

A FRANEKERBEN ELHUNYT MAGYARORSZÁGI ÉS ERDÉLYI HALLGATÓK TELJES JEGYZÉKE

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

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ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

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

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

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two 17th century gravestones

I.

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

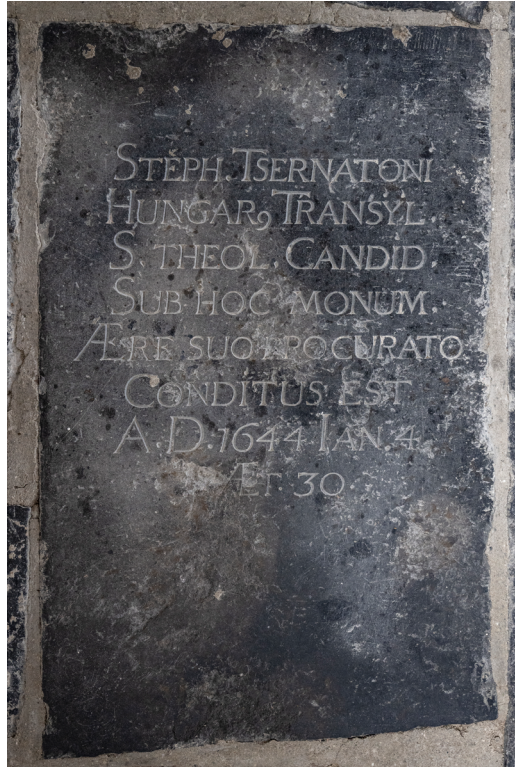
The oldest gravestone is located in the middle of the south aisle, to the right of the south entrance of the church, close to the church wall, and once marked the grave of Stephanus Tsernatoni [István Csernátóni]. He was a Hungarian student of Transylvanian origin who began his studies in 1639 at the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

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

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

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

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



The gravestone of Stephanus Tsernaton[i] [István Csernátóni], 1644.⁷

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

Steph[anus] Tsernaton[i]
Hungarus Transyl[vanus]
S[acrae] Theol[ogiae] Candid[atus]
sub hoc monum[ento]
aere suo procurato
conditus est
A[nno] D[omini] 1644. Jan[uarii] 4.
Aet[at]is] 30.

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

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

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

II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

stone (“est comparatum”).

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

The 18th century gravestone with three names on it

III.

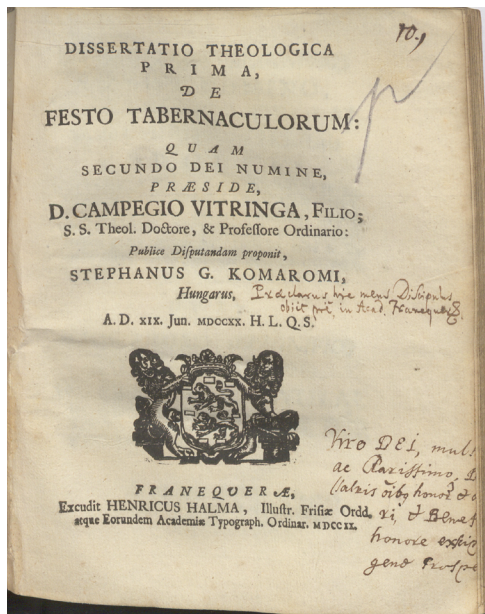
1721 – *Stephanus G. Comaromi // István Gellért Komáromi*⁹

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

1770 – Daniel Zilahi // Dániel Zilahi¹¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

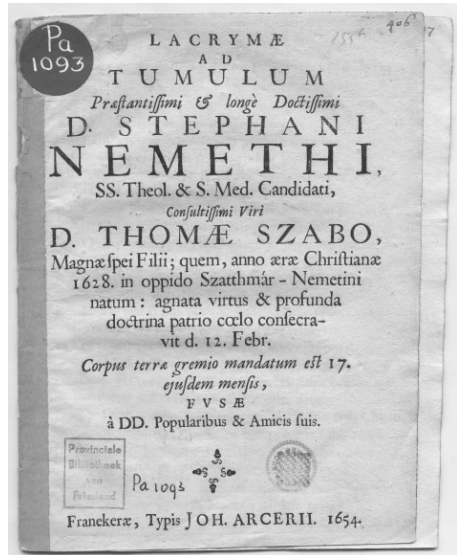
Church to the Martinikerk, or perhaps even earlier, already in the University Church itself.

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

IV.

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

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



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

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

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

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

V.

1666 ? – Georgius Balkányi // György Balkányi¹³

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

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

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

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

VI.

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

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

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

VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII.

1779 – Samuel Vilmányi // Sámuel Vilmányi¹⁶

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

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

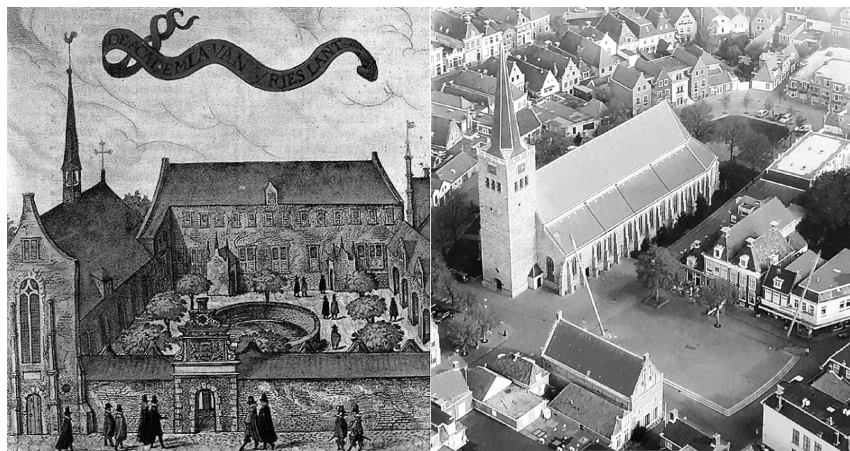
¹⁶ HÖRCSIK, 288. – TAR, Attila: *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1694–1789.* // Ungarländische Studenten an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1694–1789. *Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárá-*

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

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

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

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



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

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

*Epilogue*¹⁷

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

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

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