., 664.

⁶⁹ *EOE*. 15. 39.

⁷⁰ Letter from Miklós Bethlen to Dénes Bánffy and Mihály Teleki on October 13, 1670. *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, op. cit., 240.

⁷¹ With his father, János Bethlen.

Teremi. In Vajdakamarás, for a hundred couples. I too will provide here in Szentmiklós for 25 or 30 couples. If Your Grace accepts my advice, then in Szentpéter you may also provide for a hundred couples.⁷² These are the conditions we considered: if they are peasants, let them owe half the service they gave their lords out there—whether in taxes or other duties; but for the first two years, let them owe nothing at all. If they are nobles, *hajdú* soldiers, or free townsmen, let them enjoy the same freedoms here as they did there, provided that if they cultivate vineyards or farmland and previously paid full tithe, they shall pay the same here; if they paid no tithe before, let them be exempt up to fifty sheaves of grain and forty buckets of wine, if it grows. If God blesses them beyond that, they shall pay tithe on the surplus; but again, for two years, they shall owe nothing.⁷³ The letter thus thoroughly outlined the settlement conditions for refugees of various social statuses and even urged Teleki to publicize the opportunity among the persecuted and fugitive communities. This initiative was far more than a spur-of-the-moment idea; it was a carefully conceived plan for settling potential refugees. Unfortunately, little is known about the further fate of this proposal, but it is certain that during the decade under study here, Transylvania became a refuge for Protestant exiles. Among them were nobles fleeing from the first wave of repression in northeastern Hungary, such as the still-young Imre Thököly and others associated with his circle, including Pál Négyessy Szepesi (or Szepessy), Pál Csernel, Ambrus Ketzer, and more. On February 3, 1671, János Nemes, the chief captain of Háromszék and a key member of the Reformed elite circle established by János Bethlen, noted in his diary: “At that time, the Hungarian lords arrived with His Lordship Mihály Teleki: Mr. István Petróczi and Mr. Imre Tököly, along with Ambrus Ketzer, Pál Csernel, and Pál Szepesi, among other honorable nobles.”⁷⁴ Négyessy Szepesi (or Szepessy) Pál (1630–1687), the sub-lieutenant of Borsod County, owned extensive estates in Miskolc⁷⁵ and became one of the leaders of the fugitives in Transylvania. He was a courtier and confidant of Imre Thököly.⁷⁶ Ambrus Lipóczi Ketzer, a landowner in Sáros County, was Lutheran, as were his brothers András and Menyhért. Ambrus had served as a steward of István Thököly’s

⁷² Letter from Miklós Bethlen to Dénes Bánffy and Mihály Teleki on October 13, 1670. *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, op. cit., 250.

⁷³ TML. V. 80–81.

⁷⁴ *Hídvégi id. Nemes János naplója az 1651-1686. évekről*, Háromszéki Téka I., Barót, 2023, 159–160. Introductory study and notes by Judit Balogh.

⁷⁵ DOBROSSY, István (ed. ch.) – Szakály, Ferenc (ed.): *Miskolc története. II. 1526-tól 1702-ig*, Miskolc, 1998, 43.

⁷⁶ KÜNSTLERNÉ VIRÁG, Éva: Közélet és privát szféra eseményei Kazinczy András naplójában, in *Turul*, 2014/2, 53.; SZENDREI, János: *Miskolcz város története és egyetemes helyiratai II. Miskolcz város története 1000–1800*, Miskolc, 1904. IX., 227.;

estates and was a loyal assistant of the family.⁷⁷ Not long after the date mentioned in János Nemes's diary, Ambrus, whose diary we also know⁷⁸, was summoned to Bratislava but died en route near Nagyszombat on June 5.⁷⁹ After his death, his brother Menyhért (or Menyhárt) remained in contact with the Transylvanian Principality and participated in several diplomatic missions. This entry clearly shows that the refugees consciously sought ties with the Transylvanian Reformed nobility and, when necessary, traveled even to the Szekler Land for negotiations. István Petróczi, Menyhért Keczer, and Pál Szepesi later frequently appeared alongside Mihály Teleki and undertook significant diplomatic efforts to secure support for the fugitives from both Teleki and Transylvania.⁸⁰ Thus, through these Protestant nobles—many of whom had also supported István Thököly—Teleki gained first-hand knowledge of the persecution of Protestants. Unsurprisingly, his letters frequently conveyed updates to the Transylvanian elite about the situation. Both István Petróczi and Pál Szepesi, who corresponded regularly with prominent Reformed leaders in Transylvania, often reminded their Transylvanian allies of their denominational obligations.⁸¹ Szepesi and his associates were primarily in contact with Mihály Teleki and, to a lesser extent, Dénes Bánffy.⁸² The correspondence of both lords frequently referenced the extraordinary court proceedings or made allusions to them.

In addition to welcoming and supporting refugee Protestant nobles, Prince Michael I Apafi also gave refuge to the Reformed college that had been expelled from Sárospatak by Zsófia Báthory. Zsófia Báthory, the mother of Francis I Rákóczi—who had taken part in the Wesselényi conspiracy—saved her son from execution partly thanks to her excellent church connections and partly by launching a significant re-Catholicization campaign across her estates as early as the 1660s. These estates, formerly strongholds of Protestantism through the Rákóczi family, thus underwent a dramatic shift. In addition, she paid an enormous ransom and agreed to admit imperial troops into the castle of Sárospatak. In the spring of 1671, German soldiers occupied Sárospatak under this agreement, and on August 5, they also seized the church. The church, which had been in Protestant hands up to that point, was subsequently returned by the army to Zsófia Báthory, who handed it over to the Jesuits—at which point mass-

⁷⁷ SZABÓ, András Péter: Egy elveszett gyűjtemény kincsei. Ondrej Czernacka turóci nemes könyvtára, in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 136., 3., 2020, 220.

⁷⁸ *Lipóczi Keczer Ambrus naplója, Monumenta Hungariae Historica II. Scriptorum 33, Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók a XVI–XVIII. századból II*, Budapest, A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Könyvtár- és Kiadó-hivatala, 1894, 80–421.

⁷⁹ Néhay Nemzetes Keczer Menyhárt Úr teste felett 1683. die 8. Marity, in *Adattár, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1910, Vol. 20, 2, 213.

⁸⁰ TML. 5. 415., 475.,

⁸¹ TML. 5. 591.

⁸² TML. 5. 594.

es resumed there. The college itself was occupied later that year, on October 20, by the imperial-royal garrison, acting on the orders of Francis I Rákóczi and Zsófia Báthory. The buildings were handed over to the Jesuits, who did not establish a school there but rented them out instead. The students and professors of the once-renowned Reformed college—like many of the persecuted Protestant nobles—first made their way to Debrecen, then to Transylvania. In February 1672, Dénes Bánffy, captain of Kolozsvár, assisted their escape and reported the matter to Mihály Teleki. The large group had to pay a considerable sum to the Ottomans to ensure safe passage: “The students and masters from Patak are now at Somlyó; they will arrive here on Tuesday or Wednesday. The people of Debrecen paid Kucsuk a great sum, so they could travel in peace.”⁸³ They had managed to bring the printing press with them, though only a small portion of the college’s substantial library could be loaded onto the wagons. Professors of the college at that time, Mihály Buzinkai and János Pósaaházi, turned to Prince Apafi for help, and he took them in that same year. By this time, the academic institution in Gyulafehérvár—destroyed during the wars of 1658–1660—had been relocated to Nagyenyed, and the old buildings had been restored. These were assigned to the displaced Patak students, who would remain in their Transylvanian “exile” for 44 years.⁸⁴ Teaching resumed at the exiled college in 1673 with the remaining students and professors.⁸⁵ The school’s reopening was marked by a festive worship service, personally attended by the prince and leading nobles, where János Pósaaházi delivered the sermon. Prince Apafi appointed curators to oversee the college and ensured its continued support.⁸⁶ A later entry in the princely court records, dated 1685, shows that funding for the college was disbursed biannually: “For the annual maintenance of the students at the college in Fehérvár, as ordered by His Lordship the Prefect, three hundred forints were disbursed for the half-year period from July 24 to December 24, from the *annual six hundred forints allotted*.”

From 1672 onward, enrollment began at the relocated college in Gyulafehérvár.⁸⁷ The institution preserved its Sárospatak identity in name, referring to itself as the Sárospatak–Gyulafehérvár College. Many of the students continued to come from the same counties as those of the Patak college. The community of the college-in-exile expanded again in 1674, when numerous students from the school in Košice also fled to Transyl-

⁸³ TML, V. 61.

⁸⁴ P. SZATHMÁRY, Károly: *A gyulafehérvár-nagyenyedi Bethlen-főtanoda története*, Nagyenyed, 1868. 86–88.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 88.

⁸⁶ SZÁDECZKY, Béla (ed.): *I. Apafi Mihály fejedelem udvartartása*, Budapest, 1911, 440.

⁸⁷ DIENES, Dénes: *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium története*, Sárospatak, 2013. 45.

vania and enrolled at the college in Gyulafehérvár.⁸⁸ In this period of intensified persecution of Protestants, Transylvania provided refuge to many Protestant students, teachers, and ministers. Some of these refugees went on to build notable careers in their new homeland. For example, both Mihály Buzinkai and János Pósa-házi became respected theologians of the Principality of Transylvania. Professor Pósa-házi emerged as a leading figure in the Transylvanian anti-Cartesian and anti-Cocceian movement, fighting alongside the later bishop Mihály Tófeus.⁸⁹ Mihály Buzinkai remained in Transylvania as well until his death, successfully integrating into local society. In addition to princely support, Reformed aristocrats also provided assistance to the college and to the professors individually. Mihály Teleki, for instance, donated 100 forints annually to the two professors.⁹⁰ The college register itself records that Pál Béldi was considered the “*Patronus Scholae in exilio*.”⁹¹ Even during his captivity in Istanbul, Béldi left a 5,000-forint endowment in his handwritten will for the benefit of the colleges in Nagyenyed and Gyulafehérvár.⁹²

These details indicate that both professors’ livelihoods were secure, and they even received donations. In 1679, for example, the prince granted Buzinkai and his wife a house plot with serf tenancy rights in Magyarigen (Fejér County)⁹³, and a year later, Buzinkai purchased an inner plot and a vineyard there as well.⁹⁴

The deaths of both professors became a subject of conversation in the princely household. Anna Bornemissza, the prince’s consort, mentioned Buzinkai’s death in one of her letters, while Pósa-házi’s passing was reported to the prince by Buzinkai’s eldest son.⁹⁵ The Transylvanian nobility also

⁸⁸ On the process of confiscating Protestant schools, see: MIHALIK, Béla Vilmos: A Szepesi Kamara szerepe az 1670–1674 közötti felsőmagyarországi rekatolizációban, in *Fons (Forráskutatás és Történeti Segéd tudományok)*, Vol. XVII, 2010, 3, 255–320.

⁸⁹ SIMON, József: Vészmadarak. Pósa-házi János és a németalföldi karteziánus viták a 17. század második felében, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények (ItK)*, 127, 2023, 3, 279–295.

⁹⁰ SZILÁDY, Áron – SZILÁGYI, Sándor (eds.): *Török-magyarkori emlékek. VIII.*, Pest, 1871, 18–19.

⁹¹ HÖRCSIK, Richárd: *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium diákjai. 1617–1777*, Sárospatak, 1998, 164.

⁹² *Történelmi tár*. 1899. 344.

⁹³ *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1984*, 452–454.

⁹⁴ SIMON, Melinda: Egy XVII. századi erdélyi értelmiségi család könyvműveltsége, in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 114, 1, 1998, URL: <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00021/00016/0003-e5.html>, Last accessed: 19-03-2025.

⁹⁵ In a letter, Anna Bornemissza put it like this: “Truly, my dear Brother, it seems that God deals with His Church in part as He did with the people of Israel in the wilderness: He takes Moses—so useful to the people—out from among them.

welcomed and supported Reformed ministers who had emigrated to avoid being summoned to Bratislava. Both Pál Béli and his wife Zsuzsanna Vitéz actively participated in helping the refugees. Zsuzsanna not only supported the education of talented youths but also extended her assistance to persecuted Reformed ministers from Hungary. She provided shelter and sustenance to them, and for those who wished to continue their pastoral vocation, she even secured parishes. For example, Miklós Szaniszlai, a minister from Mád, was taken in by the Béli family at their castle in Bethlen, and she successfully arranged for him to be appointed pastor of the Bodola congregation.⁹⁶

From the outset of the persecution of Protestants, the correspondence and consultations of the Transylvanian Reformed elite consistently reflected three simultaneous objectives: the possibility of providing military aid—advocated primarily by Prince Michael I Apafi's Chancellor, Mihály Teleki; the reception of refugees—which enjoyed near-universal support; and the intention to raise awareness among the European public—chiefly championed by János and Miklós Bethlen. Unlike much of the Transylvanian elite, they typically considered the European context, and they were often the ones informing the Transylvanian nobility about such international affairs.⁹⁷

A letter dated March 14 1672, also addressed to Teleki, reveals the extent to which the news of Protestant persecution had already been dis-

For my dear Brother, whether one looks at the churches in our homeland or those beyond, His Majesty the Lord can indeed provide—but is there, or will there be, such a teacher for our churches, one of spirit and learning? That only His Majesty knows. It is enough, dear Brother, that his departure from the Church is a true cause for mourning, both for this church of ours, which received much of his teaching, and for those beyond, who longed for the salvation of their souls with a spirit not seeking worldly glory.” (In: Román Nemzeti Levéltár Maros megyei igazgatóság, Teleki család levéltára, *Missilések*, 1099.) György Buzinkai's letter: “Most Honorable Prince and Gracious Lord! With sorrow and truly bitter hearts we write to Your Grace, as our most gracious lord, that the Lord God has indeed visited our poor orphaned college—until now resting under your graciously protecting and nourishing wings in this land of exile—adding one sorrow upon another. For two and a half years ago, He called to Himself our father of blessed memory—and now, with our Reverend Pósházi left alone, on the evening of May 4th, at ten o'clock, He took him as well from among us, weary of his long exile, to the great loss of God's Church and to the ever-unmournable diminishment of our poor orphaned college.” (*Történelmi tár*, 1895. 756–757.)

⁹⁶ DEÁK, Farkas: *Uzoni Béli Pál 1621–1679*, Budapest, 1887, 63.

⁹⁷ *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1657–1698)*. Collected, edited, with an introductory essay and notes by József Jankovics. Hungarian language notes by Gáborné Nényei, translated by Péter Kulcsár. (*Régi magyar prózai emlékek*). Akadémiai Kiadó, BP., 1987. I. 140.

seminated across Europe by that time: “Meanwhile, we have arranged for the Saxon bishop to write to the court chaplains of the Lutheran kings and princes; and for our own bishop to write to the court preachers and the academies and bishops of the Calvinist kings and princes, urging them to intercede with the emperor and to offer prayers in their churches for the Hungarian Church suffering persecution, etc.”⁹⁸

These efforts are also described in detail in the memoirs of Miklós Bethlen: “My father, I, and other high-ranking exiles from Hungary, seeing that the Turks never assisted us—or did so in an untimely fashion—we devised the following: the prince should send an envoy to the Protestant princes, asking them to intercede with the emperor and to seek reconciliation with the Hungarians. The prince and Dienes Bánffy would have agreed, but Teleki said: the envoy would be a good idea, but it would be very costly and dangerous. ‘And whom could we send?’ (though he knew full well the prince intended to send me); ‘it would be dangerous,’ he said, ‘as far as the Turks are concerned, because the Porte would arrest the envoy, and the prince would suffer for it.’ But this argument held no weight, for the Turks had already informed the prince that they would not intervene and would not break the peace; the prince was therefore free to accommodate the exiles as he best saw fit. ‘However,’ said Teleki, ‘let us instead try to address the Christian potentates through letters; that could work.’ Accordingly, we resolved that letters should be sent in the following form: in the prince’s name, in two versions—one to the Catholic rulers, arguing on political grounds the implications of the Hungarian unrest for Christendom in general and for Germany in particular; the other to the Protestant rulers, including not only political but also religious arguments. Meanwhile, the Lutheran bishop should write under his own name to court preachers and academies serving princes of the Augsburg Confession, and the Reformed bishop should do likewise to those of the Reformed faith. All these letters were to be delivered together with the prince’s letter. He suggested that a certain András Fleischer, a German Lutheran officer, would deliver these. The prince promised one hundred gold coins—no one else contributed anything. At that time, in Berlin, the Elector of Brandenburg was, out of piety and generosity, maintaining a Hungarian man named Jakab Harsányi with a respectable salary and the title of councillor. In his youth, he had served as tutor to the prince and was later trained by Prince Francis I Rákóczi to serve as a Turkish interpreter in the Porte on behalf of Transylvania. After Rákóczi’s death, he ended up in Berlin—a respectable and learned man. It was therefore decided that all the letters would be brought

⁹⁸ Letter from Miklós Bethlen to Dénes Bánffy and Mihály Teleki on October 13, 1670. *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1657–1698), Régi magyar prózai emlékek*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1987, 251. Collected, edited, with an introductory essay and notes by József Jankovics. Hungarian language notes by Gáborné Nényei, translated by Péter Kulcsár.

to him, so that he might act as solicitor, and the Elector as the protector of the entire cause...

The letters in the prince's name were drafted and dispatched by me, as both the prince and my father entrusted the task to me, and they were duly completed. I went in person—perhaps twice—to Berethalom to visit the Saxon bishop, who very willingly made all the necessary preparations. The Reformed bishop, Péter Kovásznai, and István Pataki, professor in Kolozsvár, did likewise. I then went to Szeben, where I finalized everything with András Fleischer and dispatched the envoy to Kővár to Teleki, whence, following Teleki's instructions, he was to proceed through Máramaros and Poland to Berlin. I even wrote separately to Joachim Camerarius in Heidelberg and to several other esteemed gentlemen close to the Elector... God knows who acted how in this matter, but subsequent events proved that it was Teleki who had hindered the endeavor.⁹⁹ These closing remarks from Miklós Bethlen clearly demonstrate how he sought to leverage the network of contacts he had established during his peregrinations a decade earlier in order to solicit international support for the persecuted Protestants. He did so despite the fact that Mihály Teleki—and, under his influence, Prince Michael I Apafi—envisioned assistance through other means and consequently obstructed Miklós Bethlen's initiatives.

In what follows, I will draw on the correspondence of the Reformed Transylvanian elite of the period to show how the so-called “decade of mourning” was processed and internalized by these nobles, and how reflections on this era came to occupy a central place in their political letters—eventually shaping not only their political views but also their religious life.

At the beginning of his career, Dénes Bánffy, captain of Kolozsvár, was one of the members of the Transylvanian elite who most strongly advocated maintaining good relations with the Viennese court. However, even his trust changed in light of the anti-Protestant actions. Already on January 23, 1672, he wrote to Mihály Teleki, to whom he was related by family ties¹⁰⁰, that: “The doggishness of the Germans is sad enough, and it is bad news for us too. Nothing good can come from there, for the devil and the priests, even if we were their most loyal allies, would not allow us to love our Christian faith. Moreover, my Lord, it is clear that God does not want us to place our trust in men. If His Majesty wills it, He can preserve us even in the midst of all this—only let us be faithful and zealous in our religion, and God will surely help us.”¹⁰¹ This shows how strongly Bánffy's denominational preferences influenced his former attitude toward Vienna and how, from early 1672 on, he was already expressing concern for the

⁹⁹ V. WINDISCH, Éva: *Bethlen Miklós élete*, op. cit., 662–664.

¹⁰⁰ Dénes Bánffy married a Bornemissza girl, Kata, while Mihály Teleki's mother was also a Bornemissza girl, and Mihály Teleki's mother, Anna Bornemissza, was Kata's cousin.

¹⁰¹ TML. V. 33.

Reformed Church in his letters. Shortly afterward, on February 2, 1672, Mihály Teleki wrote a long letter to Miklós Bethlen from the Kővár castle, in which he also discussed the situation in Hungary: “The course of public affairs is bitter for every good soul. Truly, the poor Hungarian nation and the Church have fallen into the hands of ungrateful men who only seek their own private benefit. So it must be, as God has ordained. I believe that God will not give His glory to another, and the devil and his members can go no farther than He allows; when He so chooses, He will also deliver His own. But woe to those who work idly, or for show, or not at all; I truly fear that if God does not show favor to the better sort, He will utterly destroy us who have turned away from His Majesty. I do not even know what good we could expect, seeing as we thought we could deceive God and refuse to serve His Majesty, seeking instead to please the devil. Truly, we are neither hot nor cold. May God have mercy on us and grant us repentance. But I fear greatly that before long, on account of this dreadful envy, our constant intrigues and lack of love and trust for one another, our indulgence in unrestrained sin, God would turn us into a spectacle before all nations. For it seems to me, my Lord, that we are only interested in following our passions and exacting revenge on each other, slandering and maligning one another—even if all our churches were destroyed in a single hour, we would not do more than give out a sigh over it. We are only friends when we have need of each other’s services; but when a friend is in need of us, we cast him aside. I had a taste of such things even in the last Diet, and your dear father is my witness. God has indeed brought our poor homeland to a wretched state, but we could certainly have done much more until now, and we still could—if only we truly loved one another, if we truly helped one another for the common good, and did not twist each other’s reasonable words into something God only knows what. Nor would we refute one another when someone finds a good idea. I do feel compassion for our relatives who have fled and are suffering abroad, but I cannot do much about it. What I do grieve over bitterly is the persecution of our churches. It is terrible, my Lord, to hear it. Ten churches were seized in the past ten days in Ugocsa and Bereg. (O Lord God, rise up for Your glory!) Now they are driving the poor people to mass by force, by sword—and in many places, even the nobility. Jezebel has issued edicts throughout her estates, and so has her son, though they are both very ill. Nyírbátor is entirely lost because the church was seized; the people of Légrád have fled to Kanizsa; those of Ónod are wandering around Eger; even the *hajdú* soldiers have resolved to abandon their towns. The word is that the emperor has made an eternal alliance with the French, the Danes, the electors, the Swedes, the Poles, and the Venetians, and is now preparing to move against the Turks. If this proves true, might not Transylvania become a theater of war? We can never curry favor with the Germans to the point that they would be our friends—indeed, even if we all became Papists, they would not swerve from their original

aim.”¹⁰² This lengthy exposition reveals, first of all, that the Transylvanian Reformed nobility, educated in prestigious Reformed colleges, interpreted the persecution of their church as divine punishment and framed the whole matter in a biblical context, seeing it as a call to repentance. Based on the content of the letter, Teleki had the most information regarding the persecution of Protestants on the estates of Zsófia Báthory, whom the Transylvanian Protestant nobility scornfully called “Jezebel.”¹⁰³ On the former Rákóczi–Lorántffy estates, once strongholds of the flourishing Reformed faith, Báthory systematically suppressed and dismantled the Protestant church—an especially painful loss for the Transylvanian Protestant elite. Teleki’s text expresses both anti-Habsburg sentiment and anger at the violence of re-Catholicization.

István Naláczy, a close friend of Mihály Teleki and himself a Reformed counselor to the prince, responded to the news on February 7, 1672: “I read your letter with a sorrowful heart, and Master Tofeus¹⁰⁴ truly says that we have fallen into the times of the prophet Jeremiah. May God grant that our end not be like that of the people of Israel in his day. The Lord God gives us no word of comfort from any side—He has turned His back on us completely for our many sins, and there is no one to mourn this; each seeks only his own benefit. I speak often enough of these things to His Highness, but you know, my dear friend, what is his disposition like. I see the danger is at our very door, yet we give it little thought until it falls upon us—though the beginning is already evident in many certain signs. Even if there were no other signs, this alone is a bad enough omen for our ruin: that we do not grieve over the dishonor done to God’s glory. It seems to me, my dear friend, that if there were a royal profit in it—not a religious one—there would be much greater diligence. But I will leave it at that. You write that the French, the electors, and the Poles have formed a league with the emperor. It is not impossible, for when the people of Israel fell into ruin and God rejected them, how many nations conspired against them? Although His Highness does not believe the French would join with the Germans, whether they do or not, our religion and our nation are in enough

¹⁰² TML, V. 53–55.

¹⁰³ Jezebel is the Phoenician princess of the Old Testament, from the first and second Books of Kings, who was the wife of the 9th century ruler Ahab of Israel. In the Old Testament texts, she persuaded her husband, as his “evil spirit”, to allow the foreign cult of Baal. The Transylvanian nobility saw Báthory Zsófia, who was catholicized together with her son after the death of her husband George II Rákóczi, to be such a “Jezebel.”

¹⁰⁴ Mihály Tófeus, court chaplain of the Transylvanian Prince Michael I Apafi from 1665, and bishop of the Transylvanian Reformed Church from 1679. KURTA, József: Tofeus Mihály (1624-1684), *Református Szemle*, 104.6, 2011, 651–658 ; HERPEI, János: Tofeus Mihály, *Adattár XVI–XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmainkhoz. II.*, Szeged–Budapest, 1972, 75–82.

danger already. Those poor souls are suffering greatly, it seems, for the true evangelical knowledge. May God have mercy on them and rise up for the sake of His glory. What more can I write about these things? So it must be, as God has ordained.”¹⁰⁵

Like most of his contemporaries, Dénes Bánffy experienced these events on the level of his personal faith. He wrote to Mihály Teleki from Gyalu on February 7, 1672: “They are bound against our Christian faith, and at the same time it is to be feared that for our sins, God may send them against us even more. Yet they can only go as far as God permits... May He act for the sake of His holy Son. The persecution is bitter enough; so it must be, as God has ordained...”¹⁰⁶

Mihály Teleki, who maintained close contact with the outlaws of Hegyalja, supplied the Transylvanians with many reports. In February 1672, he wrote to Gábor Kapy: “I will not write anything further about the seizing of the churches—I know that we were even trying to contest the one in Eperjes, to which our reply was: *non est praesentis fori*. If God has sent this visitation upon us for our sins, He will end it when He is satisfied, and he will also remedy the sufferings of the Mother Church...”¹⁰⁷ At the same time, in another letter, his focus already shifted to penitence: “As for the spiritual affliction suffered by the Lutheran status, it is deeply grievous and hard to forget for us all; yet, knowing that all trials come from God upon humanity, we now entrust our just cause to Him. When He deems our sins sufficiently punished through these trials, He will heal our afflictions and remove the undeserved sufferings inflicted upon us by men. I see no remedy from humans, for those who have acted contrary to His Majesty’s sworn promises, compelling him to such deeds, will persist in their efforts unless God restrains them. All things must occur as ordained by God. Just as He has permitted persecution upon us, our clergy, and our schools, so can He turn it away, having many means of deliverance. When He chooses to bring about salvation, as He did in ancient times for His true Church and chosen ones, He will find a Moses, a David, a Jephthah, or a Gideon. Indeed, the fault is ours; we deserve the punishment. Even if individuals have sinned against kings, the churches and schools have not.”¹⁰⁸

However, the nobility disagreed on the extent of support to be provided. Many were concerned about the fate of Transylvanian Reformed communities, several nobles prompting caution, including Dénes Bánffy. On March 3, 1672, he wrote from Gyalu to Mihály Teleki: “None among His Graces can lament more the grievous suffering of the Hungarian nation and the Holy Mother Church within it; thus, I must also aim to ensure that we do not utterly and foolishly lose both the country and the religion.

¹⁰⁵ TML. V. 59–61.

¹⁰⁶ TML. V. 61.

¹⁰⁷ TML. V. 74.

¹⁰⁸ TML. V. 86.

When God ordains it, deliverance and its means will come. I write this in confidence to Your Grace.”¹⁰⁹ Bánffy thus advocated for minimal action, while János Bethlen and his associates supported international advocacy and the admission of and assistance to refugees. Mihály Teleki considered military support for the fugitives and increasingly aligned with the Protestant lesser nobility uprising led by István Thököly, which Bánffy firmly opposed. In a letter dated March 6, 1672, Bánffy stated: “I have written my modest opinion to Your Grace from Gyalu regarding our Hungarian brethren’s affairs and have conveyed the same to my good friend Petróczi. I still hold no other view; I do not agree with their actions and will not support them. I urge Your Grace to abstain as well, lest you bring lasting harm upon yourself, your children, and your homeland.”¹¹⁰ The idea of informing international public opinion through letters appeared in several noble correspondences. Apart from the memoirs of Miklós Bethlen, we know that initial enthusiasm was followed by growing uncertainty. On March 16, 1672, Prince Mihály Apafi wrote to Teleki: “We have sent our letters addressed to the electors, along with travel expenses for the messenger appointed by Miklós Bethlen, to our royal judge in Szeben, so that he may expedite them with proper instruction.”¹¹¹ The following day, László Székely, the princely chief postmaster¹¹², inquired of Teleki: “I have inquired from Kassai whether, according to Your Grace’s command, the letters have been delivered. He says that both to the bishop and other places designated by Your Grace, they have been sent.”¹¹³ Despite this, even in early April, debates continued over the letters’ content. Bánffy believed that “The form and style of the expeditions to the Christian electors and princes were dangerous, had they been intercepted. They have been revised in many aspects and are now being dispatched.”¹¹⁴ Persistent uncertainty remained about whether the Principality of Transylvania and Prince Apafi should officially address Europe’s Protestant leaders. This is evident from two successive letters by László Székely: “János Bethlen has recently corrected the letters to the electors by our Lord’s command and with the council’s approval.”¹¹⁵ These lines were written on April 6, but Székely wrote about another correction nearly two weeks later, on April 18 as well: “The letters to the electors have been corrected again, but still did not please our Lord; now he wishes them to be corrected anew. Once finalized, I will send Your Grace a copy and write more extensively.”¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ TML. V. 100.

¹¹⁰ TML. V. 103.

¹¹¹ TML. V. 117.

¹¹² Lázár, Miklós: *Erdély főispánjai*, op. cit., 67.

¹¹³ TML. V. 119.

¹¹⁴ TML. V. 152.

¹¹⁵ TML. V. 157.

¹¹⁶ TML. V. 180.

In the spring of 1672, Mihály Teleki received further reports of Zsófia Báthory's intensifying anti-Protestant actions: "I pity the churches and schools. Oh, oh, oh God, how long will You be angry with us? This week in Bánya, the locals were interrogated. They intend to seize the church and school there as well. My dear Lord, if we are no longer free, and do not wish to act against the Germans, perhaps we should make them our friends, rather than dwell in isolation, awaiting blows from all sides. The poor people of Tarpa were the bravest. They told Jezebel that if she did not sit beside the father, they would surely kill her. We shall see how they can remain."¹¹⁷

As persecutions intensified, Teleki gathered information through his agents. In September, István Baksa wrote him from Debrecen: "The misery of this poor Hungarian nation increases daily; those expelled from their homeland are losing hope, and many, lacking means to live, return to their homes and possessions, only to face further suffering. Recently, a merchant named János Csakó from Dobsina, Gömör County, being here, reported that he witnessed Lord Sigmond Theököly's possessions—one quintal of gold, much silver, and all his valuables—being confiscated, after which he himself was released; similarly with Lord Imre Máriási. From Szepes County, preachers have been expelled six miles away. A student from the Bratislava area reports that even wealthy Lutherans, upon converting to Catholicism, had their properties seized; only their residences were returned upon conversion."¹¹⁸ Thus, the Transylvanian Reformed elite had nearly real-time information about the escalating Protestant persecutions. And in 1674, when the sentence on the pastors and teachers was finally passed, it was reported to them by several sources. On March 2, 1674, Teleki notified Prince Michael Apafi: "They are summoning the pastors here, whom I wrote to Your Highness."¹¹⁹ Although over 700 Protestant pastors and teachers were summoned before the extraordinary court in Bratislava on March 5, Teleki had already received news about it on the 2nd. Shortly thereafter, on March 12, Pál Béldi had precise information as well: "Sad news about the pastors' summoning; it is likely (if the expulsion of Lutheran pastors in Bratislava is true) that this will follow, which may God prevent."¹²⁰ News of the sentences and galley slavery reached Transylvania, as István Baksa wrote to Teleki on October 28, 1675: "Péter Kazinczi staged a play in Patak, mocking our exiled, imprisoned, and galley-suffering preachers and the holy ministry, ridiculing our religion and God. He did this to showcase and reinforce his Catholicism; for this, the emperor granted him Demeter castle in Sáros County, once belonging to the poor István Bocskay, and my village Duplin—not for his pious service, but for his betrayal. There has been no greater traitor to the Hungarian homeland

¹¹⁷ TML. V. 144.

¹¹⁸ TML. 6, 503–504.

¹¹⁹ TML. 6, 570.

¹²⁰ TML. 6, 574.

and its lords than he.”¹²¹

In summary, the Reformed elite of the Transylvanian Principality not only kept abreast of the events of the “decade of mourning” but were also involved in the movements of the 1660s through figures like János and Miklós Bethlen, and tried to help the Hungarian Lutherans, especially those of the Reformed faith, in many ways. On the one hand, they welcomed and supported refugees, pastors, the Patak College and members of the Protestant nobility fleeing to Transylvania, and on the other hand, they tried to draw Europe’s attention to what was happening. Although an official letter representing all of Transylvania was not successfully sent to Europe’s crowned heads as Bethlen Miklós and his circle had hoped, he nonetheless mobilized his entire international Protestant network through his letters. In addition, under Mihály Teleki’s leadership, efforts to organize military aid began, with Teleki attempting to lead the fugitives, the so-called *bújdosók*. Moreover, political correspondence was permeated with themes of penitence and self-examination in response to the persecution. Many members of the Reformed elite placed the events in a biblical, theological context and sought to interpret them through the lens of their faith. The events of the decade of mourning affected Transylvanian Protestants on many levels, shaping both their personal and community lives. Further exploration of this impact through additional ego-documents would be valuable.

¹²¹ TML. 7, 72–73.

A REJTETT TÁRSADALMI HÁLÓZAT INFORMÁCIÓS ÉRTÉKE

A magyarországi lutheránusok helyzete Johann Joachim d'Orville (1633-1688), Hessen-Kassel rezidensének a regensburgi állandó birodalmi gyűlésen készült jelentéseiben leírtak szerint.

THE INFORMATION VALUE OF A HIDDEN SOCIAL NETWORK
The situation of the Lutherans in Hungary as described in the reports of
Johann Joachim d'Orville (1633–1688) resident of Hesse-Kassel at the
Perpetual Diet of Regensburg

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

1671-1681 között, I. Lipót nyílt abszolútizmusra törekvő hatalomgyakorlása időszakában a magyarországi protestáns közösségek sokrétű krízise intenzíven jelent meg a korabeli nemzetközi nyilvánosság előtt, különösen a Német-római Birodalom nyomtatott politikai diskurzusaiban. A Johann Joachim D'Orville (1633-1688), Hessen-Kassel fejedelemségét a regensburgi birodalmi gyűlésen képviselő diplomata követjelentései bizonyítják, hogy nemcsak az 1670-es évek nyílt felekezeti konfliktusa idején, hanem az 1680-as években, az Oszmán Birodalom elleni háború nagy erőpróbái alatt is hangsúlyosan és sokrétűen jelen volt a magyarországi protestánsok ügye a Német-római Birodalom politikai diskurzusaiban. Hessen-Kassel regensburgi rezidense sokrétű információkkal rendelkezett az 1681-es soproni diéta politikai jelentőségéről, Esterházy Pál nádor szerepéről, Thököly Imrével való tárgyalásokról, s Kollonits Lipót (1631-1707), a későbbi bíboros és érsek, ekkor bécsújhelyi püspök protestánsokkal szembeni fellépéséről. A hesseni követ figyelte Kollonich szerepét a szabad királyi városok mindennapjaiban nagy változást eredményező kamarai elnöksége kapcsán is.

D'Orville s titkára, Niklas Wilhelm Göddäus (1646-1719) az 1681-es országgyűlést követően is rendszeresen jelentettek a magyarországi evangélikusok helyzetéről, a hitgyakorlás lehetőségeiről, elsősorban soproni evangélikusoktól szerzett hírek alapján. Az információszerezést segíthette Justus Eberhard von Passer (1652-1733), Hessen-Darmstadt későbbi, 1692-es és 1704-es bécsi követe, aki a császárváros életéről nyújtott sokoldalú kép mellett a magyarországi politikai viszonyokról is érdemi ismeretekkel rendelkezett. D'Orville megbízható értesüléseket kapott Hessen-Kassel bécsi ügyvivőjétől, Johann Jonas Schrimpf-től, aki 1649 és 1696 között tevékenykedett Bécsben ágensként, majd rezidensként.

Hessen-Kassel felkészült regensburgi rezidensének beszámolóí bizonyítják, hogy bár a török háború és a Thököly-felkelés felszámolásának manifeszt nyomtatott hírei

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részben „eltakarták” a politikailag kényesebb felekezeti kérdéseket az 1680-as években, mégis a kevésbé nyilvános háttértárgyalások és kézíratos diplomáciai hírekben markánsan megjelentek a birodalmi gyűlésen a Magyar Királyság belpolitikai erőviszonyainak változásai, s a városi evangélikus közösségek szűkülő lehetőségei.

ABSTRACT

Between 1671 and 1681, during the period of Lipót I's open absolutist rule, the multifaceted crisis of the Protestant communities in Hungary was intensely publicised in the international public sphere of the time, especially in the printed political discourse of the German-Roman Empire. The envoy reports of Johann Joachim D'Orville (1633-1688), the diplomat who represented the Principality of Hesse-Kassel at the Imperial Assembly in Regensburg, prove that the issue of Protestants in Hungary was a prominent and multifaceted part of the political discourse of the German-Roman Empire not only during the open sectarian conflict of the 1670s, but also during the great ordeal of the war against the Ottoman Empire in the 1680s. The resident of Hesse-Kassel in Regensburg had a wealth of information on the political significance of the 1681 Diet of Sopron, the role of the Palatine Elector Pál Esterházy, the negotiations with Imre Thököly, and the actions of Lipót Kollonits (1631-1707), later Cardinal and Archbishop of Vienna, then Bishop of Vienna, against Protestants. The Hessian envoy also observed Kollonich's role in his presidency of the chamber, which brought about a major change in the daily life of the free royal towns.

D'Orville's secretary, Niklas Wilhelm Göddäus (1646-1719), continued to report regularly on the situation of evangelicals in Hungary and the possibilities of practising the faith after the Diet of 1681, mainly on the basis of information from evangelicals in Sopron. Justus Eberhard von Passer (1652-1733), the later envoy of Hesse-Darmstadt to Vienna in 1692 and 1704, who, in addition to his multifaceted knowledge of life in the imperial city, also had a substantial knowledge of political conditions in Hungary, may have helped to gather information. D'Orville had received reliable information from Johann Jonas Schrimpf, Hesse-Kassel's agent in Vienna, who had been an agent and then resident in Vienna between 1649 and 1696.

The reports of the prepared resident of Hesse-Kassel in Regensburg prove that, although the manifest printed news of the Turkish war and the liquidation of the Thököly rebellion partly 'obscured' the politically more sensitive sectarian issues in the 1680s, the less public background discussions and manuscript diplomatic reports at the imperial assembly clearly reflected the changes in the internal political power relations in the Kingdom of Hungary and the dwindling possibilities for the urban Lutheran communities.

Kulcsszavak: Johann Joachim D'Orville, nyomtatott hetilapok, kézíratos hírátvitel, birodalmi gyűlés, evangélikus összetartozás-tudat

Keywords: Johann Joachim D'Orville, printed weekly newspapers, manuscript news flow, imperial assembly, evangelical sense of belonging

Under the reign of Emperor Leopold I, who sought open absolutism, the radical change in the status of Hungarian Protestant communities (between 1671 and 1681) manifested quickly and intensively in the political

public sphere of the German-Roman Empire.¹ The international impact of the 1674 trial against preachers and schoolmasters was significant not only on the level of diplomacy², but also in printed communications³, and the denominational conflict was closely followed by the considerable urban readership⁴ of German-language printed newspapers as well.⁵ Weekly newspapers in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Hamburg, Berlin, and fair pamphlets published in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig reported on the critical situation of the Protestant ecclesiastical and secular elites of Kassa, Eperjes, Lőcse, and Sopron in the mid-1670s. Besides English, Dutch and Swiss political journalism, a hundred and fifty different publications published in Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena and Dresden described the circumstances and consequences of the Bratislava trial.⁶

¹ I would like to thank the Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe, Institute of the Leibniz Association, Marburg, for the research grant. An extended version of the study has been published in Hungarian: G. ETÉNYI, Nóra: Nyomtatott hírek és kéziratok információk magyarországi evangélikus közösségek Johann Joachim D'Orville (1633–1688) hessen-kasseli diplomata regensburgi birodalmi gyűlésről küldött követjelentéseiben, in KÓNYA, Péter – KÖNYOVÁ, Annamária (eds.): *Egyház és vallás a kora újkori Magyarországon*, Prešov, 2020, 134–161.

² PÉTER, Katalin: A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok és tanítók ellen indított per 1674-ben, in Id.: *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból (A Ráday Gyűjtemény tanulmányai 8.)*, Budapest, 1995. 200–210.; MURDOCK, Graeme: Responses to Habsburg Persecution of Protestants in Seventeenth Century Hungary Austria, *History Yearbook*, Volume 40, April 2009, 37–52.; MIHALIK, Béla: Sacred Urban Spaces in Seventeenth-Century Upper Hungary, *Hungarian Historical Review*, 1 (2012), no. 1–2., 22–48.

³ KOWALSKA, Eva: Exil als Zufluchtsort oder Vermittlungsstelle? Ungarische Exulanten im Alten Reich während des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts, in BAHLCKE, Joachim (ed.): *Glaubensflüchtlinge. Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsmigration in Europa*, Berlin, 2008. 257–276.; KOWALSKA, Eva: Confessional Exile from Hungary in 17. Century Europe. The Problem of Mental Borders, in ELLIS, Steven G. – KLUSÁKOVÁ, Lud'a (eds.): *Imagining Frontiers Contesting Identities*, Pisa, 2007. 229–242.

⁴ BÖNING, Holger: Eine Stadt lernt das Zeitunglesen. Leser, Auflagen und Reichweite der Hamburger und Altoner Zeitungen in der Frühzeit des Zeitungswesens, in MERZIGER, Patrick – STÖBER-ESTER, Rudolf – KÖRBER, Beate – SCHULZ, Michael (eds.): *Geschichte, Öffentlichkeit, Kommunikation. Festschrift für Bernd Sösemann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 2010. 25–46.

⁵ SCHULTHEISS-HEINZ, Sonja: *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik. Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 2004.

⁶ MAKKAJ, László – FABINYI, Tibor – LADÁNYI, Sándor (eds.): *Galeria omnium sanctorum. A magyarországi gályarab prédikátorok emlékezete*, Budapest, 1976.; IMRE, Mihály: Consolatio és reprezentáció – mártírok vigasztalása Zürichben, in

The denominational conflicts in Europe were brought to the attention of the international public not only as a domestic political issue, but also as a matter affecting alliances. The sense of denominational affiliation that transcended national borders was a source of legitimacy in the public political sphere, especially after the peace of Westphalia, which gave the prince-electors the opportunity to develop an independent foreign policy. The Habsburg ruler had to take into account the norms of his potential Protestant allies and the denominational relations within the Roman Empire of the German Nation in the face of the expected open confrontation with the Ottoman Empire and France.

The Hungarian political elite did not have an independent foreign policy, yet over the decades many social strata managed to establish their own foreign relations. By the middle of the 17th century, the Protestant intellectuals in Hungary – preachers, schoolmasters, and the secular elite running the administration of the free royal cities – had access to a wide range of international communication channels through their education abroad, as state centers, imperial cities, and universities provided support to Hungarian peregrinates. The university disputes and their printed versions, widely used in the Holy Roman Empire, also represented the social and political status of the Protestant elite in Hungary.⁷ During the crisis when Protestant churches, schools and parsonages were confiscated, several hidden social networks were revealed, which had been constantly monitoring the situation of Protestants in Hungary.

A large, pamphlet-like pictorial document published in 1682 did not report on a single major event, but presented the increasingly unfavorable state of the free exercise of religion by Protestants in Hungary from 1660 to 1681.⁸ The twenty small engravings with short captions recall

CSORBA, Dávid – FAZAKAS, Gergely Tamás – IMRE, Mihály – TÓTH, Zsombor: *Protestáns mártírológia a kora újkorban. Studia Litteraria*, 2012, 3–4. 189–197.; BUJTÁS, László Zsigmond: A pozsonyi véstörvényszékről és a gályarabokról szóló magyar szerzőktől származó könyvek sorsa a 17–18. századi holland nyomtatványokban, in *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 25, 2003, 115–157.

⁷ Johann von Hellenbach körmöcbányai magyar szónoklata, in IMRE, Mihály (ed.): *Retorikák a magyar reformáció korából*. Debrecen, 2003. 455–466.; P. SZABÓ, Béla: Magyarországiak politica-disputatio nyugat-európai egyetemeken a 17. században, in: *Szabadság: írások a 65. éves Dénes Iván Zoltán tiszteletére*, Debrecen, 2011, 276–308.; DÖRNYEI, Sándor: *Egy kis hungarica-csokor, in: Fata libelli: A nyolcvan éves Borsa Gedeon köszöntésére írták barátai és tanítványai*, OSZK, Budapest, 2003, 321–328.; PHILIPP, Michael: Politica und Patronage. Zur Funktion von Widmungadressen bei politischen Dissertationen des 17. Jahrhunderts, in GINHART, Martin (ed.): *Disputatio 1200–1800. Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenschaft*, Berlin – New York, 2010.

⁸ Denckwürdiger Abriess etlicher in Ungarn beziechneten Personen und Oerthen derer in unterschiedlichen historischen Tractätlein gedacht wird wie dieselben im

the upheavals in the lives of well-known preachers (Mihály Láni, István Pilarik, Tamás Steller) and the trials of urban communities (Košice, Bratislava, Banská Bystrica), which have already been the subject of separate volumes.⁹ At the heart of this pictorial summary is the emblematic event of the 1674 Bratislava trial, where three hundred preachers chose martyrdom rather than conversion to Catholicism. The image series also captured the stages of the journey taken by the preachers sentenced to galley-slavery to the port of Naples. The one-page print survives in the Dresden collection of engravings of the Saxon prince-electors, but it can also be found in the archives of the imperial court, where it was probably deposited through envoy reports, attesting to the political importance of the print.¹⁰ The last engraving in the series, published in 1682 in an unknown place, depicted an armed conflict. The caption of the picture also emphasized that the soldiers let go of the border fortifications and the noblemen who had lost their livelihood after 1671 had been fighting the imperial armies for twelve years.¹¹ The engraving made no reference to it, but the sometimes covert, sometimes overt Turkish support played a role in the negative perception of the increasingly organized uprising¹² led by Emeric Thököly.¹³ Even in

Jahr 1660 anfänglich durch eine particular 1674 abr durch eine allgemeine verfolgung mit vielfältigen treffen und blut vergiessen überzogen sind... vorgestellt Anno 1682. Kupferstichkabinett Dresden in Mappes B 1979 3. 12.

⁹ G. ETÉNYI, Nóra: Das Flugblatt als politische Erinnerungsstütze: zur Verfolgung ungarischer reformierter Prediger in den Jahren 1671–1681, in CZIRÁKI, Zsuzsanna – FUNDÁRKOVÁ, Anna – MANHERCZ, Orsolya – PERES, Zsuzsanna – VAJNÁGI, Márta (eds.): *Wiener Archivforschungen. Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten in Wien*, István Fazekas, Wien, 2014, 249–259.

¹⁰ SCHUMANN, Jutta: *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopold I.*, Berlin, 2003. 126–127. 547.; G. ETÉNYI: op. cit., 2014, 249.

¹¹ FABINYI, Tibor: Religio és rebellió. Szempontok a gályarabság okainak teljesebb megértéséhez, *Theológiai Szemle*, 1976, 5–6, 148–153. MAKKAI, László – BARTON Peter F. (eds.): *Religion oder Rebellion?* Budapest, 1977. 47–150.; BENCZÉDI, László: *Rendiség, abszolutizmus, centralizáció a XVII. század végi Magyarországon 1664–1685*, Budapest, 1980.

¹² VARGA J., János: *Válaszúton. Thököly Imre és Magyarország 1682–1684-ben*, Budapest, 2007, 15–19.; KÖPECZI, Béla: Thököly valláspolitikája és a nemzetközi közvélemény and Thököly a külföldi közvéleményben, both in KÖPECZI, Béla: *Tanulmányok a kuruc szabadságharcok történetéből*, Budapest, 2004, 37–47 and 48–92.

¹³ PAULER, Gyula: A bujdosók támadása 1672-ben, *Századok*, 3, 1869. March 14 1987, 96–97.; MIHALIK, Béla: Mehmed egri janicsár aga kassai követsége. A török és a törökösség az 1670-es évtized ellenreformációjában. *Keletkutatás*, spring 2009, 129–138.; MICHELS, Georg B.: Az 1674. évi pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez. Protestáns lelképásztorok harca az erőszakos ellenreformációval szemben, *Történelmi Szemle*, 55, 2013, 1. sz., 55–78.

the preachers' trial, one of the main accusations was also cooperation with the Turks along the borders.¹⁴ The act of distinguishing between the urban bourgeoisie's movement for the Protestants' free exercise of religion and the movement of armed soldiers turning against the monarch demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the complex problems of the region.

The 1682 pamphlet did not record the steps taken to resolve the crisis, although many publications described the release of the prisoners by Admiral de Ruyter on February 12, 1676, on the orders of the Council of State of the German Lowlands, as well as their bail-out on May 2 by the Saxon prince-electoral John George II. Not even the pictorial summary indicate that Leopold I called a diet in Sopron on April 28, 1681, where he finally sanctioned the laws on December 30, which, while limited in scope and designating places of articulation, still allowed Protestants to practice their faith. The Diet of Sopron that started on May 21, 1681, attracted great international attention. The importance of resolving religious and denominational conflicts was represented by the apostolic nuncio Francesco Buonvisi, in addition to the English and Dutch envoys accredited to Vienna.¹⁵ Many handwritten and printed reports of the Diet of Sopron were also sent to the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg, in Latin and German.¹⁶

The envoy reports of Johann Joachim d'Orville (1633–1688), a diplomat representing the Landgraviate of Hesse-Kassel at the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg, prove that the Protestant cause in Hungary was a prominent and multifaceted part of the political discourse in the Holy Roman Empire not only during the open denominational conflict of the 1670s, but also during the great ordeals of the war against the Ottoman Empire in the 1680s.

Reports of Johann Joachim d'Orville, diplomat of Hesse and Kassel, concerning Hungary

Hesse-Kassel suffered heavy losses during the Thirty Years' War, but under the reign of Charles I (1654–1730), who was closely related to the Danish royal family and Frederick William Elector of Brandenburg, the principality quickly began to prosper.¹⁷ Hesse-Kassel took in refugees from

¹⁴ VARGA S., Katalin: Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve. *Textus és értelmezés*, Budapest, 2008, 174–176, 178.

¹⁵ JÁSZAY, Magda: A pápaság és a törökellenes felszabadító háborúk. Buonvisi bíboros küldetése, *Történelmi Szemle*, XLIII, 2001, 3–4, 187–208. R. VÁRKONYI, Ágnes: *Europa varietas – hungarica varietas*, Budapest, 1994, 140.

¹⁶ Bischöflichen Zentralarchiv Regensburg OA GEN 1742 Diverse Reichstagsakten 1681–1700

¹⁷ PHILIPPI, Hans: *Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel 1654–1730. Ein deutscher Fürst der Barockzeit*, Marburg, 1976, 12–30.; PELIZAEUS, Ludolf: *Der Aufstieg Württembergs und Hessens zur Kurwürde 1692–1803*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, 2000, 14–16, 23–38, 126–131.; SCHAICH, Michael: *Information Professionals:*

many lands, including French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.¹⁸ Between 1670 and 1720, about 25 to 30 Huguenot diplomats helped to establish good relations in German principalities.¹⁹ Hesse-Kassel's international prestige was enhanced by the fact that it had trained soldiers on land and sea to fight the Ottoman Empire, and from 1688 onwards, also on the French theater of war.²⁰ For the imperial principality, the free exercise of Protestant religion was also a fundamental value.

Hesse-Kassel's well-prepared envoys also represented the Protestant interests of the empire intensively at the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg.²¹ From 1671 until his death in 1688, Johann Joachim d'Orville sent insightful reports on the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg sensitive to both imperial and European changes.²² Members of the d'Orville family, who arrived as Huguenot refugees, had been respected citizens of Frankfurt am Main from the end of the 16th century.²³ d'Orville's father and also his maternal grandfather, Ludwig Camerarius (1573–1651), Chancellor of Palatine Electorate played an important role in the government-in-exile of King Frederick V of Bohemia at The Hague, as well as in the Swedish rulers' relations with the German Protestant powers during their exile from 1642 to 1651. D'Orville held a doctorate in law from the University of Marburg.²⁴ The University of Marburg was also popular with Protestant students in

Huguenot Diplomats in Later Stuart London and Their European Context, in LARMINE, Vivienne (ed.): *Huguenot Networks 1560–1780: The Interactions and Impact of a Protestants Minority in Europe*. 75–92, 81

¹⁸ EBERT, Jochen: Willkommene und ungebetene Gäste. Fremde in Kassel im 18. Jahrhundert, in WUNDER, Heide – VANJA, Christina – WEGNER, Karl-Hermann (eds.): *Kassel im 18. Jahrhundert. Residenz und Stadt*, Kassel, 2000, 262–283.

¹⁹ SCHAICH, Michael: op. cit., 77, 81.

²⁰ PELIZAEUS, Ludolf: op. cit., 2000. 14–16, 23–38, 126–131

²¹ PELIZAEUS, Ludolf: *Fürstlicher Gesandtenalltag hessischer und württembergischer Gesandter vom Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV. bis Napoleon: Theorie und Realität, Blätzet für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 136, 2000, 165–198.; PELIZAEUS, Ludolf: *Der Aufstieg Württembergs und Hessens zur Kurwürde 1692–1803*, Frankfurt am Main, 2000. 605–618.

²² LEHSTEN, Lupold von: *Die hessischen Reichstagsgesandten in 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt – Augsburg, 2003, 311–315.; BRAKENSIEK, Stefan: Die Staatsdiener. Das Beispiel der gelehrten Räte an der Regierung Kassel, in WUNDER, Heide – VANJA, Christina – WEGNER, Karl-Hermann (eds.): *Kassel im 18. Jahrhundert. Residenz und Stadt*, Kassel, 2000, 350–374.

²³ BRAASCH, Ernst-Otto: Die Huguenottenfamilie d'Orville. Eine Auswahl ihrer bedeutenden Nachkommen als Beitrag ein Huguenotten-Gedenckjahr, in: *Hessischer Familienkunde* Bd, 17, 1985, 311–314.; Schaich, Michael: op. cit., 2018, 81.

²⁴ LEHSTEN, Lupold von: op. cit., 2003, 313.; FRIEDRICH, Susanne: op. cit., 2007, 104.

Hungary during the 17th century.²⁵ D'Orville expanded his knowledge and social network through a longer *kavallierstour* experience.²⁶ He was a court counselor in Hesse-Kassel from 1666, and from 1671 he was a privy counselor in residence at the Perpetual Diet. D'Orville's work was assisted by Niklas Wilhelm Göddäus (1646–1719), who was appointed embassy counselor in Vienna in 1680 and then in Regensburg from July 1682. First, Göddäus married the daughter of Johann Ludwig Prasch (1637–1690), a councilor in Regensburg, and then d'Orville's daughter.²⁷ D'Orville passed away in Regensburg on December 18, 1688, and was buried in the Church of the Holy Trinity on December 23.²⁸

From 1663 to 1806, during the period of the Perpetual Diet, Regensburg became, with varying intensity, a prominent scene of imperial domestic and foreign policy,²⁹ and international propaganda, as well as a representative public political sphere of European politics.³⁰ In the last third of the 17th century, it was a key center for gathering, producing and transmit-

²⁵ NAGY, Jukunda: *Ungarische Studenten an der Universität Marburg, 1571–1914*, Darmstadt, Marburg, 1974, 62–63.

²⁶ LEHSTEN, Lupold von: op. cit., 2003, 313. FRIEDRICH, Susanne: op. cit., 2007, 104.

²⁷ LEHSTEN, Lupold von: op. cit., 2003, 274–283.; BRAKENSIEK, Stefan: Die Staatsdiener. Das Beispiel der gelehrten Räte an der Regierung Kassel, in WUNDER, Heide – VANJA, Chrsitina – WEGNER, Karl-Hermann (eds.): *Kassel im 18. Jahrhundert. Residenz und Stadt*, Kassel, 2000, 350–374, 358.

²⁸ RUESS, Klaus-Peter: *Begräbnisverzeichnis für den Friedhof der protestantischen Gesandten am Immerwährenden Reichstag (Gesandtenfriedhof) bei der Dreieinigkeitskirche in Regensburg für den Zeitraum 1641-bis 1787* (1805), 2016, 38.

²⁹ FÜRNRÖHR, Walter: *Der immerwährende Reichstag zu Regensburg. Das Parlament des Alten Reiches. Zur 300-Jahrfeier seiner Eröffnung 1663*, Regensburg–Kallmünz, 1987.; TISCHER, Anuschka: Der immerwährende Reichstag als Forum öffentlicher Kriegsdiskurse in den ersten Jahrzehnten seiner Entstehung, in RUDOLPH, Harriet – SCHLACHTE, Astrid (eds.): *Reichsstadt, Reich, Europa. Neue Perspektiven auf den Immerwährenden Reichstag zu Regensburg (1663–1806)*, Regensburg, 2015, 253–265, 262–264.

³⁰ CHRISTOPH Meixner: Regensburg In: WOLFGANG Adam – SIEGRID Westphal: *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit. Städte und Residenzen 2012*. 1695–1754.; MICHAEL Maurer: Europa als Kommunikationsraum in der Frühen Neuzeit. In: *Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hrsg. von Klaus-Dieter HERBST – Stefan KRATOCHWILL. Frankfurt a. M. 2009. 11–24.; Johannes ARNDT: Die europäische Medienlandschaft im Barockzeitalter. In: *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten*. Hrsg. von Irene Dingel – Matthias Schnettger. Göttingen 2010. 25–39.

ting intelligence via handwritten and printed information.³¹ With the issue of time becoming increasingly important in decision-making, diplomats started using printed weekly newspapers with growing intensity to summarize valuable foreign policy information.³² Editorials written based on news excerpts from weekly newspapers highlighted the political-economic consequences as well,³³ further increasing the political role of the press.³⁴ At the Perpetual Diet of Regensburg, the printed material was mainly war news,³⁵ with fewer direct political pamphlets, even though these were also received from the Netherlands and France.³⁶ Handwritten newspapers were popular for their exclusive news.³⁷

D'Orville systematically collected news about the Kingdom of Hungary. He had a nuanced and multifaceted view of the internal political conflicts from 1671, when the Lord Chief Justice Ferenc Nádasdy was executed, to the appearance of Emeric Thököly and the Diet of 1687. He lucidly explained the background to the outbreak of the Turkish war and the rapid change in the military balance of power. D'Orville worked hard to collect the mostly handwritten news about the possibilities for Lutherans in Hungary to practice their faith, even among the printed news flood about the Turkish war.

³¹ FRIEDRICH, Susanne: *Drehscheibe Regensburg. Das Informations- und Kommunikationssystem des Immerwährenden Reichstags um 1700.* (Colloquia Augustana 23.) Berlin 2007.

³² FRIEDRICH, Susanne: 'Zur Rechten Zeit' – Die temporale Struktur von Kommunikation am Immerwährenden Reichstag In: HARRIET Rudolph – ASTRID Schlachte (Hg.): *Reichsstadt, Reich, Europa. Neue Perspektiven auf den Immerwährenden Reichstag zu Regensburg (1663–1806)* Regensburg, 2015. 287–308

³³ FRIEDRICH, Susanne 2015. 305–308.; RUDOLPH, Harriet: Der Reichstag als Hort der „deutschen Freiheit“ Reichsverfassungsbilder als Medien des Wissenstransfers im „Atlas Historique“ der Gebrüder Châtelain In: RUDOLPH, Harriet – SCHLACHTE, Astrid (Hg.): *Reichsstadt, Reich, Europa. Neue Perspektiven auf den Immerwährenden Reichstag zu Regensburg (1663–1806)* Regensburg, 2015. 309–336.

³⁴ BELLINGRADT, Daniel: *Flugpublizistik und Öffentlichkeit um 1700. Dynamiken, Akteure und Strukturen im urbanen Raum des Alten Reiches.* Stuttgart, 2011. 11–24.

³⁵ MEIXNER, Christoph: 2012. 1748–1749. DRUCKER, Michael: *Bürger und Bücher: Die Bibliothek der Reichsstadt Regensburg. Ausstellungskatalog.* Regensburg, 1999. 7–12.

³⁶ FRIEDRICH, Susanne 2007. 206–222.

³⁷ ARNDT, Johannes: *Herrschaftskontrolle durch Öffentlichkeit. Die publizistische Darstellung politischer Konflikte im Heiligen Römischen Reich 1648–1750,* Göttingen 2013. 63–75.

Johann Joachim d'Orville, resident in Regensburg, evaluated the information obtained in three to four pages long reports, supported by four to five handwritten and printed annexes. D'Orville's reports were mainly accompanied by printed weekly newspapers from Hanover, Regensburg and Munich. The Marburg Archives' collection of handwritten and printed newspapers from the 16th and 17th centuries contains the largest number of copies of the *Europäische Freytags* and *Europäische Montags Zeitung* from 1671, published in Hanover on Mondays and Fridays by Georg Friedrich Grimmen (1635–1690). The publication, which published news mainly from Venice, Paris, Cologne, Copenhagen, Brussels, The Hague, Amsterdam and Augsburg, provided a multifaceted picture of the situation in Hungary and Transylvania, the Ottoman borderlands, and the religious and economic conditions in Upper Hungary between 1668 and 1673.³⁸ In 1671, from February to May, substantial information was published weekly about the case against the Hungarian nobles, as well as about the transport of the Hungarian magistrate Ferenc Nádasdy's several carts of belongings to Vienna and the circumstances of his execution. The weekly newspaper did not only present the conspiracy of the aristocracy, but also how the crisis of the Protestant noblemen and the town's bourgeoisie was unfolding. The newspaper also reported on the establishment of a new governmental body, the gubernium, to replace the feudal institutions, and on the solemn entrance parade of the committee headed by Caspar von Ampringen arriving to Bratislava. The execution of the nobleman Ferenc Bónis in Bratislava on April 30, 1671, was also reported in the May 19 issue of the *Europäische Freytags Zeitung*.³⁹ The weekly newspaper revealed the influence of János Rottal, Archbishop of Esztergom György Szelepcsényi, and Rákóczi's widow, Zsófia Báthory in Upper Hungary. The August 6, 1671, issue reported on the official Viennese account of the execution of Ferenc Nádasdy, Péter Zrínyi and Ferenc Frangepán, which was published by the Cosmerovius publishing house.⁴⁰

The Hesse-Kassel resident consistently identified the information collected from handwritten sources. D'Orville received reliable information from Johann Jonas Schrimpf, the Hesse-Kassel representative in Vien-

³⁸ Hessisches Landesarchiv. Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg (hereinafter referred to as HStAM) 4 g Zeitungen 74 *Europäische Freytags Zeitung*, *Europäische Montags Zeitung*, *Wöchentliche Appendix* RESKE, Christoph: *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* Wiesbaden, 2007. 353. 499.

³⁹ HStAM 4 g Zeitungen 74 *Europäische Freytags Zeitung* Num XXII. Wien, May 19, Appendix XXII. Wien, May 24.

⁴⁰ HStAM 4 g. Zeitungen NUM XXXIII. August 6, 1671 Nunmehr ist eine Ausführliche und warhafftige Beschreibung mit allergnädigsten Befehl Ihr. Kayesrl. May. gedruckt heraus wie nemblich mit denen Criminap-Processen undd darauf erfolgten Execution wider die drey Grafen Frantz Nadasdy, Peter Serini und Franz Christoph Frangepani eygentlich hergangen sey.

na.⁴¹ An educated Lutheran, Johann Jonas Schrimpf was active in Vienna between 1649 and 1696 as an agent and then as a resident, primarily representing the Saxon prince-electoral and the Württemberg principality,⁴² but also the interests of other Lutheran imperial towns such as Bremen, Nördlingen and Kempten,⁴³ as well as Regensburg and Nuremberg. The town of Regensburg paid Viennese agent Jonas Schrimpf 100 imperial talents a year for news from and representation in Vienna.⁴⁴ Schrimpf arranged for the imperial court to grant privileges to the major printers and publishers in the territories he represented. The value of Schrimpf's intelligence was increased by the fact that from 1649 to 1696 he witnessed the changes in the relationship between the Habsburg monarch and the Hungarian estates, as well as in the course of the Turkish war unfolding in Hungary. He established an extensive network among the Lutheran nobility and townspeople of Hungary. Jonas Schrimpf was in close contact with the agile lawyer István Vitnyédi from Sopron (1612–1670) from the 1650s, from whom he received news and oral messages from Sopron.⁴⁵ Vitnyédi applied to the Prince of Württemberg through the Viennese agent for scholarships for talented Lutheran young men to study in Tübingen and Strasbourg,⁴⁶ which was an efficient way of establishing connections even in the 1680s.⁴⁷

The Lutheran embassies in the Lutheran-majority imperial city of Regensburg⁴⁸ also cooperated. The embassy of the Saxon prince-electoral in

⁴¹ HStAM 4 e 1518 January 24, 1684. Hans Philippi 1976. 54–74.

⁴² MATZKE, Judith: *Gesandtschaftswesen und diplomatischer Dienst Sachsens 1694–1763*. (*Schriften zur sächsischen Geschichte und Volkskunde* 36.) Leipzig 2011. 142.

⁴³ DORFNER, Thomas: Diener vieler Herren Die Reichs-Agenten am Kaiserhof (1558–1740) *Poetastas* N. 10. 2017. 87–101, 94–95. KEBLUSEK, Marika: Introduction. In: KEBLUSEK, Marika – NOLDUS BADELOCK, Vera Eds.: *Double Agents. Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden-Boston, 2011. 1–9.

⁴⁴ Stadtarchiv Regensburg (hereinafter: StAR) Cameralia Hauptrechnung der Stadt Regensburg Cam 136. fol. 9., 67. (1685) 12 October Cam 137. (1686) fol. 9. 23. Nv 1686. Cam 138 (1687) f. 9. Cam 140. (1690) f. 87–169.

⁴⁵ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. (hereinafter HStS) Württembergische Gesandtschaftsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 122 Schrimpf Wien 1659. Jan. 19/29 179., A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan-Dec. Aug. 14/24. 319.

⁴⁶ HStS. Württembergische Gesandtschaftsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan-Dec. June 12/22. 310

⁴⁷ G. ETÉNYI, Nóra: Protestant „Athleta Christi” in the Propaganda of the Great Turkish War: The Demise of Georg Friedrich Duke of Württemberg at Kosice, 1685. *Historical Studies on Central Europe* 2021. Vol. 1. No. 1. 97–128.

⁴⁸ HAUSBERGER, Karl: Zum Verhältnis der Konfessionen in der Reichsstadt Regensburg. In: ANGERER, Martin – GERMANN-BAUER, Peter – TRAPP, Engen:

the square by the “New Parish” church was an important center.⁴⁹ D’Orville also passed on information to Dr. Georg Sigmund Richter (1645–1711), the envoy of the imperial city of Nuremberg, although Richter maintained close contact mainly with the envoys of the city of Augsburg.⁵⁰ The envoy in Nuremberg also followed the situation of Lutherans in Hungary,⁵¹ although he had to rely on different information than the Hesse-Kassel resident, who had access to more handwritten resources. When Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes on October 18, 1685, a hundred thousand French Huguenots emigrated, primarily to Hesse, the Frankish territories and Brandenburg within a few months. A great international debate unfolded, analyzing both the denominational-political and economic consequences.⁵² Looking at it from Regensburg, d’Orville highlighted the consequence that the Brandenburg prince-electoral also sent relief troops to the siege of Buda in 1686. On the other hand, the Nuremberg envoy had sent a report already on November 23, 1685, containing the 14-point pact of the Brandenburg prince-electoral, published in Potsdam on October 29, 1685, on the resettlement of the expelled French Protestants.⁵³

In Regensburg, d’Orville received a great deal of substantial information from the imperial envoys, and regularly enclosed handwritten reports from Vienna. He often mentioned the Austrian envoy, Dr Johann von Scherer as well, as a source of news. He was in direct contact with Gottlieb Amadeus von Windischgrätz (1630–1695), who was born in Regensburg and belonged to the Lutheran denomination until 1682. In the 1680s, Windischgrätz had considerable influence in the imperial assembly. He

450 Jahre Evangelische Kirche in Regensburg. 1542–1992. Regensburg 1992. 153–163.

⁴⁹ KUBITZA, Michael: Regensburg als Sitz des Immerwährenden Reichstags. In: *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg. I–II.* Hrsg. von SCHMID, Peter. Regensburg 2000. I. 157.

⁵⁰ FRIEDRICH, Susanne 2007. 199–201. 203.

⁵¹ StAN Reichstagsakten 310 (1684. -Apr) fol 8 (April 15, 1684) „Resolutio Caesare et regiae comission Gravamina Civitatis Soproniensis de dato Posenii 28 Febr. 1684 annex Johannes Maholány 1684 febr 28 next to Copia Decreti Ceaserae Regiaeque Deputationis pro liberatione captivorum evangelicorum Ministrorum in praesenti Conventu Poseninsi die 28 Febr 1684.

⁵² MÜHLING, Christian: *Die europäische Debatte über den Religionskrieg (1679–1714) Konfessionelle Memoria und inrenationale Politik im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV.* Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europaeische Geschichte Mainz. Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht 245–291.

⁵³ StAN Reichstagsakten Nürnberg 314 (1685. Nov – 1686. März) 1685. Nov 23 „Chur-Fürstlich Brandenburgisches Edict worinnen enthaltan Alle Berichtungen Freyheit und Privilegien welche Ihro Chur Fürstl Durch Reformierten Religion zugetahn Franzosen so sich dero Landen niederlassen wollen zu gönnen versprechen Geben Postdam den 29 Okc 1685.

stayed in Regensburg several times between 1677 and 1683, and after his Catholicization in 1682, he was given an increasingly important position in the imperial legation.⁵⁴ Until 1685, d'Orville was helped by the fact that in the Kurfürstenrat the policies of the prince-electors of Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Brandenburg and Palatinate attested to a well-organized cooperation, which was described in the imperial editorials in 1684 as "the Mainz prince-elector's party."⁵⁵ From 1679–81, the threat of a Turkish invasion of Vienna opened a new chapter in the political power relations between the emperor and the prince-electors.⁵⁶

D'Orville on the 1681 Diet of Sopron and the situation of Protestants

The resident of Hesse-Kassel in Regensburg had a wealth of information on the political significance of the 1681 Diet of Sopron.⁵⁷ D'Orville saw exactly what a complex problem needed to be solved before the outbreak of another Turkish war. The convocation of the Diet of Sopron in 1681, the election of the palatine of Hungary, and the abolition of the gubernium represented a compromise in the relations between the monarch and the Hungarian estates.⁵⁸ It was in July that d'Orville forwarded the first longer report from Regensburg on the Sopron Diet opened on May 22, 1681, stressing that one of the most important aims was to settle the situation of the Protestants.⁵⁹ He also noted that Pál Esterházy, the Palatine of Hungary elected in mid-June, had invited Emeric Thököly and his supporters to the Diet. As part of his report from Sopron at the end of June, d'Orville enclosed a copy of the June 22 memorandum, which the Protestants in Hungary had handed to Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor and the Palatine of Hungary, summarizing their grievances.⁶⁰ His July letter also contained the important information that the Dutch envoy to the imperial court, Gerard Hamel Bruyninx (1616–1691), who had been active at the imperial court between 1670 and 1690, had arrived in So-

⁵⁴ FÜRNRÖHR, Walter 115–116.; FRIEDRICH, Susanne 2007. 257.

⁵⁵ FRIEDRICH, Susanne 2007. 256–257.

⁵⁶ ANGERMEIER, Heinz: Die Reichskriegsverfassung in der Politik der Jahre 1679–1681. In: DERS.: *Das alte Reich in der deutschen Geschichte: Studien über Kontinuitäten und Zäsuren*. München 1991. 420–448.

⁵⁷ HStAM. Reichstags-Relationen Hessen, Kassel Bericht 1681. Juli-Sept. 4 e 1508

⁵⁸ ZSILINSZKY, Mihály: *Az 1681. évi soproni országgyűlés történetéhez*. Budapest, 1883.; IVÁNYI, Emma: Közvetítési kísérletek a bécsi udvar és Thököly között, KALMÁR, János: Thököly önálló diplomáciájának kezdetei 1678–1679. Adalékok a felkelés török orientációjának indítékaihoz. Both In: *A Thököly-felkelés és kora* op. cit. 130. 156.

⁵⁹ HStAM 4 e 1508 July 4, 1681.

⁶⁰ HSTAM 4. e. 1508 July Supplicatio Sacratissima Caesar Regiae Majsetatis per statum Evangelicum Negostaedy porrecta

pron as well.⁶¹ D’Orville, in a letter of August 18, expressed his hope that an agreement would be reached, although he also reported that Lipót Kollonits (1631–1707), later Cardinal and Archbishop, then Bishop of Vienna, had preached a sermon from the pulpit of the church in Sopron that was insulting and mocking to Protestants.⁶² The Hesse-Kassel envoy did not provide a lengthy account of the coronation of Empress Eleonora Magdalena Theresia as Queen of Hungary, although the ceremony and its detailed printed description emphasized the new compromise between the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg dynasty.⁶³ Several pamphlets were published about the Queen’s December 9 coronation,⁶⁴ including the Viennese engraving by Johann Martin Lerch and a fine pictorial report by the Viennese publisher and court printer Peter Paul Vivien, who was born in Venice.⁶⁵ The representation of the Habsburg monarchs, the two-headed eagle on the fire tower rebuilt after the fire of Sopron in 1676, also appeared in the public spaces of the town.⁶⁶ D’Orville did not include pamphlets presenting the engravings with his reports. In his report, the Hesse-Kassel envoy indicated that the court physicians had approved the travel of Crown Prince Joseph, which means that the possibility of his

⁶¹ HStM 4 e 1508 július 14/24. ANGYAL, Dávid: A bécsi hollandi követek jelentései 1670–1697 *Budapesti Szemle* 1930. 154–155.; TÓTH, Endre: Hamel Bruininex a soproni országgyűlésen. *Theológiai Szemle* 1926. 678–709.; BUJTÁS, László Zsigmond: Egy kálvinista holland diplomata Bécsben (1670–1690) Gerard Hamel Bruyninx, a magyar protestánsok buzgó védelmezője. In: *Kálvinista vonások a magyarok lelki arcán*. Ed: PÁLFFY, József. Debrecen – Nagyvárad 2015. 27–42. BUJTÁS, László Zsigmond: Magyar vonatkozású levelek Gerard Hamel Bruyninx levelezéséből (1676–1677) *Lymbus* 2015. 171–186.

⁶² HStM 4 e 1508. augusztus 18. Die päpstliche Clerisey ist allzuhart und soll der Bischof von Collonitsch über die anzügliche Predigt oder vielmehr invective deden die Protestierende woraus ich anlangst einige Latainsischen exeptca welche er als...

⁶³ PÁLFFY, Géza: Két elfeledett hungarikum keletkezéséről. Johann Probst munkái az 1681. évi soproni királyné-koronázásról és országgyűlésről. In: *Monographia. Tanulmányok Monok István 60. születésnapjára*. Ed.: NYERGES, Judit, VERÓK, Attila, ZVARA, Edina. Budapest, 2016. 554–567.

⁶⁴ ROER PAAS, John: *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*. Volume 10. 1671–1672. Wiesbaden, 2010. P-3260. P-3261. P-3266. 348. 349. 354.

⁶⁵ RÓZSA, György: Daniel Suttinger soproni látképe 1681-ből. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* XLVII. 1998. /1–2. 137–141. PÁLFFY, Géza: A magyar királyné koronázása a mohácsi csatát követő időszakban. In: *Veszprémi Szemle* 17 (2015) Nr. 4. 3–25.

⁶⁶ SERFŐZŐ, Szabolcs: „A kétfejű sas szárnyainak oltalmában”: A Habsburg uralkodók reprezentációja a kora újkori Sopronban *Soproni Szemle* 2020. 294–344.

coronation was raised as well.⁶⁷

D'Orville's secretary Göddäus continued to report regularly on the situation of Lutherans in Hungary and the possibilities of practicing their faith even after the Diet of 1681, mainly on the basis of information collected from Lutherans in Sopron.⁶⁸ This information might have been obtained with the help of Justus Eberhard von Passer (1652–1733), the later envoy of Hesse-Darmstadt to Vienna in 1692 and 1704, who, in addition to his versatile knowledge of life in the imperial city, also had a substantial insight of political conditions in Hungary. Passer had already visited Bratislava and Sopron around 1672 during his education in Gießen, Prague and Vienna, and then between 1680 and 1683, as well as 1685 and 1688.⁶⁹

In the fall of 1682, d'Orville also reported on the demand of the people of Sopron to reduce the proportion of Catholics in the town council and to have a Lutheran town magistrate.⁷⁰ Again, d'Orville's information concerned a key problem. Lipót Kollonits, president of the Hungarian Chamber between 1672 and 1684, oversaw the transformation of the leadership of the free royal towns with a strong hand, and had achieved an increase in the proportion of Catholics in the Sopron town council against the existing Lutheran majority already from 1673, by squeezing out the university-educated legal elite in favor of Catholics, who were considered reliable by the state, even if uneducated.⁷¹ Chamber officials, such as customs officer Matthias Strauss and thirtieth customs officer Peter Tallián, were appointed as mayors between 1677 and 1680 under pressure from Kollonich. At the end of the 17th century, the educated Lutheran elite was still able to regain its former influence in Sopron.⁷² The Hesse envoy followed Kollonich's role not only in the context of denominational conflicts,

⁶⁷ HStAM 4 e 1508 1681 július 4.... vergangene Mittwoch denen Erzherzoglichen Prinz Joseph das erste mahl bey der Kayserl. zu reisen erlaubet. Jederman verwunderung sehr frisch gewesen, dass er also zum Ungerl. König bald dörfen gekrönet werden

⁶⁸ HStAM Reichstags-Relationen Hessen, Kassel bericht 1681 Juli-Sept.

⁶⁹ BAUR, Ludwig: Berichte des Hessen-Dramstädtischen Gesandten Justus Eberhard Passer an die Landgräfin Elisabeth Dorothea: Über die Vorgänge am Kaiserlichen Höfe und in Wien von 1680 bis 1683. (*Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, 1867). PASSER, Justus Eberhard von" von in: *Hessische Biografie* <https://www.lagis-hessen.de/pnd/1218374775> (Stand 19.3.2020.)

⁷⁰ HStAM 4 e 1512. June 12, 1682 „Zu Oedenburg haben die Catholische nebst denen Evangelischen einen Richter eingesetzt dem hat aber der Bischoff Collinitsch wiederum abzuschaffen und einen andern an den Platz zustellen sich angemacht“

⁷¹ H. NÉMETH, István: Az állam szolgái vagy a város képviselői? A központosító várospolitikai hatása a soproni politikai elit átrendeződésére. *Soproni Szemle* 61. évf. 2. 2007. 125–141.

⁷² H. Németh, István 2007. 133–134.

but also in his activities as president of the Chamber, which also brought about fundamental changes in the daily life of the free royal towns. D'Orville also reported on how effectively Kollonich collaborated with Christoph Abele von Lilienberg (1628–1685), who was elected President of the Court Chamber after the fall of Count Georg Ludwig von Sinzendorf (1616–1681) in October 1680 and played a key economic role in the organization of Vienna's defense.⁷³ In the fall of 1682, d'Orville reported in detail on the military and political conditions in Hungary, on the way the decrees of the Diet of Sopron of 1681 were implemented, as well as on the denominational crises primarily in the areas around Pápa, Veszprém, Bratislava and Sopron.⁷⁴ The Hesse envoy had Protestant connections in Upper Hungary as well as in Transdanubia, so he forwarded an anonymous report from a "trusted true friend"⁷⁵ in Košice, and he also received several reports from Protestants in Košice through the envoy of the elector-prince of Brandenburg, Wolfgang von Schmettau (1648–1711). On the other hand, his letters did not indicate any contact with Hungarian exiles settled in Regensburg.

In the shadow of the Turkish war, d'Orville reported negatively on the "rebels" in Hungary, who opposed the emperor even with arms, but as the weekly papers sent as an appendix show, he saw the causes of the domestic crisis in a broad context. He had forwarded information already about Emeric Thököly's flight to Poland in 1671, and recorded how his father, István Thököly, served as a mediator between the Protestant nobility of Transylvania and Upper Hungary in the 1663–64 war against the Turks.

In 1681–82, a huge amount of handwritten and printed information about Emeric Thököly's growing military and political influence was available in Regensburg.⁷⁶ D'Orville also provided detailed information on the climax, the great successes of 1682, the capture of Košice, and about the recognitions received from the Sultan at Füleki in September 1682. D'Orville also reported several times on the siege of Füleki, in his letters of August 25 and early September, giving an overall realistic picture of the balance of power at the siege. The surrounded castle was shelled from August 25 and from September 3 it was repeatedly stormed by the armies led by Thököly

⁷³ NEWALD, Johann: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Belagerung von Wien durch die Türken im Jahre 1682*. 4–19. 29.

⁷⁴ HSTM 4 e 1513 Berichte aus Reichstag Regensburg 1682. October 5, 1682

⁷⁵ HStM 4 e 1512. 1682. aug 21. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the Dutch envoy in Vienna, Gerard Hamel Bruyninx, who, in addition to the more easily established contacts in Transdanubia, also extended his contacts to Upper Hungary, partly through the Protestant schoolmasters and preachers who had become exiles between 1671 and 1681. Cf. BUJTÁS László Zsigmond 2015. 171–186.

⁷⁶ Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv Regensburg OA GEN 1742 Diverse Reichstagsakten 1681–1700.

and Ibrahim Pasha, who were joined by Transylvanian relief troops on September 2. According to the envoy's report, after three charges, the garrison of three to four thousand surrendered to the besieging army of 30,000.⁷⁷ D'Orville also collected information from the news arriving from the Kingdom of Poland and paid particular attention to the activities of the French envoy in the Kingdom of Poland, Nicolas Marie Vitry. The Hesse envoy in Regensburg considered it to be worthwhile information that the King of Poland John III Sobieski saw the possibility of a war against the Turks rooted in the situation in Upper Hungary. In September 1682, d'Orville also reported on the financial aid received from France by the Hungarian dissenters,⁷⁸ but he also mentioned it in early December, based on information he received from Poland.⁷⁹ The Hesse envoy also sought to assess the imperial military potential. After his report of September 28, 1682, he enclosed a printout of the muster of the Bavarian prince-electors' army, where 9464 infantry and 3200 cavalry were on the march, but all together they numbered 15,000 soldiers.⁸⁰ The city of Regensburg also ordered a copy of the pictorial report on the Bavarian army's 1683 parade in Munich from Franz Maximilian von Sengern.⁸¹

On October 19, 1682, d'Orville reported, based on news from Vienna, that an agreement had been reached with Thököly, which could settle the estranged relations between Vienna and Istanbul, postponing the war.⁸² However, his report of October 23, 1682 was already accompanied by a long report in Italian, on the basis of which he also gave an

⁷⁷ VARGA J., János: Thököly Imre esztendeje: 1682 *Történelmi Szemle* XLVII. 2005. 3–4. 347–371. itt 361-

⁷⁸ HStM 4 5 1612. September 4, 1682 „auch Nachricht haben dass der König in Pohlen ertschlagen seye dafern es auf Ungarn ge solte gleichfals gegen di Türken die Waffen zu greiffen und soll dieser König als er erfahren das noch kurlich der König in Franckreich denen Malcontenten eine grosse Summa gelds durch seiner Bedienter...” BÉRENGER, Jéan: A francia politika és a kurucok (1676–1681) *Századok* 110 (1976) 290. VARGA J. János 2005. 348.

⁷⁹ HStAM 4 e 1512. 1682. oktober 30. Wie beylagen C Sendbrief so vor Franckreich Ministris an dem Türckischen Hoff so an den Teckely in favor dem dessein geschreiben und in Pohlen intercysrit worden sey solle wobey auch dei dessfals vor dem Kays. Residenten in Pohlen in Gewart der Königl. Franz Ministris geschehen proposition annectiert.

⁸⁰ HStM 4 e 1512 September 28, 1682

⁸¹ StAR Cam (1683) 134. f. 150. 1683. Den 12 Jan. Franz Maximilian von Sengern wegen eines bey wohl Edlen Rath übergebenen Kupferstück worauf die Musterung zu München der Chur Bayerischen Völkern praesentiert wird Ehrung geben worden 1 R 30 kr.

⁸² HStM 4 e 1513 1682. October 19. „Was die Ordinari Wiener Post mitgebracht gehabt Sub B hierney einige Particular Briefe von nechst vorigen Post vermelde dass der asmistirum mit Theleki geschlossen und was gute Hoffnung zur proponag-

account of the coronation of Thököly at the end of 1682.⁸³ Although he questioned the veracity of the news, he drew a sketch of Thököly's crown, the strange princely cap.⁸⁴ The drawing is the same as the "süveges korona"⁸⁵ described in the report of Philipp Sanseverino Saponara, commander of the Scherffenberg Regiment, Sárospatak and Szatmár.⁸⁶ During 1681 and 1682, many portraits and biographies of Thököly were published in Protestant German areas, portraying Thököly as a defender of religious freedom, but these prints were not included in the reports of the Hesse envoy who focused on the military interests of the empire. D'Orville also provided detailed information on the climax, the great successes of 1682, the capture of Košice, and about the recognitions received from the Sultan at Füleki in September 1682. However, the widespread information about the süveges korona, the strange princely cap, played an important role in that in 1685 so many pictorial reports presented Thököly's "loss of the throne".⁸⁷

D'Orville understood how the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna and the subsequent offensive had brought about a major shift in the balance of political power in Hungary. Even in the midst of the events of the war against the Turks, he carefully monitored Thököly's actions. In the spring of 1684, he reported on the Polish monarch's attempt at playing the intermediary several times.⁸⁸ He also referenced the reports of Louis XIV's envoy Du Vernay Boucault⁸⁹ sent to Transylvania, who also followed Thököly's French political contacts. He also considered the possibility of a

otion das Friedens mit der Türcken vorhand seye welches zu wünschen were". Varga J. János 2005. 351–352. Orel Géza 18.

⁸³ PAPP, Sándor: Szabadság vagy járom? A török segítség kérdése a XVII. század végi magyar rendi mozgalmak idején. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 2003. (116. évf.) 3–4. 652–664. Varga J. János 2007. 20–34.

⁸⁴ Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg Reichstagrelationen 4e 1513 1682. okt. 23.

⁸⁵ HHStA StA Ungarische Akten Spec. Fasc. 327. Konv c fol. 26–34. I'm thankful for István Fazekas for drawing my attention to this piece of data. ACSÁDY, Ignác: *Magyarország története I. Lipót és I. József korában (1657–1711)*; SZILÁGYI, Sándor: *A Magyar Nemzet története VII. kötet* Budapest, 1898. 364.

⁸⁶ KÁROLYI, Árpád: Tököli a legújabb világításban. *Budapesti Szemle* 1883. 6. VARGA J. János 2005. 351.

⁸⁷ GYULAI, Éva: Thököly Imre ikonográfiája In: *A Thököly nemzetség. Thököly Imre születésének 360. évfordulójára rendezett nemzetközi tudományos konferencia tanulmánykötete*. Ed: CINTULOVA, Erika – KUCEROVA, Marta Késmárk, 2018. 377–397. ETÉNYI G., Nóra: Thököly Imre képe a korabeli Nyugat-Európában. In: *Thököly Imre. Élete és felkelése*. Ed. KÓNYA, Péter. Presov, 2023. 33–57.

⁸⁸ HStAM 4 e 1518. March 10, 1684

⁸⁹ BÁNLAKY, József: *A magyar nemzet hadtörténete. az 1681. évi hadjárata* Budapest, 1928–1942.

French-Turkish cooperation,⁹⁰ about which he received background information from the Austrian envoy, Dr. Johann von Scherer, in December 1685. He was also informed of the contents of letters sent by the Polish king John III Sobieski to the court of Brandenburg, which indicated that the Polish ruler had taken action to appease Thököly.⁹¹ D'Orville's interest in the Hungarian aristocracy is indicated by his report of late January 1684, in which he gave an account of Ádám Zrínyi's wedding, noting that he was Miklós Zrínyi's son. The young Zrínyi married Countess Katharina Mária Lamberg, whose brother he studied with in Vienna.⁹² From 1684, following the formation of the Holy League and the armistice of Regensburg, the Hesse envoy's reports focused on the war to expel the Turks, based on reports from Vienna, but he also collected printed news from Augsburg and Nuremberg. When mail from the imperial court did not arrive in time, d'Orville obtained information from the envoy Louis Verjus Comte de Crécy, who represented France from 1679 to 1688. Based on information from Verjus, who had a great influence in Regensburg,⁹³ he reported that the army of Charles of Lotharingia was inadequately provisioned at the 1684 siege of Buda, while the supplies of the imperial relief force under Emmanuel Miksa were satisfactory.⁹⁴ In his report of November 3, 1684, he confirmed the difficult circumstances at the siege of Buda, already referring to the envoy Windischgrätz.⁹⁵

In 1684, he also enclosed printed materials with the news from the Hungarian theater of war, such as the Italian-language report of General Johann Valentin Schultz of October 20, 1684.⁹⁶ D'Orville repeatedly complained in his reports about delays of the Vienna postal service.⁹⁷ In January and February 1685, the resident Johann Joachim d'Orville received news directly from the camp near Banská Bystrica and from the Swabian and Bavarian relief troops in the vicinity of Esztergom, and even from Sopron.

⁹⁰ HStM 4 e 1525 Berichte, Relationen des hessen-kasselischen Gesandten d'Orville an den Reichstag mit Anlagen 1685 Sept-Dez. 1685. dec. 7.

⁹¹ HStAM 4 e 1518 January 31, 1684.

⁹² HStAM 4 e 1518 január 26. HAUSNER, Gábor: Zrínyi Ádám In: *Zrínyiek a magyar és horvát történelemben*. Ed: BENE, Sándor and HAUSNER, Gábor. Budapest, 2007. 165–180, 175. FRIEDRICH Polleros 2010. 151.

⁹³ FRIEDRICH, Susanne, 2007. 69., 97., 105., 172., 183. 256–257.

⁹⁴ HStAM 4 e 1520 October 2, 1684.

⁹⁵ HStAM 4 e 1520 November 3, 1684.

⁹⁶ Relazione Della presa del forte Castello di Makovit Nell Ungheria Superiore fatta del Signore Maresciallo Conte Schulz li 14 di Ottobre 1684. Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg 4 e 1520 Reichstags Relationes cum Proteccolli et Dictates de Anno 1684 2. 20. Okt. 1684.

⁹⁷ HStAM 4 e 1520 Reichstags Relationes cum Proteccolli et Dictates de Anno 1684 2. 2. Okt. 1684.

He also enclosed a copy of Pál Esterházy's Latin language *memoriale* to Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor.⁹⁸

It is also clear from d'Orville's reports that with the arrival of the new envoy, Sebastian von Pötting (1628–1689), Bishop of Passau, who represented the Emperor from February 1685 until his death in March 1689, a great change began to take place in the influence of the Viennese printed news on Regensburg.⁹⁹ The Hesse envoy sent fresh news about the siege of Érsekújvár in 1685, referring to information from Pötting.¹⁰⁰ On June 25, 1685, he reported that he had discussed the news of Érsekújvár arriving via the Viennese post with Count Windischgrätz and the Bishop of Passau, as he wanted to know whether a major offensive was to be expected from the Turks. His reports also reflect the increase in the number of handwritten and printed Viennese reports available in Regensburg from August 1685. On August 10/20 he received the news of the battle of Esztergom, and on August 13/23 he already forwarded a printout of the double victory at Tát and Érsekújvár, indicating the ammunition captured, and on August 17/27 he enclosed the official printout of the battle of Tát and the details of capturing Érsekújvár, as well as reporting on the successes of the troops led by Count Jakob Lesslie at Eszék,¹⁰¹ and on August 27 on the blockade of Eperjes. On September 21, he drew attention to a unique Hebrew-language manuscript in a gilded binding found in the Turkish plunder at Érsekújvár. He reported that they had found a gift sent by Emeric Thököly to the Pasha of Érsekújvár, a gilded table made in Augsburg. According to the envoy, the Pasha of Érsekújvár, Ibrahim Sejtán, was the brother of the Grand Mufti of Constantinople, so he ordered that his body be ceremonially taken to Kanizsa.¹⁰²

D'Orville also reported on the capture of Thököly by the Turks in Várad on October 22, 1685. It is also clear from his reports that he was constantly following the news not only about Thököly, but also about the Lutherans in Eperjes and Košice. He reported on the circumstances of the capture of Eperjes on September 14, and attached to his report of October 15 the terms of the surrender of Eperjes,¹⁰³ highlighting among the sur-

⁹⁸ HStAM 4 e 1523 Reichstags Relationes et Protocolii et dictatus 1685. Jan–April. Relation 29. Jan. 1685., 22. Febr. 1685., 26. Febr. 1685.

⁹⁹ HStAM 4 e 1524 Berichte 1685 május – sept. May 18, 1685

¹⁰⁰ HStAM 4 e 1524 Berichte 1685 May – Sept. / 25. May 1685.

¹⁰¹ HStAM 4 e 1524 1685. augusztus 10., 13, 17

¹⁰² HStAM 4 e 1525 Berichte, Relationen des hessen-kasselschen Gesandten d'Orville an den Reichstag mit Anlagen 1685. 21. Sept. 1685.

¹⁰³ HStAM 4 1525 szept. 14. KÓNYA, Péter: A Thököly felkelés erődje: Eperjes. Eperjes szabad királyi város szerepe a Thököly felkelésben. In: *Az üstökös kegyeltje. Késmárki Thököly Imre (1657–1705.)* Edited by: GEBEI, Sándor. Hajdúszoboszló, 2010. 159–175.

render points the clause on the free practice of the Lutheran faith.¹⁰⁴ On October 22, he described the surrender of Košice and the fatal wounding of Prince Georg Friedrich of Württemberg there on October 8/18.¹⁰⁵ The points of the Košice agreement were annexed to his report of December 8.¹⁰⁶ On December 7, he gave an account on the correspondence between General Aeneas Caprara and Ilona Zrínyi in Munkács.¹⁰⁷ D'Orville was informed by the Brandenburg envoy about the situation of the exiles in Košice, his wording also recalling the persecution of Protestants after 1674¹⁰⁸, as well as the flight of Protestant preachers and schoolmasters to the towns of Brandenburg and Saxony. Based on reports from Vienna, the Hesse-Kassel envoy gave a detailed account of the surrender points signed by General Caprara and Johann Adam Weber in Košice on December 28, 1685.¹⁰⁹ D'Orville received direct news of the Swabian relief forces wintering in Upper Hungary in January and February 1686.

D'Orville repeatedly reported on the growing number of pasquils appearing at the Perpetual Diet and at the great book fairs in Frankfurt am Main, which were causing denominational and political scandal. In February 1686, he pointed out that a new mandate forbade the sale of any printed documents other than those previously published in the catalog. In the pamphlet war, which resurfaced from 1685 onwards and analyzed anti-French and denominational conflicts, prints depicting the persecution of Protestants in Hungary in the 1670s were published again. In Regensburg, in February 1686, in addition to a treatise published in Wittenberg, d'Orville also obtained a copy of a report on the situation of the Lutherans in Sopron written by Wolfgang von Schmettau, who was by then envoy of The Hague in Brandenburg. The envoy of Hesse-Kassel in Regensburg also sent a report on the appointment of Lipót Kollonich as archbishop,

¹⁰⁴ HStAM 4 e 1525 October 15, 1685.

¹⁰⁵ HStAM 4 e 1525 Berichte, Relationen 26. Okt. 1685. ETÉNYI, G., Nóra: Athleta Christi új imázsa a visszafoglaló háború propagandájában. Georg Friedrich württembergi herceg halála Kassán, 1685-ben In: „*Ez világ, mint egy kert...*” *Tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére*. Edited by: BUBRYÁK, Orsolya. Budapest, 2010. 107–127.

¹⁰⁶ Resolutio Super puncta et Articulos ab comissis Cassoviensibus exhibita Articuli Cum infra scriptoris obsessa Civitatis Cassoviensis cumin fide emissi plenipotentiaris super ditione dicta civitatis sub hodierno dato infra scripto conclusis. Caprara, Johannes Adam Weber, Stephan Gezy.

¹⁰⁷ Copia Lit.a Pincipissa Ragozi Dno Marsch. Caprara Scriptarum Datum in Arce Munkacz die 11/21 Nov. 1685.

¹⁰⁸ HStAM 4 e 1525 Berichte, Relationen des hessen-kasselschen Gesandten d'Orville an den Reichstag mit Anlagen 1685 1685. Sept.- Dez.

¹⁰⁹ HStAM 4 e 1525. 1685. dec 20. Nebst dem jenigen so die heutigen Wiener Post sub B. mitgebracht habe auch die Caschauische Accord puncten... Resolutio Super puncta et Articulos ab comissis Cassoviensibus exhibita Articuli..

and on the protests of the Lutherans in Sopron and Bratislava against the conversion policy of Archbishop Kollonich.

In 1687, news of victories over the Turks dominated d'Orville's reports once again. The envoy did not only send a description of the Venetian victories, but also a commemorative coin from Nuremberg.¹¹⁰ He included a wide variety of German and Latin accounts of Joseph I's coronation feast at the Diet of Bratislava, providing a rich description of everything from the sacred sites of the ceremony to the seating arrangements of the banquet. D'Orville, in his report of March 6, 1688, promised to forward a coin commemorating the coronation of Joseph I in Hungary on December 9 1687.¹¹¹

His reports don't include much on the investigation by the imperial general Antonio Caraffa against prominent Lutheran citizens of Eperjes, even though even the Catholic Bavarian envoy Ferdinand Stoiber was critical of the alleged pro-Thököly conspiracy exposed by Caraffa in his reports written in Vienna from February 1687. In the spring of 1687, Georg Sigmund Richter, the Nuremberg envoy, sent several printed reports from Regensburg on the operation of the eperjesi véisztörvényszék (Executive Court of Prešov). The March 10, 1687¹¹² and March 15, 1687¹¹³ reports also included a two-page account of the March 5 execution of Zsigmond Zimmermann, András Keczer and Ferenc Baranyai. The trial against the citizens of Eperjes was published in a small number of publications, with Munich weekly papers and Frankfurt trade fair pamphlets reporting on the crisis, which was seen as political and non-denominational.¹¹⁴ Richter may have sent a weekly newspaper insert about the Eperjes investigation and executions. At the same time, in 1688 the Hesse envoy had confidential information about the investigation against Caraffa ordered by Hermann

¹¹⁰ On the rich coin collection of the reconquest war: G. HÉRI, Vera: *A törökellenes háborúk emlékérméi. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményi katalógusa*. Bp. 2009. 93–110. SCHUMANN, Jutta: *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.* Berlin, 2003. 325–339.

¹¹¹ HStAM 4 e 1532 March 8, 1688. Ist eine anderwerthe Medaille wegen der Königl. Ungarische Crönung herauskommen so beykommend gehorsambt mit einschicken sollen.

¹¹² StAN Reichstagsakten 317 (1687 Febr. - Jun) f. 51 10. Marc. 1687. „Aussfühliche Verlauff dess am 5 dieses Monat Marty 1687 in der Statt Eperies wider die vier Hungarische Maleficanten vollgezogenen Urthels Anno 1687 den 15 Marty”

¹¹³ StAN Reichstagsakten 317 (1687 Febr. - Jun) f. 65. „Aussführliche Verlauff dess am 5 Monats Martii 1687 in der Statt Eperies wider vier Hungarische Maleficanten vollgezogenen Urtheils

¹¹⁴ G. ETÉNYI, Nóra: Politikai diskurzusok 1687-ben – nyomtatványok és követjelentések tükrében In: KÓNYA, Péter – KÓNYOVÁ, Annamária eds.: *Caraffa 330. 1687–2017. Štúdie k dejinám Prešovského krvavého súdu. Tanulmányok az Eperjesi véisztörvényszék történetéhez*. Prešov, 2018. 105–134.

of Baden-Baden.¹¹⁵ D'Orville copied a ten-page report on the situation of Lutherans in Hungary from the Brandenburg envoy Schmettau. On May 7, 1688, the report included the quick news of the capture of Székesfehérvár, and on May 17, a more detailed description of the blockade and capitulation, along with the latest *Polizeiordnung* published in Vienna.¹¹⁶ In the spring of 1688, he enclosed several printed materials reporting on the victories of Venice.¹¹⁷

Although with the death of d'Orville in December 1688 the person of the envoy to Hesse-Kassel also changed, it was primarily the attack of the French army and the change in the military-political balance of power that shifted the emphasis to news of the western theater of war from 1689. The reports of the accomplished resident of Hesse-Kassel in Regensburg prove that although the more visible printed news of the Turkish war and the liquidation of the Thököly uprising partly 'obscured' the politically more sensitive denominational issues in the 1680s, the less public background discussions and handwritten diplomatic reports at the Perpetual Diet in Regensburg clearly reflected the changes in the internal political balance of power in the Kingdom of Hungary and the dwindling opportunities for urban Lutheran communities.

¹¹⁵ HStAM 4 e 1532 Berichte des hessen-kasselischen Gesandten Johann Joachim d'Orville vom Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1688. Januar-May 1688. Januar 16.

¹¹⁶ HStAM 4 e 1532. May 7/May 17, 1688 Was heutige Wiener Ordinari absonderlicher wegen Übergebung Stuhlweissenburg mit gebracht hatt gehet sub lit E. nechst der getrucket policey Ordnung sub F. hierbey. Anno MDCLXXXVI. Apr. 28.

¹¹⁷ HStAM 4 e 1532. Francesco Morosini Decreteo 1688. április 3

A FRANEKERBEN ELHUNYT MAGYARORSZÁGI ÉS ERDÉLYI HALLGATÓK TELJES JEGYZÉKE

A SURVEY OF ALL STUDENTS FROM HUNGARY AND
TRANSYLVANIA WHO DIED IN FRANEKER IN THE EARLY MODERN
PERIOD

Ferenc Postma
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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

Heidelberg bukása után (1622. szeptember 6.) a magyarországi és erdélyi protestáns diákok közvetlenül Észak-Hollandiába indultak, hogy ott folytassák tanulmányaikat a holland egyetemeken – elsősorban filozófia, teológia és orvostudomány szakokon. Így az első diákcsoport 1623 augusztusának végén érkezett meg Franekerbe, egy kis városba Frízföldön. 1811-ig, amikor a helyi fríz egyetemet bezárták, több mint 1200 magyar volt bejegyezve a Franeker Album Studiosorumba, ami sokkal több, mint bárhol máshol a Holland Köztársaságban.

A mai ismereteink szerint sajnos legalább tíz magyar diák halt meg és temették el Franekerben tartózkodása alatt. Kilencüket akkoriban a helyi egyetemi templomban temették el, egy pedig később (1697-ben) Leeuwardenben, Frízföld fővárosában halt meg, ahol elmebetegség miatt bezárták (Andreas D. Szepesi).

Ötük sírköve megmaradt, és ma a franeker belvárosban található történelmi Martini-templomban látható. Két sírkő a 17. századból származik (Stephanus Csernátóni, eltemetve 1644-ben, és Joannes N. Szepesi, eltemetve 1658-ban), a harmadik – a 18. századból – háromszor használták, és három diák neve szerepel rajta: Stephanus G. Komáromi (1721-ben temették el), Michael K. Pataki (1735-ben temették el) és Daniel Zilahi (1770-ben temették el).

További négy elhunyt és eltemetett magyar hallgató nevét máshol, többnyire a franeker egyetem archívumában találtuk meg: Stephanus Némethi (1654-ben temették el), Georgius Balkányi (1666-ban temették el?), Michael Baxai (1683-ban temették el) és Samuel Vilmányi (1779-ben temették el).

ABSTRACT

After the Fall of Heidelberg (September 6, 1622), Protestant students from Hungary and Transylvania went on their way directly to the Northern Netherlands, in order to continue their studies there at the Dutch Universities – especially in Philosophy, Theology and Medicine. So, a first group of students arrived at Franeker – a small town in Frisia/ Friesland – at the end of August, 1623. Until the year 1811, when the local Frisian University was closed, more than 1,200 Hungarians were registered in the Franeker Album Studiosorum, a much larger number than anywhere else in the Dutch Republic.

As far as we know today, unfortunately at least ten Hungarian students died and were buried during their stay at Franeker. Nine of them were buried at the time in the

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local Church of the University, and one died later on (1697) in Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, where he was locked up for insanity (Andreas D. Szepesi).

The gravestones of five of them have been preserved and can be seen today in the historical Martini Church, in the city center of Franeker. Two gravestones date from the 17th century (Stephanus Csernátoni, buried 1644, and Joannes N. Szepesi, buried 1658), the third one – from the 18th century – was used three times and bears the names of three students: Stephanus G. Komáromi (buried 1721), Michael K. Pataki (buried 1735) and Daniel Zilahi (buried 1770).

Another four names of died and buried Hungarian students we discovered elsewhere, for the most part in the archives of the Franeker University: Stephanus Némethi (buried 1654), Georgius Balkányi (buried 1666 ?), Michael Baxai (buried 1683), and Samuel Vilmányi (buried 1779).

Kulcsszavak: magyar egyetemjárás; Franeker Egyetem; Elhunyt és eltemetett protestáns diákok Magyarországról és Erdélyből franekerben tartózkodásuk alatt: diákok Debrecenből, Sárospatakról, Gyulafehérvárról, Nagybányáról és Szatmárról; protestantizmus Magyarországon; életrajz; egyháztörténet; egyetemek története.

Keywords: Peregrinatio Hungarica; Franeker University; Died and buried Protestant students from Hungary and Transylvania during their stay at Franeker: students from Debrecen, Sárospatak, Gyulafehérvár, Nagybánya, and Szathmár; Protestantism in Hungary; Biography; Church History; History of Universities.

In memory of Professor Sándor Ladányi (d. July 12, 2014).

Introduction

Three gravestones with Hungarian names on them in the Martinikerk, Franeker, NL

Anyone who enters the Martinikerk (Martini Church), also known as the Great Church of Franeker, and tries to decipher the inscriptions on the numerous gravestones will find three gravestones with Hungarian names on them. Two of them date back to the 17th century, and the third one to a century later bearing no less than three names. Thus, they preserve the memory of five Hungarians, that is, five Hungarian students who died while studying at Franeker University in Friesland at the time.¹

¹ For the history of the Martinikerk, see: De VRIES, J. de: *Vroomheid en Vergankelijkheid: De Franeker Martinikerk*. Derde druk. Uitgave: Kerkrentmeesters Protestantse Gemeente te Franeker. Van der Eems, Easterein 2007. (De Vries.) –

It is known that the University of Franeker, founded in 1585, was particularly popular among Protestant students in Hungary. Until 1811 – the year the University had to close its gates – as many as 1,200 Hungarians studied there, significantly more than at the other universities in the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Protestants did not have a University in their home country and therefore could not complete their studies at an academic level. Most of them studied theology in the Netherlands, but it was not at all uncommon for them to combine their theological education with, for example, medical studies. Stephanus Némethi [István Pap Szathmárnémethi] is one example of this, as we shall see later.²

All five of the deceased Hungarians had studied theology, as the three gravestones show. Two of them made such progress in their studies that they got the title of “Candidate of Sacred Theology” – “S[acrae] Theol[ogiae] Cand[idatus]” – namely Steph[anus] Tsernaton and Joan[nes] Sepsi, or with Hungarian transcription: István Csernátóni and János Nehéz Szepsi. What we can say for sure is that they did not live to a ripe old age – only three of them lived to (approximately) 30, the others died even younger.³

Yet, they were not originally buried where their gravestones are found today. At that time, they were buried in the University Church (in Dutch “Academiakerk”), the last remaining part of which, the choir loft, was demolished in 1895. From this church, all the “relics” or “monuments” had been transferred long before to the large and spacious Martinikerk, including these three gravestones, which were only placed in the floor of that church much later, during the penultimate major renovation of the church, in 1940–1943. So, it is completely unhistorical to say that they made an exception for the Hungarians to bury them in the Martinikerk, as has been claimed before. Funerals took place “in Templo academico”, on

Two of the three gravestones with Hungarian names are shown in this booklet with a short description (33, 38). However, the gravestone of Szepsi is not mentioned.

² On the beginnings of the *Peregrinatio hungarica* to Franeker, see: POSTMA, Ferenc: Franekera, az igaz keresztyéneknek híres akadémiájuk benne. In: BALÁZS Mihály et al. (szerk.): *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban. Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére. Adattár*, 35. József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged 1997, 487–495. (POSTMA 1997.) – And on the Hungarian participation in university education, see: POSTMA, Ferenc: De Hongaren en het onderwijs aan de Friese universiteit te Franeker. In: *Acta Neerlandica. – Bijdragen tot de Neerlandistiek* [DE, Debrecen], 10. (2015) 33–80. (POSTMA 2015.)

³ Hungarian students were often much older than their fellow students. The trip to the Low Countries (and the stay there) was expensive. They could only set off on their journey once they had saved and accumulated sufficient funds, that is, mostly years after they had graduated with good results in their homeland.

the authority of the *Rector Magnificus*, especially in the case of deceased students from abroad, including Hungarians.⁴

It is even questionable whether the five Hungarians ever attended services at the Martinikerk on Sundays, and whether they participated in local congregational life, because they – along with the other students – were expected to attend the Sunday service of the serving academic pastor in the university building. Later, by the decision of the academic *Senatus* of October 20, 1747, the Hungarians were also allowed to hold their Sunday services in their mother tongue, i.e. in Hungarian, also in the university building, namely “in Auditorio theologico”. In the surviving Franeker Church registers, the names of Hungarian students are sporadically found, only a few of them were “certified” as members and/or took part in the Holy Communion.⁵

⁴ The University Church was already in a “very dilapidated” state in 1848, even so much that the city council, under the leadership of mayor J. Banga, decided to make arrangements for “the monuments to be transferred from the University Church to the Martinikerk”. See the decisions of the municipal council of November 4 and December 30, 1848. Regarding the *Senatus Judicialis*, i.e. the academic court, and the *Rector Magnificus* as its president, see: BOELES, W. B. S.: *Friesland's Hoogeschool en het Rijk's Athenaeum te Franeker*. 1–2. H. Kuipers, Leeuwarden 1878–1889. Volume 1., 250–279., esp. 266. (death and funeral of foreign students).

⁵ On October 20, 1747, the *Senatus* of the University passed a resolution at the request of professor Hermannus Venema, to allow the Hungarians to hold their own Sunday worship service. – “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 20, 172. In the register of members of the Franeker Church congregation (DTB 265–268) we find Hungarian names in only two places. The first time is in April 1680, when Paulus Waradi [Pál Váradi] and Paulus Tzegledi [Pál Czeglédi], “students from Hungary”, were “certified” as members, and for the second time in 1709, when six Hungarians [“Hungaaren”] took part in the Holy Communion: Johannes Wiski “Transylvanus” [János Viski], Petrus Vásárhelyi “Transylvanus” [Péter Vásárhelyi], Paulus Komáromi “Pannonio-Hung.” [Pál Komáromi], Gregorius K. Szöny “Pannonio-Hung.” [Gergely K. Szónyi], Stephanus N. Enyedi “Debrecino-Ung.” [István N. Enyedi], and Stephanus Szódi “Debrecino-Ung.” [István Szódi]. – Note: The names of Johannes Viski, Petrus Vásárhelyi and Paulus Komáromi do not appear in the *Album Studiosorum* of Franeker (published in 1968).

Two 17th century gravestones

I.

1643/1644 – *Stephanus Tsernatonii* // *István Csernátóni*⁶

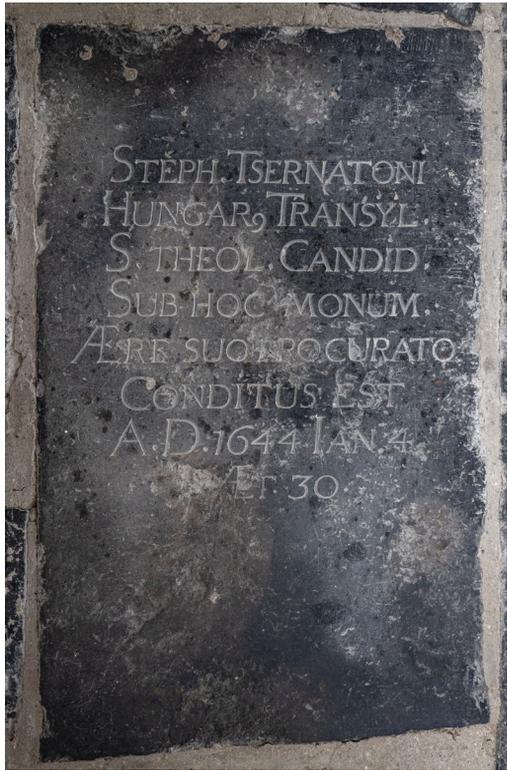
The oldest gravestone is located in the middle of the south aisle, to the right of the south entrance of the church, close to the church wall, and once marked the grave of Stephanus Tsernatonii [István Csernátóni]. He was a Hungarian student of Transylvanian origin who began his studies in 1639 at the *Schola Rivulina* in Nagybánya (now Baia Mare, in Romania). He continued his studies in the Netherlands – this time at the academic level – in Leiden, where he enrolled on August 21, 1641, at the age of 27. From the end of March 1643 he studied in Franeker, where he finished his study with good results as a “candidate”. We do not know why he died in the last days of the same year at the age of 30. The funeral took place in the following year, on January 4, 1644, as can be read in the inscription on his gravestone, made of ‘blue’ stone. It was paid for out of his own funds left behind (“aere suo procurato”).

The settlement of his estate must have lasted for a long time. On March 16, 1644, the so-called administrators of his last will (in Dutch

⁶ THURZÓ Ferenc: *A nagybányai Ev. Ref. Főiskola (Schola Rivulina) története, 1547–1755. Művelődéstörténeti Értekezések*, 13. Gyula Morvay, Nagybánya 1905. 66. and 176. – RIEU, G. du (ed.): *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, 1575–1875. – Accedunt nomina Curatorum et Professorum per eadem secula*. Martinus Nijhoff, Hagae Comitum 1875. (AStL), 325.: Stephanus Csernatonius. – AStF, 126., Nr. 4034.: Stephanus Tsernatonii. – Cf. BOZZAY, Réka – LADÁNYI, Sándor (szerk.): *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken, 1595–1918. // Hongaarse studenten aan Nederlandse universiteiten, 1595–1918. Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban*, 15. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest 2007. (BOZZAY & LADÁNYI), 55., Nr. 195., and 231., Nr. 2637. – Cf. SZABÓ, Miklós – TONK, Sándor (szerk.): *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban, 1521–1700. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum*, 4. József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged 1992. (SZABÓ & TONK), 262., Nr. 2630. – Cf. WIX, Györgyné – P. VÁSÁRHELYI, Judit (szerk.): *Régi Magyarországi Szerzők I. A kezdetektől 1700-ig*. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest 2007. (RMSz), 160. For a posthumous donation of a book from Csernátóni’s private collection, see: AMERSFOORDT, Jacobus – AMERSFOORDT, Henricus (eds.): *Novus catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Franekeranae. Partis primae sectio prior, libros theologicos complectens*. J. W. Brouwer, Leovardiae 1842. (AMERSFOORDT & AMERSFOORDT), 83., Nr. 61.: J. Cameron, *Opera*, Genevae: In officina Jacobi Chouët, 1642, in Folio. – With a handwritten inscription: “Ista Cameronis Opera ex libris Stephani Tsernatonii, nuper hac in Academia Franakerana (!) fato functi, usibus publicis funeris sui procuratores D[ant] D[onant] C[onsecrant]que. Anno 1644, die 16 Martii”. – The book is still available in “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden, sign.: <785 Gdg fol>.

“redders van de boedel”, in Latin “funeris sui procuratores”), who were certainly some compatriots and fellow students, gifted a large and valuable book from his private collection to the university’s library, as it was stated in Csernátóni’s testament. We can find information on this in another source. It was probably around this time that the gravestone was made and was placed on the grave in the University Church.

The text on the gravestone is reproduced below in two versions: first the Latin text, written in full capital letters and in its full textual integrity, and then in a complete transcription:



The gravestone of Stephanus Tsernatonni [István Csernátóni], 1644.⁷

STEPH. TSERNATONI
HUNGARUS TRANSYL.
S. THEOL. CANDID.
SUB HOC MONUM.
AERE SUO PROCURATO
CONDITUS EST
A. D. 1644. IAN. 4.
AET. 30.

Steph[anus] Tsernatonni
Hungarus Transyl[vanus]
S[acrae] Theol[ogiae] Candid[atus]
sub hoc monum[ento]
aere suo procurato
conditus est
A[nn]o D[omi]ni 1644. Jan[uarii] 4.
Aet[at]is] 30.

Translated into a running text, this is what it means: Stephanus Tsernatonni [Csernátóni], Hungarian, of Transylvanian origin, Candidate of Sacred Theology, has been buried under this gravestone (“conditus est”), paid for out of his own funds, on the 4th day of January, in the year 1644 of the Lord, at the age of 30.

⁷ The three photographs were taken by Jan Edwin Geertsma (Fotografie Say Wad, Franeker) at the Martinikerk in Franeker, in May 2024. – We would like to thank Drs. Manon Borst (Museum Martena, Franeker).

As we can see, the gravestone that was carved out of a hard stone, survived the transfer from the University Church to the Martinikerk quite well, not like the two other Hungarian gravestones, which were badly damaged.

II.

1658 – *Joannes Sepsi // János Nehéz Szepsi*⁸

In a barely noticeable place, in the south-eastern part of the choir ambulatory, close to the church wall, there is the most damaged gravestone, that of Joannes Sepsi [János Szepsi, full name János Nehéz Szepsi], who died on May 3, 1658, “in the fear of God” (“*pie*”): “*mortuus in Domino*”. Originating from Kassa (now Košice, in Slovakia), Szepsi began his studies in December 1652 at the illustrious Reformed College of Sárospatak. In 1655, he was already in the Netherlands, first of all in Utrecht, as a theological student, and a year later in Groningen (1656). He enrolled at Franeker on July 8, 1657, where he successfully completed his theological studies as a “candidate”, as his gravestone reads.

As in the case of Csernátoni, we can safely say that Szepsi was not a poor student. Not only was his gravestone paid for out of the estate he left behind, but he also had plenty of money to buy countless books and manuscripts. He did that even on his short trip to England, as we know from his last will, which he made after falling seriously ill a few days before his death in Franeker. A full copy, or transcript (“*apographum integrum*”) of his will, was later included in the *Acta* of the academic *Senatus*. This

⁸ HÖRCSIK Richárd (szerk.): *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium diákjai, 1617–1777*. Sárospataki Református Kollégium, Sárospatak 1998. (HÖRCSIK), 85. – *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectinae, 1636–1886*. Accedunt nomina Curatorum et Professorum per eadem secula.: J. L. Beijers – J. van Boekhoven, Ultrajecti 1886. (AStU), 45.: Joannes Szopsi. – *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*. J. B. Wolters, Groningen 1915. (AStG), 77.: Joannes N. Sepsi. – FOCKEMA ANDREAE, S. J. – MEIJER, Th. J. (eds.): *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis, 1585–1811; 1816–1844*. – I. Naamlijst der studenten. T. Wever, Franeker [1968]. (AStF), 170., Nr. 5787.: Johannes Sepsi. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 68., Nr. 361. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 17, 194.: The meeting of the *Senatus Judicialis*. Szepsi’s last will is read, two administrators of the estate are appointed, etc. [1658. 05. 13.]; Nr. 17, 195–197: A “*Copia authentica*” of his last will, which has been entered in the *Acta* [1658. 05. 19.]; Nr. 83, 84.: Receipt of money from the Szepsi estate in the university’s treasury [1658. 05. 15.]. – Cf. Van Nienes, 189., Nr. 1974. Lit.: POSTMA, Ferenc: Das Testament des verstorbenen ungarischen Studenten Johannes/János N. Szepsi (Franeker, den 28. April 1658) und die erfreuliche Entdeckung von etlichen Büchern aus seinem Nachlass. In: *Sárospataki Füzetek* [SRTA, Sárospatak], 21. (2017/2) 145–166. (POSTMA 2017.)

is how we know that he left all his books to his *alma mater*, the Sárospatak Reformed College, for the benefit of the *alumni* studying there. We recently had the opportunity to verify the real presence of the books on the spot – to our great satisfaction. The two administrators of his estate, namely Gregorius Hernád-némethi [Gergely Hernád-némethi] and Andreas Liszkai [András Liszkai], as it turned out, performed their duties (“munus”) correctly and in a dignified manner (“probe et digne”), as they had solemnly promised at the meeting of the *Senatus Judicialis* a week



The gravestone of Joannes Sepsi [János Nehéz Szepsi], 1658.

after Szepsi’s death. Unfortunately, no handwritten inventory has survived of all these books, which were part of Szepsi’s estate.

Although it is difficult to read the inscription on the worn gravestone, it is still legible, or, rather, it can be reconstructed with the help of the above-mentioned transcript more precisely. This is also where we discovered the year of Szepsi’s death. The indication of his age got probably lost when the gravestone was inserted into the floor of the Martinikerk. The Latin text in full capital letters is given first, followed by a transcription as complete as possible:

QUOD MORTALE FUIT
PRAESTANTIS
D. IOAN. SEPSI UNGARI
S. TH. CANDI.
[AO. 1658.] MAII 3. P[IE] DE-
FUNCTI
[SUB HO]C [MO]NUM.
[?] [CO]MPAR.
[?]

Quod mortale fuit
praestantis
D[omini] Joan[nis] Sepsi Ungari
S[acrae] Th[eologiae] Candi[dati]
[Anno 1658.] Maji 3. p[ie] defuncti
[sub ho]c [mo]num[ento]
[est] [co]mpar[atum].
[?]

Translated into a running text: That which was mortal in the illustrious Joannes Sepsi [Szepsi], who was Hungarian, Candidate of Sacred Theology, and died in the fear of God on May 3, 1658, is placed under this grave-

stone (“est comparatum”).

The university archives do not mention the exact date of Szepsi's burial in the University Church. However, it can be assumed that the funeral took place within seven days of his death.

The 18th century gravestone with three names on it

III.

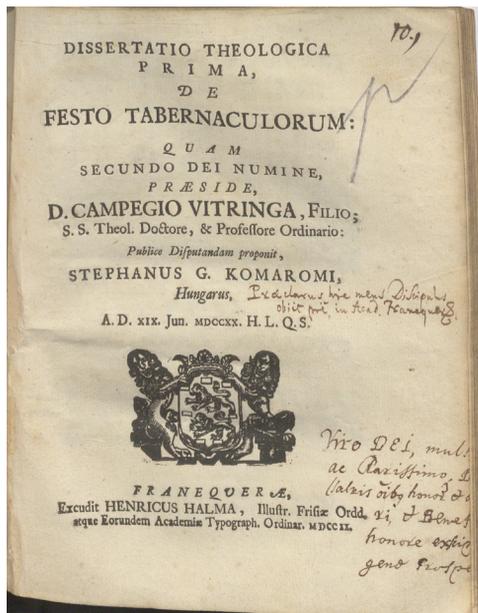
1721 – *Stephanus G. Comaromi // István Gellért Komáromi*⁹

1. – Finally, in the middle of the north aisle, opposite column 7, there is a damaged 18th century gravestone, which was used three times, covering

⁹ HOFFMANN, Gizella et al. (szerk.): *Peregrinuslevelek, 1711–1750. Külföldön tanuló diákok levelei Teleki Sándornak. Adattár*, 6. József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged 1980., 281., Nr. 140. [1717. 07. 18], and 402. (sub voce). – TONK Sándor: *A marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium diáksága, 1653–1848. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum*, 6. József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged 1994. (TONK), 460. – HEGYI, Ádám: *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526–1788 (1798)*. // *Ungarländische Studenten an den schweizerischen Universitäten und Akademien, 1526–1788 (1798)*. *Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban*, 6. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest 2003. (HEGYI), 50., Nr. 70.: Stephanus TELLER, de Rév Komárom. [Enrollment at the University of Basel: 1717. 12. 16.]. – SZILÁDY, Áron: *Campegius Vitringa magyar tanítványai Franequerában*. In: *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* [Debrecen], 5. (1874) 43–50. (SZILÁDY), 48.: Komáromi's “Itinerarium” was once kept in the Nagykőrös Municipal Archives. It was lost during the Second World War. – Note: Paulus Őri [Pál Őri], one of the two administrators of Komáromi's estate, acquired it – “via legitima” – after Komáromi's death and took it with him to Nagykőrös, where he became a pastor. – AStF, 312., Nr. 11223.: Stephanus P. Komaromi (P., i.e. “Pastoris”: “son of a pastor”). – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 95., Nr. 757. See: POSTMA, F[erenc] – SLUIS, J. van (eds.): *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis. – Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheitsdruckwerke der Universität und des Athenäums in Franeker, 1585–1843*. Minsken en Boeken, 23. Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden/Ljouwert 1995. (*Auditorium*), 115/1720.3. = DÖRNYEI, Sándor – SZÁVULY, Mária (szerk.): *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III/XVIII. század. // Alte Ungarische Bibliothek III/XVIII. Jahrhundert*. 2. kötet: 1712–1760, 1761–1800. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest 2005–2007. SZABÓ, Károly et al. (szerk.): *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*. 3 rész. A M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, Budapest 1879–1898. (RMK III/18.), Nr. 897. The main text was written by professor Campegius Vitringa Junior himself. – Note: Komáromi sent a copy of the *Dissertatio* to his former teacher, Mihály Szathmári Paksi Senior (1683–1744), see: Református Kollégium [SRHE], Nagykönyvtár, Sárospatak, sign.: <SS 171/p>, who soon afterwards noted on the titlepage: “Praelarus hic meus Discipulus obiit pie, in Acad. Franekeræ”. The copy in question was duly sent to Marosvásárhely (now Târgu Mureș, in Romania), where the Reformed College of Sárospatak was

once the graves of three Hungarian students who died at different times. The first, Stephanus G. Komáromi [István Gellért Komáromi] died on June 20, 1721. He was a talented student who began his studies in Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Iulia, in Romania), the city where the Reformed College of Sárospatak found refuge for a time after its people were expelled from Sárospatak in 1672, partly because of the Jesuits. One of his professors there, Michael Szathmári Paksi Senior [Mihály Szathmári Paksi Senior], was also successful in his studies in his time in Franeker. He undoubtedly encouraged and helped Komáromi to set off for the distant Frisian town. We know from Komáromi's travel account ("Itinerarium") that he traveled through Basel, Switzerland, and that he was still there at the turn of 1717–1718.

He enrolled in Franeker in mid-1718, and he did not have to pay for that ("gratis"). At the University professor Campegius Vitringa Senior and his son of the same name were among his favorite teachers ("praeceptores"). On June 19, 1720, he testified that he had made good progress in his studies via the public defense of a well-prepared and



Dissertatio theologica prima de festo tabernaculorum, the disputation of Stephanus G. Komáromi, defended on June 19, 1720, under the supervision of professor Campegius Vitringa Junior. – This copy can be found here: Református Kollégium [SRHE], Nagykönyvtár, Sárospatak, sign.: <SS 171/p>. – The photograph was taken by Dr. Áron Kovács, SRHE, Sárospatak.

given shelter, following its former location in Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Iulia, in Romania). – Cf. DIENES, Dénes – UGRAI, János: *History of the Reformed Church College in Sárospatak*. Hernád Kiadó, Sárospatak 2013. (DIENES & UGRAI), 48–52. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 20, 19.: A meeting of the academic *Senatus*, where it is recorded in writing (“Testimonium”) that both administrators of the estate have performed their duties “accurate et fideliter” [1721. 07. 11.–09.], *ibidem*: Nr. 30, 37 verso; Nr. 26, 46 verso.: The previous meetings of the *Senatus Judicialis*, the last will of Komáromi, and all the measures taken after his death [1721. 06. 21., 1721. 06. 28., and 1721. 07. 01.].

well-argued disputation, *Dissertatio theologica prima de festo tabernaculorum*. Yet, he could not complete his theological studies as a “candidate”, as Csernátóni and Szepsi. The gravestone testifies that he died (“obiit”) a full year later, still a student (“studiosus”), at the age of about 30 (“Aetatis circiter XXX”).

Although we know little more than mentioned above about the time of Komáromi’s studies, the university documents give us a much more detailed account of the measures ordered by the *Rector Magnificus* immediately after his death. As chairman of the *Senatus Judicialis*, he was directly responsible for the liquidation of Komáromi’s estate. Two compatriots were appointed as administrators (“executores”) of the estate: Paulus Őri [Pál Őri] and Michael Sallai [Mihály Sallai]. The rector entrusted them to assist in the inventory of Komáromi’s possessions (clothes, books, cash, etc.), after his room had been sealed as a precaution (this is the so-called “obsignatio”, or in Dutch “bezegelinge”). They were also required to report to the Rector any expenses incurred in connection with the funeral, and to hand in all signed receipts (“apochae”) after the funeral had taken place. The university’s beadle went out into town to announce Komáromi’s death, and notices (“schedulae monitoriae”) were posted and hung all over the city to the attention of potential creditors (“creditores”). The notices were an urgent appeal for the persons concerned to join the Rector’s office within three times twenty-four hours with a request for reimbursement (“petitio”). At the same time, the Rector prepared the text of a so-called *Programma funebre*, which he commissioned the university’s printer to print. It was a memorial text, first a short biography of the deceased, and then – at the end – an invitation for the whole academic community to attend the funeral, with the date, place and time. It is reasonable to assume that such measures were common in the event of the death of a foreign student.

Unfortunately, neither an inventory nor a handwritten copy of Komáromi’s properties has survived. The transcript of his last will (“copia seu apographum testamenti”), which is specifically mentioned not much later, in the minutes of July 11, 1721, is also not to be found in the university’s records today. However, taking all the circumstances into account, it appears that Komáromi’s will was duly executed and was therefore perfectly legal. As we can read:

„[...] he had made full provisions by will regarding his property, all that he had here in Franeker, and for the distribution of the remainder of the estate after the payment of all expenses related to the death among his countrymen present here.”

At the same time, it becomes clear that he did not die unexpectedly but could have written his last will carefully and in detail early on, as we have

seen in the case of Szepsi. Like Szepsi, he set aside enough money to pay off his outstanding debts and cover the costs of his funeral, including his own gravestone.

The inscription on the gravestone is a direct and personal reflection of Komáromi's will. It is his will that his earthly remains ("exuvias suas") should be laid to rest ("locari") here locally ("hic"). The Latin text with italic capitals is given below, followed by the full transcription:

*HIC EXUVIAS SUAS LOCARI VOLUIT
STEPH. G. COMAROMI, S.S. TH. ST.,
UNGARUS, QUI OBIIT 20 IUNII Ao.
1721 AETAT. CIRCITER XXX.*

Hic exuvias suas locari voluit
Steph[anus] G. Comaromi, S[acro] S[anctae] Th[eologiae] St[udiosus],
Ungarus, qui obiit 20 Junii A[nn]o
1721 Aetat[is] circiter XXX.

It translates as: Stephanus G. Comaromi [Komáromi], Student of Sacred Theology, Hungarian, who died on June 20, 1721, at the age of about 30, wished for his remains to be laid to rest here (locally).

As in the case of Szepsi, the date of Komáromi's funeral was not found in the university records. To our knowledge, no printed copy of the above-mentioned *Programma funebre* has survived.

1735 – Michael K. Pataki // Mihály K. Pataki¹⁰

2. – Michael K. Pataki [Mihály K. Pataki] – this is the second name we read on the gravestone. He was also a student who began his studies at the Reformed College of Sárospatak, namely in 1728. Four years later he went from there to Transylvania, as we can read in the records of the College. By mid-1734 he was already in Franeker, where he enrolled as a "Hungarian from Transylvania" under the rectorship of professor Johannes Regius. What exactly he was studying is not known, either from the *Album Studiosorum* or from his epitaph. For us, it seems most likely that he was a student of theology. He did not get much time, however, as he died already seven months later, on January 27, 1735. The funeral took place shortly afterwards,

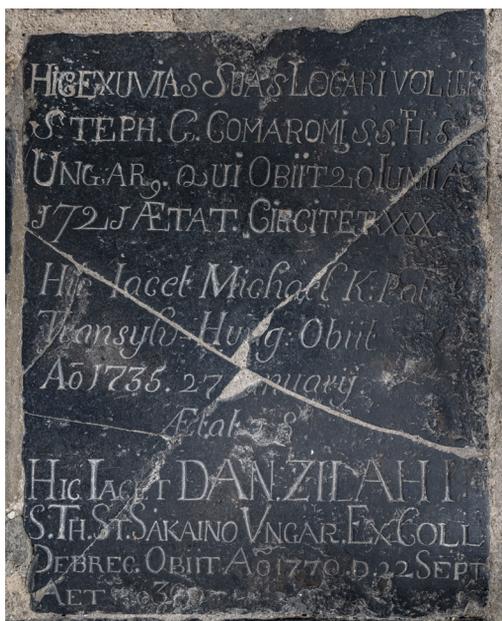
¹⁰ HÖRCSIK, 240.: Michael K. PATAKI. "Ivit in Transylvaniam A. 1732". – AStF, 332., Nr. 11983.: Michael PATAKI. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 104., Nr. 909. – Cf. SZABÓ, Miklós – SZÖGI, László (szerk.): *Erdélyi peregrínusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken, 1701–1849*. Mentor Kiadó, Marosvásárhely 1998. (SZABÓ & SZÖGI), 358., Nr. 2986. "Tresoar", Leeuwarden: DTB 255: The funeral register of Franeker 1735/1736 [1735. 02. 01.]. "Tresoar", Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 90, 350. [1734/1735]: *Programma*.

on February 1. At least, we can read in the funeral register of the deceased in Franeker, 1735/1736, that “a Hungarian was buried in the University Church” that day. It is relatively safe to assume that this entry refers to Pataki.

There is practically no information in the university records about what arrangements the Rector might have made for Pataki’s death and funeral. What we do know, however, is that the university printer at the time – W[illem] or Gulielmus Coulon – submitted an invoice to the University in connection with “the funeral programme of the Student Pataki” (“*Een programma op de Stud. Pataki*”), “printed and delivered at the service of the University”. So that must have been a so-called *Programma funebre*, the text of which was prepared by the Rector, as was the case with Komáromi.

Pataki’s estate, however, was certainly not large. The time Pataki spent in Franeker was clearly too short for that. He could not have had much money also. As it turns out, there was no money left to buy his own gravestone after paying off debts and funeral expenses. This explains why his remains were placed in Komáromi’s grave and why his epitaph was carved on Komáromi’s existing gravestone.

Pataki’s simple cursive inscription has become difficult to read over the centuries, especially on the right side. Thus, the name “Pataki” is now difficult to read, while “Obiit” may have been followed once by “pie” (“in the fear of God”). Below is the Latin text, followed by the transcription:



3. The gravestone of Stephanus G. Comaromi [István G. Komáromi], Michael K. Pataki [Mihály K. Pataki], and Daniel Zilahi [Dániel Zilahi], 1721, 1735, and 1770.

Hic Iacet Michael K. Pataki,
Transylv.-Hung. Obiit [?]
Ao. 1735. 27 [I]anuarij.
AEtat. 28.

Hic iacet Michael K. Pataki,
Transylv[ano]-Hung[arus]. Obiit [?]
A[nn]o 1735. 27 Ianuarii.
Aetat[is] 28.

It translates as: Here rests [is buried] Michael K. Pataki, a Hungarian from Transylvania. He died (“Obiit”) on January 27, 1735, at the age of 28.

Unfortunately, no printed copy of the above-mentioned *Programma funebre*, which presumably contained additional information on Pataki, has survived. Being an ephemera, it is likely that only a modest number of copies were printed.

1770 – Daniel Zilahi // Dániel Zilahi¹¹

3. – Dan[iel] Zilahi’s stay in Franeker was even shorter than that of Pataki. This is the third name found on the gravestone. He enrolled as a theological student on August 7, 1770, but died already on September 22, a month and a half later. He was born in Zsáka, Hungary, south of Debrecen, the town where he began his studies at the illustrious Reformed College in 1757. After a period working as a Rector in Cegléd, he went on a study trip to the Netherlands, via Marburg, where he enrolled as “Debrecino Hungarus” on January 20, 1770. The *Album Studiosorum* of Franeker also mentions him as “a Hungarian from Debrecen”. His epitaph also states that he had studied at the Debrecen College (“Ex Coll. Debrec.”).

Very little is known from the university archives about the time of his studies in Franeker. As we read, still on September 4, 1770, Zilahi’s request to “enjoy for a year the free table in the Burse, the mensa of the University” (the so-called *Beneficium Liberae Bursae*), was accepted. Following his sudden death, the Rector immediately took measures concerning the deceased’s residence (“ten Sterfhuise”), sealing Zilahi’s room, making an inventory of his estate, then breaking the seal, etc. All the costs involved are recorded in the minutes of the *Senatus Judicialis*. However, it is not stated who the administrators of his estate were, nor whether a *Programma funebre* was printed.

¹¹ THURY, Etele: *Series Studiosorum in Schola Debrecina Helveticae Confessionis, 1588–1792. // A debreczeni Református Főiskola tanulók névsora, 1588–1792.* In: uő (szerk.): *Iskolatörténeti Adattár. 2. Főiskolai Könyvnyomda, Pápa 1908, 96–466.* (THURY), 248. – Tar, 267., Nr. 2858. [Enrollment at the University of Marburg: 1770. 01. 20.]. – NAGY, Jukunda: *Ungarische Studenten an der Universität Marburg, 1571–1914. Studien zur hessischen Stipendiatengeschichte. Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, 27.* Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission Darmstadt und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, Darmstadt–Marburg 1974. (NAGY), 128., 150., and 259. – AStF, 373., Nr. 13482.: Daniel Zilahi. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 116., Nr. 1134. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 2, 219–220.: “Vrije Burse” [*Beneficium Liberae Bursae*] [1770. 09. 04.]; Nr. 131, 45.: Costs of sealing, census of his estate, etc. [1770. 10. 00.]. The *Beneficium Liberae Bursae*, see: Boeles, Volume 1., 381–393. Református Kollégium [DRHE], Nagykönyvtár, Debrecen: Ms <R 495>: *Series Studiosorum*. – Cf. Fekete & Szabó, 86.

It is clear that Zilahi died unexpectedly. Possibly the long journey left him severely weakened. He surely did not have much wealth. Like Pataki, he probably did not have enough money left behind to cover the costs of his own gravestone. Therefore, he was buried in the tomb of Komáromi and Pataki, and his epitaph was carved on the existing gravestone, under those of the previous two.

Zilahi's epitaph engraved in capital, and his name carved in conspicuous large letters, is providing slightly more information about his origins than in the case of Komáromi and Pataki. Below is the Latin text, followed by a full transcription:

HIC IACET DAN. ZILAHÍ.
S.TH. ST. SAKAINO VNGAR. EX COLL.
DEBREC. OBIIT Ao. 1770. D. 22 SEPT.
AET[AT.] 30.

Hic iacet Dan[iel] Zilahi.
S[acrae] Th[eologiae] St[udiosus]. Sakaino Ungar[us]. Ex Coll[egio]
Debrec[ziensi]. Obit A[nn]o 1770. D[ie] 22 Sept[embris].
Aet[at]is 30.

It translates as: Here rests [is buried] Daniel Zilahi, Student of Sacred Theology, Hungarian, (born) in Zsáka, (coming) from the Debrecen College. He died on September 22, 1770, at the age of 30.

The fact that Zilahi died in Franeker is recorded immediately after his name in the *Series Studiosorum* of the Reformed College in Debrecen, as is the fact that he was buried there in the University Church (“sepultus in Templo Acad.”). Soon after, this was also recorded next to his name in the *Album Studiosorum* in Franeker: “obiit”.

A plaque with a short information text in Hungarian and Dutch was recently placed next to the common gravestone of Komáromi, Pataki and Zilahi. Representatives of the Reformed College of Debrecen, which still exists today, also laid a wreath – “*pro memoria*” – next to the gravestone.

Other Hungarian students who died in Franeker as recorded in various archival documents

In addition to the five names on the three gravestones, there are five other deceased Hungarians recorded in various archival documents. Four of them died in Franeker itself, the fifth, Andreas Duchonius de Szepes, died later on in Leeuwarden. Their gravestones, if any of them had one, have not survived. They may have been lost during the transfer from the University

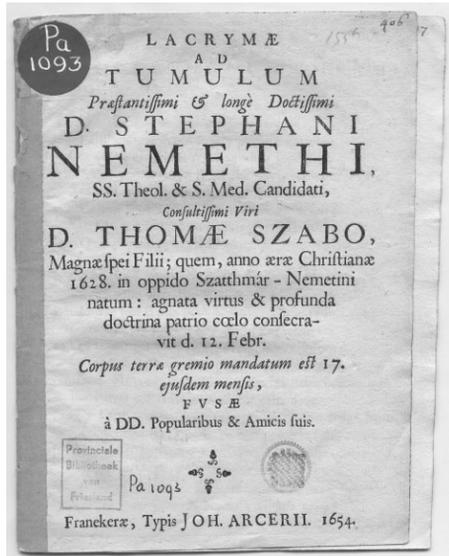
Church to the Martinikerk, or perhaps even earlier, already in the University Church itself.

Their names are given here in chronological order, and any further information about their origins and their studies in the Netherlands is provided only in brief.

IV.

1654 – *Stephanus Némethi* // *István Pap Szatmárnémethi*¹²

Stephanus Némethi [István Némethi, full name: István Pap Szatmárnémethi] was born in 1628 in Szatmárnémethi (presently Satu Mare, in Romania). He died in Franeker on February 12, 1654, and was buried there on February 17. He began his studies in his home country, at the *Schola Rivulina* in Nagybánya (now Baia Mare, in Romania). We first see him in the Netherlands as a student in Groningen (1649), and then in Utrecht, where he defended a *Disputatio* under the supervision of the theologian Gisber-



Lacrymæ ad tumulum [...]
Stephani Nemethi, ss. theol. & s. med. candidati. Franekeræ, Joh. Arcerius, 1654. – This copy can be found here: “Tresoar”, sign.: <Pa 1093>. – The photograph was taken by John van Geffen, “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden/ Ljouwert.

¹² THURZÓ, 77. – AStG, 60.: Stephanus Sz. Nimethi. – AStU, 27. – AStF, 157., Nr. 5266.: Stephanus Nemethi. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 64., Nr. 304. (?) – Cf. SZABÓ & TONK, 264., Nr. 2645. – Cf. RMSz, 574.: István Némethi Pap. See: RMK III. 1787. (Utrecht 1651, under G. Voetius), and RMK III. 1816. (Utrecht 1652, under H. Regius). “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden, sign.: <Pa 1093> – *Lacrymæ ad tumulum [...]* *Stephani Nemethi, ss. theol. & s. med. candidati.* = *Auditorium*, M/1654.1. – Note: On the titlepage: Place and date of birth, date of death, and date of his burial in Franeker. – See also: *Auditorium*, 65/1653.2. = RMK III. 1837.: *De dolore colico*, and *Auditorium*, 66/1653.1; 2–3.: *De natura medicinæ.* “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 14, 141.: His estate, his books, the two administrators, etc. [1654. 05. 27.]. Lit.: POSTMA, Ferenc – P. VÁSÁRHELYI, Judit: István Geleji Katona der Jüngere und seine drei ungarischsprachigen Gedichte aus dem Jahre 1654. In: KECSKEMÉTI, Gábor – TASI, Réka (szerk.): *Bibliotheca et Universitas. Tanulmányok a hatvanéves Heltai János tiszteletére.* Miskolci Egyetem, Miskolc 2011, 273–284. (POSTMA & VÁSÁRHELYI 2011), 276–277., 283–284.

tus Voetius (July 14, 1651) and the professor of medicine Henricus Regius (July 3, 1652). He enrolled as a medical student in Franeker on July 27, 1652, where he defended – “exercitii gratia” – at least three disputations to prove his competence. At the time of his death, his title was “SS. Theol. & S. Med. Candidatus”.

The legal settlement of his estate seems to have taken a long time. It is not until May 1654, that it appears in the university records that his compatriots Stephanus Gelei Katona Junior [István Geleji Katona Junior] and Johannes Jáz-Berényi [János P. Jászberényi] solemnly promised that, as the administrators of the estate, they would bring the whole matter to a satisfactory end and give an account of everything to the legal heirs. It is likely that they were also the ones who arranged for Némethi’s books (“supellex libraria”) to be sent home. There is no word at all on a public sale or auction of his own library in Franeker. Unfortunately, we no longer have the list of his books.

V.

1666 ? – *Georgius Balkányi* // *György Balkányi*¹³

The fact of the death of Georgius Balkányi [György Balkányi] in Franeker was found in an 18th century manuscript, now in the Ráday Library in Budapest. It is a *Series*, i.e. a list containing the names of all the Hungarian students who had studied until then at Franeker, which, as it says, was compiled as an extract from the Franeker *Album Studiosorum* (“ex Publica Celeb. Frisiorum Academiae Franekeranae Matricula excerpta”). It is quite remarkable that the record of Balkányi’s death is missing from the so-called *Rectorsalbum*, on the basis of which the *Album Studiosorum* of Franeker was published in 1968. What is certain is that the information inserted, namely “obiit Franekeræ”, originates from another source.

Balkányi came from the illustrious Reformed College of Debrecen (1659). On August 2, 1665, he became a student of theology in Franeker,

¹³ THURY, 129. – BOROVSKY, Samu: Debreczeni írók és tanárok, 1588–1700. In: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* [Budapest], 9. (1898), 448–465. (BOROVSKY), 450. – BARÁTH, Béla Levente: *Adattár Martonfalvi György peregrinus diákjairól*. A D. Dr. Harsányi András Alapítvány Kiadványai, 3. A D. Dr. Harsányi András Alapítvány Kuratóriuma, Debrecen 2001. (BARÁTH), 13. – AStF, 198., Nr. 6863.: Georgius Balkányi. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 73., Nr. 403.; Nr. 1368. (?). – Cf. RMSz, 59. Ráday Könyvtár, Budapest: Ms <K-1.29>, 696., 708. – Cf. KOZMA & LADÁNYI, 52., Nr. 287. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 104: “Rectorsalbum”. See: *Auditorium*, 64/1666.1. = RMK III. 6503., which includes a Hebrew hymn of praise to Stephanus Liskai by G. Balkányi. – Cf. ZSENGELLÉR, József: Franekeri héber carmina gratulatoria Martonfalvi György és diákjainak tollából. In: *Református Szemle* [Koloszvár], 114. (2021/2), 125–158. (ZSENGELLÉR), 148–152.

at the same time as Stephanus Liszkai [István Liszkai], among others. He stayed there at least until mid-1666. We know this because he wrote an eight-line poem of praise in Hebrew, on the occasion of Liszkai's public defense of his theological disputation *De ecclesiae romano-catholicae haeresi* in June 1666, under the supervision of professor Nicolaus Arnoldus. It is not known exactly when Balkányi later died in Franeker and when he was buried. This is not mentioned in the university documents.

VI.

1683 – *Michael Boxay / Baxai // Mihály Baxai*¹⁴

In the records of the University of Franeker we can read that on March 12, 1683, two Hungarian students applied to the academic *Senatus* with the request to be given a place to bury their deceased compatriot Boxay (!) in the University Church, free of charge (“gratis”). Their request was approved, and at the same time it was decided not to charge any additional costs (for the sealing of his room, making an inventory of his estate, etc.). What is clear is that Baxai did not have enough money to cover the expenses of his death and funeral.

Michael Baxai – referred to above as Boxay, elsewhere as Baxi, Baksai and Batskai – enrolled as a theological student in Franeker on October 18, 1682. He was born in Szatmárnémeti (now Satu Mare, in Romania). He started his studies at the time (1671) at the famous *Schola Szathmarina*. In the school's *Series sive Catalogus Studiosorum*, it was later recorded after his name that he died “in the fear of God, and honorably” (“*pie ac honeste*”), and – as we read elsewhere in the *Series* – that he was buried in the University Church in Franeker, on March 24, 1683. As far as the correctness of this date is concerned, unfortunately we could not find any confirmation in the archives of the University of Franeker.

VII.

1697 – *Andreas Duchonius de Szepes // András Duchonius Szepesi*¹⁵

Back in 1696 – as we can assume from the *Album Studiosorum* – Andreas Duchonius de Szepes [András D. Szepesi] enrolled at the University of

¹⁴ BURA, László (szerk.): *Szatmári diákok, 1610–1852. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum*, 5. József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged 1994. 53., 55. and 58.: Nrs. 1573., 1631. and 1695. – AStF, 231., Nr. 8008.: Michael Baxi (Baxai). – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 77., Nr. 459.: Michael Baksai. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 18, 379.: “Free”, “gratis” grave request for Boxay/ Baxai in the University Church [1683. 03. 12.]. – Cf. Van Nienes, 181., Nr. 1843.

¹⁵ THURY, 165. – AStF, 270., Nr. 9614.: Andreas Duchonius de Szepes. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 84., Nr. 569. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 33: Documents concerning the admission of Szepesi to the “Beijer”,

Franeker in order to continue his theological studies, which he had started earlier (1687) at the illustrious Reformed College of Debrecen. Afterwards a note was recorded next to his name in the *Series Studiosorum* of the College: “Defunctus in Belgio”, i.e. “deceased in the Netherlands”. The correctness of this last entry is confirmed by various archival documents to which we have had access. Szepesi died in Leeuwarden, in the Sint Anthony Gasthuis, where he had been living since mid-February 1697, having “fallen into such a severe melancholy that he – gone insane – had to be confined to an infirmary”. The request to do so was made by his professors Johannes vander Waeyen Senior and Campegius Vitringa Senior, who stood up for their theological student after the situation in Franeker itself became unsustainable. Their request, presented on behalf of the whole academic *Senatus*, was accepted, while the University as such was released from all the costs of Szepesi’s maintenance and care. All those costs would be paid by the Frisian Authorities (“Staten”), as previously set out in an agreement (February 16, 1697). Szepesi probably died at the beginning of March 1697, and as we read, “the expenses related to the death of the Hungarian preacher who died here in “de Beijer”, i.e. the closed ward of the infirmary” were already settled in April (more than 19 Caroli guilders). He is probably buried in the church of the Sint Anthony Gasthuis.

What was left over of Szepesi’s own money is recorded accurately and in detail in the Cash Book of the University (June 10, 1697). It was not distributed among his fellow Hungarian students in Franeker, as was specifically ordered in the case of Szepesi and Komáromi, but it all went back to the *Aerarium*, the university’s treasury. For sure, the whole Szepesi-case had already cost the University quite a bit of money.

VIII.

1779 – *Samuel Vilmányi // Sámuel Vilmányi*¹⁶

Samuel Vilmányi, a native of Kassa (now Košice, in Slovakia), began his studies in 1764 at the illustrious Reformed College of Sárospatak. Hav-

i.e. the closed ward of the Sint Anthony Gasthuis in Leeuwarden [1697. 02. 19.–12.]. Historisch Centrum, Leeuwarden [HCL]: Sint Anthony Gasthuis (SAG) archives, Nr. 925: Invoices and receipts “in the year 1697”, 35. [1697. 04. 14.]. – Cf. VISSCHER, 177–181., Nr. 925. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 84: An overview of the many extra costs the University had to bear in connection with Szepesi, who is called here in the records Zapesti (“Zapesti, cujus causa multos sumptus fecit Academia”!), 173–174. [1697. 05. 31. – 1697. 01. 23.]; his remaining cash, 176. [1697. 06. 10.], see also 181., 189. and 194. [1701. 10. 09.].

¹⁶ HÖRCSIK, 288. – TAR, Attila: *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1694–1789. // Ungarländische Studenten an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1694–1789. Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárá-*

ing raised enough money for the long and expensive peregrination, he enrolled at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder on June 21, 1777. That his studies were progressing well is clear from the fact that when we find him in Franeker, in May 1778, he enrolled there as a “theol[ogiae] cand[idatus]”. He could not enjoy however the “financial support” (“Kostpensioen”) he had been granted for longer time, as he died already in January 1779.

Vilmányi’s death was clearly unexpected. His last will – as it turned out – was “not at all in order in terms of form” (“geensins in forma”) and was written in Hungarian (“Hungarisch”), not in Latin. Nevertheless, his will (“dispositie”) was carried out fairly with the help of four Hungarian fellow students appointed by the Rector as administrators of the estate (“curatores”). With their help, on January 23, 1779, the secretary of the University and the beadle prepared an inventory “at the residence of the deceased” (“ten Sterfhuise”) of “all Vilmányi’s possessions” (clothes, books, cash, etc.), and after the funeral the four Hungarians took care of a correct accounting of all the expenses incurred, with receipts, which they submitted to the Rector. At the next meeting of the *Senatus Judicialis* (January 30, 1779), it was also decided that the Rector would send a copy of the inventory list and Vilmányi’s last will to Hungary “after a translation into Latin was carried out”. There is no mention of the Rector having prepared a *Programma funebre* before the funeral.

The inventory list reveals – in the end – that Vilmányi had acquired a collection of books of considerable value in the meantime. Most of it he must have brought with him from elsewhere. The long list gives an accurate and very detailed overview of his collection of books that includes many titles in French, German and Dutch as well. We can assume that the four “administrators of the estate” also made arrangements for all these books to be transported back to Hungary. A public auction of Vilmányi’s library in Franeker is not mentioned anywhere in the archival records of the Franeker University.

sa az újkorban, 11. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest 2004. 97., Nr. 547. [Enrollment at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder: 1777. 06. 21.]. – AStF, 381., Nr. 13775.: Samuel Ulmanyi. – Cf. BOZZAY & LADÁNYI, 118., Nr. 1201. “Tresoar”, Leeuwarden: Archives of the University of Franeker, Nr. 8, 239.: “Financial support” [1778. 05. 10.]; Nr. 27, 323.: His last will, appointment of the four administrators, funeral [1779. 01. 30.]; Nr. 85, 119.: Funeral expenses (two “receipts”). [1779. 02. 05.]; Nr. 152, Dossier Nr. 74: Inventory list of his entire estate, including all the books he had collected [1779. 01. 23.]. Regarding the “financial support” (so-called “Kostpensioen”), see: Boeles, Volume 1., 83–84. Lit.: POSTMA, Ferenc: Das Franeker Bücherinventar des verstorbenen ungarischen Studenten Samuel/Sámuel Vilmányi (Januar 1779). In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Budapest], 123. (2007/2), 233–241.



The University of Franeker, founded in 1585. On the left is the University Church, the last remaining part of which, the choir loft, was demolished in 1895.

The Martinikerk, where the three gravestones of the deceased Hungarian students are preserved today. Photo: Margriet Gosker.

*Epilogue*¹⁷

This study is first and foremost an appropriate tribute to the ten Hungarian students who left hearth and home in order to travel to Franeker, but who, like their fellow students, were not able to return to their beloved homeland because they died in the small Frisian town.

At the same time, it should be a contribution to the rich history of the so-called *Peregrinatio hungarica*, in which the stories of the ten Hungarians who died in Franeker have not yet received the attention they deserve.

¹⁷ JENSMA, G. Th. et al. (ed.). *Universiteit te Franeker, 1585–1811. – Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Friese hogeschool*: Leeuwarden/ Ljouwert, Fryske Akademy, 1985. The illustration on page 94 does not contain an “inventory of the estate of an unknown Hungarian student who once died in Franeker”, but an inventory of the “goods and books” of Paulus/ Pál Jászberényi (1670). – See: POSTMA, Ferenc: Die zwei Franeker Bücherinventare des siebenbürgischen Studenten Paulus Jászberényi (1670). In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Budapest], 122. (2006/4), 483–491.; Acknowledgments: Dr. Róbert Oláh (Debrecen), Dr. István Szabadi (Debrecen), Prof. Ferenc Pap (Nagykőrös), Dr. Áron Kovács (Sárospatak), Prof. Philippus H. Breuker (Bozum) and Drs. Piter van Tuinen (Harlingen).

A KATEDRÁRÓL / FROM THE PULPIT

MEGSEMMISÜLT ARCOK

Gondolatok Harsányi Zsolt Karácsony a gályán című novellájáról

ANNIHILATED FACES

Reflections on Zsolt Harsányi's short story "Karácsony a gályán" [Christmas on the Galley]

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

A tanulmány Harsányi Zsolt Karácsony a gályán című novelláját elemzi a protestáns gályarabság irodalmi feldolgozásainak kontextusában. Az elemzés során vizsgálom a gályarab-téma korábbi irodalmi megjelenéseit, különös tekintettel Kocsi Csergő Bálint emlékiratára, ezt követően arra fókuszálok, hogyan jelenik meg ez a történelmi trauma Harsányi művében. Az írás rávilágít Harsányi irodalmi pályájára és annak ponyvairodalomként történő értékelésére is. A novella elemzése során olyan kérdéskörökkel foglalkozom, mint a testi-lelki szenvedés, az emberi méltóság elvesztése, a hit megtartó ereje, valamint a megbocsátás lehetősége egy karácsonyi szimbolikával átszótt, tragikus történet keretében. A novella fontos szerepet tölthet be a gályarab-irodalom irodalomtörténeti kánonjában.

ABSTRACT

The study analyses Zsolt Harsányi's short story Christmas on the Galleon in the context of the literary treatment of Protestant galley slavery. In the course of the analysis, I examine previous literary representations of the galley slave theme, with particular reference to Bálint Kocsi Csergő's memoir, and then focus on how this historical trauma is represented in Harsányi's work. The paper also sheds light on Harsányi's literary career and his evaluation of it as a ponyvai literature. In analysing the short story, I deal with issues such as physical and mental suffering, the loss of human dignity, the saving power of faith, and the possibility of forgiveness in the context of a tragic story with Christmas symbolism. The short story can play an important role in the literary history of the Gaelic novel.

Kulcsszavak: protestáns gályarabság, mártírium, megbocsátás, szépirodalom vs. ponyvairodalom

Keywords: Protestant slavery, martyrdom, forgiveness, high literature vs. pulp fiction

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Introduction

There is a sea of literature about the Protestant galley-slavery. The Protestant galley-slavery is little thematized in Hungarian fiction. Both statements are true. It was only in the period of Classicism, at the end of the 18th century, that the concept of literature as art became widespread in Hungary. However, in the case of old Hungarian literature, to which the galley-slave memoirs belong, we can't limit our study to the narrow interpretation of the modern concept of literature, which would include only works written in Hungarian with artistic intentions.¹ In fact, according to Péter Kőszeghy, “[f]rom texts scattered in discourses had emerged what we now call literature, the ‘real literature’ [...], only to be scattered again into discourses from the last third of the 20th century.”² Thus, many contemporary writings on galley-slavery, such as the memoir of Bálint Kocsi Csergő, do not meet the criteria of modern fiction in today's terms.

Even so, we can find examples of writing about Protestant galley-slavery in modern Hungarian fiction. György Moldova's *Negyven prédikátor* [Forty Preachers] speaks of the historical event through the figure of Bálint Kocsi Csergő, while Magda Szabó mentions János Jablonczay in several of her biographical novels, such as *Ókút* [Old Well] or *Régimódi történet* [Old-fashioned Story], whom she presents as her galley-slave ancestor. These texts approach the topic from different perspectives, yet provide a link between galley-slavery and Hungarian cultural and historical memory. The aim of this paper is to examine this phenomenon through the interpretation of a lesser-known literary example, a short story by Zsolt Harsányi. Harsányi, who was a Patak student, explored the theme of galley-slavery in a unique way, which offers opportunities for comparison with Péter Bod's translation of Bálint Csergő Kocsi's memoir, *Kősziklán épült ház ostroma* [The Siege of the House Built on the Rock].

My aim with this analysis is to show how Harsányi's writing reflects on galley-slavery not only as a historical event, but also as a symbol of individual and joint suffering. At the same time, I will also examine how Harsányi's short story relates to the literary tradition of Protestant galley-slavery and how it fits into the narrow but significant corpus of fiction that has captured this historical trauma.

A short snapshot of Zsolt Harsányi's career

Zsolt Harsányi (Korompa, January 27, 1887 – Budapest, November 29, 1943) was an outstanding figure in the Hungarian literary life and theatrical scene. His wide-ranging work as a writer, journalist and translator has brought him widespread popularity and professional recognition.

¹ A régi magyar irodalom, in KLANICZAY, Tibor (ed.): *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964, 7–32.

² KŐSZEGHY, Péter: A régi magyar irodalomtörténet írása, avagy mi az „igazi irodalom”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 119 (2015), 1–12, 11.

He showed remarkable talent even at a young age. As a student at the Patak College, he won the Kazinczy Award of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which foreshadowed his successful career as a writer. He continued his studies at the University of Cluj-Napoca, where he discovered journalism, which later played a significant role in his life. He started his professional career as editor of *Kolozsvári Újság*, then in 1913 he became a staff member of *Budapesti Hírlap*, and later of *Pesti Hírlap*. In addition to journalism, his literary and theatrical activities became increasingly prominent. From 1910, together with Sándor Incze, he was editor of the journal *Színházi Hét*, which later became known as *Színházi Élet*. His knowledge of the theatre and his flair for stagecraft have enabled him to adapt classic novels to the stage and even to film with great success. Among his works, for example, we can find the adaptation of Kálmán Mikszáth's novel *A Noszty fiú esete Tóth Marival* [The Noszty Boy's Case with Mari Tóth], which he directed to great acclaim. He also wrote original plays, like *A zenélő óra* [The Musical Clock], *A grófkisasszony* [The Countess], or *Háry János*.

Harsányi achieved his greatest success with his historical and biographical novels. He strove for biographical authenticity in his work, and did extensive research before each novel. His most significant works include *Az üstökös* (a novel about Sándor Petőfi's life, 1932), *Ecce Homo* (a biographical novel about Munkácsy Mihály, 1934), as well as *Magyar Rapszódia* (a novel about the life of Liszt Ferenc, 1935). These novels were a great success not only in Hungary, but also abroad, with *Magyar Rapszódia* [Hungarian Rhapsody: The Life and Loves of Franz Liszt] published in eight languages by 1938, for example.

Harsányi's activities were significant not only as a writer but also as a public figure. As the president of the Hungarian Pen Club and a member of the Kiszalud Society, he actively participated in the promotion of Hungarian literature. In 1938, he was appointed director of the *Vígyszínház* theater, which was one of the most prestigious cultural positions at the time. He was awarded the Corvin Wreath for his achievements in 1935.³

What could be the reason why, while Harsányi was a well-known writer and a prominent public figure in his day, few people today would be able to say exactly who he was, when stopping in front of his bust in the Patak school garden? The tension between popularity and literary value is perhaps best reflected in the text by László Németh entitled "Mi

³ The summary is based on the following sources: Harsányi Zsolt (író, forgatókönyvíró), URL: <https://www.hangosfilm.hu/filmenciklopedia/harsanyi-zsolt> Last Accessed: January 21, 2025; the introduction to *Két elbeszélés*, URL: <https://mek.oszk.hu/14500/14546/14546.htm> Last Accessed: January 21, 2025; Harsányi Zsolt, in KENYERES, Ágnes (ed.): *Magyar életrajzi lexikon*, 1. kötet: A-K, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967, 679.

a ponyva?” [What is pulp fiction?] which also gives an insight into the oeuvre of Zsolt Harsányi.⁴

Side note: What is pulp fiction?

In 1938, a libel suit was brought by Zsolt Harsányi against Géza Juhász, after Juhász described Harsányi's biographical novels as pulp fiction. László Németh was summoned as a witness in the case, and during the proceedings, he discussed the issues of literary integrity and pulp fiction. Németh did not understand why such a criticism would be considered as defamation: “Is it really a matter of defamation, wheter one is writing pulp fiction?” [...] Géza Juhász, if he was wrong, at best demoted Zsolt Harsányi, but he did not offend his integrity. Zsolt Harsányi could sue him for discrediting him, but not for defamation, although it is difficult to discredit a book that sells hundreds of thousands of copies on the pages of a daily that sells a thousand copies and fades right away into oblivion.“ In his testimony, László Németh fundamentally reassesses Harsányi's oeuvre. He considers his writing to be outstanding in terms of research and data collection, but he criticizes its lack of artistic ambition:

“Harsányi does one of the writer's jobs properly: data collection. He read the biographies of Madách, Petöfi, Liszt, conducted research even in family libraries – he had just enough slips of paper, as a philologist would say. As an artist, however, he was content with chronologically rewriting these slips of paper with the most rudimentary literary devices, often just transcribing them.“ According to Németh, there are no deeper, more nuanced literary struggles or ideas in Harsányi's works that would elevate them above the level of pulp fiction: “We cannot find any elaborated figures, carefully painted pictures, adjectives highlighting at least a trace of the struggle with which the writer guards the hues of his thoughts. [...] What we have said implies that Zsolt Harsányi's biographical novels have no significant literary value.” Harsányi's novels, according to Németh, satisfy a particular kind of “thirst for pulp fiction”. These works concentrate on biographical curiosities and gossip surrounding these great cultural figures, without really bringing the reader closer to the historical characters portrayed: “There is also a snobbish variety of the public's thirst for pulp fiction, which is always sneaking around the great cultural figures, but is only interested in the incidental, the biographical, the pulp-y. This kind of thirst for pulp fiction is perhaps even more dangerous than reading an honest detective novel.”

Thus, Harsányi's work was a huge success with the public in his time, but according to László Németh, its literary value was debatable. Moreover, in the 1950s, he was posthumously criticized on ideological basis as well.⁵ His oeuvre has thus not become part of the ‘official’ canon, and

⁴ NÉMETH, László: Mi a ponyva? *Magyar Művészet*, 7, (2019/1), 86–88.

⁵ See BESSENYEI, György: Harsányi Zsolt a szórakoztató-iparos, *A könyvtáros*, 4 (1954/4), 33–35.

his name and work are little known to the wider public today. This is the context we should consider when examining the short story “Karácsony a gályán” [Christmas on the Galley] in the volume *Két elbeszélés* [Two Short Stories].

“Karácsony a gályán” [Christmas on the Galley]

Among Harsányi's shorter works, the volume *Két elbeszélés* [Two Short Stories] exemplifies the tension between pulp fiction and literary value. The first story in this volume, probably published in the 1930s by the Országos Református Szeretetszövetség,⁶ is the “A kilenc kacsá” [The Nine Ducks]. It is a simple anecdote turned into a short story, which amuses with its lightness, but has little literary value. “Karácsony a gályán” [Christmas on the Galley], on the other hand, carries more complex layers of meaning, even if it ends with a slightly pretentious twist. It is difficult to fathom the editorial intentions behind the juxtaposition of these two writings, which are very different in style, subject, exposition and even length. It is almost only in terms of genre that a parallel can be drawn between the two: both belong to the genre of narrative short prose, which has (had) the peculiarity of ending with an unexpected punchline. From a terminological point of view, it is important to note that the concept of narrative short prose included both longer, almost novella-length texts and shorter short stories.

The story begins on the galley. On deck and in the cargo hold, we can hear the bustle of the sailors doing their pre-departure chores. The overseers try their whips, waving them in the air, while the galley-slaves – who are used to the constant beating and shouting – are waiting sitting on their benches, chained next to the oars. “[T]he tragic ticking of the clock of eternal and monotonous suffering” is broken by a new galley-slave brought in, who intensifies his pain through self-torture: “he kept muttering something to himself, his lips forming the words in a whisper, and he was banging his head with his fist,” as if driven by some inner compulsion or guilt. Among the prisoners there is another, particularly well-built man, described by the narrator as a “giant”, one of the “Hungarian heretics”, a pastor. The overseers are particularly cruel to him: he is beaten more often and punished more severely than the others because he remains stubbornly silent, even when asked about the man who was sitting next to him before falling down the bench, dead. We learn from a fellow galley-slave that he is silent because his son was murdered three years ago: he is suffering for him and cannot forget him. On Christmas Eve, the self-torturing young man asks the giant to take his life. He is tormented by the guilt of having killed a man and wants to confess this to the pastor before he dies. The giant listens

⁶ The book does not include the year of publication, but the copy found on MEK (Hungarian Digital Library) shows that it was purchased by the OSZK (National Széchényi Library) in 1939. URL: <https://mek.oszk.hu/14500/14546/pdf/14546ocr.pdf> Last Accessed: January 21, 2025

and tries to console him, but the dialogue reveals that it was the son of the pastor that the young man killed.

The stakes of the short story are the intertwining of these two tragic fates. Its backdrop is the galley, and the narrator, in addition to the characterization of the young and the elderly man, pays special attention to the suffering of the galley-slaves and the cruel treatment they receive. The narrator describes the torture of the slaves in almost horrendous detail: “There was an elderly man lying on the floor, limbs unnaturally twisted as he rolled down from his narrow perch. As far as the dim candlelight revealed, blood trickled down from his mouth and stained his sparse grey beard. His glassy, crossed eyes stared fixedly into the abyss.”

The galley-slave literature often depicts the suffering of Protestant preachers in an extremely vivid way. The “rhetoric of suffering”⁷ may also have become the typical discourse of the galley-slave writings because the martyrs are turned into the likeness of Christ via the torture. As Mihály Imre writes, “christiformitas is an essential element of martyrology, of which there are many variants, and the aspiration to it involves the whole personality: its emotions, will, as well as its physical and spiritual gifts.”⁸ We cannot discuss here, how the Protestant galley-slaves became “the ideal embodiment of the Protestant concept of martyrdom”, we can only point out that the memoirs of Bálint Kocsi Csergő or Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris played a significant role in this process.⁹ Both write in detail about the sufferings of the deported pastors, and in the fifth part of his book, Kocsi Csergő describes in nine points the tortures they had to endure before being taken to the galley. The sixth and seventh parts of the work are about the journey to the galley and the forced labor. The adjective “horroristic”, even if somewhat anachronistic in this case, may also be applied to his writing: “On the eighth day of April, they were cast down to the bottom of the ship upon the Adriatic Sea, where it is beyond belief how greatly the multitude of lice had increased around them, to the point that they nearly devoured them. The dreadful stench, arising from the filth of the ship, but most of all from the rotting foot of Mihály Miskolczi, caused many to fall into grievous sickness.” “István Séllyei was often cruelly beaten. As András Turóczi was lifting a very, very large beam, it was dropped, crushing his legs so severely that others had to carry him even into the prison. Similarly, György Körmöndi’s leg was cruelly injured, and János Ujvári’s head was grievously wounded by the rigging. János Szomodi was just as ceaselessly beaten, as he was ceaselessly laboring. András Szodai was beaten

⁷ PÉNZES, Tiborc Szabolcs: “Hogy a’ Posteritas meg-tudgya, kicsoda [...] Idvezült Czeglédi István” Köleséri Sámuel és az első református vértanú, *Studia Litteraria*, 51, (2012/3–4), 142–160, 144.

⁸ IMRE, Mihály: Consolatio és reprezentáció – mártírok vigasztalása Zürichben, *Studia Litteraria*, 51, (2012/3–4), 161–188, 186.

⁹ *Ibid.* 165.

four times in a single day, and so mercilessly that his face was split open, and his blood poured forth in abundance.“ Despite the cruel treatment, Kocsi Csergő reports that the trust in God of those who survived did not diminish: “Amidst their many tribulations, they felt not only the consolations of God’s working spirit within them, by which they both exhorted one another to steadfastness unto the end and remembered their forsaken congregations and their suffering companions, as testified by the letters they wrote from the galleys, but also received many beautiful and comforting letters, filled with godly admonitions, from many, most notably from Miklós Zaffius, as from a Nehemiah, of whom, O Lord God, remember to his good.”

Zsolt Harsányi’s work describes the physical and mental tortures suffered on the galley with similar detail to that of Kocsi Csergő. The violence and brutality in the work do not only serve as a backdrop to the conflict between the suffering pastor and the guilt-ridden youth, but also set the mood for the story as a whole. On this gloomy, suffering-filled “stage”, Zsolt Harsányi shows not only the cruel fate of the marginalized, but also the extent to which violent forces of religious persecution can suppress human dignity. The short story creates a world where physical suffering overwhelms almost all thoughts and feelings, and the fate of the abused is filled with horror. The detailed descriptions, such as the bloody back, tortured bodies and disfigured faces are able to take the reader beyond the boundaries of reality, into a world where human pain and suffering are the central themes.

It is only in the second third of the short story when it becomes clear that there are also “Hungarian heretics” on the galley. “The overseers addressed the galley-slaves as “spawn of heretical serpents,” which can be paralleled with the recollections of Bálint Kocsi Csergő, who wrote that the Jesuits called them “rebels, faithless curs, heretics, lower than the Turks, and, together with all the Reformed people, sons of hell.”” These words do not only reflect religious and social discrimination, but also create the horrific atmosphere in which the galley-slaves live. The slaves are not only physically tortured, but their total mental annihilation is also among the overseers’ intentions. An example of this is the scene that plays on the similarity between a dead body and a living body: “One blow slashed across his face, another across his forehead, a third smacked him right in the closed eye and split his eyelid. Blood rushed from the giant’s beaten and hairy face. It dripped from his forehead into his already bleeding eyes, ran down his split cheek and fell in thick drops from his nose into his beard. But he did not raise his hand to wipe the blood from his face; he just sat there motionless and held his face to the whip, like a nursing home patient turning his face towards the summer sun. And so were both men bleeding there: the dead man on the ground with his eyes open and the living man on the bench with his eyes closed. Even his lips were split, and the saddle of

his nose was split open by the strap, while his face started visibly swelling already while the blows continued.”

The enslaved man’s face is basically destroyed by the whipping, and it is almost impossible to distinguish the dead from the living. The narrative in this scene has a particularly strong impact on the reader. The detailed and violent images are not only shocking, but also show how the human face, and thus human dignity, is destroyed by cruel treatment. The impact of brutality and cruelty on the human body and soul does not only reflect the disintegration of the personality.

Both in Bálint Kocsi Csergő’s memoirs and Zsolt Harsányi’s short story, faith as a source of enduring and transcending human suffering is emphasized. This aspect is powerfully, perhaps somewhat pretentiously, presented at the end of Harsányi’s short story. The giant, who becomes a symbol of suffering and physical and mental anguish throughout the short story, makes a profoundly human gesture towards the young galley-slave at the end. Despite the fact that the young man killed his child, the giant is able to forgive him in the spirit of Christmas. This act is not merely a giving up of personal revenge or anger, but also a recognition of that the liberating power of forgiving opens the way to grace for both parties.

The figure of the young galley-slave goes through a symbolic transfiguration at the end of the story. In the closing image of the short story – “The pastor cradled the sleeping young man as a father watches over his child’s dreams” – motifs of Christian sacrifice and redemption emerge. The young galley-slave is “reborn” through a journey of crime and punishment and takes the place of the giant’s lost son, symbolizing the family becoming one again. This point resembles Bálint Kocsi Csergő’s memoir, where faith endures even in the most inhuman circumstances, and is not only a means of survival, but also of spiritual victory. Both works show that faith is not an act of passive acceptance, but of active encouragement to action and inner transformation.

Zsolt Harsányi’s short story “Karácsony a gályán” [Christmas on the Galley] is a powerful and moving piece of writing, detailing the physical and spiritual suffering of the galley-slaves, yet showing a way out towards mercy. The text is an exciting piece of literature on galley-slavery: it mobilizes and (partly) reinterprets the concepts of martyrdom, mercy and forgiveness. It’s worth dusting off to take its rightful place in the galley-slave literature.

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