

Bridges to Königsberg

Students from North-East Hungary at Prussian Universities in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

In 1736, at the behest of the Königsbergers, Leonhard Euler solved the famous mathematical problem of whether it is possible to cross all seven bridges of the River Pregel, and both islands, by crossing each bridge only once, reaching your starting point at the end. His discovery initiated graph theory. We, however, are not so much interested in the bridges connecting the various parts of Königsberg (today: Kaliningrad), nor the mathematical puzzles they pose, but in those cultural bridges, which led from the Kingdom of Hungary to Prussia in the early modern period. They crossed a far greater distance than a river and traffic was not one-way.¹

This paper will take a closer look at the study tours of Lutheran students from North-East Hungary (once called Upper Hungary), particularly from the Spiš Region (Zips/Szepesség/Scepusium), to Prussian and Eastern Pomeranian institutes of higher education. To present a clearer picture of the phenomenon, we will also show a few examples from other regions.² The analysis has been restricted to Upper Hungary because it is rich in source materials, compared to other regions, as well as culturally distinct. This brief analysis will focus on the first half of the seventeenth century, which was the rarely-mentioned heyday of Hungarian university students in Prussia. At this time, the mainly German and Slavic (Slovak) speaking Hungarian Lutherans³ and also Lutheran Transylvanian Saxons joined the Prussian academic high schools of Thorn/Toruń, Danzig/Gdańsk, Elbing/Elbląg and the East Pomeranian Stettin/Szczecin, designed to prepare students for university. These schools belonged to the wider catchment area of the Königsberg University (Albertina) founded in

¹ The study was prepared with the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' János Bolyai Research Scholarship. I would like to thank the employees of the State Archives in Lőcse for their selfless assistance to my research.

² The one-time area of Upper Hungary largely corresponds to present-day East Slovakia, whilst the Spiš Region is the north-western of Upper Hungary, bordering with Lesser Poland (Województwo małopolskie). Its most significant settlement was Lőcse (Leutschau/Levoča), which enjoyed the status of free royal town. A disconnected part of the Spiš Region (13 smaller towns) was mortgaged to Poland in 1412, which had more jurisdiction than a landlord over them, thus the small region was practically divided between the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland in the early modern period.

³ One of the peculiarities of the Hungarian Reformation was that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the denominations overlapped with the ethnicities in their own, specific way. Whilst the vast majority of Hungarian Protestants attached themselves to Calvinism, Lutheranism became the religion of the Germans and the Slovaks. (Exceptions which prove the rule: the scattered Hungarian Lutherans, only in Transdanubia reaching greater numbers, as well as the few Slovakian Calvinists from Upper Hungary.)

1544.⁴ Foreign study trips were necessary because there were no real Protestant institutes of higher education in Hungary in the seventeenth century, and the Jesuit university founded in 1635 in Nagyszombat (Trnau/Trnava) did not present a real opportunity for them, due to sharp denominational boundaries.

It was not until the early seventeenth century, however, that students from the cities of Upper Hungary began heading north. As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there was a new pattern taking shape; having completed secondary education in North-East Hungary, students would normally undergo a few years' schooling in the upper, academic classes of a Silesian or Moravian academic high school.⁵ The preferences naturally changed from time to time, influenced by fashions, practical factors and great teaching personalities. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Silesian Goldberg (Złotoryja) was the favourite, whilst by the end of the century, besides the Silesian Breslau (Wrocław) there was Görlitz in Upper Lausitz. In the early decades of the seventeenth century the Moravian Iglau (Jihlava) and Breslau topped the list of favourites, taking over from such educational institutions as the Silesian Brieg (Brzeg). The ideal end point of the studies was almost always Wittenberg University, birthplace of the Lutheran Church and also the Reformation. Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder universities played only complementary roles beside it. (Their popularity was also aided by the fact that these three institutions, which could all be found within 750–800 kilometres of Spiš, were the three closest Protestant universities in the sixteenth century.) In terms of seventeenth-century developments, the case of Stephan Xylander/Holtzmann (1572–1619) from Lőcse (Leutschau/Levoča), later superintendent, is illuminating. When Xylander temporarily left Wittenberg in 1596 and enrolled at the Königsberg University, doing something exceptional at the time, he was forced to provide awkward explanations. “It is true that this university cannot be compared to Wittenberg,

⁴ The most significant works on early modern history of the Königsberg University are: D. H. Arnoldt, *Ausführliche und mit Urkunden versehene Historie der Königsbergischen Universität*, 2 vols. (Königsberg 1746). G. von Selle, *Geschichte der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preußen* (Würzburg 1956). M. Komorowski, “Die Universität Königsberg in der Frühen Neuzeit: Forschungsstand und -perspektiven im Überblick,” in *Die Universität Königsberg in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed by M. Komorowski (Cologne 2008). On Hungarian students attending universities in Prussia: A. Varga, *Hungarian Students of Königsberg University (1549–1715)*, *Lymbus* 6 (1999), 1-34. L. Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an den Polnischen und baltischen Universitäten und Akademien 1526–1788* (Budapest 2003) (Just a short summary in German: 241-245.)

⁵ Following the compilation of a large number of databases on Hungarian Protestant students in higher education in the Holy Roman Empire, László Szögi recently wrote a German summary, which grasps the main tendencies of university attendance as well, though, due to his leaving out the Silesian and Moravian academic high schools, his generalised findings are sometimes in need of clarification: L. Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an Deutschen Universitäten und Akademien 1526–1700* (Budapest 2011), 31-56.

although there are three times worse ones in Germany”—he writes in a letter addressed to the Lőcse Council.⁶

At the beginning of the stormy seventeenth century however, this popularity list began to change slowly but perceptibly. The first sign of change was that more and more students chose academic high schools in Thorn and Danzig (besides the Silesian institutions), for example Georgius Dechius from Spiš, who, in 1614, left Iglau for Thorn.⁷ The truly decisive turning point however, was the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) which, particularly in the period of Swedish intervention, that is, from 1630, made study at the academic high schools of the Bohemian Crown, as well as at Wittenberg University, almost impossible. One consequence was an increase in the proportion of domidoctus intellectuals, whilst a new route of study tours developed very quickly, which avoided the war, and the end stop of which was Königsberg, about 900–950 kilometres from Spiš. In a certain respect, this decision was similar to that of the Hungarian Calvinists who, after the destruction of Heidelberg University in 1622, followed a route through Frankfurt an der Oder, to the renowned Dutch university centres, Franeker and Leiden. True, Königsberg never became an inter-denominational centre for international academia such as Leiden was, and even the Lutherans themselves were prone to look upon it as a supplement to Wittenberg.

The axis of a winding path was made up of the River Vistula from Krakow onwards, while from Thorn, at the middle section of the Vistula, one could head straight to the coastal towns of Danzig and Elbing directly beside the Vistula Delta.⁸ From Elbing, one could sail along a lagoon of the Baltic Sea, the Frisches Haff, and reach Königsberg in half a day. A small proportion of students headed from Thorn to the East Pomeranian Stettin (occupied by the Swedish from 1630), which lay at the mouth of the Oder. From Stettin, it was just 200 kilometres to the reputable Rostock University in Mecklenburg. The majority however, did not choose the Holy Roman Empire's Baltic region, but rather Western Prussia, which

⁶ 23 June 1597. Stephan Xylander to the town council of Leutschau. “War ist es, das diese vniversithett der wittenbergischen vngleich, sindt aber wohl dreymahl schlimmere in deütschlandt zu finden...” *Lőcsei stipendiánsok és literátusok: külföldi tanulmányutak dokumentumai 1550-1699* [Lőcse grantees and men of letters: documents on study abroad], ed. by T. Katona and M. Latzkovits (Szeged 1990), 200. (No. 123.)

⁷ *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, 227-229 (No. 138.) On the History of Thorn College: S. Tync, „Dzieje gimnazjum toruńskiego (1568–1793)”, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 34 (1927) 55-284 and 53 (1949). On the Hungarian students at the high school: J. G. Lippisch, *Thorunium Hungarorum litteris deditorum matrem oratione peculiari, qua celeberrimi gymnasio Thorunensi animo gratissimo valedixit, publice exponit et commendat* (Jena 1735). S. Salmonowicz, „Toruńskie gimnazjum akademickie a ziemie korony węgierskiej w XVII. i XVIII w.” [Thorn College and the lands of the Hungarian Crown in the 17-18th centuries], in *Księga pamiątkowa 400-lecia toruńskiego gimnazjum akademickiego*, vol. 1 (XVI–XVIII. w.), ed. by Z. Zdrójkowski (Toruń 1972), 169-205.

⁸ On the Elbing Academic High School see M. Pawlak, *Dzieje gimnazjum elbląskiego w latach 1535–1772* [History of the academic high school of Elbing from 1535 to 1772] (Olsztyn 1972).

belonged directly to the Polish King, or the Duchy of Prussia, who was governed by the Elector of Brandenburg, still being a Polish vassal state. Whilst the academic high schools lay in Western Prussia, Königsberg University was in the Duchy, that is, Eastern Prussia.⁹

Thanks to the Thirty Years' War, Albertina became one of the most popular universities of the German-speaking world in these decades, topping the list in the stormy half-decade of 1639–1644 with 1800 matriculations.¹⁰ Between 1636 and 1645 around one hundred and fifty Hungarian and Transylvanian students enrolled in Königsberg, twenty percent coming from Spiš. The proportion of Hungarians and Transylvanians in the student body was as high as four or five percent at times. All this means that an entire generation of Hungarian Lutheran intellectuals, the new priests and teachers of the 1630s–1640s, unanimously flocked to the region to continue their higher educational studies. (Naturally, we are only considering that marked minority, which could afford to go abroad to study). Following the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the star of the icy Königsberg gradually fell and, just like students from other parts of the Empire, the Hungarians returned to Wittenberg, as well as the increasingly more fashionable universities of Jena and Leipzig. The Swedish-Polish war, which started in 1655 (Second Northern War) finally and markedly ended this little-mentioned heyday of the Northern university. A typical example is that of Paul Kuntz from Kakaslomnic (Großlomnitz/Veľká Lomnica), who, after completing his studies in Breslau and Thorn, enrolled in Königsberg in 1653, but in 1655, left for Wittenberg, the stronghold of Orthodox Lutheranism. The reasons behind his move were not military operations, but his theological reservations.¹¹ Another herald of the new epoch is Michael Guhr, a student from Késmárk (Käsmark/Kežmarok) who began his studies in 1652 at the academic high school in Thorn, but from 1655 chose the university at Leipzig, due to the

⁹ On the denominational relations of the region see A. Schindling and W. Ziegler (eds.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500/1650. Vol 2. Der Nordosten* (Münster 1993).

¹⁰ Selle, *Geschichte der Albertus-Universität*, 78–79. Komorowski, *Die Universität Königsberg*, 6 and 14. Both authors rely on Franz Eulenburg's classic estimates.

¹¹ “Dehinc anno 1653 academiam, qui Prussorum est, Regiomontanam promotore Deo et fautoribus ab eodem mihi excitatis salutavi, in qua eadem audiavi professores excellentissimum dominum M. Michaelem Eiflerum, promotorem meum honorandum, dominum Simonem Dachium, dominum Pichlerum, dominum Concium et alios plures, qui tunc temporis facultati philosophicae praefuere. Cum vero exilium ibidem (ut ita fateri liceat) pateretur sana theologia, visum erat ejusdem audiendae gratia proficisci Wittebergam, quod factum anno 1655 mense augusto. Hic inveni lucem a tenebris vere separatam doctores vere orthodoxos, theologiam vere salutarem, audiavi defensorem othodoxiae acerrimum dominum Scharfium, magnumque virum dominum doctorem Calovium, et accuratum ac nervosum theologum dominum doctorem Johannem Meisnerum et plures.” *Matricula ordinatorum ab anno 1614...* [From the Pastor Ordination Protocol of the superintendents of Upper Hungary between 1614 and 1741]. From the Lócse Evangelical Church Archives. I. Pfarrgemeinde 2. Superintendentenlade No. 8. (Lot number: V.C/23a.) Photocopy available in the Central Archiv of the Hungarian Lutheran Church (Budapest) as well. Bishop Martin Wagner, No. 129.

northern war.¹² Thorn however, unlike the other institutions, was able to preserve something of its one-time appeal right up until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

With the help of a very useful database of higher education enrolments, published in 2003, we can make a numeric assessment of Hungarian and Transylvanian students' university curricula in Poland and the Baltics in the early modern period.¹³ In the first half of the seventeenth century (1600–1650) altogether 224 students enrolled at the Königsberg University, 213 at the academic high school in Thorn, 70 at the one in Danzig, 53 in Elbing and 29 in Stettin. The 589 matriculations cited here could in fact be increased by hundred more through a more careful study of school registers and other sources. The end result is very similar to the study tours of Hungarian Calvinist students to Holland or Catholics to Vienna in terms of the period.¹⁴ Since a slight majority of students enrolled in at least two places (one academic high school and the Albertina), according to our estimates around 400 Hungarian and Transylvanian students were present in the region in the first half of the seventeenth century, around a quarter of whom were from Upper Hungary.

We cannot decipher every characteristic of student migration in the seventeenth century based on school registers alone; we need to employ further sources. The most obvious would be the letters written by the students, but they did not survive in any great number. The only more significant (and published) corpus is the body of letters written by those who lived on city scholarships, to their home town Lőcse,¹⁵ but unfortunately letters about the Northern route are notably under-represented. The letters conform to accepted standards, and rarely revealed anything of the contents of the studies; most of them revolved around the financials: thanking the financial support, complaining of high prices and requesting further sums.

Another significant type of source connected to higher educational study is the *alba amicorum*, although the number surviving in the libraries of historical Hungary matches the collection of a medium to large sized German town, and in the internet database of Hungarian-related album entries, we could only find four autograph books of Hungarian

¹² *Matricula ordinatorum*, Martin Wagner, No. 139.

¹³ Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an den Polnischen*, 15-37. The registers of the institutions examined (with the exception of Stettin) have appeared in print. Königsberg: G. Erler (ed.), *Die Matrikel und Promotions-Verzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen 1544–1829*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1910–1917). Elbing: H. Abs (ed.), *Matrikel des High schools zu Elbing (1598–1786)* (Danzig 1936). Danzig: Z. Nowak (ed.), *Catalogus discipulorum gymnasii Gedanensis* (Warszawa 1974). Thorn: Z. H. Nowak and J. Tandecki (eds.), *Matricula discipulorum Torunensis gymnasii academici 1600–1817* (Toruń 1997–1998).

¹⁴ According to László Szögi's data, between 1600 and 1650, 723 Hungarian and Transylvanian students signed up to universities in Holland and 635 in Vienna: Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an den Polnischen*, 26.

¹⁵ Published in *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*.

students studying in Prussia:¹⁶ a particularly rich little volume (1617–1629) from the renowned mathematician and geographer of Késmárk, David Frölich (1595–1648), which contains entries from all the more significant educational centres of the region with the exception of Thorn High School; an album of Matthäus Fridelius (1644–1646: Königsberg, Thorn) born in the Bohemian Leitomisch (Litomyšl); that of the Transylvanian Saxon Johann Finck (1648–1650 Königsberg), and Esaias Fabricius from Némethlipce (Deutschlipisch/Partizánska Lúpcá) (1650 Danzig).¹⁷

From the Hungarian national bibliography, which lists the publications of Hungarian (and Transylvanian) authors published abroad (RMK III) separately, we can easily collect the university theses published in Prussia.¹⁸ In the first half of the seventeenth century, altogether 65 theses by Hungarian and Transylvanian students were published at Prussian and East Pomeranian educational institutions; 35 in Königsberg, 19 in Danzig, 9 in Thorn and 2 in Stettin.¹⁹ In the case of Königsberg, the first known Hungarian thesis appeared in 1634, while in the following 17 years (until 1650) at least two theses were published annually by Hungarian or Transylvanian authors. (Students from Spiš and Upper Hungary are relatively under-represented; there are a far greater number of Transylvanian Saxons). In the case of Königsberg these booklets are supplemented by nine other one-off publications (e.g., collections of funeral or congratulatory poems).

The substantive aspects of study abroad are perhaps best illustrated by personal accounts (autobiographies, diaries, etc.). Unfortunately, concerning Prussia, only one such source is available in the form of an autobiography by Tobias Weiß (1621–1675) Lutheran clergyman from Poprad (Deutschendorf), in which he gives us a detailed account of his

¹⁶ *Inscriptiones alborum amicorum* (iaa.bibl.u-szeged.hu, accessed on 1 June 2013.) Also available in English. The database consists not only of albums, but also album entries related to Hungary and its collection area is not restricted to successor states of historical Hungary. Besides the five albums mentioned below, we only have a stump of a booklet, containing a single entry by Johann Amos Comenius (Elbing, 1645), and the autograph book of Tobias Masnicius' from 1675 to 1696, showing entries from Thorn and Danzig, which are not related to university attendance but to the forced migration resulting from the Protestant persecution of the 1670s in Hungary.

¹⁷ This small set of original manuscripts can be completed by the autograph book of Lorenz Quendel (Serpilius) from Spiš (1625–1629 Elbing, Königsberg) surviving only in copy. National Széchényi Library [hereafter OSzK], Fol. Lat. 1394. fol. 66^r–72^r.

¹⁸ The “RMK” series was released in 1896–1898 and was later continuously extended. It is similar to the German “vd16” or “vd17” databases but gives shorter descriptions and no pictures. It is available on the internet: www.arcanum.hu/oszk, accessed on 1 June 2013. The original edition of the complete work is: K. Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár (RMK)* [Old Hungarian Library], 3 vols. (Budapest 1879–1898.)

¹⁹ The small number of published disputations from Thorn is somewhat misleading. It may be explained simply by the fact that the city's short-lived printing presses produced significantly fewer publications than those of Danzig or Königsberg.

studies in Thorn and Königsberg between 1642 and 1646.²⁰ We will draw on plenty of his data, but this would not be enough in itself to provide a comprehensive picture, and luckily we are aided by the ordination protocol of the Superintendence of Upper Hungary between 1614 and 1741,²¹ in which every freshly ordained pastor was obliged to present a brief, first-person narrative “CV” in their own hand, naming their parents, attended schools, teachers and previous places of employment. The volume is a collection of personal accounts of various detail, providing plenty of material on schooling in Prussia as well.

With the help of the ordination protocol much information is revealed, which is not available in the school registers and other sources, or is not shown as clearly. It is no news that a small proportion of Hungarian students’ data is missing from the official documents (in the case of Prussia, this figure cannot be more than 5%), whilst these details are available elsewhere. These students did not matriculate, in many cases probably to avoid paying the mandatory enrolment fee. An extreme example of this is Samuel Frölich from Szepesváralja, who, from 1602 attended the Elbing High school for three years, then, rather unusually, the Braunsberg (Braniewo) Jesuit College for a year and a half, followed by six months at Königsberg University and finally a year at the Danzig high school, studying under the auspices of the renowned Calvinist scientist Bartholomäus Keckermann (1572–1609).²² His studies are only recorded at Elbing, however. Other cases are quite the opposite; the ordination protocol does not always indicate the educational institutions known from the school registers.²³

Far more significant than enrolment is the question of mobility, often overlooked by studies based upon school documentation, which misleadingly follows the one-time or modern state boundaries. The ordination protocol reveals that, in the first half of the seventeenth century, about one eighth of pastors and curates ordained by superintendents from Upper Hungary came from the Czech Kingdom (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), and were

²⁰ Published: “Tobias Weiß poprádi evangélikus lelkész önéletírása” [The autobiography of Tobias Weiß, Lutheran minister of Poprád], ed. by A. P. Szabó, *Lymbus – Magyarágtudományi forrásközlemények* 9 (2011), 148-195.

²¹ The previously quoted source: *Matricula ordinatorum*. The complete, official name of the superintendence was “Five Cities–Sáros Superintendence”, that is, officially its jurisdiction extended to the five free royal cities of Upper Hungary (Kassa/Kaschau/Košice, Eperjes/Eperies/Prešov, Bártfa/Bartfeld/Bardejov, Lőcse/Leutschau/Levoča, Kisszeben/Zeben/Sabínov), their county lands, as well as the market town of Sáros next to Eperjes. Practically, it extended to the whole of Upper Hungary (and within it the lands in the Spis Region under Hungarian and Polish control) with the exception of Gömör County. In fact, the local bishop ordained priests from the regions of the neighbouring superintendences, if any vacancies came up.

²² *Matricula ordinatorum*, Peter Zabler, No. 93.

²³ A good example is Johannes Langius from Körmöcbánya (Kremnitz/Kremnica), who does not mention his 1619 enrolments in Frankfurt (Oder) and Stettin in his autobiography, probably because he did not spend too much time in either of the two cities. *Matricula ordinatorum*, Peter Zabler, No. 96.

German or Slavic Protestants, many of whom expelled from their country during the Thirty Years' War. A significant number of them began their secondary education in the Kingdom of Hungary, for instance at the prestigious gymnasia of the royal cities, though upon arrival at the Prussian institutions they typically emphasized their identity as exiles and not as Hungarians, indicating their birth cities at enrolment. It was not merely their education that bound them to Hungary, most of them returned there to work as teachers or pastors, their children often enrolling at German universities as Hungarians. An outstanding example is the Czech-speaking Martinus Adami (1618–1699) born in Deutschbrod (Havlíčkův Brod) in Bohemia, son of the Lutheran pastor Venceslaus Adami from Zdiretz (Ždírec nad Doubravou), whose family fled to the Kingdom of Hungary in 1626.²⁴ Adami completed his studies mainly in the schools of the Slovakian-populated counties of Trencsén, Liptó and Árva, then in 1635 he attended the high school in Lócse in order to learn German. From here, in August 1640 he left for Prussia and, after six months in Thorn, in February 1641 he enrolled at Königsberg University where he studied Theology and Philosophy until 1646. Following his return home, he became a pastor, firstly in the small mining town of Szepesremete (Einsiedl/Mníšek nad Hnilcom) in the Spiš Region, then from 1656 in Lócse where, from 1660 onwards, he functioned as a German curate of the congregation. He is not mentioned in the Hungarian database of Polish university students because he enrolled at both Prussian institutions as a Czech. Thus significantly more pastors from Hungary graduated in Prussia, than would first appear from the school registers alone.

Adami is just one among the many Lutheran intellectuals who were forced to immigrate to Hungary during the Thirty Years' War, and they did not only come from Bohemia. Michael Gndel from Kulmbach (Oberfranken) for example, escaped to Hungary in 1637 at the age of sixteen. Following his secondary education in Western Hungary between 1645 and 1647, he attended Thorn and Königsberg (naturally enrolling at both places as a student from Kulmbach), finally returning to Hungary and, after several brief periods of employment in schools, from 1649 he became a curate in Szepesvárálja (Kirchdorf/Spišské Pohradie), before his ultimate post as a pastor in Igló (Zipser Neudorf/Spišská Nová Ves).²⁵

The mobility that characterizes German Lutheran intellectuals may be observed already before the stormy years of the Thirty Years' War, if less frequently. Take for instance

²⁴ We are fortunate enough to have two sources for Martinus Adami's autobiography; firstly from the ordination protocol and secondly from the brief, autobiographical notes in his bible: *Matricula ordinatorum*, Martin Wagner, No. 38. and the "*Adami-Bibel*" (a German bible published in Wittenberg in 1603 in Lorentz Seuberlich's printing press), held in the Lócse Lutheran Church Library 13.213.

²⁵ *Matricula ordinatorum*, Martin Wagner, No. 79.

Daniel Ölsner, a later curate of Gölncibánya (Göllnitz/Gelnica in Spiš, in 1625), born in Elbing in Western Prussia (his father, Philipp Ölsner from Frankfurt am Main, pastor in the suburb of Elbing), who studied in Elbing, Neidenburg (Nidzica) in East Prussia and Breslau, and in 1613 fled to Hungary to escape the Silesian Plague. Another unusual example connected to Elbing is that of Johann Mylius (1557–1630), born in Iglau in Moravia, son of a Thuringian Lutheran pastor.²⁶ It seems that he turned up in the Kingdom of Hungary during his secondary education, then became school rector, firstly in Lőcse from 1588, and from 1595 in Késmárk (also in Spiš), but as a crypto-Calvinist he became a target for Orthodoxy in both places. In 1598 he settled permanently in the more tolerant Prussian Elbing, where he served as rector of the high school until 1630, significantly contributing to the academic character of the school through his educational reforms. The five students from Késmárk who followed Mylius to Elbing can be seen as the initiators of study tours to Prussia.

The above-mentioned examples are perhaps apt illustrations of the fact that one must never forget the wider context when examining a given region or country; the seventeenth-century German and Slavic-speaking Lutheran intellectuals are part of a vast Lutheran region, within which there was plenty of opportunity for movement. This does not, however, mean that student migration from Upper Hungary did not bear certain unique markers. Below is an attempt to present these.

In the first half of the seventeenth century most Upper Hungarian students studying abroad came from multi-generational pastor-teacher families, and of the urban elite closely associated with the intellectual elite. (In Hungary this close association was common in the German Lutheran community and less so in the Calvinist denomination, which strongly identified itself with Hungarian ethnicity.) Relatively few children of farmers or craftsmen ended up in higher education. Michael Fischer, from Maldur (Maltern/ Podhorany), was not an unusual example of this small minority. Fischer was born into a German peasant family in 1633. Despite his father's repeated attempts to have him back home, he finally managed to remain in Késmárk, studying with the financial support of their landlord, then continued on in Lőcse, the academic high school in Prussian Thorn (1653–1655), and the University of

²⁶ F. Gause, "Wanderungsbewegungen und kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Preussen und Ungarn," *Jahrbuch der Albertus Universität zu Königsberg* 10 (1960), 274-288, at 280. For more precise data: M. Pawlak, "Jan Mylius (1557–1630) rektor Gimnazjum Ebląskiego," in *Zasłużeni ludzie dawnego Elbląga. Szkice biograficzne* [Worthy men of the Past Elbing. Biographical sketches], ed. by M. Biskup (Wrocław 1987) 89-95. For Mylius' Hungarian operations: M. Sebök, *Humanista a határon. A késmárki Sebastian Ambrosius története* [Humanist on the Border. The Story of Sebastian Ambrosius from Késmárk] (Budapest 2007), 317.

Leipzig (1655–1656). Upon his return to Hungary in 1658, he was obligated in return for the financial aid to become pastor in his home village.²⁷

Studies in most cases began in the local school, though the students usually moved on later, rarely completing all the years of elementary and secondary education (eight classes altogether) in one place — not even the students from Lócse. From the age of 12 or 13 they would usually attend two or three schools. For instance Tobias Weiß from Szepesbéla (Beel/Spišská Belá) was sent to school in the Slovak-speaking market town of Liptószentmiklós (Liptovský Mikuláš) at the age of 13 in order to learn Slovakian. A common practice amongst German ministerial families in Spiš was to send their sons to Slovak-speaking territories for a period of time, and vice versa, Slovakian Lutheran intellectuals were eager to send their children to school in the German towns of Spiš. The end result of the practice, conceived to improve the labour market, was mutual native language proficiency, which made it possible for those of German origin to become Slovakian curates in large congregations and also for Slovakian native speakers to take positions as German pastors. A number of particularly knowledgeable German and Slovakian pastor families went further, sending their children to Hungarian schools as well. Despite the powerful denominational barriers of the age, many used the Sárospatak Calvinist High School, or that of Szepesi (Moldau/Moldava nad Bodvou) near Kassa (Kaschau/Košice) for this purpose.

Most students did not have the opportunity to study abroad upon completing their secondary education in Hungary. A case in point is Andreas Lang (born in 1614), who could not afford a coveted Prussian peregrination but attended six prominent Hungarian schools (Kassa, Kisszeben/Sabínov/Zeben, Lócse, Bártfa/Bardejov/Bartfeld, Pressburg/Pozsony/Bratislava, Eperjes/Prešov/Eperies).²⁸ There were those like Andreas Schwarz of Izsákfalú (Eisdorf/Žakovce), who managed to attend high school in Thorn, but could not afford the University of Königsberg as well.²⁹ Education could be funded by the

²⁷ “Huic jam supranominato Fischero miseranda et vilis natalium erat conditio, patrem enim ille nactus est, Joannem Fischer hominem sat probum, sed rudem et simplicem rei pecuniariae et agriculturae deditum, qui eundem litteris, ad quas tamen ille inclinabat, consecrare per absolutum noluit, sed ad stivam, quam primum modicum succrevit, applicuit. Ille tamen rus et aratrum inscio parente suo deseruit et primum Kesmarkinum profugus factus, a parente interceptus est et domum delatus, altera vice aequo invito parente Leutschoviam ad studia commigravit, et cum pater ejus eundem denuo Leutschovia ligatum domum pellere vellet, dominus ejusdem terrestris Görgey dictus in congregatione comitatus Leutschoviae eo tum praesens patrem a tentata ejus reductione ad patrios lares avocabat, immo jussit, ut filius idem ejus maneat Leutschoviae in semel jam feliciter coeptis studiis.” OSzK, Quart. Germ, 868 “Annales Bartphaienses,” 92. His short autobiography in ordination book (not mentioning the conflicts): *Matricula ordinatorum*. Martin Wagner, No. 143.

²⁸ “Oras Borussiae visitare totaliter decreveram, sed obicem posuit annonae caritas, reverendi domini patris mei infirmitas et sumptuum inopia.” *Matricula ordinatorum*, Peter Zabler, No. 194.

²⁹ “Hinc placuit pedem posthac movere et invisere oras Borussiae, Thoruniiproinde pedem fixi, triennium ibidem exigendo, rectore existente clarissimo et doctissimo domino Petro Zimmermanno, conrectore etiam

family or at times a wealthy noble, though Upper Hungarian students often resorted to applying for city scholarships. Students from Lőcse were in the best position since the „metropolis” of Spiš (a small town by Western European standards) often made donations towards study abroad from the Educational and Church Fund founded by State Treasurer Elek Thurzó³⁰ in 1542, as well as the Lazarus Henckel von Donnersmark Foundation of 1623. In order to win such a scholarship, one needed a letter of recommendation from a rector, a pastor or a superintendent, and it was often an advantage to have a relative amongst the senators of Lőcse. The scholarship had strict conditions; the city council could determine which institutions and which faculties the student could attend. City scholarships almost always supported studies in theology or (the complementary) philosophy, and the lucky winner had to promise in writing that upon his return, he would serve as a teacher or priest in the service of his generous benefactor. For instance, the Slovakian Georgius Curiani, who was born in Csorba (Štrba), Liptó County, and was a student of the Eperjes High School, had to provide a promissory note for the local council on 12 June 1645.³¹ The city then funded Curiani’s education in Königsberg, strictly in theology, for three years, from July 1645, so that, upon his return home, Curiani became conrector at the Eperjes High School, later moving on to become Hungarian curate of Eperjes. The great distance always made the sending of further instalments of the scholarships problematic. The funds were sometimes delivered by another student or an official tabellarius (letter carrier), but they were more often delivered via a series of tradesmen. The arrival of the tradesmen was generally linked to great international fairs, thus foreign students always looked forward to them. The Königsberg students’ money was often sent to the major commercial centre of Danzig, as in the case of Matthias Gosnovitzer, a grantee from Kisszeben in 1637.³² In the interests of obtaining further funds, the students carried out vital correspondence using similar channels. Letters arrived to their destinations slowly; Stephan Xilander, a grantee from Lőcse, sent two letters from Königsberg in 1597, which arrived in his home town in a month and six weeks respectively.³³

clarissimo domino magistro Basilio Czölnero. Ob defectum sumtuum Academiam haud invisere potui, oras igitur patrias repetens...” *Matricula ordinatorum*, Martin Wagner, No. 74.

³⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the Foundation’s sixteenth-century activities: T. Katona, *Caritas und Memoria. Eine Leutschauer Stiftung im Dienste der Bildungsförderung in der Zips des 16. Jahrhunderts* (München 2011).

³¹ 12 June 1645, Eperjes. Georgius Curiani’s promissory note, as well as the 11th June receipt for the money paid, containing further promises: Státny archív v Prešove (State Archives in Eperjes) Magistrát mesta Prešov (Town Council of Eperjes) miscellaneous materials from 1630 onwards, B 12. Miscellanea 1640–1649.

³² *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, 308-309 (No. 192.), as well as another example from 1635: 303 (No. 187.)

³³ *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, 196-199 (No. 121.), 200-203 (No. 123.)

Since there were no particular language difficulties, the students had the option of taking a job in Prussia if they did not have a scholarship, or simply to supplement it. This most commonly took the form of a home tutor position, and with a bit of luck, in the same location as their studies, which provided not only a modest income but also accommodation. In 1620 Martin Rausch of Lőcse took just such a position in his Stettin landlord's employ.³⁴ Johannes Serpilius, arriving in 1642 at the Prussian Thorn, under the protection of his schoolteacher relative Esaias Serpilius, also received a home tutor position in the house of a local tradesman, Caspar Weisel.³⁵ However, getting a job as a home tutor could mean having to transfer to another city, thus causing an interruption or complete cessation of studies. For example, at the turn of 1645/1646 Johann Raab of Szepesbėla took a job in Bartenstein (Bartoszyce) in East Prussia, sixty kilometres from Königsberg. There were also students like the previously-mentioned Michael Gndel of Kulmbach, who worked as a teacher in a primary school in Thorn during his studies,³⁶ or like the self-financed student Tobias Weiß, who managed to earn money during his stint at Thorn, not only as a home tutor, but also as a member of the high school choir and later choirmaster.³⁷

Students from Hungary were virtually only present in the upper, academic classes (years 9-10) of the academic high schools (roughly corresponding to the baccalaureate programs of today), which were designed to prepare students for university studies. At the Königsberg University, they usually studied theology or philosophy, although not as strictly as the Hungarian Calvinists, who almost exclusively studied theology in Holland. Even amongst those with city scholarships, there were a few who chose to join one of the other two faculties of the university, thus Samuel Kramer of Lőcse read medicine in 1635, whilst Matthias Gosnovitzer of Kisszeben read law in 1637.³⁸ Qualified legal professionals later became valued members of city councils, Gosnovitzer for instance worked as mayor of Lőcse from 1661 onwards.

As can be seen from Weiß's autobiographical writings and the ordination biographies, students from Hungary attended both large-scale mandatory public lectures (*collegia publica*),

³⁴ *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, 244-251 (No. 150.)

³⁵ "Anno 1642 die 4. aprilis hat er seine Reise in Preußen angetreten, ist zu Crackau bey Erwartung guter Gelegenheit verblieben biß auf den 28. aprilis, und viel Wohlthaten empfangen von Herren Wilhelm Tori und Jacob Korbit Schottländern. Hernach ist er mit jenes diener biß auf Thorn gefahren, und 3. Maji glücklich ankommen, von seinen Herrn Vettern Esaias Serpilio collega gymnasii mit Freuden angenommen, und kurz hernach zu einer Paedagogie befördert worden bey Herrn Caspar Weisel einen Kauffmann." OSzK, Fol. Lat. 1394. fol. 278^r.

³⁶ "Peste vero ingruente commigravi in Borussiam et Thorunii per annum scholae Neopolitanae collegam egi." *Matricula ordinatorum*, Martin Wagner, No. 79.

³⁷ "Tobias Weiß," 166-168.

³⁸ *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, 301-302 (No. 186), 308-310 (No. 192).

and fee-paying seminars held by university lecturers (*collegia privata*). Although, according to expectations from home, they should have stuck to a strictly orthodox Lutheran school of thought, in the 1640s a great number appeared at lectures by the Irenist theology professor supported by the Calvinist elector of Brandenburg, Christian Dreier (1610–1688). The favourites were, however, indisputably the champions of orthodox Lutheranism, Cölestin Myslenta (1588–1653) and also Abraham Calov (1612–1686); the latter taught at Königsberg until 1643, then moved to the academic high school in Danzig (1643–1650).³⁹ It is no coincidence that, of the Prussian academic high schools, the tolerant Elbing run by Johann Mylius' son, seemed a less appealing choice to most, than the more rigid Thorn, or Danzig, which became strongly Lutheran following the death of Keckermann.

The typical student from Spiš, if he got as far as the Königsberg University, usually spent two or three years there, which, together with the period spent at an academic high school, meant the peregrination lasted five or six years in total, much longer than the sojourn of Hungarian Calvinist students in Holland, who stayed only one or two years. This was made possible by opportunities to obtain work there, and was owing to the greater patience and higher standards of the local elite, who provided the scholarships, as opposed to the aristocratic patrons funding the Calvinists. This long period contrasts interestingly with a lack of scientific degrees. We often forget how important it was for students to have their academic studies recognised. The ideal solution would have been to obtain a master's degree. Nevertheless, as far as we know, of the Upper Hungarian students studying in Königsberg, only one single student, Johann Polanus⁴⁰ from Berzevice, achieved this, and only a few students from other regions of the Kingdom of Hungary left Königsberg with a master's degree. There were probably fairly mundane reasons for this, most likely the cost (graduation fee, new clothes). The next best solution was the publication of a non "pro gradu" disputation in one of the serial theological or philosophical publications. The essay, together with a well-written recommendation addressed to the hometown elite, could pave the way to employment opportunities at home. (Some students were smart enough to have their disputations published

³⁹ On the professors of the Königsberg Theology Faculty and the great oppositions dividing the teaching staff in the middle of the seventeenth century: T. Kaufmann, "Königsberger Theologieprofessoren im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Albertus-Universität und ihre Professoren*, ed. by D. Ransching (Berlin 1995), 49-86 T. Kaufmann, "Theologische Auseinandersetzungen an der Universität Königsberg," in *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreussens in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by M. Komorowski (Tübingen 2001), 243-328

⁴⁰ Johann Polanus/Polani, son of the Pastor of Berzevice (a market town in Sáros County) Ladislaus Polani, earned a Master's Degree in philosophy on 12 April 1640. To honour the rare event, two separate publications were issued in Königsberg containing congratulatory poems: *Corona florentissima plausibus ac votis brabeum magisterii [...] domino Johanni Polani Berseviceno-Pannonio. in Academia Regiomontana die XII. Aprilis Anno 1640 collatum celebrans* (Königsberg 1640); *Poemata in lauream magistralem [...] domino Johanni Polani Berseviceno-Ungaro* (Königsberg 1640).

in two versions; one addressed to members of the urban elite of Prussia, the other to their hometown, while some intermingled the two in their address.) However many students, like Martin Rausch, who details the question in his letter from Stettin in 1620, could not afford to publish even one short thesis.⁴¹ The majority therefore had to make do with a certificate issued by the Dean of the University (*testimonium eruditionis*). Tobias Weiß, a student without a scholarship, could not even attain this, but contented himself with a certificate (*testimonium vitae*) from his landlord, the prestigious professor Cölestin Myslenta.⁴² Others probably made use of the printed certificates of matriculation and the subsequent oath made before the school rector.⁴³

If we are interested in the relationship between the regions, we must turn our attention, not only to the courses themselves, but also to university life, to the landlords, although the limited data available does not allow us to draw far-reaching conclusions. It seems that, in the first half of the seventeenth century, students from Spiš also endeavoured to live with one of their teachers. Thus the previously mentioned Tobias Weiß ended up living in Cölestin Mylenta's house in Königsberg in the summer of 1646, at the recommendation of two students from Sopron in Western Hungary. He also lived under the roof of the composer and poet Heinrich Albert (1604–1651) an eminent figure of German Baroque music, from autumn 1645 to February 1646, renting rooms on the plush Magistergasse in Königsberg, along with two other students. (True, the Prussian polymath is remembered in his autobiography only as a famous organist.)⁴⁴

Königsberg was the place to meet, not only Prussian society but also several others as well. Students from Spiš and Upper Hungary, could not have avoided their peers from the mining towns of Lower Hungary, from Sopron and Pressburg in Western Hungary, from the Transylvanian Saxon families, nor those few Hungarian Lutherans who reached thus far, even had they wanted to. A whole series of casual publications can verify that there was great solidarity amongst the Hungarians and Transylvanians at Albertina. When for instance Johann Polanus attained his previously mentioned master's degree, fourteen of his countrymen wrote congratulatory poems in his honour.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Lócsei stipendiánsok*, 237-240 (No. 146).

⁴² "Tobias Weiß," 176-177.

⁴³ There were two separate printed certificates, which belonged together. One surviving pair of these documents, testifying the matriculation of Johann Serpilius at Königsberg University (1643) is held in OSzK, Fol. Lat. 1394. fol. 212-213.

⁴⁴ "Tobias Weiß," 172-174.

⁴⁵ *Poemata in lauream magistralem*. These were not only students from Upper Hungary (like Matthias Gosnovitzer and Paul Hertel from Kisszeben, Benedek Semtei from Kassa, Johann Sartorius from az Eperjes, Leonhard Glatz from Bártfa, Martin Samselius from Igló and Siegfrid Spiskowius from Spiš) but also the two

Inevitably, the moment arrived in each Upper Hungarian student's life, when their money ran out, or they received a letter from their families or the city which paid their scholarship, calling them home, which in luckier circumstances also contained a job offer. This was the moment when the students had to meet their obligations towards the narrowly defined homeland ("Vaterland"), so often mentioned in the letters. If the city needed their services, those with scholarships were employed directly, usually as teachers. (Those few students who were sent to study law or medicine were naturally employed in their own profession.) The progress of the returnees usually took the following form; those educated in Prussia became rectors of smaller schools or teachers in larger ones, then, having served a few years "in school dust" (*in pulvere scholastico*), as was typical of the ordination autobiographies, they found a position as a curate, which later grew into a ministerial post when the individual reached a more mature age. It was not typical for them to consider teaching their ultimate goal; the target was almost always the acquisition of a lucrative parish, and only those educated abroad had any chance of it. Any deviation from the usual career path, or too rapid advancement, was always met with disapproval, as in the case of Tobias Weiß, who immediately became Pastor of Poprad (Poprad/Deutschendorf) upon his return.⁴⁶

In the absence of sources it is difficult to assess the level of contact between intellectuals settled back home and their student peers and teachers in Prussia, but there are indications that relations were not severed. Tobias Weiß for instance knew that his one-time roommate, Johannes Neunachbar, was the Archdeacon of Thorn at the end of the 1660s. It is characteristic of the intellectual orientation of the Spiš Region that, at the height of peregrination to the North, in 1645, Matthias Gosnovitzer as member of Lőcse Council turned to his old philosophy professor from Königsberg, Michael Eifler, to recommend a rector for the Lőcse high school.⁴⁷ True, the recommended Westphalian Conrad Heinrich Sarmichhausen never got the post.

It is rarely mentioned that, besides the many returning students, there were always those few in each generation who did not return from Prussia. Occasionally, some lost their lives, since the long journey and the prolonged sojourn in the North posed considerable risks. For instance, in the winter of 1642, Paul Horler of Lőcse was taken ill and died shortly after

sons Pál and Ádám of the Pannonian (Hungarian) Lutheran superintendent in Transdanubia, Bertalan Kis, a Pressburg student and four others from the mining towns. Characteristically, two of these, the Hancke brothers, were born in Engelstadt in Silesia (Andělská Hora).

⁴⁶ "Tobias Weiß," 181-183.

⁴⁷ 20 June 1645, Königsberg. From Michael Eifler's letter to Matthias Gosnovitzer. Štátny archív v Levoči [ŠAL] (State Archives in Leutschau) Magistrát mesta Levoče [MML] (Council of Leutschau) XX/76. p. 1437. Michael Eifler recommended his young colleague from Westphalia in the event the Moravian Melchior Klies, who was just returning to Hungary, did not accept the post.

his arrival in Königsberg. (Hungarian and Transylvanian students published a special obituary to mark his death.)⁴⁸ Paul Zabler, also from Lőcse, was murdered near Thorn in 1650.⁴⁹ Most non-returnees however did not die, but simply stayed where they were. The cities kept a close eye on the lives of the supported students, since they did not want to lose their investment. Any marriages to Prussians or proper employment raised suspicion. It is testament to the strength of controls that, despite these common fears, emigrant proportions did not reach more than a few percent. Martin Pfeiffer of Bártfa, for instance, enrolled at the Königsberg University in 1642, but was already teaching at the Königsberg high school in the 1640s, then worked as curate of the German church in Thorn from 1665.⁵⁰ Antal Némethy, the son of Ferenc Némethy curate in Lőcse, began his studies at Albertina in the autumn of 1664. As early as 1672 he had requested the issuance of his inheritance from his guardian Johann Schwab with the intention of settling.⁵¹ In his autobiography Tobias Weiß also admits he could have stayed on in Thorn.

The bridges leading to Prussia weakened during the Second Northern War (1655–1660), then experienced a last revival during the 1670s, the decade of Protestant persecution in Hungary. This was not the academic migration of peace time, however, but exile, much like the earlier exile of the Czechs and Moravians to Hungary.⁵² It was only a continuation of the Prussian academic migration in the sense that among the Lutheran refugees also students arrived. The older generation, who determined the direction, chose this particular region precisely because it was the scene of their onetime studies, and a place where they already had connections. The first significant wave of Hungarians towards Prussia was launched by the counter-reformation in Eperjes in 1672. In 1667 the nobility in Eperjes and the cities had attempted to establish a college (essentially an academic high school) and, due to the persecution, a considerable proportion of students and teachers had landed in Thorn. When the counter-reformation in Upper Hungary finally reached the part of Spiš under Polish rule in 1674, a large proportion of pastors from the region headed for Danzig, to spread out from there in the German Lutheran world. Tobias Weiß, in his autobiography, and Andreas

⁴⁸ *Lachrimae in obitum praematurum [...] domini Pauli Horleri Leutschovia-Hungari die 18. Decembris anno 1642 Regiomonti Borussorum pie defuncti fusae a conterraneis et Popularibus* (Königsberg 1642).

⁴⁹ 24 Oct. 1650, Thorn. Letter from the Town Council of Thorn to the Town Council of Lőcse on the Zabler Murder Case. ŠAL MML XIII/46. f. 53.

⁵⁰ Lippisch, *Thorunium*, 31.

⁵¹ 20 March 1672, Königsberg. From the Königsberg Altstadt Council to the Lőcse Council. ŠAL MML XIII/72.

⁵² Summarily on Lutheran intellectuals exiled from the Kingdom of Hungary in the 1670s and their life strategies: E. Kowalská, "Confessional Exile from Hungary in Seventeenth-century Europe: the Problem of Mental Borders," in *Imaging Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, ed by. S. G. Ellis and L. Klusáková (Pisa 2007) 229-242.

Schwartz, former pastor of Sztrázsa (Michelsdorf/Stráže pod Tatrami) however, chose to stay in the harbour town and both died there of the plague in 1675.⁵³

Western Prussia benefited enormously from this forced migration. The academic high school in Thorn had four professors from Upper Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century: Johannes Sartorius, Johannes (Ján) Režík, Paul Pater and Wenzel (Václav) Johannides of a Moravian emigrant family, who was the former rector of the high school at Késmárk.⁵⁴ Sartorius became rector at Elbing from 1699, then Danzig from 1704. Pater ended his career in Danzig too, as an expert in book printing and a publisher of calendars. Since exiles rarely became ministers, it is understandable that they often appeared in the lower rate secondary schools of the region. Their presence is the epilogue of another long story however.

We are left with the question, how best to summarize the invisible bridges connecting Prussia to the Spiš Region? The two distant regions already had a history dating from the early seventeenth century when the Thirty Years' War in the 1630s had forged a strong bond between them. Most of those bridges were then destroyed two and a half decades later by another war. The quarter of a century between the two was an unusual time, in which the customary Silesian influence on Hungarian Lutherans was replaced by the much more distant Prussian one, whilst Prussian academic high schools and the Königsberg University became the primary target for higher education, creating a much more uniform pastoral, teaching and municipal elite, with a considerably less open intellectual horizon than its predecessors. The cultural consequences of this (amongst others the effect of Baltic Lutheran Orthodoxy) can only be clarified through further examination. The strength of the relationship is shown by the fact that, even in the 1670s, following the decline of mass peregrination to the north, its effects could be felt in the direction taken by the exiles. Though the era of study in Prussia can only be seen as an interlude in the grand scheme of things, it is not without its lessons. Without it, not only would the history of Lutheran university studies from Upper Hungary be lacking, but also the entire history of Hungarian schooling as well.

⁵³ G. Buchholtz, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht (Familienchronik)*, ed. by R. Weber (Budapest 1904), 154.

⁵⁴ Lippisch, *Thorunium*, 17-21. L, Ďurovič, "Exulanti z Prešova na gymnáziu v Toruni v XVII. storočí" [Emigrants from Prešov at the college of Thorn in the seventeenth century], in *Prešovské evanjelické kolégium, jeho miesto a význam v kultúrnych dejinách strednej Európy*, ed by P. Kónya and R. Matlovič (Prešov 1997), 45-50.