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“My dearest dreams are of the Netherlands”

Pál Pántzél’s manuscript autobiography and his university years in Leiden from 1782 to 1785¹

Abstract

Pál Pántzél (1755-1831) was a Hungarian Calvinist pastor and scholar in Transylvania. Following his years in the Reformed College of Kolozsvár (Cluj, present-day Romania), Pántzél was a student of the Staten College at the University of Leiden between 1782 and 1785. He kept a manuscript autobiography, and wrote down his life story in Hungarian. This autobiography is interesting from various perspectives, including regional history, the social and church history of Transylvania, the history of education and so forth.

Pántzél wrote extensively about his Leiden university years, which he considers the most beautiful memories of his life, but also includes details of the conditions in which he travelled, as well as the organisation of the trip and the details of the outward journey. In the present study I primarily interpret Pántzél’s notes on his years at the University of Leiden, in the context of early modern travel literature and the history of studying in the Netherlands.

Keywords: 18th century, manuscript autobiography, Pál Pántzél (1755-1831), studying in the Netherlands, University of Leiden, Reformed Church of Transylvania, social mobility

1 Pál Pántzél’s autobiography

The unique feature of family libraries which also contain old manuscripts is that their book stock usually includes materials that are unknown to the academic public, and in this way valuable documents can remain unknown for a long time or they can even be destroyed without the research community ever having discovered, interpreted or published them. Until

its 2009 publication, the situation was similar as regards the autobiography of Pál Pántzél (1755-1831), a little known Hungarian Calvinist pastor and scholar in Transylvania.² His manuscript is one of the most unique items in the library of my paternal ancestors, who lived in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, present-day Romania) until the second decade of the twentieth century and later moved to Debrecen and Budapest.³ Pántzél wrote down his life story in Hungarian in a 125 x 213 mm, red notebook wrapped in thick paper, and filled about two-thirds of it with entries, reaching page 90 (recto of the 45th leaf).

The author of the autobiography spent most of his life, from 1786 till his death, serving in the Reformed congregation of Kendilóna (Luna de Jos, present-day Romania), a village in the possession of the Count Teleki family lying about 30 kilometres North-East of Kolozsvár. Beside his work as a pastor, he also pursued academic interests: he published a substantial work about the 'neologist' language reform movement, as well as a geographical textbook for students.⁴ The autobiography bears the following title: 'The short description of my life following the course of the years, from 1755 to the last year I can lift my pen, dedicated to my children and their edification.' This autobiography is interesting from various perspectives, including regional history, the social and church history of Transylvania, the history of education and so forth. However, in the present study I will primarily interpret the manuscript in the context of early modern travel literature and the history of studying in the Netherlands, since following Pántzél's years in the Reformed College of Kolozsvár between 1782 and 1785, he was a student of the Staten College at the University of Leiden.

More than the quarter of the Reformed ministers who not only studied in Hungarian and Transylvanian colleges in the early modern and modern period but also pursued their studies abroad, matriculated at the universities of the Netherlands.⁵ We have no data on the number of students from Hungary who kept diaries during their university years or later wrote autobiographies, but from the last third of the nineteenth century on, more and more manuscripts by former university students of the Netherlands were published.⁶ In recent decades, systematic research into manuscripts of travel literature has also become significant, not only thanks to German scholars who have started to build a monumental database on early modern European travellers, but also as a result of the organised study of early modern and modern Hungarian travel literature, which has also gained impetus.⁷

Despite their differences in form and perspective, both Pál Pántzél’s manuscript, and the texts of other university students from that time describe their travel and study experiences abroad in a similar way. Most of the authors of these autobiographies interpret their genealogy, family history, earlier life and student years as a kind of an introduction, or stepping stones to their university years in Western Europe, which is again viewed as a new and major stride towards their career. In this respect it is worthwhile considering Pántzél’s handwritten autobiography as a life narrative, which also contributes to the above mentioned database of early modern travellers. Since I will primarily examine the sections dealing with his trip to the Netherlands, and his years at the University of Leiden, the present paper can also provide supplementary information to Réka Bozzay’s seminal monograph on the Hungarian students who studied at the University of Leiden in the early modern period.⁸

The manuscript of Pál Pántzél is mostly a retrospective recollection of his life. From the autobiography it can be inferred that in 1811, at the age of 56, he started to write his memoirs, and continued up to the present time. After 1811, he wrote entries periodically in his notebook for a few years, but did not keep a formal diary. Based on both the appearance of his handwriting and its contents, it seems that it is basically an *annuary*; however, he did not always make entries on a yearly basis, but simply summarised the most important family and historical events every few years, giving accounts of the financial, agricultural and meteorological information from the given period. This annuary-like part of the work seems to come to an end in 1819. After a few years’ silence, as far as can be reconstructed, the autobiographer summed up the most important family events of the previous years, between 1820 and 1824, again in a retrospective style. Afterwards he made no new entries until his death in 1831.

It can also be inferred from the text what it was that inspired the elderly pastor to start writing his memoirs. In the first place, it was a serious illness, which lasted from 1809 to 1811, and secondly, his disappointment over the election to the post of notary of the Reformed diocese of Dés (Dej, present-day Romania), which he lost. Presumably, Pántzél also wanted to give an account of his journey to the Netherlands which he had made almost three decades before, but the reflection on this life event and the process of its writing depended on his having sufficient time and motivation. A substantial part of Pántzél’s manuscript is about his period of study in Leiden and its significance in the course of his life.

However, the whole series of his foreign experiences which feature as important elements of his life, as well as the passages in all the other parts of the manuscript are all subordinated to the fact which Pántzél also emphasises in the title of his autobiography and at various points of his text: i.e. that first and foremost *he wants to share the lessons of his life with his children*, as well as give them advice on moral issues, codes of behaviour, and other recommendations and warnings. Perhaps it is due to this that Pántzél articulated a very definite goal of life, a life strategy, in the form of practical foresight concerning his existential situation in 1781, even though it was described from the vantage point of the passage of several decades, and so we cannot be certain whether this really was present in his thinking while he was preparing for his travels to foreign universities:

‘Thus, in my current, and rightly termed ‘lucky’, state of being a student, I spent exactly 9 years, *all of which were meant to prepare me for my profession as a minister; towards the end of these years I even decided that if I encountered a good academicum beneficium, I should be ready any time for a censura [i. e. exam], and then I could continue in an academia [i. e. foreign university]. Divine providence also supported me in this, because I found the best possible academia beneficium, that is, the one at Leiden.*’⁹

All this was crucial during the decades around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because for a Reformed priest at that time in Transylvania there was a chance to become a significant member of the professional community if he did not wish to become simply a *domi-doctus* minister (that is, having a college level theological education in Transylvania or Hungary, but not a university level education from foreign universities), but rather chose to study abroad, so that after arriving home he could, as a so called *academicus* minister, join the struggle for upward social mobility in the Reformed Church. On the one hand, this meant entering the struggle among candidates for the wealthier parishes, and on the other hand, for advancement in the church hierarchy by becoming a representative of a diocese or a college professor.¹⁰ This distinction based on the ‘orders’ within the Reformed clergy was also confirmed both by the general synods of 1790 and the ones held in the first decades of the nineteenth century.¹¹ In the case of Pál Pántzél his awareness of his ambition to carry on with his studies had a special trans-generational significance, since his father, István Pántzél (1711-1774) had

only studied in Transylvania (both in the Reformed College of Nagyenyed [Aiud, present-day Romania] and of Kolozsvár), which only qualified him for a modest career, that of a *domidoctus*.¹² However, from a social historical point of view, what is highly important is the statistical fact (which is at present not based on a sufficient amount of data) that most often the children of Reformed priests continued their studies in the universities of the Netherlands. The category of ‘theologian’ implies all the activities a Reformed minister can pursue: from the village priest to the bishop, as well as a teacher with a degree in theology.¹³

Even though the time that had passed had somewhat blurred and modified Pántzél’s experiences during his Leiden studies – in other words, we cannot be sure that his account of the events given almost three decades later is always precise –, based on the data provided by the text with all its meticulous details (about the journey, its expenses and the functioning of Leiden University) it seems that during the years of his studies Pántzél might have made notes, maybe even a diary of his journey.¹⁴ Peter Burke argues that ‘the experience of living abroad, cut off from one’s own community, is likely to stimulate self-consciousness and so to encourage the keeping of a journal, which stimulates self-consciousness still further’.¹⁵ The theoretical texts of travelling literature, the *ars apodemicas* or *methodus apodemicas*, taught that the traveller should keep a journal while travelling, and write down the details of the journey, its itinerary, expenses, the places and people visited, readings, studies, and curiosities. According to these books, the chronological data of the entries can be thematically rearranged or rewritten later, so that the previous notes become more orderly and useful for others. Recent research, however, approaches the question of how to use *ars apodemicas* by travellers more carefully, and scholars nowadays argue that these methodical works in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not primarily influence the journals, autobiographies and other travelling texts themselves, but rather the author’s perspective, the choice of subject and its treatment.¹⁶

The autobiography of Pántzél has only three loci where the ‘effect’ of sources is clearly identifiable, and these are not theoretical sources but are rather based on a certain kind of pragmatic knowledge, maybe the accounts of previous students who studied abroad, or the oral tradition – and thus not written texts. In this vein, Pántzél notes that before setting out on his journey he spent about two weeks in Vienna, and also draws attention to the fact that the Netherlands were a lot more expensive than

this city, and so ‘right from the start the youths heading there used to have their garments made in Vienna. And so I also got hold of all the clothes I needed here’.¹⁷ Furthermore, he might also have followed some kind of a tradition, or at least acted very consciously when in Vienna he met a Hungarian fellow student who was already on his way home from the University of Leiden after three years studying.¹⁸ Pántzél, without seeing them, bought the student’s bedlinen and the furniture he had used in Leiden and left with the warden of the Staten College.¹⁹ Thirdly, one can presume that again, based on the information he had gathered from former students of the universities of the Netherlands and on some kind of letter of recommendation, Pál Pántzél visited and stayed for a few days with a Regensburg salesman, whose family was very kind to him: ‘Here is Regensburg [!] it was worthwhile to stop for a short visit, because *I had a letter* for a salesman here, whose two young sons were very happy to meet me’.²⁰

2 Pál Pántzél in Leiden

‘Blessed Holland! How could you let these poor strangers know about your generosity? It is impossible to describe it. Blessed Leiden! You dear, dearest city! If I lived for hundreds of years, I would still consider those three years I spent in Leiden my happiest ones. My dearest dreams are of the Netherlands.’²¹

Pántzél writes extensively about his Leiden university years between 1782 and 1785, which he considers the most beautiful memories of his life, but also includes details of the conditions in which he travelled, as well as the organisation of the trip and the details of the outward journey.

2.1 *The conditions of the Leiden scholarship: the financial background of the trip and the exams*

Leiden University, founded in 1575, and the Collegium Theologicum, founded in 1592, as well as the college of the Dutch orders (Staten College) contributed significantly to the educational possibilities of poor European students who were able to get scholarships, and study there for free; and they were even given a roof over their heads. In order to make the career of a Reformed priest attractive for the students, they were

admitted at state expense. At the beginning, only students from the Netherlands were accepted, but later, from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, as Leiden became one of the most popular destinations for foreign students, students from other countries, even from Central and Eastern Europe, also began to appear at Staten College: mainly from Pfalz, Prussia, Bohemia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Transylvania.²²

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century there were, from time to time, a significant number of Transylvanian and Hungarian students at the University of Leiden (more than 650), but here – as opposed to the other universities in the Netherlands – for a long time there were no available scholarships for them. Thus, in the eighteenth century most of the Hungarian and Transylvanian colleges had to struggle to secure fixed places for their students in Leiden. As a result of the intervention of various aristocrats at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was first the college of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, present-day Romania) which received a stipendium for a short while at the beginning of the eighteenth century. From 1715 onwards two Transylvanian students could study for free in Staten College: based on an agreement, they were students from Nagyenyed. Kolozsvár College also won two stipendiums in 1734, usually for three years per student, and thus from then on there were usually four Hungarians at Leiden at the same time. This achievement was to a great extent due to Count Ádám Teleki the Elder.²³ (His son, Count Ádám Teleki the Younger [1740-1792] was the land owner of Kendilóna, the Transylvanian village where Pál Pántzél later served as a Reformed priest, from 1786 to 1831.) The elder Teleki was a major mediator between the representatives of the Reformed College of Kolozsvár and Hamel Bruininx, the Dutch ambassador to Vienna, who eventually negotiated with the State of Holland to support the application. G. H. van de Graaf considered this a miracle in his book on early modern Transylvanian students, since all other similar claims had been unsuccessful: the Reformed colleges of Marosvásárhely, Debrecen and Sárospatak were rejected several times. Van de Graaf also believed that it was partly the political uncertainty of the era, but mainly the careful spending of the State of Holland which resulted in these difficulties in securing state scholarships. Based on the data available today, in the eighteenth century altogether 96 individuals enrolled as *Ungarus* or *Transsylvania* to Staten College.²⁴

It is also known that during the eighteenth century the Main Consistory of the Transylvanian Reformed Church several times confirmed that students had to pass exams in many disciplines to be awarded a stipendium, and from 1766 these exams had to be administered in three different Transylvanian colleges: Kolozsvár, Nagyenyed and Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş, present-day Romania). The applicants also had to promise that they would use their knowledge to support the Reformed Church in Transylvania, i.e., after completing their foreign university years they had to come home. According to the arguments of the sources known so far, the administration of the educational and church institutions in Transylvania became more and more regulated, because the issue had serious financial and political implications, and Transylvanian students wanted to maintain the option of studying in Western universities, which became more and more strictly regulated by the Habsburg Court in the eighteenth century.²⁵

Pál Pántzél, however, explains in his autobiography the strictness of the authorities regarding the school system of the Transylvanian Reformed Church by the fact that they wanted to reduce the number of students competing for this scholarship. According to Pántzél, the authorities were disappointed in this respect, since the very same number of students travelled abroad as previously, when all of them only had to take exams in their own colleges, and only in theology. Based on a sentence from Pántzél's manuscript, it is also worth considering whether the exams had any serious significance at all; since the selection of the students who received the scholarship actually happened *beforehand*, before they took their exams in the above mentioned three Transylvanian colleges, a process which did not even take a full week: 'Upon learning that this academic beneficium was *given to me by the professors*, along with a fellow student, who was also selected, we took our censuras [exams]', in the summer of 1781.²⁶

Pántzél also considered the political connections involved. He started to write his autobiography in 1811, some years after the decision of the Habsburg Court in 1795 to completely freeze the flow of Hungarian students going to France and the occupied territories; moreover, the government even recalled students who had already started studying in the Netherlands, since through contact with 'the immoral French' they might be 'in danger of picking up the same principles'.²⁷ Here is what we read in Pántzél's autobiography about these events: 'A sad loss one can

never mourn enough! The French Revolution has destroyed all the academic beneficiums and even this one [i.e. scholarship to Leiden]’.²⁸

However, exams did not end for the candidates at the three Transylvanian colleges. Pántzél, on arriving in Leiden, again had to prove his knowledge “on the catechism of Heidelberg and logic, in front of the Academicus Senatus”.²⁹ Even though István Nánási’s book entitled *Pharus Hungarico-Batava* published in 1778 claims that “catechezis palatina, rhetorica, philosophia rationalis et caput Novi Testamenti” were the subjects examined, G. H. van de Graaf has questioned the existence of the Leiden exams, arguing that there are no available data in the correspondence and notes of the Hungarian students that he has read. He argues that ‘the remark “Annos Academicos habens” repeatedly written on enrolment sheets also suggests that Transylvanian students were exempt from this exam’.³⁰ Nevertheless, the information in Pántzél’s autobiography on the entrance exams at the University of Leiden supports Réka Bozzay’s recent claims on the exam subjects (catechism, logic, rhetoric, and Greek) which use data based upon the *Catalogus Examinum alumnorum Collegii*.³¹

Pántzél (and his fellow student, Sámuel Erdélyi) matriculated at the University of Leiden on the 12th of September, 1782. He took his exam in Leiden on the 27th of September, also handing over the lines of recommendation written by the professors of Kolozsvár, dated 1st July of the same year.³² Thus, if we consider that, following the exams in three Reformed colleges in Transylvania, the entrance exam in Leiden was taken after the long journey and the enrolment, and was supported by the letter of recommendation from the professors of the College of Kolozsvár, then we can presume that the Leiden exam could not really have had a great significance at all. According to Pál Pántzél, ‘for a Transylvanian student who has pursued his studies for quite a while the exam was laughably easy’.³³

Pál Pántzél did not mention whether he was supported by a patron or patrons, even though for many contemporary Transylvanian students the usual practice was that before the journey they did some teaching work for their patron families (usually aristocratic ones) and when returning from abroad they again had to serve them.³⁴ Pántzél, however, covered his own travelling expenses by choosing the other option available to students awarded a scholarship abroad: he tried ‘to beg’ for the expenses for his Leiden trip from many people. After the exams Pántzél had passed at the three colleges in the summer of 1781 he almost had a full year until

the trip to collect money. Pántzél also remarks that his fund-raising trip took place in two parts, and between them he spent some time with his mother and ‘had a rest before setting out again on this shameful journey of begging’.³⁵

2.2 *The circumstances of Pál Pántzél’s journey*

Pántzél’s autobiography is the most detailed when it comes to his journey from Kolozsvár to Leiden. The journey took place between 4th July 1782 and 4th September, and he describes both the route and the major cities touched,³⁶ as well as the available vehicles of transport, both on land and water, and the various kinds of food and accommodation available for a night or for several days; moreover, the expenses for all this are detailed in a lengthy and careful way.³⁷ As I have already mentioned above, he presumably wrote this section based on his own earlier notes. The manuscript, which was basically meant to be an autobiography and a lesson for his children, at this point turns into a special report on his travelling, and the university years. This passage within the text can act as a basis for comparison with other data about Hungarian students also travelling to the Netherlands in the eighteenth century.³⁸ Was this the itinerary usually taken? (In Pántzél’s autobiography one can find one or two references to this.) To what extent were the means of transport and travelling companies listed by Pántzél widely known and preferred? Where did he get the practical advice from? (He probably *heard* these from previous travellers.) Beyond these informal channels of accumulating information did Pántzél and contemporary travellers use any kind of *ars apodemica*, for example, on the route, or with respect to the cities to be visited during his studies in the Netherlands? If we succeed in making such a comparison between the journeys of other Hungarian students in the eighteenth century who also travelled to the Netherlands (and others, heading in the same direction), then the question of what kind of organisational, financial, and other reasons contributed to the eventual differences will be a crucial one.

Based on Pántzél’s manuscript we can claim that such research must avoid sweeping generalizations, and also has to consider the factor of *contingency*. Since Pántzél sadly notes that however much he wanted to view certain sights during his outward journey, as a result of parsimony of his fellow student, Sámuel Erdélyi, he had basically no opportunity of doing so.³⁹ In the summer of 1785, on his way back home (which is also

worthy of attention in terms of the organisational and travelling aspects of other travellers⁴⁰) Pántzél acted in a different way. This time he could visit a few famous sites, because he travelled home without Sámuel Erdélyi who – due to his illnesses during the Leiden years – stayed on for another year at the University of Utrecht.⁴¹ Pántzél, however, describes how ‘it would have been even more useful if I had had more money. [...] I did not even spend time anywhere else than a quarter of a day in Moguntzia [Mainz], and Regenspurg [Regensburg]’.⁴² He does not specify these visits and does not write anything about Mainz, and about Regensburg only mentions that he visited the monastery and library of the Carthusians. To his sorrow, he only found old books by friars there, nothing new, but also noted that the library monk ‘spoke a fine Latin to praise the bibliotheque’.⁴³

As to his three-year stay in the Netherlands, Pántzél does not give any account of much sightseeing either. He remarks that in 1783 ‘I have not even seen the major cities, only Amsterdam’,⁴⁴ although he does not even share any details about this trip. About his visit to The Hague he briefly reports:

‘And then, in 1784, wishing to learn the French language, I went for a summer vacation to The Hague and stayed in a nice, tall house with several rooms, all of them rented out by French people. The owner of the house, a good-willed widower, was also a native Frenchman, of which there are many in The Hague: they had moved there from France along with the last of the Huguenots. The room was really nicely prepared, though it wasn’t cheap – for one month it cost 8 Forints: however, I was lucky to have a good place to stay.’⁴⁵

Later, during his research on the language reform, Pántzél used (at least partly) the French he had picked up in The Hague.⁴⁶ In his 1806 book on linguistics there are several French secondary sources cited. Beside his interest in the French language and French linguistics, in many sentences of his autobiography he very strongly condemned both the French Revolution and Napoleon.

2.3 The Leiden university years

Whenever in his autobiography Pántzél mentions the University of Leiden, he is very enthusiastic about it. Even though all through the eighteenth century the institution counted among the best in the Netherlands,

in the second half of the century – just like all the other academies in the country – it started to decline, and thus Pántzél, who enrolled in 1782, was no longer able to witness the golden age of the University of Leiden. Pántzél's stay precisely coincided with the era when the fewest students enrolled to the university (between 1775 and 1785),⁴⁷ but he did not mention this fact.

Following the lengthier passage describing the outward journey one can read this sentence: 'Before I carry on, I will write something about the Leiden Academy, and about the great good thing which was given there to the Hungarians.'⁴⁸ And after this we actually learn a little about his Leiden stay, and he prefers to describe the university. He writes about Staten College in most detail: the meals secured for Hungarian students, the various benefits and services offered to them, as well as the other expenses. Due to the benefits received, many of these (e. g. the matriculation fee for the rector and for the secretarius) did not actually have to be paid for, as this chapter of Pántzél's autobiography informs us.⁴⁹

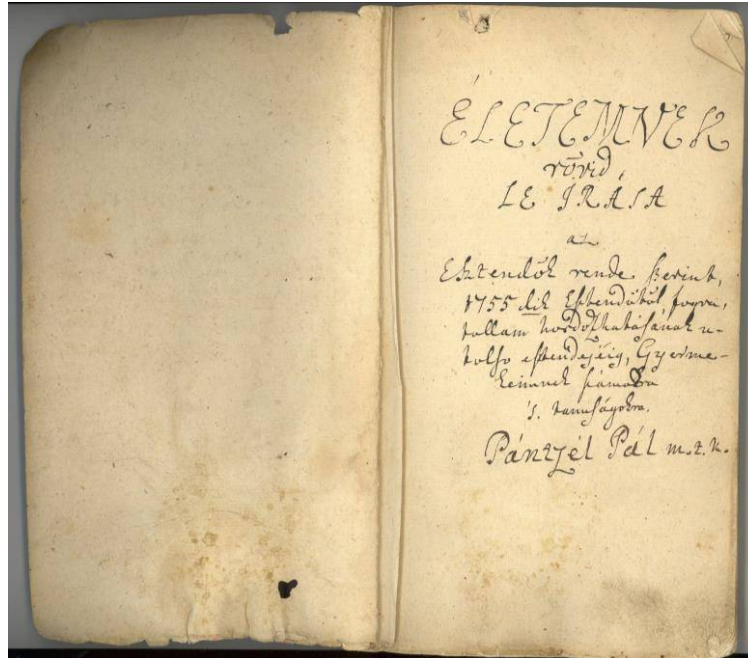
Pántzél – in his autobiographical writing dedicated to his children – shares hardly anything about the education system in Leiden, his teachers and the books he used, even though these would surely be important data for understanding his later works in linguistic and geographical studies. We only encounter in the manuscript certain fragments of information in connection with his Leiden education, or other experiences⁵⁰ when he is listing his expenses and benefits at the Staten College. Of course, these events – especially the latter – are far from being insignificant, since Pántzél's description contributes our understanding, even though we already know something about this issue from data already available. For example, we already know that the publication of a dissertation in Leiden was financially supported by the university,⁵¹ but Pántzél's autobiographical writing enriches this information from a new perspective:

'I was given 27 Forints per year for the writing of a dissertation, which everybody had to write, and it had to be sent to The Hague, dedicated to the Habsburg orders. *Nobody took much trouble writing these, because every student knew that nobody read them.*'⁵²

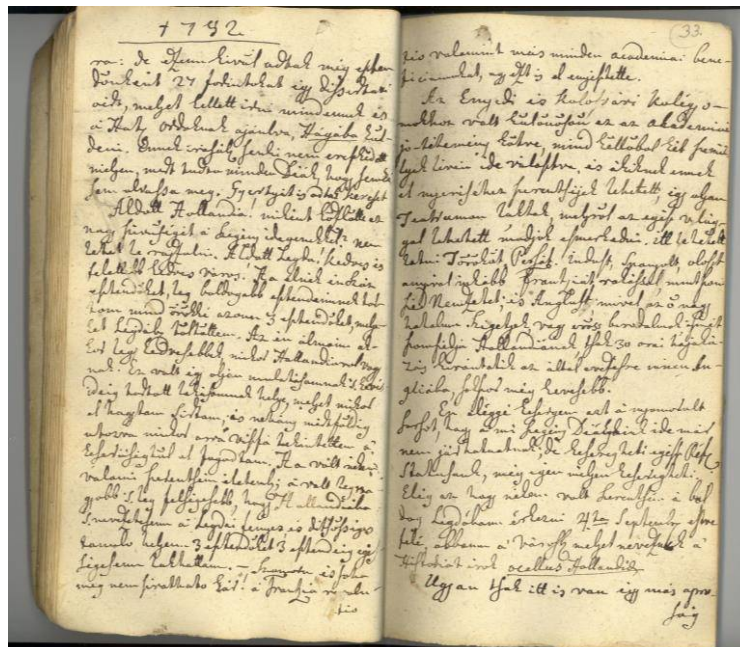
In connection with Pántzél's studies we only learn that 'to visit all university courses, 11 stifers had to be paid.'⁵³ In this academic year [1782] I only attended four of them, that is, two courses in theology, and one in Hebrew and one in Arabic, for which I paid 44 stifers altogether.

And it was the same in the other years, too’.⁵⁴ The Hebrew course mentioned by Pántzél is not surprising, since we know that he had also taught this language at the Kolozsvár College, years before his travels, in the academic year of 1777-1778, and that for this language he ‘felt a special attraction, and kept on with it all through my student years’.⁵⁵ Van de Graaf reports that the teacher of Oriental languages in Leiden (just like at all the other academies) was always a kind of celebrity. The Schultens family taught these subjects through three generations in a highly effective way. During Pántzél’s Leiden stay it was already the grandson, Hendrik Albert Schultens, who was the professor of Oriental languages (from 1779 to 1793). Apart from Schultens, we do not know which outstanding professors Pántzél heard at the University of Leiden.⁵⁶

As I have already mentioned, Pál Pántzél returned from Leiden to Kolozsvár in September 1785. Then he became a tutor at the court of Count Mihály Rhédey, and taught the Count’s sons. From August 1786 at the invitation of the younger Count Ádám Teleki, Pántzél served as the pastor of the Calvinist congregation in Kendilóna. Despite having studied at the University of Leiden for three years and served as a minister for 24 years, at the first attempt he was not elected to the post of the notary of the Reformed diocese of Dés in 1810, a position which he very much desired.⁵⁷ This means that advancement in the church hierarchy was also difficult for an *academicus* priest, and not only for a *domidoctus*. However, the facts that in 1818 Pántzél was eventually elected as the notary of the diocese of Dés (even though he does not mention this step in his career in his manuscript, in which by the late 1810s he is writing entries once a year),⁵⁸ and also that he could conduct research on linguistics, and publish a monograph, are still the result of his academic past, and show the success of his career.



Pántzél's autobiography, title page of the manuscript



A passage on the journey to the Netherlands, pages 32-33

Notes

- ¹ I am grateful to OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Research Fund, nr. K 101840) and University of Debrecen (nr. RH/885/2013) for having supported this research. I owe a great debt to Eszter Ureczky and George Seel, who anglicized and corrected my text.
- ² A recent critical edition of Pál Pántzél’s autobiography and his printed works: Fazakas (ed. and introduction), *Pántzél Pál önéletírása és más munkái*.
- ³ I do not have sufficient data on the provenance of the manuscript.
- ⁴ Pántzél, *A’ magyar nyelvnek állapotjáról*; Idem, *A’ mathematica Geographianak*.
- ⁵ Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 10.
- ⁶ Diaries and autobiographies of József Keresztesi, Péter Bod, Sámuel Fogarasi, András Szilágyi, count József Teleki, etc.
- ⁷ Krisztina Kulcsár has reviewed the most important German projects, such as the projects coordinated by the *Eutiner Forschungstelle zur historischen Reisekultur* research centre in Bremen, and the *Europareisen der politischen Funktionsträger des alten Reichs (1750-1800)* project in Potsdam. She has also summarized the results and trends of the Hungarian research. Kulcsár, ‘A politikai és társadalmi elit utazásai’; Idem, *II. József utazásai*. – On the early modern Hungarian and Transylvanian travel literature see the series of *Peregrinatio Hungarorum*; the series of *Fontes rerum scholasticarum* (for example, Szabó & Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban*); the *Adattár* series (for example, Hoffmann [ed.], *Peregrinuslevelek* and Békési et al. [eds.], *Régi és új peregrináció*); and the *Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása a kora újkorban* series, all in Hungarian. The most important studies and bibliographies for foreign scholars are: Fata & Kurucz & Schindling (eds.), *Peregrinatio Hungarica*; Bracewell & Drace-Francis (eds.), *East Looks West*, vol. 1-3; Murdock, ‘They are laughing at us?’.
- ⁸ Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*. See also Gudor, *State University Leiden*.
- ⁹ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 15-16, my italics
- ¹⁰ On the career possibilities of a contemporary *domidoctus* and *academicus* pastor, and on the general opinion about them, see, for example: Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 11, 42-46, 325. Cf. Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 213-214; Czibula, ‘Szilágyi András’, 126, 138.
- ¹¹ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 43.
- ¹² István Pántzél also wrote an autobiography. See the critical edition of his manuscript: Fazakas (ed. and introduction), *Pántzél Pál önéletírása és más munkái*, 123-127.
- ¹³ Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken*, 23; Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 21-23.
- ¹⁴ While giving a detailed account of the expenses he also makes two very telling remarks, as if he is actually picking up on details from his own journal: “In order not to bring up all the petty details, let me just mention that [...]” or “Also, there are some other tiny expenses here, like for example [...]”, pages 31, 33-34.
- ¹⁵ Burke, ‘Directions for the History of Travel’, 189. (I am grateful to Gábor Kármán who sent me this article.) Cf. Harbsmeier, ‘Reisebeschreibungen’.
- ¹⁶ On the early modern *ars apodemica* literature see the works of Justin Stagl: ‘Der wohl unterwiesene Passagiert’; idem, ‘Die Apodemik oder Reisekunst’; idem, *A History of*

- Curiosity*. Cf. Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers'; Burke, 'Directions for the History of Travel', 177, 181-183.
- ¹⁷ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 20.
- ¹⁸ Pántzél does not mention his name, but presumably it was György Zay, former student of Kolozsvár college. See Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 280; Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken*, 283-284.
- ¹⁹ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 34.
- ²⁰ On the oral information system of students at Leiden see Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 119-124.; Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 38-39, my italics.
- ²¹ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 32.
- ²² Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 104-107, 129-130.
- ²³ *Ibidem*, 130-134.
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*, 132; Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 38-43.
- ²⁵ See Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 34-40. Cf. Török, *A kolozsvári Ev. Ref. Collegium története*, 3: 290-300; Pokoly, *Az erdélyi református egyház története*, 3: 161-162; Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 35-36, 43; Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 18-24; Klein, *Az állami protestáns egyetem eszméje*; Kulcsár, 'A politikai és társadalmi elit utazásai', 122.
- ²⁶ An application to the professors, curators and to the Main Consistory of the Transylvanian Reformed Church was reported in István Nánási's letters in the last third of the eighteenth century (see Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 24), but Pántzél does not mention it in his autobiography. Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 16, my italics.
- ²⁷ Van de Graaf, 'Az erdélyi theologusok', 264-266; Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 37.
- ²⁸ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 32-33.
- ²⁹ *Ibidem*, 34.
- ³⁰ Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 41. He quotes István Nánási, *Pharus Hungarico-Batava in memoriam triennalis beneficij, quod Leydae in Collegio Theologico Hungaris constitutum est, Musarum Hungaricarum nomine exstructa*. Leiden: Luchtmans, 1778. 51.
- ³¹ Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 136.
- ³² *Ibidem*, 281; Bozzay & Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken*, 284; Szabó & Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok*, 361; Miklós, 'Magyar diákok', 318-319; Antal, 'Az utrechti és leideni', 441; Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 87, 237.
- ³³ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 34.
- ³⁴ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 32-34; Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 21-22.
- ³⁵ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 17.
- ³⁶ Cities on the outward journey mentioned by Pántzél: in Transylvania and Hungary: Kolozsvár; Szilágysomlyó [Șimleu Silvaniei, present-day Romania]; Debrecen; Pest; Buda; Pozsony; in the Holy Roman Empire: Wien; Engelhartzell; Passau; Vilshofen; Regensburg; Nürnberg; Würzburg; Frankfurt; Mainz; Koblenz; Köln; in the Netherlands: Nijmegen; Utrecht; Leiden.
- ³⁷ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 17-19.

- ³⁸ See Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 58-80.
- ³⁹ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 24.
- ⁴⁰ Cities on the return journey, also mentioned by Pántzél: in the Netherlands: Leiden; Amsterdam; Utrecht; Nijmegen; in the Holy Roman Empire: Köln; Mainz; Regensburg; Linz; Wien; in Hungary and Transylvania: Pest; Szolnok; Debrecen; Kolozsvár.
- ⁴¹ Sámuel Erdélyi matriculated with Pántzél in 12 September 1785 and left Leiden in 1786. See Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 281. – Pántzél travelled back to Hungary in the summer of 1785, not in 1786, as Réka Bozzay supposes in her monograph (but she notes it with a question mark): Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 281. – On the medical provision and nursing at the University of Leiden see *Ibidem*, 147-155.
- ⁴² Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 38.
- ⁴³ *Ibidem*, 38-39.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 37.
- ⁴⁵ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 37. The authorities of the University of Leiden allowed students from Central and Eastern Europe not to travel home during vacations, given the long distances involved. Students could stay in the Staten College, and they were also donated money. See Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 140-143. In his autobiography Pántzél also mentioned the donations from the Staten College during vacations: page 31.
- ⁴⁶ Gáldi, ‘A magyar nyelvújítás’, 23. – French language was taught only from 1810 at the Reformed College of Kolozsvár. Török, *A kolozsvári Ev. Ref. Collegium története*, 3: 142.
- ⁴⁷ Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 32, 35-42.
- ⁴⁸ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 29.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 34. On the benefits offered by the University of Leiden see Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 128-163. Cf. Török, ‘Magyar ifjak’, 446-447; *Idem*, *A kolozsvári Ev. Ref.*, 3: 290-291; Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 41, 92; Pápai Páriz Ferenc levele, in Hoffmann (ed.), *Peregrinuslevelek 1711-1750*, 53, etc.
- ⁵⁰ On two important celebrations at the University of Leiden see Pántzél’s autobiography, page 35-36.
- ⁵¹ Bozzay, *Die Peregrination*, 146; cf. *idem*, ‘Leiden, a gondoskodó egyetem’, 989.
- ⁵² Cf. page 35 in Pántzél’s autobiography. Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 32. *my italics*.
- ⁵³ A new system of private lectures by professors for fee was introduced during the eighteenth century at the universities of the Netherlands. Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 93. Cf. Bozzay, *Leiden, a gondoskodó egyetem*, 988-989.
- ⁵⁴ Pántzél, P. *Életemnek rövid Le Irása*, manuscript, 35-36.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 14.
- ⁵⁶ For a list of professors whose lectures Pántzél could attend, see Van de Graaf, *A németalföldi*, 117, 119, 185.
- ⁵⁷ It was not only difficult for a *domidoctus*, but also for a former student of Western universities (*academita*) to obtain a good position in the Reformed church. Cf. Czibula, ‘Szilágyi András’, 130-131.
- ⁵⁸ On this election see Almási, ‘A deézsi ev. ref. egyházmegye’, XV.

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