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**Study Tours of Aristocrats of Upper Hungary:
The Significance of *Kavalierstour* in the Pálffy Family in
the 16th and 17th Centuries**

“Although I am without pause asked for the 100 gold coins that I gave Your Highness’s son in Venice, still Your Highness should just forward it in fourteen days as You have written. I will try to make them patient, but I ask You with love not to postpone it, having spent so much on Your only son, do not regret the cost for this one or two years, considering that You cannot give him any greater or more enduring treasure than quality education, and he could not be at home without cost either (perhaps greater cost).”¹ Pál Pálffy’s words to his older brother, István Pálffy, suggest to the reader of today that one should not spare any expense on the education of a young aristocrat, since the investment will pay off handsomely as they progress in their careers.

To what extent, however, was this really the case? Was it actually worth the expense for aristocratic and wealthy children to study together alongside less affluent schoolmates in order to achieve higher positions later on, either in their respective counties or on the national level, perhaps in the royal court in Vienna? Moreover, these European tours demanded no small financial sacrifice of the families, even in cases in which the aristocratic youth did his best to avoid the educational institutions. In any event, what did Pál Pálffy mean when he wrote of “quality education?” The *Kavalierstour* of three generations of the family of county aristocrats in Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg) offers interesting answers to these questions. Although the available archival sources are not entirely adequate to yield a detailed account of the foreign study tours, the correspondence and bills that are available provide important information about the European tours of the Pálffy children.

For decades scholars outside of Hungary have devoted attention to the foreign study tours of members of noble families.² Well before the Second World War there were studies on the pursuit of education abroad not only by members of the Hungarian aristocracy, but also on the efforts of youths from other social layers to pursue studies outside of Hungary.³ The modern and thorough exploration of the topic began in Hungary only in the 1980s.⁴ However, in contrast to other countries, there have been few studies about European study tours of members of the Hungarian aristocracy.⁵ Slovak historiography, for example, so far has not paid much attention to the travel abroad in the pursuit of education by young members of aristocratic families, despite the fact that the Slovak archives contain many pertinent sources.⁶ Furthermore, there is no appropriate expression in the Slovak historiographical terminology to describe this period of the education of an aristocratic youth. In the German secondary literature the word *Kavalierstour* is used, a term that came into use during the 19th century, interestingly enough at a time when the European travels of nobles had gone out of vogue, so to speak. The term is appropriate, nonetheless, as long as one also takes into consideration that in contemporary German sources these young aristocrats were indeed called *Kavalier*. This label was also used to describe young members of the nobility who were at “the beginning of their careers,” in other words who had not yet reached high status at the royal court.⁷ In German and particularly in Anglo-Saxon historiography, one often comes across the term “Grand Tour,” which can be found in sources as early as the beginning of the 17th century.⁸

So far, Hungarian historiography, in all likelihood because of the dearth of available sources, has not unambiguously adopted this terminology, but it emphasizes the belated appearance of this phenomenon in Hungary, especially from the middle of the 17th century.⁹ Therefore it is understandable that in the general historiography and in the case studies various terms are used to describe the travels of young members of the nobility. However, I find the term *peregrinatio academica*, which is found mostly in foreign (in particular German) historiography, problematic. This

term describes explicitly the travels to foreign universities of youths from various layers of society. In the case of members of the nobility, it can only be used if the man in question really did acquire his education at universities, and this holds true mainly for members of the nobility preparing for a career in the church.¹⁰

The scions of the Pálffy family enjoyed the advantages and suffered the disadvantages of travel in Europe thanks to the “hero of Győr,” Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600). From around 1565 he was educated in the royal court of Vienna under Maximilian II, together with Archduke Rudolf, whom he also accompanied over the course of longer travels in the Low Countries and Spain, during which time he learned more languages.¹¹ It is clear from comparative studies that fathers who themselves had traveled through Europe later on insisted that at least their eldest son pursue an education abroad.¹² It is no wonder that Miklós Pálffy established a certain “tradition” in his family, since in the subsequent generations almost all the Pálffy sons participated in *Kavalierstours*, over the course of which they journeyed to numerous countries.

The first generation of such travelers was represented by the four sons from the marriage of Miklós Pálffy and Mária Fugger. They began their studies in Vienna, and, since we still have the accounts of court master János Körmeny and reports that were sent to the parents, we have a relatively detailed picture of their stay in the city that was home to the emperor.¹³

On the basis of the study books and other school materials mentioned in these reports, it is logical to assume that the sons attended a Jesuit school in Vienna. They dealt with the works of Cicero, Ovidius, and Caesar. They also learned Latin, and even Bonfini’s *Hungarian History* was included in their readings. In addition to acquiring theoretical knowledge, the sons gained skills in various fields of the arts. They learned to paint, as indicated by the mention of sums that were paid to cover the materials they needed. Most often it was “Master István” who needed paint of gold and silver, as well as brushes.¹⁴ For “Master János” the attentive parents had a lute made.¹⁵ We do not of course know precisely the extent to

which the reports of the court master and preceptor János Szekeres square with the facts concerning the progress of the youths, but they both wrote words of high praise about them, as for instance in a letter of February 3rd, 1603: "Moreover, I can write to Your Highness about my young Masters that, thank God, they are in good health and study well, and they send word that they are at your Highness' service."¹⁶

After tiresome hours of study came entertainment and diversion, of which the four sons had an ample share. They went to carnival balls, they played sports and ninepins, and they paid visits on others and welcomed guests. On the basis of the accounts of János Körmendy, it is clear that nobles Mágóchy and Wesselényi visited the Pálffy sons on various occasions.¹⁷ Like most children, the sons of the hero of Győr liked animals, something that is mentioned in the accounts. For instance, Konstantin Schniter noted that he bought the young nobles a squirrel for thirty Krajcárs, and Master István became the happy owner of a white puppy.

After finishing their studies in Vienna, the Pálffy sons went their separate ways. By this time it was Mária Fugger who had taken over the supervision of their education, as Miklós Pálffy died in 1600. Sources do not reveal whether the widow attended to this task alone or with the assistance of a guardian or relative who helped her arrange the foreign study travels of her sons. After Vienna, the two elder brothers, István and János, obviously set out for Italy. Since there are no surviving sources apart from the data in the university registries of students, all we know is that on December 6th, 1603, they visited the University of Perugia and half a year later their names appeared in the Sienna University registry.¹⁸

So far, all efforts to gather information about the further studies of the two younger brothers, Pál and Miklós, have been unsuccessful. They continued to pursue their studies in Ingolstadt, Bavaria, from 1606, where they enrolled in the *syntax* class. In the registry of students, next to their names, one also finds the name Stephanus Nagovithius, who was attending the *logics* class.¹⁹ It is remarkable that the two Pálffy sons became students of the Jesuit College in Ingolstadt, since after 1566, when the university came under control of the Jesuits,

the number of students coming from Hungary dropped drastically.²⁰ From 1609, the two sons went on to study at the Jesuit College in Olomouc. This institution came into being thanks to Bishop Viliam Prušinovsky, and in the territory of the Monarchy it was the first college founded by Jesuits. Although it did not meet the standards of the universities in Prague or Vienna, it was still popular, and not only among the Moravian students. It is important to emphasize that during the early modern era, 103 noblemen from Hungary enrolled here, comprising 13.5 percent of the student body.²¹ Aside from Pál and Miklós Pálffy, it is worth mentioning here other students of the college, such as Ferenc Illésházy (who enrolled in 1597), Ferenc, Mihály, and István Pethő (who enrolled in 1614), Ferenc Wesselényi (who enrolled in 1616), and Miklós Pázmány, the nephew of the archbishop of Esztergom (who enrolled in 1638), all of whom later rose to prominence.²²

There are, at the moment, no available sources about Miklós Pálffy's further studies. Pál Pálffy, like his two elder brothers, visited Italy, a journey the only record of which is the various student registries. On November 6th, 1611 he had his name entered in the registry of the University of Perugia, from where he traveled to Naples at the end of the month. Then he traveled to Rome, where he remained until October 28th, 1612. Four days later he already had his name entered in the student registry of the University of Sienna. The young Pálffy spent more than six months in this city.²³

Fortunately there are many surviving sources concerning the *Kavalierstour* of the next generation of the Pálffy scions. Miklós Pálffy, the only son of István Pálffy, and his cousin, Tamás Pálffy, began their studies in the Jesuit College in Nagyszombat (Trnava) in the 1630s. Tamás was from another branch of the family. His father, Mihály Pálffy, perhaps was no longer alive at the time, which may explain why István Pálffy took over the costs of having him educated. Before the young men were sent to study, it had to be decided which profession they would pursue. The order of birth and family strategy played significant roles in this decision. Still, in some cases some consideration was given to the children's ideas and plans, especially

if they were not diametrically opposed to the plans of the parents and relatives. If the young son “rebelled,” so to speak, and had his way in the choice of a profession, this caused no small problem for the family. One such case was Ferdinánd Pálffy (1620–1680), bishop of Csanád and Eger, who first studied at the Jesuit college in Nagyszombat and made the decision quite early that he would join the Jesuit order. The problem lay in the fact that, first and foremost, he was the only son of his father, János Pálffy, and, furthermore, the future of the family of the “hero of Győr” was far from certain at the time. The eldest István Pálffy had only one son as well, and the marriage between Pál Pálffy and Maria Khuen de Belasi for the time being remained childless. Naturally Ferdinánd’s decision was not to his father’s liking, and his father made every effort to dissuade his son, in which he (the father) had the full support of other relatives. The stubborn child then left his parents’ home, which eventually persuaded the reluctant János Pálffy to accept his son’s decision. And after all the controversy, Ferdinánd Pálffy went on to study in Graz.²⁴

Miklós Pálffy’s name can first be found in the registry of students at the University of Nagyszombat in 1641,²⁵ although the first extant letter of his written from Nagyszombat is dated 1643.²⁶ According to the surviving letters, the boy had no difficulty focusing on his studies. In one of his reports he boasted to his father that “the difficult exam, so frightening to students, is fast approaching.” Nonetheless, he was not afraid, which was due, in part because he was eager to receive the horse and bow his father had promised him if he did well on his exams. There is much less information concerning the studies of Tamás Pálffy.²⁷ When he wrote to his uncle, he usually asked for some money or clothes.²⁸

Miklós Pálffy finished his studies in Nagyszombat in the autumn of 1641, so the question arose as to what he should then do. Not only was his future career the subject of discussion among members of the family (both close members and members of the extended family) and friends and patrons of the family, even the various stops on his study tours were carefully planned. It was essential that as

much as information as possible be gathered about the countries and universities to which the young men were to be sent, and that the decision should be made as soon as possible regarding ensuring of the costs and the details of organizing of the trip.²⁹ Despite the fact that István Pálffy had taken part in a European study tour himself, the task of organizing similar tours for both Miklós Pálffy and Tamás Pálffy fell on his younger brother, Pál. The fact that he was the president of the Hungarian treasury and had influential contacts in the royal court in Vienna must have played a significant role. It was also important, as was mentioned above, that he had no children of his own at the time. The surviving letters prove without a doubt that Pál Pálffy organized the excursions to the smallest details, while his brother, for all practical purposes, played the sometimes thankless role of covering the various expenses.

One of the most important tasks was to choose carefully the accompanying entourage, the task of which was to play the role of a "traveling court" during the tour. Careful consideration was given to the question of who should be members of such a team. The biggest problem was to choose the court master, or the prefect. During the *Kavalierstour*, this person represented the head of the family, and it was his task to offer guidance and direction. He controlled the studies of the young members of the nobility, and he was responsible during the tour to ensure that everyone followed the father's will as outlined in the instructions. He made decisions concerning purchases and he controlled the finances. In order to fill this post, a man had to be suitable for such a task. He needed to be decisive, because in a critical situation he had no time to wait for the instructions from the father.³⁰ In certain cases, this post was quite thankless, since on the social ladder he was on a lower rung than the young people who had been entrusted to his care, a fact of which the young noblemen often took advantage. But if he managed to win the trust of the young aristocrats, this in turn might arouse the jealousy of the head of the family, who might well have feared that he would lose some measure of his authority in front of his children. In spite of such conditions, sometimes the court masters became good friends with the noble

youths, especially when the court master was himself not terribly old.³¹

Pál Pálffy, naturally, took on the difficult task of selecting the court master. First, however, he let a golden opportunity slip, since a fine candidate, "Mr. Wirttemberg, who was Head Chancellor of Ferdinand II, was taken by young Löbl."³² It took the president of the Hungarian treasury another two months to find someone suitable to serve as prefect to his nephew. He described him to his brother, István, with enthusiastic words: "I have acquired the court master for Miklós Pálffy, to whom, after some bargaining, I promised 700 forints in cash for one year and a servant, but the servant will serve the master as well. This man has considerable experience on account of having been to foreign countries. He speaks Italian and French, he is a doctor of canon and civil law, he is not young, but rather is middle-aged, [and] I dare entrust my beloved child (whom I regard as such), Miklós Pálffy, to his care. Believe me, your Excellency, my dear elder brother, that one who proceeds properly and authoritatively in all things will learn only good and how to lead a sober, pure life abroad."³³ Unfortunately, the sources available do not give the name of the man of whom Pál Pálffy wrote with such enthusiastic approval. It is clear, however, that his words of praise reflect not only his list of demands for the court master. It was common practice among German imperial families that without adequate education no one could become a court master.³⁴ Following the European examples, members of the Hungarian nobility took care to ensure that the court master selected for their sons be a man with knowledge of many languages and well-versed in the sciences.³⁵

Naturally, one of the most significant tasks in the preparation of the study tour was to raise the necessary funds. Carrying large amounts of cash would have been dangerous because of highwaymen and brigands. Furthermore, it would have been cumbersome, since 1,000 Rhine gold coins weighed about twenty-nine kilograms.³⁶ Therefore, members of the nobility, following international practice of the day, made contact first with one of the banking houses.³⁷ Unfortunately, in the case of Miklós Pálffy's and Tamás Pálffy's travels the available

sources offer no indication the bank with which the family had a contract. On the basis of the letters it is nevertheless obvious that these banking houses paid out the required money to the travelers in the form of *cambium letters*, that is, bills of exchange. The bankers charged interest on the bills of exchange, deducted the cost that arose from the change of currency, and paid it in the currency of the given country. *Cambium letters*, therefore, were in practice a means of ensuring money circulation without any cash for the travelers of the early modern era.³⁸

However, sending the bills of exchange was not the most ideal choice, not at least as far as the conversion of the bills into cash was concerned. The important document had to go through several hands before it reached the final addressee, and sometimes it would be misplaced in the course of the journeys. It was therefore of paramount importance that only trustworthy people should be involved in sending bills of exchange from one place to another. On more than one occasion the Pálffys asked János Hmira, the president of *Pázmáneum* in Vienna, to forward the *cambium letters* to their traveling sons.³⁹ On the other hand, however, sending money in installments had a “pedagogical role.” The father thereby maintained some control over the course of his sons’ travels. If a child did not behave himself according to his father’s expectations, the father could for a time cease sending the bills of exchange. In cases in which the young aristocrat, in spite of repeated warnings and money withdrawals, was not brought to his senses, the head of the family stopped paying the costs of travel altogether and ordered the insolent boy home.⁴⁰

The next fundamental step in the preparation for a journey abroad was to gather and ensure the required equipment for the young nobleman and his entourage. Miklós Pálffy prepared for his European travels in Vienna, for example, where he had been ordered to come by his uncle, Pál Pálffy. He must have had a thorough overview of what a young nobleman might need in the course of his travels: “Your Excellency ordered Miklós Horvát and István Csáktornyai to buy clothes for the young Master at Ainze. My dear elder brother will

give no more than broadcloth, and what he will have. Anything else that is needed must be bought, when and how, your Excellency does not write. The linen that Mrs. Elanz gave needs additional laces and other work; and money is needed by the prefect for the journey and the preparations, which your Excellency, while considering it, should keep in mind will go to his only son and his son's advancement, and [you] should make provisions now so that we can depart without any delay, because with each passing day the young master merely makes merry."⁴¹

Ensuring the appropriate clothing and equipment for the young aristocrat and his entourage was very important, because throughout the course of their journey they represented not only their family but also their country. Their noble birth, social rank, and education had to be plainly obvious on the basis of their outer appearance. Ferenc Pálffy, son of Miklós Pálffy, also experienced this. During his stay in Rome he was not able to call on cardinal Carafa because his father had not sent him money to have the necessary black court suit made. "Archbishop Piu, who is Papal envoy and 'protector Germaniae,' sent word by a nobleman that he (cardinal Carafa) had been very astonished that I had not done as other traveling students had done and had not paid a call on his court, although your Excellency is an influential minister in the imperial court," thus complained the bitter youth.⁴²

However, there are examples from abroad when members of the nobility, in their zeal to make their sons and their companies make a good impression, overdid it and the travelers carried all kinds of unnecessary items with them. That was the case of the young sons of the imperial Dernath family, who during their travels through several countries were compelled to carry five dogs, a peacock, various exotic birds, and a few squirrels.⁴³ In contrast, the Polish prince Wladislaw Wasa was stranded for days in the city of Neisse, because the dearly treasured import clothing had disappeared on the way, and much to his disgrace he had to show up in his Polish clothes in the imperial courts.⁴⁴

The normative side of the execution of a successful journey was to be ensured by the father's instructions, with which the head of the family provided each and every member of the traveling entourage. The Pálffys unquestionably did not let the young sons leave without strict warnings and instructions either, but, unfortunately, all attempts to find these instructions have failed. The various points of the instructions pertained to being God-fearing, devoting diligent study to the various subjects, adhering to prescribed norms of behavior during social contacts, and methods of defense against lurking dangers during the journey.⁴⁵ Regarding their substance, therefore, it can be stated that the instructions outlined the ideal vision of the contemporary education of a young member of the nobility.⁴⁶ Aside from the general points, the fathers also provided their sons with personal advice. Ádám Batthyány, for instance, advised his sons, Kristóf and Pál, to eat a lot of lamb, veal, and poultry.⁴⁷ Miklós Esterházy, who practically inundated his sons with instructions, warned his son Istók to be modest, not to lie, and not to spread gossip. In addition, he scheduled his son's daily routine to the hour.⁴⁸ However, the young and inexperienced travelers often faced unusual dangers in the big cities of Europe that not even the careful fathers could avoid mentioning in their instructions. Before his son started his travel to Italy, György Széchenyi warned him to beware of "women and girls and their indecent conversations." The worrisome father feared that, "you think with your young mind that these persons are all good, but later, with time you will be sorry and cry if you do not heed my instructions, my gentle warnings, and the advice of those older than you."⁴⁹ The representatives of the gentler sex did indeed represent a realistic danger to young travelers of a careless nature. The case of Kristóf Batthyány is well known, who during his stay in Graz got involved in a "scandalous adventure" with one Miss Stumberger.⁵⁰

After months of careful preparation, Miklós Pálffy was able to set out on his journey in September, 1642. As his uncle had done before him, he made the first stop of his journey in Ingolstadt in Bavaria. In the surviving letters he reported that his teachers made him study

regularly, and what is more, on one occasion “in the college of doctor Lessig,” he had to memorize “very difficult material.”⁵¹

The question inevitably arises in connection with this as to how much the young noblemen were actually able to devote themselves to the study of the sciences. The notes in the student registries of the universities give the impression that they were indeed pursuing quite serious study. But if one reads the surviving letters or travel diaries thoroughly and attentively, in many cases the young noblemen and their entourages at times did little more than have their names recorded in the student registries before setting out for their next destination. This is why careful consideration had to be given to the question of which institutions a young nobleman would actually study during his tour, who his teachers would be, and how much time he would spend studying. Given the actual nature of *Kavalierstour*, the main goal, substance, and meaning of the travels abroad of a young member of the nobility were neither to study at a university nor to get an academic degree. The contemporary expectations for the young noblemen were to be *cavaliersmässig*, that is, to master the appropriate knowledge of a *Kavalier*. In other words they were not expected to fill their heads with “philosophical futilities,” nor were they expected to clutter their minds with knowledge “that they would not need at all.”⁵²

The young nobles could acquire the really “useful” and, according to the views of contemporaries, “necessary” knowledge and skills at the so-called *Ritter-Akademie*, or “Knights Academies,” which were established to offer a particular education to the members of privileged social layers.⁵³ In these institutions considerable emphasis was put on cultivating practical basic knowledge, such as knowledge of the law, arithmetic, history, and geography, and acquiring all the knowledge that a nobleman would need upon return to his home country in order to be able to organize and control his lands and properties, or to advance in his chosen career in the state bureaucracy, the military, or diplomacy. Alongside the acquisition of knowledge of various sciences, the development of physical capabilities enjoyed

similar importance as well: fencing, riding, music and dance were all part of the young nobleman's curriculum.⁵⁴

While in other countries of Europe it was an accepted practice for noble families to send their sons to a *Ritter-Akademie*, there are few such examples from Hungary during this period, obviously on account of the high cost of education outside of Hungary. Country Judge Ferenc Nádasdy paid 267 livres a month for his son's education at the Paris *Ritter-Akademie*.⁵⁵ Zsigmond Széchenyi attended such an institution in Florence, and Kristóf Batthyány also had to practice "knight exercises" in his seven-month long journey through Europe.

Following the chronological order, however, we know that Miklós Pálffy was the first member of a noble family in Hungary to attend a *Ritter-Akademie*. The family council made this decision in the summer of 1644. In the course of planning, Pál Pálffy consulted his influential brother-in-law, Maximilian von Trauttmansdorff, the president of the Secret Council. "Being together with his Excellency Trauttmansdorff yesterday, I spoke with him about sending my younger brother, Miklós Pálffy, onward from Ingolstadt, and he said that he would judge it wise to send him to Italy, about which, if you deem it so, I would be notified in time."⁵⁶ At the end of the study period at Ingolstadt, Miklós Pálffy, who until then had been an exemplary student, began to cause trouble. It is worth noting that his uncle, not his father, warned him: "I have written a letter to my younger brother, Miklós Pálffy, to the effect that he should put a little bit more effort into studying and discipline, because otherwise he will not do well."⁵⁷

Naturally, it is possible that the court master is in part to be blamed for the behavior of the son, since, as Pál Pálffy noted, "my good younger brother heeds his word and is obedient to him, so we should acquire another court master."⁵⁸ After completing his studies at Ingolstadt, he ordered his nephew to Vienna once more, and the preparations for an Italian tour were started in earnest. According to the letters, the first stop in the journey was Naples in 1645, and then the company went onward to Rome, where Miklós Pálffy began his riding lessons.⁵⁹

Tamás Pálffy, Miklós's elder cousin and a former student of theology at *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*, also stayed in the Eternal City at the same time. It is not altogether clear when he began his studies in Rome, but his first letter from Rome is dated April, 1643.⁶⁰ The foreign travels of the two Pálffy sons put a serious strain on the family's budget. In all likelihood, precisely for this reason, Tamás Pálffy, with wise foresight, sent a letter to István Pálffy a year before the latter's ordination in which he asked for the necessary funds. "The president and the professors of the College deemed it proper that in the last year of my studies I should devote all my time to theology, and that way the prestige, reputation, and honor of the Pálffy family in this country would spread. Also, thanks to the great support of your Excellency, my future advancement and reputation would be stronger in Rome. That is the reason why I had to write to your Excellency and ask you, and I make this request in all humility, not to withdraw your support in this last phase of need from your unworthy assistant minister, but to send me money for my needs so that I can decently finish my studies thanks to your Excellency's generous care."⁶¹

Around the spring of 1645, the letters from the Pálffy sons asking for money started to multiply. Tamás "asked money for the first singing mass" and Miklós's "knight exercises" consumed ever larger sums of money.⁶² Pál Pálffy asked his nephew, together with his entourage, "to spare and spend money with restraint," but he added in a resigned way that "they would not go very far on it." Out of the 500 gold coins that István Pálffy had sent, Pál Pálffy "sent 300 to Ingolstadt by way of bill of exchange in order to pay off debt. Furthermore, I also had to pay 100 *Tallérs* here to cover a debt at the butcher's so that he can keep working. ... So, there are 200 left out of the 500 gold coins, and your Excellency has also sent me another 200, so altogether I have 400. Having spent a bit of this here and there, having also used it to pay my younger brother and the coachman, as it will be seen from the accounts that I am writing here and sending to your Excellency, 374 gold coins have been taken away."⁶³

The situation became so intense in June that Pál Pálffy lost his patience and on June 20th, he sent three sharp-toned letters to his brother. In the last of these he clearly held out the prospect that he would not take care of his nephew in the future unless István had 200 pounds of grain sent to Pozsony. His idea was that the sale of this amount of grain would cover the further costs of the Italian study tour. "You could see from those letters that I have included in my previous letter to your Excellency that you should only take care of him and call him back, since I have no further means of taking care of him and I do not want to hurt myself, and what is more my dear Brother, you do not even answer my letters."⁶⁴

In this connection the question arises as to how much it really cost to finance the foreign study travel of a Hungarian nobleman. It is not easy to give a precise answer, since the available sources contain few complete records of the accounts of a *Kavalierstour*, not only with regards to the Hungarian Kingdom, but in the rest of Europe. But even if all the account books were at hand, bills and bills of exchange, the computing of contemporary currencies into values that would be meaningful today would itself constitute a serious challenge, even for an economic historian.⁶⁵ In the case of the Pálffy family, the question is further complicated by the fact that very few accounts survived, and it is difficult to reach anything more than tentative conclusions on the basis of the sporadic hints in the correspondence of the family members.

It is quite certain, however, that with the passing of time and the growth of the political significance of the family, the *Kavalierstours* of the Pálffy sons extended to more and more countries, and therefore became increasingly expensive. While in the letters written during the study tour of Miklós Pálffy there are references to amounts of 100, the letters written by members of subsequent generations make mention of considerably larger sums. "I am sending to your Excellency the accounts for the first month, the other two will be sent to your Excellency before we move on. From this your Excellency can see that of the 1,850 gold coins that we were given in Vienna, I had 700 sent from Amsterdam to London in the form of a bill of

exchange. Schempeni claims that he still has 1,000 gold coins. In order to be able to buy everything that your Excellency wishes, I ask your Excellency humbly to send another bill of exchange."⁶⁶

It is certain, in any given case, that the imperial families and the English and French noble families spent a much larger amount of money on *Kavalierstours* than the richest Hungarian aristocrats. For example, the thirty-one-month study travel of the Earl of Salisbury of England cost 426,000 gold coins a month.⁶⁷ In addition to the acquisition of theoretical and practical knowledge, one of the most important goals of *Kavalierstours* was to make the young noblemen learn about and get comfortable with court etiquette and *conversation*. In the modern age, this latter notion meant not only a light and elegant manner of conversation, but also the way in which one maintained contacts with members of the most distinguished social circles.⁶⁸ A young noble traveler had to prepare for this task as well, for he could gain access to the secular courts and ecclesiastical courts only by way of a letter of recommendation. The Hungarian families of the highest nobility used their connections in Vienna to have their sons gain access to the courts of European monarchs and other notabilities. In the case of the Pálffys, this did not really constitute a problem, since thanks to the marriage policy of the family they became relatives of several members of the aristocracy of the Vienna court. For example, in addition to the abovementioned Fuggers and Trauttmansdorffs, they were relatives of the Dietrichsteins, the Puchheimoks, and the Harrachs.

In the case of the *Kavalierstour* of Miklós Pálffy, we have only scattered fragments of information concerning the distinguished courts he visited. Thanks to the surviving sources, the European study tour of his son, Ferenc Pálffy (?-1687), offers several interesting examples of court *conversation*. It is important to emphasize that given the circumstances that prevailed in Hungary Ferenc's tour, which took him to many countries, was something of an exception. Only the really wealthy could afford a *Grand Tour*. The aforementioned István Nádasdy traveled through Germany, the

Netherlands, and France, but he had to bring his journey to an end in the summer of 1670 on account of well-known tragic circumstances.⁶⁹

Ferenc Pálffy began his studies in Graz in 1670. One of the surviving letters indicates that in Graz he also had “knight exercises” under the tutelage of a certain professor Gronsfelt.⁷⁰ He set out on his *Grand Tour* a year later, together with his entourage, of whose members only the name of court master Philipp Ernst von Baer has survived in the available sources. The team arrived in Nuremberg on July 1st, 1677, from where their path led them to Wurzburg. Here he spent two months in the court of Peter Philipp von Dernbach (1619–1683), prince-bishop of Bamberg and Wurzburg principalities. As the letters reveal, social life was very active in the Wurzburg court, so the young Pálffy had the opportunity to get to know several influential people. It was at this time that Johann Freiherr von Goes (1611–1696), bishop of Gurk, visited Marienburg in order to settle his long-time feud with the local chapter. Ferenc Pálffy was witness to the ceremonious entry. “The prince-bishop greeted him in front of the city, and three greeting canon shots were fired from the fortress.” The next day the prince-bishop had a coach sent for the young Pálffy so that the latter would be able to take part in the reception, and he was also invited to the ceremonial lunch.⁷¹

The court of the prince-bishop did not, however, meet the expectations of the aristocrat *Kavalier*, who also had to pay respect to moral norms. Dernbach was called “Jolly Peter” by many, since it was well known that from time to time he had his wine cellars opened and he invited his subjects to a free spree. At the festivities taking place in his court, wine was freely flowing, and this is why the prudent court master von Baer did not allow his protégé to have his accommodations booked in the court residency. So Ferenc Pálffy and his entourage took up lodging at an inn in the city, in spite of the fact that this was not at all to the liking of the father.⁷² At the end of August, the travelers reached Nijmegen in the Netherlands, where preparations were underway for the peace negotiations for the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1679). The various envoys from all over Europe took their turns; one audience was followed by the

next. Thanks to the personal influence of the bishop of Gurk, Ferenc Pálffy participated in some of these talks. "The receptions started yesterday, and very early morning it was the Spanish envoy's turn. In the afternoon, he was visited by our prince to greet him. This morning the Papal Nuncio held an audience for the English envoy, and in the afternoon the envoys from France, Denmark, and Brandenburg are coming. Tomorrow the bishop of Gurk is repaying our visit. Master Ferenc and the other *Kavaliers* have to stay at the court all day," stated court master von Baer to Miklós Pálffy in his report.⁷³

During his stay in Nijmegen, Ferenc managed to acquire the important travel documents that were indispensable in order to be able to go to England by ship. His letter of recommendation was written by Johann Freiherr von Goes, who also expressed his hope that the young earl would "enhance his knowledge" so much that it would make his parents happy.⁷⁴ Thanks to the English envoy, Jenkins, Ferenc got possession of a *passbrief*, a document similar to today's passport.⁷⁵ At the end of September, Ferenc Pálffy and his entourage arrived in Amsterdam, where they spent two days. Then they proceeded to the Hague, and then they sailed to England from Rotterdam in early October.⁷⁶ The voyage was rather vicissitudinous, since "through four days and nights we were on the sea and, because of the strong headwind, we all became sick."⁷⁷ It is a great pity that only two letters from the English tour survived. They reveal that Ferenc Pálffy would have liked to have been given an audience in the court of "Prince Robert," but his efforts were unsuccessful because the prince was staying in the company of the king, who at the time was in the countryside. The Hungarian travelers were witness to the Great Fire of London in 1666, but fortunately they were not injured.⁷⁸

Ferenc Pálffy appeared again in the spring of 1678, when he began his Italian tour. After seeing the places of interest in Modena, he met the young "Pöttingen" nobles, who had enrolled at the local *Ritter-Akademie*. Court master von Baer noted that the requirements for the young noblemen were nowhere near as strict as was trumpeted in the Empire.⁷⁹ It is no coincidence that he was interested in the

quality of the institutions in Parma, since at the time János Pálffy (1663–1751), the youngest son of Miklós Pálffy, was studying there. The later palatine and confidant of Maria Theresa did not, however, share the opinion of von Baer. In one of his letters to his father, he complained that “studying is so difficult for me that I did not want to do it, because I am always beaten up. I beg your Excellency not to leave me here longer than the start of the vacation, which begins in August.”⁸⁰

Ferenc Pálffy went from Parma to Florence, where he left for Rome on May 7th. Like his father had done some 30 years earlier, he also had “knight exercises” at the famous local *Ritter-Akademie*. In addition, he also learned languages, mastered the court dances, and extended his knowledge of Roman law.⁸¹ It is clear, however, that the young Pálffy had no aversion to entertainment. At the end of June, in the company of noblemen Saurau and Herberstein, he traveled to Frascati, where he marveled at the magnificent castles of Italian families. On St. Peter’s Day and St. Paul’s Day he witnessed several fireworks displays as well. The first one he saw at Angel Castle, together with earl Nostitz. Then he accompanied earl Montecuccoli and on the Piazza di Spagna he delighted in the spectacle. As the high point of the day, there were fireworks on Saint Peter’s square, which even the Pope honored with his presence.⁸²

In the end, one should offer some words of clarification concerning why the young noblemen took part in often exhausting and dangerous foreign journeys in order to acquire “knightly manners.” What correlation was there between travels, which were financially extraordinarily demanding for the family, and the future careers of the young noblemen? At first glance it seems that a *Kavalierstour* was an important precondition of a career. The Pálffy sons, after finishing their tours, all went on to have prominent careers in politics. Pál Pálffy, the attentive uncle, held many posts, including that of president of the Hungarian treasury (1625–1646). He was also appointed Country Judge (1646–1649) and at the height of his career he became a member of the secret council (1646–1653). He was elected palatine of Hungary (1649–1653). His younger cousin,

Miklós Pálffy IV, became a keeper of the crown. He was also appointed member of the Hungarian crown council, and held the post of head chamberlain. His son, Ferenc Pálffy, was the chamberlain of Leopold I, and then served in János Károly Pálffy IV's (son of Pál Pálffy) armored cavalry, where he attained the rank of colonel and then that of general. Only his death at a young age prevented him from reaching higher posts. The "poor relative," Tamás Pálffy, became bishop of Csanád, and later was appointed dean of the Esztergom diocese and chief of Pozsony diocese. He later was given the bishoprics of Vác and Nyitra. In 1669 he was appointed to lead the Hungarian chancellery.

These sketches of these careers of prominent children of noble families may tempt one to arrive at the false conclusion that a *Kavalierstour* was an important prerequisite for a nobleman to have a successful political, ecclesiastical, or military career in later life. The secondary literature, however, points out rightly that one has to differentiate between noblemen who were preparing for an ecclesiastical career and those who were interested in a secular career.⁸³ In Hungary, as was the case in the other countries of Europe, those who wished to achieve a high post in the church hierarchy were required to possess thorough theological knowledge. As far as the secular elite is concerned, the picture is much more complex. One must draw a distinction between cases in which the first successful member of a family had climbed from the bureaucracy-intellectual layer to the circle of magnates on the one hand and, on the other, cases in which the young nobleman's family had already been part of the leading elite. There are ample examples in Hungary of cases in which a member of the gentry, thanks to his knowledge and education, made a career as a servant to a powerful magnate.⁸⁴ However, in these cases pure knowledge was not enough to climb the rungs of the social ladder; one also had to have "useful connections," or, by means of an advantageous marriage, to have strengthened one's position in the higher stratum of society. The sons of the next generations happened to inherit their fathers' hereditary titles and functions, even if they had not taken part in a *Kavalierstour*. The

above-mentioned Kristóf Batthyány was appointed chamberlain during his studies at Graz. It is no wonder, then, that after such a promotion he considered the months at the school little more than "recreation."⁸⁵

In spite of this, it is a fact that the high interest shown by members of the nobility in the acquisition of knowledge and education was also influenced by the fact that the requirements for state officials had changed over the course of the early modern era. In the wake of the modernization of the official apparatus, more and more emphasis was given to skills in the central offices, which explains why the officials came from the educated layers of the urban nobility and the gentry.⁸⁶ However, comparative studies have also clearly demonstrated that noblemen who had not had a thorough education were also capable of meeting the tasks demanded by their offices.⁸⁷ As a consequence, the significance of the study travels through Europe should not be examined exclusively or even primarily from the perspective of the connections between education of a nobleman and his later career.⁸⁸

The *Kavalierstour*, after all, was a contemporary cultural phenomenon. Consequently, it is much more practical to investigate the expectations that prompted a family at the time to send its sons on a European study tour.⁸⁹ One must consider the careful preparations that were made, the ways in which family members cooperated, the contributions made by relatives and influential "family friends," the preparation by the father of various instructions, the planning of the journey, the ways in which contacts were made with the distinguished foreign courts. Such study can bring to light important elements of the history of culture and education.

Moreover, the young noblemen, who wished to travel to foreign countries in any way possible, returned home with ample new knowledge and experience, of which they made good use, either in their patronage activities or in the development of their own estates and residences. In the same fashion, as today, these travels afforded people an opportunity simply to expand their horizons. In foreign countries one had to learn other languages and acquaint oneself with unfamiliar customs and traditions. Thus the *Kavalierstours* had a sort

of cultivating effect that should not be left out of consideration, since the main goal and point of the court conversation was for young members of the nobility to learn the rules of court etiquette and social conduct. It is a fact that oftentimes there are no clear connections between the foreign study tours and the later career of the noblemen. On the other hand, the time spent in foreign countries and courts added considerably to their personal prestige, because these travels were always mentioned in important documents. Furthermore, *kavalierstours* could also bring a kind of posthumous glory, since the authors of eulogies and obituaries also elaborated in great detail on the various places where a nobleman had traveled, where he had studied, and the fields in which he had acquired expertise.⁹⁰

Notes

- 1 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, May 7th, 1645, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abt. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Familienarchiv Pálffy (Pálffy Family Archives, House, Court, and State Archives of the Austrian State Archives, hereafter cited as ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA), A. I., L. IV, F. 5, Nr. 291, Karton Nr. 9. In Pál Jedlieska, *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához 1401–1653, a gróf Pálffyak életrajzi adatai* [Original Details of the Documents of Earl Family Pálffy 1401–1653, The Biographical Data of the Earl Pálffys] (Budapest 1910), Letter no. 810, p. 401. (Hereafter cited as: *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához...*). The Hungarian letter fragments hereafter will be quoted in a modernized version according to the transcript by Pál Jedlieska. Abbreviations will be in all cases written out in full.
- 2 I consulted the following works on the subject: Eva-Marie Loebenstein, *Der adelige Kavalierstour im 17. Jahrhundert. Ihre Voraussetzungen und Ziele*. Dissertationarbeit (Vienna, 1966); Gernot Heiss, “Bildungsverhalten des niederösterreichischen Adels im gesellschaftlichen Wandel: zum Bildungsgang im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in Grete Klingenstein, Heinrich Lutz, eds., *Spezialforschung und “Gesamtgeschichte”. Beispiele und Methodenfragen zur Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit*. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1981 (Hereafter cited as: “Bildungsverhalten des niederösterreichischen Adels im gesellschaftlichen Wandel”); Norbert Conrads, *Ritterakademien der Frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982); Stannek, Antje. *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, New York, Campus Verlag, 2001); Leibetseder, Mathis. *Die Kavalierstour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 2004);

- Rainer Babel, Werner Paravicini, eds., *Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2005).
- Gudrun Gersmann, Hans-Werner Langbrandtner, eds., *Adelige Lebenswelten im Rheinland. Kommentierte Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
- 3 Vilmos Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázatás története* [The History of Domestic and Foreign Schooling] (Budapest, F. Eggenberger, 1873); Árpád Hellebrandt, "Az Olmüczben tanult magyarok 1590–1664" [Hungarians Educated in Olomouc 1590–1664], in *Történelmi tár* [Historical Almanach] (Budapest, 1888); Endre Veress, *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)* [The Student Registries and Writings of Hungarian Students at the University of Padua (1264–1864)] (Budapest, 1915); idem., *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai (1221–1864)* [The Student Registries and Writings of Hungarian Students at Italian Universities (1221–1864)] (Budapest, 1941).
 - 4 Attila Zsoldos, *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701* (Budapest, Eötvös Lóránt Tudományegyetem, 1990) (Hereafter cited as *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis*); László Szögi, "Az olmützi egyetemen tanult magyarországi, erdélyi és horvátországi születésű hallgatók 1576–1850" [Students Born in Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia and Educated at the University of Olomouc 1576–1850], in Péter E. Kovács, János Kalmár, and László V. Molnár, eds., *Unger Máttyás Emlékkönyv. Emlékkönyv Unger Máttyás negyedszázados egyetemi történeztanári működése emlékére, és születésének hetvenedik évfordulója alkalmából* [Máttyás Unger Commemorative Volume. Commemorative Volume Published in Honor of Máttyás Unger's Quarter-Century as a Professor of History, On the Occasion of His 70th Birthday] (Budapest, Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Eger, Archives of Heves County, 1991); István Bitskey, *Hungariából Rómába. A római Collegium Hungaricum és a magyarországi barokk művelődés* [From Hungary to Rome. The Roman Collegium Hungaricum and the Baroque Education in Hungary] (Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996); Júlia Varga, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom kisebb egyetemén és akadémiáin. 1560–1789* [Hungarian Students at the Smaller Universities and Academies of the Habsburg Empire] (Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2004); István Bitskey, "Studenten aus den Ländern der Stephanskronen eine katholischen Universität des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation im 17. Jahrhundert," in Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz, Anton Schindling, eds., *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006).
 - 5 Vilmos Fraknói, *Rewai Ferencz nádori helytartó fiának hazai és külföldi iskolázatása. 1538–1555* [The Domestic and Foreign Schooling of the Son of Palatine Governor Ferencz Rewai] (Budapest, 1873); Péter Ötvös, *Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja 1699–1700* [The Italian Tour of Zsigmond

Széchenyi 1699–1700] in *Peregrinatio Hungarorum* (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1988), vol. 1 (Hereafter cited as: *Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja*); László N. Szelestei, *Batthyány Kristóf európai utazása (1657–1658)* [The European Travels of Kristóf Batthyány 1657–1658], in *Peregrinatio Hungarorum*, vol. 2; László Szálasi, “Vitéz vagy ájtatos?” I. Batthyány Ádám s “némely fontos kicsiség” [“Valiant or Pious?” Ádám Batthyány I. and “Some Important Trifles”], in *Peregrinatio Hungarorum*, vol. 3; István Fazekas, “Batthyány I. Ádám és gyermekei (Ádám Batthyány I. and his Children), in Katalin Péter, *Gyermek a kora újkori Magyarországon. “Adott Isten hozzánk való szeretetéből egy fraucimmerecskét nekünk”* [Children in Hungary in the Early Modern Age. “God Gave Us a Little Girl out of His Love] (Budapest, Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1996), pp. 91–114 (Hereafter cited as “Batthyány Ádám I.”); Katalin Toma, “Nádasdy István európai tanulmányútja. A Kavalierstour alkalmazása a magyar főúri nevelési gyakorlatban” [The European Study Tour of István Nádasdy. The Role of the *Kavalierstour* in the Education of Hungarian Aristocracies], in Nóra G. Etényi, Ildikó Horn, *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században* [Palaces in Time... Hungarian Court Culture in the 16th and 17th Centuries] (Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2005), pp. 192–214; Borbála Bendő, Balázs Dicső-Erdődi, “Erdődy György peregrinációja (1631–1635)” [The Pilgrimage of György Erdődy 1631–1635], in *Századok* [Centuries] (2009) 4: 919–945.

- 6 It is by all means noteworthy to mention the collection of essays from the conference based on the *Cestopisy v ranom novoveku* [Travel Books in the Early Modern Age], Eva Frimmová, Elisabeth Klecker. *Itineraria Posoniensia*. Bratislava: Academic Press, 2005.
- 7 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 22. From the many examples that I came across in German sources, I would like to justify the use of the word “Kavalier” with a typical quote from a letter from court master Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy: “Ihre gnaden herr graff Franz und alle andere cavalier miessen den ganze tag bey hoff vorbleiben [...]” Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abt. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Familienarchiv Pálffy, Karton Nr. 14, A. I., L. VI, F. III., Fr. 95.
- 8 Leibetseder, op.cit. p. 19.
- 9 Toma, op. cit. p. 193.
- 10 Leibetseder, op.cit. p. 38.
- 11 Pál Jedlicska, *Adatok erdődi báró Pálffy Miklós a győri hősnék életrajza és korához* [Data on the Life and Times of Earl Miklós Pálffy, the Hero of Győr] (Eger 1897), p. 5; Géza Pálffy, “A Pálffy család felemelkedése a 16. században” [The Rise of the Pálffy Family in the 16th Century], in Anna Fundárková and Géza Pálffy, *Pálfióvci v novoveku. Vzostup významného uhorského šľachtického rodu* (Bratislava, Budapest: Academic Press, 2003), p. 31; Géza Pálffy, “Pozsony megyéből a Magyar Királyság élére. Karrierlehetőségek a magyar arisztokráciában a 16.-17. század fordulóján (Az Esterházy, a Pálffy és az Illésházy család felemelkedése)” [From Pozsony County to the Top of

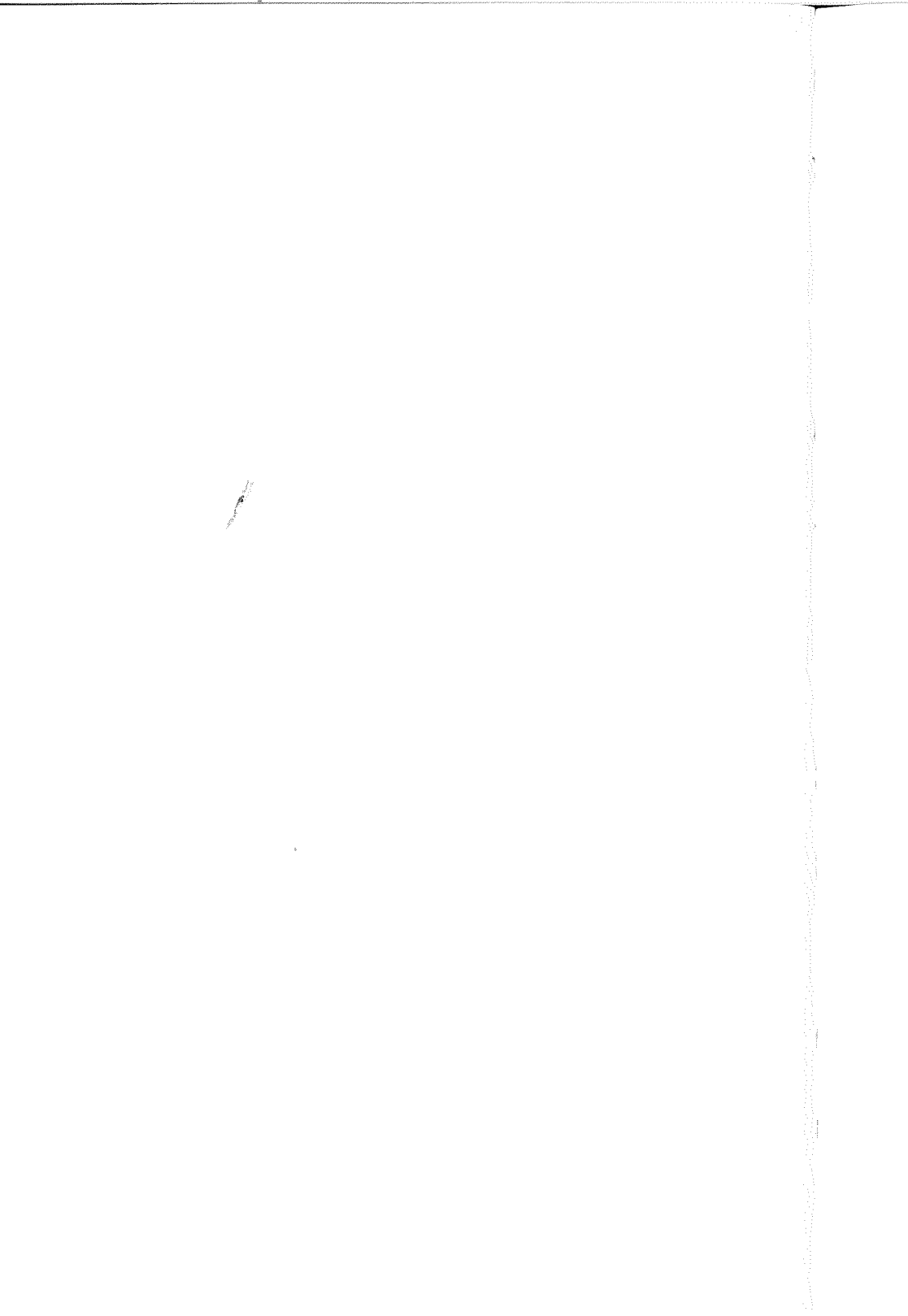
the Hungarian Kingdom. Career Possibilities for the Hungarian Aristocracy at the Turn of the 16th and 17th Centuries (The Rise of the Esterházy, Pálffy, and Illésházy Families), in *Századok* [Centuries] (2009) 4: 860.

- 12 Leibetseder, op. cit. pp. 25–39.
- 13 *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához...*, pp. 6–15; Slovenský národný archív, Ústredný Pálffyovský archív [Slovak National Archives, Pálffy Family Archives], A. VIII, L. I, F. 1, Nr. 1.
- 14 *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához...*, p. 10; Slovenský národný archív, Ústredný Pálffyovský archív, A. VIII, L. I, F. 1, Nr. 1.
- 15 *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához...*, p. 14; Slovenský národný archív, Ústredný Pálffyovský archív, A. VIII, L. I, F. 1, Nr. 1.
- 16 János Szekeres to Mária Fugger, Vienna, February 3rd, 1603, ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. I, Karton Nr. 8, Fr. 47.
- 17 *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához...*, p. 12; Slovenský národný archív, Ústredný Pálffyovský archív, A. VIII, L. I, F. 1, Nr. 1.
- 18 Veress, Endre. *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai (1221–1864)*. Budapest 194, p. 315.
- 19 Bitskey, István. "Studenten aus den Ländern der Stephanskronen an katholischen Universitäten des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation im 17. Jahrhundert." p. 131.
- 20 Laetitia Boehm, Johannes Spörl, eds. *Die Ludwig Maximilians Universität in ihren Fakultäten*. Quellenausgabe, Vol. I (Berlin, 1972), p. 308.
- 21 Szögi, op. cit. p. 193.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 199–207.
- 23 Veress, Endre. *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)*. p. 339.
- 24 Jedlicska, Pál. *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához 1401–1653, a gróf Pálffyak életrajzi adatai*. Budapest 1910, p. 502.
- 25 Zsoldos, Attila. *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis* p. 29.
- 26 Miklós Pálffy to István Pálffy, Nagyszombat, 1634. Dec. 16. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. VII. Fr. 29, Karton Nr. 9; Jedlicska. *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához 1401–1653, a gróf Pálffyak életrajzi adatai*. p. 137.
- 27 Miklós Pálffy to István Pálffy, Nagyszombat, 1636. szept. 8. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. VII. Fr. 36, Karton Nr. 9; Jedlicska, *ibid.*, p. 166.
- 28 Tamás Pálffy to István Pálffy, Nagyszombat, 1641. June 10. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. VII. Fr. 60., Karton Nr. 9; Jedlicska, *ibid.*, p. 296.
- 29 Leibetseder, Op. cit. 48.
- 30 Toma, op. cit. p. 200.
- 31 Stannek, Antje. *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2001), p. 400.
- 32 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1641. November 13. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. V, Nr. 173, Karton Nr. 9; Jedlicska, *ibid.*, p. 321.

- 33 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1642. January 26. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. V, Nr. 173, Karton Nr. 9; Jedlicska, *ibid.*, p. 332.
- 34 Leibetseder, *op. cit.* p. 84.
- 35 Like Pál Pálffy, Country Judge Ferenc Nádasdy, for example, took great care in selecting for his son a court master fluent in several languages. His first candidate, Johann Littard, spoke French, among other languages, and his successor, Johannes Marcellus, was well versed in the field of arts and sciences. Toma, *op. cit.* pp. 200–201.
- 36 Antje Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder: Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2001) p. 182.
- 37 Toma, *op. cit.* p. 196. Country Judge Ferenc Nádasdy made a contract with the Pestalozzi brothers.
- 38 Leibetseder, *op. cit.* p. 65.
- 39 Tamás Pálffy to István Pálffy, Rome, 1645. March 17. ÖStA, HHSTA, FA Pálffy, A. I., L. IV, F. VII, Fr. 93, Karton Nr. 9 alebo Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához 1401-1653, a gróf Pálffyak életrajzi adatai.* p. 398.
- 40 Leibetseder, *op. cit.* p. 401.
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- 45 Toma, *op. cit.* p. 197.
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- 47 Fazekas, “Batthyány Ádám I.,” p. 101.
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- 49 Ötvös, *Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja*, p. 13.
- 50 Fazekas, “Batthyány Ádám I.,” p. 101.
- 51 Miklós Pálffy to István Pálffy, Ingolstadt, 1644. April 10. ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. IV, F. VII, Fr. 78; Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához*, p. 382.

- 52 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 105.
- 53 The first such institutions were established in Naples in 1532, and following this example several *Ritter-Akademien* were opened. During the 17th century such institutions were established both in the German Principalities and France.
- 54 Toma, op. cit. p. 193.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 56 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1644. August 26. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 269; Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy család okmánytárához 1401-1653, a gróf Pálffyak életrajzi adatai*. p. 387.
- 57 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Stomfa, 1644. July 30. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 268; Jedlicska, *ibid.*, p. 387.
- 58 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1644. August 26. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 269; Jedlicska, Pál. *ibid.*, p. 387.
- 59 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1645. February 17. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 279.
- 60 Tamás Pálffy to István Pálffy, Rome, 1643. April 5. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. VII. Fr. 73, Jedlicska *ibid.*, p. 368.
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- 63 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1645. May 7. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 291., Jedlicska *ibid.*, p. 401.
- 64 Pál Pálffy to István Pálffy, Vienna, 1645. June 20. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. IV, F. V. Nr. 299., Jedlicska *ibid.*, p. 405.
- 65 Stannek, op. cit. p. 188.
- 66 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, Vienna, June 20, 1645, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 84.
- 67 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 63.
- 68 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 39.
- 69 Toma, op. cit. p. 194.
- 70 Ferenc Pálffy to Miklós Pálffy, Graz, July 2, 1676. ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. II., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 54.
- 71 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, Wurzburg, July 14, 1677, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 86.
- 72 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, Nijmegen, July 20, 1677, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 91.
- 73 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, Nijmegen, September 7, 1677, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 91.
- 74 Johann Freiherr von Goes to Miklós Pálffy, Nijmegen, August 20, 1677, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 94.
- 75 Ferenc Pálffy to Miklós Pálffy, Nijmegen, September 17, 1677, ÖStA, HHStA, PFA, A. I, L. VI, F. II., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 68.

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- 77 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, London, October 8, 1677, ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 100.
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- 79 Philipp Ernst von Baer to Miklós Pálffy, Parma, April 21, 1677, ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. VI, F. III., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 104.
- 80 János Pálffy to Miklós Pálffy, Parma, May 5, 1679, ÖStA, HHSTA, PFA, A. I., L. VI, F. II., Karton Nr. 14, Fr. 89.
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- 83 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 411.
- 84 Further proof is examples such as the Kubinyis, the Révays, or the Czobors. Géza Pálffy, "Különleges úton a Magyar Királyság arisztokráciájába: a Révay család a 16. században" [An Unusual Path into the Hungarian Aristocracy: The Révay Family in the 16th Century], in *Történelmi Tár* [Historical Repository] (2009) 1: pp. 1., 20.
- 85 Fazekas, "Batthyány Ádám I.," p. 101.
- 86 Hiess, "Bildungsverhalten des niederösterreichischen Adels im gesellschaftlichen Wandel." pp. 140-141.
- 87 Katrin Keller, "Von der Nützlichkeit des Reisens," in Rainer Babel, Werner Paravicini, eds., *Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005
- 88 Leibetseder, op. cit. p. 180-195, Toma, op. cit. p. 194.
- 89 Toma, op. cit. p. 194.
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IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE**

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