

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 Schrimpfótól, 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 vizsgálatása 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 deutschen 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: Willkommen 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, Blätter 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 Gesandtsberichte 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 Gesandtsberichte 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 hadjárat* 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 Polleross 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 Leslie 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