

**LACRYMÆ EUROPÆ:
POEMS MOURNING COUNT MIKLÓS ZRÍNYI
IN LONDON AND PARIS**

GEORGE GÖMÖRI

University of Cambridge, Cambridge
England

Count Nicholas (Miklós) Zrínyi was not only an accomplished poet (author of the great epic poem "The Siege of Sziget") and an outstanding military commander, but for a short time he seemed to be the man of providence to save Europe from the aggressive designs of the Turkish Empire. In the words of an anonymous English author of 1664 Zrínyi was "that excellent personage upon whom are the eyes of Europe, as upon the great Champion of Christe(n)dome".¹ High hopes attached to his military genius culminated in a book devoted to him in London in the Spring of 1664 under the title: *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the Auxiliaries in Hungary*, but apart from this work where he was compared to his great "parallels" Scanderbeg and "Tamberlain" (Timur Lenk), no less than 18 other publications (books, booklets and poetic broadsheets) related to his military exploits in the Turkish wars were published in the course of 1663–1665. Few foreign statesmen or soldiers got so much publicity in Restoration England. The cult of Nicholas Zrínyi was not limited to literature (itself much influenced by reports of foreign correspondents printed in the London newspapers of the time), but spilled over into iconography. A fictitious picture of Zrínyi, engraved by John Chantry, adorned *The Conduct and Character...* (compiled by a mysterious O.C.), and another book, also published in 1664, displayed the portrait of an exotic-looking Zrínyi on its frontispiece. This was the third edition of Henry Marsh's *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire, History and Government Compleated*² (London, 1664, printed by J. Best for Samuel Bolton), where Nicholas Zrínyi occupied the centre of a picture, being surrounded by tiny, medallion-like portraits of four other historical figures (the Austrian Emperor, the King of France, Scanderbeg and Tamerlain). This portrait does not bear much resemblance to the historical Zrínyi, but another one, engraved by William Faithorne the Elder (1616–1690), done from "the originall sent from Hungarie to the Kings most excellent

Majestie", representing the Hungarian commander on horseback, is not unlike him. It was this latter "portraiture" (recently reprinted in *Angol életrajz Zrínyi Miklósról*, Budapest, 1987) which was also advertised in the June 27, 1664 issue of the London journal *The Intelligencer* to be sold in William Faithorne's shop "next dore to the Signe of the Drake without Temple Barre".³

Having attached such great hopes to Nicholas Zrínyi who, in his English biography was compared to two other "scourges" of the Turk, Tamerlain and Scanderbeg, his untimely death at a hunt near Csáktornya shocked public opinion all over Europe. Zrínyi died on November 18, 1664 (November 8 according to the old calendar still valid in England) and within weeks a small anthology of funerary verse was published by Father Schilling Florentinus of Vienna. This anthology exists in two versions: the version in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (OSzK) is entitled *Naenia Melpomenes Schillingianae*⁴ whereas the other version now in the collections of the Herzog-August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel bears the German title *Poetische Klage über die betrübte Entleibung Weiland des Hoch- und Wohlgebohren und theuren Helden Herrn Niclasen Grafens von Serin...*⁵ Neither copy gives the place of publication, but both were probably printed in Vienna. This was soon followed by a more impressive international anthology *Honor Posthumus*⁶ edited by a Hungarian student at the University of Tübingen, György Dömötöri. This anthology comprises no less than 23 poems, most of which were written in Latin and German, although there are specimens of Greek, French and Hungarian pieces too (Dömötöri himself wrote in Hungarian).

The torrent of grief unleashed by Zrínyi's fatal hunting accident reached London some time later. It was manifested in the form of a broadsheet of Latin verses entitled *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ in luctuosum fatum Illustrissimi et Excellentissimi D.D. Nicolai Comitisa Zerényi...*, printed by Nathaniel Brook probably in the first months of 1665. (Since *The Intelligencer* reported Zrínyi's death on December 8/18 [1664], it is very unlikely that within the next three weeks all the poems could have been commissioned for the broadsheet.)

Although the editor's name is not given, one can take it for granted that it was the Hungarian theologian-turned-classical linguist Pál P. Jászberényi, who had lived in England since 1659 and published with Brook *Fax nova linguæ Latinæ*, a very popular Latin grammar. Jászberényi is present on the broadsheet with four short Latin epitaphs and a prose eulogy, but apart

from his major contribution to the anthology he was the only author with sufficient contacts and reputation to push through this project.

It must have been Jászberényi who, having received Father Schilling's funerary poems from Vienna, decided to organize the London venture by winning over two of his compatriots, Ferenc Száki and Ferenc Szendrei as well as a Swedish mathematician friend, Joannes Megalinus, to the idea of a little Latin anthology. The language of the broadsheet was to be Latin not only for the absence of native English authors but also because of the "international" appeal Jászberényi and his friends were hoping to make. Jászberényi himself came from Transylvania where he was in the service of the Rákóczi family⁷ and he kept in touch with educated and high-ranking members of other families, for example the Bethlens — when Miklós Bethlen visited England in 1663, it was Jászberényi who showed him around in London.⁸ Sándor Bene, a young Hungarian researcher even assumes that it was Miklós Bethlen who would have sent Schilling's poems to Jászberényi or could have inspired the composition of the funerary anthology on Zrínyi.⁹ In my view, this is only a hypothesis, indirectly contradicted by an error on the London broadsheet. *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ* claims that Count Nicholas Zrínyi died on November 24 (in fact he died on the 18th); had the editor received information from Bethlen himself — who, by the way, was present at the fateful hunting expedition where Zrínyi met his death — he could not have made this particular mistake.

Lacrymæ Hungaricæ consists of eleven Latin poems and a short prose eulogy. Apart from Jászberényi only Száki and P(ater) Schilling contributed more than one poem to the anthology, whereas Szendrei, Megalinus and a certain "Joach. a Pastor." wrote one each. As for Száki and Szendrei, they were both Hungarian Protestant theologians. Having studied at the Calvinist college of Sárospatak, both spent some time at various Dutch universities (Szendrei stayed at Utrecht, Franeker and Groningen) before arriving (at different times) to England. Száki seems to have lived mainly in London — although he visited Cambridge as well — between 1664 and May 1666, whereas Szendrei spent no less than five years in England from 1661 onwards, visiting both Oxford and Cambridge during this period.¹⁰ As for Megalinus, all we know about him is that he was friend of Jászberényi's who earned his living probably with lessons of mathematics in London, and that he wrote other occasional poems as well — for example a poem greeting the publication of his Transylvanian friend's *Fax nova*.¹¹ The sixth author was identified by myself after the publication of *Angol életrajz*: he is Joachim Pastorius, a most productive Polish-German Humanist, Professor

of the famous Gymnasium of Gdańsk (Danzig) and the author of many occasional poems in Latin. Joachim Pastorius ab Hirtenberg was greatly interested in English political and constitutional developments, also wrote several panegyrics to Charles II.¹² He visited England in 1638 and may have repeated his visit in 1664, although we have no factual evidence to the latter.¹³ So it remains a mystery how his "In luctuosam mortem fortissimi Viri, D.D. Nic. Comitis Zerenyi" fell into Jászberényi's hands — was it printed separately in Germany or Holland, or was it sent to him by the same person who sent the Schilling poems? We are unable to answer these questions at present.

Pastorius (who was elevated into the ranks of the nobility not by the King of Poland but by Emperor Leopold I. in 1660) had more than a cursory interest in Count Nicholas Zrínyi. Apart from the poem printed by Jászberényi he wrote at least another one which remained unpublished. MS Sloane 1381 in the British Library contains many of Pastorius's unpublished verses copied by his younger friend the German lawyer and medic, Jacobus Pragestus, and one of these reflects on the circumstances on Zrínyi's death. The title is "In obitum longe bellicosissimi belli Ducis Serenii, inter venandum (ie cubaru) ab Apro interempti" and the poem consists of twelve lines, i.e. six distichs. The poem's main conceit is expressed in its last lines: this great commander fell not from the sword of the Turk, but an enraged boar killed him and his spirit expresses his sorrow that he did not die in a more "dignified" way: "Fulmineo spamantis apri sum dente peremptus, / (Dum varias sector per iuga vasta feras.) / Nec queror infernas quamvis cito rapta sum umbras, / Non potui fato nobiliore mori."¹⁴ It is possible that Jászberényi when editing *Lacrymae Hungaricae* did not know this second poem by Pastorius; on the other hand, one of Ferenc Száki's poems is quite similar in its "message" to the lines quoted above: neither Mars nor Hector or Achilles, only a beast could kill this great soldier: "Arma gerit fortis bellorum plurima miles, / His satis est Apro dente ferire suo."¹⁵ If Jászberényi did know the second Pastorius poem, what may have decided about omitting it was the first person singular used by the poet from Gdańsk: it is Zrínyi's spirit who talks in the poem, and all the poems of Jászberényi's broadsheet are different in one important respect — they are all *about* Zrínyi, from the standpoint of the survivors.

Count Nicholas Zrínyi's death was mourned by French contemporaries as well: in fact French involvement in the Turkish war became stronger in early 1664 and culminated with the participation of the French auxiliaries in the victorious battle of St. Gotthard. The official journal, the Paris

Gazette reported Zrínyi's death somewhat late, only in the 27th December, 1664. number.¹⁶ There was, however, a poet or rather a versifier who also reported this sad event exactly a week earlier: Jean Loret in his weekly "rhyming gazette", the *Muze Historique*. Loret described important events in France and abroad in his gazette in the form of "letters" written to Mademoiselle de Longueville, later the Duchesse of Nemours; the mode of description was rhyming couplets. In his 1664 "letters" Loret mentioned Zrínyi as "Comte de Sérin" or "Sérin, ce Hongrois généreux" many times, describing the Hungarian commander's Winter Campaign and other important events. Finally, in Letter V.(50) issued on December 20, 1664, he mourned Zrínyi eloquently in no less than 68 lines. Bemoaning the fact that he has not the talent of Virgil or Pindar to immortalize Zrínyi, he gave the greatest praise to Zrínyi that a Frenchman could give: apparently Zrínyi exhibited many traits of Frenchmen of noble rank. I would like to conclude with Loret's full text:¹⁷

Ces jours passez, dans une Eglise,
 J'apris d'une belle Marquize,
 J'apris, mais non pas sans chagrin,
 Que le preux Comte de Sérin,
 Au grand regret de sa Patrie
 Que l'on appelle la Hongrie,
 Par une assez tragique mort
 A vû finir son noble sort,
 Et ce fut, dit-on, à la Chasse
 Que luy survint cette disgrâce.
 Ce Guerrier, ce Comte fameux,
 Voyant un Sanglier écumeux
 Sortir d'une épaisse brossaille,
 Alla pour luy livrer bataille;
 Et, dans ce périlleux dessein,
 Ayant mis le sabre á la main,
 Le Sanglier, ébloüiy du sabre
 Se lance à côté, puis se cabre,
 Et se rüant sur le Chasseur,
 De l'Aigle, autrefois, Défenseur,
 Ce furieux Sanglier, ou Laye,
 Fit une si profonde playe,
 Avec ses crocs longs et hideux,
 A ce Seigneur trop hazardeux,
 Que cédant au Sanglier superbe
 Il tomba tout sanglant sur l'herbe,
 Et vid incontinent après

Changer ses Lauriers en Cypré.
 Ce que n'ont pû tant d'Aversaires,
 Tant d'Agas et de Janissaires,
 Et tant de Bassas renommiez,
 Contre ce Grand-Homme animez,
 Qui vouloient aracher sa vie,
 Dont tous les Turcs avoient envie,
 Las, hélas! fut l'événement
 D'un seul et funeste moment;
 Et le trépas de cét Illustre,
 Dont le renom a tant de lustre,
 Nonobstant le cruël désir
 Du Grand-Seigneur, du Grand-Vizir.
 Qui pétilloient d'avoir sa Teste,
 N'est que l'ouvrage d'une Beste.

Ainsi, feu Monsieur Adonis,
 Qui par les charmes infinis
 De sa beauté presque divine,
 Devint le mignon de Cyprine,
 Par les dents d'un Sanglier mutin
 Encourut un mesme destin.

Comme j'ay toujours fait grand conte
 De ce brave et généreux Comte,
 Son trop déplorable mal-heur
 M'a cauzé bien de la douleur:
 Si j'étois Virgile, ou Pindare,
 Ou quelqu'autre Esprit aussi rare,
 Ses faits, dignes d'être prizez,
 Par moy seroient éternizez;
 Il fit, pour l'Empéreur son Maître,
 Beaucoup d'ardeur toujours paraître:
 Dans l'Empire, pas-un Seigneur
 Ne le surpassoit en honneur,
 Ny mesme en grandeur de Lignage,
 Non plus qu'en grandeur de courage:
 Mais enfin, pour mieux m'exprimer,
 Ce qui m'obligeoit de l'aimer,
 C'est qu'il avoit pour nôtre France
 Estime, zèle et bienveillance,
 Ayant, dit-on, chez-luy traité
 Bien des François de qualité.

Notes

1. *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini...* (London, 1664), p. 109.
2. There were several editions of Henry Marsh's *A new survey of the Turkish Empire and Government...* The first edition was printed in two variants in 1663 for Henry Marsh in a duodecimo format. The second edition was also printed in 1663 for Marsh, but it has a different epistle dedicatory. An extended edition under the title *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire, History and Government Completed* was printed in 1664 by J. B. for Samuel Bolton in octavo, and there was yet another edition by J. B. for John Williams also in octavo in the same year.
3. *The Intelligencer* 164: 411.
4. Its signature is "Röpl. 662" in the Hungarian National Library.
5. The Wolfenbüttel signature is WB. 159. 31. Hi (5)
6. Its full title is *Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi Quondam Comitis Domini Domini Nicolai Serini* (Tubingae: Typis Gregorii Kernerii, 1664).
7. Two Rákóczi, George I and George II were elected Princes of Transylvania in the 17th century. Jászberényi was at one point instructor of Ferenc Rákóczi I.
8. *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* Ed. Éva V. Windisch (Budapest, 1980), 585.
9. *Angol életrajz Zrínyi Miklósról*. Ed. Iván Sándor Kovács (Budapest, 1987), 365.
10. Száki appealed for money to the Dutch Church in London, cf. J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum*, III., Part II. (Cambridge, 1897), 2511, His visit to Cambridge is recorded in the *Senior Bursar's Audit Book* of Trinity College (1664), whereas Szendrei appears in the *Mundum Book*, Vol. 31 of King's College, Cambridge in 1662 and in the *Bursar's Account Book* of University College, Oxford in March, 1663, as the recipient of small donations.
11. *Fax nova Linguae Latinae* [A new Torch of the English Tongue] was first published in 1664 and subsequently ran into several further editions.
12. Kazimierz Kubik lists five Latin poems written to Charles II in his monograph *Joachim Pastorius, gdański pedagog XVII. wieku* (Gdańsk, 1970).
13. The earlier visit is recorded in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Ed. Ch. L. Livet (Wrocław etc.) 24: 261.
14. British Library, London, Ms Sloane 1381, fol. 56–56/v, also in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1992/2: 169.
15. *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ...* (London, n. y. [1665]).
16. Béla Köpeczi, *Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége* (Budapest, 1976), 35.
17. *La Muze Historique ou Recueil des Lettres en vers contenant les nouvelles du temps écrites...* par Jean Loret. Nouvelle édition, Tome IV. (1663–1665) (Paris, 1878), 284.

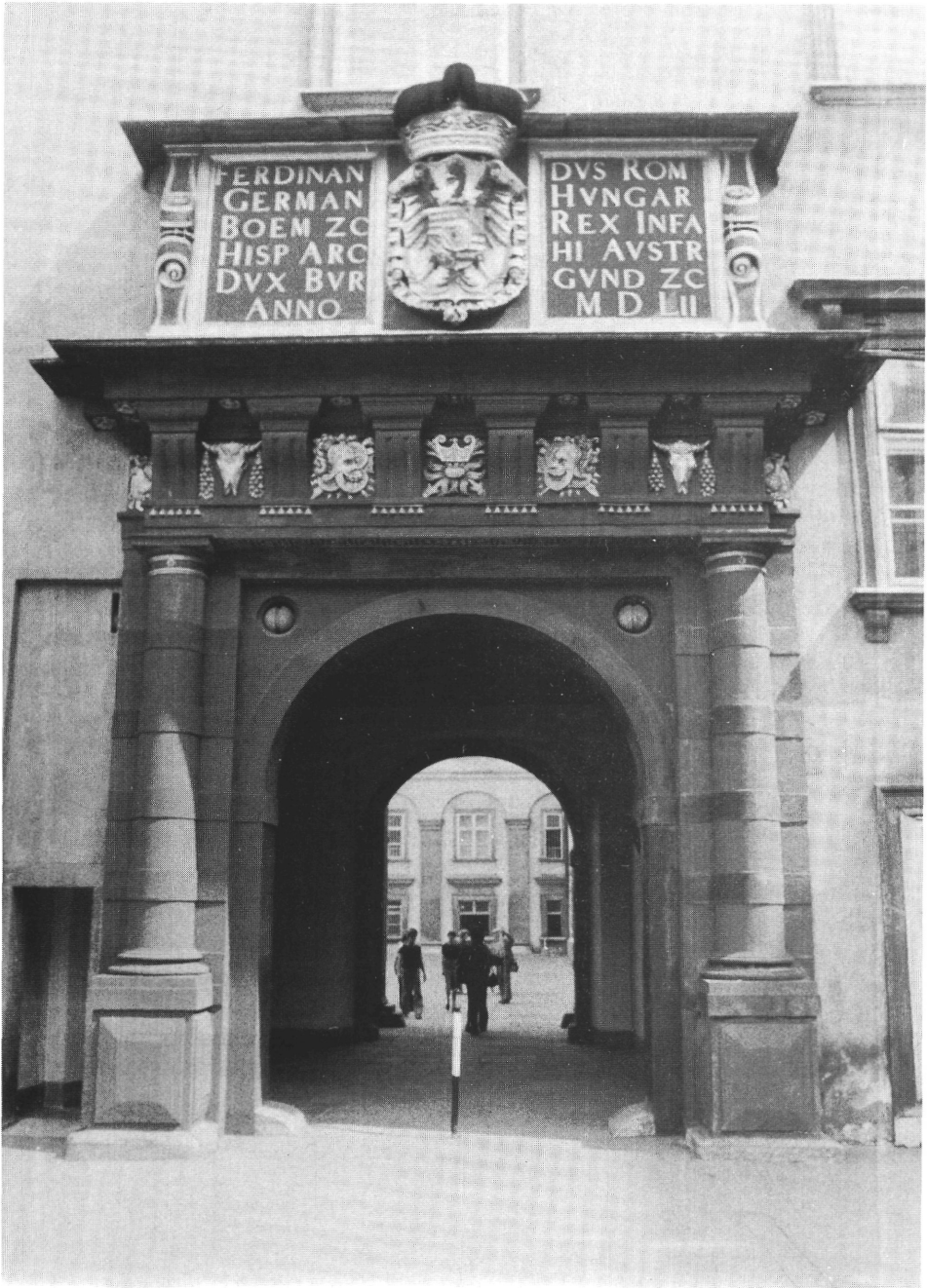


Plate I Pietro Ferabosco: Entrance Gate of the Vienna Burg, 1552.

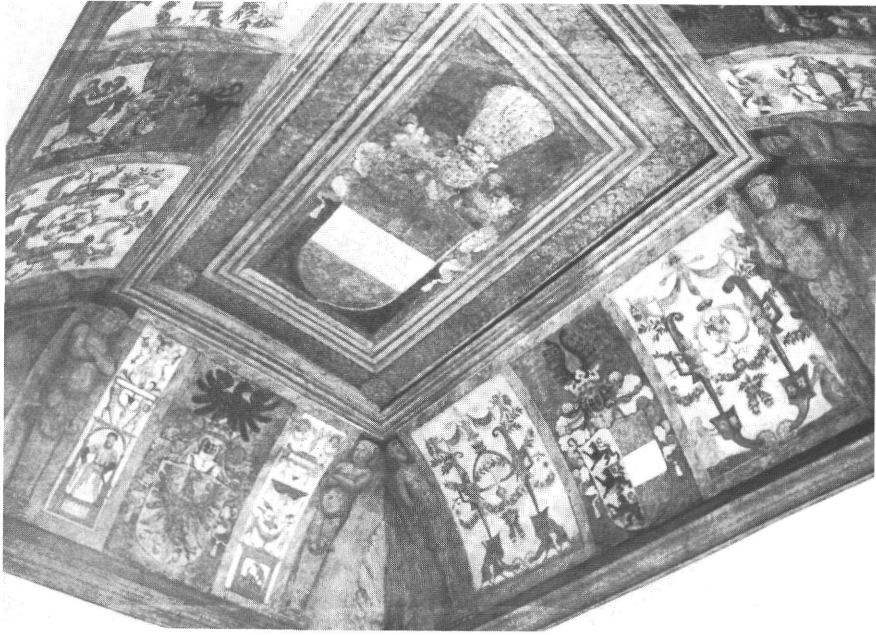


Plate II/1 Pietro Ferabosco: The Ceiling of the Entrance Gate of the Vienna Burg, 1553. Detail.



Plate II/2 The pictorial decoration of the balcony of the Pozsony (Bratislava) Castle from the 1560's. Detail.



Plate III Tombstone of Miklós Oláh, 1568. Nagyszombat (Trnava), Dome.



Plate IV Tombstone of István Fejérvári, 1588. Nyitra (Nitra), Cathedral.



Plate V

Johann Weinhardt: Tombstone of Palatine Szaniszló Thurzó, 1625. Lőcse (Levoča), Parish Church.



Plate VI/1 Antonio Abondio: Medal of Sebastian Zäch, 1572. (After T. Gerevich.)



Plate VI/2 Joachim Elsholtz: Medal of Sebastian Henkel, 1590. (After Huszár-Procopius.)



Plate VI/3 Joachim Elsholtz: Medal of David Hohenberger, 1593. (After Huszár-Procopius.)



Plate VII

Portrait of Kristóf Lackner, 1602. Sopron, City Museum.



Plate VIII Portrait of Tamás Nádasdy, early 17th century. Oil painting, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.



Plate IX Portrait of Orsolya Kanizsai, early 17th century. Oil painting, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.



Plate X

Tombstone of Ferenc Révay, 1553. Turócszentmárton (Martin), Roman Catholic Church.



Plate XI Portrait of Éva Forgách, wife of István Csáky, 1638. Oil painting. Csáky Deposit, Hungarian National Museum.



Plate XII Portrait of Kristóf Thurzó, 1615. Oil painting, Csáky Deposit, Hungarian National Museum.



Plate XIII/1 Johann Weinhardt (?): Tombstone of Kristóf Thurzó, 1614. Lócsé (Levoča), Parish Church.



Plate XIII/2 Tombstone of János Rueber, 1584. Hungarian National Gallery.



Plate XIV Paul Mayr: Tombstone of Miklós Pálffy, 1601. Model. Formerly at Vöröskő (Červený Kamen) Castle.



Plate XV Paul Mayr: Tombstone sculpture of Miklós Pálffy, 1601. Pozsony (Bratislava), Franciscan Church.



Plate XVI/1 Hans von Aachen: Allegory of the Liberation of Győr in 1598. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



Plate XVI/2 Caspar Meneller: Tombstone of Miklós Pálffy, 1601. Pozsony (Bratislava), Dome.



Plate XVI/3 Tombstone of János Drugeth, 1613. Pozsony (Bratislava), Dome.

HUNGARIAN STUDIES
a Journal of the International Association
of Hungarian Studies
(Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság)

Editor-in-Chief
Mihály Szegedy-Maszák

Volume 10
Numbers 1, 2



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST
1995

CONTENTS

<i>Basa Molnár, Enikő</i> : English and Hungarian Cultural Contacts in the 16th Century	205
<i>Birnbaum, Marianna D.</i> : Three Farewell Poems from Renaissance Hungary	191
<i>Csorba, László</i> : Political Dilemmas of the Religious Jews in the 1960–70s	100
<i>Fabiny, Tibor Jr.</i> : Bishop Lajos Ordass and the Hungarian Lutheran Church	65
<i>Galavics, Géza</i> : The Hungarian Royal Court and Late Renaissance Art	307
<i>Gömöri, George</i> : <i>Lacrymae Europae</i> : Poems Mourning Count Miklós Zrínyi in London and Paris	343
<i>Horvath, Tibor S. J.</i> : Religions, Churches in Modern Hungary and <i>Metem</i> Research	131
<i>Kamarás, István</i> : Tendencies of Religious Changes in Modern Hungary	121
<i>Klaniczay, Tibor</i> : The Concepts of Hungaria and Pannonia in the Age of the Renaissance	173
<i>Nagy, Moses M.</i> : The Spiritual and Pedagogical Impact of the Cistercian Order in Hungary	35
<i>Niessen, James P.</i> : Transylvanian Catholics and the Papacy in the Era of the <i>Syllabus Errorum</i>	45
<i>Péter, László</i> : Church-State Relations and Civil Society in Hungary: a Historical Perspective	3
<i>Szegedy-Maszák, Mihály</i> : <i>The Protestant Review</i> : Its Past and Present	55
<i>Szendrey, Thomas</i> : Re-emergence of Christian Democracy in Hungary	115
<i>Szigeti, Csaba</i> : The Metrical Heritage of Balassi in Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Poetry	291
<i>Szőnyi, György E.</i> : Courtly Literature in Renaissance Hungary and England: Bálint Balassi and Philip Sidney	253
<i>Szőnyi, György E.</i> : Introduction	171
<i>Tarnai, Andor</i> : Latin Poetry in Hungary in the 16th and 17th Centuries	279
<i>Téglásy, Imre</i> : János Zsámboky (Sambucus) and His Theory of Language	235
<i>Vago, Raphael</i> : Jews, Judaism and Zionism in Hungary 1945–1953	99
<i>Varga, Ivan</i> : Post-Communist Dilemmas of Hungarian Churches	139
<i>Zemplényi, Ferenc</i> : The Medieval Heritage in Hungarian Renaissance Poetry	333

PRINTED IN HUNGARY

Akadémiai Kiadó és Nyomda, Budapest

CONTRIBUTORS

Enikő MOLNÁR BASA

Library of Congress, Washington, DC, USA

Marianna D. BIRNBAUM

University of California, Los Angeles, USA

Géza GALAVICS

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary

George GÖMÖRI

University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England

Tibor KLANICZAY

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary

Csaba SZIGETI

Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College, Szeged, Hungary

György E. SZÓNYI

József Attila University, Szeged, Hungary

Andor TARNAI

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

Imre TÉGLÁSY

Budapest, Hungary

Ferenc ZEMPLÉNYI

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

From the Contents of Forthcoming Issues

Papers on Miklós Radnóti

Kevin E. Kelly: Lugosy in Hollywood

Valerie Majoros: Berlin et Paris de Lajos Tihanyi

Ambrus Miskolczy: Paradoxes of and about Iorga

József Szili: The Mystery of Textual Symmetry Disclosed