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## **Admiral De Ruyter in Hungarian memory\***

### **Abstract**

Michiel de Ruyter is a Dutch national hero. He is respected in Hungary as the liberator of the Protestant galley slaves. Since 1895, his name can also be read on the memorial behind the Great Church of Debrecen. De Ruyter has appeared in various forms in Hungarian memory during the centuries: either as a fearless soldier, a faithful Christian or as a symbol of reconciliation. His memory keeps changing but his spirit keeps living on in Hungarian memory.

*Keywords:* Michiel de Ruyter, Reformation, galley slaves, places of memory

### **The monument**

The monument to galley slaves is situated in a little park behind the reformed “Great Church” in the Eastern Hungarian city Debrecen, which was considered a Protestant stronghold in the country. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1895, on a sunny autumn day, hundreds of people gathered in the little park. On that day the meeting of the church district Tiszántúl and also the oath of office of the young vicars took place. 61 young, reformed vicars took their oath of office in the Great Church, in the presence of their families, friends, and local council members. Shortly afterwards, at the ringing of the bells at twelve o’clock noon, the unveiling of the monument in the park started.<sup>1</sup> The people of the oath’s ceremony all went to the park. It had to be impressive, the 61 vicars in their black gowns, the public in black suits,

festive apparel.<sup>2</sup> The Kántus, the choir of the Reformed College, was responsible for the musical part.

After this came the speech of Ferenc Balogh, professor of church history. It was partly thanks to him that the monument was able to be erected.<sup>3</sup> After this the mayor, Imre Simonffy, spoke. With this, the city symbolically took over the monument and Simonffy gave its care into the hands of the Csokonai Society. Thereafter the laying of wreaths followed. First the reformed bishop Áron Kiss laid a wreath before the monument. After this, the wreath of the women's association followed. To top it all off, a wreath of no less than two metres diameter came from the Reformed Girls' School (Református Felsőbb Leányiskola), made from palm branches, flowers and ribbons. 'A masterpiece from the gardeners' as the newspaper wrote.<sup>4</sup> The last one to speak was the bishop, Áron Kiss, and finally everyone sang together. On the square commemoration needle there are writings on each side. This includes the names of the 41 convicted Protestant vicars. At least their family names. There was no space anymore for their first names, according to the Reformed newspaper *Debreczeni Protestáns Lap*.<sup>5</sup>



*Detail of the commemoration needle of the galley slaves in Debrecen.*

The name of the sponsor, a rich widow, who had donated large sums for good causes in Debrecen before,<sup>6</sup> Hegyi Mihályné (née Eufrozina Józsa) can be read on the front of the monument. It does mention her first and last name. On the same side of the commemoration needle, there was a relief of a galley and under that the inscription: ‘Ruyter Adorján hollandi tenger-nagy a szabadító 1676. február 11.’<sup>7</sup> In English: ‘Dutch Admiral Adriaan Ruyter the liberator February 11<sup>th</sup> 1676.’ Was lack of space also the reason here that the name of De Ruyter was deformed and abbreviated?

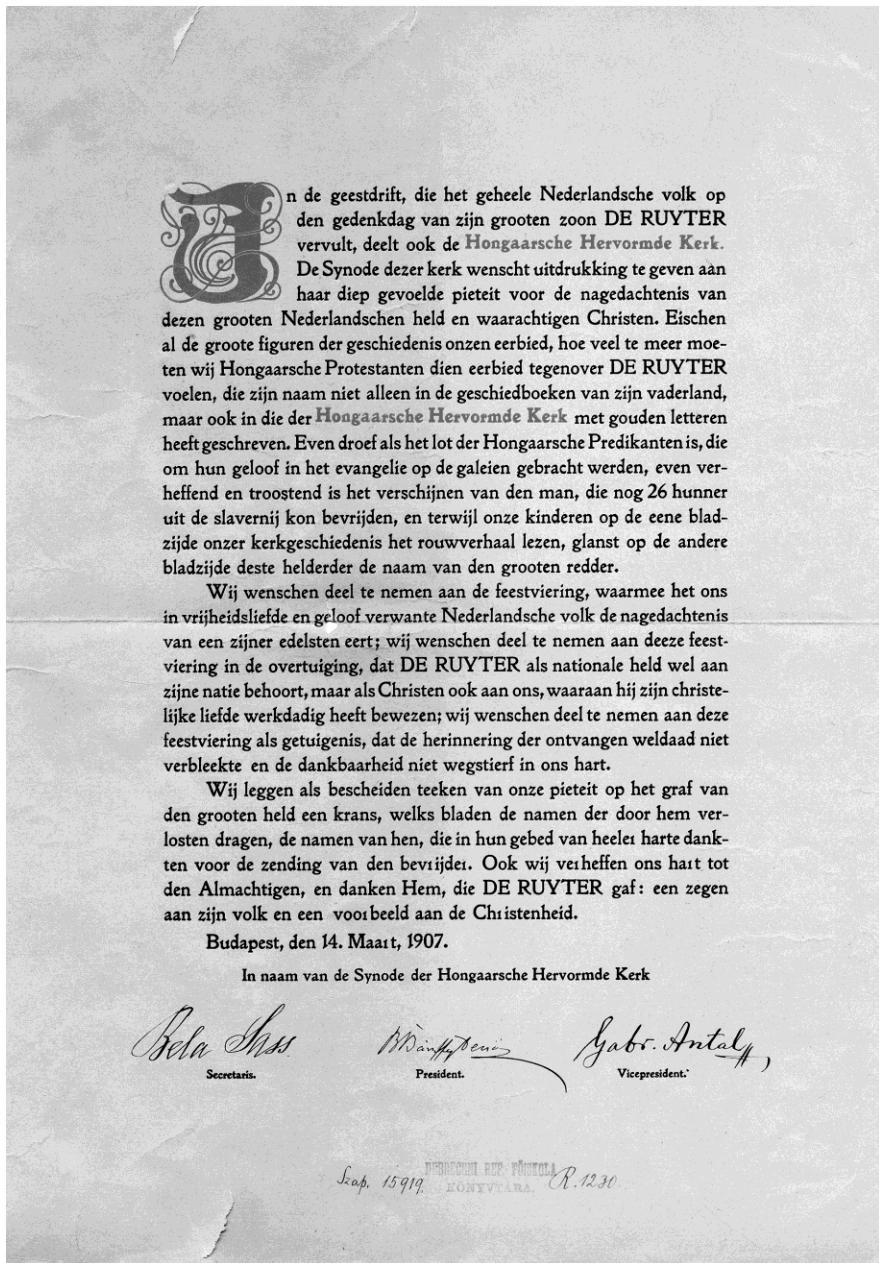
### **The Hungarian De Ruyter**

The question arises of course, as to why the name of De Ruyter was set in stone in this particular form. The fact that De Ruyter gets a central role on the monument, is obvious. Because of his actions the 26 preachers who were still alive, after having been in Naples for 9 months, were liberated and brought onto the Dutch ships. He was honoured as a liberator with this commemoration needle and rightly so. The form of his name on the monument however, does pose a few questions. The name Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (1607–1676) was definitely too long and also too complicated for the Hungarian client. The insert ‘de’ was incomprehensible for Hungarians, so they just left it out. A patronym like Adriaenszoon was unknown in Hungarian, therefore it was believed it concerned a first name. Furthermore it resembled the Hungarian first name Adorján, and Michiel resembled the Hungarian first name Mihály. And so Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter was integrated in Hungary as Ruyter Adorján Mihály. Also in church history the name of the admiral is known as such in the 19<sup>th</sup> but also in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the 26 survivors was vicar Bálint Kocsi Csergő. His book, originally written in Latin, *Narratio brevis*, about the galley slaves, was published in 1866 in Hungarian entitled *Kősziklán épült ház ostroma* [The siege of the house on the rock] (more about this later). Even in this account, the admiral was already named Ruyter Adorján Mihály.<sup>8</sup> In József Farkas’ 1869 book about the Hungarian protestant martyrs *Elbeszélések a magyarországi protestáns egyház hitbajnokainak és vértanúinak* [Stories of the Hungarian Protestant heroes of faith and martyrs], ‘the liberator’ was also called Ruyter Adorján Mihály.<sup>9</sup> So it is clear that long before the erection of the monument, the Dutch admiral was known in Hungary under this name variety.

From press articles we know that the length of the names on the 1895 monument was a problem. The names of the galley slaves were too long and the commemoration needle was not wide enough, so first names were omitted. Because of this omission there was more space, and so everyone's name could be chiselled in stone, at least merely the family name. Yet, how did Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter become Ruyter Adorján on the monument? The Hungarianisation of foreign names was common practice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (and afterwards). A few examples. The French writer Jules Verne, author of numerous adventurous youth and travel books, such as *The Journey to the Moon*, *The Children of Captain Grant* or *Around the World in Eighty Days*, had long been known in Hungary as Verne Gyula. The writer of the native American book *Winnetou*, the German Karl May, became May Károly in Hungary. So in the 19<sup>th</sup> century nobody thought it was strange (at least in Hungary) that Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter became Ruyter Adorján Mihály in Hungarian texts. And because he was known under this name, naturally this name and no other was written on the monument in 1895. At least part of this name. There was not enough room on the monument for long names. And because only the family name was mentioned with the Hungarians, it was thought that part of the name of the Dutch liberator of the preachers could also be omitted. Thus, they omitted Mihály (Michiel), given that they thought on the basis of the Hungarian name variety that this concerns a second first name. This Hungarianised form of De Ruyter's name also remained in use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Hungary, with only small corrections. In 1907, 300 years of De Ruyter was celebrated in the Netherlands and also in Hungary. The reformed bishop Géza Antal<sup>10</sup> (1866–1934), who also studied theology in Utrecht (between 1885 and 1888), wrote in the Hungarian weekly magazine *Vasárnapi Újság*<sup>11</sup> and also in later writings<sup>12</sup> about 'De Ruyter Mihály'. The insert 'de' was put back in the name, the patronym was completely omitted, but the first name Michiel remained in its Hungarianised form Mihály and also the Hungarian order (family name first and then the first name) was kept. The director of the Theological Academy in Sáros-patak János Marton in his texts from 1926 also uses the Hungarian form of the admiral's name: De Ruyter Mihály.<sup>13</sup> In the work of Sándor Payr from 1927 he writes about Ruyter Mihály as well. There is more hidden behind the Hungarianisation of De Ruyter's name than plain nationalism. Hungarian protestants regard De Ruyter as a liberator as 'one of us'. A hero, who in dark times, during the Counter-Reformation, saved the lives of Hungarian protestants. He was and still is the hero of Hungarian protestants.

In 1933 a Dutch delegation arrived in Debrecen and the Dutch visitors of course went and saw the commemoration needle for De Ruyter. It was then brought to attention that the name on the monument is not the exact name of the admiral.<sup>14</sup> Important gentlemen of the city dealt with the matter and came to the conclusion that the name was incorrect indeed. They instructed to remove the misspelled, Hungarianised name of the Dutch hero Ruyter Adorján from the monument and chisel the, at least in their regard, correct name variety De Ruyter Mihály into the stone. And so it reads still to this day. The persistence with which the administrators clung to the Hungarian name variety, reveals the strong connection of Hungarian protestants with De Ruyter. This strong bond is also shown in a letter that was sent in 1907 by the Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church to the Dutch Reformed Church, to coincide with the 300<sup>th</sup> birthday of De Ruyter. In the letter, written in Dutch, it is explained that 'De Ruyter as a national hero belongs to his nation, but as a Christian also to us'.<sup>15</sup> Thus the Dutch admiral, Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter, like this also became a Hungarian hero.

The erection of the monument in 1895 was not only meant for the commemoration of an event, more than 200 years prior. It also had a function that determined the protestant identity. The construction of memory and self-image were determined by 'heroic deeds and heroic suffering'.<sup>16</sup> The persecution, the suffering, the victimhood were all essential components of the protestant identity in Hungary.<sup>17</sup> The Hungarian protestants who constantly regarded themselves as the eternal victim, apparently needed a hero from outside, who, in the absence of an own Hungarian hero, had to save the galley slaves and therefore also the entire reformed church in Hungary from ruin. De Ruyter is mentioned on the commemoration needle as a liberator, but is also referred to in this manner in protestant literature in Hungary since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The De Ruyter-image in Hungary, however, underwent a dynamical change throughout the centuries. Time after time, other aspects were put forward.



Letter from the synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church to the Dutch Reformed Church  
to coincide with the De Ruyter-commemoration in 1907

### **The Christian believer**

The ex-galley slave, Bálint Kocsi Csergő wrote in his 1676 Latin work *Narratio brevis de opressa libertate Ecclesiarum Hungariarum* about the agony of the preachers. The book was translated in Hungarian in 1738 by the theologian, (church) historian and literary scientist Péter Bod (1712–1769).<sup>18</sup> The book was only published in printed form in 1866 with the title *Kősziklán épült ház ostroma* [The siege of the house on the rock]. In the original text of Kocsi Csergő the translator Bod repeatedly added pieces, and left out other parts of the original.<sup>19</sup> One addition of the translator involves a piece of a few sentences at the end of the book. In this part one of the liberated galley slaves, István Harsányi, speaks. He thanks the admiral on behalf of all liberated preachers on board of De Ruyter's *Eendracht* [Unity]. According to this addition De Ruyter would have replied the following: 'Vicar, it is not necessary to thank me. I was merely the instrument of God.'<sup>20</sup> So the admiral is, according to Kocsi Csergő, a humble, pious Christian, who denounces the gratitude of the liberated Hungarians, saying that only God should be praised. This image is amplified by the last paragraph of the book, in which Péter Bod draws a parallel between De Ruyter and the biblical figure Ebed-Melek: 'Ruyter Adorján Mihály shall live on in grateful memory under Hungarians for the liberation of the poor preachers of the galleys, as the Moor Ebed-Melech does for his mercy towards Jeremiah.' According to the Old Testament tale, the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, besieged Jerusalem with the army of the Chaldeans. The prophet Jeremiah was in the city and advised King Zedekiah to surrender to the enemy Nebuchadnezzar. Otherwise the city would be set on fire and destroyed, and King Zedekiah would be handed over to the king of Babylon and be murdered. Jeremiah was subsequently thrown in prison. Jeremiah kept on spreading the word and told the people: 'All who remains in this city, shall either die by the sword, hunger or the plague, yet those who go out to the Chaldeans, shall live and have their souls as a reward and stay alive.'<sup>21</sup> The king's men saw a traitor in Jeremiah, who undermined the battle moral of the soldiers and caused panic among the population. According to them the prophet had to be silenced as quickly as possible, preferably by execution. Otherwise everyone would go on the run and the defenders of the city would stand no chance against the enemy.

Subsequently, Jeremiah was thrown in a cistern in the prison court, where he was abandoned to his fate. He was given nothing to eat, so soon he would starve to death. When the courtier of the king, the Ethiopian Ebed-

Melech, heard this, he went to King Zedekiah and said that Jeremiah would die soon this way and that this couldn't have been the king's intention. The king's response to this was to order to get Jeremiah out of the pit. Ebed-Melech went to the prison with three men and pulled Jeremiah out of the pit, thereby saving the life of the prophet. The city, however, was besieged by the Chaldeans, there was no food left, the enemy breached the wall and invaded the city. Ebed-Melech feared for his life, but Jeremiah told him that he would be spared: 'you shall not fall by the sword, but your life shall be your spoil, because you trusted Me.'<sup>22</sup> So Péter Bod compares the Hungarian preachers to the prophet Jeremiah and De Ruyter to Ebed-Melech, the instrument of God that saved the life of the prophet and shall be rewarded for this.

Also another survivor of the galley slaves, Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris (1648–1718) saw De Ruyter as a biblical figure. By him he was compared to Moses, as he liberated the Hungarian preachers just as Moses had led the Jews out of Egypt.<sup>23</sup>

Only three years after the publication of the memoires of Kocsi Csergő in Hungarian, in 1869, József Farkas' book rolled of the presses. The title was the aforementioned *Elbeszélések a magyarországi protestáns egyház hitbajnokainak és vértanúnak* [Stories of Hungarian Protestant heroes of faith and martyrs].<sup>24</sup> Farkas describes the admiral in the following way:

Ruyter Adorján Mihály, Dutch admiral, was the man, who at the request of God the Creator, liberated the martyrs of this terrible imprisonment. Ruyter was a determined, loyal, brave and devout man. He was famous as the saviour of the country but for us he was the honest and obedient servant of the Lord and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, because he liberated the servants of God, for which we will be grateful to him forever and always.<sup>25</sup>

So we see the same image with Farkas as we do with Bod and Otrokócsi: De Ruyter is the instrument of God at the liberation, a loyal, deeply devout, pious Christian.

Géza Antal amplified this image of the pious Christian in his article from 1907, which he wrote to coincide with the celebration of the 300<sup>th</sup> birthday of the admiral. Antal emphasised that the naval hero also after his most important military successes 'turned with his pious, grateful soul to his Creator and with genuine puritan belief he thanked God for the victory [...].'<sup>26</sup> Also in later texts of Antal we can find this image of De Ruyter:

The harmonious unity of the Christian virtues legitimately demands respect all over the world of evangelical Christians. And even if De Ruyter would have had nothing to do with our church, still we would have rightly celebrated him and would have taken him as a shining example.<sup>27</sup>

Around the festive activities of De Ruyter's 300<sup>th</sup> birthday in Hungary, not only articles appeared and speeches were held, but also the synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church in 1907 sent a silver wreath with an accompanying letter to the Netherlands. In the letter, the admiral was referred to as 'an example for Christianity.'

Sándor Payr also emphasises in his 1927 booklet that the admiral was mainly a pious Christian. Payr quotes the reply of the admiral to the words of gratitude of István Harsányi: 'We were merely instruments of God, it is him whom you have thank for.'<sup>28</sup> In 1926 the director of the Reformed College in Sárospatak, János Marton, stressed in his speech about the liberation of the galley slaves the 'impressive profound faith' of De Ruyter.<sup>29</sup>

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly military virtues were added to the Christian pious character traits of the admiral. In fact, slowly these became much more important.

### **The brave naval hero**

The abovementioned writers admittedly mention the military qualities of De Ruyter, yet he is much more important to them as a Christian. The first representation in which the military and Christian traits are put forth side by side, is in the painting of Miklós Tamássy (1881–1933). The title of the painting is *Ruyter Mihály admirális az "Eendracht" hajón fogadja a Nápolyban kiszabadított magyar prédikátorokat* [Admiral De Ruyter receives the liberated Hungarian preachers in Naples on board of the 'Eendracht (Unity)']. The canvas hangs in the small council chamber of the Reformed College in Debrecen. When the painting was created exactly is not known.

Presumably it was made at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps precisely on the 300<sup>th</sup> birthday of the admiral, in 1907. In the centre it pictures the admiral himself, in shining armour and with a sabre attached to his belt. This emphasises his military performance and heroism. In front of De Ruyter the broken figures of the liberated preachers drag themselves along. Dressed in rags, dirty, still in chains with arched backs. They move past the admiral, who amicably places his right hand on the back of one of the preachers, under his left arm he holds his helmet.



*Portrait of Michiel de Ruyter (Amsterdam, K. Dujardin, 1669)*

The broken posture of the preachers, their gestures of gratitude, make the situation between liberator and liberated clear. Their agony and gratitude is united in their arched posture. Around De Ruyter there are well-fed officers in colourful, expensive clothing. The contrast between the skinny figures, chained and dressed in rags, and the Dutchmen is enormous. It is clear that

the painting ended up on the walls of the college because of the theme, and not because of the artist's qualities. The spectator notices some odd details on the canvas. Historical gaffes, such as the chains of the galley slaves (which they certainly wouldn't have worn anymore in front of De Ruyter), the age of the admiral (who was by then in his 70<sup>th</sup> year already, but in the painting looks a lot younger). In the background you can see a 19<sup>th</sup> century frigate, (which didn't exist in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Also striking is the fact that the picture deviates completely from the title of the painting. (De Ruyter is not standing aboard his ship, but actually on the stone dock, which is historically inaccurate). What the painting does clarify, however, is De Ruyter's role as a soldier and naval hero.

This military role was stressed in texts from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Maybe the most famous text from this age about the galley slaves is the historical novel *Negyven prédikátor* [Forty preachers] of the Hungarian writer György Moldova from 1973. Moldova took the memoirs of Bálint Kocsi Csergő as the basis of his writing. He references this at the beginning of his book, so the reader expects a historically correct story, and rightly so. Nevertheless, there are a few parts in the text where the writer dealt very loosely with historical facts.<sup>30</sup> The liberation of the galley slaves he extended with a scene that originated exclusively from his imagination. Moldova puts the following words in Kocsi Csergő's mouth:

We had given up all hope, when on February 10<sup>th</sup> the Dutch fleet yet still returned to the bay. The ships anchored in front of the city, aimed their canons at the castle and the palace, ready to fire. De Ruyter himself did not go ashore, he merely sent his preachers Theodorus Vesthovius and Aegidius Vireth. In his letter he called the Spanish viceroy and the whole of Naples liars, and assured them never again to listen to their promises. He demanded that the preachers be on his ship before midnight, if not he would raze the whole city to the ground.<sup>31</sup>

Hence in Moldova's novel De Ruyter is the brave naval hero, whom with power and show of force pressures the city because he believes he was deceived. In the novel the admiral threatens the Spanish viceroy and the whole city and it seems like he wants to enforce the release with his fleet's canons.

A similar decisive performance is attributed to De Ruyter in the book of János Bottyán, entitled *Hitink hősei* [The heroes of our faith]: The Spanish in Naples tried to slow down the release of the preachers. Eventually the decision fell after the 'pious and forceful' letter of De Ruyter. What that

piousness was exactly I don't know, but the forcefulness was explained to me by a Swiss in the following way. The admiral has ordered his cannoneers to aim at the towers of the city and to continue this shooting exercise as long as the Spanish only want to consider the release of the prisoners.<sup>32</sup>

Here, De Ruyter is the action hero, the brave soldier who forces the Spanish to their knees by shooting the city and thus achieving the release of the Hungarian preachers. Fortunately, Bottyán does add to this, that in reality this was not the actual course of events, because the Spanish were the allies of the Dutch.

Despite this addition of Bottyán, this depiction of De Ruyter is astounding, knowing all the facts. It is known that such threats from De Ruyter's side did not take place at all. The Dutch fleet, indeed, came as a Spanish ally to Naples to join forces and sail against their common enemy, namely the French, who were stationed at Sicily. In reality De Ruyter did not threaten the viceroy or city with opening fire on the latter. The admiral was able to succeed thanks to his diplomatic skills and by long negotiations.<sup>33</sup>

### **The symbol of peace**

Besides the image of a pious Christian and a brave naval hero, De Ruyter also became the symbol of peace in 1991. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1991 pope John Paul II visited Debrecen. At this occasion he placed a wreath at the monument of the galley slaves.<sup>34</sup> The pope said: 'I know the sad story of the preachers who were condemned and had to work as galley slaves. Their memory is kept alive by this municipality. There are many tragic events such as this one.'<sup>35</sup> This gesture of the pope was more than just an act of gallantry. The head of the catholic church made clear that he was ready for reconciliation. It was an important step in resolving tensions between Catholics and Protestants. This gesture carried the wish to bring both churches one step closer together. In this we saw the symbolism of respect and remorse. Within this context, we can regard De Ruyter not only as a liberator and the preachers not only as the oppressed and liberated, but also as the symbols of reconciliation and peace.

The admiral thus gained another role. He has become a symbol of peace. I somehow guess that he would have been especially pleased with this last role.

## Notes

\* This article is a version of the earlier published article: Puszta, ‘De drie gezichten van De Ruyter.’

<sup>1</sup> Baráth, *Hegymegi Kiss Áron Tiszántúl millennium kori püspöke*, 122.

<sup>2</sup> Csiky, ‘Közéletünk’, 475–478.

<sup>3</sup> Fazakas, ‘A gályarabok emlékezete és a református egyháztörténet-írás a 19. század második felében’, 179–193.

<sup>4</sup> Csiky, ‘Közéletünk’, 475. Probably this wreath can be seen in front of the monument in Payr’s work, *A magyar protestáns gályarabok* op pagina 46. Payr, *A magyar protestáns gályarabok*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Csiky, ‘Közéletünk’, 478.

<sup>6</sup> According to István Gazdag, Hegyi Mihályné spent 60,400 crowns in Debrecen for a good cause in the form of a fund. Whilst this was an undoubtedly large sum in those days, the rich widow Hegyi Mihályné did not belong to the most royal of donors. At the turn of the century from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup>, there were nine funds in Debrecen, each one of them having a lot more capital than the widow’s donation. All of these funds had more than 100,000 crowns, yet there was also one fund which had 800,000 crowns. Cf.: Gazdag, ‘Debreceni alapítványok az első világháború előtt’, 77–83.

<sup>7</sup> NN, ‘Egy új emlékoszlop Debreczenben’, 782. zie verder: Csiky, *Közéletünk*, 477.

<sup>8</sup> Kocsi Csergő, *Kősziklárna épült ház ostroma*, 79.

<sup>9</sup> Farkas, *Elbeszélések a magyarországi protestáns egyház hitbajnokainak és vértanúinak*, 106.

<sup>10</sup> About Antal cf.: Réthelyi, “Légy reménységgel: Nézz Hollandiára. / Nézz királyné-jára! Nem vagy többé árva.” 125–128.

<sup>11</sup> Antal, ‘De Ruyter emlékünnepe Hollandiában’, 289–290.

<sup>12</sup> Antal, *A gályarabszabadító De Ruyter Mihály*; Antal, *De Ruyter Mihály emlékezete*.

<sup>13</sup> Marton, ‘Gályarabok emlékünnepéni’, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Bitskey, ‘De Ruyter admirális és a magyar irodalom’, 216.

<sup>15</sup> Letter of the Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church to the Dutch Reformed Church, March 14<sup>th</sup> 1907.

<sup>16</sup> Fazakas, ‘A gályarabok emlékezete és a református egyháztörténet-írás a 19. század második felében’, 193.

<sup>17</sup> The victimhood can also be identified by the fact that the commemorations of the Reformed Church and the Reformed College on the day of the Reformation (October 31<sup>st</sup>) already for more than a hundred years are held at the monument of the galley slaves and not, for example, at the reliefs of the reformers Calvin and Zwingli, which are just a few metres away from the entrance to the school.

<sup>18</sup> About Bod cf.: Oláh, ‘Bod Péter: A lexikoníró lelkész’, 171–174.

<sup>19</sup> Bretz, ‘Bod Péter fordítása Kocsi Csergő Bálint Narratio Breviséből’, 343.

<sup>20</sup> Kocsi Csergő, *Kősziklárna épült ház ostroma*, 79.

<sup>21</sup> Jeremia 38:2.

<sup>22</sup> Jeremia 39:18.

<sup>23</sup> Bujtás, ‘A gályarabságra ítélt prédikátorok Hollandia-képe’, 72.

<sup>24</sup> Farkas, *Elbeszélések a magyarországi protestáns egyház hitbajnokainak és vértanúinak*.

<sup>25</sup> Farkas, *Elbeszélések a magyarországi protestáns egyház hitbajnokainak és vértanúinak*. 108.

<sup>26</sup> Antal, ‘De Ruyter emlékünnepeley Hollandiában’, 289–290.

<sup>27</sup> ‘A keresztyéni erényeknek eme harmonikus egysége méltán kelti fel az evangéliumi keresztyének csodálatát széles e világban mindenütt, s ha De Ruyter hazánkkal és egyháznak közelebbi viszonyban nem állott volna is, akkor is méltán szentelhetnénk neki emlékünnepet és méltán állíthatnók egyéniséget követendő példányképül.’ Antal, *A gályarabszabadító De Ruyter Mihály*, 14.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Mi itt csak Istennek voltunk eszközei, Istennek adjatok hálát.’ Payr, *A magyar protestáns gályarabok*, 42.

<sup>29</sup> Marton, ‘Gályarabok emlékünnepéni’, 5.

<sup>30</sup> Bitskey, ‘De Ruyter admirális és a magyar irodalom’, 218.

<sup>31</sup> Moldova, *Negyven prédikátor*, 220–221.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Mert a nápolyiak halogatni próbálták a szabadítást s csak Ruyter “kegyes és hathatós” levelére döntötték véglegesen. Hogy a kegyesség mi volt, nem tudom. De a ‘hathatosat’ egy svájci úgy magyarázta, hogy megcéloztatta a nápolyi tornyokat pontosan lövő tüzéreivel, mondván: A tüzérek minden díjat gyakorlatozni fognak, amíg a foglyok kiadatásán a spanyolok csak gondolkoznak.’ Bottyán, *Hitünk hősei*, 130.

<sup>33</sup> Brandt, *Het leven van Michiel de Ruyter*, 214–217.; Prud’homme, *Rechterhand van Nederland*, 313–314.; Kikkert, *Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter*, 104.

<sup>34</sup> Győri, ‘Egész Magyarországnak és Erdélyésgének ... világító lámpása’, 30.; Csorba, ‘Aspecten van de receptie van Michiel de Ruyter in Hongarije.’, 207.

<sup>35</sup> Mihalik, ‘A protestáns gályarab prédikátorok.’, 59.

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