***Tribute to Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716): Sources, Genres, and Scribal Habits of Early Modern Prison Literature***

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ABSTRACTS

**Papers delievered in English:**

**Tom Freeman:** *Networks of resistance: Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer and the organisation of prison writing in the reign of Mary I*

My paper is focusing on two circles or networks surrounding the Marian martyrs Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer. The individual members of these networks circulated the martyrs writings, copied them, smuggled them in and out of prison and also acted as liaisons between the martyrs and conventicles outside the prison.

**Herman Selderhuis:** A theology of comfort: prisonliterature in early modern calvinism​.

The paper deals with the question how the calvinistic concepts of predestination and providence function in the context of imprisonment and persecution, also in comparison to similar early modern catholic and lutheran literature.

**Vera Baronin von der Osten-Sacken:** *Exiles of Christ - confessional migration and the new idea of martyrdom in post-Interim Lutheranism*

During the second half of the 16th century Lutheranism experienced expulsion and exile also within the Holy Roman Empire though considerably different from Jewish or Calvinist experiences of exile. In Lutheranism mainly the theologically educated elite was concerned: professors, parsons, deacons or school assistants. More often than transconfessional clashes with Catholic or Calvinist authorities conflicts with Lutheran authorities escalated severely thus resulting in the dismissal or resignation of the theologians concerned.

From point of view of migration history this migratory phenomenon is to be considered as voluntary as well as forced migration across mainly short distances with various stops. The theologians even frequently came back to the place of departure at least temporarily.

With the self-identification as “Exul Christi”, that appeared around 1550 and that was still in use until the late 18th century, a great number of Lutherans in exile articulated – and claimed – their right to be regarded as upright confessors of the true faith in casu confessionis. For explaining the emergence of this phenomenon apocalyptic interpretations for coping with various crises after the death of Luther, after the loss of the war of Schmalkalden and the loss of confidence suffered by Melanchthon and his colleagues in Wittenberg, who deliberatively dealt with imperial requirements of the so-called Interim (1548), were relevant in this regard. Lutheran “Exules” were not part of a closed group, but extremely heterogeneous, partly strongly networked or only loosely connected. However, their exile experiences are distinguishable in categories and their history can be phased. My contribution dwells upon my ongoing second book project. I intend to give insight into Lutheran exile and its theological implications especially concerning a new understanding of martyrdom in Lutheranism drawing on a theology of the little flock. The focus here is on the cultivation of the experience of exile by the exiles themselves who were exceptionally belligerent and who experienced exile and expulsion time and again. This is closely related to the resistance against the Interim. Exponents of this resistance gathered in Magdeburg and started a widely known publications campaign. Nicolaus of Amsdorf who was one of the most important Magdeburg theologians also was the first Lutheran theologian to call himself an “exul” in his publications in 1550 to 1552. A few years later many Lutheran theologians used the title. Outside of a few prominent theologians, for example, Matthaeus Judex (1528-1564) or Tileman Heshusius (1527-1588), the vast majority of Lutheran exiles of the 16th century is not known by name

In the last quarter of the 16th century the Lutheran “Exules” produced a distinctive theory of exile and martyrdom deeply influenced by Lutheran efforts to find a common interpretation of the Augsburg Confession. The most important contribution to this approach was John Wigands “De persecutione piorum” (1580). He represented a number of “Exules” who were more willing to compromise and who – for example – signed the Formula of Concord, while others, especially the adherents of M. Flacius’ doctrine of original sin, protested vociferously but in the majority of cases in vain.

Investigating the Lutheran exiles may help us to better understand the mutual influence of migration and a theological interpretation of reality found in Lutheranism in the late 16th century.

**Hyun-Ah Kim:** *Music, Persecution and the Freedom of the Soul: Songs of Transcendence in Philips van Marnix’s* Het Boeck der Psalmen Dauids *(1580)*

This paper examines the way in which musical poetry (*musica poetica*) was utilised to relieve mental, physical and emotional turmoil that prisoners underwent, in terms of the ancient *mode ethos* that was at the heart of Reformation psalmody. As a typical example of prison musical poetry, the paper studies Dutch humanist poet, Philips van Marnix (1540–1598)’s *Het Boeck der Psalmen Dauids* (1580). It re-appraises Marnix, in the light of the Neo-Platonic musical thought underlying the Reformed construction of metrical psalmody that exemplifies the human imitation of *musica divina*, through vocal music of various numbers (viz. metres) and through the *spiritus* – the bond (*nodus*) of soul and body.

While scholars have extensively investigated the vernacular books of the psalms produced during the Reformation, Marnix’s *Het Boeck* has received little of the attention it deserves. Compared to contemporary Dutch renditions of the psalms like Utenhove’s (1551) and Datheen’s (1566), Marnix’s *Het Boeck*, translated directly from the Hebrew text, was less popular, if more correct. From a literary-musicological perspective, however, Marnix’s *Het Boeck* is more sensitive than the others to the relation between words and tone, and hence better for singing. Marnix’s illustrates how new poetic music (viz. a single, powerful melody set to metrical texts) serves as the prayer and meditation through which the soul is freed not only from the body as prison in the Platonic sense but also from the *imprisoned body* under religious persecution. This is on the premise of a dualism between soul and body which characterises both Renaissance Platonism and Calvinism (but while Calvin teaches the immortality of the soul, he also believes in the resurrection of the body, which Plato did not).

As a poet, Marnix began his metrical translation of the psalms in November 1573 when imprisoned in The Hague and then transferred to Vredenburg in Utrecht; “every evening he began his rest [in translating], by commending his soul to God, as if this would be his last night.” As Robert Fruin remarks in his *Tien jaren uit de tachtigjarigen oorlog* (1857), the pious mind of Marnix, in accordance with the psalmist’s, resonates with the tones where we hear the lamentation of the Dutch exile, fused with that of the psalmist.

Marnix’s edition of the psalms employs the Genevan tunes, including the entire psalms and hymns like the Ten Commandments and the Song of Simeon. In his preface to *Het Boeck*, Marnix stresses the purpose and benefit of his translations: to relieve the prisoner from imprisonment, heal the wounded soul, and transcend even death. Marnix’s *Het Boeck*, rendered by and for the Christian prisoner, proves Chrysostom’s eloquent description of the power of singing the psalms (*Exposition of Psalm* 41), which appealed to the Reformed theologians and poets suffering from persecution: “for nothing so arouses the soul, gives it wing, sets it free from the earth, releases it from the prison of the body, teaches it to love wisdom, and to condemn all the things of this life, as concordant melody and sacred song composed in rhythm.”

**Ágnes Drosztmér:** *Shackles and Glory: Early Modern Hungarian Practices of Narrating Ottoman Captivity*

The fortress campaigns of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century resulted in a vast number of hostages and captives taken. Such occurrences were widely referred by either the captives themselves, or by other authors reflecting on the ongoing military events, and the resulting narratives also played an imminent role in the formation and solidification of the traditions of written vernacular Hungarian literature. My paper offers an overview of the narrative practices concerning Ottoman captivity in the second half and the turn of the sixteenth century, using vernacular sources of diverse poetical, social and confessional profile, such as the works of Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, Péter Bornemisza or Ferenc Wathay. I intend to introduce in brief the traditions that might possibly have influenced these writings (e.g., prison literature, crusading literature, jeremiads), their relations to current literary genres such as Protestant congregational songs or event poetry reflecting on the latest military events, and their most frequently used topoi and poetical imagery.

Captivity, being an extraordinary atmosphere with extreme circumstances for both the body and the mind of the imprisoned person, creates a special space for literature. Apart from the differences in the actual imprisonment conditions of captives, depending mostly on their social ranks, the manners authors reflected on these circumstances also vary on a wide scale. Taking into consideration the limitations of the notion of literature in the era, the paper investigates narrative practices addressing the new moral and aesthetic ideal of the soldier serving in the defence fortresses (*vitéz*) that was born in the context of fights with the Turks. Further on, particular stress will be put on the analysis of literary self-fashioning of the authors, on the poetical and iconographical toolkits that helped the creation of the image of the captive and captivity, and on the literary processes of creating an idealized image of an individual (e.g. Ferenc Wathay in his *Song Book*), a family (the Török family in Tinódi’s *Cronica*) or a whole social order. As a final but essential accord, the paper reflects on the potential, intended and actual audiences of the narratives.

**Federico Zuliani**: *Italian Protestants in jail write to their Patron: the letters to the von Salis family, 1540s-1620s*

The paper aims to study a collection of several dozens letters sent to members of the von Salis Family from 1540s to 1620s. They were written by Italians who had previously lived in the Grisons and that, for several reasons, had been put in prison. They were addressed to the von Salis Family, in particular (but not exclusively) to Friedrich von Salis. They all asked him to intercede for their liberation. The von Salis' were one of the most prestigious Grison families - they often served as governors of Valtellina - and, since the 1540s they had become the main patrons of Italian Protestant refugees in the Grisons. Often Italians stayed in the Grisons only for a short time (on some occasions for several years, more often just few months). However, once they had left the Grisons and were in trouble, they used to write to the von Salis for help.

The main aim of this paper is to study these correspondences (mostly still unpublished and hold ar the Staatsarchiv Graubünden, Chur). The letters will be studied from several points of view. The family was Reformed (Zurich-oriented) but Italians who wrote the letters were Reformed (mostly Geneva-oriented), Lutheran, Anabaptist, in few cases even newly-converted back to Catholicism. The letters were sent from different geographical areas; some from the Spanish territories in Italy, some from Venice, other from Imperial lands (Tyrol, but also Imperial Friuli). It will be studied whether these differences will reflect on the letters; did, for instance, Calvinists wrote in the same way as new-Catholic? On the contrary of Milan, Venice and the Grisons were linked by treatises of friendship, did this reflect on what the men in jail asked the von Salis to do on their behalf? Once it will be established how the local and personal situations influenced the way the letters were written it would become possible to look at the common features. This would enable us to study whether for Renaissance Italians a pattern, or a ‘cliché’ form, for prison letters existed and how it was influenced by new factors such as for instance Calvinist martyrdom, new Protestant devotions, or the use to sing psalms and read the Bible.

**Jan-Andrea Bernhard:** *Das Entstehen der protestantischen Märtyrertheologie in Zürich als Folge der Befreiung der ungarischen Galeerenhäftlinge*

Der Einsatz des Zürcher Theologieprofessors Johann Heinrich Heidegger für die Befreiung der ungarischen Galeerenhäftlinge ist in der schweizerischen wie in der ungarländischen Forschung bestens bekannt. Kaum erforscht ist bislang allerdings das Enstehen einer protestantischen Märtyrertheologie in Zürich, als Folge des Aufenthaltes der ungarischen Glaubensflüchtlinge. Im Referat sollen die in diesem Zusammenhang entstandenen, eine Märtyrertheologie thematisierenden Disputationen und Dissertationen erstmals vorgestellt und in den Kontext der ungarischen protestantischen Kirchengeschichte des leopoldinischen Absolutismus gestellt werden.

**Gergely Fazakas:** *Psalm paraphrases from a Transylvanian prison**(Prayer book of a seventeenth century Calvinist widow who was accused of**witchcraft)*

Psalm paraphrase was one of the most popular genre in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, and an acceptable form for autobiographical use. Early modern prisoners, especially women employed biblical Psalms as a special mode of self-representation.

My paper will introduce a Hungarian hand-written prayer book from 1684, a paraphrase of the 150 Psalms, which is kept in the Academic Library of Cluj (Kolozsvár, present-day Romania). The author, Zsuzsanna Vitéz (early 1630 - cca. 1686/87) was the wife of Pál Béldi, a remarkable nobleman from Transylvania. Zsuzsanna Vitéz was accused of witchcraft by the princely court, because she allegedly had tried to ask for help of supernatural powers against Anna Bornemisza, wife of Mihály Apafi I, prince of Transylvania (1661-1690).

Zsuzsanna Vitéz conceived a prayer book in prison. She adapted several texts of the Psalterium to express her own suffering, and to represent herself as a vulnerable, helpless, and persecuted widow who calls upon God’s providence and heavenly help. The paper will examine how paraphrases of Vitéz apply those texts from the Book of Psalms as pretexts, how the book is structured, and how the prayers connect to the rhetorical tradition of the lamenting and penitential psalms.

**Ágnes Baricz:** *Imprisonment and Religious Conversion in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary: the Case of Mihály Veresmarti*

The former Reformed preacher Mihály Veresmarti officially converted to Catholicism in 1610, after a long conversation in letters and in speech at a number of synods with his former co-religionists. His two-month imprisonment for zealous anti-Catholicism in the Castle of Nyitra (today: Nitra, Slovakia) in 1604 coincided with an experience of religious uncertainty and doubtfulness.

The proposed presentation aims at exploring the role of writing (letters, conversion narrative) in coping with this liminal situation concerning both space and confessional belonging as well as in forming the grounds of a new identity as a Catholic priest.

**Svorad Zavarský**: *Meinolph Wiarts vs. Martinus Szent-Ivany: Two Views on Spiritual Freedom and Captivity*

My paper aims to explore how the problem of spiritual freedom and captivity was approached in early eighteenth-century polemical theology. In particular, I will focus on the conversion to Lutheranism of Meinolph Wiarts, an ex-Capuchine monk in Hildesheim, who in his Revocations-Predigt (1702) described his conversion to Lutheranism as liberation from (spiritual) captivity. Since copies of this pamphlet were also circulated in the Kingdom of Hungary, and as such gave scandal to recent converts to Catholicism, the Jesuit Martinus Szent-Ivany was asked, by a certain priest administering a parish near Trnava, to write a rebuttal of Wiarts’ sermon. In his Castigatio illusoriae concionis (1704), Szent-Ivany opposed Wiarts’ “imagined” captivity before conversion to his “real” captivity thereafter. Both the phenomenon of spiritual imprisonment and the problem of defining freedom and captivity (and the relativity of the two) should be addressed in my paper.

**Csaba Maczelka**: *Shaping the imprisoned self/tradition: the historiography of János Gálfi’s autobiographical text*

In my paper I would like to offer a new interpretation of János Gálfi’s text, which made its way into modern anthologies under the title *Rabságában készített önéletirata* [Autobiography written during his imprisonment]. First, I review critical opinions about the text, highlighting some of the contradictions concerning judgments about the text’s style. Then I offer a brief overview of 19th-20th century historical works about János Gálfi, which represent him as a martyr suffering under the tyrannous rule of Zsigmond Báthory. I argue that the 19th century editors of the text, and the early-20th century literary scholars discussing it have equally been misled by the all-too-familiar concept of the author writing his autobiography in the confines of his prison cell. Based on a near-contemporary reference to Gálfi’s text, I introduce a perplexing chronological problem, and suggest that the text might have been written well before Gálfi’s actual incarceration. By investigating how Gálfi’s text was nonetheless appropriated to extend the perceived tradition of imprisoned autobiography-writers, I try to call attention to the importance of an accurate understanding of the philological-historical context of early modern prison literature.

**Papers in Hungarian**

**Levente Nagy,** *The pious believers, the martyr and the savant soldier. Self-representation’s techniques in Bethlen Miklós’s and Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli’s autobiography*

Bevilaqua-Borsody Béla – official researcher of the Hungarian Royal Museum of the Military History – wrote in 1929 that Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, the polymath imperial general, in alliance with Bethlen Miklós and Rákóczi II Ferenc (1676-1735), prince of Transylvania, wanted to spark in 1703-1704 (with English, French and Italian assistance) an anti-Habsburg uprising. One element of this bold plan was in 1703 when Marsigli was second-in-command under the Count d'Arco at the Imperial fortress of Breisach on the Rhine, which was surrendered in 1703 before the troops of Marshal Vauban. The second element of this plan – according to Bevilaqua-Borsody – was Bethlen’s pamphlet *Columba Noe* written in the spring of 1704, in which Bethlen called off the restoration of Transylvanian independence. Despite of the fact that the Bevilaqua-Borsody’s theory today is only a cultural history’s curiosity, a parallel examination of the autobiographies written by two prominent personalities of the Habsburg Monarchy at the beginning of the 17th can be surprising even today.

We know that Bethlen and Marsigli corresponded with each during the border’s demarcation after the Karlovci Peace. But their relationship is earlier: Bethlen’s pamphlet *Moribunda Transylvaniae* (written in 1687) dealing with the political situation in Transylvania, was included in Marsigli papers in two copies. The pamphlet was seized by Marsigli during his stay in Transylvania in 1690. In 1703-1704 their lives take a similar turning point: after the failure of the fortress Breisach Marsigli was stripped of his titles and honors by the Holy Roman Emperor, and his chivalric sword was broken; Bethlen on about 20. June 1704. was imprisoned because the pamphlet already mentioned pamphlet *Columba Noe*. This limited life situation caused similar reaction: Marsigli and Bethlen began to write their autobiography.

Originally in his autography Marsigli wanted to prove his innocence after the Breisach’s incident, but later the accents were put on building his scientific reputation. Bethlen used the means of the Calvinist’s martyrological discourse to describe his life. In the description of their lives are presented two exceptional personalities. In the case of Bethlen this exceptionality it is provided by the martyrological suffering of the central hero, suffering that must be endured for his family, his Calvinist church and his country. Through this suffering Bethlen becomes the “chosen Son of God.” In the case of Marsigli the exceptionality it is provided by glorious rebirths that take place after every military adventure, in which Marsigli comes winner. The autobiography of Marsigli is about a hero who plays multiple roles (soldier, spy, military engineer, hydrologist, cartographer, historian, diplomat etc.) and constantly shifts his identity. While this “proteic” character will be the winner (Marsigli escapes after Bresiach and becomes a great scientist), the martyr (Bethlen) will remain in prison until the end of his life.

**Dávid Csorba:** *Books, Petitions, Envoys: the Prison Literature of the Culprits of the Pozsony Process*

The provisions of the martial law court in Pozsony, which was set up to foster the religious union, elicited the most stir at the time among the absolutist efforts of the Habsburg Empire. As a result of processes against Protestant intellectuals, detention on remand, imprisonment and, in the last resort, galley slavery were used as a means of intimidation and influencing from the 1670s onward. Since the defendants, later convicts, submitted their defence documents not only to the court, but they also informed the domestic and international Protestant public through post and their envoys, even by succeeding in sending out their petitions from galleys; a huge corpus came into being. It comprises mainly manuscripts, and, to a smaller extent, publications. The literature of exile employing several literary genres manifested itself in prose, poetic, and graphic forms in 4-5 other languages than Latin as the predominant one. In the light of the practice of contemporary correspondence and publishing, it is possible to conduct manifold examinations of the distribution of prison literature, the rhetorical and narrative perspectives, and the images of self-representation in convergence to the receiving community. The presentation intends to show some methodological approaches by drawing the research-statistical picture of the corpus.

**István Csörsz Rumen**: *„Cry for the prisoner, weep hard…”: A Latin–Hungarian Prisoner’s Song from the first part of the 18th century*

One of the most misterious text families in the 18th century Hungarian popular poetry emerges in both Latin and Hungarian version, primarily in Transylvania and later around Debrecen too. The secret hero of the prisoner’s song Inolus, Inolus… is a jailed robber who was sentenced to death. He mourns his own fate leaving a moral for those around him or for posterity. According to some researchers this song is about a Rumanian outlaw leader, Gligore Pintea (Warrior Pintea), alltough his destinity was different: he died in battle. Other tried to identify the vague Armenian references in the text. Reassuring solution has not been found yet. However, one think is certain: styleshly phrased, not sociographical but rather allegorizing prisoner’s song became a fixed pattern of the lament tradition of the Hungarian popular poetry and the folklore. Both its contextual resarch and its historical poetical analysis can bring us closer to the Hungarian values and typical features of this genre group.

**Géza Orlovszky**, *Examples of Inebriation and Soberity in Miklós Bethlen’s Autobiography*

My paper is concerned with the gastronomical narratives in the Autobiography by Miklós Bethlen. Transcribing exhaustive records from the depth of his memory about habits and peculiarities of food and beverage consumption, anecdotes about inebriation and sobriety are important tools of shaping a textual personality. Culinary and nutrition conventions, the associated system of signs and signals permeated all stages of contemporary social communication. They could be indicators and triggers of political and personal conflicts at the same time. Food deprivation, for example, has religious significance in Catholicism; the theological conception and practice of fasting is a fulminant issue in the religious debates between Protestant and Catholic devotees. I intend to examine what kind of nutritional or theological considerations motivated Bethlen’s voluntary deprivation from food in the period of his imprisonment.

As a reference point to Bethlen I take the case of another notable Hungarian captive, István Koháry. It is known that Koháry has fabricated most of his poems in severe captivity, and in his prison-poetry hunger and fantasizing about food played an important role.

**Emőke Rita Szilágyi:** *Tropes and Figures of Self-exile – Nicolaus Olahus in Brussels*

In my presentation I am going to discuss the emigration of Nicolaus Olahus (1498–1568), one of the prominent statesmen, high priest and, not least, humanist writer of 16 Century Hungary to Brussels, and the different forms nostalgy/home sickness that is present in his writings from these years.

After the Battle of Mohács (1526), surviving high priests and peerage had to make a decision: stay on the part of the widowed Queen Mary, and thus, the part of the Habsburgs, or elect the Voivode of Transylvania, John Szapolyai, to throne. Nicolaus Olahus, staying on the part of the Habsburgs, left the country in the entourage of Queen Mary, and when the Queen became the regent of the Netherlands, Olahus stayed in her court in Brussels for almost a decade (1530–cc.1540). In retrospect, this time spent abroad did very good for Olahus: on one hand he gained the friendship of such great humanists as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Cornelius Scepper, Ruthgerus Rescius, etc., on the other hand, his loyalty towards the Habsburgs highlighted a very straight line in his carreer within the church. Nevertheless he never ceased to miss his friends, relatives who stayed home or went abroad to some other country, and in general his homeland, as it shows/radiates from his works. Because Olahus followed the method originating from antiquity for fighting agains home sickness: he wrote. Most of his works comes from this decade: Epistolae familiares (after 1538), which contains the letters of the years between 1527–1538 (more than 600 letters!), and which was edited and emendated by his own hands, and the first two books of his great, unfinished historical work, Hungaria (1536) and Athila (1536?) also belong to the fruits of his years in Brussels, while in his later career within the church in Hungary, he did not show such an intense writing propensity. In this presentation I would like to demonstrate what methods, and what rhetorical tools (tropes and figures) our author utilizes, when it comes to his self-exile/when he talks about his self-exile. My research extends to our author’s usage of literary sources, in particular in relation with the exilium literature.

I cannot undertake to draft out the changes in Olahus’ faith based on his choices of words, but I might be able to present some interesting additions in reference with the „suspicious” period of the later Bishop of Esztergom, often accused to be a Lutheran period.

**Gergely Tóth:** *Before and after prison – two works of Bocatius (*Hungaroteutomachia *and* Olympias carceraria*)*

Johannes Bocatius (1570–1621) – the savant judge of Kassa (presently Košice, Slovakia), who had been imprisoned as an agent of István Bocskai – was released in 1610 after 5 years of incarceration in Prague. He commemorated his years spent in prison in his work titled *Olympias carceraria*, that is memoire and apology all in one, while being at times irreverently honest and analytical biography that reminisces Saint Augustine’ archetypical *Confessions*. Our memoirist however, as it is often the case, omitted certain unpleasant events from the narrative. One of the absent episodes is a satirical political dialogue called *Hungaroteutomachia* about the state of Hungarian politics in 1605, not surprisingly from the point of view of the Bocskai-court: when caught, this work was found on him and he was questioned in consequence. As we recently proved in the critical edition, the *Hungaroteutomachia* is undoubtedly Bocatius’ work, perhaps one of his bests. However, its subject, its virulent style made it unacceptable at that time, thus no wonder that its author wanted to get rid even of its memory. In my lecture I propose to speak about the aforementioned two works and their relations to each other, their connections despite the willful concealment of the first.

**Márton Szilágyi:** *Can we suppose continuity between prison memoires of early modern history and Ferenc Kazinczy’s intprisonment diary? (Genre and genesis of „Diary about my Imprisonment”)*

An interesting and retraceable question regarding the survival of the prison memoires from early modern history is, whether Ferenc Kazinczy’s work titled Fogságom naplója (Diary about my Imprisonment) can be inserted in the surviving tradition of their genre. Scholarly literature concerning Kazinczy’s ouvre has not any answer to that question by this time. Though we can read critical edition of this work, the identification of its genre is problematic even now. My paper seeks for answer – if there is any answer at all – to the question, why responsed Kazinczy to his inmprisonment in 1794 by writing a memoir (or more precisely by writing a diary, which was developed into a memoir only years after his release from prison). Was there descended any traditional praxis of enduring imprisonment in the Kazinczy family? We know, that one of Kazinczy’s ancestors was involved into the Nádasdy conspiracy, and he escaped the execution only by conversion to chatolicism. We can confirm, that his history was well known by Kazinczy. There are some signs of Kazinczy family’s knowledge about the deep consequences of the psychological effect powered by imprisonment, and probably Kazinczy himself knew something about it.

On the basis of our hypothesis will we use the huge and complicated sources of Kazinczy’s inheritance, and we will organize the datas about prison experiences of his family resident in Zemplén county, which experiences were very likely well known by Kazinczy. By this method we can reveal connection, latent coherency between the prison experiences from early modern Hungarian history and the new types of imprisonment treats from the end of 18th century. In this way we can exhibit a feasible origin of Kazinczy’s memoir.