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# THE ACADEMY OF VRIESLANDT AND TRANSYLVANIAN THEOLOGIAN – THE CASES OF ISTVÁN SZATHMÁRI PAKSI AND PÁL SZILÁGYI

*There were close ties between Hungarian Protestants and the universities in the Republic of the Seven United Provinces (now the Netherlands), particularly with the Academie van Vrieslandt in the Frisian town of Franeker. By chance, a shipment of books intercepted by customs in Olomouc has been preserved, which sheds more light on the theological ideas and contacts of István Szathmári Paksi (1719–1791), who studied in Franeker in 1743 and was bishop of the church in Debrecen from 1785 to 1790.*

**Keywords:** Books, István Szathmári Paksi, Ernst Higt, Pál Szilágyi, Daniel Tiboel, Franeker, Debrecen

*A VRIESLANDT AKADÉMIA MINT ERDÉLYI TEOLÓGUSOK FORRÁSA – SZATHMÁRI PAKSI ISTVÁN ÉS SZILÁGYI PÁL ESETE*

*Szoros kapcsolatok voltak a magyar protestánsok és a Hét Egyesült Tartományok Köztársaságában (a mai Hollandia) működő egyetemek között, különösen a frísi városban, Franekerben található Academie van Vrieslandt-tal. Véletlenül megmaradt egy Olomouchban a vámhatóság által lefoglalt küldemény, amely több fényt derít István Szathmári Paksi (1719–1791) teológiai eszméire és kapcsolatairól, aki 1743-ban Franekerben tanult, majd 1785–1790 között a debreceni egyház püspöke volt.*

**Kulcsszavak:** Könyvek, Szathmári Paksi István, Higt Ernst, Szilágyi Pál, Tiboel Daniel, Franeker, Debrecen

### Introduction

When discussing old universities in the Netherlands, most people think of the University of Leiden, which was founded in 1575 by William ‘the Silent’ of Orange, the founding father of the Dutch Republic, as a token of gratitude for the city’s tenacious resistance against its Spanish rulers, during which the city withstood siege and starvation for almost a year (30 October 1573–3 October 1574). The university’s motto, “Libertatis Praesidium”, Bulwark of Freedom, still commemorates this today.

Much less well known is that the second oldest university in the Netherlands was the *Academia van Vrieslandt* or *Academia Franekerensis*. It was founded almost exactly ten years later, in 1585, by William’s cousin, William Louis Count of Nassau-Dillenburg (1560–1620), Stadtholder of Friesland, and the States of Friesland. Friesland had only just joined the Union of Utrecht in 1579, after which the States of Friesland seized power in 1581. In order to prevent the young Stadtholder, who had been appointed in 1584, from being influenced by the Court of Friesland, which had held administrative power over Friesland until 1581 and many of whose councillors were still loyal to the king, the States moved to the city of Franeker, which had already joined the Uprising in 1572. For this reason, it was there that the Academy was founded (picture 1).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Under the rule of Charles V, there had already been vague plans to establish a university in Franeker (Jacob van SLUIS, “Franeker University, a Short History”, in: *ibidem*, *The Library of Franeker University in Context, 1585–1843* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 3–29, here 9–10). As Van Sluis remarks, 16<sup>th</sup>-century universities were usually founded in a second-ranked city that was *not* the capital. He believes that such cities were considered more suitable for students so



Picture 1. The Frisian Academy at Franeker c. 1735. Drawing by Andries Schoemaker (Tresoar, Leeuwarden)

Although the States moved back to the Frisian capital Leeuwarden in 1586, the Academy remained in Franeker until its closure in 1811. The Academy was foremost a Calvinist theological institution, and this was explicitly stated when the Academy was founded on 15 July 1585:<sup>2</sup>

“[...] & studia utrorumque, caeptaue nostra, quae uno Academiae complectimur nomine, cum solemnibus nominis Divini invocationibus, piaque Ceremonia, non *Palladi* aut *Musis*, sed *CHRISTO & Ecclesiae* publice dedicabimus.”

[and we will publicly dedicate the studies of both, and our undertakings, which we embrace under the one name of the Academy, with the solemn invocation of the Divine name, and pious ceremony, not to *Pallas* or the *Muses*, but to *CHRIST and the Church*.]

To a certain extent, the young Frisian university was thus explicitly distancing itself from its older sister in Leiden, which had incorporated Pallas Athena into its great seal. The theological faculty was certainly not the only faculty in Franeker, but whereas Leiden emphasised humanistic education and law, the Frisian university focused on theology from the outset.

Another remarkable phenomenon of the university in Franeker was the strong support for Hungarian Calvinist students, particularly those from Transylvania. They are represented in the

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that they would not be distracted and, conversely, would not cause any nuisance in the capital itself (*ibidem*, p. 11–12).

<sup>2</sup> By the decree of William Louis of Nassau-Dillenburg in his capacity as Stadtholder of Friesland, quoted in Pierius WINSEMIUS, *Chronique ofte Historische Geschiedenisse van Vrieslant* (Franeker: Ian Lamrinc, 1622): fol. 759–761 (citaat op fol. 761).

*Album studiosorum* by a good 1,200 students, or 25% of the approximately 4,700 registered foreign students.<sup>3</sup> The Frisian orders provided financial support, free food and tuition-free education for theology students from Hungary and Transylvania.<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, we will look at one special Transylvanian student, István Szathmári Paksi (1719–1791), and at a couple of books sent by his friend Ernst Willem Higt (1723–1762) that, by chance, were confiscated by the custom officer Joseph du Brueil (c1710–1770) in Olomouc. This group of 38 book titles in 46 volumes sheds interesting light on the contacts between theologians in Debrecen and the academic milieu in Franeker. Let us first take a look at why the books were confiscated and then at the group itself.

### *Censorship in Moravia and the Societas*

From the founding of the University of Olomouc in 1573, as a strictly counter-reformatory institution, until 1746, censorship in the northern part of Moravia was in the hands of the University. The University was established with the aim of re-Catholicising Moravia, something which the Jesuits, in collaboration with other orders, succeeded in doing during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Suspicious books were classified into four groups in accordance with the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, drawn up by the Council of Trent and regularly updated. According to the bilingual Latin and Czech index for the Czech lands compiled by the Czech Jesuit Antonín Koniáš (1691–1760), these were as follows:<sup>6</sup> the first group consisted of completely banned heretical authors. The second group consisted of non-religious books that could not be “repaired”. The third consisted of books that were considered mostly harmless but contained several heretical ideas. These books could be “repaired” by making the “harmful” statements invisible. The last group consisted of suspect books that had to be assessed on a case-by-case basis, sometimes taken into custody, and sometimes (after “correction”) returned to the owner.

Books from the first two groups were usually burned in public,<sup>7</sup> although the Jesuits sometimes kept a few of those books and “interned” them in their own library for study purposes, so that they could keep abreast of the ideas of their opponents. This was related to the fact that a special Collegium Nordicum had been opened at the University of Olomouc in 1578 to train missionaries for Protestant areas in Northern Europe.<sup>8</sup>

During a research project conducted between 2008 and 2014 on the presence of old prints from the Low Countries in academic libraries in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, the presence of 3,964 works from the Low Countries<sup>9</sup> was identified in the collection of approximately 65,000

<sup>3</sup> SLUIS, *Franeker University*, 15–16. Sluis mentions a total of 14,935 enrolled students, The approximate 1,200 Hungarians thus made up some 8% of all the students, but were the second largest group of foreign students.

<sup>4</sup> Irén RAB, “Peregrination hungarica: Student Mobility Hungarians at European Universities from the Beginnings until the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.” *Kaleidoscope. Journal of History of Culture, Science and Medicine* 16, no. 10 (2015): 138. She remarks (p. 131) that between 1526 and 1789 some 24,600 Hungarian and Transylvanian students were enrolled abroad. Thus, some 0.5% of them went to Franeker. Cf. as well Ferenc POSTMA, “De Hongaren en het onderwijs aan de Friese universiteit te Franeker,” *Acta Neerlandica* 10 (2015): 33–80.

<sup>5</sup> Miloš KOUŘIL, “Počátky jezuitské akademie”, in *Bohemica Jesuitica 1556–2006* (ed.) Petronilla CEMUS (Praha: Karolinum, 2010), 329.

<sup>6</sup> Antonín KONIÁŠ, *Clavis haeresim claudens et aperiens / Klíč kacířské bludy k rozeznání otviragící* (Hradec Králové: Wáclaw J. Tybely, 1729), A3<sup>v</sup>–A7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> According to the anonymous eulogy of Koniáš at his funeral, he was said to have had more than 30,000 books burned. Cf. Martin SVATOŠ, “Jezuitsé elogium P. Antonína Koniáše. Szersznikűv bio-bibliografický medailon a jeho vliv na misionářův obraz v české literární historii.” *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 125, no. 1–2 (2002): 44.

<sup>8</sup> Jiří FIALA, “Jezuitská akademie a univerzita v Olomouci (1573–1773)”, in *Univerzita v Olomouci (1573–2013)*, eds. Jiří FIALA, Zdeněk KAŠPAR, Leoš MLČÁK, Miloslav POJSL and Pavel URBÁŠEK (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2013), 29.

<sup>9</sup> This distribution of Dutch prints is: Amsterdam 1,737 titles, Antwerp 923 titles, Leiden 488, The Hague 374, Lutyh 170, Brussels 164, Utrecht 153 and Louvain 105 titles. All other cities (including Franeker) are represented by fewer than one hundred prints.

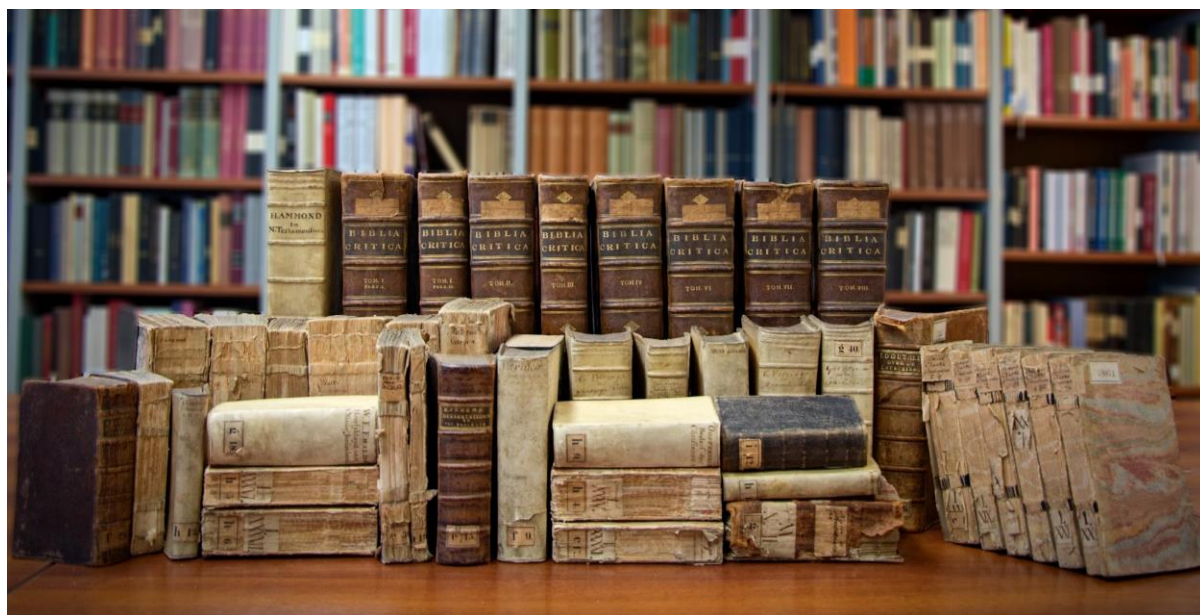


old prints at the Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci [Scientific Library in Olomouc]. Some of these books were displayed in a survey exhibition in 2015.<sup>10</sup> Approximately 60 books from the Netherlands were explicitly noted as having been confiscated as “heretical”. The relatively low number is probably due to the fact that most “arch-heretical” books were burned. Incidentally, there were quite a few heretical books without specific notes in the catalogue of the Jesuit library.

As a result of the emerging enlightenment, and with the support of Gerard van Swieten (1700–1772), the Dutch personal physician of the Empress Maria Theresa and who was also the first director of the Imperial Court Library, the first society of scholars in the Austrian realm, the *Societas eruditorum incognitorum in terris Austriacis* [Society of Unknown Scholars in the Austrian Lands] was established by the Slovenian Freiherr (baron) Joseph von Petrasch (1714–1772) and the Olomouc cathedral canon Franz Georg Count Giannini (1688–1758). The Societas had its seat in the still-existing Palais Petrasch at Upper Square 410/25 in Olomouc, directly opposite the Town Hall.<sup>11</sup> Van Swieten was very interested in a more modern form of censorship that was less focused on hunting down heretics and more on political issues. Immediately after the establishment of the Societas, he transferred Moravian censorship into its hands. However, the Societas ceased to exist fairly quickly in 1751, when its founder, Petrasch, moved to Slovenia. Thus, the Societas did not develop much censorship activity. However, the Societas was also a pioneer for more modern conditions: in 1759, Van Swieten succeeded in pushing through the establishment of a State Censorship Commission for all Austrian lands, subordinate to the Central Censorship Commission in Vienna. This finally ended ecclesiastical control of censorship in the Austrian realm.

#### *A group of confiscated books*

As was mentioned above, there was a group of 38 books that had been confiscated by Joseph du Brueil (picture 2).



Picture 2. Group picture of the confiscated books (Photo: Mgr. Kristýna Bařínová, Ph.D., VKOL Olomouc)

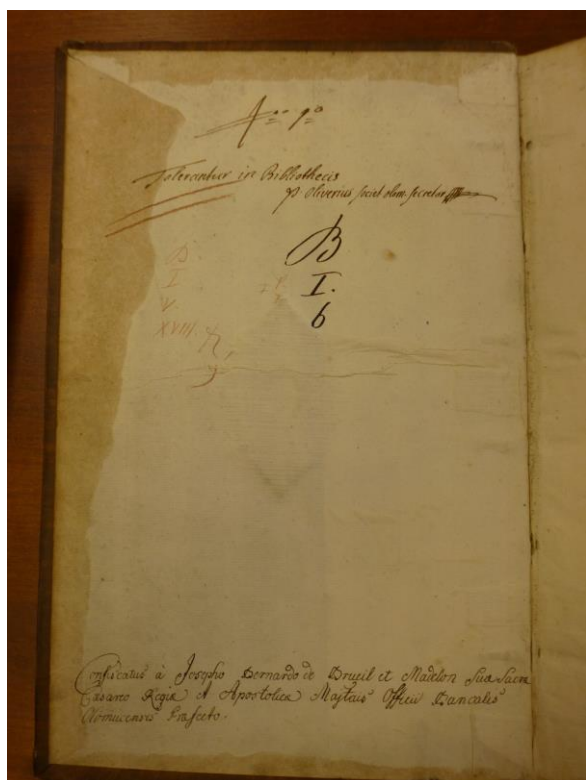
<sup>10</sup> The published catalogue is in *(Barokní knihkupectví světa. Nizozemské tisky 16.–18. století ze sbírek Vědecké knihovny v Olomouci*, eds. Wilken ENGELBRECHT & Gabriela ELBELOVÁ (Olomouc: Muzeum umění / Univerzita Palackého, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> The best study of the Societas is by Sabine Voda ESCHGFÄLLER, *Schlafende Ungeheuer. Die Societas Incognitorum eruditorum in terris austriacis und ihr Gelehrtes Journal Monatliche Auszüge alt, und neuer Gelehrten Sachen* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2020).

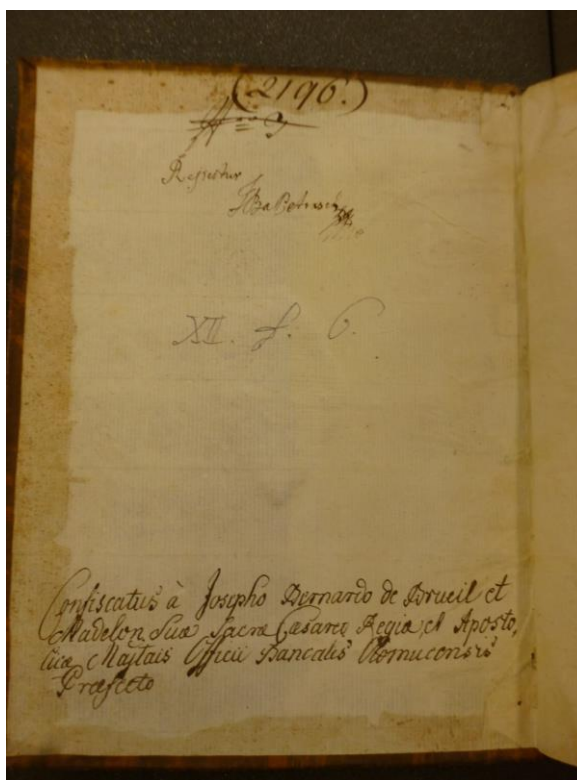
At the time, this man was chief customs officer or, as he proudly signed, the books were: “Confiscatus a Josepho Bernardo de Brueil et Madelon, Suae Sacrae Caesareo Regiae et Apostolicae May[es]tatis officii Bancalis Olomucensis Praefecto” – Confiscated by Joseph Bernard von Brueil and Madelon, Prefect of the Bank Office of His Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Majesty in Olomouc (picture 3).

This *Officium Bancalis* or Bank Office managed all official revenues and paid to the Moravian government interest of approximately five percent per annum on them.<sup>12</sup> Du Brueil had become a citizen of Olomouc in 1741, where his father Franz Bernhard Dubrueil (†1770) had been Imperial tax inspector. Joseph became controller of salt and import taxes in 1743 and had a beautiful house near the southern city gate (now Theresia Gate) at the beginning of the main road to Brno. He was ennobled in 1758 in recognition of his services and became chief official of the Bank Office in 1763.<sup>13</sup>

Based on the annotations in the books, all were censored according to the rules by ‘pater Oliverius’ and ‘J.B. a Petrasch’, the former being Oliverius Legipont (1698–1758), who was in Olomouc in 1747 at the invitation of Petrasch, while also acting as secretary of the Societas. Since the most recent book of the group was printed in 1746<sup>14</sup> and Legipont and Petrasch both left Olomouc in 1751, the shipment must have been confiscated around 1747/8. Du Brueil was already head of the Olomouc customs at that time, but he was not yet ennobled. He only became chief official of the Bank Office more than ten years later. Moreover, why should a custom officer note his name with all his titles in the books?



Picture 3. *Critici sacri* 1 (1698; VKOL 640.188) with the confiscation note by Du Brueil and the censor note by



Picture 4. D'Outrein, *Het gouden kleinoot* (1724; VKOL 3.251) with the confiscation note by Du Brueil and

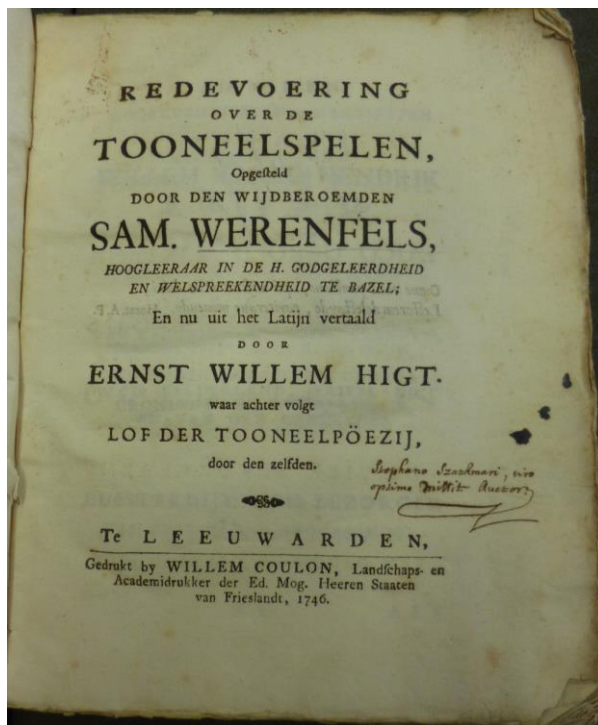
<sup>12</sup> *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* [...] 56, ed. Johann Heinrich ZEDLER (Halle / Leipzig: Zedler, 1748): column 314–324.

<sup>13</sup> Vladimír SPÁČIL, Karel MÜLLER, Zdeněk KAŠPAR and Antonín JAVORA, *Odměna za věrnost a statečnost* (Olomouc: Danal, 1998, not paginated).

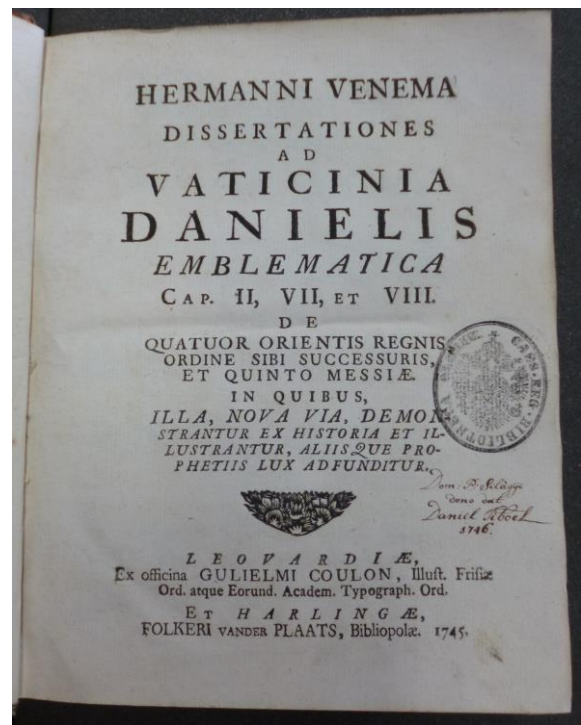
<sup>14</sup> Samuel WERENFELS and Ernst W. HIGT, *Redevoering over de Toneelspelen* (Leeuwarden: Willem Coulon, 1746). Shelfmark VKOL 23.867.

The books have many aspects in common (see Appendix). They are mostly theological works written by typical Coccejian theologians such as Campegius Vitringa Jr. (1693–1723) (7 items), Hermannus Venema (1697–1787) and Mattheus Gargon (1661–1728), both with two. Sixteen of the books, nearly half of them, are written in Dutch, including translations of English works by theologians such as the Puritan Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) and the Cartesian Samuel Clarke (1675–1729).

Only two books have a provenance: the most recent work, the Dutch treatise *Redevoering over de toneelspelen* [Discourse on Dramatic Plays] by the Swiss Calvinist theologian Samuel Werenfels (1657–1740), concerns a Dutch translation of his 1702 *Dissertatio de Logomachiiis* that was printed originally in Amsterdam in 1702. The dedication addressed to Stephanus Szathmari is written by the Dutch translator of the work, Ernst Willem Higt (1723–1763; picture 3). Higt dedicated the translation presumably immediately after its publication in 1746. He must be the same ‘Stephanus Szathmari, Hungarus’ who was enrolled on 12 December 1741 at the Academy of Franeker.<sup>15</sup> The second dedication is written by Daniel Tiboel (1725–1792) and dated 1746, and addressed to a P. Silágijus. The latter can only be the ‘Paullus Szilágyi, Hungarus’, who enrolled on 12 July 1744 at the Academy of Franeker.<sup>16</sup> In the next sections, we will pay more attention to all four of these persons.



Picture 5. Werenfels, *Redevoering over de toneelspelen* (1746; VKOL 23867) with dedication to Szathmári by Higt



Picture 6. Venema. *Dissertationes* (1745; VKOL 1204) with dedication by Tiboel to Szilágyi.

<sup>15</sup> Sybrandus J. FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *Album studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844)*. Naamlijst der studenten (Franeker: 't Wever, 1978): 340, no. 12299.

<sup>16</sup> FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *Album studiosorum*, 343, no. 12406.



*István Szathmári Paksi*

István Szathmári Paksi<sup>17</sup> was born in Marosvásárhely (present Târgu Mureş) in the summer of 1719, the son of the reformed pastor and teacher Mihály Szathmári Paksi (1683–1744)<sup>18</sup> and his wife Judit Ember.<sup>19</sup> After his schooling in his birthplace, he continued in 1734 in Sárospatak where his father, in that year, had become rector of the famous school there. On 9 December 1740, he enrolled at the university of Frankfurt an der Oder.

Following in the footsteps of his father, his elder brother Mihály Szathmári Paksi (1715–1778), several uncles and nephews, István proceeded to Franeker, where he enrolled on 16 December 1741. He lived here together with his fellow countryman István Bányai, who had earlier shared his Franeker home with Szathmári's elder brother Mihály.<sup>20</sup>

On 18 March 1743, Szathmári defended here his theological dissertation on the 13<sup>th</sup> verse of the second chapter of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, “And again, I will put my trust in him. And again, Behold I and the children which God hath given me.”<sup>21</sup> In 1744, he visited the University of Leiden, but in 1745 he was elected pastor in Aszaló. In that year, he married Mária Óvári from Miskolc with whom he had a son, István (1745–1773). He was, however, questioned about some of his theological views, which he defended by referring to Herman Venema.

This Venema had become Professor of Theology in Franeker in 1723, after the death of Campegius Vitringa Jr. whose widow he married. Venema was known as a moderate Coccejianist, his theology characterised as Reformatory Enlightenment.<sup>22</sup> Szathmári wrote, in 1742 and 1745, poems for respondents under Venema and defended his own dissertation under his guidance.<sup>23</sup> His defence seems to have been successful, as Szathmári became a teacher at the Reformed Gymnasium of Debrecen in 1747, first in the Department of History and Classical Languages, and then, from 1760 onwards, in the Department of Theology. In the same year, he was appointed deputy in the Tiszántul church district, becoming in 1764 the first chief clerk. In 1785, he was elected bishop. Due to health problems, Szathmári resigned from teaching on 18 January 1790 and passed away one year later in Debrecen on 2 March 1791.

*Ernst Willem Higt*

Ernst Willem Higt was born in April 1723 in the Frisian town of Dokkum, the son of the silversmith Tjeerd Higt (1690–1761) and his wife Geertruid Kramer (1684–1763).<sup>24</sup> His father was a member of Dokkum City Council for a long time and became burgomaster of Dokkum in

<sup>17</sup> Data according to Jenő ZOVÁNYI, “Szathmári Paksi István”, in *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, (ed.) Jenő Zoványi, (Budapest: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977): 574–575 (3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition).

<sup>18</sup> For Mihály Szathmári Paksi, see ZOVÁNYI, *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, 575–576.

<sup>19</sup> The dates for Judit Ember are not known. She was a daughter of Pál Debreceni Ember (1660–1710). Cf. ZOVÁNYI, *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, 137–138.

<sup>20</sup> Ferenc POSTMA and Réka BOZZAY, “Die Eintragungen aus den Niederlanden (1740–1743) im Stammbuch (*Album Amicorum*) von Stephanus Bányai [F. Bányai István] (1711–1767),” *Sárospataki Füzetek* 13 (2009): 125 with note 27.

<sup>21</sup> Ferenc POSTMA and Jacob van SLUIS, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis. Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheitsdruckwerke der Universität und des Athenäums in Franeker 1585–1843* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1995), 349 (No. 119/1744.1). See also the report in *Maandelykse Uittreksels of Boekzaal der Geleerde Waerelt* 56 (1743): 697–698, where, however, the wrong month is mentioned (May instead of March).

<sup>22</sup> Johannes C. DE BRUÏNE, *Herman Venema: een Nederlands theoloog in de tijd der Verlichting* (Franeker: 't Wever, 1973), 370; Johannes C. DE BRUÏNE, “Venema, Herman,” *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* 3 (Kampen: Kok, 1988), 368–371.

<sup>23</sup> POSTMA and SLUIS, *Auditorium*, 349, no. 119/1744.1.

<sup>24</sup> Data on Higt according to C.W. BRUINVIS, “Higt, Ernst Willem”, in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 1 eds. P.J. BLOK and P.C. MOLHUYSEN (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911): 1114–1115.

1747.<sup>25</sup> Higt enrolled at the Academy of Franeker on 5 September 1741, in the same study year as Szathmári. He was a student of Venema's as well, and soon started to write poems in both Dutch and Latin. He translated several Latin works of friends into Dutch, and the book he dedicated to Szathmári was his first translation.

After finishing his studies in Franeker, Higt enrolled for further studies in Leiden. His heart lay, however, in literature, and thus he specialised in Latin and became, in 1749, Rector of the Latin School in Alkmaar. On 9 November of that year, he married Dorothea (Dieucke) Lemke (1735–1813) in the Frisian town of Exmorra, with whom he had a son, Tjeerd, in 1753. He died in Alkmaar on 22 June 1762.<sup>26</sup> Higt was a supporter of the House of Orange and wrote several poems, including a funeral elegy, in praise of Prince William IV of Orange, the Frisian Stadholder who became, in 1747, hereditary Stadholder of all Dutch provinces. Higt was a close friend of the most important Frisian poet of that period, Jan Simens Althuysen (1715–1763), who studied with him in Franeker. Althuysen even wrote two Frisian elegies on Higt's wedding.<sup>27</sup> Higt wrote a greeting in the *album amicorum* of István Bányai on the same day (19 September 1742) as his Transylvanian friend István Szathmári.<sup>28</sup>

### *Pál Szilágyi*

Not much is known about Pál Szilágyi. He enrolled on 28 February 1730 at the school in Sárospatak and then, on 12 July 1744, at the Academy of Franeker. He must have been in Franeker until 1746. He was certainly a member of the Calvinist Szilágyi family of whom at least nine members studied in Franeker. He is presumably the same Pál Szilágyi who was pastor, first in Hernádnémeti from 1746 until 1748, and then in the village of Mezőkeresztes between 1748 and 1776.<sup>29</sup> He was befriended by István Bányai, who mentions in his letter of 16 February 1747 to the Franeker Professor of Greek, Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715–1785), that Pál Szilágyi had returned from the Franeker Academy to Transylvania and sent him his greetings.<sup>30</sup>

### *Daniel Tiboel*

Daniel Tiboel was baptised in the Reformed Church of Franeker on 18 January 1725, the son of the merchant Jacob Tiboel (1696–1771) and his wife Geertruijdt Pothoff (1696–1772).<sup>31</sup> Jacob was a friend of Symen Althuysen, father of the above-mentioned Frisian poet Jan Simens Althuysen. Tiboel enrolled in the same year as István Szathmári and Ernst Higt, on 12 August 1741, as 'Daniel Tiboel, Franequera Frisius'.<sup>32</sup> Tiboel also wrote a greeting in Bányai's *Album amicorum*.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> At that time, there were always two mayors acting together. The function lasted for one year.

<sup>26</sup> According to the genealogical site *Stambomen*, url <https://sites.google.com/site/geneabiografie/iii-2-beekhuis-ernestina-f/iv-3-beekhuis-henricus/v-6-idzerda-titia-c-h/vi-12-lemke-machteldje/ix-89-lemke-hanso-hendricus>, Dieucke Lemke remarried twice, in 1763 to the widower Michael van Hulshuis (1721–after 1765) and in 1800 to Jacobus Cant (1731–1817). She was able to buy a beautiful house in Franeker in 1773 (<https://historischcentrumfraneke.nl/eigenaars/a708-voorstraat-9-5-3-1773-de/>).

<sup>27</sup> Philippus BREUKER, "De betekenis van de Franeker Academie voor de Friese literatuur", in *De Franeker universiteitsbibliotheek in de zeventiende eeuw. Beleid en belang van een academiebibliotheek*, eds. Jos M.M. HERMANS, Goffe JENSMA, Jacob van SLUIS and Lydia WIERMA, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 163–165.

<sup>28</sup> POSTMA and BOZZAY, *Die Eintragungen*, 129.

<sup>29</sup> János UGRAI, *A Tiszáninenni református egyházkerület lelkészei – A kezdetektől a millenniumig – Adattár* (Sárospatak-Tiszaújváros, 2017): 86, 213. Url <https://patakarchiv.hu/portal/download/a-tiszaninenni-reformatus-egyhazkerulet-lelkeszei-a-kezdetektol-a-millenniumig/> (with thanks to Róbert Oláh, and Réka Bozzay). Both villages are located in the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, some 50 km distance from each other, near to Miskolc.

<sup>30</sup> Ferenc POSTMA and Réka BOZZAY, "Die Briefe von Stephanus Bányai [F. Bányai István] (1711–1767) an Prof. Ludovicus Casparus Valckenaer in Franeker, 1742–1760", *Sárospataki Füzetek* 13, 3 (2009): 152 with note 25.

<sup>31</sup> Biographical data from *Genealogie Voswinkel*, url <https://genealogie.sivworks.nl/Persons/I1340.html>.

<sup>32</sup> FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *Album studiosorum*, 340, no. 12274.

<sup>33</sup> On 1 June 1743. See POSTMA and BOZZAY, *Die Eintragungen*, 131.



He enrolled twice more, on 24 September 1749 and then, already possessing his so-called candidate title in law,<sup>34</sup> on 1 October 1753.<sup>35</sup> One month later, on 20 November 1753, he was registered as a member at the Court of Friesland as Dr. Daniël Tiboel, being then secretary in the town of Workum.<sup>36</sup> He married Rijkje Tichelaar (1733–1798) on 30 December 1764 in Woenseradeel and in 1766 became the official secretary of the City Council of Workum, in which function he stayed until his retirement in 1787. He died in Workum on 20 March 1792, leaving behind his wife and five children.

### *Nadere Reformatie (Further Reformation) and Coccejans*

As we have seen above, the Academy of Franeker was primarily founded as a Calvinist university. The Academy soon became one of the most important centres of the Further Reformation, of theologians who, partly under the influence of the English Puritans, wanted to transform family life and society as a whole into a Reformed society with a pure Christian way of life. They divided Christians into born-again, i.e. people who truly lived as Christians, and the non-born-again, i.e. people who were only outwardly, “with their mouths”, as it were, Christians.

The most important Further Reformers were Guillelmus Amesius, the English Puritan William Ames (1576–1633), Professor in Franeker since 1622, and the Leiden theologian Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666), and, to a certain extent, the Huguenot Pierre Dubosc (1623–1692) can also be counted among this group.<sup>37</sup>

Against them stood the Coccejans. Johannes Coccejus (1603–1669) learned that there is a difference between the forgiveness of sins in the Old Testament and in the New Testament.<sup>38</sup> He was one of the leaders of the so-called covenant theology, seeing the history of mankind in the framework of three overarching theological covenants: those of works, of grace and of redemption. The first covenant was a Covenant of Works made in the Garden of Eden between God and Adam, whereby God subordinated creation to man. After the Fall, this was substituted by the Covenant of Grace, necessitating the coming of Jesus for its fulfilment. The last, the Covenant of Redemption, is the eternal agreement between the three persons of God in which the Father appointed the Son through the Spirit to become incarnate, suffer, and die as a federal head of mankind to atone for their sins. In return, the Father promised to raise Christ from the dead, glorify Him, and give Him a people. The Coccejans placed more emphasis on the interpretation of the Bible and did not consider Sunday observance to be absolute – in their view, it was acceptable to spend Sunday doing enjoyable activities in addition to attending church services.

Most books in the package of 38 works withheld by Olomouc customs were written by Coccejans such as Campegius Vitringa Jr.,<sup>39</sup> Herman Venema and Johannes d’Outrein<sup>40</sup> or by

<sup>34</sup> This was the first academic degree from the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the introduction of the European Ba-Ma system in Dutch higher education in 2002. It is equal to the present bachelor degree.

<sup>35</sup> FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *Album studiosorum*, 351, no. 12684, and 354, no. 12809.

<sup>36</sup> See Oebele VRIES et al., *De Heeren van den Raede. Biografieën en groepsportret van de raadsbereren van het Hof van Friesland, 1499–1811* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 417–418, and M.H.H. Engels, *Advocaten bij het (Provinciaal gerechtshof) Hof van Friesland* (2001). <https://www.mpaginae.nl/Advocaten/advotkst.htm>.

<sup>37</sup> Dubosc was known as one of the best preachers in 17<sup>th</sup>-century France. After the repeal of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he was forced into exile. He went to the Netherlands where he died in Rotterdam. See Friedrich Wilhelm BAUTZ, “Dubosc, Pierre” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 1 (Allders-Faustus) (Hamm: Bautz, 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), 1399–1400; [https://www.bibliauniversalis3.com/textes/l.php?l=GDF\\_PRO&f=047.html](https://www.bibliauniversalis3.com/textes/l.php?l=GDF_PRO&f=047.html) and [https://dvarim.fr/DuBosc/DuBosc\\_portraits.html](https://dvarim.fr/DuBosc/DuBosc_portraits.html).

<sup>38</sup> See Willem J. VAN ASSELT, “Coccejus, Johannes”, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* 4 (Kampen: Kok, 1998), 92–98, for his theologian views especially 94–95.

<sup>39</sup> W.J. FOURNIER, “Vitringa, Campegius”, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* 2 (Kampen: Kok, 1983), 438–440.

<sup>40</sup> R.B. EVENHUIS, “Outrein, Johannes d’”, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* 1 (Kampen: Kok, 1978), 237–239.

theologians who tried to conceal the Coccejans and the Further Reformation, such as Henricus Ravesteyn (1692–1749).<sup>41</sup> A study of the catalogues of the College Library of the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District<sup>42</sup> and of the Great Library of the Sárospatak Reformed College<sup>43</sup> showed that all of the works by the aforementioned Coccejan professors are editions from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly in Latin, German or French. In the Sárospatak library, especially, there are several works in the same editions as had been confiscated by Du Brueil. Moreover, we know that Mihály Szathmári Paksi, István's father, belonged to the Coccejans in Transylvania,<sup>44</sup> as did his father-in-law, Pál Ember. This group also included Márton Szilágyi Tönkö (1642–1700), Professor of Philosophy at the Reformed College in Debrecen, who had studied in Franeker in 1667 and in 1669 at Leiden.<sup>45</sup> Our Pál Szilágyi may have been his relative.

*In conclusion: the package of books and its importance*

The package of books was probably sent by Ernst W. Higt. From the notes mentioned above, we know that three of the people connected to the package – Higt, Szathmári Paksi and Tiboel – had written a greeting in István Bányai's *Album amicorum* in Franeker, while Bányai himself conveyed Pál Szilágyi's greetings in a letter to his former teacher, Professor Valckenaer.<sup>46</sup>

The most curious mystery surrounding the package of mostly Coccejan theological books is why it was confiscated in Olomouc and then apparently kept for a while by customs officer Joseph du Brueil in his private possession. One reason may have been that although the members of the *Societas incognitorum eruditorum* had officially been given control of censorship, they had very little desire to actually censor anything. In the literature on the subject, there has long been doubt as to whether the Societas ever censored anything at all during its short existence.<sup>47</sup>

Around 1750, Hungary had already been united under the Habsburgs for 40 years. The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands had supported Empress Maria Theresa in the War of Austrian Succession (1742–1748). There was therefore no reason to withhold the book package and, according to the rules in force, it should not even have been checked, as the package was destined for Hungary and not for Moravia. Apparently, the gentlemen of the Societas wanted to show that censorship was in good hands with them. Most of the Dutch-language books were checked by Oliver Legipont.<sup>48</sup> He was born in Soiron near Verviers, close to the Dutch–French language border, and had attended school in Verviers. He must have been able to read Dutch, at least. Joseph Baron von Petrasch studied in 1731 in Louvain, travelled around the Low Countries, Great Britain and France, before entering military service in 1733 under Prince

<sup>41</sup> Roelof BISSCHOP, “Ravesteyn, Henricus”, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* 5 (Kampen: Kok, 2001), 419–421.

<sup>42</sup> <https://corvina.monguz.hu/WebPac.drkdb/CorvinaWeb?action=advancedsearchpage>.

<sup>43</sup> <https://sarospatak.opac3.monguz.hu/en/?jsessionid=91A0C67339789762AC53B5C8BCF7BF0A>.

<sup>44</sup> ZOVÁNYI, *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, 575. See as well his entry “Coccejanusok Magyarországon”, *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, 112.

<sup>45</sup> Enrolled 22 March 1667 as ‘Martinus Szilágyi, Hungarus, theol.’, FOCKEMA ANDREAE, *Album studiosorum*, 200, no. 6938. For his ideas, cf. Béla TÓTH, “Szilágyi Tönkö Márton “Philosophia”-ja megjelenésének körülményei”, *Magyar könyvszemle* 93, 4 (1977): 313–324. Réka BOZZAY, “Hongaarse studenten aan de Leidse universiteit in de vroegmoderne tijd”, *Acta Neerlandica* 6 (2008): 85, mentions his Leiden astronomical disputation *De corpore universum spectato* (1669).

<sup>46</sup> Valckenaer was also acting Rector of the Academy when Szilágyi enrolled in 1744. The three others enrolled under Law Professor Dominicus Balck's period as Rector (1684–1750).

<sup>47</sup> See ESCHGÄLLER, *Schlafende Ungeheuer*, 24–28.

<sup>48</sup> For his data, see Apollonia REMACLE, “Legipont, Oliver.” *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1985), 63–64.

Eugene of Savoy, under whose command he fought mainly along the Rhine.<sup>49</sup> Thus, he may have had a passive command of Dutch as well.

Normally, the censors should have handed over books to be rejected either to be destroyed or to be secured in the Jesuit University Library. As the Societas was in charge of censorship instead of the Jesuits, they could not do that. The books that were considered to be no problem should have been returned to the owner, in this case sent to Hungary. In that case, however, it would be clear that the package had been withheld contrary to the rules. This could be the reason that Legipont and Petrasch left all of the books at the customs office of Du Brueil. At a later moment, presumably in 1773, when the University had been secularised, the books must have been handed over by the heirs of Du Brueil to the University Library, which was, furthermore, where books confiscated by the censors ended up. According to the very similar bindings of various books, they were located in the General Priests' Seminary in the former Premonstratensian monastery of Hradisko<sup>50</sup> before ending up in the university library in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The books are additionally a strong witness to the connections between the Coccejans in Franeker and their colleagues in Transylvania. Given the standing of the parents of Ernst Higt and Daniel Tiboel, the shipment also bears witness to the acceptance of the Transylvanian students by Frisian higher society circles. It is unclear why Higt sent such a costly shipment to Debrecen around 1746. However, it could be related to the fact that Szathmári was questioned about his theological beliefs in 1746/7. The books may therefore have been sent to support his defence.

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<sup>49</sup> For his data, see Anton SCHLOSSAR, "Petrasch, Josef Freiherr von", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 25 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1887), 516–517.

<sup>50</sup> Due to the monastery reform of Emperor Joseph II, the monastery was dissolved in 1784 and changed into a Seminary for priesthood education. See Jaroslav POTMEŠIL, *Klášter Hradisko: populární průvodce po současném Hradisku u Olomouce* (Praha: SSR FMO, 1992), 9.



Appendix: The Dutch books confiscated by Du Breuil around 1747/1750.

1. Class ejicitur (rejected)

Author	Title	Place/Year	Censor	Shelf mark VKOL
---	<i>Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi</i>	Amstelodami, 1698	J.B. a Petrasch	III 12
Hiëronymus Simon van Alphen	<i>De CXI. Psalm in Sestien Leer-Redenen ontleed, verklaard en toegepast</i>	Utrecht, 1735	p. Oliverius	38.482
Samuel Clarke	<i>Predicatie over verscheidenen stoffen. Eerste deel.</i>	Harlingen, 1735	p. Oliverius	38.871
Peter Dubosc	<i>Leer-redenen over verscheiden texten der Heilige Schrift</i>	Leiden, 1745	p. Oliverius	39.042
Wilh. Ernst Ewald	<i>De heerlykheid van het nieuw Jerusalem</i>	Amsterdam, 1739	p. Oliverius	38.676
Jacob Foster	<i>Zestien Predikaatsien over zeer gewichtige stoffen</i>	Harlingen, 1737	p. Oliverius	38.195
Mattheus Gargon	<i>De eenige troost of Heidelbergsche Katechismus</i>	Leiden, 1710	J.B. a Petrasch	3.354
Mattheus Gargon	<i>De gekruiste en verbeerlykte Christus</i>	Leiden, 1719	p. Oliverius	38.040
Thomas Gataker	<i>Opera Gatakeri ofte alle de theologische Werke</i>	Amsterdam, 1659	J.B. a Petrasch	3.287
Jacobus Nyloë	<i>VI. predikaatsien gedaan over verscheidene texten der Heilige Schrift</i>	Leeuwarden, 1716	p. Oliverius	38.653
J.F. Ostervald	<i>Verhandeling over de Oorsprongen van het bederf dat tegenwoordig onder de Christenen heerscht</i>	Amsterdam, 1722	p. Oliverius	29.165
J. Ostervald	<i>Twaalf Predikaatsien over verscheide texten</i>	Amsterdam, 1723	J.B. a Petrasch	378.194
Johannes d'Outrein	<i>Het gouden kleinoot van de Leere der Waarheit</i>	Amsterdam, 1724	J.B. a Petrasch	3.251
Johannes d'Outrein	<i>Vervolg van de Stemme Gods Roepende Nederland tot Boete en Bekeering</i>	Amsterdam, 1713	p. Oliverius	29.772
Josua Placaëus	<i>Operum tomus secundus</i>	Franequæ, 1703	p. Oliverius	4.490
Henricus Ravesteyn	<i>De heerlykheden van de Stad Gods</i>	Zwolle, 1725	p. Oliverius	38.431
Salomon van Til	<i>Methodus concionandi</i>	Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717	p. Oliverius	38.340
Hermannus Venema	<i>Dissertationum sacrarum libri tres</i>	Harlingae, 1731	J.B. a Petrasch	1.142
Hermannus Venema	<i>Dissertatio octava ad Vaticinia Danielis</i>	Leovardiae / Harlingae, 1745	p. Oliverius	1.204
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	<i>Dissertationes sacrae</i>	Franequæ, 1731	p. Oliverius	1.196
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	<i>Campegi Vitringae Filii Opuscula</i>	Leovardiae, 1735	p. Oliverius	10.968
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	<i>Anakrisis Apocalypsios Joannis Apostoli</i>	Franequæ, 1705	p. Oliverius	1.199
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	<i>Animadversiones ad methodum homiliarum ecclesiasticarum rite instruendarum</i>	Franequæ, 1721	p. Oliverius	10.969
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	<i>Typus theologiae practicae</i>	Harlingae, 1741	---	37.324
Samuel Werenfels	<i>Predikaatsien over gewigte waarheden van den godsdienst</i>	Amsterdam, 1735	p. Oliverius	38.196

2. Class Toleratur in bibliothecis (tolerated in the libraries)

Author	Title	Place/Year	Censor	Shelf mark VKOL
---	Critici sacri: sive Annotata doctissi-	Amstelaedami, 1698	p. Oliverius,	640.188

	morum virorum in Vetus ac Novum Testamentum		societ. olom. secretar. (Bd. 1)	(7 Bände)
Fridericus Spanhemius	Introductio ad chronologiam et historiam sacram ac praecipue christianam	Amstelaedami, 1694	Joseph baron Petrasch	649.096
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	De synagoga vetere Libri tres	Franequerae, 1696	p. Oliverius	1.198

### 3. Confiscated without being rejected

Author	Title	Place/Year	Censor	Shelf mark VKOL
Hermannus Boerhaave	Aphorismi de cognoscendis et curandis morbis	Lugduni Batavorum, 1737	p. Oliverius	16.775
Johannes d'Outrein	De Stemme Gods Roepende Nederlands volk tot boete en bekeeringe	Amsterdam, 1713	p. Oliverius	38.964
Campegius Vitringa Jr.	Doctrina christianae religionis	Franequerae, 1714	---	3.428
Samuel Werenfels & Ernst Willem Higt	Redevoering over de Toneelspelen	Leeuwarden, 1746	p. Oliverius	23.867

### 4. Class Adprobantur (permitted)

Author	Title	Place/Year	Censor	Shelf mark VKOL
Marcus Tullus Cicero	<i>Epistolarum Libri XVI ad familiares</i>	Amstelaedami, 1729	p. Oliverius	28.679

## Pictures

1. The Frisan Academy at Franeker c. 1735. Drawing by Andries Schoemaker in his *Korte beschrijving van de steden, dorpen, gebuigten en heeren-huizen der heerlijkheid Vriesland*. Vol. 3. Location: Tresoar, Leeuwarden, Atlas Schoemaker, signatuur 998 Hs, plank 1.14.2.
2. Group picture of the confiscated books by Mgr. Kristýna Bařinová, Ph.D., for the Special Collections section of VKOL in Olomouc.
3. *Critici sacri*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1698; shelf mark VKOL 640.188) with the confiscation note by Du Brueil and the censor note by Pater Oliverius (Photo: Wilken Engelbrecht).
4. Johannes d'Outrein, *Het gouden kleinoot van de Leere der Waarheit* (Amsterdam, 1724; VKOL 3.251) with the confiscation note by Du Brueil and censor note by Baron von Petrasch (Photo: Wilken Engelbrecht).
5. Samuel Werenfels, *Redevoering over de toneelspelen* (Leeuwarden, 1746; VKOL 23867) with dedication to István Szathmári by Ernst Higt (Photo: Wilken Engelbrecht).
6. Herman Venema. *Dissertationes octava ad Vaticinia Danielis* (Leeuwarden / Harlingen, 1745; VKOL 1204) with dedication by Daniel Tiboel for Pál Szilagyí (Photo: Wilken Engelbrecht).