



Imaging frontiers, contesting identities / edited by Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková
(Frontiers and identities : thematic work group 5 ; 2)

305.8 (21.)

1. Identità 2. Multiculturalismo I. Ellis, Steven G. II. Klusáková, Lud'a

CIP a cura del Sistema bibliotecario dell'Università di Pisa



This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-00164. The volume is solely the responsibility of the Network and the authors; the European Community cannot be held responsible for its contents or for any use which may be made of it.

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Photo Scala Archives, Florence

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Lungarno Pacinotti, 43
56126 Pisa
Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945
info-plus@edizioniplus.it
www.edizioniplus.it - Section "Biblioteca"

Member of



ISBN 978-88-8492-466-7

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Confessional Exile from Hungary in 17th Century Europe: the Problem of Mental Borders

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ABSTRACT

The large-scale banishment by the state of religious dissidents into exile was a socially significant phenomenon of European history. It was a consequence both of the formation of modern states and of the Reformation as the elimination of 'infidels' (viz. specifically those whose theological doctrines were not in line with the officially authorized form of religion) was replaced by their banishment on a mass scale. Particularly after the end of the Thirty Years' War a number of European countries adopted laws which facilitated not only the pro-active banishment of confessionally non-conforming citizens, but also granted them the right of emigration. Nevertheless, exile was an extreme measure and posed a threat to the possibility of obtaining a decent livelihood. Exile has always been a factor disrupting historical continuity, folk-memory, and various layers of the identity of its victims. On the other hand, it might provide an alternative means of satisfying those needs denied to the exiles in their homeland (freedom of religion, employment, and citizen rights). The integration of exiles into their new community was not at all easy. The difference between expectation and reality often ignited tensions within the exile communities and with their environment. The collective experience of hardship, although often mediated through traditional lore, thus contributed to the preservation of the exiles' identity even in a similar (or identical) religious environment and in exile-friendly communities over several generations. This study examines the case of those exiled from Hungary during the 1670s. It was rather small group of exiled pastors and teachers. The total number of persons involved probably did not exceed three hundred individuals. On the other hand, their fate became a matter of particular interest to contemporaries in foreign countries.

Štúdiá sa venuje špecifickej forme migrácie v období raného novoveku, fenoménu konfesionálneho exilu. Všíma si detailne prípad Uhorska v 70. rokoch 17. storočia, kedy sa v krajine, kde dovtedy panovali liberálne pomery pre výkon nekatolíckych náboženstiev, začali uplatňovať násilné formy rekatolizácie. V ich dôsledku boli protestantskí duchovní a učiteľia vykázani do exilu. Komunita exulantov z Uhorska, ktorá sa utvorila v nemeckých krajinách sa vyznačovala niektorými špecifikami, ktoré ju odlišujú od ostatných prípadov

ranovovekého exilu: týkala sa pomerne málo početnej a sociálne úzkej skupiny (protestantských duchovných a učiteľov), ktorí sa navyše po obnove možnosti pre výkon náboženstva po r. 1681 vrátili nazad do Uhorska. Uhorskí exulanti museli čeliť nejednoznačnému vzťahu prijímajúceho prostredia, ktoré ich nevnímalo len pozitívne: keďže mali právo poberať podporu, predstavovali na jednej strane pre obyvateľstvo finančnú záťaž, často sa však neoprávnene stavali do pozície kritikov miestnych pomerov, usilovali sa o voľné miesta a predstavovali potenciálny zdroj problémov s habsburskou monarchiou, navyše sa v dôsledku vnútorných rozporov prejavovali ako nekonzistentná skupina. Uhorskí exulanti tak aj v konfesionalne príbuznom prostredí narážali na hranice v mentálnej sfére. Práca vychádza z analýzy dobových tlačí (kázni, polemických spisov).

*...insuper Extraordinarius Homo sum et quasi Exlex
Exmunis et Immunis¹.*

A socially significant phenomenon of European history, mass scale exile was a consequence of the formation of modern states and the Reformation. Both these processes triggered social and armed conflicts in a context in which religious diversity was viewed by most authorities as a serious destabilising factor. Since the Middle Ages Western Christendom had regarded the birth and spread of theologically 'dissident' – or heretical – movements as a lethal threat, disrupting not only the unity and stability of the Church, but also that of the whole world. It was therefore deemed necessary to deal with heresy at all costs. The advancing Reformation, however, gave an entirely new quality and dimension to the phenomenon of the "alien church" (or faith). Crucial changes in theology, the mass scale and intensity of the Reformation and its support from social élites contributed to the transformation of the entire society. Consolidation of territorial states also brought about the confessionalisation of social conflicts. As an extreme way of settling such conflicts, religious wars were waged in the name of defending faith and religion: forcing 'dissident groups' into exile actually reflected a certain abandonment of the attempt to achieve religious homogeneity of the population through the reconversion of the 'dissidents', i.e. by shepherding them back to the true faith.

The elimination of infidels (i.e. specifically those whose theological doctrines were not in line with the dominant or officially preferred religion) through banishment was actually a progressive method when compared to measures taken against them at other times. For instance, during the Middle Ages, after being branded as heretics, such individuals were exposed to formal or informal death sentences². Particularly after the end of the Thirty Years' War, however, a number of European countries adopted laws facilitating not only the active banishment of confessionally non-conforming citizens, but also granted the right of emigration (*ius emigrandi*³) within the implementation of the *cuius regio eius religio* principle, as well as the right to provide asylum to "fellow-faith" exiles⁴. It was becoming common practice to provide refuge for incomers banished from other states regardless of the dominant religion in the host country:

economic and national-political interests overrode religious divisions, and exiles were admitted principally with regard to their potential benefits for the host country. That was, in particular, typical of the exodus of Huguenots into the religiously diverse countries of Europe. For example, their arrival spurred the re-settlement of the depopulated lands and the general development of manufacturing industry in Prussia⁵.

In the early modern era, the banishment of religious dissenters from the territory of their own country thus became a mass-scale phenomenon encompassing, unlike previous periods, not only the political dissidents, but also the wider population. Imperial law enforced exile as a life experience for hundreds of thousands of people in confessionally-divided early-modern Europe, compelled to escape religious oppression and driven by the hope of finding that the chosen or assigned new homeland offered more favourable conditions for their existence. Their status was based on legal regulations, but was not an automatic right⁶. Individually arriving immigrants were required to report to the local authorities and their application for residence also needed to be accompanied by other documents: firstly a reference letter of good conduct from their homeplace, possibly also specifying the reasons for banishment. Exiles arriving in organised groups could apply for collective rights, available for instance in the form of authorising writs (privileges)⁷. Nevertheless, exile was an extreme measure and posed a threat to the possibility of obtaining a decent livelihood, particularly in the case of followers of 'dissident' church movements, e.g. those escaping increased persecution of non-Catholics in the Netherlands in the late 16th century; non-Catholics from various parts of the Habsburg Monarchy; victims of the *cuius regio* principle in the German Reich; the Waldensians of Northern Italy; and Huguenots or emigrants from Salzburgerland in 1731-1732⁸. The Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries therefore faced several waves of exile triggered by economic and political conditions in countries concerned.

The phenomenon of exile was thus much more than a limited secondary issue, and had serious effects on the countries of 'origin' and 'destination' alike. As a group rather than just an individual experience, it has since that time acted as a social, cultural, and mental challenge to all those concerned: while the expatriates are uprooted from their homeplace, the host society is challenged to co-exist with people often coming from a different cultural environment. Exile has always been a factor disrupting historical continuity, folk-memory, and various layers of its actors' identity; on the other hand, it may provide an alternative in satisfying needs denied in the exiles' homeland (freedom of religion, employment, and citizens' rights). In the period studied, exile was also basically a solution of last resort and was usually conditioned by the risk of persecution in the case of return. The integration of exiles into their new community was not smooth. The difference between expectation and reality often ignited further tensions within the exile communities and, even more frequently, with their environment: the enhanced feeling of exclusiveness further hindered the integration of exiles. The collective experience of hardship, although often mediated through traditional lore, thus contributed to the preservation of the exiles' identity even in a similar (or identical) religious environment and in exile-friendly communities over several generations.

The religious exile phenomenon affected virtually all religions in almost all the states of the period: some of the examples were the pogroms against Muslims and Jews in Spain, the emigration of Catholics and dissident religious groups from England, but in particular the emigration of Protestants of both confessions from various countries of western and central Europe. Hungary was no exception: there contemporaries encountered this phenomenon first in the role of witnesses, but eventually as direct actors too. The individual exile communities that became part of European history from the late 1500s differed from one another in social structure, numbers, and the degree to which the exiles managed to win or mobilise public opinion, diplomacy, and government in the host countries, as well as the speed and success of their integration into the new community.

Comparatively favourable was the situation in which the waves of immigrants encompassed a “complete social structure”, i.e. when representatives of higher social classes were included in the ranks of exiles who later in the host country, actively contributed to the well-being of their co-religionists, either by their involvement in local government (manorial courts or local administration), or by making contributions to aid their livelihoods or to support religious practices. In some cases the exiles were even settled on private estates, for instance those owned by the Bohemian nobility in the Saxon or Lusatian border areas. The mass scale of exile made possible the birth of larger exile communities and de facto compact settlement safeguarding, for a time at least, the reproduction of exile communities from within, the retention of a religious, linguistic, and ethnic identity, and a resulting self-awareness. When distances between the original home country and country of exile were small, the exiles had the opportunity to be in relatively easy touch with their homeland, to absorb its impulses or, vice versa, to exert an influence on domestic affairs.

When compared with other waves of exile, the religiously-determined exile from the Hungarian Monarchy may seem to have been only a marginal issue with a short duration spanning about a decade. For a long time the phenomenon of exile here had seemed to be only a matter of exiles finding refuge from religious persecution elsewhere. As a matter of fact, until c. 1650 the region of the Hungarian Monarchy had a generally favourable attitude to dissemination and the acceptance of the Reformation, so that in the given period the majority of its people was affiliated to one of the Protestant faiths or the Orthodox or Greek Catholic confessions. The result was that when facing a tangled internal political situation as well as the imminent threat of the expanding Ottoman Empire, the ruling Habsburg dynasty was compelled to accept the Protestants as an integral part of the Hungarian Estates. They were consequently acknowledged as having their own political representation in the Hungarian Diet (although they never formed an independent faction in the form of *status evangelicorum*), and were accorded freedom of religious practice. The adoption of laws on religious freedom in 1608 and 1647 actually attracted exiles from other countries. Their arrival was often encouraged and organized by prominent local lords who were interested in exploiting the expatriates' craftsmanship or other skills. In view of their economic contribution, even the Anabaptists, suppressed elsewhere, enjoyed quite a high level of toleration⁹.

The favourable situation which allowed the existence of non-Catholic religions, however, was of limited duration and even more frequently Hungary faced both indirect and direct pressure for a change of religious conditions. The channels for this pressure varied, from methods defined by the Council of Trent as the basis for the restoration of the most Catholic Church itself with its structure and interior life, through the principles of the rights of patronage applied in re-Catholicisation initiatives undertaken by converted lords within their fiefs (including claims of the royal authorities to allegedly illegally obtained lands and the estates of the Royal Chamber), to organising missions, and even to acts of naked aggression by the seizure of churches or schools, and the appointment of new (Catholic) priests. These were all measures restricting the right of free religious practice, hitherto granted even to serfs. Inconsistency with religious law thus became the major stimulus or rationale for all the anti-Habsburg revolts that Hungary witnessed throughout the 17th century. Nor did the growing central power of the Austrian Empire allow Hungary much opportunity to preserve its favourable conditions, particularly since a significant part of the country's power élite shared the Austrian goals in religious issues. The situation of the Protestants in Hungary therefore changed markedly during the 17th century: a part of the population that until the 1650s had enjoyed freedom of religious practice was in the course of a century reduced to the more problematic status of a suppressed minority.

Paradoxically, the most brutal oppression occurred at the beginning of the process. It was characterised by the seizure of churches and schools, the banning of ministers and schoolmasters from their offices, and even attempts at direct physical expulsion of the Protestant clerical élite from parishes and from Hungary in general. It was during the 1672-1674 period that the Hungarian state authority successfully staged trials of Protestant pastors, schoolmasters, and town council members *en bloc* and without relevant real evidence: many were eventually sentenced for their alleged preparation and participation in treasonable conspiracy (i.e. the anti-imperial plot masterminded by Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi). Theoretically, the only punishment of those convicted of *crimen laesae Majestatis* was death, but this was eventually commuted in the case of the group mentioned. In the first trials (1672-1673) the authorities were well aware of the volatile political situation, and so the alternative sentence of banishment was applied. The alleged 'criminals' were condemned to exile immediately after being released from prison (they left without their families) and were put under continuous surveillance until reaching the country's borders, thus being directly deported. In the case of the major trial of Protestant preachers and schoolmasters (March 1674), exile was offered as a form of pardon: prior to departure the exiles were allowed a longer period of freedom of movement and were also allowed to sell their estates or make necessary provisions for their households and families¹⁰. This seemingly generous leniency came at a cost, however, since exile was granted on condition of signing a waiver confirming not only the convict's resignation from office, but also confessing to the alleged crime of high treason. Although the proof of legal proceedings and the fact that exile was imposed as a form of punishment were not officially recorded, the very fact of the person's name being stained with the ultimate crime would subsequently be a source of

immense problems: the credit of the individual and of his entire community (of which he was a member or which he supported) was at stake. Inner tensions therefore developed within the group of exiles condemned to leave Hungary over the period of several months, and this in turn contributed to controversy in the evolution of the entire Lutheran Church in the following periods.

The Hungarian exile issue became a matter of interest to contemporaries in foreign countries only to a limited extent. The writings and records of the period that relate to the large-scale exile from Bohemia focused on reports of campaigns of the rebel nobility in Hungary, the deployment of Turkish forces, and skirmishes between the Habsburg and Ottoman troops. The onset of the Counter-Reformation through the seizure of non-Catholic churches in Catholic fiefs was nothing exceptional and did not attract the attention of correspondents, newspaper publishers, or pamphleteers. The *cuius regio* principle was generally accepted by public opinion of the period. As a matter of fact, it had been one of the principles recently imbedded in the Treaty of Westphalia. What eventually aroused greater interest were the Austrian government's attempts to deal radically with Protestants *en bloc* in the early 1670s under the cover of suppressing a treasonable conspiracy in Hungary. The 1674 trial mentioned above and its sentencing became the first big issue of anti-Habsburg propaganda, and the Hungarian exiles began to be viewed in the context of international political events¹¹. Authors of the period highlighted the application of the collective blame principle which, fashioned after the Bohemian model, was also adopted in the case of the Hungarian Protestants¹².

Confessional exile from Hungary, however, was in many aspects a peculiar case among the waves of European religious exile of the early modern era: it affected a comparatively small and socially homogenous group of people (Protestant pastors and schoolmasters) many of whom actually returned to their homeland. The total number of persons involved can only be roughly estimated from the study sources available – the figures probably did not exceed 300 individuals. Some of the 469 persons who were to stand trial in March 1674 in Bratislava did not come to the tribunal at all, some ignored the order to go into exile and the more exposed pastors and schoolteachers had already been exiled. The common population were much less involved in the Hungarian waves of exile and their number is impossible to estimate. In the case of craftsmen, for instance, it is possible that other than religious reasons for leaving Hungary were involved: foreign lands promised better employment than turbulent Hungary. In their new environment they quickly won the full rights of the local community and requested just short-term support from local authorities. "Exile" in the case of this particular group can therefore be seen more or less as normal trade (labour) migration¹³.

It is characteristic that the Hungarian exiles themselves regarded as fellow exiles only those people who were deprived of their offices as a result of governmental regulations and the direct actions of the authorities, and those who were banished from their parishes and from the country as religious outcasts and suffered poverty as a result. These were literally transformed into *ex leges* or outlaws as they were not tied to any community, standards, or laws. They wandered from place to place, gave blessings to

people, and represented only their own person and services, i.e., they represented no official authority. Even though consequently often banned from pulpits, they regarded themselves as true preachers as they preached by their own example on the street¹⁴. The integration of these people into a new environment was compromised from the very beginning: they had to stick staunchly to their status of exile to earn their living and they also needed to manifest that status openly. At the same time, however, they had to demonstrate their hardship not as a punishment but as a fate imposed by God's will or even as a mission of preaching the right way to salvation. This made them feel superior to their environment and the response that they provoked in local communities was mixed. The exiles often lived in poverty and their misery was in contrast to the status they had previously enjoyed in their homeland. The paradoxical status of the exiles was consequently reflected in the reserved or even negative attitude of local communities, and also in the attitudes of the exiles towards themselves and their fellow exiles.

Exile forced the afflicted to confront not only the complicated crossing of borders¹⁵, but also expulsion from the community of which they had been a part of. The challenge was multiple. First of all expulsion affected their employment: whether they remained for a time in their homeland in the first phase of persecution or whether they were forced to leave immediately, they were condemned to resign from their professional office. By temporarily or permanently remaining in the domestic environment they risked moreover exposure to harassment, confiscation of property, or direct physical threat (arrest), not to mention the pressure to convert¹⁶. In exile, the pastors also had difficulties in finding employment in their field. This was because an appointment to an office required the approval of the local community and consequently also the local church authorities (usually a consistory) and boards of ministers ("Ministeria") in Germany jealously guarded access to their parish offices, as they fought against the perceived undesirable competition posed by the influx of university-educated people into a comparatively small area¹⁷. Exiles were often excluded from their new community due to their limited knowledge of the language: the interpretation of the Word of God (the Bible) required mastery of accurate terminology. Linguistic incompetence was dangerous to the preacher: not only was there a risk of derision from the audience, but also the danger of being accused of deviating from received orthodoxy. At a time of burgeoning Pietism, an assertion of orthodoxy became a safeguard against the possible intervention of the Church and secular authorities which viewed new teachings as a potential threat to public order. Orthodoxy became something of a mark of distinction for Hungarian Protestants, even those who would later avow Pietism after returning to Hungary.

The status of the exiles, however, also involved maintaining a distance from the local community and consequent problems in earning a livelihood: exiles were, with a few exceptions, dependent on the generosity of others – but here again the legitimisation of their status as exiles could prove difficult. A treatise written by the secretary Johann Labszansky, one of the participants of the March 1674 trial, denied their innocence and attempted to prove that the trial was not held against the church as a whole, but rather against individuals. The writ was designed to make the people charged waiver in their

convictions, thus also impugning their reputation in the eyes of the foreign public¹⁸ and shattering their credit completely. Since that would have led not only to the absolute devastation of the moral integrity of the affected, making them outcasts of the community, but also to the discredit of their church itself¹⁹. Labszansky's arguments had to be refuted with a voluminous array of sermons and polemics²⁰. Exilic authors came up with a "first-aid" defence, using already well-tried counter-arguments to justify their quasi divine right to leave their parish communities in the case of harsh persecution and, by doing so, to save their faith which they argued was the ultimate value for any man, surpassing even obligations to the homeland and to the sovereign²¹. Much-favoured examples invoked were the deeds of Martin Luther (concerning his consideration of exile in Bohemia), the Apostle Paul, and even Jesus himself. Such reasoning was meant to illustrate that even a righteous shepherd may abandon his flock (the parish), particularly if the flock themselves fail to resist evil²². "Vain martyrdom" was denounced, but it was emphasized that the persecution of the Church could also be viewed as trial by fire²³. Being an exile, however, also meant exposure to frequent unexpected responses from the local environment in the country of refuge, to mental barriers, and the experience of alienation. This was not only because the exiles often stood out in their outlandish dress ("of Hungarian fashion") and manifestly demonstrated their suffering²⁴. Their exclusion from the local community was also partly self-inflicted because they felt the need to stress the superiority of their individual to the pattern of behaviour common in the local society. The exiles, presenting themselves as *Kreuz-Bruder* or "the persecuted in the name of Christ", appealed to Christian love and active faith. They demanded from their listeners effective penitence, publicly manifested regret for sins, and a certain associated indifference to the suffering of others, that often triggered certain difficulties. Since as guest preachers they lacked an appropriate commission for their offices, they were not actually entitled to pronounce such judgements²⁵. The German community viewed such behaviour as a form of public disturbance (*Tumultieren*) and voices were heard appealing for an end to the admittance of preachers from Hungary²⁶.

Although at first the host societies accepted the exiles with compassion, the exiles eventually became an element that was a burden on municipal budget as well as private funds. This was a result of the Thirty Years' War, which had been over for 25 years but still had far-reaching consequences and affected not only demography but also the social and religious situation in Germany²⁷. The exiles, self-conscious victims of severe persecution, were thus soon after arrival perceived by locals as a burden: as people who had basically brought their troubles on themselves. Disagreements between the local authorities, administration bodies and the local church boards were frequently a hindrance to a friendly perception of the exiles and any trouble-free stay in a particular place²⁸.

Exiles who strove hard to get permission to preach, faced the natural resistance of the established clergy, in particular court preachers, as well as of senior church dignitaries. The latter, as members of the state church establishment, carefully considered any possible political complications in relations with Austria that might be ignited by granting

asylum to exiled Hungarian pastors branded by Austrian propaganda as rebels²⁹. Such a situation was not easy to deal with, particularly considering the fact that in many cases the exiles were people who had held senior offices back in Hungary, had graduated from German universities, or had even been natives of Germany with Hungary subsequently becoming their chosen home³⁰. To have any realistic starting point in their search for employment, they had to deliver their accounts of the reasons for and the forms of persecution as well as a summary of their own good conduct.

An even more negative impression must have been given to the host society by dissension within the ranks of Hungarian exiles, i.e. between the 'waiverers' who were exiled upon signing their resignation from their parish offices, and the 'galley-slaves' who, having refused to resign, were consequently sentenced to life imprisonment as habitual criminals and eventually sold as convict crews on Spanish galley ships. The dispute broke out afresh after such slaves were released, and its consequences were far-reaching. An impressive account of the experience of the martyr galley-slaves, stirring the Europe-wide audience, was given by Georg Láni, who simultaneously challenged the right of the non-imprisoned 'fellow colleagues' to use the status of exile. As he put it, they had forfeited that right by preferring the more convenient solution of signing the waiver to avoid physical suffering. In his view, rather than endure hardship they had cravenly signed a confession to conspiracy in exchange for permission to leave the country or even preservation of property. That, as Láni wrote, was a poor reflection not only on them, but also on the entire Hungarian Lutheran Church. As a matter of fact, what was really a poor reflection on his colleagues was the behaviour of Láni himself, as he ignited a stormy public dispute on the issue with a sizeable exchange of arguments between parties blaming each other for betraying the cause of the whole Lutherdom and for holding dubious moral attitudes³¹. The whole fracas encouraged the German public to develop a generally negative picture of the Hungarian exiles, as was reflected in a range of scornful references to them³².

It is therefore appropriate to ask how the controversies within the Hungarian exile community were perceived, particularly when they surfaced in the form of public disputes that threatened to undermine the credibility of an argument based on sufferings in the name of Christ. First and foremost, it can be pointed out that the exiles' own retrospective interpretation of their own attitudes back in their homeland led to persecution being interpreted *ex post* as a form of well-deserved punishment³³. The problem of persecution of the church became the leading topic of numerous lectures, sermons and theses, in which the authors exposed weaknesses in the Lutheran Church in Hungary, but at the same time they emphasised that 'trial by fire' could reinforce the Church. Persecution was not to be understood just as a restriction imposed on religious freedom 'from outside'. Instead, specifically with reference to Germany, it was often stressed that a similar fate might befall the Church in that country too, if sins were not remedied and, the need for penitence were ignored³⁴.

Thus, exile was not a peaceful asylum for the 'persecuted in the name of Christ', where they could wait snug, safe, and in harmony with the locals until the hard times were

over, and this applies not only to those condemned to leave Hungary, but to exiles in general. They often had to strive hard to adapt to a foreign society from which they expected to receive a positive response. On the other hand, the exiles were challenged not only by the unexpected and unfavourable reaction of the locals, but also by struggles within their own circles. The disputes among Hungarian exiles mentioned above demonstrate the depth of moral struggle faced by individuals who, aware of their faults and share of guilt, were in many cases branded with exile as a stigma for the rest of their lives. In spite of that, or perhaps thanks to all the paradoxes and consequences mentioned, the exile experience constituted a significant element of traditions of those involved, helping them to retain their original identity and awareness of ties to their former homeland. The evidence of that link, maintained in a new environment, is mirrored in numerous dedications, odes, epic works, and other literary forms. Individual authors often almost ostentatiously presented their original citizenship and attachment to the country they left³⁵.

Physical, that is real borders, limiting their living environment in the past, were thus replaced by 'virtual' borders, functioning instead to enforce moral attitudes that exiles were compelled to assume as a consequence of social and political events.

NOTES

* The study was made within the research project of the Centre of Excellence of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (CE SAV) *Collective Identities - Processes*

¹ "... I am moreover a man rather exceptional, thus made to be an outlaw, deprived of my office and my duties". Daniel Klesch in his letter to the Faculty of Theology in Leipzig: Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Theol. Fak., No. 18/Film 1445, view 0290-0291 (fol. 405-406). A similar quote by the same person: "In Nomine Jesu! Exul parentator", Wittenberg 1675.

² Burning the followers and propagators of the Reformation at the stake was also imbedded in the law of Hungary by Act of 1523. On the concept of exile as punishment see G. Schwerhoff, *Vertreibung als Strafe. Der Stadt- und Landesverweis im Ancien Régime*, in S. Hahn, A. Komlosy, I. Reiter (eds.), *Ausweisung-Abschiebung-Vertreibung in Europa 16.-20. Jahrhundert*, Querschnitte Bd. 20, Innsbruck - Vienna - Bozen 2006, pp. 48-72.

³ W.-F. Schäufele, *Die Konsequenzen des Westfälischen Friedens für den Umgang mit religiösen Minderheiten in Deutschland*, in G. Frank, J. Haustein, A. De Lange (eds.), *Asyl, Toleranz und Religionsfreiheit. Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Herausforderungen*, Bensheimer Hefte 95, Göttingen 2000, pp. 121-139.

⁴ Ch.D. Klesch, *Dissertatio de jure peregrinantium/Vom Recht der Reisenden*, Jena 1713. (It was in December 1680 that he submitted the thesis for defence, but as a matter of fact its author had been his grandfather from his mother's side, Daniel Gruber). Ch.F. Bartholdi, *Dissertatio de jure principium recipiendi exules fidei socios*, Franckfurt 1686. Besides Fathers of the Church (Athanasius, Tertullianus) the author also makes references to Justinian, Hugo Grotius and Jean Bodin.

⁵ F. Hartweg, S. Jersch-Wenzel (eds.), *Die Hugenotten und das Refuge: Deutschland und Europa. Beiträge zu einer Tagung*, Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Bd. 74, Berlin 1990. S. Jersch-Wenzel, *Hugenotten in Preußen*, in A. Demandt (ed.), *Mit Fremden leben. Eine Kulturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 1995, pp. 158-171.

⁶ The position of exiles was studied in a number of works published in that time. Besides Klesch's *Dissertatio de jure peregrinantium* (see note 4) also the thesis by G.P. Dreher, *Jura Exulum*, Altdorff 1675;

- G. Krüger, *Disputatio philosophico-practica de exilio*, Wittenberg 1674. For the everyday routine of examining the right of a person's being granted exile and consequent right of obtaining subsidies see A. Schunka, *Exulanten in Kursachsen im 17. Jahrhundert in Herberge der Christenheit. Jahrbuch für deutsche Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. 27, Leipzig 2003, pp. 17-36.
- ⁷ For example, Zsuzsana Lórantfy commissioned in 1650 a privilege charter for Moravian exiles in a ceremonial (illuminated) design, respected even after the change of manorial nobility. State Archive in Považská Bystrica, collection Mestečko Púchov.
- ⁸ On individual waves of exile see: A. Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt. Die Aufnahme der niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566-1585*, Bielefeld 1998; H. Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte No. 187, Jahrgang 78-79, Gütersloh 1972; W.W. Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten in oberdeutschen Reichsstädten. Zur Migration von Führungsschichten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1992; L. Bobková, *Exulanti z Prahy a severozápadních Čech v Pirně v letech 1621-1639*, Documenta Pragensia monographia, Vol. 8, Prague 1999; F. Hartweg, S. Jersch-Wenzel (eds.), *Die Hugenotten und das Refuge: Deutschland und Europa. Beiträge zu einer Tagung*, Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Bd. 74, Berlin 1990; H. Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Exodus der Hugenotten. Die Aufhebung des Edicts von Nantes 1685 als europäisches Ereignis*, Cologne - Vienna 1985; A. De Lange, *Die religionspolitische Bedeutung der Ansiedlung der Waldenser in Deutschland 1699 damals und heute*, in G. Frank (ed.), *Asyl, Toleranz und Religionsfreiheit. Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Herausforderungen*, Göttingen 2000, pp. 140-188; E. Štěříková, *Z nouze o spasení. Česká emigrace v 18. století do Pruského Slezska*, Prague 1992; W. Brunner, *Westungarn als Zuflucht steirischer Glaubensflüchtlinge in Reformation und Gegenreformation im Pannonischen Raum. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland (WAB)*, Bd. 102, Eisentadt 1999, pp. 107-129.
- ⁹ I. Mrva, *Uhorsko, azylová krajina v období novoveku*, in "Česko-slovenská historická ročenka", 1999, pp. 17-25.
- ¹⁰ Documentation of the trial was newly published by K.S. Varga, *Vitetnek itélőszékere...Az 1674-es gál-yarabper jegyzőkönyve*, Pozsony 2002.
- ¹¹ B. Köpéczi, *Staatsträson und christliche Solidarität. Die ungarischen Aufstände und Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna - Cologne - Graz 1983, pp. 30-33.
- ¹² *F. Natus redivivus, seu modesta solutio quaestionis de fuga in persecutione, utrum pastores Bohemici recte fecerint, quod ad mandatum Caesareum Praga excesserunt?* (originally Wittenberg 1624), Christianopolis (Cluj/Clausenburg) 1675.
- ¹³ In Coburg, for instance, four Hungarian tin-wrights (*Zinngiesser*) settled simultaneously in 1677-1678. W. Reißig, *Ungarndeutsche Exulanten nach dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege in Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung 27/1982*, pp. 109-128.
- ¹⁴ These arguments were expounded by D. Klesch in his sermon *Apostolica status ratio in politeumate coelico Pauli [...] exposita/Das ist Geistlich-Apostolischer Staatist [...] der falschen Welt-Staatisterey entgegen gesetzt*, Hamburg 1675.
- ¹⁵ Exile departure was regulated by authorities along appointed voyage routes, in some cases (e.g. Michael Ritthaler, Stephanus Pilarick) a conspirational emigration might have been the case.
- ¹⁶ A wide range of means of pressure are described by, e.g., Martinus Novack, Daniel Klesch, Andreas Günther and Stephanus Pilarick.
- ¹⁷ The Hungarian exiles settled mainly in Saxony, Silesia and Lusatia which lay comparatively close to Hungarian territory and where the language-related communities of Bohemian exiles could be found. More details in E. Štěříková, *Exulantská útočiště v Lužici a Sasku*, Prague 2004.
- ¹⁸ Labzansky's treatise *Kurtzer und wahrhaffter Gerichts-Auszug* was also published in Hungary in Latin (Trnava/Nagyszombat) and in Germany in the German language (Dillingen) 1675.

- ¹⁹ On the issue of encroaching the credit, see K. Schneider, G. Schwerhoff (eds.), *Verletzte Ehre. Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne - Weimar - Vienna 1995.
- ²⁰ Also common were consolatory sermons with abundant specific references to the situation of the exiles. See e.g. A. Günther, *Des hocherleuchteten Apostel Pauli Christianus persecutionem patiens/Wie und warum ein Christ in der Welt Verfolgung leiden müsse?*, Halle 1676; Anon., *Tröstschrift an die in den Königreich Ungarn um des heiligen Evangelii willen heftig bedrängte Ewangelische Christen*, undated. More on the sermon works of the exiles in E. Kowalská, *Kážeň ako zdroj informácií pre sociálne a politické dejiny? K možnostiam interpretácie kázňovej tvorby luteránskych exulantov z Uhorska*, in Z. Kákošová, M. Vojtech (eds.), *Slovenský literárny barok. Venované 340. výročiu smrti Petra Benického*, Bratislava 2005, pp. 118-129.
- ²¹ F. Natus, *Modesta solutio* (see note 12), pp. 84-85.
- ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 70-78.
- ²³ More on this issue in e.g. E. Pilarick, *De persecutione verae ecclesiae dissertatio theologica*, Wittenberg 1676.
- ²⁴ More details on this issue in E. Kowalská, *Z vlasti do exilu: skúsenosti evanjelických farárov z prenasledovania a exilu v 17. storočí (Faktory uchovania a posilňovania luteránskej identity)*, in "Slovenský národopis", 2004, 52, pp. 249-269.
- ²⁵ It was explicitly highlighted by e.g. S. Fekete, *Trifolium sacrum [...] Das ist: Geistliches Kleeblatt, vorstellend die allernächste Ursach der Trübsal des Volkes Gottes*, Jena 1677, pp. 5-6. Similar reference is abundant also in sermons of Anton Reiser and Daniel Klesch. Johann Burius strictly reproached the discrepancy between the Formula Concordiae teachings and the behaviour of its supporters: J. Burius, *Einfältige doch Christlich wohlgemeynende und erhebliche Motiven*, (S.l.) 1679, p. 47.
- ²⁶ Such was the intention behind publishing the book *Hungaria debellata* as mentioned the anonymously edited writing *Web- und demüthige Elend-Klage derer aus dem Königreich Ungarn [...] unschuldig vertriebenen [...] Elend-Männer*, (S.l.) 1682, pp. 31-32.
- ²⁷ V. Press, *Soziale Folgen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* in W. Schulze (ed), *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien 12, Munich 1988, pp. 239-268.
- ²⁸ For instance, prior to being elected a preacher in Naumburg, A. Günther preferred to conceal his letter of recommendation written by Prince Moritz zu Zeitz in order to avoid suspicion that the Prince violated the patronage right of the Town Council for his benefit. A. Günther, *Fata pastoralia*, in J.R. Lademan, *Ein dankender Priester*, Naumburg 1709, p. 93.
- ²⁹ Such motives for aversion to the the exiles are mentioned in *Web- und demüthige Elend-Klage*, pp. 6, 31.
- ³⁰ Among those literally active with their writings referred to in this study were, for instance, Anton Reiser, a native to Augsburg, holding the office of municipal parson, Daniel Klesch, the Senior Father of the Zipser Vicars Brotherhood or Andreas Günther, a graduate from the University of Wittenberg. There are many other examples.
- ³¹ E. Kowalská, *Günther, Klesch, Láni a iní: k typológii uhorských exulantov 17. storočia*. (in "Acta Comeniana et historica", forthcoming).
- ³² "How come the exiles behave so *verachtet* all the time? Beholding a pious exile a-coming, everybody rushes to bolt the windows and doors, *als für einem Giff*. The very word exile sounds so corrupt (*abscheulich und verdrossen*) to the world that it makes everybody cover their ears". S. Fabritius, *Spina pungens, stachlichter Dorn*, Coburg 1680, p. 87.
- ³³ See e.g. A. Günther's sermon *Christus Hungariae valedicens*, Strahlsund 1675. Günther himself presented the content of the sermon as something that many fellow countrymen may be displeased with.
- ³⁴ A. Günther in sermon *Des hocherleuchteten Apostel Pauli Christianus persecutionem patiens* (see note 20), p. 30.
- ³⁵ A. Günther as well as G. Láni even after a long stay in Germany (longer than in Hungary) highlighted their status of a "Hungarian exile".

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