

**State University Leiden (Netherlands): formative space of the
Transylvanian students through *peregrination academica*:
the case of Péter Bod (1712-1769)**

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The most important scientific personality of the eighteenth century in Transylvania is considered by scholarly literature to be Péter Bod (1712-1769), the Reformed minister from Ighiu (Magyarigen, Grabendorf- Romania).



Bod Péter 1712-1769

This positive characterization is based on Bod's prodigious activity as a collector, writer and editor of the first encyclopedia of Hungarian scientists who lived in the Carpathian Basin from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century, named *Magyar Athenas* (Hungarian's Athens).¹ Due to this volume, Bod is considered a Father of the Hungarian History of Literature. In addition,

¹ Bod Péter, *Magyar Athenas*, Szeben, 1766.

the Reformed Church and the Transylvanian historiography have considered him an outstanding historian of the Transylvanian Reformed Church in the eighteenth century. However, his quality as historiographer of the Church seems to be eclipsed by his much more well-known and promoted activity within the History of Hungarian Literature. He was under the influence of his studies at Leiden University as well as the academic pilgrimage.

Péter Bod himself was, who devotes several pages to this grand tour in his autobiography, marks the dates referring to the Leiden pilgrimage era. In this respect, this work is very important for our research because it allows us to research his pilgrimage in detail.²

Without looking at the University of Leiden and the three years of study, Bod cannot be understood as a historian, writer, church historian, theologian, cartographer, epigrapher, interested in numismatic studies, and literary historian. The professional training in the West (*peregrinatio academica*) it represents an important moment in the history of integration for Transylvanian Protestant pedagogy into the famous theological trends of that time. This study tries to reveal those moments of historiography that can often be reported or defined only by the process and contents of academic peregrination. The relevance of this research is seen in the general vision on the historical works and in capturing the historiographic evolution of Bod. Bod's evolution and his historical work cannot be understood without the analysis of his three years of study in Leiden.

Péter Bod was the most famous clerical personality of the Principality who brought effervescence to the intellectual life of Transylvanian Protestants, who were more and more censored in the second half of the XVIIIth century. Péter Bod was born on February 22nd, 1712 in Cernatul de Sus (Felsőcsernáton) in the region named Secuime (Székelyföld, Seklerland), “*In that part of Transylvania that looks to Moldavia [...] in the district of Kézdi, among Seklers.*”³ His parents were Márton Bod and Euphrozina Sólyom, descendants of aristocratic families. His great grandfather, Pál Bod, had received the diploma of raising to peerage from the Protestant Prince of Transylvania György Rákóczi I, in 1640. At the age of seven, he became fatherless. His mother was forced to raise the children in extremely difficult conditions. Bod had to drive the cows to pasture, an occasion in which he could read some books. In 1724, at the age of twelve, he was enrolled at the Bethlenian College from Aiud (Nagyenyed) where he saved some money and survived as a

² Bod Péter, „Önéletírás (Descriptio de sua vitae)”, in *Magyar Athenas, Magyar Hírmondó*, Budapest, ed. Magvető, 1982.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

servant-pupil, helping children from wealthy aristocratic families. In 1729 at the age of seventeen, he was invited to teach as a schoolteacher at Schola Rivulina (part of the Bethlen College from Aiud (Nagyenyed) in Baia Sprie (Felsőbánya). He started to save some money, read many books and bought better quality clothes.

In 1732, he returned to the College of Aiud (Nagyenyed) to study Theology and Philosophy and in 1736, as a reward for his activities, he was appointed librarian of the College. In the meantime, he studied Hebrew and was hired as assistant professor of Hebrew Antiquities, teaching mostly Hebrew grammar. During this time, he met a student's affluent parent, Mihály Türi, who was also the Administrator of the College and who facilitated him to obtain a bursary of 30 forints, offered by Countess Kata Bethlen to the clever students. As a reward for his activity, Bod was invited as rector of the Protestant College of Orăștie (Szászváros), a position that he did not accept due to his academic peregrination plans. After receiving 50 forints from Countess Bethlen and 100 forints from Mihály Türi, he left for Leiden in May 1740 together with his colleague, József Bodoki. The journey was possible thanks to the generous offer from the University of Leiden that facilitated free studies for two students from Aiud for three years.

The road that Bod followed to Leiden was never far from books and libraries. After Carei (Nagykároly) and Debrecen, Pest and Székesfehérvár, they travelled to Mór, where they received support from the Reformed Churches from these cities. On July 3rd, they arrived in Vienna from where they departed to Nürnberg in the company of an Ambassador. On the route, they passed Melk, Linz, Passau, and Regensburg. After a week and a short stop in Nürnberg, they continued their way to Würzburg and Frankfurt and then to Mainz, Koblenz, Bonn and Köln. The peregrination continued to Rein and Nijmegen, with a short stop in Utrecht and Amsterdam, and they. They arrived in Leiden after two months and two weeks on August 6th Bod was an outstanding student during the three years of study at the University of Leiden, as the five letters of recommendation that he brought home certified. On July 24, 1743, they headed home with *salvus conductus* offered by the University and plenty of books. They travelled by ship from Amsterdam to Hamburg and by coach to Berlin, Frankfurt am Oder and Wroclaw. They took the road of the wine merchants in order to avoid the books being seized by the Jesuits. Travelling through Levoča (Lőcse), Prešov (Eperjes), then Debrecen, Gilău (Gyalu) and Turda (Torda) they arrived in Transylvania on November 29th. Bod accepted the invitation of his patron, Countess Kata Bethlen to become the Predicator of the Court in the Fortress of Făgăraș (Fogaras) and after the

Băţanii Mari (Nagybacon) Synod ordained him minister, beginning in 1746, he became the minister of the Reformed community in Hoghiz (Olthéviz).

From the beginning of his pastoral activity, he dedicated himself especially to science and became one of the most well known personalities of the Reformed Church in Transylvania of the eighteenth century. This first book, written under the influence of late Coccejanism, was entitled *Lexicon of the New Testament* and was printed with the support of the Countess. In 1748, he married Mária Enyedi and from this marriage one girl was born, Kata. The girl became motherless immediately after birth. Bod's wife died in childbirth. The Countess brought Bod's daughter up in the absence of her mother. In the years as a minister in Făgăraş (Fogaras), he systematized the valuable library of the Countess. In 1749, the parish from Ighiu (Magyarigen) invited him near the princely city, an invitation accepted by Bod on December 5th, 1749. Here he met the daughter of the Reformed elder-reverend from Benic (Borosbenedek), Zsuzsanna Bányai, whom he married after a short period of engagement. Their marriage was blessed with nine children of whom only three reached maturity. At Ighiu, Bod wrote most of his works, almost 50, of which 20 were also published.

The works achieved in the first part of his scientific activity reflect especially his encyclopedic interest in theology. Later on, he became master of Church History⁴, Church Law⁵, Historical monographs⁶ and towards the end of his life, he excelled through works on the History of Literature,⁷ primary source even today when one studies the period and the personalities of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. At the same time, we can consider him as one of the few Transylvanian cartographers who succeeded based on the Leidenian „*Atlas Novus*” of Georg Matthäus Seutter (1678-1757), the Hungarian version of the atlas representing the four continents. This fact allowed him to be included into the historiography represented by *Staatenkunde* and used in incomparably better conditions by the Historian theologian Matthias Bél.⁸ He contributed with new elements brought to the memory of Dutch peregrinations in atlases⁹ - *iter hollandicum*-, even if his version of the

⁴ Bod Péter, *Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica* I-IV, Utrecht, eds. Carolus Szalay, Rauwenhof, 1888.

⁵ Bod Péter, *Iure connubiorum*, Szeben, 1763, and *Iudiciaria fori ecclesiastici praxis*, Nagyenyed, 1766.

⁶ Bod Péter, *Erdélyi Fénix - Misztófalusi Kis Miklós históriája, Redivivus Albertus Molnár Szentziensis and Rediviva Eliae Veresmarti Memoria*, 1763, ms.

⁷ Bod Péter, *Magyar Athenas*, Szeben, 1766.

⁸ Gróf László, „Bod Péter térképei”, in *Geodézia és kartográfia*, p. 34-38, 2004/2, Budapest 2004, p. 39.

⁹ Plihál Katalin, „A hollandiai magyar peregrináció emléke a térképeken.” in, *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve*, 1994-1998, Budapest 1998, p. 347-369.

continental maps published in *Isten vitézkedő Anyaszentegyháza* seems to be recently re-discovered. Bod was among the first Transylvanian writers who used Hungarian language almost exclusively in their writings. From Ighiu (Magyarigen), he promoted the idea of Hungarian Academies and here he wrote the *Magyar Athenas*, a volume that became in a short while the most desired volume in Hungary. In this book, he presented accurately and in various manners the life and work of 528 Hungarian scientists starting from the eighteenth century. Also in Ighiu he concluded *The History of the Reformed Church*, *The History of the Reformed Bishops (Szmirnai Szent Polikárpusz)*, *The History of Seklers*, *The History of Tumbs Epigraphy*, *Introduction to Historiography*, *Genesis of the Bible (Bible's History)* etc., of which only some were printed. Many of the books written at Ighiu are in the collection of the Teleki library in Târgu Mureş (RO, Marosvásárhely) among the books of the Teleki counts with which he maintained close relationships. The Reformed Church elected him *generalis notarius*¹⁰ (bishop vicar); therefore, he had great possibilities to apply as a candidate for the Hungarian Reformed bishop position.

Being of ill health, he had many illnesses such as conjunctivitis, rheumatism and severe infections that he treated with empirical methods. The last illness started when he cut his hand in the vineyard. Generalized septicemia put an end to his life, already troubled by censorship, which tried to bring him to trial for his scientific activity in the spring of 1769. Being judged in accordance with the denunciation of censorship, only his death in 1769 saved him from the punishment of the Habsburgs. However, the trial could not be held as Bod died at the age of 59 on March 3rd, 1769 and was buried near the Reformed Church of Ighiu (Magyarigen). He remained an emblematic personality for Transylvanian science and one of the highly respected moral personalities of the Principality.



Bod's family funeral stone in Ighiu

¹⁰ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 63.

The relationship between Transylvania and Dutch Republic in XVIIIth century

The relationships between Transylvania and the Dutch Republic being researched only in the first part of the eighteenth century reveal the transition period from the Baroque to the pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment. The determinant element for the ensuring the viability of Transylvanian Protestantism was represented by the revival of the medieval custom of peregrination towards the Universities of the West. The new type of peregrination rounded up the Protestant solidarity from the continent, being motivated by the lack of university grade academies in Transylvania and the Transylvanian students' desire to study and have access to culture.

In the history of Transylvania, if we accept the concentric idea of culture and ideology irradiation from the West to the Centre and the East, the pedagogical relationship between the Principality and the Netherlands becomes a natural desideratum of the studious youth. This desideratum went from the periphery to the centre, from the college towards the real university, from poverty and political outclassing towards a relative but appreciated freedom. In this respect, the attraction pole for the College of Aiud (Nagyenyed) had been preponderantly towards the State University of Leiden, for the multiple educational, political and social reasons offered by the bursaries of the Dutch Republic or the German Principalities, especially those of the University of Leiden¹¹. In the imagination and life of the travellers from one end to another of Europe, the Dutch university and the Dutch Republic were very significant. "I have looked upon Holland as an epitome of the whole world in which are found the

¹¹ Bibliography of peregrination in university centres see Ladányi Sándor: „Ungarische Studenten an der Universität Frankfurt an der Oder”, *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Geschichte*. Heft 12. Frankfurt/Oder, [1983], p. 27-32. Idem: „Magyar diákok a franekeri egyetemen – franekeri hatások a magyar református egyházban a XVII. és XVIII. században.”, *Confessio*, 10 (1986/4) p. 70-73. Idem „Székely ifjak peregrinációja”, *A székely művelődés évszázadai*, eds. Balás Gábor, Budapest, 1988, p. 46-64. Idem „Peregrination ungarischen reformierten Studenten an westeuropäischen Universitäten im 16-17. Jahrhundert – westeuropäische Einflüsse in der ungarischen Reformierten Kirche, mit besonderem Hinblick auf Holland.“, *Universitas Budensis 1395-1995*, eds László Szögi and Júlia Varga, Budapest, 1997, p. 199-207; Bozzay Réka – Ladányi Sándor, „Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken 1595-1918“ Budapest, 2007 in *Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban* series, vol. 15; „Hungarian Friends of Erasmus in the Sixteenth Century and Today“, in *In Search of the Republic of Letters. Intellectual Relations between Hungary and The Netherlands 1500–1800*, ed. by Arnoud Visser, Wassenaar, Study Centre on the Republic of Letters in the Early Modern Period, NIAS, 1999, p. 21–28.

*greatest men of all professions, the best governed commonwealth and rarities of all kind, sufficient to satisfy a man, if the eye could be satisfied with seeing or the ear with hearing.*¹²

Roughly speaking, one can talk about a variety of academic relationships. *The epistolary relations* between the scholars of those times and the universities were completed in the second part of the seventeenth century by new periodicals such as: *Journal des savants* (Paris 1665), *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society* (London 1665), *Acta eruditorum* (Lepzig 1682), and *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (Amsterdam 1684). Academic societies, colleges, universities were locked in harsh competition in order to exchange information, professors, students, scientific discoveries or literature of more or less importance. However, the most long lasting, profound and effective academic relationship was visiting other famous universities with the declared scope of study. The *peregrinatio academica* process has been named *Grand tour*, *Kavalierstour* depending on its continuous mobile objectives. The peregrination varied from the luxury Grand tour of the aristocrats to the limited incursion in the imaginary world of letters of the poor but eager to study students. Particularly for those from Central and Eastern Europe, the academic peregrination meant an incursion from the periphery to the centre, a viable method to defeat the idea of poverty (*pauperitas*).

This concentric dispersion of culture from the Dutch Republic towards Transylvania tangentially met two new elements: one of them was the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation represented by the political power, and the second was the Jansenism from within. The co-inhabitation between these elements and the peripheral Protestantism, the amplification of the ideological- confessional movements and the local politics of religious union of the Catholics and the Orthodox were fully felt by the Protestant society that was left without its official state political support. Protestantism became tributary to the political instability of the Principality for which the Habsburgs were considered directly responsible. Thus, the gravitation from the periphery to the center of Protestantism became an ample phenomenon much beyond the pedagogical desiderata.

The Dutch Republic as an eminent centre of the Protestant pedagogy became the undisputed leader of the intellectual debate in Europe for a few decades and in the eighteenth century: various printings were published without any restriction, the multitude of students gathered from most of the Protestant nations and some Catholics discussed freely about science and school. It was not surprising that Diderot wrote in *Encyclopedie* about the

¹² Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II. De vesting van de macht. De Leidse universiteit, 1673-1775*, Leiden, 2002, p. 13.

University of Leiden as being "la première d'Europe" between the numerous European university centers¹³, but also the first modern university in the European sense of the word.¹⁴ Particularly, Leiden meant that free center of academic thinking, which built its Protestant student mobility from the periphery as well, based on that double determination of the virtual but informal space of the Republic of Letters and of the relative freedom granted by the unrestricted publishing of books, modern or radical confessional ideas of the Dutch Republic.

The mobility of students from the periphery to the centre also had its attraction poles, which were known and recognized by the students and the academic world as well. Thomas Erpenius¹⁵ developed the complex idea of the goals of the peregrinatio academica by the knowledge of the *linguarum, regionum, regiminum, rerum gestarum, morum et clarorum virorum*¹⁶, and especially for the College of Aiud (Nagyenyed) that is meant: *cognitio, qua est secundum pietatem apud nos opus Domini faciant*¹⁷. The colleges of the nobility or those of various nations, the academies, the libraries but particularly the academic personalities, who themselves represented an institution, have generated a permanent attraction for the eager to study youth. We shall give only a few representative names: Erasmus (from Rotterdam), Lipsius, Scaliger, Heinsius, Boerhaave (from Leiden), Vossius, Comenius, Leibniz, Huygens, Muratori etc. The attraction was caused by the possibility, otherwise fully exploited, of collecting manuscripts, books, course notes, and maps. In addition, the discovery of the ancient Europe, beyond a doubt, plays the role of attraction for the peripheries of the continent. The cultural relationship between Leiden and Western

¹³ Willem Frijhoff, „Academic relations in Europe at the time of Boerhaave: a structural approach in Hungarian –Dutch contacts in Medicine since the Epoch of Herman Boerhaave, Amsterdam, 1995, p. 15: "Il semble que tous les hommes célèbres dans la république des lettres s'y sont rendus pour la faire fleurir, depuis son établissement jusqu'à nos jours." in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Neu-Chatel, 1765, IX, p. 451.

¹⁴ „[...] die erste Universität im modernen Verstande" in William Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation*, 1957, p. 443.

¹⁵ „Original name Van Erpe (1584 -1624). Dutch Orientalist, was born at Gorcum, in Holland, on the 11th of September 1584. After completing his early education at Leiden, he entered the university of that city, and in 1608 took the degree of Master of Arts. By the advice of Scaliger he studied Oriental languages whilst taking his course of theology. He afterwards travelled in England, France, Italy and Germany, forming connections with learned men, and availing himself of the information which they communicated." in www.1911encyclopedia.org

¹⁶ Thomas Erpenius, *De Peregrinatione Gallica*, Leiden, 1631, p. 2.

¹⁷ Accompaniment letter from the College of Aiud, need for the acceptance of alumni at Statencollege in 1714. In *Acta Curatores (AC)*, Universiteit Bibliothek, Leiden, p. 694.

Europe with the Hungarian, German¹⁸, English¹⁹ and Polish students²⁰ played most certainly an important role in the formation of the European cultures and nations. Therefore, the role of the Dutch Republic was of major importance for the proliferation of culture and books²¹, and for the reform in own environments. The peregrine students returned in their places where the church or state placed them, usually in a honorable position, they are proceed to the elaboration and application of the ideas what they learnt, viewed and heard at the State University of Leiden. Eloquent examples in this sense were Van Swieten, Carl Linné, Péter Bod and the Transylvanian Coccejan theology, the Boerhaavian English and Russian medical school, and not in the last place, the Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy and culture whose dissemination can be greatly attributed to the University of Leiden.

The incursion into the imaginary world of the Republic of Letters through student mobility of the eighteenth century granted real dimensions to the proliferation of the new ideologies, particularly by the books that were transported from one end of Europe to the other. The imaginary space of the Republic of Letters with its imaginary border overlapping only northern Italy, Rome and Paris at the beginning the Middle Ages became a mobile and evolutionary space, century by century, ongoing with the proliferation of the academic construction in Europe. The Reformation will generate a new outbreak for the enlargement of this imaginary space in the eighteenth century. Naples in the South, Scotland in the North, and Vienna in the East became members of the academic world and parts of the virtual space of the Republic of Letters. Each university centre had something special to offer to the travellers. Rome was well known for papal luxury and its ancient values, London for its collections, Vienna for its educational facilities, well focused towards reform in the army, administration and church. The Universities of Leiden or Paris had their own attraction as well.²²

¹⁸ Heinz Schnepfen, *Die deutschen Studenten auf den Niederländischen Universitäten. Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert*, Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, 6, Münster, 1960, p. 9-57.

¹⁹ Edward Peacock, *Index to English speaking students, who have graduated at Leyden University*, London, 1883.

²⁰ Stefan Kiedron, „Poolse studenten in Leiden in de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} eeuw?“, *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Studia Neerlandica et Germanica*, Wroclaw 1992, No. 1356, p. 189-204.

²¹ „Hier haben sich die Leute, die Bücher und die Ideen aus verschiedenen Ländern in einen geistigen Austausch zusammengefunden, wie er andernwo in diesem Zeitalter nicht verwirklicht war.“, in Johan Huizinga, „Der Mittlerstellung der Niederlande zwischen West und Mitteleuropa“, in *Verzaemelde Werken*, II, (NB: place if missing here), 1948, p. 296.

²² A synthetic vision of the Hungarian peregrination in the imaginary space of the Republic of Letters and its contributions to the relationship between Hungary, Transylvania and Europe,

The centre, the university was itself economically based on the student mobility represented by the process of *peregrinatio academica*. The existence of foreign students, rich or poor, beneficiaries of various bursaries was a title of honor and a plus income source. In this respect, the centre depended on the periphery also. The epistolary relation of the centre suggested its increasing wish of attracting celebrities discovered in the periphery in order to offer them career and the possibility of becoming famous personalities in the Republic of Letters and the possibility of earning consistent wages, much better than those offered in the peripheral and poor situation of the academic space.

The relation between the university and student mobility was also influenced by the Protestant dilemma represented in the poverty of the pilgrim students and the recognition of the academic quality. If in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the educational priority focused on a clear confessional identity to the prejudice of professionalism²³, in the second part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century, Calvinist universities were struggling for formal privileges offered by a legal chief accountant. The chief accountant in the case of Transylvania, for example had disappeared and the new authority was not favorable. The evolution of the European reformed universities from *gymnasia* to *gymnasia academica* and then to *academiae illustre* conducted to the foundation of new powerful universities, partially recognized by France but not recognized by most of the Lutheran universities from the territory of the German Principalities.

The establishment of our university centres reflected at the same time the desire of enlargement of the Republic of Letters and an our source of attraction of academic peregrination from other states²⁴ and also the desire of becoming attractive in front of its own students and those from the Protestant periphery. The Transylvanian Protestantism took advantage of the compensation of the lost political authority, of the solidification of the didactic situation and consolidation of the intellectual and religious situation. A solidarity grew between the Calvinist universities from the Dutch Republic and those from Switzerland based in Geneva and Basel, with those from the German Empire, based in Heidelberg and Herborn and those from France, later grew to include those from Hungary, Transylvania and Poland, led to the clarification of the dilemma concerning academic equivalence and recognition.

see in Willem Frijhoff, „Gelovig of geletterd? Nederlands Hongaarse betrekkingen in de Republiek der Letteren van de 16^e tot de 19^e eeuw”, in *Mikes International, Hungarian Periodical for Art, Literature and Science*, vol. I, issue I, december 2001, p. 24-33 and Bozzay Réka, „Debreceni diákok a leideni egyetemen”, in *Debreceni Szemle*, X. évf. 2002/2, p. 307-316.

²³ R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social discipline in the reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*, New York, 1989.

²⁴ Paul Dibon, *Le voyage en France des étudiants neerlandais au XVII^{ème} siècle*, La Haye, 1963, p. 4-35.

Likewise, it led to the need to create practical pecuniary solutions and to solve the peripheral poverty of the Protestant space by simple financial solidarity of the Protestant centre expressed for the Transylvanians by the famous offer of free bursaries (*“gratis quia Hungarus”*)²⁵.

The Transylvanian dilemma in fact, tightly completed by the pressure of the Counter-Reformation, administrative hindrances and the pedagogic reform of the Habsburgs meant the validation in its own environment of the academic studies obtained through peregrination with those from the *“real academies”* of the Dutch Republic²⁶. If the expectation of the Dutch universities was to form professors for the academic colleges from Transylvania, the expectation of the Transylvanians was more general, being tightly connected to the well-performed pastoral activity in the Principality and at the same time of compensation of the hierarchical, intellectual inner shortcomings. The solidarity of Transylvania with the protestant universities of the Dutch Republic proved to be a long lasting process, based on a certain desire for the solution of the Protestant dilemma: the formation of the teaching staff or of the clergy and at the same time, the finding of a legal academy sustainer. At the level of the travellers, one can state that they wished for the authentication of previous studies, practical application in their home countries particularly in the conditions of the Counter-Reformation, and use of the offered financial support as an acquisition source for books, career and social appreciation.

Otherwise, as concerns the pyramidal social disposition of the Transylvanian society, one can as certain that the aristocratic society in fact and the townsfolk, among whom we can also include the clergy, were those who had the possibility of travelling from the periphery to the centre. This explains the way of propagation of the aristocratic and clerical enlightenment in Transylvania of the eighteenth century.

The common history of the Transylvania Principality and the Dutch Republic was used and facilitated by the College founded by Gábor Bethlen in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), later in Aiud (Nagyenyed). This is one of the most famous Transylvanian reformed colleges, and throughout its history it had remarkable ties to the academies of the Dutch Republic and the German Principalities. This is exactly why it is so important to research the 18th century history of the college, and especially the scholarships granted by Leiden to Aiud. Our bibliographical data suggest that the 18th century history of the

²⁵ Frijhoff, *Academic relations in Europe at the time of Boerhaave*, p. 27.

²⁶ Clear motivation of the College from Aiud in that requesting the alumni from Leiden in 1714: *„Lugubrem Collegij nostri ante hac aliquod igne et ferre ab hortibus vastati, abhucdum in sicis cineribus sedentis, et cum periculo reformatae religionis apud nos agonisantis statum”* in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, AC, p. 694.

College is not well known, and the scholarship policy is rather fragmented²⁷. This is the reason why our research focuses on the history of the college as well as the Leiden scholarships.

The Bethlenian College was founded in 1622, with three faculties by Prince Gabriel Bethlen in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). It began with three professors from Herborn and Heidelberg named Piscator, Alstedius, and Bisterfeld. The second generation of professors, former Transylvanian travellers, already represented that generation of academic travellers who changed their itinerary from Wittenberg, Marburg and Herborn to Frankfurt and Leiden. An eloquent example is the academic activity of the scientist and pedagogue Apáczai Csere János, who entered conflicting relationships with the princely authorities but reflected the most modern pedagogical ideologies of that time assimilated at Athenae Batavae in Leiden, especially regarding his Cartesianism. The relations with Voetius from Utrecht suggest a modern and prophetic vision of the father of Voetianism on the future and perspectives of Transylvanian education. He had profound knowledge on the situation of the Transylvanian education saying “*I follow the advice of the well-known Voetius, from whom I heard several times that the schools of the Hungarian nation would not be famous until foreign professors teach there. This would be the only hope, if among the foreign professors there is one from your nation, and then by his good example, he will demonstrate his perspicacity and the moment will arrive to demonstrate to the nation that things go well without them.*”²⁸

At the end of the seventeenth century, the last Protestant Prince of the Autonomous Transylvania, Mihály Apafy (1632-1690), moved (1662) the Reformed College from Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) to Aiud (Nagyenyed) in the neighborhood of the Princely city. The College gradually developed after being destroyed by the anti-Habsburgs revolts in 1704. The teaching staffs were educated through the well-known process of academic peregrination²⁹. Thus,

²⁷ G. Hendrik van de Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák és az erdélyi protestantizmus a XVIII. században 1690-1795*, Kolozsvár, Egyetemi Fokú Egységes Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, 1979, G. Hendrik van de Graaf, „Cum Deo. Magyar peregrinusok bejegyzései franekeri album amicorumokban”, in *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban. Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére*, Szeged, 1997, p. 117-133; Jacob van Sluis-Ferenc Postma, *Herman Alexander Röell und seine ungarischen Studenten*, Szeged, 1990.

²⁸ Apáczai Csere János, „A magyar nemzetben immár megvan elváltára egy academia felállításának módja és formája” in *Apáczai Csere János válogatott pedagógiai művei*, ed. Orosz Lajos, Budapest, 2003, p. 245.

²⁹ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, „Mobility”, in *A history of the University in Europe* (ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens), *Universities in Early modern Europe (1500-1800)*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 416-448. Juergen Hahn, *The origins of the baroque concept of peregrinatio*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

the newest achievements in European science became a component part of the training process at Aiud (Nagyenyed). The situation of the college presented great interest to Gisbertus Voetius³⁰ adversary of Coccejus, who attempted a hierarchical classification and relationing of the universities from the Dutch Republic and of those from Transylvania by separation of *gymnasium academicum* from *collegium academicum*, as he was better acquainted with the Transylvanian college than with those from Italy or France.³¹

Despite the fact that Voetius can be considered an influential personality as concerns the pedagogical evolution in the Principality, Coccejus was the one who would give content to the college education in Transylvania and especially to the Academic College of Aiud (Nagyenyed). The Cartesian evolution of Apáczai Csere János, who were follower of Voetius in the matter of pedagogy, but of the *nova methodus* in the matter of the content of the didactic process. The new cartesian didactical methodology became a natural process integrated into the Transylvanian theology, starting with the first Hungarian students of Coccejus³², later on through the professors from Aiud, Mihály Abód Ajtai, Pál Csernátóni, Ferenc Páriz Pápai, Zsigmond Nagy Borosnyai, and by ministers of Aiud, Nádudvari and Hermányi and later of course through Péter Bod. The peregrination offered a great chance for development for the Hungarian Protestants and Catholics³³, for the Romanians from Transylvania³⁴ and for European nations in general³⁵, as the opportunity opened up to all travellers to study in modern universities of Europe.

³⁰ Gisbertus Voetius, *Sermoen van de nutticheydt der Academien ende scholen, mitsgrader der wetenschappen ende consten die in de selve gheleert werden*, Utrecht, 1636.

³¹ Willem Frijhoff, „What is an early modern university?” in *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation*, ed. Helga Robinson –Hammerstein, Dublin, 1998, p. 152.

³² „Die ersten ungarischen Studenten von Coccejus” in, „Een boek heeft een rug” Studies voor Ferenc Postma ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftigste verjaardag, Zoetermeer, 1995.

³³ Szabó Miklós-Tonk Sándor, „Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521-1700”, in *Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum*, Szeged, József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992; Szabó Miklós-Szögi László, *Erdélyi peregrinusok*, Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó, 1998; Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok svájci és hollandiai egyetemeken 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2000.

³⁴ Iacob Mârza, *Școală și națiune. Școlile de la Blaj în epoca renașterii naționale*, Cluj Napoca, Dacia, 1987.

³⁵ Paul Dibon, *Le voyage en France*, 1963; Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, London, Thames Methuen, 1987; Heinz Schnepfen, „Niederländische Universitäten un deutsches Geistesleben von der Gründug der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert”, *Neue Münsterche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung*, 6, Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960; *Boswell on the Grand Tour. Germany and Switserland*, ed. by. Frederick A. Pottle, Melbourne-London-Toronto: William Heinemann, 1953; Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon, Budapest–Szeged, 1993, vol. 3, Dr. Szögi László, *Az erdélyi külföldi egyetemjárás a XVIII. században és a XIX. század első éveiben*, Budapest, 2002, ms, Dr. Szögi László, *A külföldi*

In Bethlenian College at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the free propagation of the teachings of Coccejus and of the Protestant theology from the Dutch Republic³⁶ was a trend. Bod grew up, studied and developed in this atmosphere. Aided by aristocratic patrons, he was able to get one of the two places offered free to the students of Aiud (Nagyenyed)³⁷. Péter Bod and the College will maintain close relationship after the peregrination as well. The first works of Péter Bod will be conjured up in a poem written by one of his teachers, in which most of the personalities of the Protestant theology from the Dutch Republic were mentioned³⁸, special attention being given to the preferential relationships between the College and Bod and the Protestant theology from Transylvania and the Netherlands.

The university was well aware of the situation of the colleges from Transylvania in the eighteenth century. An archive file, which enumerates the Protestant Colleges from Transylvania and Hungary from the documents of the University Curatorium, reveals profound knowledge of the Leiden University coetus regarding the situation of the Protestant colleges.³⁹ The name of Bethlenian–Brandenburgian College of Aiud (Nagyenyed) was preferred during the professorship of Ferenc Páriz Pápai, who wanted the foundation of sure bursaries. The enumeration of the Reformed colleges simultaneously suggested the offensive of the teaching staff for new Leidenian bursaries in front of a Curatorium willing to offer general solutions to all Protestant colleges from Transylvania and Hungary. The newly founded Reformed College of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)-Sárospatak⁴⁰ was dissolved again in 1716, a fact which stirred up much confusion among the university professors who looked upon the events of Counter-Reformation from a considerable geographical distance. This can be seen in the observation of the Leidenian

tanulmányok szerepe a magyar tudományosság kifejlődésében, Budapest, 2003, ms, Sándor Ladányi, *Bedeutung und Wirkung der protestantischer Kollegs und des Auslandstudium im Ungarn des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ms, Pécs, 29 aug 2000, p. 1-4; Sivirsky Antal, *A holland-magyar kulturális kapcsolatok öt évszázada*, Budapest, 1986.

³⁶ Jakó Zsigmond, *Nagyenyedi diákok*, p. 34.

³⁷ G. Hendrik van de Graaf, „Az erdélyi theologusok és a Staten College XVIII. századi kapcsolatának néhány vonatkozása”, in *Református szemle*, mai-august no. 3-4, year LXII, Kolozsvár, EREK, 1969, p. 264-285. and Bozzay, *Debreceni diákok*, p. 307-316.

³⁸ *Ajtai Abod Mihály*, in Bod Péter, *Szent írás értelmére*, 1738.

³⁹ „*Collegia Transylvanica: 1. Collegium Bethlenio-Brandenburgico-Enyedinum in oppido Enyed, 2. Collegio Claudiopolitanum in Urbe Claudiopoli, 3. Collegium Maros-Wasarhelyinum in urbe Wasarhely. Collegio in Hungaria: 1. Collegium Debreczinum in urbe Debreczin, 2. Collegium Saros-Patakinum in Urbe Saros-Patak*” in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, „*Brieven en stukken, 1604-1800*”, AC, p. 694.

⁴⁰ Exiled by the Jesuits in 1680 from Sárospatak to Transylvanian Gyulafehérvár became in few years concurrence of Bethlen College from Aiud (Nagyenyed), who where just 25 km far away from Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár).

humanist Lipsius⁴¹ document to András Dudith at the beginning of the sixteenth century as he says, “*There are many regions and mountains between us.*”⁴² The policy of Leiden concerning bursaries would follow the geography of the successful Counter-Reformation of the Jesuits as a help and reparatory measure for the Protestant peers.

Leiden was a pleasant place for the Transylvanians. The peregrination of the students from Aiud (Nagyenyed) was also a consequence of the positive image that the city and the university managed to create amidst the travelling Transylvanian students. János Lukács Borosnyai a minister from Aiud later Reformed bishop stated in his *amicorum album* about the city: “*Leida beloved city, which was wet nurse to me*”⁴³. We do not have to forget the sacred character of the peregrination, an antidote against the fatality towards reform of the establishment of Habsburg power. „[...] *introducata peregrina Sacra, supra duo secula, fatali*”⁴⁴. The first signs of the pilgrims’ interest towards literature are connected to the name of Máté Csanaki (1595-1636)⁴⁵ future rector of the Reformed College in Cluj (Kolozsvár), holder of the bursary from Prince George Rákóczi I (1593-1648).

The University of Leiden became an important place for student peregrination, its importance being doubled by the status of its first class publishing centre. Cornelius Wourdanus, the second printer and editor after Plantin, edited in 1625 Csanaki’s philosophical, theological and pedagogical work financed by the Transylvanian Prince. This book was a translation from Keckermann (1571-1608) “*Controversiae logicae*” in Hungarian. The book was extremely well used in the environment of the Protestant colleges from the Principality and was followed by another translation of Erasmus elaborated

⁴¹ Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), the Latinized name of Joest (Juste or Josse) Lips. Belgian scholar, born on the 18th of October (15th of November, according to Amiel) 1547 at Overysse, a small village in Brabant, near Brussels. Sent early to the Jesuit college in Cologne, he was removed at the age of sixteen to the university of Louvain by his parents, who feared that he might be induced to become a member of the Society of Jesus. His greatest work was his edition of Tacitus. His Tacitus first appeared in 1575. His Opera Omnia appeared in 8 vols. at Antwerp (1585, 2nd ed. 1637). In www.1911encyclopedia.org.

⁴² Sivirsky Antal, *A holland magyar kulturális kapcsolatok*, p. 6.

⁴³ Nagy Géza, „Borosnyai Lukács János püspökünk élete és munkássága”, extractum *Ref. Szemle*, Kolozsvár, 1965.

⁴⁴ Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, AC, p. 694. Unfortunately the page has not numbers.

⁴⁵ He was fellow of Coccejus „*Csanaky M. Hung: 1623. okt. 18 Leiden, medicus*” in Tonk-Szabó, Erdélyiek egyetemjárása, p. 175.

and edited by György Salánky⁴⁶, a Hungarian traveller at Leiden and published by Wourdan in 1627.



Leiden in 1725

Besides the pedagogical and editorial contacts with the university Márton Szepesi Csombor, future rector of the Protestant College of Košice (Kassa) offered an eloquent image of the city presenting also the motivation of his peregrination (1620): “*Lugdunum, named Batavorum, is the most famous city of Holland after Amsterdam, and I do not believe that there is a nicer city in this world [...] Near the Church of Saint Mary is officina Plantiana, where I entered many times. [...] In one word, the city is Paradissus Terestrís [...] The Academy situated on a large street has a building taller than any building in the city. Because it burnt down, it has been transferred to another street under the guidance of the magnificent rector, Poliander Johannes. I heard one of his courses and entered before him carrying two silver scepters. I also waited for the jurists’ lesson [...] From this city the Arminian heresy started.*”⁴⁷ Despite the descriptive opinions, it is interesting to find out that the Dutch society knew about the Transylvanians, due in part to the personal contacts of the citizens with the travellers Lindanus from Leiden. For example, the personal physician of count Miklós Bethlen (1642-1716) knew a lot on the gourmand customs of the Transylvanians saying: “*They eat three times a day, but mostly at noon and in the evening. You from Hungary and Transylvania live in fresh air, warm and clean, you eat meat with spices and always with good wine not with beer-you may not know what beer is good for. In this country, full of water, you have to eat milk, butter and fish and drink beer afterwards. Magnus error, absit. Drink wine, especially Rhenanum, Moeselannum,*

⁴⁶ „*Salanki Hung: 1625, apr. 26, Leiden, 28 [years old a.n.], medicus*” in Tonk-Szabó, Erdélyiek egyetemjárása, p. 73.

⁴⁷ Szepesi Csombor Márton, *Europica varietas*, Lilium Aurum, Dunaszerdahely, 2003 (first edition in 1620), p. 89-91.

Hispanicum French wine that is close to yours.”⁴⁸ The atmosphere around Leiden and the description of Miklós Bethlen is recalled here⁴⁹ by former professors János Csere Apáczai and Pál Bíró Keresztúri, travellers at Leiden.⁵⁰ Leiden was the preferred destination for the Aiud students. The Leidenian bursary offered to the Transylvanians promoted the destination and motivation as well.

Peregrinatio academica was a political-ecclesiastic and pedagogical subsidy, mainly having one direction, geographically speaking as concerns the itinerary but not one way when talking about the Transylvanian-Dutch relationships.⁵¹ The itinerary covered was intended to be a bridge between Modern Europe and economically and confessionally ravaged Transylvania. This process meant re-discovery of Europe⁵², and for West Europeans re-discovery of the forgotten Eastern Europe⁵³. The goal of academic peregrination was to “transport” home the modern science through the books and new life experiences lived in a world very different from Transylvania of the eighteenth century. The Reformed bishop István Katona Geleji (1598-1649), a Leiden pilgrim, described the goal of the students as pragmatic “[...] *to gather and multiply the treasures of science*”, of course by using the knowledge in their own country.⁵⁴

The double determination of Dutch theology had a great influence on theological thinking at Leiden and further so on the Protestantism in the Dutch Republic and succeeded in penetrating ideological borders set up by the geographical areas reaching the favorable Protestant environment in Transylvania. The competition between the College from Aiud, where Cartesian professor Déési was very active, and the Protestant College from Alba Iulia formerly at Sárospatak, represented by the Voetian professor

⁴⁸ Bethlen Miklós, „Élete leírása magától” in *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei*, Budapest, 1980, p. 578.

⁴⁹ Bethlen Miklós, *Élete leírása magától*, p. 585.

⁵⁰ First bibliographical record of pilgrims „1624 aug. 3 Paulus Kerestury Hungarus, 25 and 1648 Johannes Apatzai, Hung. 24, Teol.” in Friedrich Teusch. „Die Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen in der Universität Leyden 1575-1875.” in *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgischer Landeskunde*, I, Hermannstadt, 1880, p. 205 and p. 212.

⁵¹ Sivirsky Antal, *A holland magyar kapcsolatok*, p. 10.

⁵² Szepesi Csombor Márton, *Europica varietas*, 2003.

⁵³ Larry Wolf, *Inventarea Europei de Est. Harta civilizației în epoca luminilor*, ed. Humanitas, București, 2000.

⁵⁴ Ladányi Sándor, *A hazai protestáns kollégiumok és az európai peregrináció a 16-18 században – Bedeutung und Wirkung der protestantischen Kollegs und des Auslandsstudiums im Ungarn des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Pécs, 2000, ms, p. 3.

Pósaházi, penetrated among the students.⁵⁵ Péter Bod knew the Coccejan issues very well, “*In Belgium the teaching method of Coccejus has generated dispute while Coccejus explained many things using words from the Holy Scripture. The others have seen it as news. He expressed himself against Gisjsbertus Voetius, a professor from Utrecht. He also accused Coccejus as being Socinian as regards the death and salvation of Jesus Christ and prohibited the holidays and did not permit respect towards the magistrates, but such accuses were groundless. Professor Dési Márton held the debate in Transylvania from Aiud, who was accused of Coccejanism and Csernátoni Pál of Cartesian philosophy. The Synod from Iernut-Radnót in 1674 checked them thoroughly and found them not guilty.*”

First signs of the Cartesian victory in Transylvania were suggested by the copies of the letters of Descartes addressed to the Cartesian professor Regius from the Academy of Utrecht (1641-1642), at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Pilgrims in the Dutch Republic, the Hungarian students from Transylvania made the copies. Copyist János Dályai Wass⁵⁶ who kept total fidelity on the Cartesian style suggested the implication of Transylvania in the debate through these small signs. The propagation of Cartesianism in Transylvania was facilitated by the friendly relationships of the Transylvanian professors with the professors Ruardus Andala from Franeker and Alexander Röell, both devoted Cartesians⁵⁷ Then, the educational concept structured on Cartesianism would change under the influence of the Newtonian science, empirism practiced by Locke. Towards the end of the century, it was materialized in the pedagogical ideas of the philosophy of Leibnitz, through Christian Wolf. The evolution can be noticed also in the Protestant lyric of the pilgrims. In 1620, in the foreword of *Europica Varietas*, that is the description of Máté Szepesi Csombor’s peregrination, the poet Johannes Bocatius defined peregrination as follows:

*It has been said, those who pass the sea, change a world by another,
But not the mind. That is why all those are bad students.
It is useful to study the people from far away
And as Ulysses and Cato to travel the cities
It is useful, after the method of Aristotle, to discuss with the scholars of the time:
To hear people and to gather ideas.*

⁵⁵ Students from Aiud have stolen *Syllabus assertionum* (1685) of Pósaházi sent by students from Alba to printing. This was written against Coccejans and Cartesians from Belgium and Transylvania. They gave it to Déesi for copying, see Koncz József, *A marosvásárbelyi*, p. 125.

⁵⁶ Student in Utrecht between 1709-1710, and from 1711 in Franeker, Jacob van Sluis-Ferenc Postma, *Herman Alexander Röell und seine ungarischen Studenten*, Szeged, 1990, p. 35.

⁵⁷ „Au Berceau du cartézianisme: deux lettres de Descartes á Regius” in Paul Dibon, *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d’Or*, Napoli, Vivarium, 1990, p. 553.

State University Leiden as formative space of the Transylvanian students

*That is why Tullius and Plato became travelers, and you, Csombor
Travel in the distanced countries⁵⁸*

In 1745, Bod brought a new version of the “tireless debate” on the theological goal of the peregrination, in the dedication to his professor Borosnyai, a former Leidenian student and a Coccejian:

*The Bible from Heavens, that is our country,
Offered us the precious library
Many of the bidden things, his treasures,
The Holy hermeneutics teaches you to understand,
To open or to close things*

***Science has been remade,
The system has been renewed,
To better understand the Holy Scripture***

*In this new science have travelled,
In Gallia and Switzerland,
In Belgium and Germany,
In England and many countries*

*Turretinus, Zvingerus, Febronius
And what remained for explanation, the essence of the Bible,
Typica and the emblematic and prophetic theology
Professed by the great Coccejus Johannes⁵⁹*

The traveller István Incze, who became the propagator of this trend after 1741 revealed the way of Wolfianism of in Transylvania.⁶⁰ Around 1770, Wolfianism became the central philosophy of the Dutch theology thanks to professor van der Marck from Groningen, and his sensational lectures in the spirit of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Wolf.⁶¹ The echoes of the rationalization of theology met the Transylvanian travellers as well, who wrote more consistently about friendship, ethics, and love in their *album amicorum*. The Enlightenment

⁵⁸ Szepsi Csombor Márton, *Europica varietas*, 2003, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Bod Péter, *Szent Írás értelmére*, Hévíz, p. 260-264.

⁶⁰ Szabó Miklós, Szögi László, *Erdélyi peregrinusok*, Marosvásárhely, 1998, p. 237.

⁶¹ G. Hendrik van de Graaf, *Az erdélyi theologusok*, p. 270.

propagated slowly from the academic personalities to the traveling students.⁶² The process was radically different from the new peregrination characterized by the *brain drain*.⁶³ Modern research defines the process of peregrination by the syntagyon of English historiography naming it tributary to the cultural-economic effect a characteristic push-pull of cultural migration.⁶⁴

In respect for these cultural – economic consequences of the history, the bursary began with their political and cultural perspectives, but in concordance with the achievement of financial subsidies for Transylvanian students. Gábor Bethlen (1613-1629), Prince of Transylvania was the first who facilitated academic peregrination by raising it to the level of state politics as concerns the reasons for peregrination. He said in the letter from January 28, 1618 sent to the bursary-holding pilgrim Gáspár Veres Bojthi (1595-1649) in Heidelberg “[...] *we counsel you if you wish to continue your studies and you want to learn high sciences we provide you bursaries for four years. We want you to leave to Padua, from there to leave for half a year to Paris and then to come home. Please let us know about your disponibility. In order to understand our wish, we counsel you to learn Theology and Philosophy as well. When you return, you should be useful to your country and people, by applying your knowledge in the Church of God and in the every day life.*”⁶⁵ After the destruction of the Universities of Herborn and Heidelberg, in 1622, the direction of peregrination would change towards the Dutch Republic and Leiden – also due to the Orthodoxy of the Synod of Dordrecht (1619).

Inverse peregrination was extremely rare but however, existent⁶⁶, is reflected in the memories and correspondence about Transylvania in the eighteenth century which introduce us to an archaic world, haunted by wars and social inequities, however willing to keep on the track with the developing Old Europe⁶⁷. The Leiden University Trustee - who knew very well the Transylvanian situation, invited professor Bisterfeld from Alba Iulia - Gyulafehérvár in 1649. In the end, Bisterfeld did not accept the invitation,

⁶² G. Hendrik van de Graaf, „Cum Deo ” Magyar peregrinusok bejegyzései a franekeri album amicorumokban” in *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban, Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére*, Szeged, 1997, p. 133.

⁶³ Bod Péter Ákos, „A peregrináció gazdasági és kulturális hatásai”, in *Bod Péter írásaiból, írásairól*, eds. Ugrin Márta, Budapest, Püski, 2002, ed. 132-143.

⁶⁴ On the problematics of the research of the peregrination phenomenon and its historiography Rácz István, „A magyarországi protestáns peregrináció szükségesszerűsége és lehetősége” in *Politikai gondolkodás – műveltségi áramlatok, Tanulmányok Irinyi Károly professzor születésének 60. évfordulója tiszteletére*, Rácz István (ed.), Debrecen, 1992.

⁶⁵ Ladányi Sándor, *A hazai protestáns kollégiumok*, ms, 3.

⁶⁶ Petrus Dominicus Rosius Á Porta, *Album Amicorum, egy Magyarországon és Erdélyben tanult svájci diák emlékkönyve*, ed. Jan Andrea Bernhard, Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár, 2001.

⁶⁷ Hagen Schulze, *Stat și națiune în istoria europeană*, ed. Polirom, București, 2003.

motivating the rejection with the former contract with Prince György Rákóczi I. We learn more about the relationship between Leiden and the Academic College still from the Princely city of Alba Iulia from a letter written in November 16th, 1647: "From our master from Siculeni (Madéfalva) arrived Johannes Othusius with 5 Dutch students on their way to mister Bisterfeld to Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)." ⁶⁸ Such peregrinations of Dutch students were possible because of the renown of the College and of professors Bisterfeld, Alstedt and Piscator, European outstanding personalities in Theology. In accordance with this information, we can conclude that the University of Leiden had exact information about the status of education in Transylvania and about the migration of the professors from Herborn into the Principality and their pedagogical needs. ⁶⁹ The discussion after the Synod of Dordrecht and the professed anti-Cartesianism conferred a restrictive policy to the university departments that suggested the invitation of a few theological personalities with traditional conceptions, among which Bisterfeld was one.

In 1651, the practical training of the students was already famous among the Hungarian students: „*Pour le profit des étudiants et l'honneur de l'Université, il se trouve d'aussi bons maîtres d'exercice qu'en pas un lieu du monde. Premièrement on en a de fort bons pour les langues, Française, Italienne, Espagnole: pour les armes, la dance, la musique a écrire, l'Arithmetique a tenir livre de compte, a jouer toute sorte d'instruments, et d'autres qui enseignent les Mathematiques, la fortification et l'Astrologie. Les ecolliers qui se trouvent ici, outre ceux du pais, sont Allemans, Francois, Danois, Suedois, Polonois, Anglois et Hongrois, que la glorieuse renommee de ladite Université y attire, au nombre de deux mille ou environ. Entre lesquels, outre les Gentilshommes qui sont en grand nombre, on y a veu souvent de grands princes, comtes et barons qui s'arretent tous icy pour le sciences, les exercices, et la beauté de la villé.*" ⁷⁰ The first Hungarian pilgrim students were registered in 1601. Between 1626 and 1650, 231 Hungarians studied there, among whom there were Transylvanians as well, probably most on their own expenses. The first bursary student known from the eighteenth century was the physician of Prince Francis Rákóczi II, Mátyás Henczidai (student from 30.07.1703). ⁷¹

⁶⁸ Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák*, based on *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, I, Szeged, 1965, p. 541.

⁶⁹ Molhuysen, tom III, p. 28 and p. 57. "Lettres des Desmarets á Saumaise, Groningen 6-16 april 1650": „*Pour successeur d'un phoenix et d'un incompatible, il faut quelque chose de plus superlatif, et ne faut pour cela que des Cocceus ou des Bisterfelds.*" In Paul Dibon, *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d'Or*, Napoli: Vivarium, 1990, p. 420.

⁷⁰ J. N. Parival, „Les Délices de la Hollande, ed. 2, Leiden, Pierre Didier, 1662" cited in Paul Dibon, *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d'Or*, Napoli, Vivarium, 1990, p. 60-61.

⁷¹ Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 296.

Miklós Bethlen, a Transylvanian politician, wellknown all over Europe, was the first person who promoted increasing relationships with universities in the Dutch Republic, even the beginning during the establishment of the Habsburgs. One could say that the new political situation became official between Vienna and the Dutch Republic through Protestant politicians. The peregrination represented an imperial problem mediated by the Church, its' agents in Vienna, and by its' politicians. Miklós Bethlen aided by Professor Sámuel Kaposi Rimaszombati (1689-1713)⁷², former pilgrim in Leiden and doctor of Theology, and by the excellent relations he held with the Ambassador of the Dutch Republic in Vienna, Hamel Bruyninx (1616-1691); was committed to the activity of gaining bursaries to Leiden for Transylvanians. The first request was sent on January 15th, 1703 and was received as "*Letter sent by the Trustee of the Transylvanian Academy.*" Thus the first request was sent by the College of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)-Sárospatak with a reply of acceptance for one bursary student in 1703. In 1706, Count György Bánffy (1661–1708) obtained two other bursaries, this time for the College of Aiud.⁷³ The requests were written under a growing pressure of the Counter-Reformation during the beginning of the eighteenth century. The request of Count Bánffy seems not to have been officially honored, instead taking place later.

Ferenc Páriz Pápai requested bursaries in 1714 and 1715 as an official request from the Reformed Church in Transylvania. His request with a description of the disastrous situation at the college in Aiud aimed at obtaining exclusiveness regarding the Leiden bursaries, which would be offered only to the College of Aiud. In this respect, he sent his son Ferenc Páriz Pápai Jr. to Leiden together with András Ajtai; they arrived in 1715 to the University.⁷⁴ In the same year, on March 23, the University Senate agreed to offer two bursaries exclusively to the College in Aiud (Nagyenyed) in the future. The bursaries were inevitably integrated into the political defense of the Protestant Church against the Counter-Reformation. When the count Bethlen found out in a Vienna prison the good news about bursary politics from Leiden the ecstatic joy of him (he jumped on the floor), reveals the continuity of the

⁷² Pilgrim in Leiden after 1689 was one of the remarkable professors of the exiled College from Alba Iulia to Sárospatak. In the summer of 1717 when the Catholics started to measure the College from Alba Iulia with army support, Kaposi appealed to the natural right sending to the Grotian precept learnt in Leiden, see in Koncz József, *A marosvásárhelyi Evangéliumi Reformata Kollégium története*, Marosvásárhely, 1896, p. 154.

⁷³ Szögi László, *Az erdélyiek külföldi egyetemjárása a XVIII században és a XIX. század első felében*, Budapest, 2000, ms, p. 3.

⁷⁴Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 301-302.

politics of bursaries for the time being in difficulty since the exile and emigration of the Reformed College from Sárospatak to Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) and further to Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), and again back to Sárospatak.

A decisive moment in establishing the Leiden bursary for Transylvania was the trial of the ministers in Pozsony nowadays Bratislava (1688), an occasion on which the European Protestant Churches became interested and involved in the Protestantism of Eastern Europe.⁷⁵

The bursaries were requested from the general environs of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, but specifically for the College of Aiud (Nagyenyed), situation due to the difficulties of the concurrent Reformed College from Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). The College was on the verge of expulsion and of pedagogical disorganization due to the pulse of the Counter-Reformation, which wanted to suppress the Protestantism still active in the Habsburg citadel and to restore the Catholic bishopric and education. Thus, the College from Aiud (Nagyenyed) would obtain two bursaries, one of them offered to the College of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). The College of Alba (Gyulafehérvár) re-organized in exile after a period of peregrination in Cricău (Boroskrakkó), in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and later in Sárospatak.

The discussion was heated about propriety of the bursaries when Johannes Remetei, pilgrim of the College of Cluj admitted that the places offered for the College of Aiud revealed the fact that the bursaries should be offered to Transylvanians and not exclusively to the College from Aiud. Remetei's discontent was also connected to the exclusiveness corroborated by the compulsory character of the examination in front of the teaching staff from Aiud, but also by the impossibility to appeal for the Leidenian bursary dispositions at the Reformed Consistory. Bod noticed that Remetei tried to break the monopole of the College of Aiud and to increase the power of the Consistory in the bursary politics *"The student from Cluj, Remetei János in 1717, caused a big commotion around the benefits of the College of Aiud. That was because Pápai Ferenc Jr. obtained the Leidenian benefit from the State Orders from 1715 in the favor of Aiud, which had already existed before that but was interrupted after that. Then because there was no other person they named student Remetei from Cluj for this place who was in big need in Belgium but who convinced them that the benefits from Leiden and Frankfurt did not belong to Aiud but to every college from Transylvania. Therefore, we do not have to depend on the professors from Aiud but on the Disposition of the Consistory. This discussion could*

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 290.

hardly be stopped.”⁷⁶ The competition and the necessity of the development of colleges is revealed in Bod’s lines about Remetei’s vision on bursaries.

Finally, in 1734, count Ádám Teleki Széki helped by Hamel Bruyninx succeeded in obtaining two bursaries for the Reformed College in Cluj. In 1738, there was another effort to obtain three bursaries for the students from Sárospatak, Debrecen and Târgu Mureş, but in vain.⁷⁷

The evolution of the petitionarism for the new University bursaries was a clear reason in a view of Senate for the establishment of the former college in Alba Iulia to Tîrgu Mures-Marosvásárhely and back to Sárospatak. The University Senate of Leiden remarked sarcastically “*Curatores ecclesiarum in Transsylvania eternis petant ne admittandur alumni Transylvani in collegium theologicum, nisi muniti septimo miis.*”⁷⁸ or „*Patakiensi petant ne [...] locus pro alumno, 23 ian 1721*”⁷⁹ The University offered study possibilities not only for the Hungarians, but also the Polish who had been present at Leiden since the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, one notices the consolidation of the collegia nationalia image of the Transylvanian Hungarians and the Polish students depositant as they were asked to oath through which they declared that they would return to their home countries after ending their studies, and with the occasion of paying the bursary.⁸⁰

Obtaining a bursary was very difficult. Good results in professional training were required showing a record of, earned money or that received from the Supreme Consistory or by general collect named in Hungarian *albizálás*, an exam passed in front of Protestant colleagues and good luck and patience in getting a favorable answer. The exam consisted of “[...] *universa Theologia, Philosophia, Historia Ecclesiastica, antiquitates Hebraicae et Graecae, nec non ex linguae Hebraica, et Graeca.*”⁸¹ The results were presented to the Consistory

⁷⁶ Bod Péter, *Erdély és Magyarország ekleziásai históriája*, vol. IV, without year, ms, p. 192.

⁷⁷ Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 86.

⁷⁸ *Actorum Codex Decimus Tertius ab 8 februarii ad 9 febr.* 1733 in Acta Senatus Facultatis (ASF), Universiteit Bibliotheek Leiden, f. 274, 360. Decretum in pleniore senatu Deliberare 21. aug. 1717.

⁷⁹ *Actorum Codex Decimus Tertius ab 8 februarii ad 9 febr.* 1733 in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden ASF f. 274, 360. Decretum in pleniore senatu Deliberare 23. ian. 1721.

⁸⁰ „*Multum Venerabili Illustrae ac Reverendo Domino D. Roberto Aemilio Collegii Theol. Regenti gravissimo et Ecclesiae ad S. Petri aedem Pastori, Fautoris ac Patrono pientissimo, Leydae Nos S. S. Theologiae Cultores Polonos et Hungaros, liberaliori Repraesentantium populi Hollandici munificentia viginti et unum florinos, ad cibum, eo quo tempore mensa non paratur, nobis comparandum destinatos, a Collegii Theologici subregente, Guilielmo Tebrater, singulos omnino accepisse, his literis grato animo testamur et lubentissime. Dabamus Leidae Die 16 Julii CXCCLXXXV, Iosephus Vübn Lith. Polonus, Raphael Dordnart Lith. Polonus, Ladislaus Herepei Hungarus, Petrus Orbán Trans. Hungarus.*” In Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, AC, f. 694

⁸¹ Graaf, Az erdélyi theologusok és a Staten College, p. 268.

and Bishop for approval. The exam would be required again for the lucky persons in Leiden, where the pilgrims were tested again when it was specified that the students had been tested in their home countries. Verifying the theological knowledge was a very serious activity. Considering the compulsory character of the letter of recommendation, we will recall the epistolary communication characteristic for the former century. If in the seventeenth century the personal communication was Humanist, in the eighteenth century it was informal and administrative. The epistolary communication specific to Humanism became through peregrinatio academica a personal communication in the framework of the imaginary Republic of Letters⁸². For the Protestant Transylvania, “Belgium” and the Leiden University were geographically and politically very far, but close from a scientific point of view:

*„ Septem vira mihi sunt regna, aneque videntis
Impensi septem, sum praeceptoribus usus,
Septem de fama notis, septem mihi linguae,
Natae, septem artes, quarum me scribo magistrum,
Theologiae sacrae doctorem, quo titulo me,
Princeps Auriacus, quem magna Britannia regem,
Nacta est, mactavit, Leidenses denique Athenae
Nunc mihi septem castra, locus cuius, quoque septem,
Professoribus ammunerator, septem mihi pensa Incumbunt.”⁸³*

More than 40 professors of Hebrew from the Reformed Colleges in Hungary and Transylvania were bursary students at Staten College and former students of the Orientalist theologian Schultens Albert (1686-1750). The Senate appreciated their fight against the Counter-Reformation carried out by the Jesuits.⁸⁴ The Protestant peregrination, including that of Leiden, represents at the same time continuity and withdrawal of the clergy of the Protestant society from Transylvania. This aristocratic Protestant solidarity was in opposition to the solidarity of the Transylvanian Catholic aristocracy who tried to restrict the Protestant benefits. The number of Protestant pilgrims increased in the eighteenth century even if the Protestant historiography of the twentieth

⁸² On Republica Literaria see „L’université de Leyde et la République des lettres au XVII^e siècle” in Paul Dibon, *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d’Or*, Napoli, Vivarium, 1990, p. 62-65.

⁸³ In Benkő, *Transylvania apud Koncz József, A marosvásárhelyi Evangéliumi Reformata Kollégium története*, Marosvásárhely, 1896, p. 140.

⁸⁴ Schultens saw in his pilgrims an antidote to the Jesuit politics. See in Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 86.

century suggests something else.⁸⁵ Otherwise, this evolution was parallel with the consolidation of the Catholic bursaries and the pedagogical reform of the Habsburgs, achievements that were seen by the Protestants as inferior to the Academies from the West.

Did the peregrination and bursaries to Leiden and abroad truly affect the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania? How so? What effects did bursaries make in the 18th century for Transylvania?

Péter Bod in Leiden

Following most distinguished opportunity for study in Transylvania, Bod enrolled at the Reformed Bethlenian College of Aiud (Nagyenyed)⁸⁶, where he became well known at an early age for his profound knowledge of Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Library Science. This knowledge was the result of the specific atmosphere created by the Reformed pedagogy founded on Coccejanism and Cartesianism⁸⁷ and promoted by those professors⁸⁸ who themselves brought the new knowledge from the Protestant Europe through their *peregrinatio academica*; especially from the State University of Leiden in Dutch Republic where most of them had studied in their youth.

After a short period of time when he functioned as librarian of the College and professor of classical languages, he continued three years of university studies at the State University of Leiden⁸⁹. He was offered an opportunity by the Leiden alumni, which granted bursaries for two students⁹⁰ as part of the support offered to the Protestants from Eastern Europe under the pressure of the Counter-Reformation⁹¹. As stated the journey earlier, was impossible without money. One way the money could be raised was by an *albizale*, which was a public collection from the Protestant parishes in

⁸⁵ Szögi László, *Az erdélyiek külföldi egyetemjárása*, ms, p. 8

⁸⁶ „1732 Petrus Bod. Thecarius et academia salutavit. Generalis notarius 1767 constitutus”, in Jakó Zsigmond- Juhász István, *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662-1884*, Bukarest, Kriterion, 1979, p. 148.

⁸⁷ Zoványi Jenő, *A coccejanizmus története*, Budapest, 1890, p. 115-175.

⁸⁸ Vita Zsigmond, „A XVIII század Erdély képe Hermányi Dienes József munkáiban”, in *Művelődés és népszolgálat*, Bukarest, 1983, p. 65-80.

⁸⁹ Bod, Önéletírás, p. 23.

⁹⁰ Dezső Béla, „Külföldi Stipendiumaink”, in *Protestáns Közlöny, Egyházi és iskolai Hetilap*, VII, Kolozsvár, 1877, p. 98; Zsilinszky Mihály, *Tájékoztató a külföldi egyetemeken magyarbani protestáns ifjak számára tett alapítványi ösztöndíjakról*, Budapest, 1877, p. 1-2; Rác István, „A magyarországi protestáns peregrináció szükségyszerűsége és lehetősége”, in eds. Rác István, *Politikai gondolkodás–műveltségi áramlatok*, Debrecen, 1992, p. 133-143, Miklós Ödön, *Magyar diákok*, p. 290-319, Bozzay, *Debreceni diákok*, p. Bozzay Réka, , p. 307-316.

⁹¹ Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, AC, f. 649.

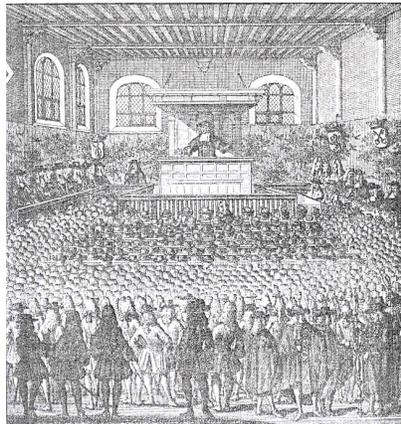
Transylvania. However, Maria Theresa had banned this medieval custom. Another source was the Protestant Consistory, which usually paid out monies at the recommendation of the professors. Professor Mihály Ajtai Abód from the College of Aiud often intervened for the poor students' subsidies. The third very frequently used method was to obtain money from aristocratic patrons. Péter Bod chose this way⁹² through Countess Kata Bethlen and the chief steward of the College, Mihály Türi, who handed him the necessary money. Türi requested that they become ministers at the noble courts of the patrons and if they published something, to use Baroque expressions of gratitude towards their donators. Once the *viaticum* (financial support for studies and travel) was gathered, the next step in academical pilgrimage was the request for passport, and sanitary authorization from state officials. The most important piece of pilgrimage, the recommendation letter from the College professors represented the *salvus conductus* for a long journey, in what transportation meant a dangerous, and full with adventures, route. Bod left Transylvania in 1740 in order to attend the three years at the University of Leiden.

Unfortunately, we do not have that *album amicorum*, if it really existed, which describes in detail the experience of Péter Bod's preparations for this. The reconstruction of the route, of the studies carried out based on *Descriptio de sua vitae*⁹³, demonstrates the thoroughness, necessity, duration and content of

⁹² Letter of recommendation from Bishop Szigeti and professor Ajtai: 'Legyen kegyelem és békesség mindazoknak, valakik szeretik a mi Urunk Jézus Krisztust és az ő felsége országát. Amen. A kiknek elméjekben a bölcselkedésre való vágyódás mélyebben vert gyökeret és fészket, igyekeznek serénységgel a tudományok nagyobb-nagyobb mértékére és a sz. Dávid szerint nyereségről-nyereségre, erőről-erőre menni, míg jutnak az Isten házában való tiszteletnek és a sz. szolgálat munkájának elérésére s gyakorlására. Ihen indulattal lévén, elevelünket praesentáló kedves tanítványunk, kinek Bod Péter neve, collegiumunknak feles esztendőnk alatt rendes és hasznos bibliotbecariusus, nem lehetett nem ajánlanunk őtet az Isten dicsőségét szerető és terjesztetni kívánó szenteknek, ilyen okokon. Ugyanis mind a természetnek, mind a kegyelemnek ajándékaival Istentől megajándékozottván, oly serényen és nagy előmenetelekkel tanuságít collegiumunkban folytatta, hogy mind előttünk, mind mások előtt kedvességet és dicséretet nyert magának és méltónak ítéltetett, hogy szép tudományára s kiváltképen ritka szelíd, alázatos, kegyes és fegyhetetlen erkölcsére nézve a külső országokon levő academiákra tudományának öregbítése végett kiküldetnék és ott levő nevezetes alumniával felsegéltetnék. Annakokáért mind ezen érdemlett dicséreteire, bátorkodunk őtet egész bizodalommal kibocsátani e házába a mgs patrónusok és patrónák kegyességeinek elvételére Találjon azért kedvet mindenek előtt a szabad akarat szerint való jótéteménynek Isten dicsőségére elszánt alamánának kisájárásában és háladatossággal való szedésében, bizonyosan elhívén minden, a ki szívét és kezeit be nem zárja vele közöltetett jótétemény felől, az apostolnak ama szavait: A ki bőven vet, bőven is arat. 2. Cor. 9. 6. Mely ígéretet a jó cselekedeteknek gyümölcseről és megjutalmaztatásáról, hogy Isten ő felsége töltsön be a kegyes adakozó szentekben, mind a jelenvaló, mind a következő életben, tökéletes szívvel kívánjuk.' In Sámuel Aladár, *Felsősernátoni Bod Péter élete és művei*, Budapest, 1899, p. 13-14.

⁹³ Bod, *Önéletírás*, 1982.

the didactic relationships between the University of Leiden and Transylvania⁹⁴ during Counter-Reformation. Hardships were inherent from the beginning. Illnesses, epidemics, wars, thieves and ecclesiastic politics stopped or tried to stop those who wanted to leave. In 1725, Karol von Habsburg III made the condition of the journey the necessitated the passport⁹⁵. The wars also hindered peregrination if the country through which the person was to go an enemy one.⁹⁶ Bod would leave only after a *salvus conductus* had been obtained from the Sanitary Authorities from Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), who validated that there was no sanitary danger as concerned is person. The pilgrims had to stop for weeks if a contagious disease occurred on their way. In fact, the Habsburg policies related to peregrination were part of Counter-Reformation, reflected as well in their censorship, the economic policy; likewise, they also reflected the European policy and even internal pedagogical reform. What is interesting to note during these years is the fact that the number of Protestant pilgrims did not decrease but increase.



Oratio inauguralis 1738

⁹⁴ „*Collegium theologicum. Curatores ecclesiarum in Transylvania eternis petant ne admittandur alumni, Transylvani in collegium theologicum, nisi muniti fuis septimo mäs Decretum in pleniori Senatum Deliberare 21 aug. 1717.*” Actorum Codex Decimus Tertius ab 8 febr- 1704-1733, Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF f. 274.

⁹⁵ The passport issued by the central authorities from Vienna stamped by the Cancellor sees in Zsilinszky *A magyarboni protestáns egyház*, p. 494. The use of passport was mandatory in the year of Bod’s departure (1740) while the war for succession started. The travel was compulsory through Vienna since 1747 (see *Az Erdélyi Református Főkonzisztórium levéltárának mutatója 1700-1750*, Kolozsvár, 2002 in *Erdélyi Református Levéltári Kiadványok 2*, p. 297.) fact that explained why the pilgrims in the first half of th eighteenth century had time to visit the city. See in Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák*, p. 19.

⁹⁶ Graaf, *Az erdélyi theologusok és a Staten College*, p. 265.

The way through the cities and libraries meant the contact with academic reality, the possibility to visit universities, new publications, experiments, professors, archives, art; in fact, it also meant the chance to meet people, professors and theologians dedicated to science. Bod arrived in Leiden on August 6th, 1740, after he visited academies in the cities of Nimwegen, Utrecht and Amsterdam. He enrolled on August 30 for the new academic year.

Afterwards, he stood in front of the Examination Committee who established that he had the ability to occupy a place at Staten College⁹⁷. For him, the study of Theology represented the supreme goal of peregrinatio academica, but according to his desire of being useful to society, he studied Law, Physics, Chemistry, History, Classical Literature and Medicine⁹⁸. Bod witnessed the process of segregation of the sciences on modern bases⁹⁹ and was one of their admirers¹⁰⁰ from the anatomic or physical theatrum. Bod spent three years at the College on the Cellebroersgracht, founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1592) under the name of *Collegium Theologicum Illustrum Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae*. It was founded by the States from the Province of Holland with the aim of teaching the complementary courses of Theology.¹⁰¹

Founded for Theologians, the College accepted 40 bursary students. This College was a special dormitory and study building for pilgrims and Dutch theologians. The Transylvanians were accepted in accordance to “*gratis sua hungarus*”, “*gratis amicitia causa et honoris*” or “*gratis pauperitas causa*”. In 1740, the year of Bod’s acceptance to Staten College at the Theology from Leiden, 268 students were enrolled. “*Ex quibus 19 gratis, partim honoris, partim pauperitatis causa*”.¹⁰² Staten College was compared to a monastery for the strictness and

⁹⁷ „1740, 23 aug. Iosephus Berzetzi et Petrus Bod Hungaro Transilvani commendati a Reverendo vero B. Borosnyai Professor Enyediensis examinati sunt in catechetica a Cl. Van den Honert, fungente pro rectore Cl. Weselio in Rhetoricis a Cl. Havercamp fungente pro Cl. Burmannus in logicis a Cl. Muschenbroek fungente pro Cl. Gravesande praesentibus pro rectore W. Actuario Regente et pro Regente in collegium admissi sunt”, Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF 357-358, p. 64.

⁹⁸ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 17-18.

⁹⁹ *A history of science in the Netherlands*, ed. by. Klaas van Berkel, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 1999; John Gascoigne, *Science politics and Universities in Europe, 1600-1800*, Singapore-Sydney, Asgate, 1998; W.T. Stearn, *The influence of Leyden on botany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, Leiden, Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1961.

¹⁰⁰ He order one microscope probably from Musschenbroek atelier, in Gudor Botond, *Istorical Bod Péter*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 156.

¹⁰¹ G. D. J. Schotel, *De Academie te Leiden*, Haarlem, 1875, p. 23-24.

¹⁰² *Volumen inscriptionum* 14, 1727-1755, Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF. 14, p. 256 and in *Album studiosorum VIII, 1727-1754*, Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, the abbreviation „gratis” merely appears under the regency of Albert Schultens, p. 283.

discipline with which it imposed silence to its 40 inhabitants.¹⁰³ Throughout the eighteenth century, the house offered accommodation to Hungarian, Polish, Lithuanian bursary holders and to Germans and Dutch who paid taxes. The ethnical structure of the bursary-holding students from Staten College 1740 was the following: 20 Dutch, 2 Polish, 2 Lithuanians, and 4 Hungarians from Transylvania. The last ones were supported also by special foundations such as “*Stichting Abraham, Isaac, en Iacov*” founded in April 25th, 1591 and a foundation active until 1745 under the patronage of Honert and Alberti, named *Iacov van Brouhoven Stichting* founded in 1642. For these, the bursary-holding students had to observe the stipulations of the Synod of Dordrecht and to be Reformed.¹⁰⁴ They had to be sworn in that after the studies they would return to their home countries „[...] *peregrini, tam Hungari quam Poloni, promittunt, se ex decreto Illustrium Curatorum et Amplissimorum Consulum, continuo post absolutum studiorum cursum in Collegio, patrios Lares esse repetituros. Ita me Deus adjuvet.*”¹⁰⁵

The Staten College buildings consisted of four bodies: regent’s body, the sub-regent’s, the treasurer’s and the auditor’s. Students’ rooms were partly placed here, partly between the buildings.¹⁰⁶ The sub-regent was in charge of the observation of the students, as he lived in the same building and habitated with them the general themes for the Courses of Theology. Bod is mentioned a Leidenian minister David Knibbe, who was sub-regent of the College, as co-participant in the theologian studies.¹⁰⁷ Staten College had rooms for students, a kitchen, a bathroom, and study rooms where the theologians could accomplish didactic activities.

Every morning mandatory predications were held for the bursary-holding students. In the reading rooms there were Bibles in Classical languages and biblical lexicons placed for study. The College also had a medical building, a treasury, a nursery and separate pharmacist.¹⁰⁸ Bod benefited from the same facilities as the others: one bed, one shelf, one table and one chair. Here the pilgrim could study and rest.¹⁰⁹ For these facilities, he did not owe money; the

¹⁰³ Keresztesi József, „Akadémiai utazásai a külföldön, naplójegyzet akadémiai útjáról.” In *Theologiai Szemle*, Debrecen, 1-3, 1930, XIII. XIV, 60, and XIII, XIV, p. 61.

¹⁰⁴ *Stukken rakende het Collegium Theologicum- List fan de Naamen der Beursalen het Staaten Collegie Polen, Lithuanien, Hongaren* in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF f. 526.

¹⁰⁵ Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 291.

¹⁰⁷ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Schotel, *De academie te Leiden*, p. 40-45.

¹⁰⁹ Rainer A. Müller, „Student education, student life”, in *A history of the University in Europe*, p. 326, 345 and Bozzay Réka, „Magyarországi diákok leideni szállása és étkezése.” in *KÜT*, eds. doctoral school of the ELTE BTK, 2006/4, p. 16-31.



Students in XVIIIth century

The University trustees closely managed the financial situation from Staten College. In 1675, 17 bursary-holding students lived there financed by the Reformed Church of Seven United Provinces. At that time the regent of Staten College was the minister of the Reformed community of Leiden. In the period of Secretary Van Royen, who would write the letter of recommendation for Bod at departure, the regent of the college was David Knibbe (1671-1748) who was in charge specifically with the pro domo training of the bursary-holding students. In the year 1720, when Knibbe was named regent, the bursary-holding students were “strictly observed”¹¹². He supervised and enforced the university rules, appropriate conduct, sleeping hours, etc. Professor Albert Schultens supervised the students in those years, with the responsibility to present all misbehaviours to the University Senate.

The acceptance of Hungarian and Polish students “*buyten eenige Hungaaren of Poolen, naumelycks een beursaal in tien jaaren sal werden geadmittert*”, increased with the many that came as ordinary or extraordinary bursary-holding students from Eastern Europe under the pressure of the Counter-Reformation.¹¹³ The politics of acceptance of bursary-holding students at Staten College followed the geography of the successes of the counter reformations and Jesuit reconquered. The catholic pression meant more bursaries for that region what lived under catholic rulers, but especially for

¹¹² Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 84.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 85.

Central and Eastern Europe. The official acceptance in 1715 of two Lithuanian students, two Transylvanians and two Polish reflected the top of the bursary policy of Leiden. The possibilities from students from Eastern Europe gradually declined as the bursary system became, impossible under the policies of Napoleon. Staten College was abolished on 1st June 1801 under the pressure of napolean war.¹¹⁴

The lives of the professors of Theology from Staten College were extremely diverse. They received money for duties such as delivering acceptance to young men at the college, the examination of students, and the presence in the presidency of academic disputations. Their duties was the visiting of the theological college, the presence at the students' oath, the active presence in the students' academic disputations, checking of the college, exams, and listening to the oaths sworn in by the bursary holders. The professors were paid according to the number of debates, visits, and exams they achieved. According to *Rationes Academicae*, in the academic year 1740, the theologians completed two professor debates (Weselius, Honert) comparably less than the Jurists who prepared 5 to 15 debates per year, during the practical nature of Law.¹¹⁵ Professor Weselius had the highest wages of 200 florins in 1741. Most likely, due to his age and multiple university activities he had fulfilled as well as the rector's position, which he held.

For the students with bursaries, 1680 guldens per annum and a viaticum of 100-150 guldens were allocated in Leiden. The benefits received from the university were enough for accommodation at Staten College, full board, price of courses, money for books and a *viaticum* for return. In the period of 1726-1750, 54 students with bursaries studied in Leiden, among them Bod. In the eighteenth century, the grouping of students into "*collegia nationalia*" was tightly connected to the offered alumni. The lives of the bursary-holding students at Leiden were determined clearly by the presence of the bursary itself.¹¹⁶ In the former centuries, the negative solidarity of the bursary students was invoked by financial punishment. If the students did not observe the rules of the University, they were called in front of the Senate or a Trustee of the University and punished in accordance with the regulations approved by the administrative bodies of the University. Student life was closely related to

¹¹⁴ Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 319.

¹¹⁵ *Relationes Academicae VIII. Febr. 1740-1741* in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF 303, p. 216.-218.

¹¹⁶ For the Hungarians the bursary was of 210 florins (150 for accomodation, 20 for costs, 21 for food in holidays). For viaticum they received 150 florins. The bursary was paid four times per annum see Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 292.

peregrinatio academica. Between 1702 and 1750, over 40 % of the students at Leiden not were Dutch.¹¹⁷

Student life as much as it can be reconstructed based on regulations¹¹⁸ listed and judgments in cases of infringements, economic reports, and meetings on the courses of the students, shows a pendulant student life between the requirements to fulfill at Staten College and the cases of disciplinary infringements. The life lived in a pleasant ambiance of bursaries, free or cheap wine, university libraries and courses, typical Dutch meals rich in meat, fish, bread, gravies, cheese, beer and butter was part of the academic life.¹¹⁹

The university leadership, who protected the interests of the whole academy as well as those who were very ill, immediately discussed the serious infringements, debts and illnesses, which destroyed the lives of some students.

In this complex academic life, Bod was a student who obtained the title of “*Honorable member*”, as listen in the university testimonies (recomandation letters) that he received when he left home. He was never on the list of interdictions or financial and disciplinary incursions. The private courses offered by students like later reformer Gerhard Van Swieten (1700-1772) to poorer students were hardly punished by the Senate because the University considered them harmed in its financial interests.¹²⁰ Bod had always respected the rules of the bursaries. Other students infringed upon the rules by scandalous drinking or by debts accumulated over the academic years. Student debts were often consigned in the judgment protocols of the Senate, being known that Leidenian life inside and outside the university were extremely expensive¹²¹.

It is interesting that Bod know an African native colleagues, Jacobus Johannes Eliza Capitein (1717-1747), formerly a slave on the Coast of Guinea, an outstanding student who completed his dissertation on *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute, libertate christianae non contraria*. In the racial constraints of the time, such a case was an exception.¹²² The bursary-holding students were those without incomes and thus named *armen studenten (pauperes)*; actually this was one of the main motivations for granting them the bursary.¹²³

¹¹⁷ „Herkomst en afkomst” in Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 242.

¹¹⁸ The College rules were published by Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 290.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 292.

¹²⁰ „*Rogante amicano Van Royen, interdicta doctor Van Swieten 8 iul. 1734 lectio in logicis rogante Facultati Philosophica interdicta*” 25 iuli 1741 in Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF, *Actorum Codex Decimus Tertius ab 8 februarii ad 9 febr. 1733*, p. 274, 514.

¹²¹ P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 's Gravenhage, 1913-1924, II, p. 112.

¹²² Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 332.

¹²³ Schotel, *De academie*, p. 43.



Student in XVIIIth century

The German and Polish nation's solidarity from 1607¹²⁴, was replaced in the eighteenth century by a new solidarity, that of the Hungarian and Polish people. The alternancy of solidarity is reflected by the presence of the Transylvanian Hungarians in the university and by the re-arrangement of ethnical factions due to the increasingly absorptive power of the German universities who reorganized the itinerary of the German pilgrims and re-oriented them to Jena and Göttingen.

Bod wrote few pages about his studies in Leiden. Fortunately, he published the laudative letters received from the university professors.¹²⁵ That letters demonstrated Bod's ability in studies and served as proof of the university courses. In Bod's *opera magna*, we can find many quotations referring to his relationship with the Dutch Republic and with academic and political personalities from there. It is not an exaggeration to say that Bod kept special relationships with the academic personalities from Leiden even after his professional and hierarchic ascension in the Reformed Church of Transylvania. He used for that the precious help of the new Leiden pilgrims.¹²⁶ Likewise later, his relationship with Leiden was closely connected to the books, editing and professors.

¹²⁴ Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten*, p. 57.

¹²⁵ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25-29.

¹²⁶ Deáki Pál, in Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 61; Ferenc Postma, „Frustula Telekiana, Einige bisher unbekannte Briefe von Sámuel Teleki (1739-1822) in niederländischen Sammlungen”, in *Emlékkönyv a Teleki Téka alapításának 200. Évfordulójára 1802-2002*, Marosvásárhely, 2002.

Besides the university library, Bod visited during his studies other libraries affiliated to the Academy¹²⁷. The exact information he had about the Thysiana Library, which was added to Academic Library in 1741, the year when Bod was student under the co-ordination of the Librarian Van Royen, was not surprising.¹²⁸ The librarian activity of Bod at the College was made greatly due to the activity of the libraries of Leiden.

The library under the administration of the Secretary-Librarian Van Royen added many books during the period between 1741 and 1743. Most of them were theological books, but in 1743, in accordance with the didactic trend, there were books on physico-theology as well.¹²⁹ The catalogues were periodically reprinted thus the numerous volumes of different funds reflected new methods of Library Science that were applied by Bod when he re-arranged the library of his patron countess Kata Bethlen.

Bod's academic professors, his relationships with them, and how this all affects his studies and works, is the next topic to broach. The search as follows the daily courses of Bod at Leiden in order to get better knowledge about the personalities who taught him in the university and to achieve a synthesis of his studies and works. In this respect, we will analyze some characteristics of his professors in Leiden and their methodology in teaching the students.

Bod, when remembering the years of peregrination said, *“For the greatest joy of my soul I spent three years among the sciences”*¹³⁰. These, were three years that proved to be essential to his career and for his work and particularly for the historiography he professed. His professors, who, according to the tradition, armed him with letters of recommendation, unanimously appreciated the years of study and peregrination. Professor Schultens spoke of Bod as an *“outstanding young man”*, *“who worked hard and conscientiously”*, *“who was a member of Honor both of*

¹²⁷ Letter sent to Daniel Cornides in 1768: *„Nihil de Libris in quos adeo sollicitè inquiris Collyrio Episcopo- rum ac Dioptra Principum mihi innotuit, libenter certe' communicaturus si quid in materia tanti momenti nossem. Multum enim debere me Rev. ac Illustri Kerchelichio propter detectum genuinum Litterarum Silves- trinarum fontem gratus agnosco. Neque quo Te dirrigam conjectare possum, tales enim li belli casu plerumque, apud ignaros latentes se prodere solent. Dum Lugduni apud Batavos agerem observari ibidem in **Bibliotheca Thysiana** ab tutonio Thysio usui publico deputata plurimos esse bellos ad aetatem Principis Gabr. Bethlen pertinentes, de rebus Hung. agentes. Scribam ad studiosos ubi occasionem nanciscor de Collyria ac Dioptra. Haec Bibliotheca alia est, non illa celebris ac instructissima, et in alia platea ubi Domus Ademica jacet inde procul ad occidentem; iisdem tamen legibus custoditur, diebus Mercurii ac Sabbati a meridie. prout alia omnibus patet. Vale et res Patrias ornare perge. Magyar-Igenini d. 28. Marty Ann. 1768”*, in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, új évfolyam. II, vol. XXIV, Kolozsvár, 1907, p. 390.

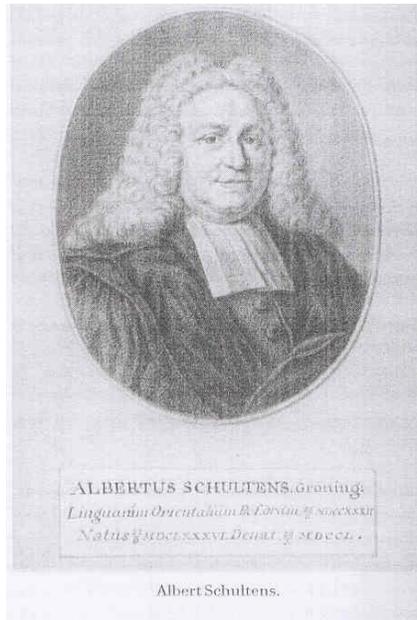
¹²⁸ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 387.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 111-116.

¹³⁰ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 23.

the Academy and of the Theological College, who did not forget to multiply and to add to science, aided by it and with his life to show the light to others."¹³¹ Important names in Dutch theology were van den Honert and Alberti, who wanted to express the same feelings as professor Schultens had formerly done. Honert saw Bod as "an outstanding man, one of the beloved members of our Academy" who had a "life worthy of a Theologian" and who "gained my sympathy, in front of me was precious, being loved by many", and Alberti considered him "a diligent student, not complicated, knowledgeable [...] and a permanent presence at the debates".¹³²

Albert Schultens (1686-1750) represented the grandest academic possibilities for the study of Oriental languages.



Albert Schultens

A former student of the Orientalist professor Reland from Utrecht, it is obvious that he applied Reland's methodology in his didactic activity.¹³³ As regent and Director of Staten College (1738-1740), he taught the bursary-holding students the lessons on Wednesday and Sunday about Catechism of

¹³¹ Letter of Albert Schultens, signed on July 23rd, 1743 in *Ibidem*, p. 26.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 26-27.

¹³³ *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, vol. 1, Kampen, 1978, p. 330.

Salomon van Til¹³⁴ Through his quality of “*doctor linguarum orientalium*”, he became the interpreter of the documents/ oriental collections named “*interpretatum Warnerianum*”¹³⁵; since 1732, he was professor of Oriental languages and from 1740, professor of Hebrew Antiquities. The latter is function reflected in both the schedule and the courses taught to the students from the Faculty of Theology with, Bod among them.¹³⁶ The profound exegesis, the variety of courses recommended him as expert in Oriental Philology and in modern European Theology. The analogic method of (“*collatio attentissima locorum inter se*”) in the research of the Holy Scripture led him to friendship of the famous Professor Hemsterhuis, with whom he taught for a long time at Leiden. Schultens became a university professor in 1732, and as professor of “*linguarum orientalium*”, he tried to discover a relationship between the Biblical Hebrew and Semitic languages.¹³⁷ For this type of research, the University Library proved to be very useful as Leiden had the largest corpus of Arabian documents in Europe of that time. In his argumentation as concerns the critical-historical exegesis of the Old Testament, he was in consensus with his fellow Alberti, but opened perspectives that were not agreed on by the Orthodox Protestants. He tried to transform the traditional exegesis of the Old Testament of (“*vetus et regia via*”¹³⁸) into something new and useful to modern theology through philological exegesis.¹³⁹ “*Via moderna et metaphysica hodierna*” in the vision of Schultens was the application of the exegesis based on comparative linguistics, the most powerful method for the edification of the biblical truth, in comparison with metaphysical speculations.¹⁴⁰ Modernity meant for him the study of the “*oriental dialects*” through the above-mentioned methods, but the goal of the exegesis was Orthodox. The theological line was moderate, irenic and biblical with evident sympathy for Pietism but rejecting rigid Conservatism. He was not an innovator but was capable of avoiding the rigidity of the discussion between the Voetians and Coccejans. His son

¹³⁴ The Regent and sub-regent had the obligation in accordance with point 3 of the regulation: „*The co-operate with the alumnion the listened theological courses and predications and on Wednesday and Sunday to explain the Catechism.*” See in Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 291.

¹³⁵ Warner’s collection was the richest in oriental documents in Europe for academic use.

¹³⁶ „The Leiden professors of the Schultens family and their contacts with British scholars” in Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents*, p. 231.

¹³⁷ Blok - Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 122.

¹³⁸ Albert Schultens, *Vetus et Regia via Hebraizandi, asserta contra novam et metaphysicam modernam*, Leiden, 1738.

¹³⁹ Hubertus Waltherus Maria van de Sandt, *Joan Alberti, een Nederlandse theoloog en classicus in de achttiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1984, p. 75.

¹⁴⁰ „The Leiden professors of the Schultens family and their contacts with British scholars” in Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents*, p. 232.

characterized him as a man “*du vrai pietisme*”. His friendship with Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738) the famous professor in medicine “*totius Europae praeceptor*”, recommended Schultens as a fighter for the enlightened theological science, between orthodoxy, tolerance and moderation.

During Bod’s peregrination at Leiden, Schultens was the director of the Theological College; thus they had contact daily. The positive perception of Bod as excellent student is revealed by the testimony offered upon return into the country. Bod was extremely interested in the study of Jewish antiquities and in the study of Hebrew, Syrian, Arabian and Caldean languages. The courses of Schultens deal with the ancient history of Israel and the exegesis and comparative analysis of Septuagint and the Old Testament, even aided by the classical Greek of Homer; all based on the natural theology of Van Til Salomon.¹⁴¹

Schultens texts in his classes reflected great diversity. In the academic courses of Arabian, Schultens focused on *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* edited by Erpenius in 1620, and for Hebrew and grammar, he used his publication *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*. From Thursday to Wednesday, the students listened to “*in questionibus Philologiam Sacram spencantibus*” and on Thursday and Friday, the exegesis treated the *Proverbs of Solomon*. On Tuesday and Thursday, he lectured on “*origines radicum Hebraeorum*”.¹⁴² Bod had advanced the idea that the academic world was waiting for the Hebrew Lexicon to be published by Jan Jacob Schultens junior, who followed his father as professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden in 1744. The idea that the new Hebrew Lexicon dictated by his father to the Leidenian students should be published by “*Jan Jacob Schultens, the exceptional successor of the father*”¹⁴³ was based on the friendship of the two. The dissertation of Schultens Jr. sustained on May 26th, 1742, in the Literary Auditorium with title; *Dissertatio academica de utilitate dialectorum orientalium ad tuendam integritatem Codicis Hebraei*.¹⁴⁴ revealed the importance of the integrity of the Old Testament, the implication of Rationality in the clarification of various versions of interpretation, critics and anti-critics, philosophies which “*infestae irreligiosum hominum genti*”, Rationality “*convenientissima, ac vere Philosophica*”, Rabbinic and Masoretic traditions, Semitic languages, all suggest the academic dimensions of the Schultensian Oriental School. Bod was an active presence in this tipe of debate. In Bod’s library, as in many other Transylvanian libraries, one can find numerous dictionaries, grammar books and lexicons related to Oriental Studies; among them being

¹⁴¹ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 24.

¹⁴² Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 340-341.

¹⁴³ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Lugduni Batavorum, 1742.

Schultens, Jan Jacob, *Grammatica Hebraeica*, Leiden 1767, Johannes Buxtorfius (1645-1704), *Grammatica Hebraeica*, Erpenius, *Grammatica hebraeica*¹⁴⁵, and *Lexicon Hebraicum*. The presence of these books in Bod's library testifies at his increased interest to the Oriental Studies from Leiden.¹⁴⁶ The interest towards comparative linguistics can be seen on the pages of his Bibles, where he often noted Arabian-Hebrew comparisons of the biblical verses used in the weekly exegesis of the sermon at the parish.

Johan Weselius (1671-1745), a moderate Voetian¹⁴⁷ aged professor, but still fresh intellectually, held the courses of Theology. He taught Systemic Theology of the Swiss scholar Benedict Pictetus;¹⁴⁸ in fact it was a methodical systematization of the Calvinist doctrine.¹⁴⁹ Here, one can recognize the Orthodox Calvinist Theology drawn into the defence of the traditional Calvinist doctrine, also revealed in the stipulations of the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619). Weselius was a professor of Sacred Oratory. The general ideas of oratory can be found in *De prudenti simplicitate in oratore sacro requisita*. At his death in 1745, the University Rector characterized him as "*Eximium, doctrina, probitate, placidis simis moribus et prudentia insignem.*"¹⁵⁰ Bod's calvinistic orthodoxy it is explained by the late effects of Weselius courses.

Johan van den Honert (1693-1758), son of Taco Haio van den Honert and nicknamed "*the most veritable Coccejan*" of the university, was the professor who inspired Bod with love for Typology, Catechetics, Oratory, and Polemics. Even more so, Professor Honert nurtured in Bod a love for History of the Church, which he taught based on Lampe. The later friendship between Professor Honert and Bod regarding Bod's editorial activity is well known.¹⁵¹

Between 1719 and 1727, Honert was a minister in Katwijk; then he was appointed Professor at the University of Utrecht, where he taught the History of the Church from 1738. Later, in 1746, he was still at Leiden teaching

¹⁴⁵ Edited by Schultens A. in 1748, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, deel 1, Kampen, 1978.

¹⁴⁶ „Bod Péter könyvtára” in Vita Zsigmond, *Művelődés és népszolgálat*, Kriterion, Bukarest, 1983, p. 55.

¹⁴⁷ Graaf, *A németalföldi akadémiák*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁸ „*La théologie chrétienne et la science du salut ou l'exposition des vérités que Dieu a révélées aux hommes dans la Sainte Ecriture, avec la refutation des erreurs contraires à ces vérités, l'histoire de plupart de ces erreurs, les sentimens des anciens Pères et une abrégé de ce qu'il y a de plus considérable dans l'histoire ecclésiastique.*” In Antony Rochat, *La théologie chrétienne de Bénédicte Pictet*, Genève 1879, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁰ Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, V, p. 255.

¹⁵¹ As regards the problems with the publication of the History of the Church from Transylvania and Hungary sent to Honert in Miklós, *Magyar diákok*, p. 316.

Homiletics.¹⁵² Being one of the beloved professors of Bod, it seems' useful to reproduce a few fragments from the daily activity of Honert; they reflect the position that the pastoral customs and behaviours do not change very much in time. Professor and Pastor Honert began "In the morning between 4 and 8, he read the Psalms, between 8 and 12 the Heidelbergian catechism, 12-2, had lunch and rested, 2-4 read and prepared from the Bible in Hebrew, between 4-5 he prepared in Greek, Syrian and Dutch, between 5-8 he studied the Old History of the Church, Greek and Latin writers. He read a lot from texts on the history of the Church, but also from the Hebrew Mish and with the catechists he played outside in the nature."¹⁵³ This record reflects his commitment to scholarship and religion.

The activity of professor Honert was mainly connected to Systematic Theology. As a Dogmatician, he was preoccupied with the study of relationships between the Protestants and the Remonstrants, Harnhuthians, Lutherans, and Unitarians.¹⁵⁴ He was very polemic with the Unitarians and a fearful opponent of the Spinozistic type of criticism on the Bible.¹⁵⁵ The lecturers were based on the course published in 1736 and called *Institutiones theologiae didactico-elencticae*.¹⁵⁶ The book was an integral compendium of Polemics and Dogmatics. Bod formed some of his works from Honert's *Institutiones*..., therefore it is more than obvious to discuss some essential elements of this course. The volume was separated into two parts. The first part of the volume treated the relationship between Theology and the Holy Scripture, the order of Creation, His commands, and the Falling into Sin. In the second part, Honert discussed The Holy Trinity, justification of sins, and the typical Coccejan themes "de pactione Foederis Gratiae, per Vocationem et Fidem"¹⁵⁷ and "de Sigillis Foederis". In the glorification and salvation indubitable the Rational man also had a place: "Theologiae est sermo de Deo Rebusque, Divinis sive Doctrina de Relatione, quae, tum per Naturam, tum maxime per gratiam, inter Deum et creaturam Rationalem,

¹⁵² Joris van Eijnatten, „Mutua christianorum tolerantia”, in *Studi e testi per la storia della tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI-XVIII* 2, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1998, p. 90. First oratio on the modern preaching, in „English style” in *Oratio inauguralis de Sapientia et arte Oratoricis Ecclesiastici*, Leiden, November 23. 1746 where Cicero was named father of the Church Oratory „*memoria naturalis*” of God's things in the world.

¹⁵³ „Praktijk van het christelijk leven in de achttiende eeuw, De dominee, Dagprogramma van dominee Johannes van den Honert 1719” in *Reformatiorica, Teksten uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche protestantisme*, Den Haag, 1996, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ Blok - Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁵ *Biografisch lexicon*, p. 252.

¹⁵⁶ Johannes van den Honert, *Institutiones theologiae didactica elencticae in usum auditorii domestici conscriptae Ac publicis juris factae, nec non Orationis duae, Altera de regeneratione, altera de Historia Ecclesiastica theologis maxime necessaria*, Lugduni Batavorum, Samuelem Luchtmans, 1749.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 162-176.

*nor tantum in tempore, sed etiam in Aeternitate, ad Sempiternam Dei Gloriam intercedit.*¹⁵⁸ Classification of theology in “*theologiam naturalem*” and “*revelatam*” was not a surprise considering the stage of the theological research. In the framework of Natural Theology, the motivations and goals are closely related to the spirituality of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁹ The extrinsic acquisition of natural theology for the use of theological argumentation was obvious: „[...] *de illa inter Deum et Creaturam Rationalem Relatione, Doctrina ex contemplatione aliarum, quae nos circumstant, vel aliquo modo ad nostrum intellectum usumque perveniunt.*”¹⁶⁰ Demonstrating the truth of Natural Theology was important in the vision of Honert against idolatry, superstition, atheism and impiety and the false prepositions of the Annals of Baronius: “*Religio nostra Cultus Rationale dicitur*”. The demonstration of the theological truth and of the existence of God was founded on “*Lumen Rationis: Nam Deus ESSE*”, on “*Sacra Scriptura [quae –n. n.] confirmat atque illustrat ea, quae Naturalis Ratio docet Vindicamur ab atheorum objectionibus*” because “*nihil esse in intellectu, quod non prius erat in sensibus*”.¹⁶¹

Of course, Natural Theology obliged the author to compare God’s attributes to the attributes of the rational man. He saw God as rationally superior: “*Rationum vivere, cogitare, sapientia, velle, bonitas, justitia*”¹⁶² and God’s primary attribute was “*Infinitum intellectum*”¹⁶³ while the human creature “*constat ex mente rationali et corpore organico, in qua et per quam Deus Suam maxime gloriam illustrat*”.¹⁶⁴ This polemic, prophetic and emblematic side of theology would convince Bod to conceive his first Coccejian work entitled *Újszövetségi lexikon*, in which he referred to the theological support offered by Professor Honert at the conception of the book.

The theological influence of Taco Haio van den Honert Sr. predestined the Cartesian-Coccejian intellectual basis of the young Honert who was professor of Bod.¹⁶⁵ He was considered the last remarkable personality of the late Leidenian Coccejianism in the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁶ In accordance to

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

¹⁵⁹ The quoted titles from the paper are examples of the means of theological argumentation from the eighteenth century: „*Demonstramus, Vindicamus a socianorum. Ex male fundatis adplicatisque Ratiociniis quibus, contendunt, eam in hominum notitiam non esse naturalem*”. In *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, II, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, II, p. 30.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, II, p. 37.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, II, p. 40.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, II, p. 71.

¹⁶⁵ Johan van den Berg, „Een achttiende-eeuwse coccejaan over de kerk van zijn tijd. Johan van den Honert” in „De kerk in Nederland” in *Gericht verleden*, eds. C.G.F. de Jong and J. van Sluis, Leiden, 1991, p. 159-180.

¹⁶⁶ *Biografisch lexicon*, p. 251.

Honert's thinking, God gave rationality to man, so he could analyze. The theological thinking of Honert was founded on the prophetic idea of divinity, which analyzed in detail every analogy from the Old and New Testament based on prophecies, analogies and allegories, biblical types. He was also a skilful custodian of the Reformed Church, an exceptional university professor and a donator of many valuable books on Prophetic Theology, History of the Church and Homiletics. Honert was nicknamed "*Pope of Leiden*" even "*Pope of Holland*".¹⁶⁷ His Calvinistic orthodoxy completed the intellectual portrait of Honert. From the very beginning of the academic activity, he proved to be a steady defender of the Synod of Dordrecht against the opinions of the Enlightenment theologian and historian Mosheim.¹⁶⁸

His position of a Coccejan theologian who wanted the clarification and separation of the Coccejan thinking from the Voetian one classified him as opponent theologian and mediator between the two trends. Some conservative theologians blamed him for rationalism, and the liberals of exaggerated Calvinist Orthodoxy. He used to draw the attention on the same origin and dogmatic of the Calvinist Protestantism when addressing to the Protestant communities in dispute.¹⁶⁹ His fellow astrologist and philosopher, Johan Lulofs, characterized him saying "*ingenium acutum promptumque; judicium acre et soludum; sagacitas mentis minime vulgaris, qua multa celerime cogitabat; felicissima et prodigiose vicens memoria*".¹⁷⁰ He was open to public debate, to theological development but also a very critical writer. This criticism applied to the public debate as well, especially when talking about the borders that the Protestant Church should penetrate in political life. The debate was carried out with the Unitarians-Mennonites, a fact that brought him both opponents and supporters. He harshly criticized the social and religious situation in the Dutch Republic in his work "*The Netherlands Considered and Admonished to Conversion*"¹⁷¹.

Exaggerated Pietism, apparently triumphant in 1740 by "*inner Christianity*" in opposition to the radical Rationalism, developed acute critical vision on Dutch society and Theology at the middle of the eighteenth century in the thru theology of Honert. In his vision, morality and practical theology and not religious enthusiasm could save the Church from death. His pragmatic

¹⁶⁷ Eijnatten, *Mutua christianorum tolerantia*, p. 90-91.

¹⁶⁸ „The Synod of Dort in the balance” in Johannes van den Berg, *Religious currents and cross – currents*, p. 15.

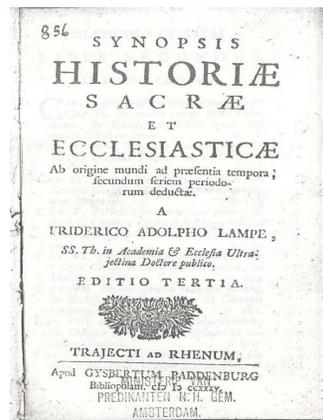
¹⁶⁹ „Ortodoxy, rationalism and the world in the Netherlands of the eighteenth century” in *Ibidem*, p. 216.

¹⁷⁰ Johan Lulofs, *Oratio funebris, in orbitum viri clarissimi Johannis van den Honert, T.H. filii*, Leiden, Luchtmans, Leiden 1758, p. 45.

¹⁷¹ Johan van den Honert, *De Kerk in Nederland Beschouwd en tot Bekeering vermaand*, Leiden, 1746.

piety and ethics were reflected in *De mench in Christus* (1749). With regard to the country and referring to the French and his compatriots “*The Dutch have become ridiculous copies of ridiculous neighbours.*”, then “*Truly, when we observe the country, we find it filled with impieties.*”¹⁷². By this, he also indicated the other type of radical Dutch Enlightenment, of French origin, as well as the political lack of sympathy towards France’s pretensions on the United Provinces.

Honert’s special interest in History of the Church is reflected in the history of the Protestant Moravians presented in *Oratio inauguralis de Bohemorum et Moravorum Ecclesia*,¹⁷³ which actually introduced the teaching of Utrechtian Church history. The History should be nothing else but “*veritas certissima, lumen, dignitas*”. Bod was strongly effected by the courses of Church History facilitated by Honert and based on Lampe’s *Synopsis Historiae ecclesiasticae*.¹⁷⁴



Lampe’s church history work

In this work, Honert taught the situation of the ancient Church, a situation presented by Schultens and Alberti as well, but also the new trends in the History of the Church: Atheism, Deism and the Historical French School of the Jesuits.

Without entering into details¹⁷⁵ however, we will discuss what Honert considered as important in the research of the History of the Church. The

¹⁷² „Ortodoxy, rationalism..” in Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents*, p. 224.

¹⁷³ Joannes van den Honert, *Oratio inauguralis de Bohemorum et Moravorum Ecclesia*, Leiden, 1739, p. 1-31.

¹⁷⁴ Friderico Adolpho Lampe, *Synopsis Historiae Sacrae et ecclesiasticae Ab origine mundi ad praesentim tempora, secundum seriem periodorum deductae a Friderico Adolpho Lampe SS th.* In Academia et Ecclesia Ultraiectina Doctore publico, ed. Tertia, Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1735.

¹⁷⁵ Such details on Bod’s historical writing. In Gudor Botond, *Istorical Bod*, p. 1-584.

most significant is the speech held in Aula Magna of the University of Utrecht in 1732.¹⁷⁶

ELENCHUS CAPITUM.		ELENCHUS CAPITUM.	
LIBER PRIMUS.		LIBER SECUNDUS.	
Prolegomena ad historiam ecclesiasticam. p. 1.		De Ecclesia a Christo nato. p. 92.	
CAP. I. De Ecclesia Antediluviana. p. 5.		CAP. I. De Christo in terra agente. p. 95.	
CAP. II. De rebus Ecclesie a diluvio ad vocacionem Abrahami. p. 9.		CAP. II. De periodo prima Novi Testamenti, seu Ecclesia Apostolica primo post natum Christum seculo. p. 71.	
CAP. III. De Ecclesia a vocacione Abrahami ad exitum Israelitarum ex Aegypto. p. 12.		CAP. III. Periodi secundae articulus prior. De Ecclesia Christi a Trajano usque ad Decimum. p. 92.	
CAP. IV. De Ecclesia sub Ducibus Moise & Josue. p. 16.		CAP. IV. Periodi secundae articulus alter. De Ecclesia Christi a Decio usque ad Constantinum Magnum. p. 116.	
CAP. V. De Ecclesia sub Judicibus usque ad regem in Israele initia. p. 19.		CAP. V. Periodi tertiae articulus prior. De Ecclesia Christi a Constantino Magno usque ad divisionem Honorii & Arcadii imperium. p. 122.	
CAP. VI. De Ecclesia sub Regibus ante regem Israelitici divisionem. p. 26.		CAP. VI. Periodi tertiae articulus posterior. De Ecclesia Christi ab Arcadio ad Pibocum, seu Bonifacium III. p. 154.	
CAP. VII. De Ecclesia post schisma tribuum usque ad captivitatis Babylonicae solutionem. p. 29.		CAP. VII. Periodi quartae articulus primus. De Ecclesia Christi a Phoca ad Carolum Magnum. p. 181.	
CAP. VIII. De Ecclesia a soluta captivitate Babylonica usque ad principatum Maccabeorum. p. 43.		CAP. VIII. Periodi quartae articulus secundus. De Ecclesie rebus a Carolo Magno ad excessum Ottonem. p. 207.	
CAP. IX. De Ecclesia a Principatu Maccabeorum ad usque natum Christum. p. 54.		CAP. IX. Periodi quartae articulus tertius. De rebus Ecclesie post Ottonem III. ad Waldensium. p. 221.	

Lampe's book content

He sustained that history required the knowledge of the cause and effect helped by the right consciousness that “[historia est –n. n.] *testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia deniquae vetustatis, uti de omnines historia Marcus Tullius Cicero docuit liberrime dicere, adcuratissime enarrare, prudentissime, fidelissime docere [...] historiae legem observans, nec quid falsi dicere audeat.*”¹⁷⁷ He also felt that the History of the Church from Svetonius to Dodwel and Bolandists, from Traianus to Spanheim and Lampe was necessary and useful for Lexicology, Systemic Theology and the study of Biblical languages. Bod also agreed with such types of historical utility: “[...] *utilitas quod diligentissimum Antiquitatem studium [...] Chronologiae et Geographiae Sacrae et Eruditissimorum virorum*”¹⁷⁸; he understanding the necessity and the utility of church historiography.

Much later Honert published in Leiden Bod’s *History of the Transylvanian Unitarians* (1776) probably as a delayed echo of the discussions between Stinstra (Unitarian- Mennonite minister) and him. It is interesting how in the Dutch Republic mutual tolerance and irenicism were publicly debated mainly

¹⁷⁶ Johann van den Honert, *Oratio de Historia Ecclesiastica theologis maxime necessaria*, habita Auditorio Majori, Pridie Kal. Aprilis, 1732, Annum Academiae Traiectini.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 265. in Johanne van den Honert, T.H. filio, *Institutiones theologiae didacticae elencticae in usum auditorii domestici conscriptae Ac publicis juris factae, nec non Orationis duae, Altera de regeneratione, altera de Historia Ecclesiastica theologis maxime necessaria*, Lugduni Batavorum, Samuelem Luchtmans, 1749.

¹⁷⁸ Honert, *Oratio de Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 293.

between Protestants and Unitarians, whereas' in Transylvania, the Counter-Reformation exiled Unitarism to the historical files of the seventeenth century. Bod published the history of Unitarians as a controversial but glorious chapter of the seventeenth century and described the peripheral role it played in the history of Transylvania.¹⁷⁹

The discussion on tolerance between professor Honert and a Mennonite minister Stinstra reached a boiling point in the years between 1740 and 1743, exactly the same years when Bod was a student in Leiden. Stinstra was the predicator of the Mennonites from Harlingen, Frisland. By publishing *Deduction*,¹⁸⁰ he caused the most important debate in the Dutch Republic on religious tolerance and its public components. Following the strong public debates held in the years between 1740 and 1745, van den Honert published his ideas of religious tolerance in *Oratio de Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia*.¹⁸¹ The debate influenced the public and didactic activity of Honert, and represented the first and the last great debate in the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth century.

If, in the former century, the debate was represented by the opposing Mennonites-Calvinists, in the eighteenth century the situation changed. The adepts of the radical reform and those of Protestant Orthodoxy changed the valences in the public discussion on tolerance, modernity and mutual acceptance. These highlighted the new atmosphere of the theological and public climate in the Dutch Republic. The debate on tolerance was familiar in England and Germany as well. In the Dutch Republic, the Protestant Church was dominant but also tolerant in its familiar limits, as many other confessions existed, among them the small Mennonite or Unitarian community. For the outside world, the Dutch Republic represented a model of tolerance based on unique political experience accumulated by the Republic. In this open atmosphere, not liked by Stinstra, the discussion evolved within its familiar polemic parameters. It is interesting that Stinstra was taught by professors Tiberius Hemstrerhuis and Albert Schultens at Franeker, which both influenced the biblical philology of the eighteenth century. In 1740, the General States decided that the Mennonites had the right of free practice but the public promotion of Socinianism was banned. Stinstra published a treaty on Christ in a Socinian manner; therefore, the magistrates observed him. Honert

¹⁷⁹ Bod, *Isten vitézkedő*, p. 533-534.

¹⁸⁰ Jan Stinstra, *Deductie voor het regt van de vrijheid van geloove, godsdiens, en constientie*, Leeuwarden, 1740.

¹⁸¹ Johannes van den Honert, *Oratio de mutua Christianorum tolerantia, habita ad VIII. Februarii An. 1745 cum magistratu academico abiret*. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Samuelem Luchtmans, 1745.

published his variant on the same theme in 1742 (*De natuur en gesteldheid van Christus koningryk*) but based it Calvinist theology.

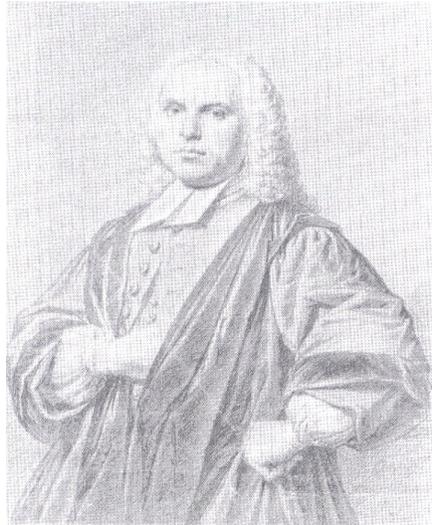
In the debate, Honert represented the traditional Reformed-Protestant vision. Honert criticized and repudiated Stinstra from the position of regent, lawyer and governor of the Protestant Church in the Dutch Republic. He was a representative of tolerance but in the sense of the traditional orthodox Calvinist Church. *Oratio de mutua christianorum tolerantia* was the final accord of the epistolary, political and intellectual debate with Stinstra and implicitly was the last famous theological debate of the eighteenth century.¹⁸² In *Oratio*, he synthesized the whole debate from which we have selected only a few ideas. Honert rejected integral tolerance in the framework of the same church. He felt that the variety of opinions distinguishes members of the same Christian community. In a single unified Church, people will become insincere and will suffer crises of consciousness that will disturb inner peace. However, latent discussions will start soon in order to create problems. Moreover, he said that to be Protestant means to live with various and conflictual opinions in the society, which are publicly formulated as confessions on faith. Such confessions can be rationally discussed. People will learn to understand others and will recognize ideas that they can agree with or not. Finally Honert believed that we cannot be harsh in our judgment only by the study of the Bible and other writings without prejudices but in peace and with the bilateral exigency of mutual tolerance.¹⁸³ At his death in 1758, Lulofs considered him as professor who passionately trained the youth, “*primae magnitudinis stella*”, “*theologiae columba, veraeque Orthodoxiae stator*”, “*veritatis defensor*”, “*vir ex Historiarum monumentis diligenter*”, who fought against the interpreters of the Holy Bible, who based their views on philosophy rather than on revelation and against the atheists. Honert had “*in Respublicam literariam meritis*.”¹⁸⁴ These words of appreciation, recalled an outstanding personality of the theology.

Johan Alberti was Bod's teacher of Systemic Theology and Apologetics. Bod attended his courses with regularity for three years. Professor at the Faculty of Theology between 1740 and 1762, he had excellent knowledge of the Greek language as did the professors Hemsterhuis, Schultens and van den Honert. In 1735, he edited *Glossarium Graecum*, containing also *glossarium of Chyrril*. His most famous work was *Lexicon van Hesychius*, which was a dictionary of the fifth century BC, transcribed and then published in 1746 and in 1766.

¹⁸² Eijnatten, *Mutua christianorum tolerantia*, p. 113.

¹⁸³ Honert, *Oratio de mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, p. 48-63.

¹⁸⁴ Johan Lulofs, *Oratio funebris, in orbitum viri clarissimi Johannis van den Honert, T.H. filii*, Leiden, Luchtman, Leiden 1758, p. 5-34.



Johann Alberti

He was the first Dutch theologian who in the period of the late Protestant Orthodoxy researched the New Testament with the help of the Classic Greek authors. Both in *Observationes Philologicae het Novum Testamentum* (1725) and in the description of the borders of the textual criticism (*Periculum criticum* 1727), Alberti discussed exegesis based on classical philology.¹⁸⁵ In the inaugural speech held on October 5th, 1740, entitled *De theologiae et critices connubio*¹⁸⁶, he mentioned the importance of researching the text and the cohabitation with *nova modus* applied to the research of the Bible. The ultimate reasons of the textual criticism were not yet defined but together with Schultens, he purported the importance of the philological approach of the Holy Scripture. The criticism intended only to clearly understand the biblical truth. In the inaugural speech, he tried to define how the true and false explanations of the Holy Scriptures could be separated. Alberti opened new academic horizons for Bod as well in philological and the theological exegesis.

It is interesting to follow the basic schedule of these famous scholars. On Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, the public courses started at ten a.m. and the private ones were held in the afternoon. Wednesdays and Saturdays were reserved for exams and public debates. Series lectionum from 1742, elaborated for students from the public courses started with “*Selectis Nova Foederis Locd*”. In the same year, the teaching continued with the general

¹⁸⁵ Sandt, *Joan Alberti*, p. 1-2.

¹⁸⁶ *Biografisch lexicon*, p. 17.

explanation of the New Testament, and on Friday, there were discussions on the practical applicability of places: “Ten o’clock: J. Alberti, doctor and professor in the Holy Theology, will exegete on fragments selected from the New Testament on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday; on Friday he discussed better books for Theology.”¹⁸⁷

The courses on Friday seem to be very interesting because those “better books” very useful in theology were connected to the new course on the evolution of Theological Science and especially of the History of Biblical Exegesis. Alberti said, “Separated of exegesis, we have discussed with the students the History of Literature with the eye of the becoming Theologian. By this way, we have explained the Greek and Latin fathers of the Church, their work in the first eight centuries, by searching the most important editions ever published. Gradually we have enlarged the field of the Theological Science closely related to the enlargement of the horizon of times in which the students have to look.”¹⁸⁸ He tried very hard to argument responses for the explanation of the preferred texts of Coccejan-Conventual theology with the aid of classical philology. Most of the students listened to him due to the novelty of the new matter he taught. The number of students varied between 35 and 50 out of 198, a much more motivated auditorium as in case of the other professors.

In the fall and summer of the year 1742-1743, *Series Lectionum* will have courses in which at “ten o’clock J. Alberti, doctor and professor of Sacred Theology will treat many epochs and periods of the Church and will continue the instruction for a better interpretation of the Holy Scripture. On Friday, I will explain the selected subjects.”¹⁸⁹ In the letter to Valckenaar, explains that this “better interpretation” was in fact an overtaking of the confessional exegesis and application of the new philological-historical exegesis, a modern impartial attitude already applied in his *Observationes Philologiae*. Alberti gave up the individualist confessional reason when researching the Holy Scripture. In his *Dictates*, Coccejan theology is seen, as is anew alliance of God with man as reflected in questions asked on how God acts in history, how He renews the peoples in the Old Testament and in the recent history of the Church. For Alberti only reason, our capacity to discern “brings what is true and false, by thinking, distinguishing and comparing things and ideas”.¹⁹⁰ Logical arguments “*ex ratione*” were tightly followed by biblical references in order to emphasize the idea by “*ex Sacra Scriptura*”. Both scripture

¹⁸⁷ Dictations of Alberti in Sandt, *Joan Alberti*, p. 78.

¹⁸⁸ In the letter of Alberti to Valckenaar in *Ibidem*, p. 78. Information on the first period of Alberti in Leiden (number of students and courses) and contents of the courses see in correspondence to L. C. Valckenaar. Valckenaar was invited in 1741 as Professor of Greek to the University of Franeker.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

and reason are lights given by God and “*light does not contradict light*”, concludes Alberti.¹⁹¹ Through exegetical lessons, he wanted to confer his students a solid biblical basis besides the philological information. Aided by the Swiss Theologian Jean Alfonz Turretini (1671-1737), he tried to model a modern, and unitary Protestant theology oriented against the radical theologies, and radical Enlightenment; at the same time, conferring novelty brought by the Cartesian-Coccejan evolution of the eighteenth century. In Homiletics, he saw useful the historical demonstration in the text of the preaching.¹⁹² In the eighteenth century, the movement towards Classicism was continuously growing; thus, the same happened towards old lexicology. Besides the academic activity as well as Hemsterhuis, Alberti continued the scientific activity by the publishing of ancient Hellenistic lexicons.

Another element of the University was that many professors were recruited from the German Principalities. More than 300 professors were invited to lecture in the Dutch universities in the period between 1575 and 1790; in Leiden the number of German professors until 1750 was 186.¹⁹³ Among them, one can recognize names such as Schwartz, Coccejus, Albinus, and Heineccius. The increase in invitations was due to events surrounding the 30-year war when the universities of Herborn and Heidelberg were ruined. The plan of the University Trustees was to invite famous names from Germany this same attitude was adopted in Transylvania when academic education was founded (1622-Collegium Academicum Bethlenianum) under the auspices of Prince Gábor Bethlen.

The Faculty of Law was the field in which modern German jurisprudence was introduced. In 1670, Friedrich Böckelman, a professor from Heidelberg, was followed by Philipp Reinhard Vitriarius, whose son woned continue to teach “*Juris civilis et practica*”¹⁹⁴ after 1719. Among his students was Péter Bod.¹⁹⁵ The second generations of professors of Law invited in the middle of the eighteenth century were also from the German Principalities. Johann Conrad Rücker, former Leidenian pilgrim originating from Windesheim¹⁹⁶, Joachim Swartz (1686-1759)¹⁹⁷ from Magdeburg was

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 168.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 188.

¹⁹³ Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁵ „*Vitriarius, genevensis primum in Heidelbergensi deinde Ultraiectina, nunc vero in Academia Lugduno Batavorum Iuris publice et privata professor ordinata 15/1 1720, natus 8 iun. 1679*” in Universiteit Bibliotheek Leiden, ASF 303, p. 149.

¹⁹⁶ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 271.

¹⁹⁷ Professor of Roman Law in Blok - Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 125.

remarkable names in the didactic history of the European Civil Law. Schwartz taught Civil Law¹⁹⁸, specializing in Grotius and Justinian law. Schwartz being an excellent Latinist¹⁹⁹, as Péter Bod also was, appreciated the studies of Bod highly in a letter addressed to the Reformed Church of Transylvania.²⁰⁰ Other professors of German origin include Gerlachus Scheltinga (1708-1765) taught Roman law and Law of the Dutch Republic²⁰¹. Law was taught in two different ways. Firstly, it was oriented towards the History of Law and the second was reading and analysis of juridical texts. Jurist Professor Rucker used “*historia literaria*” as method of juridical analysis. “*Dictates*” of the Roman Law were especially based on the sources of Irnerius, Bulgarus, Philips van Leiden, Viglius, Cujacius, Grotius, Vinnius.²⁰² Scheltinga often compared the juridical sources in order to observe differences between approaches.

Péter Bod felt his Professors of Physics was among the greatest European philosophers. In those years, starting especially with Boerhaave, the University became the leading place of Newtonianism which was considered “*the wonder of the new era*” and of physical experiments practiced in the whole Europe.²⁰³ Around 1750, Voltaire spoke of the physician minister Boerhaave, who was called “*communis praeceptor totius Europae*”, that “*Boerhaave utilior, Hippocrate, Newton tota antiquitate, Tassus, Homero, sed gloria primis.*”²⁰⁴ Musschenbroek, Gravesande and Lulofs became also part of the Transylvanian vision; these professors applied in practice the theoretical philosophical thinking.²⁰⁵ The division of sciences on a modern basis was at its very beginning. Scientific categories of division remained the same as before for Bod, but the content shows the novelty and diversity of sciences in development. He saw the experimental part of metaphysics what conferred larger view of students in Theology.

¹⁹⁸ „8 mai 1737. Ioachim Schwartz- juris utrisque doctor, lector in het jus civile op de universiteyt albier” Universiteit Bibliotheek Leiden, ASF 303, 138. Public lecture from July 3, 1738 was „*Deo summo rerum omnium Domino*”

¹⁹⁹ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 365.

²⁰⁰ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 28.

²⁰¹ Blok-Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 116.

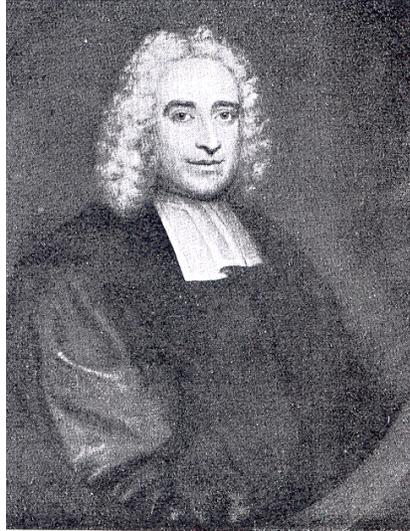
²⁰² Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 363.

²⁰³ Edward G. Ruestow, „Physics at seventeenth and eighteenth century Leiden Philosophy and the new science in the university”, in *International Archives of the History of ideas*, series minor 11, ed. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1973, p. 115.

²⁰⁴ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment an interpretation, The rise of modern paganism*, New York, 1977, p. VII.

²⁰⁵ „*A bölcsészetet tanították: Van Musschenbroek, akit a fizikából és Euklidesről hallgattam, és megnéztem a kísérleteit a fizikai előadóteremben, Gravesande P. Jakab és végül ennek utóda, Lulofs János [...] a csillagok és a hold foljainak bemutatásánál.*” In Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25.

The first two Newtonian professors associated with the Faculty of Philosophy were Musschenbroek and Gravesande (1688-1742). Gravesande was nominated “*astronomiae professor*” in 1717, and developed intensive academic activity until his death in 1742.



Willem's Gravesande

He was influenced by Newtonian ideas, especially the practical solutions offered by Physical Mathematics. Co-founder of the literary review, *Journal Litteraire de la Haye* in 1713, he published many writings on Newtonianism. He kept tight relationships with England and the Royal Society and with the absolutist monarchs of Russia and Prussia. In London, he assisted in the experiments conducted by the President of the Royal Society, who was none other than Isaac Newton himself. After returning to Leiden, he became a fervent disciple of Newtonian ideas. In 1718, he wrote to Newton that “*By experiment I give a direct proof of nature of compounded motions, oblique collisions, and the effect of oblique forces and the principal propositions respecting central forces.*”²⁰⁶ His book, *Physices elementa mathematica experimentis confirmata*, was the first systemic manual of the experimental research of nature.²⁰⁷ *Introductio ad philosophiam newtonianam* synthesized everything he learnt from Newton²⁰⁸, and *Philosophiae Newtonianae institutiones, in usus academicos* and *Physices elementa mathematica* synthesized the

²⁰⁶ Clerq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp*, p. 76.

²⁰⁷ Blok-Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 53-54.

²⁰⁸ C. de Pater, „Willem Jacob's Gravesande. Welzijn, wijsbegeerte en wetenschap”, in *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, Gouda, Ambo, 1988, p. 18.

means and the results of experiments carried out in the Physical Auditorium.²⁰⁹ The opening speech, *Oratio de Evidentia* in 1724, when he was elected Director of the Physical Auditorium (The Physical or Theatrum Auditorium was a special lecture building with attributions in experimental physics and chemistry) revealed the general research lines for the next years.



Theatrum phisicum

Ten years later, he was awarded the title of *professor totius philosophiae*.²¹⁰ In *Inleiding tot de filosofie, Introductio ad philosophiam*,²¹¹ he summarized the thinking of the latest academic years. He evolved from Cartesianism to Newtonianism expressed interest towards Locke's Empirism. By researches on faith, reason and experiments, he looked for moral evidences and theological-scientific analogies that were classified through analysis and synthesis²¹², and solutions for philosophical questions by metaphysical hypothesis and mechanical solutions.²¹³ Even Voltaire participated in the experiments on mass and velocity carried out in the winter of 1737-738.²¹⁴ Republishing of *Physices*

²⁰⁹ Ruestow, *Physics at seventeenth and eighteenth century*, p. 117.

²¹⁰ Clerq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp*, p. 75.

²¹¹ Willem Jakob 's Gravesande, „Introductio ad philosophiam Methaphysicam et Logicam continens. Editio altera 1737”, in Christian Wolf, *Gesammelte Werke Materialien und Dokumente*, eds J. Ecole, vol. 67, New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 2001.

²¹² „Prima dicitur Methodus Analytica, seu resolutionis: Altera syntetica, sive compositionis.” In *Ibidem*, p. 268.

²¹³ Pater, Willem Jacob 's Gravesande, p. 43-51 and „De probabilitate composita” in Wolf, *Gesammelte Werke*, p. 196-197.

²¹⁴ Clerq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp*, p. 99.

elemente... reflected his evolution until 1742. Gravesande was never content with the quality of the equipment dedicated to experiments. He ordered many tools especially from Jan van Musschenbroek workshop. His successor, Petrus van Musschenbroek found a well endowed workshop most of which had been made by his brother, Jan van Musschenbroek.²¹⁵



Jan and Petrus Musschenbroek

Bod listened to the lectures of Petrus van Musschenbroek as he talked about “*physics and Euclides, and watched the experiments in the Physics Auditorium*”²¹⁶. Petrus van Musschenbroek became professor of Philosophy in the year Bod arrived in Leiden.



Petrus Musschenbroek

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

²¹⁶ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25.

He was born to a family of optical and mechanical manufacturers. He was a good friend of Gravesande's and of the astronomer Lulofs after 1742. A doctor in medicine, but mainly a researcher and experimenter of mechanical and physical phenomena, he wrote on experimental physics. His books were famous in throughout Europe being translated into English, Italian, German, and French immediately after publication. He provided lot of equipment for the experiments of Gravesande. Bod was present at the opening speech, "*Oratio inauguralis de mente humana semet ignorante*"²¹⁷ addressed to „*academicae juventutis coronae, patriae spes, parentum gaudium, academiae decus deliciae nostrae*". Here he was taught that understanding, thinking, science and perceptions come from the human intellect. He recalled this speech during a mortuary predication held in Bucerdea Vinoasă (Borosbocsárd) in 1752. Reason to allow one investigates, to perceive the Universe, make measures, and view geographic distances, but often it is ignorant. Superb "*Divine intelligence*" cannot be compared with the human stupidity, ignorance and neglect.²¹⁸ In Leiden, Bod witnessed the endowment of the Physics Lab with several tools required during experiments. In the years of Bod's studies, the famous professor published *Elementa physicae conscripta in usus Academicos a Petro van Musschenbroek*²¹⁹, a volume that re-edited physics experiments of big interest to the pilgrims as well, *Physicae experimentales, et geometricae, de magnete tuborum capillarium vitreorumque speculorum attractione, magnitudine terrae, cohaerentia corporum firmorum dissertationes*. By publishing this volume in Dutch, he became the author of the first volume on natural sciences written in Dutch: *Beginselen der Natuurkunde ten dienste der Landgenooten*.²²⁰ The next observation can be considered his scientific credo "*for only the observations, only the experiments constitute the true and solid foundations of natural philosophy.*"²²¹ Professor of Mathematics, philosophy and Astronomy, Musschenbroek dedicated himself mostly to Newtonian type experiments in physics as Gravesande did also. The problems that preoccupied him were especially connected to magnetism, capillarity and optics²²². He discovered the

²¹⁷ Invitation of the academy to oratio: „*Oratio 25 ian. 1740- Omnes literarum, fautores ac cultores Praesentim Academiae cives ut adesse velint etiam utque etiam Rogantur.*” In Universiteit Bibliothek Leiden, ASF f. 303, 183.

²¹⁸ Musschenbroek, *Oratio inauguralis de Mente humana*, p. 1-4.

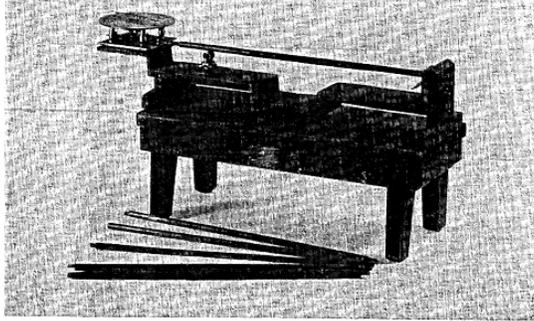
²¹⁹ *Elementa physicae conscripta in usus Academicos a Petro van Musschenbroek*, Lugduni Batavorum 1741.

²²⁰ Blok-Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 87.

²²¹ „[...] *solae enim observationes, sola experimenta sunt verae firmaeque bases Philosophiae naturalis*” in C. de Pater, *Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692-1761) een newtoniaans natuuronderzoeker*, Utrecht, 1979, p. 344.

²²² *Leiden University in the seventeenth century. An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Leiden: Brill, 1975, p. 323.

spirometer, which helped in the clarification of linear expansion of the solid bodies.



Spyrometer

He emphasized the role of Logic and Mathematics in philosophical and physical research. Musschenbroek was a great collector of data, whilst Gravesande was a master in the mathematical processing of data.²²³ Their work was not only a chapter written in the history of scientific research, but also an important impulse given to religiosity in order to search for God in the natural phenomena. God's omnipresence and power can be honoured by searching the nature, as the single, ultimate goal of research.²²⁴ The methodical separation between science and research, philosophy and physics did not eclipse the vision that God rules the world through His laws²²⁵, and His revelation is in the Holy Scripture.²²⁶ Both researchers, Musschenbroek as Newtonian Anticartesian, with strong Baconian influences and Gravesande, a Newtonian adept of Mathematical Physics, were men of exemplary piety.

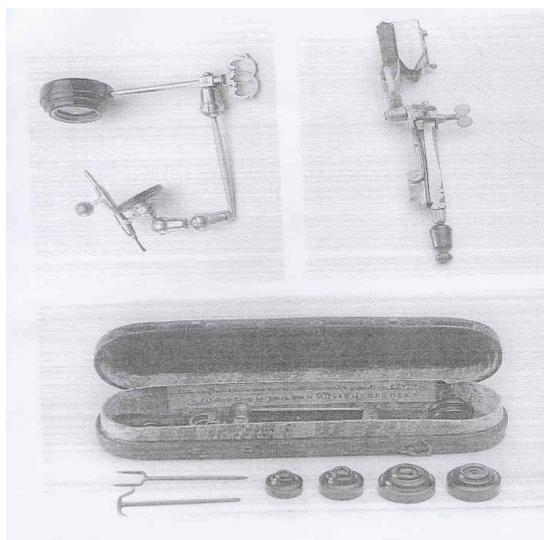
²²³ Pater, *Petrus van Musschenbroek*, p. 346.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 348.

²²⁵ "And thus with respect to us, laws are simple effects which are the same on all similar occasions and for which, though they may perhaps follow from other simpler or more general law, no other law from which they follow as from a cause is perceived. The laws, of which we speak, to be sure, do not reveal whether a thing derives from the will of God directly, or is brought about by an immediately preceding but unknown intermediate cause, or by a long series of other causes. It can hardly be doubted, indeed, th.t some laws are primary laws, proceeding immediately from the will of God, while others are secondary, deriving, in turn, from the primary laws. But all laws are unfailingly constant, for God is always the same being, absolutely perfect, wise and immutable, and the divine will and providence, therefore, is unfailingly constant and flawless. These laws can be invoked as often as similar phenomena occur, and in this way the laws are illustrated and confirmed by examples. Since their causes are hidden, the philosopher can scarcerly advance any further with certainty." in Ruestow, *Physics at seventeenth and eighteenth century*, p. 129-130 based on *Praefatio* from Gravesande's, *Physices elementa mathematica*, vol. I, p. 7-8.

²²⁶ Petrus van Musschenbroek, *Oratio de Sapientia Divina*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1744.

The experiments conducted by the method of former Professors of Leiden State University, De Volder and Senguerdinus²²⁷ took place every week. In 1711, the German bibliophile Zacharias von Uffenbach found them extremely attractive²²⁸. Bod's scientific curiosity was entirely satisfied when he purchased a microscope made in the Musschenbroek workshop. Such microscopes with a single lense were the most common tools made in the Musschenbroek workshop in Leiden.²²⁹ It was sold in an attractive package and was useful as it had an increasing degree of up to 74%.



Musschenbroek's microscope

The chemical experiments presented by Professor David Gambius (Gaubius) and attended by Bod were part of the medical and physical education “*partim circa praeparationes medicamentorum, partim circa rariora physices experimenta*”²³⁰. In the seventeenth century, the books on chemistry had a reduced theoretical value. The late Cartesian school led to the flourishing of chemistry as an auxiliary science in medicine, with one of the first professors interested in chemistry being Boerhaave, who separated the chemical

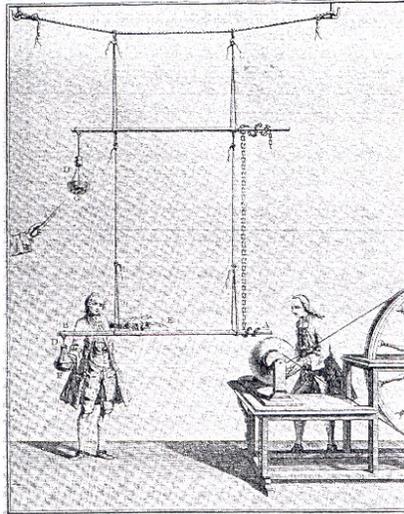
²²⁷ He published in Senguerdinus, *Rationis atque experiantiae connubium in usum domesticae institutionis*, Leiden, 1715.

²²⁸ Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engeland*, Ulm 1754, vol. III, p. 425-426.

²²⁹ Clerq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp*, p. 115.

²³⁰ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 353.

experiments from the medical ones.²³¹ The chemistry lab was founded in 1669 for “*tot completer luyster der medische faculteijt*”²³². Professor Gaubius, following Boerhaave, tried to understand “*naturam humorum corporis humani experimentis chemicis*”. His analyses focused on the research of urine (*lotium hominis*), and then on the calc and phosphor in urine.



Iatromechanical experiment in Leiden

Johan Lulofs (1711-1768) was the same age as Bod (1712-1769) and lived during the same period. He was considered a remarkable representative of the Protestant Pre-Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic. He became well known for the research of Celeste bodies. The metaphysical approach of cosmic geography was an interest manifested in the explanations of the mathematical-philosophical relationships of Natural Theology has consecrated Lulofs as a disciple of Salomon van Til (1644-1713)²³³, a personality evoked throughout his work.²³⁴ In the philosophical-practical approach, Lulofs based his ideas on the Cartesian philosophy, then on Newtonian Physics and the theory of Locke²³⁵ The interest in Newtonianism is obvious, while Lulofs was

²³¹ *Leiden University in the seventeenth century*, p. 342.

²³² *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV*, Leiden by S.C.van Doesburgh, 1925, p. 20.

²³³ Salomon van Til, *Theologiae utriusque compendium, cum naturalis, tum revelatae*, Leiden, 1704.

²³⁴ „A tekintélyes rendek teológiai kollégiumában és az akadémián Schultens Albert tanítását hallgattam [...] Van Til Salomon kinyilatkoztatott teológiájának rendszere után’ in Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 23-24.

²³⁵ Ferdinand Sassen, *Johan Lulofs (1711-1768) en de reformatorische verlichting in de Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1965, p 11.

one of the students of Musschenbroek (1692-1761) in Utrecht (1729). There he obtained the title of Magistrate and Doctor with the work entitled *De aurora boreali*, which proved his interest in exceptional natural phenomena and geography. His practical and experimental theological thinking was put together in *Primae lineae theologiae naturalis* edited in 1756.²³⁶ His career started one year after the death of his friend Gravesande (1688-1742). The inaugural speech was held on the astronomical causes in the same year²³⁷, an occasion in which he described the astronomic research, differentials, mathematical logarithms and instruments used for this purpose at the middle of the seventeenth century up to Gravesande and Isaac Newton (1642-1727).²³⁸ Likewise, Bod was interested in the new wonders revealed by the research of the mysterious Universe. In the didactic practice, the Astronomic Theatrum founded in 1632 and completed with optical instruments from Musschenbroek and Gravesande, played an important role. Since 1742, Lulofs held the courses from the Series lectionum, in public Colleges on “*de natura corporum caelestium*”, “*selecta astronomica*”, “*astronomica physico-mathematica*” and “*de vero methodo observandi sidera*” completed by researches achieved in theatrum astronomicum. Such courses explain the great interest of Bod for the unexplained natural phenomena or catastrophes. Lulofs himself will continue the experimental side of theology after Bod returns home and will publish a book entitled *De utilissimo sed hactenus raro matheseos ac metaphysices connubio*, Leiden, 1744.²³⁹

Another element of Lulof's learning was the search for evidence of the Absolute by Cartesian mathematical means as tempered by Locke's Empirism. The Newtonian mathematical-physical experiments tried to find experimental analogies that would explain the presence of God in nature. The effort of developing a line of Natural Theology by mathematical methods was in fact continuously present in the academic research of the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century. Musschenbroek and Gravesande operated with the same parameters developed by Lulofs in cosmological mathematics. He practiced a theology named “*Christian philosophy*” framed by the experimental search of nature and openness to the novelty in the Theological thinking. The research also had astonishing results. In April 29th, 1768, Lulofs observed the passing of Venus nearby the Sun. Unfortunately; he could not continue the research as he died in the fall of the same year.²⁴⁰ The effect of Lulofs on Péter Bod materialized especially in geographical interests. In his book on the history

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

²³⁷ J. Lulofs, *De causis astronomiae promotae*, Leiden 18 september, 1742.

²³⁸ Sassen, *Joban Lulofs (1711-1768)*, p. 16.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 394.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

of the church,²⁴¹ Bod published four maps of the continents after he studied and copied in detail the atlas of Matthäus Seutter, named “*Atlas Novus*”²⁴², he found in the Leidenian library. This was only one of the intellectual preoccupations that Bod exercised while in Leiden, under Lulofs’s influence and support.

Performance Theology cannot exist without profound knowledge of one of the original languages of the Holy Bible; in the case of the New Testament, it is the Greek language. Bod was a master of Classical languages and attended from time to time the courses of Tiberius Hemsterhuis, considered by him as a great professor of Oratory, History and Roman and Greek Antiquities.²⁴³ By studying the New Testament with the use of classical languages, Bod was convinced that Schultens, Van den Honert and Alberti were Theologians and Hemsterhuis was more a Historian and Philologist. He was correct in this classification of the professors as research places Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766) on the edge of the Researchers of Classical Greek philology.²⁴⁴



Tiberius Hemsterhuis

²⁴¹ Bod, *Az Isten vitézkedő Anyaszentegyháza*.

²⁴² Gróf László, „Bod Péter térképei” in *Geodézia és kartográfia*, 2004/2, Budapest, 2004, p. 39.

²⁴³ „A történelemnek, szónoklattannak, görög és római régiségeknek tanárai voltak:[...] Hemsterhuis Tiberius. Őt is látogattam néha, amikor az újszövetség görög szövegét fejtegette és a görög régiségeket adta elő [...]” in Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25.

²⁴⁴ Davide Ruhnkenio, „Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii”, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum latinorum recentioribus aetatis*, ed. Josephus Frey, Lipsiae, Teubneri, 1875 and J.H.Halbertsma, „Lectio publica Tiberii Hemsterhusii de originibus linguae graecae”, *Cabiers voor Taalkunde* 16, Stichting Neerlandistiek, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Nodus Publikationen, Münster, 1997.

He was the most famous Dutch philologist of the eighteenth century, founder of etymological methodology in the investigation of languages as based on linguistic reconstruction.²⁴⁵ A professor of Mathematics and Philosophy of the Illustre Academiae of Amsterdam since 1704, he obtained the title of Doctor in Philosophy and Bachelor of Arts in 1705 at the University of Harderwijk. He left Amsterdam for the University of Franeker, and in the year of Bod's arrival to Leiden, he was Professor of Greek at the Batavian Academy. The inaugural speech "*de literarum humaniorum studiis ad mores emandatos virtutisque cultum conferendis*" announced the predilect themes of the course.²⁴⁶ He founded the famous *Schola Hemsterbusiana*, a philological school that applied analogical methodology in linguistical research in accordance with results obtained by his fellows Albert Schultens (1686-1756) in Latin, Hebrew and Arabian.²⁴⁷ Probably in Series Lectionum, the course on *Originis linguae graecae* was based on *Lectio publica de originibus linguae graecae* that he presented in auditorium twice a week since 1740. Bod referred to these courses. The method he learnt was the first consistent system in the study of Greek language etymology. The analogies referred to the language as a regular system in which all elements are inter-connected, being "*cogitationum nostrarum interpres*". The analogies were constructed on examples from Classical literature represented by Aelianus, Theocritus, Appolonius Rodius and Aristophanes.²⁴⁸ Linguistics have a structural orientation²⁴⁹ constructed on the restoration of the historical-comparative etymological origin. The analogy a philosophical term known from antiquity, in the eighteenth century indicated the regularity of forms and inflections, similar or congruent from the etymological point of view in a phrase.²⁵⁰ It was about the creative feature of the intellect, which can express thoughts in coherent words.²⁵¹ Reason was integrated in to science through the language. In one of the public lessons, Hemsterhuis said: "*The highest Creator of all things, God, has instilled upon mankind a principle like a kind of analogical form. This is the rule and the test not only for: the actions of man, but also for everything that is expressed by way of the mouth and is done by the hands and by the body and the mind. This*

²⁴⁵ Jan Noordegraaf, „Tiberius Hemsterhuis the linguist” in J.H.Halbertsma, *Lectio publica Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, p. 10.

²⁴⁶ Jan Gerard Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterbusiana, de berleving der grieksche studien aan de nederlandsche universiteiten in de achttiende eeuw van Perizonius tot en met Valckenaer*, Utrecht, 1940, p. 94.

²⁴⁷ „Verwantschap met Alb. Schultens” in *Ibidem*, p. 111-112.

²⁴⁸ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 343.

²⁴⁹ Jan Noordegraaf, „Tiberius Hemsterhuis the linguist” in Halbertsma, *Lectio publica Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, p. 12.

²⁵⁰ J.H. Halbertsma and Jacob Grimm, „Schola Hemsterhusiana” in Halbertsma, *Lectio publica Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, p. 27.

²⁵¹ Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterbusiana*, p. 131.

principle of the inner analogy has been instilled into everybody". Through the development of such analogies in expressions, the language became nicer and man more civilized.²⁵²

Philology in Hemsterhusian vision represented also the useful science so necessary in the comparison of several languages and dialects. Theology, philology, history and philosophy were remarkable qualities of the Hemsterhusian School. His dictations to the students evoked Aristophanes Plutum and the Dutch Republic in "*Dictatam de Historia patriam*"²⁵³ He was devoted to „*historiae elegantissimae*” and was considered as a bridge between classical and modern science: “*Verum non prius conquievit, quam quarta lectione instituenda abditos philosophi sensu eruisset, ipsa difficultate non hebetante, ut fieri solet, sed acuate studium intelligendi. Nec satis habebat veteres cognosse, sed cum Platone Leibnitium, cum Aristotele Lockium, cum aliis alios conjugebat, ut qui sermones cum illo de veteri philosophia contulisset, nihil nisi veteres, qui de recentiore, nihil nisi recentiores, legisse putaret.*”²⁵⁴ The method was based on the progress of reason through cognition “*mentis, moribus, aetatum, locorum, formarum dicendi, cogitandi, argumentandi*”²⁵⁵ in noticing of everything that is happening and revising of events, as well as intensive specialization in exercising criticism in order to obtain a useful consensus of the critical methods. Clear ideas and conformity to the truth were added by Cartesian thinking.

For the student who knew the disastrous situation of the medical-sanitary system in Transylvania,²⁵⁶ the famous Boerhaavian Medical School was an attraction and a curiosity motivated by the international renown of the Faculty of Medicine. The Faculty of Medicine had also German personalities. The successor of Boerhaave was Siegfried Bernhard Albinus (1697-1770). Bod wrote about him “*I saw Albinus Bernhard Siegfried dissecting dead men*”²⁵⁷.

Pathological anatomy and medicine were a challenge for Bod. He attended some of the dissections completed by Albinus Bernhard Siegfried²⁵⁸,

²⁵²Jan Noordegraaf, „Tiberius Hemsterhuis the linguist” in Halbertsma, *Lectio publica Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, p. 325-326.

²⁵³ Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, p. 101-102.

²⁵⁴ Davide Ruhnkenio, „Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii”, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum latinorum recentioribus*, p. 13.

²⁵⁵ Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, p. 96.

²⁵⁶ Vita Zsigmond, „Orvostörténeti vonatkozások Hermányi Dienes József munkáiban”, in *Művelődés és népszolgálat*, Bukarest, 1983, p. 80-88.

²⁵⁷ Bod, *Önéletírás* (Descriptio de sua vitae), p. 25.

²⁵⁸ Andrew Cunningham and Roger French ed, *The medical enlightenment of the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990; “Medicine and the reformation”, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, *The Wellcome Institute series in the history of medicine*, New York: Routledge, 1993; Ashworth Underwood, *Boerhaave's men at Leyden and after*, Edinburgh, 174

one of the most knowledgeable men on the bone and muscular system in Europe. It is not surprising that Bod who suffered a lot, having many illnesses, spent a lot of money on professional physicians and drugs²⁵⁹. Professor Bernhard Albinus (1697-1770) originated from Frankfurt am Main.



Anatomy lessons

Since 1719, he was a Lecturer and since 1721, a professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Faculty of Medicine in Leiden.²⁶⁰ His most famous work, published in 1747, *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani*, was artistically speaking, the most well made atlas of the eighteenth century. He was a disciple of the Boerhaavian medical school. He tried to identify microscopic anatomical entities with physiological functions required by the development of the mechanical model of the Boerhaavian anatomy. He achieved the alliance between the Boerhaavian mechanical model and the Vitalistic model through physiological researches, especially on the muscular system. The human image in his vision was of “*homo perfectus*”, an image he tried to demonstrate in his

Edinburgh University Press, 1977; Charles Singer and E. Ashworth Underwood, *Short history of medicine*, Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1962; Lester S. King, *The medical world of the Eighteenth Century*, Huntington, Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co. Inc., 1971; G. A. Lindeboom, *Boerhaave and his time*, Leiden, Brill, 1970; Dr. H. Punt, *Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770) on 'Human Nature'. Anatomical and physiological ideas in eighteenth century Leiden*, Amsterdam, B.M. Israel, 1983; *Hungarian-Dutch contacts in Medicine since the Epoch of Herman Boerhaave*, Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science, 1995.

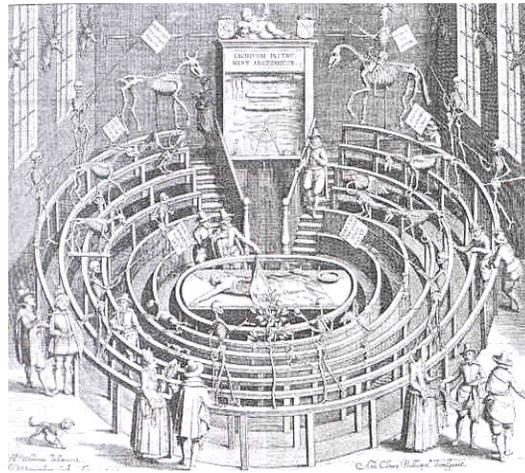
²⁵⁹ Gudor, *Istorical Bod Péter*, p. 179.

²⁶⁰ Blok - Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 26.

lectures also attended by Bod.²⁶¹ In his notes, Albinus talked on the life of man, human nature, the relationship between the intellect and body, and the reactions of the body interacting with the environment. In fact, the courses concentrated his creed: that the human body had vital functions precisely detailed.²⁶² The documentation, demonstration and presentation of such categories and functions were achieved in the Anatomic Theatrum.



Bernhard Albinus



Theatrum anatomicum

²⁶¹Punt, *Bernard Siegfried Albinus*, p. 1-8.

²⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 135.

The notes were taken by colleagues of Bod, students of Medicine Wilhelm Box, Abraham Back and an unknown student. We reproduce some texts of the courses: *"It is the stimulus, the irritation and the will. Let us look at the heart: the stimulus and the irritation is the inflow of venous blood, as we can see in opened animals. A living animal is cut open: as soon as the heart begins to grow flaccid, you will see that it stays that way for quite a while until the venous blood that is driven in causes it to expand; with dying (animals) the following happens: you can see the auricula pulsate three or four times, whereas the ventricle of the heart pulsates only once. Why is this? Because in the previous instances the causa irritans was not sufficient; if it is sufficient"*²⁶³ Bod will say in the mortuary predication at the death of the physician Mihály Maksai in January 15th, 1765 that medical science is governed by God but not the same thing can be said about superstitions.²⁶⁴

Bod's interest in antiquities is owed to Professors Francisc van Oudendorp, Tiberius Hemsterhuis²⁶⁵ and Sigebertus Havercampus. Antiquity, Classicism, and epigraphic collections²⁶⁶, each a defining element in Bod's historical writing. Sigebert Havercamp (1684-1742) *"the first researcher of antique objects"* known by Bod²⁶⁷ was a Professor of History, then of Greek in the Faculty of Philosophy and died before the departure of Bod to Transylvania in 1742.²⁶⁸ Frank van Oudendorp (1696-1761), who taught historiography based on Tursellinus,²⁶⁹ was one of the best Latinists of the university. His studies on Caesar and Svetonius, epigraphic collections consigned in the Papenbroekian Collection consecrated him as a remarkable epigraphist and latinist of the eighteenth century.²⁷⁰ Bod's courses focused on Classical Latin Literature: Cicero, Tacitus, Svetonius, Horatius, Ovidius and Terentius.²⁷¹

²⁶³ *"quiescente se movere musculum? / est stimulus, irritatio et voluntas. Videamus in corde: stimulus et irritatio est influxus sanguinis venosi ut apparet in animalibus apertis. Inciditur animal vivum, cor ubi incipit languere, vides tamen diu flaccidum manere donec sanguis venosus impulsus ipsum distendat, in morientibus hoc tandem fit, ubi inspectas, vides ter, quater, pulsare auriculam, dum semel tantum ventriculus cordis. unde hoc? Quia prioribus vicibus causa irritans non sufficiebat, ubi sufficiens est, mox se contrahit: evidenti argumento, causam contractionis cordis esse tantummodo causam distendentem. Ubi iam mortuum anima est, et digitus imprimatur venae cilvae, statim sanguine impulso"* in *Ibidem*, p. 140-141. on the basis of lecture notes of Abraham Back, 1742, Stockholm, KIB, Ms. 67:1, f.256.

²⁶⁴ Nagy Géza, „Bod Péter” in *Református Szemle*, LV, sept. 1962, no. 5-6, p. 277.

²⁶⁵ Davide Ruhnkenio, „Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii”, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum latinorum recentioribus aetatis* 1875.

²⁶⁶ Bod Péter, *Hungarus tymbaules*, Nagyenyed, 1764.

²⁶⁷ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25.

²⁶⁸ Blok -Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 56-57.

²⁶⁹ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 25.

²⁷⁰ Blok-Martin, *De Senaatskamer*, p. 93.

²⁷¹ Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame II*, p. 342.

At the beginnings of the university, Universal History was based on the history published by Nuber in 1681 “*ab ipsousque mundi exordio ad nostra tempora secundum tabulas chronologico-historicas a se partim edidas, partim edendas.*” Later, Frank van Oudendorp’s, *Epitome Historiae Universalis de Horatius Tursellinus* was used, and even after Perizonius; these were used commonly by all the universities in the Dutch Republic. It was a compilation of an Italian Jesuit from 1598, in ten volumes. The first volume started with *ab orbe condito ad Romam conditam* and finished at volume ten, *a Robert Bavaro usqua ad finem Rudolphi II.* They updated with events of the universal history.²⁷² Bod’s interest in history was the dominant element of his peregrination in the Dutch Republic. The love for the history of the church and for history in general inspired by Honert was constant during the years of peregrination at Leiden University. “*Far away from my country, in the sacred places of science during my stay in Leiden a strong desire was born to know the history of our church. I searched for books on this theme and then I looked for old chronicles, particularly for the writings of the people around Hungary as those from Byzant, Austria, Germany, Czech, Sylesia and Poland. I read old and new collections and I achieved my own small collection.*”²⁷³

Conclusions

The positive effects of Péter Bod’s pilgrimages are visible in both his theological and literary-historical works. In Theology from Leiden Bod, was strongly influenced by Johan van den Honert. Consequently, Bod sent his Hungarian History of the Church to Honert²⁷⁴ in order to be published and he used exhaustively the lampian system in the conception of the History of the Church. Hebrew, Syrian, Arab, and Caldean became useful languages in order to achieve a profound exegesis of the Old Testament. Bod’s Bibles show that this type of exegesis was applied not only because he had studied Hebrew at the College of Aiud, but also was deeply affected by the philological research he applied to the biblical text. This type of research was taught by his professor Johann Alberti, who said that theology implied not only dogmatic but also vast philological knowledge²⁷⁵.

From Iacobus Vitriarius, Jan Rucher Conrad, Gerlachus Scheltinga and Ioachim Schwartz, Bod studied natural Law from Grotius, Roman law, and Justinian Codice respectively. The later effect of the Law studies would be reflected in his *Iudiciaria fori ecclesiastici praxis* and *Iure connubiorum*, works that

²⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 346.

²⁷³ Bod Péter, *Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica*, ed. Rauwenhof, Leiden, 1888, I, p. 4.

²⁷⁴ Postma, *Frustula Telekiana* 2002.

²⁷⁵ Sandt, *Joan Alberti* 1984.

became veritable manuals of Law for the next generations. At the same time, the jurisprudence allowed him to systematize the synod jurisdiction of the Reformed Church in Transylvania.²⁷⁶ The juridical system he elaborated for the legislation of the Reformed Church disclosed a great knowledge of the Transylvanian legislative needs and of the juridical reform in the empire.

Newtonian Physics and Chemistry would open unimaginable perspectives when compared to with the status of instruction and society in Transylvania of the eighteenth century. Musschenbroek²⁷⁷, Gravesande²⁷⁸, Ian Lulofs²⁷⁹, David Gambius were those who demonstrated the practical and experimental part of philosophy²⁸⁰. The effect of the courses could be seen many years later in 1760 when Bod, in a funeral predication would exclaim that the philosopher Musschenbroek talked about the ignorant intellect.²⁸¹ In fact, he referred specifically to the inaugural discourse from 1740, when he was a young student full of emotions in the Aula Magna of the university²⁸².

Through his works, Péter Bod systemized, modernized and perfected the methods and results of the science of history. However, the same can be stated about his literary science, law, history and theological works. Through his scientific work, he used all he learned and believed to be important in Leiden. Recent theology, history and literary science expressed its appreciation when they called him the most prominent 18th century scientist. Peter Bod's role cannot be understood unless the role of the Dutch pedagogy is understood. In addition, this is exactly what can be traced through his works. We can consider Bod as a man of his century, the pedagogical product of a Dutch university, who knew how to apply the information he gathered at Leiden in his home environment. The philological exegesis, theology, history, law, and utilitarian thinking are defining elements obtained by Bod at Staten College in Leiden, where he studied between 1740 and 1743, and to where he was grateful for a whole life. This can be proven with the present research. This research also reflected that, his personality could not be researched

²⁷⁶Bod Péter, „Erdélyi református zsinatok végzései 1606-1762”, in *Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Füzetek 3*, Kolozsvár: EREF, 1999.

²⁷⁷ Clerq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp* 1997; Pater, *Petrus van Musschenbroek* 1979.

²⁷⁸ *Christian Wolf Gessamelte werke materialien* 2001; Pater, Willem Jacob `s Gravesande 1988.

²⁷⁹ Sassen, *Johan Lulofs* 1965.

²⁸⁰ Ruestow, *Physics at seventeenth and eighteenth century Leiden* 1973; *Science in the Netherlands* 1928.

²⁸¹ Gudor, *Istoricul Bod Péter*, p. 157, on the basis of the work of Petrus van Musschenbroek, *Oratio inauguralis de mente humana semet ignorante, Publice habita in auditorio majori Academiae Lugduno-Batavae cum Ordinariam Philosophiae ac Mathesios (sic!) professionem auspicaretur. A.D. XXV, AD XXV januarii 1740*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1740.

²⁸² Muschenbroek, *Oratio inauguralis de Mente*, p. 1-28.

without focusing on the relationships between his life and the history of the pilgrimages.

Péter Bod's place in the history of culture is situated between Baroque and the Enlightenment.²⁸³ In his works, one can notice elements of Reformed Orthodoxy from the period of the Austrian Baroque, which vehemently counteracted the new European rationalist ideas as well as new elements belonging to the Pre-Enlightenment or the Enlightenment. Bod disclosed a new understanding of theology, the Church, the State and the nation as well. In this respect, the complexity of Bod Peter's personality does not allow us to categorize him as a personality belonging to the Enlightenment exclusively or a personality who was dedicated exclusively to the Protestant Orthodoxy in Transylvania. In order to understand his position in the culture of Transylvania, particularly, in the European Pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment²⁸⁴ generally, one has to grasp the variety in Bod's personality.

He was an outstanding theologian, father of Transylvanian history of literature and of Library studies, a distinguished historian, cartographer, minister and farmer²⁸⁵. For this evolution, we have to consider the formative tradition of the Transylvanian pedagogy from the Bethlen College²⁸⁶ and of the University from Leiden. During his peregrination studies, between 1740-1743, many new ideas were assimilated at Leiden from the personalities in the university.²⁸⁷ His bibliophile personality was the result of the works of multiple lecturers owned in his personal library²⁸⁸, the library of countess Bethlen²⁸⁹, of the Reformed College of Aiud, of count Teleki, the archives of the Alba Iulia, and the libraries of Leiden.

²⁸³Lengyel Imre, „Bod Péter és a felvilágosodás kapcsolatának kérdéséhez”, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 5, Budapest, 1973, p. 588-592.

²⁸⁴ Peter A. Schouls, *Reasoned freedom*, London, Cornell University Press, 1992; Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism*, London, University of California Press, 1975; Paul Dibon, „Pierre Bayle le philosophe de Rotterdam”, in *Publications de l'institut Francais d'Amsterdam Maison Descartes*, Paris, Elsevier Publishing Company, 1959; Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment an interpretation. The Rise of Modern Paganism*, New York: Northon Library, 1977; Cyril B. O'Keefe SJ, *Contemporary reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762)*, Geneve-Paris, Honore Champion, 1974.

²⁸⁵ Bod Péter, *Házj diárium, Magyarigen 1750-1769*, p. 132, ms.

²⁸⁶ Bod, *Önéletírás*, p. 16-18.

²⁸⁷ See *Biografisch lexicon* 1978-2001.

²⁸⁸ Radvánszky Béla, „Bod Péter könyvtárának jegyzéke”, in *Magyar könyvszemle* 1884, Budapest, 1886, p. 59-86.

²⁸⁹ Eva Márza, „Catalogul bibliotecii lui Bethlen Kata”, in *Emlékkönyv a Teleki Téka alapításának 200. évfordulójára 1802-2002*, Marosvásárhely, 2002, p. 401-422, Simon Melinda-Szabó Ágnes, *Bethlen Kata könyvtárának rekonstrukciója*, Szeged, Scriptorum, 1997.

His personality, was typical for a young man eager to gain knowledge, and confronted with the first signs of the tiredness of the speech between Voetianism and Coccejanism in Transylvania and the Dutch Republic²⁹⁰. He was confronted with the appearance of the critical approach of the Bible from the perspective of classical philology with the aid of interpretation schemes offered by Cartesianism of that age²⁹¹, with visible changes of the Aristotelian Scholastic system²⁹², and with the first signs of the victory of Newtonianism in the university²⁹³. Bod was at the same time a minister-theologian, philologist and historian as one can see from his work. The structure of his work shows the influence of Cartesian-Coccejan thinking. The History of the Reformed Church is written based on what he learnt from Lampe, with information offered by Mosheim²⁹⁴, Forbesius²⁹⁵, Elias du Pin, but also the tradition of the Historical Hungarian school beginning with Bálint Csergő Kocsi and Pál Ember Debreczeni, Mátyás Bél and György Pray; each can be noticed.²⁹⁶ The reflections on the requirements of the Habsburg reformism, Bél's results and the first effects of the translation of the Enlightenment accomplished by Christian Wolf will appear in his activity after 1750. Bod, through the history of the Romanians²⁹⁷, meditates on the lost tolerance in Transylvania. Hence, in the *Magyar Athenas* he shows the new rational, enlightened individual – “*without any religion*”²⁹⁸. The evolving effects of the new philosophy and of his own development will be the constructive elements of the later period of Bod. The

²⁹⁰ *Een richtingstrijd in de Gereformeerde Kerk. Voetianen en Coccejansen 1650-1750*, ed. W. J. van Asselt, Zoetermeer; Berg, Religious currents and cross currents 2000; Dr. W.J. van Asselt, *Jobannes Coccejus. Portret van een zeventiende-eeuws theoloog op oude nieuwe wegen*, Heerenveen, 1997.

²⁹¹ Paul Dibon, *Sur l'histoire de la philosophie cartésienne*, Groningen-Djakarta, 1955; Peter A. Schouls, *Descartes and the Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

²⁹² Martin I. Klauber, *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism. Jean Alphonse Turretin (1671-1737) and Enlightened Orthodoxy at the Academy of Geneva*, London-Toronto, Selinsgrove, 1994; Michael Heyd, „Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment. Jean Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in The Academy of Geneva”, ed. Paul Dibon, in *International Archives of the History of Ideas 96*, Jerusalem, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982.

²⁹³ 's Gravesande, Muschenbroek.

²⁹⁴ Laurentius Mosheim, *Institutiones Historiae Christianae Recentioris*, Helmstadii, 1741; Laurentius Mosheim, *Historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris libri quator*, Helmstadii, 1755.

²⁹⁵ Forbesius, *Introductio historico theologiae de doctrina christiana*, Geneva, 1680.

²⁹⁶ Egyed Ákos, „Bod Péter a magyar történetírásban” in *Református Szemle, Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület a Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület és az Evangélikus-Lutheránus Egyház hivatalos lapja*, 96, 2003 nov-dec, 6, p. 573-577; Gudor, *Istoricul Bod Péter* 2008.

²⁹⁷ Bod Péter, „Brevis Valachorum Transylvaniam Incolentium Historia”, in Ana Dumitran, Gudor Botond, Nicolae Dánila, *Román magyar felekezetközi kapcsolatok Erdélyben*, Alba Iulia: Altip, 2000, p. 310-443.

²⁹⁸ Bod, *Magyar Athenas* (about Köleséri Sámuel), p. 354.

Struggling History of the Church of God, published at Basel, concentrated the influences of Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the Church in Transylvania and the beneficial results of the studies in the Dutch Republic. He became the most famous historian of the Transylvanian Protestants, this consideration being valid for European Historiography as well²⁹⁹. This evolution was possible due to his geographical, ethnographical and historical knowledge as well as being, oriented towards a truthful acquaintance with the peoples and nations living in Transylvania.

The eighteenth century for Transylvania meant the historical moment when sciences began their independent evolution. Bod and his activity, which was at the beginning of the process of segregating sciences, cannot be differentiated from one activity to another, but must be approached in the interface and integrity of his work. His basic activity was and will remain connected with the writing of the history of the church even if many important historical works have not been published. This historical orientation can be revealed both in the encyclopedia of Hungarian literature and from his attempts to elaborate the first volume of humorist prose: *Szent Hylarius*. A polymath and a Protestant minister, he was interested in everything that had to do with science in his time. His activity had its roots in the idea of public utility, to which he dedicated his entire life and work, but also in his three years of study at the State University of Leiden, which he spent to his delight. The Transylvanian Reformed Church pays homage to Bod as a historian of the church and for his moral behavior in the troubled times of Catholic Counter-Reformation. By this, he contributed to the nation's progress, following the example of his ancestors. Such a scientific effort became through Bod a personal effort. Intelligence and diligence were focused on academic training. The appreciation of fellows, professors, and of the Church clearly presents the great importance of peregrination for those who wanted to study in the eighteenth century. From the point of view of historical research, Péter Bod cannot be characterized as a better literary historian, a less important historian, theologian, or a beginner in cartography and Hungarian novel. His scientific personality is indivisible as are the sciences he practiced with the starting point for all of them being the history of the church.

Péter Bod belonged to the peregrine intellectuality that enlightened the Transylvanian late feudalism, even by the enlargement of the *Respublica Literaria*'s borders towards a Protestant *Respublica Christiana* in which Transylvania had participated for two centuries, while being threatened by

²⁹⁹ Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians. Western Historiography from the eighth to the eighteenth centuries*, London, Methuen LTD, 1977.

Counter-Reformation. In the eighteenth century, he was “*a light in the darkness*”, that could not enlighten everything. However, even the professor of Church History from Franeker, Daniel Gerdes, affirm that a nation could be very thankful and content for the work of a scholar minister, Péter Bod, who fought for the well-being of the nation through faith, by applying the idea of utility, through the conception of “true” histories.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Postma, *Frustula Telekiana*, 2002.