

Books of the Galley-Slave Preachers in Debrecen¹

As part of the “restoration of order” following the suppression of the anti-Habsburg Wesselényi Conspiracy (1666–1671), Protestant ministers and teachers active within the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary were summoned to appear before the court in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) on 5 March 1674. More than three hundred intellectuals were brought to trial on fabricated charges (incitement, murder, treason, and blasphemy), of whom one hundred and twenty were sentenced to death and confiscation of property. After a year of imprisonment, the seventy most steadfast prisoners were dispatched to Naples, where in May 1675 thirty of them were chained to the oar benches of the galleys of the Spanish Habsburgs. Through the coordinated efforts of Protestant powers, and with the assistance of the Dutch admiral Michiel de Ruyter, the twenty-six surviving galley slaves were liberated on 11 February 1676, and by May the remaining imprisoned individuals also regained their freedom. From the spring of 1676, they embarked on a diplomatic tour of Western Europe in order to draw attention to the persecution of Protestants in Hungary. By the autumn of 1678, the last of the prisoners had returned home, in most cases resuming their ministry within the same congregations from which they had departed four years earlier.² Commemorating the 350th anniversary of their liberation, we present volumes once owned by Reformed intellectuals who endured galley servitude or imprisonment, drawn from the Great Library of the Debrecen Reformed College.

The Book of Balázs Köpeczi Haller on the Pastoral Ministry

The treatise *De pastore evangelico tractatus* by the Sutton preacher Oliver Bowles (1574–1644) was composed in the wake of the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly, which aimed at the reform of the Anglican Church. This work of pastoral theology presents the ideal model of the ministerial office, addressing the spiritual and intellectual preparation of the clergy, the public and private proclamation of the Word of God, and the administration of the Sacraments.

From the 1659 Amsterdam edition of this work Balázs Köpeczi Haller (1638–before 1685) acquired a copy. The owner studied in Debrecen and Sárospatak, and subsequently undertook peregrinatio academica in Groningen (1671). He served as a minister in Tokaj and Szkáros (Skerešovo, SK), from where he was summoned before the tribunal in Pozsony. After his release, he resumed his university studies, attending lectures in London (1676?) and Leiden (1678–1679). Following his return to Hungary, he served as minister of the congregation in Miskolc (1679–1683).³ He purchased Bowles’s work in Leiden after his liberation from galley servitude, on 8 September 1676, for twelve Dutch stuivers.

The manuscript annotations in the volume merit particular attention, as they emphasize Köpeczi Haller’s self-understanding as a martyr. On the inside of the front cover, in his autograph possessor’s inscription recording the purchase, the abbreviation “M. C.” appended to his name (standing for “Martyris Christi”) attests that the owner regarded himself as a martyr of Christ. On the flyleaf, he subsequently added the phrase “In Exilii” to another inscription documenting the acquisition, thereby underscoring that he obtained the volume during his exile. On the same page, the opening line of a fragmentary poem of fourteen and a half lines – partly drawing on an epigram by Martial – refers to Köpeczi Haller as “Exul pro Christo,” a designation frequently applied by galley-slave preachers to themselves,⁴ meaning one who suffered exile for Christ. The martyrological discourse, grounded in Calvinist doctrines of predestination and intensified by Puritanism, was already fully developed by the period of the “decade of mourning” (1671–1681, period of the violent counter-reformation), and was employed with assurance by the galley slaves. Several shorter works testifying to those who suffered for their faith – by Mihály Szöllősi and István Szőnyi Nagy – were also available in the Hungarian language.⁵

B 737

BOWLES, Oliver, *De pastore evangelico tractatus: in quo universum munus pastorale ... accurate proponitur*, opera et studio Oliveri Bowles, Amsterdam, apud Corneliū de Bruyn, 1659, [24], 394, 8°.

Binding In parchment binding, with a blind-stamped oval floral-and-foliated ornament at the center.

Possessor *Basilij K.* [sic!]⁶ *Köpeci M[artyris] C[hristi] Constat 12 stifferis Belgicis Mpria* (on the inner side of the front board)

A[nno] 1676 die 8 Septembris Lugduni Batavorum comparat[us?] Stiff[eris] 12 In Exilii (on the flyleaf)

Note

Exul pro Christo Köpeci solacia vitae

Fallaces carnis, deliciasq[ue] fugit.

Blasius hic casto meditatur pectore Christum

Hinc sibi praesidium subsidiumq[ue] petit.

Te Mea Mens Christus potat sitibunda benigne

*Tu mihi cu[m] moriar pacis oliva veni.*⁷

Roma orbis D[omi]nus, Romam sibi Papa subegit

Viribus illa suis fraudib[us] iste suis.

Divitior Crispo Thræsea constantior ipso

Lautior, et nitido, sis meliore' licet.

Nil adicit penso Lachesis, fuso[s]q[ue] sororum

*Explicat: et semper de tribus una secat.*⁸

Armipotens Heros animo cui proelia Ponto

Vindicataeq[ue] manent ovantes igne carinae

Laneficas nulli (előzéklap)⁹

The Funeral Volume for Péter Bethlen from the Library of János Kijes Rimaszombati

Péter Bethlen of Iktár – nephew of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania – was educated at foreign universities with a sizeable retinue, and his *Kavalierstour*, which encompassed numerous European countries, simultaneously constituted a diplomatic mission conducted in the interest of the Principality of Transylvania (1625–1628).¹⁰ He died in 1646 as prefect of Hunyad and Máramaros counties. A representative publication was the collected edition of the Latin- and Hungarian-language funeral orations delivered at his burial. In accordance with contemporary practice, eleven sermons and orations were delivered from the departure of the nobleman's body from Liskafalva (Lisková, SK) to its lying in state and eventual interment in the church of Nyírbátor. The final address was delivered over the coffin of Zsófia Daróci, who was related to the Bethlen family, in the same year. Péter Bethlen was eulogized by prominent Reformed intellectuals of the age: István Benjámin Szilágyi, professor at Sárospatak; István Sélyei Balog, pastor in Huszt (Хуст, UA); Ferenc S. Veréczi, preacher at Sárospatak; as well as György Csulai, court chaplain to György I Rákóczi and later bishop of Transylvania, among others.¹¹

The only known owner of the volume was János Kijes Rimaszombati (1630/32–c. 1701). Following his studies in Debrecen and Szatmár (Satu Mare, RO), he undertook peregrinations in Franeker (1659–1660), Groningen (1660), Leiden (1661), and Cambridge (1662). He served in Rudabánya (1664–1669), Csoltó (Čoltovo, SK, c. 1674), and, after his return, in Léva (1688–1701).¹² It was during his tenure as a preacher in Léva (Levice, SK) that he acquired the collected volume containing the funeral orations for Péter Bethlen.

Kijes Rimaszombati's colligatum, assembled in Zurich in 1677 and containing publications from Basel, Zurich, and Heidelberg, has been described by Dávid Csorba.¹³

Rmk 1682

Temetesi pompa melly az ... Bethlen Peternek ... 1646 esztendőben, Kis-Aszszony havának harmadik napján, Bánban meg-hidegedett testének Liskafalvárol Nyir-Bátorban, temetésének

helyére való meg-indításától fogva, az földben eltakarittatásáig, celebráltatott, Varadon [Várad], nyomtattatott Szenci Kertész Abraham által, 1646, 183 p., 4^o. – RMNy 2160

Binding Half leather binding with marbled paper covers.

Possessor *Sum Joannis Rimaszombathy mpria Pastoris Eccl[esiae] R[e]formatorum] Levensis [Praed.?] in Anno 1686* (on the title page)

Note With marginal notes.

István M. Séllyei's Philosophical Textbook

Gisbert ab Isendoorn (1601–1657), professor of philosophy at the Deventer academy, took a stance against the advance of Cartesianism in the mid-seventeenth century. His work *Physiologia peripatetica* is an Aristotelian natural philosophy textbook prepared for his students, structured through tables and questions. Although only a small number of Hungarian peregrinant students attended the *Athenaeum Illustre* of Deventer, founded in 1629 – with fewer than thirty enrollees from the Carpathian Basin – almost all of them studied there during Isendoorn's tenure (1634–1647) and were able to attend his lectures.¹⁴

István M. Séllyei (1627–1692) studied at Sárospatak from 1650 and subsequently served as rector in Pápa. He later undertook peregrinations in Utrecht (1655–1657), Groningen (1657–1658), Franeker (1658), and also spent time at Gresham College in London in 1656–1657.¹⁵ After returning from his travels, he served as a pastor in Pápa, and in 1669 he was elected bishop of the Transdanubian Reformed Church District. Following his liberation from galley slavery, he lived in Zurich, where the painting¹⁶ depicting him and István Móricz Harsányi was created by Konrad Meyer. After his return, he once again assumed both his pastoral office in Pápa and his episcopal position in Transdanubia.¹⁷

Séllyei acquired Isendoorn's philosophical work as early as 1651, at the beginning of his studies in the Reformed College of Sárospatak, only nine years after its publication. The book likely reached Hungary through the mediation of a peregrinus who had previously travelled in the Low Countries.

Q 695

ISENDOORN, Gisbert, ab: *Physiologia peripatetica: in duas partes et varias sectiones tributa, per succinctas tabulas, et quaestiones M.DC. controversas brevissime decisas*, Daventriae [Deventer], excudit Conradus Thomaus, 1642, [8], 340 p., 4^o.

Binding Parchment binding.

Possessor *Sum ex Libris Stephani M. Séllyej ab Anno 1651 17 Sextil[eis]* (on the title page)

1598 [sic!] Joan[nes] Bikkfalvi 9. decembris (p. 5.)

Liber I[llustris] Collegii Reform[atorum] Debrec[inensis] (on the inner side of the front board)

Note With some underlining.

The six books of János Jablonczai Pethes – one book of Péter T. Kálnai

Six books from the library of János Jablonczai Pethes (1639–after 1688) have survived in Debrecen (one of which had previously belonged to Péter T. Kálnai). János Jablonczai Pethes pursued his studies in Szatmár (1660), Debrecen (1660–1665), and Sárospatak (1665). He first served as rector of the school in Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota, SK), and subsequently as a minister in Körtvélyes (Hrušov, SK, 1666–1673) and Beretke (Bretka, SK, 1673). He was summoned before the Pozsony blood court from the congregation of Beje (Behynce, SK, 1673–1688), which has since merged with Tornalja (Tornaľa, SK), and after his release he returned there. He sought to make good use of his years spent abroad, compensating for his previously missed peregrination by studying first at Gresham College in London (1676), and later at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden (1678).¹⁸

Of the eight works contained in the six books discussed below, no fewer than seven were published in English. It was previously noted by Dávid Csorba that several galley-slave preachers had learned English.¹⁹

1. The “sixfold” commentary on the Book of Leviticus by the English theologian Andrew Willet (1562–1621) begins with a summary of the given biblical chapter, followed by a presentation of various translations (with particular attention to the Vulgate). It then explains the content of the scriptural text through a series of questions, after which doctrinal instruction is provided, followed by refutations, and finally the interpretation is concluded with the extraction of its moral utility. The volume was brought back from England by Mátyás R. Szántai – who enrolled at the University of Oxford in October 1654 and had formerly been a student at Sárospatak – and who served as a minister in Hejce from 1656 and in Gyöngyös from 1658 until 1669.²⁰ From him the book passed to Jablonczai Pethes, perhaps as part of his estate.

E 776

WILLET, Andrew, *Hexapla in Leviticum, that is a six-fold commentarie upon the third booke of Moses called Leviticus...*, by the same author of Hexapla upon the two former books of the Penteteuch [sic!], Genesis and Exodus, perused and finished by P[eter] S[mith], London, printed by Aug[ust] Matthewes, for Robert Milbourne, 1631, [44], 778, [2] p., 2°. – ESTC, S118157

Binding Leather Binding.

Possessor *Ex libris Matthiae R. Szantaj* (on the title page)

Joh[annis] P. Jablonczaj (on the title page)

Benedek 978 (on the flyleaf)

2. The volume edited by Samuel Annesley (1620?–1696), containing sermons by thirty Puritan preachers (such as Richard Baxter), belongs to the popular *Morning Exercise* series. This genre, which established a new Puritan practice emerging during the Civil War (namely, morning prayer accompanied by an exhortatory address)²¹ found one of its prominent venues in St. Giles’s Church, Cripplegate, where Annesley himself served from 1658. The supplementary volume to the series was published in its second edition in 1676.

According to the autograph inscription of János Jablonczai Pethes on the inner side of the front board, he received the book as a gift from Samuel Annesley on 11 May 1677, that is, in the year following its publication. Another volume from the *Morning Exercise* series was also in Jablonczai Pethes’ possession; he purchased it on 26 September 1677 for one thaler, and it is now preserved in the Great Library of the Reformed College of Sárospatak.²² This copy bears the same motto as the Debrecen exemplar, namely John 14:6.

B 2427

ANNESLEY, Samuel, *A supplement to The Morning-exercise at Cripple-Gate, or, Several more cases of conscience practically resolved by sundry ministers*, 2. ed., London, printed for Thomas Cockerill, 1676, [6], 778 p., 4°. – ESTC R13100

Binding Leather Binding.

Possessor *Donum quodque gratum, qvale et hoc acceptum a’ Reve[rendo] D[omi]no Doct[issimo] Sam[ue]le Annesly [sic!] Londini 1677 11 Maji per me Johannem Jablonczay cujus salutis via Jesus Joh. 14.6* (on the inner side of the front board)

Liber Bibliothecae Illustris Collegii Ref[ormatorum] Debrecinensis. Signavit A[nno] R[eparatae] S[alutis] MDCCLXII. a[d] d[iem] XV. Cal[endae] Quintilis Georgius Szikszai B[iblio]thecar[ius] ord[inarius] mpria. (on the flyleaf)

3. Henry Scudder (?–1659), a Westminster Presbyterian theologian, authored *The Christian’s Daily Walk in Holy Security and Peace*, a work that belongs to the family of seventeenth-

century Puritan conduct books. This widely popular guide to Christian living, offering practical advice on religious conduct, was first published in 1627, subsequently translated into German and Dutch, and has continued to appear in multiple editions even in recent decades. The title page of the work – published with prefatory recommendations addressed to the reader by John Owen, Richard Baxter, and John Davenport – is missing. János Jablonczai Pethes's copy was previously noted by János Herepei in his study on peregrinant students who had traveled to England.²³

F 903

SCUDDER, Henry, *The christian's daily walk in holy security and peace*, [London?], [Ludowick Lloyd?], [1674?], [24], 240 [24] 241–586 [12] p., 12°. – USTC 3092048

Binding Leather binding.

Possessor *Unus libror[um] Joannis P. Jablonczay Cujus salutis via Jesus Joh 14.6. emptus Londini Angl[iae] 1677. 16. Jul[ii] solid[orum] 2.* (on the flyleaf)

Szigeti György 1767. (on the flyleaf)

Donum plurimum Reverendi ac Clarissimi Domini Georgii Szigethi Pastoris Ecclesiae Ref[orma]tor[um] M[ike] Pirtsiensis Debr[ecini] 1786 d[ie] 5^a Apr[ilis] B[iblio]th[ecarius] ord[inarius] Sam[uel] Szilágyi mp. (on the flyleaf)

Note Title page missing.

4. Thomas Horton (1605–1673) served as professor of theology first at Gresham College in London and subsequently at the University of Cambridge. The text of his sermons on Psalms 4, 42, 51, and 63, delivered from 1666 at the Church of St Helen on Bishopsgate Street in London, was published posthumously in 1675. János Jablonczai Pethes purchased his copy scarcely two years after its publication, in October 1677, during the period of his exile in London (“qvo in Exilio suspiro”). While reading, he added Latin equivalents above certain English words. János Herepei had previously already referred to Jablonczai Pethes's copy.²⁴

B 40

HORTON, Thomas: *Choice and practical expositions on four select psalms: viz. the fourth psalm, in eight sermons, the forty-second psalm, in ten sermons, the fifty-first psalm, in twenty sermons, the sixty-third psalm, in seven sermons*, London, printed by A[nne] Maxwell for Tho[mas] Parkhurst, 1675, [8], 243, 241–483, 521–612, [4] p., 4°. – USTC 3092811

Binding Parchment binding.

Possessor *Jehova protector vitae et Jesus via salutis Joh. 14.6. Joannis P. Jablonczay A[nn]o (qvo in Exilio suspiro) 1677. 13 Octob[ris] Londini Angl[iae] solid[orum] 7. stiff[eris] 10.* (on the title page)

J[ohannes] P. J[ablonczay] (on the title page)

Liber Scholae Ref[ormatorum] Debrecinensis. Sig[navit] A[nn]o R[eparatae] S[alutis] MDCCLXII. a[d] d[iem] XIV Cal[endae] Quint[ileis] Georg[ius] Szikszai Biblio[thecarius] ord[inarius] mpr. (on the inner side of the front board)

Note With marginal notes.

5. Johann Vesling (1598–1649), a German anatomist, surgeon, and botanist, authored an anatomical textbook based on his experience of dissections conducted at the University of Padua. The work was first published in 1641 and was used in medical education for a century; it was also translated into German, Dutch, and English.²⁵ Jablonczai acquired his copy (richly illustrated with numerous anatomical engravings) in the Low Countries. He purchased it on 7 March 1678, during his stay in Utrecht, in the course of his exile (“qvo in Exilio suspiro”), only a few days after medical lectures at the university had commenced (“Colleg[ium] inch[oatum]...”).²⁶ Two weeks later, on 23 March, he also enrolled in the medical faculty of the University of Leiden.²⁷

The monogram used by Jablonczai in the volumes he owned is likewise noteworthy. The “JPJ” visible in Vesling's work is not a handwritten inscription in ink, nor does it indicate

the use of a signet ring or seal, since the three letters are at times not aligned in a single line but appear offset or slanted relative to one another. It may have been produced by some form of stamping technique, as suggested by the indentation of the paper; it could even be an inked impression of lead type, 5–8 mm in height, perhaps originally cast for book printing.

Q 252

VESLING, Johann: *Syntagma anatomicum*, commentario atque appendice ex veterum, recentiorum, propriisque, observationibus, illustratum et auctum a Gerardo Leon. Blasio, 2. ed., Amstelodami [Amsterdam], apud Joannem Janssonium a' Waesberge, et Elizeum Weyerstaet, 1666, [24], 558, [16] p., 4°. – USTC 1803252

Binding Parchment binding.

Possessor *Jehova protector vitae et Jesus via salutis Joh. 14.6. Johan[nis] P. Jablonczay A[nn]o (qvo in Exilio suspiro) 1678. 7 Martij Traj[ecti] ad Rh[enum] flo[erenis] Belg[icis] 4½ Colleg[ium] inch[oaum] 1 Martij* (on the title page)

J[ohannes] P. J[ablonczay] (on the engraved title page)

Note With some underlining.

6. The final volume associated with Jablonczai Pethes had another galley-slave owner as well. Péter T. Kálnai (1622–before 1682) laid the foundations of his education in Kálnó (Kalinovo, SK) and Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, RO). In July 1646 he enrolled in Deventer, later in 1646 in Utrecht, in June 1648 in Leiden, in September 1648 in Franeker, and in October 1648 in Groningen. At some point between 1648 and 1649, he also visited Gresham College in London.²⁸ In 1674 he set out for Pozsony from his pastorate in Putnok, from where he was deported, together with his companions, to the galleys of Naples. After his release, he lived in Switzerland for more than a year (he, together with János Jablonczai Pethes and Bálint Kocsi Csergő, was lodged in the Zürich home of Professor Johann Heinrich Hottinger), and then returned to Putnok. His 1645 Janssonius Bible containing the Apocrypha, preserved in Sárospatak, was previously discussed by Dávid Csorba.²⁹

A book preserving the works of John Preston (1587–1628), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and preacher at Lincoln's Inn, formed part of Kálnai's library, and was presumably bound together during the few months he spent in England.³⁰ The colligatum contains Preston's Puritan sermons on 2 Chronicles 7:14 (*The Golden Scepter*), as well as a posthumous publication compiled from three of his works (*Judas's Repentance*, *The Saint's Spiritual Strength*, and *Paul's Conversion*), a treatise on self-restraint (*Sin's Overthrow*), and a collection of five sermons. The later owner of the volume was János Jablonczai Pethes, who, in an ownership inscription altered to bear his own name, made no mention of how the book had come into his possession from Kálnai. Since Kálnai served in Putnok and Jablonczai in nearby Beje, the volume containing Preston's works may have changed hands either before or after their period of galley slavery.

F 807i

Colligatum 1. PRESTON, John, [1] *The golden scepter held forth to the humble* [2] *The churches marriage, or dignitie: delivered in sundry sermons at Lincolnes Inne*, London, printed by R. Badger for N. Bourne, and R. Harford, and by F. Eglesfield, 1638, [14], 292, 142, [11] p., 4°. – USTC 3020090

Colligatum 2. PRESTON, John, *Remaines of that reverend and learned divine Iohn Preston...*, London, printed by R[ichard] B[adger] for Andrew Croke, 1637, [12], 52, [10], 65–177, [11], 179–299, [1] p., 4°. – USTC 3019169

Colligatum 3. PRESTON, John, *Sins overthrow, or, A godly and learned treatise of mortification*, London, printed by I. Beale, for Andrew Croke, 1633, [24], 158, [2], 187–245, [1], 40 p., 4°. – USTC 3016690

Colligatum 4. PRESTON, John, *Sermons preached before his Maiestie, and upon other speciall occasions*, London, printed by John Norton for Anne Boler, 1637, [10], 150 p., 4°. – USTC 3019208

Binding Leather binding.

Possessor *Ex libris* <Petri Kálnai 1648 mpria> *Johannis P. Jablonczaj Cujus salutis via Jesus Joh 14.6.* (on the flyleaf)

Liber Collegii Reformati Debrecinensis. Sig[navit] A[nno] R[eparatae] S[alutis] MDCCLXII. a[d] d[iem] XV Cal[endae] Quint[ileis] Georg[ius] Szikszai B[iblio]thecar[ius] ord[inarius] mpr.

Note In the text of the colligatum 3. with marginal notes.

The rhetorical colligatum of István K. Beregszászi

Finally, we present a volume belonging to a minister who, instead of suffering galley slavery, endured imprisonment. The Great Library of the Reformed College of Debrecen preserves a verse collection of proverbial sayings, published in 1665 in the Szeben workshop of Ábrahám Szenci Kertész for the use of students. The *Carminum proverbialium* is a later edition of a work first published in the early sixteenth century in Basel. The *Versus sententiales*, a collection of poetic commonplaces, was perhaps compiled by Szenci Kertész himself as a continuation of the preceding work.³¹

The owner of the volume, István K. Beregszászi (c. 1630–1686), completed his studies in Beregszász (Berehove, UA) and Debrecen. He pursued peregrinatio academica in Franeker (1656–1657), Groningen (1657), and Cambridge (1657–1659?). He served as a minister in Losonc (Lučenec, SK, 1669–1672) and Hanva (Chanava, SK, 1672–1674, 1678?–1686). Following the judgment of the Pozsony tribunal, he was held in captivity at Kapuvár and Trieste. After his release, he traveled to Zürich, the Netherlands, and England (where he led a relief-collection effort), but, unlike his younger colleagues, the middle-aged minister did not enroll at the universities there.³²

Rmk 243–244

[1] *Versus sententiales, ut rerum svavitate, sic sententiarum foecunditate referti, ex optimis, qua' veteribus, qua' recentioribus poëtis consignati, et in usum studiosae juventutis typis mandati*, [ed. by Ábrahám Szenci Kertész?], [2] *Carminum proverbialium, totius humanae vitae statum breviter delineantium nec non utilem de moribus doctrinam jucunde' proponentium, loci communes in gratiam iuventis selecti*, Cibinii [Szeben], apud Abrahamum K. Szenci, 1665, 139, 172 p., 12°. – RMNy 3242

Binding Half leather binding with embossed patterned paper covers.

Possessor *Stephani Beregszaszi* (on the title page)

Note With some underlining.

We have presented the books of six Hungarian Reformed ministers who suffered persecution. Of the fourteen works preserved in Debrecen, ten were of a theological nature, the majority of them conceived in the spirit of Puritanism. Most of the works (nine works in six volumes) once belonged to the library of János Jablonczai Pethes. According to the manuscript inscriptions, five of the books were acquired by their former owners after their release from galley slavery, in England or the Low Countries, during the years spent abroad between 1676 and 1678, when they also took advantage of the opportunity to obtain books. Some of the handwritten entries produced by those living in exile consciously reflect on their persecution. According to the accession records of the student librarians (*bibliothecarius ordinarius*), most of these books entered the Great Library of the Reformed College of Debrecen in the 1760s and 1780s.

Keywords:

- cultural history of the 17th century
- intellectual libraries in the Carpathian Basin
- Hungarian protestant galley-slaves
- Great Library of the Reformed College of Debrecen

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² See: Fazakas, *A protestáns gályarabok története*, 10–14. Csorba, *Gályarab emlékkövek*, 9–19.

³ Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok*, 284. Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 2280, 2842. See also: <https://galyarabok.drk.hu/kopeczi-haller-balazs-vazul/> (2026.02.09.)

⁴ See: Csorba, 'Metaphern des Gedächtnisses', 77.

⁵ Tóth, 'Kálvinizmus és politikai (ön)reprezentáció', 19–24.
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⁶ In the university registers, his name also appears as Köpeczi K. Balázs.

⁷ „Tu mihi cum moriar pacis oliva veni” – Balázs Köpeczi Haller's motto see: <https://galyarabok.drk.hu/kopeczi-haller-balazs-vazul/> (2026.02.09.)

⁸ Martialis, Marcus Valerius. *Epigrammaton libri*, IV, 54. line 7–10.

⁹ The completion of the truncated line:

„Lanificas nulli tres exorare puellas
contigit: obseruant quem statuere diem.”

(Martialis, Marcus Valerius, *Epigrammaton libri*, IV, 54. line 5–6.)

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¹⁰ Monok, 'Adalékok iktári Bethlen Péter', 193–205. Heltai, 'Bethlen Péter és Pázmány', 412–416.

¹¹ Borsa, *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok*, 2160.

¹² Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 2218, 375, 2771. (In Groningen, his name was recorded in the register as István Beregszászi L.). Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok*, 123. See: <https://galyarabok.drk.hu/rimaszombati-kijes-janos/> (2026.02.09.)

¹³ Csorba, 'A gályarabok könyvei. Rimaszombati Kies János kötete', 167–172.

¹⁴ See: Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 2437–2463.

¹⁵ Hörcsik, *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium*, 81. Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 369, 1333, 2205. Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok*, 261.

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- ¹⁶ See: Imre, 'Consolatio és reprezentáció', 164–165.
- ¹⁷ Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 537.
- ¹⁸ See: Csorba, 'Jabloneczai Petes János gályarab emléke', 249–253. See also: <https://galyarabok.drk.hu/jabloneczai-pethes-janos/> (2026.02.09.)
- ¹⁹ Csorba, 'Az ellenreformáció üldözöttjeinek kötetei', 559.
- ²⁰ Monok, *A gyöngyösi református gyülekezet*, 12–13.; Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok*, 17.; He studied in Groningen (1653), Franeker (1654), and Utrecht (1655). See: Bozzay–Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 331, 1336, 2180.
- ²¹ Csorba, 'Az ellenreformáció üldözöttjeinek kötetei', 559.
- ²² Csorba, 'Az ellenreformáció üldözöttjeinek kötetei', 559.
- ²³ Herepei, *Művelődési törekvések*, 431–432.
- ²⁴ Herepei, *Művelődési törekvések*, 432.
- ²⁵ Ghosh, 'Johann Vesling (1598–1649)', 1122–1127.
- ²⁶ The volume is mentioned: Herepei, *Művelődési törekvések*, 432.
- ²⁷ Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 2841.
- ²⁸ Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 264, 1250, 2146, 2454, 2716; Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok*, 244.
- ²⁹ Csorba, 'Az ellenreformáció üldözöttjeinek kötetei', 557.
- ³⁰ The volume is mentioned: Herepei, *Művelődési törekvések*, 432.
- ³¹ See: Borsa, *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok*, 3242. Tarnai, „*A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik*”, 55.
- ³² Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok*, 346, 2199. See also: <https://galyarabok.drk.hu/beregszaszi-k-istvan/> (2026.02.16.)